

IDENTITY THROUGH STYLE: THE TRANSATLANTIC DISSEMINATION OF
ANGLICAN AND EPISCOPALIAN NEO-GOTHIC CHURCH ARCHITECTURE

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ANGLICAN AND EPISCOPALIAN NEO-GOTHIC CHURCH ARCHITECTURE

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Dedicated to the Memory of

Mrs. K

My Mentor and Friend

(Ruth Goodson Kuchler May 23, 1919 – October 16, 2010)

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	ii
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.....	viii
ABSTRACT.....	xiii
Chapter	
1. Introduction.....	1
Survey of Literature.....	4
Denominational Terms in a Historical Context.....	12
Description of the Project.....	25
2. The Establishment of the Episcopal Church & Ecclesiastical Gothic in America.....	31
Introduction.....	32
Contextualizing the Gothick in England.....	34
England’s Print Culture & America’s Foundations of Gothic Revival.....	37
The Establishment of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States.....	46
Culmination of American Episcopal Church Architecture.....	64
3. The Cambridge Camden Society & Ecclesiological Architecture.....	69
Introduction.....	70
Cambridge Camden Society.....	71
Combating the “Modern Cheap Church”.....	75
The Ideal Church.....	80
Schism – 1845 – Tractarians in Disguise.....	101
4. Standardizing Episcopal Ecclesiastical Gothic in the United States.....	109
Introduction.....	110
Frank Wills, Official Architect of the New York Ecclesiological Society.....	112
Richard Upjohn, The Proclaimed Episcopal Ecclesiastical Architect.....	120
Wills’ Ecclesiology Book & Upjohn’s Pattern Book.....	129
Wills’ and Upjohn’s Legacies.....	143
5. Episcopalians and their Ecclesiological neo-Gothic in the American West.....	145
Introduction.....	146
A Land of Spiritual Promise: Wisconsin.....	147
Nashotah House.....	150
The Church of St. John Chrysostom.....	157
St. Mary the Virgin, Nashotah Chapel: Richard Upjohn’s Influence.....	164
Bishop Kemper & <i>Upjohn’s Rural Architecture</i>	170
Ecclesiological neo-Gothic Means Episcopalian.....	173

6. Conclusion.....	174
A Look Ahead: Continued Investigation into Identity through Style.....	179
Appendix.....	184
A. Tower Position.....	185
FIGURES.....	186
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	232
VITA.....	251

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure	Page
1.1. <i>Neo-Classical Street, Upper Merrion Street, Dublin</i>	187
1.2. Thomas Chippendale, <i>Set for Backs of Chairs</i>	187
1.3. Thomas Chippendale, <i>Hall Chairs</i>	188
1.4. Thomas Chippendale, <i>Library Bookcase</i>	188
1.5. Thomas Chippendale, <i>China Tables</i>	189
1.6. <i>Tea Table, New York City, 1765-77</i>	189
1.7. Batty Langley, <i>The Fifth Order of the Gothick Architecture</i>	190
1.8. Batty Langley, <i>Gothick Window</i>	190
1.9. John Britton, <i>Henry VII Chapel Flying Buttress etc</i>	191
1.10. <i>Christ's Church, Duaneburg, New York, 1792 – 3</i> . Kate M. Kocyba.....	191
1.11. <i>Pulpit of Christ's Church, Duaneburg, New York</i> . Kate M. Kocyba.....	192
1.12. <i>Interior of Christ's Church, Duaneburg, New York</i> . Kate M. Kocyba.....	192
1.13. James Gibbs, <i>West Front of St. Martin's Church, 1720 – 27</i>	193
1.14. <i>Second Trinity Church, New York City, 1788 -90</i>	194
1.15. Batty Langley, <i>An Umbrello for the Centre or Intersection of Walks</i>	194
1.16. Ithiel Town, <i>Exterior Trinity Church, New Haven, Connecticut, 1814 – 1817</i> . Kate M. Kocyba.....	195
1.17. <i>New Haven, Connecticut, Comprising a View of the Episcopal and Presbyterian Churches, Statehouse and Yale College, 1831</i>	195

1.18. Ithiel Town, <i>Engraving of Exterior Trinity Church, New Haven, Connecticut</i>	196
1.19. Ithiel Town, <i>Interior of Trinity Church</i> . Kate M. Kocyba.....	196
1.20. <i>Engraving of the Interior of Trinity Church in 1816</i>	197
1.21. John Henry Hopkins, <i>Frontispiece Essay of Gothic Architecture, 1836</i>	197
1.22. John Henry Hopkins, <i>Perspective View of Trinity Church, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania</i>	198
1.23. John Britton, <i>Frontispiece of Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain v. 1</i>	198
1.24. A. C. Pugin, <i>Frontispiece of Specimens of Architecture</i>	198
1.25. John Henry Hopkins, <i>Interior of a Plain Village Church</i>	199
2.1. <i>Christ Church, c. 1839, Cambridge, England</i> . Kate M. Kocyba.....	200
2.2. <i>Interior Clerestory Windows, Christ Church, Cambridge, England</i> . Kate M. Kocyba.....	200
2.3. <i>A ‘Three-Decker’ Pulpit</i>	201
2.4. James Gibbs, <i>St. Martin’s in the Field, 1720 – 1727, London, England</i> . Kate M. Kocyba.....	201
2.5. <i>All Saint’s Church, c. thirteenth – fourteenth centuries, Teversham, England</i>	202
2.6. <i>St. Mary and St. Michael Church, c. mid-thirteenth – fourteenth centuries, Trumpington, England</i> . Kate M. Kocyba.....	202
2.7. <i>King’s College Chapel, c. late fifteenth – early sixteenth centuries, Cambridge, England</i> . Kate M. Kocyba.....	202
2.8.A – D. <i>Five Appropriate Plans for neo-Gothic Parish Churches</i> . Kate M. Kocyba.....	203
2.9. <i>Theoretical Ideal Early English neo-Gothic Parish Church</i> . Kate M. Kocyba.....	204
2.10.A & B. <i>Theoretical Ideal Window Types and Locations</i> . Kate M. Kocyba.....	205
2.11. <i>Great St. Mary’s Church Interior – Galleries, c.1350 – 1609, Cambridge, England</i> . Kate M. Kocyba.....	206

2.12. <i>Slip Pews c. 1845 in Holy Sepulchre Church, Cambridge, England.</i> Kate M. Kocyba.....	206
2.13. <i>Theoretical Ideal Church Cross Section of Nave and Chancel.</i> Kate M. Kocyba.....	207
2.14. <i>A Georgian Auditory Church</i>	207
2.15. <i>Eagle Lectern in Christ Church Cathedral, Fredericton, New Brunswick, Canada</i>	208
2.16. <i>Holy Sepulchre Church, c. 1130, Cambridge, England.</i> Kate M. Kocyba.....	208
2.17. <i>Cambridge Camden Society Seal</i>	209
3.1. <i>Cover of the New York Ecclesiologist with the Seal of the New York Ecclesiological Society</i>	209
3.2. A. W. N. Pugin, <i>Contrasts Frontispiece</i>	210
3.3. A. W. N. Pugin, <i>The True Principles of Pointed Architecture Frontispiece</i>	210
3.4. Frank Wills, <i>Sketch of a First-Pointed Church</i>	211
3.5. Frank Wills, <i>Outline Ground Plan of a First-Pointed Church</i>	211
3.6. <i>St. James the Less Church, 1846 – 1848, Philadelphia, PA.</i> HABS PA, 51-PHILA, 318-1.....	212
3.7. Richard Upjohn, <i>St. Mary’s Church, c. 1846 –1853, Burlington, NJ.</i> HABS, NJ, 3-BURL 2-3.....	212
3.8. <i>St. Mary’s Church, c. fourteenth century, Snettisham, England</i>	212
3.9. Frank Wills, <i>St. Anne’s Chapel, 1846, Fredericton, New Brunswick, Canada</i>	213
3.10. Richard Upjohn, <i>Section Drawing of Trinity Church New York, 1839 – 1846</i>	213
3.11. <i>South East View of the Collegiate Church, Manchester, England</i>	214
3.12. A. W. N. Pugin, <i>An Ideal Church</i>	214
3.13. Richard Upjohn, <i>Trinity Church, New York, 1840 -1846</i>	215
3.14. Richard Upjohn, <i>St. Thomas’s Church, 1847, Hamilton, New York</i>	215

3.15. Richard Upjohn, <i>Interior St. Thomas's Church</i> , 1847, Hamilton, NY.....	215
3.16. Frank Wills, <i>St. George's Church</i> , Milford, CT.....	216
3.17. Frank Wills, <i>St. Peter's Church (Originally St. George's Church)</i> . Kate M. Kocyba.....	216
3.18. Frank Wills, <i>Interior St. Peter's</i> , Milford, CT. Kate M. Kocyba.....	217
3.19. Richard Upjohn, <i>Wooden Church Ground Plan</i>	217
3.20. Richard Upjohn, <i>Wooden Church Details</i>	218
3.21. Richard Upjohn, <i>Perspective View of Wooden Church</i>	218
3.22. Richard Upjohn, <i>Church Furniture</i>	219
3.23. Richard Upjohn, <i>Perspective View of Parsonage</i>	219
3.24. Richard Upjohn, <i>Perspective View of Wooden Chapel</i>	220
3.25. Richard Upjohn, <i>Wooden Chapel Ground Plan</i>	220
3.26. Richard Upjohn, <i>Perspective View of Schoolhouse</i>	221
4.1. <i>Map of Michigan Territory 1818</i>	221
4.2. <i>Map of the Advance of Settlement in Wisconsin</i>	221
4.3. <i>St. Sylvanus Chapel</i> , 1843, Nashotah, Wisconsin. Kate M. Kocyba.....	222
4.4. <i>St. Sylvanus Interior Restored</i> , Nashotah, Wisconsin. Kate M. Kocyba.....	222
4.5. <i>St. John Chrysostom Church Southwest Exterior</i> , 1850 – 1851, Delafield, Wisconsin. Kate M. Kocyba.....	223
4.6. <i>St. John Chrysostom Church East Exterior</i> , Delafield, Wisconsin. Kate M. Kocyba.....	223
4.7. <i>St. John Chrysostom Church Interior looking West</i> , Delafield, Wisconsin. Kate M. Kocyba.....	223
4.8. <i>St. John Chrysostom Church, Interior looking East</i> , Delafield, Wisconsin. Kate M. Kocyba.....	224

4.9. <i>Chancel of St. John Chrysostom Church, Delafield, Wisconsin.</i> Kate M. Kocyba.....	224
4.10. <i>St. John Chrysostom Church, Sacarium, Delafield, Wisconsin.</i> Kate M. Kocyba.....	225
4.11. <i>Altar of St. John Chrysostom Church, Delafield, Wisconsin.</i> Kate M. Kocyba....	225
4.12. <i>Pulpit of St. John Chrysostom Church, Delafield, Wisconsin.</i> Kate M. Kocyba..	225
4.13. <i>Postcard of St. John Chrysostom Church East Interior with Litany Desk, Delafield, Wisconsin.</i> Kate M. Kocyba (Courtesy of St. John Chrysostom).....	226
4.14. <i>South Porch Looking in at Baptismal Font, St. John Chrysostom Church, Delafield, Wisconsin.</i> Kate M. Kocyba.....	226
4.15. Richard Upjohn, <i>Proposed Chapel Nashotah Mission, c. 1859.</i> Drawings and Archives Department, Avery & Architectural & Fine Arts Library, Columbia University.....	227
4.16. Richard Upjohn, <i>Ground Plan of Proposed Chapel Nashotah Mission.</i> Drawings and Archives Department, Avery & Architectural & Fine Arts Library, Columbia University.....	228
4.17. Richard Upjohn, <i>Proposed Perspective Drawing of the Chapel Nashotah Mission.</i> Drawings and Archives Department, Avery & Architectural & Fine Arts Library, Columbia University.....	228
4.18. <i>Chapel of St. Mary the Virgin, c. 1859, Nashotah, Wisconsin.</i> HABS WIS, 67-NASH.V, 1-4.....	229
4.19. <i>Chapel of St. Mary the Virgin, Nashotah, Wisconsin.</i> Kate M. Kocyba.....	229
4.20. HABS, <i>Ground Plan of the Chapel of St. Mary the Virgin, Nashotah, Wisconsin.</i> HABS WIS, 67-NASH.V, 1-(Sheet 2 of 2).....	230
4.21. <i>Interior looking "West," Chapel of St. Mary the Virgin, Nashotah, Wisconsin.</i> Kate M. Kocyba.....	230
4.22. <i>Postcard of Interior of Nashotah Chapel (Chapel of St. Mary the Virgin), c. 1863, Nashotah, Wisconsin.</i> Nashotah Archives.....	231
4.23. <i>St. Paul's Church, 1858, Plymouth, Wisconsin.</i>	231

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ABSTRACT

In the nineteenth century the Episcopalians used Gothic Revival architecture for dogmatic purposes to define their status among Protestant denominations and secure their place in the United States of America. The discussion of neo-Gothic churches in America usually begins after the arrival of the English theological Oxford Movement in the 1830s. I claim the political changes that occurred with the American Revolution along with early nineteenth century American tensions between low and high church Episcopalians fostered a distinct American Episcopalian neo-Gothic church development. Through exchanges of ideas between English and American clergy and architects, American Episcopal High Church architecture developed and spread throughout the United States. By examining specific churches, including those by Frank Wills and Richard Upjohn, in context of Anglican and Episcopalian doctrine, its liturgical practices, and publications by architects and English and American ecclesiological societies, I show how and why neo-Gothic churches became solidified as a signifier of and reinforced the Episcopal faith.

Chapter 1

Introduction

Religious architecture has been one of the more neglected areas of American architectural history. This seems rather surprising since religious structures tend to be among the most prominent architectural features in the American landscape. In the last fifteen years there has been a shift of focus in the scholarship on religious architecture especially in the United States. Much of the scholarship in this area prior to the mid-1990s was primarily focused on style, but then the scholarly investigations started to explore the “history and theory of American sacred space” as Louis P. Nelson explained in his 2004 article in the *Religious Studies Review*.¹ While I will acknowledge that the architectural historical canon has brought some attention to religious architecture, it has often put forth limited analyses and contextualization, especially when addressing Gothic Revival churches.²

Gothic Revival church architecture, it has long been argued, grew out of romantic notions of the past and the aesthetics of the picturesque movement. However, this is not a sufficient explanation when discussing Anglican neo-Gothic churches; the Gothic Revival was more than a change in the taste of aesthetics.³ The Anglican Church is unique in the Protestant ideological landscape, for it has always been both a part of and separated from the Protestant Movement because it separated from the Roman Catholic Church but maintained its Catholic tradition. My dissertation argues that the use of Gothic architecture by American Episcopalians and English Anglicans from the late

¹ Louis P. Nelson, “*Architecture in Communion: Implementing the Second Vatican Council Through Liturgy and Architecture*” by Steven J. Schloeder *Religious Studies* 30 n. 4 (2004): 251.

² Throughout this dissertation I will be using “Gothic Revival” and “neo-Gothic” interchangeably.

³ For the purposes of this dissertation I will be referring to the Church of England and the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States as “Anglican” or “Anglican Church.” Although there are clear distinctions between the two institutions, the United States Protestant Episcopal Church is a direct offshoot of the Church of England and for the purpose of this section does not need to be addressed as a separate body.

eighteenth century until the end of the 1860s – be it Gothick or Ecclesiological neo-Gothic – acted as a specific semiotic signifier of Church doctrine, facilitated the Church’s return to its inherited Catholic liturgical practices, and set it apart in the religious landscape.⁴

To understand how a specific architectural style becomes an identifying marker of a particular faith requires going beyond the field of architecture. Therefore my argument draws upon the liturgical and religious-political culture of the long nineteenth century in the United States and England. By basing my analysis in the careful study of church architecture, in an in-depth reading of documentary sources including those by the religious-cultural factions that wrote on Anglican theology and doctrine, and in the various ways church leaders, architects and laity designed, utilized, and engaged with these buildings, I show that these Gothic structures were not just a romantic and eclectic aesthetic. Instead, the Gothick and the Gothic Revival churches materialized Anglican doctrine and solidified the Anglican presence in American life, specifically in the American religious landscape.

⁴ Michael J. Lewis, *The Gothic Revival* (London: Thames & Hudson Ltd., 2002), 15. I will be using “Gothic,” “Gothick,” and “neo-Gothic,” “Ecclesiological neo-Gothic” or “Gothic Revival” as the way to distinguish between architectural historical developments.

For the content of this dissertation I will use “Gothic” as a reference to the historical time period that loosely dates from the twelfth century until the fifteenth century, and will use it interchangeably with medieval or the Middle Ages; as well as referring to the use of medieval Gothic architectural elements that continued to be used throughout the centuries.

“Gothick” is the Eighteenth century spelling of today’s “Gothic.” In the mid-nineteenth century it was a semi-derogatory way to identify any Gothic revival architecture constructed between the eighteenth and mid-nineteenth century that seemed to be naïve, flimsy or historically incorrect. Like other Architectural historians, I have adopted “Gothick” as an indicator of the use of medieval architectural elements or ornamentation that was used in the eighteenth century and continued more or less until the 1840s for, architecture, landscape features, and/or decorative arts. “Gothic Revival” or “Ecclesiological neo-Gothic” or “neo-Gothic,” I use to refer to the architecture that was constructed post-1839 primarily based upon the ideas proliferated by the Cambridge Camden Society and perceived as being “archaeologically-based” and relating to the scientific study of everything relating to the church.

Survey of Literature

The discussion and analysis of Anglican religious architecture presented in this dissertation is based in scholarship situated in the fields of religious studies and architectural history. By approaching neo-Gothic church architecture from both perspectives, I provide a cultural context for analyzing style and create a more multi-dimensional understanding of the period. Although there are generalizations about certain philosophical and ideological influences upon American culture in the nineteenth century, these generalizations only skim the surface, just as focusing on a particular architect, artist, or specific monumental works of art can only provide a limited perspective on artistic development.⁵ However certain generalizations, at times, help explain a broader meaning of religious architecture in a given time and place.

In 1986, Dell Upton's *Holy Things and Profane: Anglican Parish Churches in Colonial Virginia* established an historical case study to analyze American religious architecture. Upton narrows his scholarly focus to one region, one religion and a specific period. He uses vernacular church architecture and documentary evidence to better analyze not only church architecture but also the values of a larger society that built and used these buildings. He does not marginalize the structures by comparing them to contemporary English works by Wren, but instead moves away from aesthetics and sees

⁵ Some examples of scholarship that generalize about architecture and religion include: Ryan K. Smith, *Gothic Arches, Latin Crosses: Anti-Catholicism and American Church Designs in the Nineteenth Century* (2006); Leland Roth, *American Architecture: A History* (2000); William H. Pierson, Jr. *American Buildings and Their Architects: Technology and the Picturesque, The Corporate and the Early Gothic Styles* (1978) and Phoebe B. Stanton *The Gothic Revival and American Church Architecture: An Episode in Taste 1840 – 1856*, (1968).

buildings as another source to understanding the Virginia gentry system.⁶ Upton's *Holy Things and Profane* established a model from which the works of Gretchen Buggeln, Louis P. Nelson, and my own dissertation have followed.

Gretchen Buggeln's *Temples of Grace: The Material Transformation of Connecticut's Churches, 1790 – 1840* (2003) focuses on the changing ideas of aesthetics and the declining position of Connecticut's Congregationalists in the Federal period. This text provides not only a methodological approach for handling material from a similar period but also addresses the way a Protestant denomination tried to maintain its position in a developing republic. Louis P. Nelson's *The Beauty of Holiness: Anglicans & Architecture in Colonial South Carolina* (2008) is another model that contextualizes the discussion of religion and church architecture within a broader cultural history; he did this by focusing on Colonial South Carolina Anglicans in the Greater British Caribbean. Similarly, my dissertation is concerned with Episcopalian identity in the Antebellum United States. However, this contextualization of an identifying aesthetic first depends on a larger discussion of transatlantic communications with England, second, on the Episcopal Church's position in an American landscape dominated by other Protestant denominations and third, on westward expansion.

Whereas my dissertation joins an ongoing conversation in architectural history, much of the discussion of Gothic Revival American Church architecture remains based on Phoebe Stanton's pioneering book, *The Gothic Revival and American Church Architecture* (1968, reprinted 1997). Stanton focused on the influence of the English

⁶ It is likely that Upton's material culture approach was influenced by American anthropologist James Deetz and his book, *In Small Things Forgotten: The Archaeology of Early American Life* (1977) in which Deetz took objects of everyday life from the past in order to understand that period's culture or society.

Gothic Revival on American churches between 1840 and 1856, during which a particularly “American” neo-Gothic architectural style took hold. Although focused on the United States, Stanton’s book is dependent on earlier scholarship from James F. White’s *The Cambridge Movement: The Ecclesiologists and the Gothic Revival* (1962). White addresses how the England-based Cambridge Camden Society was the active agent in developing and promoting Ecclesiological architecture for the Church of England and, eventually, for the American Episcopal Church.

While these texts are foundational works in that both utilize materials produced in the nineteenth century to provide an understanding of the period, the scholarship is also limited by their authors’ notions of that period. Each scholar approached her or his material from only one angle: Stanton from architectural aesthetics and White from religious studies.

Much of the other scholarship on Gothic Revival church architecture remains focused on either specific architects or monumental works. Often, the discussion in England has been focused on works and writings by Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin, who has been called by historian and A. W. N. Pugin biographer, Rosemary Hill, “God’s architect” and who many others have identified as the “Father of Gothic Revival.” Similarly, in the United States there have been books and articles written on works by Ralph Cram, James Renwick, Townsend Mix, and of course, Richard Upjohn. Like A. W. N. Pugin, Richard Upjohn has been called the Father of Gothic Revival Church Architecture in the United States. William H. Pierson, Jr.’s work *American Buildings and Their Architects: Technology and the Picturesque, The Corporate and the Early*

Gothic Style (1978) looks at the influence Richard Upjohn had on the adoption of the Gothic Revival for churches throughout the United States.

Pierson's book also provides an analysis of the neo-Gothic in the United States. He traces its American roots to Gothic Survival – a vernacular Gothic architecture that continued to be built throughout the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries – that came over in the colonial period, and he then addresses how this led to the “Gothick,” which he believed both reflected an uncertainty in the style and was more of an application of decorative elements onto Georgian frames in order to provide an effect. He, like Leland Roth, sees eighteenth century and early nineteenth century use of Gothick as an eclectic mode of design in which “the romantic mind had no difficulty whatsoever in establishing fruitful associations between the past and its own objectives.”⁷ In short, to Roth, Gothic style was a way to deal with the progressive changes occurring at the time.

Romanticism's influence in this period must not be dismissed; however the emphasis on the Romantic Movement has only provided scholars with a way to simplify the complexities of nineteenth century material culture.

In order to provide a revisionist history of Gothic architecture in the United States, this dissertation is an outgrowth and blend of the scholarship based in art historical studies of religious material culture; scholarship on the role of nineteenth century print culture; literature on the examination of vernacular architecture; and religious studies' analyses of the American Protestant Episcopal Church. In the essays and the introduction to *The Visual Culture of American Religions* (2001), David Morgan

⁷ William H. Pierson Jr., *American Buildings and Their Architects: Technology and the Picturesque The Corporate and the Early Gothic Styles* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1978), 127; Leland Roth, *American Architecture: A History* (Boulder: Westview Press, 2001), 107 – 108.

and Sally M. Promey emphasize the power of images and built spaces to communicate ritualized exchange, establish social bases that consolidate and reinforce allegiances, create and organize memory, and fuel the imagination to form a basic religious experience.⁸ The focus on visual culture allows for both a discussion of aesthetic history as well as the social effects and patterns of reception.⁹ Therefore the analysis of visual culture or material culture allows scholars to engage in the rich semantics embodied in these materials. By not isolating neo-Gothic architecture in the framework of style, but contextualizing it in Episcopalian practices of the nineteenth century, it is possible to expand our understanding of its use and others' reception of this particular architecture.

Over several decades architectural historians have examined the role that publications played in the reception of developing architectural styles and the profession of architecture. J. Mordaunt Crook's essay "John Britton and the Genesis of the Gothic Revival" (1968) looked at the numerous Antiquarian publications produced by Britton and concluded that his highly illustrated books rejuvenated the interest in medieval Gothic structures throughout Great Britain. Other scholars such as Michael McMordie demonstrated that in the pre-Victorian period, design and pattern books allowed architects to establish their positions in the building trade and establish an architectural aesthetic among the masses.¹⁰ Dell Upton furthers this argument by showing that pattern books contributed to the changing stylistic developments of American domestic architecture, and they also established a position for the professional architect, since these

⁸ David Morgan and Sally M. Promey, "Introduction," in *The Visual Culture of American Religions*, eds. David Morgan and Sally M. Promey (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 3.

⁹ Morgan and Promey, *Visual Culture of American Religions*, 15. There are only two essays in this anthology directly addressing spaces.

¹⁰ Michel McMordie, "Picturesque Pattern Books and Pre-Victorian Designers," *Architectural History* 18 (1975): 43 – 59+ 109 – 112, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1568381>.

architectural publications were generally produced by trained architects and were aimed specifically at builders and clients.¹¹ Crook, McMordie, Upton and other scholars have established that publications were important in spreading architectural ideas and shaping intellectual thought.

Although my methodological approach draws on recent scholarship of American religious art and architectural history, my research is highly dependent on nineteenth century print media. By looking at Britton's and A. W. N. Pugin's publications as well as ecclesiastical periodicals and newspapers, I show how the Gothic Revival was disseminated through a variety of printed forms. Like pattern books on domestic architecture, these publications also served to position a specific ideology within the mindset of their audience. While there exists a variety of scholarship on print culture, in general the scholarship on the American Protestant Episcopal Church is limited. In 1885, William Stevens Perry wrote a two-volume history entitled *The History of the American Episcopal Church, 1587 – 1883* (1885), and while being very informative, it lacks any interpretation or critical distance. James Thayer Addison's *The Episcopal Church in the United States, 1789 – 1931* (1969) essentially condenses and brings the history of the Episcopal Church forward into the twentieth century. Both these books focus on the historical institutional development of the Episcopal Church but only address external issues, such as slavery or westward expansion, in the context of how this religious institution engaged with these issues. More recently, David Hein and Gardiner H.

¹¹ Dell Upton, "Pattern Books and Professionalism: Aspects of the Transformation of Domestic Architecture in America, 1800 – 1860," *Winterthur Portfolio* 19, no.2/3 (1984): 107 – 108, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1180972>.

Shattuck, Jr.'s book *The Episcopalians* (2004) provides an interpretation of the American Episcopal Church as a part of the greater development of the United States.¹²

These historical texts show the development of a particular denominational culture, but they do not necessarily address the active agents that shaped liturgical and theological aspects of this institution within American culture generally. In the fields of religious studies and American literature, the focus has been less on a particular denomination and more on larger movements that swept across America in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Jenny Franchot's *Roads to Rome: The Antebellum Protestant Encounter with Catholicism* (1994) and Ryan Smith's *Gothic Arches, Latin Crosses: Anti-Catholicism and American Church Designs in the Nineteenth Century* (2006) both address the way Protestants handled the increasing pluralism of the American religious landscape. Franchot and Smith look at consumption or material expression of Protestants during the Antebellum Anti-Catholic movement. Both Franchot and Smith recognized that while there was a backlash against the Roman Catholics by Protestants, at the same time Protestants were also fascinated and engrossed with Catholicism.

The material consumption of Catholicism by the dominant Protestant culture provides insight into the socio-political make-up of America in the nineteenth century. By making Roman Catholicism a commodity through depictions in art and writings, the Roman Catholics remained as "the other" removed from mainstream Protestant culture. While consumer culture has an important role in this period for subjugating and marginalizing Roman Catholics, it still does not provide a religious insight for why certain denominations of American Protestants utilized objects and architecture that were

¹² This book is part of a series on denominational studies produced by Greenwood Press.

directly associated with Catholicism. For American Episcopalians, Gothick and later neo-Gothic was not about material consumption, but it was linked to Anglican ideology, theology and liturgical practices. The utilization of the Gothic by the American Episcopal Church was directly related to the evangelical religious revival movements of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as well as by the forced restructuring of the Anglican Church in the new United States during and succeeding the American Revolution.

Robert Mullin's *Episcopal Vision/American Reality: High Church Theology and Social Thought in Evangelical America* (1986) addresses both the trans-denominational issues such as religious revivals and the way they affected individual denominations, in this case the Episcopalians. In 2002, Jeanne Halgren Kilde's book, *When Church Became Theatre: The Transformation of Evangelical Architecture and Worship in Nineteenth-Century America* specifically highlighted how the adoption of the Gothic Revival by evangelicals in antebellum America was a way to emphasize a shared past through a shared social gospel even though they were a culture made of multiple denominations. Similarly to Mullin and Kilde, I focus on the evangelical movement in the United States, specifically in relation to Protestant Episcopal Church during the early to mid-nineteenth century to contextualize the Episcopalian high church movement in religious and social frameworks.

In terms of church architecture I discuss the two dominant liturgical practices occurring in the Episcopal Church, for neither acted in isolation from the other. My understanding of the evangelical movement and the establishment of the Episcopal Church in the newly-founded United States enables my discussion of how the Gothic

specifically served this religious institution. I assert that the development of American Episcopalian high church ideology made the Gothick more religiously significant, thus its having a greater purpose than just a picturesque aesthetic as suggested by Stanton, Pierson and other scholars. I add to the discussion of Gothic Revival church architecture in a way similar to Mullin added to religious history. I do not consider society, religion, and architecture to be separate from each other. Instead, I examine the transatlantic role of print culture, along with the relationship between Anglicans and Episcopalians, in order to address the interrelationship of intellectual, ritualistic, and cultural roles that the Gothic Revival church architecture played in the religious-social layout of America.

Denominational Terms in a Historical Context

The content of this dissertation is focused both on the Anglican Church and its direct descendent, the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States. Since the sixteenth-century schism with the Roman Catholic Church, the Church of England struggled with its identity. Despite this struggle, the general consensus among Anglican clergy and laity was that the church was primarily a reformed catholic institution. Beginning during the reign of Elizabeth I (1558 – 1603) the nonconformist movement within the Anglican Church initially under the umbrella of Puritanism, began to succeed in bringing further reform to the church.¹³ The Puritans were the next generation of Protestant reformers after Henry VIII's Reformation within the British Isles. They felt that the English Reformation did not go far enough and wanted greater purity and less

¹³ Sidney E. Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972), 91 – 93. Under Elizabeth I, the last Tudor monarch and James VI/I, the first Stuart Monarch, the Puritans were persecuted. Even succeeding monarchs did not agree with the proposed reforms made by the Puritans in the Church of England.

ritual within the Anglican Church. However, they never accomplished all the reforms they intended. By the time of the English Restoration in 1660, the Puritans were struggling with their own schism based on doctrine. Many dissented and created their own Protestant sects while others decided to stay a part of the Anglican Church.¹⁴

Those Puritans who stayed generally led the *Low Church Movement* in the Anglican Church, a movement that kept to a more Protestant ideology and continued to gain members through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The low church movement by the nineteenth century was appealing to the ever-growing urban laboring populace. The low church provided a liturgical system that placed a greater emphasis on the individual. It stressed Biblical texts and the salvation of the soul by appealing to individual emotions, therefore providing for the spiritual needs of the people in a period “when indifference and absenteeism were rife” within the Church of England.¹⁵ Ultimately, the low church emphasized biblical scripture over ritual and reduced the clergy’s authority, thereby giving more power to the congregations.

In some ways the low church can be seen as a party more interested in the spiritual needs of the Church of England, while the *High Church Movement* from the period of Henry VIII into the early nineteenth century was more concerned with the church’s political authority than piety. There was no separation of church and state in England. Although the Anglican high church ideology was founded on theological principles such as the episcopacy, as time progressed the Anglican Church high

¹⁴ Patrick Collinson, *From Cranmer to Sancroft* (New York: Hambledon Continuum, 2006), chapter 6.

¹⁵ Robin Gilmour, *The Victorian Period: The Intellectual and Cultural Context of English Literature, 1830 – 1890* (London: Longman Group. Ltd., 1993), 9. In the process of emphasizing individual spirituality, Wesley’s followers ultimately pulled members away from the Established Church and created another sect, Methodism.

churchmen, in particular bishops, became more concerned with their political influence and individual wealth of their dioceses; thus they often saw their religious duties as secondary. This partially accounts for the development of the Anglican Church in Colonial America.

Up to the American Revolution, the Anglican Church in the Thirteen Colonies may have been the official church of over half the Colonies, but in reality it was a church of the minority. Part of the reason the Anglican Church was not the dominant religion in Colonial America was because of its configuration and lack of leadership. There were no American Colonial bishops. Instead, all the Anglican churches and their clergy were under the control of the Bishop of London.¹⁶ The authority and power – spiritual and political – ultimately lay within the local laity and not the episcopacy. Therefore, in the American Colonies the Church of England was an overarching low church institution largely by virtue of their distance from England. Clergy stressed scripture through preaching, reduced the emphasis on sacraments, and ultimately reduced the value of the episcopate.

In the Revolutionary period, American Anglicans began to restructure their church although not uniformly, but according to low and high church ideologies. They all agreed they needed to change the name of their denomination to assert their independence from England. They decided on the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States. Like their English counterparts, they valued the episcopacy as the system that continued Apostolic Succession. However, with no American bishops, the claim to

¹⁶ David L. Holmes, *A Brief History of the Episcopal Church with a Chapter on the Anglican Reformation and an Appendix on the Quest for an Annulment of Henry VIII* (Valley Forge, PA: Trinity Press International, 1993), 48.

and therefore the legitimacy of the Episcopal Church were for some put into question.¹⁷

While many low churchmen believed their doctrinal legitimacy was not threatened since Anglican bishops ordained their priests, many high churchmen believed they needed their own American bishops ordained by Anglican bishops to ensure the church's doctrinal legitimacy.

In the process of restructuring the Anglican Church into the Protestant Episcopal Church, a fundamental ideological shift occurred within this institution in the United States. The Protestant Episcopal Church was established as a constitutionally-governed church, in keeping with the low church ideology, but this constitutionality also led to reintroduction of bishops. By the 1786 General Convention, the Episcopal Church had determined that the spiritual and doctrinal legitimacy of their institution was dependent on having its own bishops ordained by English bishops.¹⁸ Like its English counterparts, the American Episcopal High Church emphasized the episcopate, but unlike the Anglican Church this was not done for national political gain. Instead, the episcopate provided a structure to sustain and facilitate their faith. Ultimately, by establishing an episcopate in the American Episcopal Church, the clergy increased its role within individual churches. This shifted the Protestant Episcopal Church from low church, evangelical practices towards a spiritually-focused American high church ideology.

¹⁷ The Declaration of Independence nullified the American Colonies' relationship with the British Empire, and as a result the Church of England removed its support of the Anglican Church in the Colonies and essentially disowned them.

¹⁸ David Hein and Gardiner H. Shattuck, Jr., *The Episcopalians* (Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers, 2004), 55. After the Revolutionary War the Church of England responded to the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States requests for advise and spiritual guidance since the political tensions between the two nations ended.

By the early nineteenth century in the United States a new generation of high churchmen was taking charge of the Episcopal Church. New York Bishop John Henry Hobart led this new American high church ideology, distinct from the Anglican high church of the period that was primarily focused on its political authority. Bishop Hobart developed a high church ideology focused on the Catholic liturgical and doctrinal roots of the Anglican Church, nearly twenty-five-years prior to a similar shift in England in the 1830s. He shared his ideas and beliefs through a plethora of publications that addressed the religious history and liturgical practices of the Episcopal Church. In his tracts and writings he emphasized the concept that the episcopacy sustained the direct line back to Christ or was the legitimate extension of the Apostolic Succession. He also stressed the importance of the sacraments, especially, Communion. This high church ideology, which returned the focus of the episcopacy back to its flock, would be known as *Hobartian Synthesis* or *American High Church*, and it became the dominant ideology of the Episcopal Church through the mid-nineteenth century.

While Bishop Hobart's writings fostered a distinct American Episcopalian high church ideology, his writings were not just known in the United States. In England Anglican clergy and laity also read his tracts. Scholars have even suggested that Bishop Hobart's writings along with his two-year travels to the Continent and prolonged visit in England, for health reasons, may have actually had an impact on the Anglican Oxford Movement and the shifting of the Anglican high church towards more Catholic practices. Religious scholarship has often attributed the Oxford Movement as fostering the American high church movement. However, by the 1820s Bishop Hobart had been writing for over a decade about Apostolic Succession and church practices. He and his

followers in the United States were firmly set on an Anglican-Catholic ideology for their church. During his time in England Bishop Hobart was well-received by Anglican clergy and laity. His passion for the church and his engaging personality allowed him to convey his ideology of the church to those he met. It is known that Bishop Hobart dined with a young John Henry Newman, one of the future founders of the Oxford Movement in March 1824, and this meeting may have had a larger impact on the future Oxford Movement. Therefore the Oxford Movement that impacted the Protestant Episcopal Church in the 1840s may have some of its roots in Hobartian High Churchmanship.¹⁹

In 1832 Great Britain was faced with a political crisis; the Whig Parliament decided to make the church part of their political reform. Although the bishops of the Church of England did recognize that it needed some restructuring, they agreed it was not within the authority of Parliament to make such changes.²⁰ Even with its objections, Parliament went ahead with reforms of what it saw as another government institution, and usurped the church's authority. While Parliament's actions acted as the catalyst for the Anglican high church movement, there remained the old politically-linked tradition, but also a new English high church movement developed known as the *Oxford Movement or Tractarianism*.

Led largely by John Keble and John Henry Newman from the University of Oxford, the *Tractarians* began to publish a series of pamphlets called the *Tracts for the*

¹⁹ Raymond W. Albright, *A History of the Protestant Episcopal Church* (New York: MacMillian Company, 1964), 183; George E. DeMille, *The Catholic Movement in the American Episcopal Church* (Brunswick, NJ: Vogt Printing Co., 1941), 40 – 41.

²⁰ Thomas William Heyck, *The Peoples of the British Isles: A New History from 1688 to 1870*, Vol. 2 (Chicago: Lyceum Books, Inc., 2002), 269. This commission did expose some interesting anomalies primarily dealing with the discrepancies in clerical salaries, pluralism and no residence of parish clergymen. All of these factors attributed to the quality of priests as well as in the loyalty of English citizens to the Established Church.

Times. According to Keble, the Anglican Church needed to look beyond its political authority and remember its divine purpose. The *Tracts* were the means of communication of this movement and over the course of twelve years, 90 tracts were written.²¹ The aim of the *Tracts* according to Newman was to “pull in union with all.”²² The *Tracts* were aimed at not just high or low churchmen, but anyone who was vested in the Church of England. Initially they were clear and concise documents produced in rapid succession with the content presented in a way to startle and shock their audiences.²³ Since they were not copyrighted, the authors, Newman, Keble and later others, encouraged the *Tracts* to be republished, and this encouragement helped to spread their views on Anglican Church doctrine and liturgy around the world, including in the United States.²⁴

The *Tracts* were publications that addressed topics that rooted Anglicanism in early Catholicism and urged a return to these practices. The constant republication of the *Tracts* by various publishers made these works accessible, but was also interpreted by many who almost immediately accused the Oxford Movement of Romanism. However, the *Book of Common Prayer* according to Newman and others sanctioned the topics that they, the *Tractarians* wrote about. The Oxford Movement focused on the divine authority of the church, but unlike the older high churchmen, the Tractarians also

²¹ Richard William Church, *The Oxford Movement Twelve Years, 1833 – 1845*, ed. Geoffrey Best (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), 79. Tracts were a familiar instruments for the distribution of religious ideas by this period and to some degree were looked down upon as a means to disseminate ideas.

²² John Henry Newman. *Apologia Pro Vita Sua: Being a History of His Religious Opinions*, ed. Martin J. Svaglic (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), 49.

²³ Church, *The Oxford Movement*, 84. The first three tracts all date from September 9, 1833.

²⁴ Church, *The Oxford Movement*, 85; George Herring, *What was the Oxford Movement?* (New York: Continuum, 2002), 27. According to Herring who cites Rune Imberg’s text, *In Quest of Authority: The ‘Tracts for the Times’ and the Development of the Tractarian Leaders, 1833 – 1841* (1987), between 1833 and 1841 the total number of *Tracts* printed was around 750,000.

advocated for the separation of church and state.²⁵ In this way the Church could fully focus on the spiritual needs of its people and appeal to the evangelical strand of the church. Like their American Episcopal Church counterpart, the Tractarians emphasized the importance of the episcopacy as the continuation of Apostolic Succession, the importance of the sacrament of Communion, and Newman also proposed that the Anglican Church was the “Via Media.” According to Newman, the Anglican Church was neither purely Protestant nor Roman Catholic but an amalgamation of the best of both. Therefore, the Oxford Movement not only awakened a doctrinal debate within the Anglican Church, it added to the ongoing discussion in the American Episcopal Church.

The Oxford Movement also affected other aspects of both the Anglican and Episcopal Churches, especially the built environments in relation to the Gothic. The use of Gothic elements never entirely disappeared from Anglican Church architecture. Even when the Anglican Church had adopted Baroque and neo-classical styles, there still were some reference to the Gothic. For example, when Sir Christopher Wren was commissioned to rebuild many of the 88 churches burned in the Great Fire of London of 1666, he essentially built symmetrical auditory structures, but he quoted medieval churches by devising spires to signify the buildings as churchly structures. By the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the Gothick was frequently used in Anglican and Episcopal churches; however each institution had different associational values. Typically, Gothick churches were not modeled on any specific medieval church, and at times the elements were not even used as medieval builders had used them. For example

²⁵ Tractarians were not advocating for an actual separation of the church from the state. The Tractarians believed that the Anglican Church was to be supported by the state as the “official” church of the state. However, the Tractarians wanted the state to let the church handle its own affairs and that the church focus more on its spiritual position than its political.

this accounts for the common practice of the utilization of ogee arches not as arches but as a low-relief frieze entablature in this period.

In England, the Gothick was viewed primarily as ornamentation and when used on a religious structure it signified a churchly structure. This view of Gothic would change when John Mason Neale and Edward J. Boyce, entering undergraduates of Trinity College, University of Cambridge in 1836, inspired by the Tractarians questioning of church doctrine and studies of the Primitive Church believed that pre-Reformation medieval ecclesiastical architecture actually facilitated and reinforced Anglican liturgical practices. Neale and Boyce believed that through close scientific examination of ecclesiastical medieval structures' form and arrangement, Gothic could be incorporated as it was intended within Anglican structures.²⁶ They spent their first summer, between the first and second years at Cambridge, documenting churches in England. These summer studies of medieval ecclesiastical architecture became the foundations of *Ecclesiology* – the science of all things relating to the Anglican Church, especially church architecture.

During their second year, Neale and Boyce inspired others at the university to pursue similar endeavors; this led to their creating an ecclesiastical architectural society.²⁷ The *Cambridge Camden Society (CCS)* was formed on May 9, 1839; Neale was made the initial president and Benjamin Webb, another ecclesiastical architectural enthusiast,

²⁶ For a more in-depth study of the developments of the Cambridge Camden Society see: James F. White's, *The Cambridge Movement* (1962); D. Adelman's *The Contribution of the Cambridge Camden Society to the Revival of Anglican Worship, 1839 -1862* (1997); and Christopher Webster & John Elliot's *'A Church As It Should Be' The Cambridge Camden Society and Its Influence* (2000).

²⁷ Geoffrey K. Brandwood, "Fond of Church Architecture': the Establishment of the Society and a Short History of its Membership," in *'A Church As It Should Be' The Cambridge Camden Society and Its Influence*, eds. Christopher Webster & John Elliot (Stamford, England: Shaun Tyas, 2000), 47. According to Brandwood "They were then joined by others but that is just the sort of thing Romantically-inclined, antiquity-pursuing young men would do in the 1830s."

was made secretary and treasurer.²⁸ Within a few months of its formation this student organization realized that to have more clout in the University they needed a president with more authority.²⁹ So Neale, Boyce and Webb persuaded their Trinity College Tutor, the Archdeacon Thomas Thorp, to become the organization's president.

With Thorp as their president they wrote a constitution, and its first law was: "The object of the Society shall be, to promote the study of Ecclesiastical Architecture and Antiquities, and the restoration of mutilated Architectural remains."³⁰ Within the first year of its existence the Society's membership grew substantially and included students, prominent clergy and University officials.³¹ With increasing membership the Executive Committee decided to broaden the scope of the Society's objectives. The members came to certain conclusions about the current state of medieval ecclesiastical architecture and how it ultimately affected liturgical practices. The CCS saw the low church's more Protestant architectural developments – pews, large pulpits, and the construction of galleries – as evils that were originally implemented by the Anglican-Puritans and that these features needed to be corrected for the Church of England to return to its true Catholic roots.

²⁸ James F. White, *The Cambridge Movement: The Ecclesiologists and the Gothic Revival* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock Publishers, 1962), 37; Brandwood, "Fond of Church Architecture," 48 – 49; and Edward Jacob Boyce, *A Memorial of the Cambridge Camden Society Instituted May 1839 Quam Dilecta. Donec Templata Refeceris. And the Ecclesiological (late Cambridge Camden) Society May 1846 Surge Igitur et Fac, et Erit Dominus Tecum* (London: G. Palmer, 1888), 8 – 9. This is also probably the date in which the Laws of the CCS were created that no doubt led to the future "black-balling" incident and subsequently Tutor and Archdeacon Thomas Thorp's becoming the elected President.

²⁹ The Cambridge Camden Society was an all-male society. Anyone who wanted to be a member, according to the 1839 Laws, had to be affiliated with the University of Cambridge. However, over the period in which the Society was based in Cambridge, the membership was broadened to include non-members of the University.

³⁰ Cambridge Camden Society, *Laws &c. of the Cambridge Camden Society Instituted May 1839* (Cambridge, England: Metcalfe and Palmer, 1839).

³¹ *Report of the Cambridge Camden Society for MDCCCXL Together with the Address Delivered by the President on Saturday, March 28, 1840 and A List of the Members, Laws, &c.* (Cambridge: Metcalfe and Palmer, 1840), 3. Within its first year of existence the group went from eight members to 180 members.

At the time of the Second Annual Meeting of the CCS, the Committee expanded the reach of the society to promoting the building and enlargement of churches and chapels. President Thorp felt that careful examination of medieval churches was not the only role for the CCS, but also that it should partake in the restoration and “translate” ecclesiastical architecture, making old and new churches fit for proper Anglican liturgical use, as determined by them.³²

In order to share the CCS perspective on Anglican Church architecture in 1841, the Society created its own periodical. ***The Ecclesiologist*** became the organ of the CCS.³³ The original objective of this periodical was to keep those members who had moved away from Cambridge but maintained their membership informed.³⁴ The Executive Committee decided to produce a “periodical report of the CCS, primarily addressed to, and intended for the use of, the members of that body.”³⁵ The editors of the periodical reported on the proceedings of the society, but they also included instructions, reviews of publications, and “critical notices of churches recently completed, or in the process of building,” meaning they critiqued new church designs and restorations of

³² Thomas Thorp, “Address Delivered at the Second Annual Meeting of the Cambridge Camden Society, May 11, 1841,” *Report of the Cambridge Camden Society for MDCCCXLI* (Cambridge: Metcalfe and Palmer, 1841), 28.

³³ “Preface,” *Ecclesiologist* 5 (1846): v – vii; White, *Cambridge Movement*, 145 – 146. Between November 1841 and December 1844 the Cambridge Camden Society published *The Ecclesiologist* it was directly connected with the Society. In January 1845 the Cambridge Camden Society no longer held responsibility for the periodical; however the editors, who were primarily the Committee of the CCS, continued the publication but acknowledged that what had been stated in the periodical was not necessarily the opinion of the Society, hence the separation until July 1846 when it became the organ of the Ecclesiologist Late Cambridge Camden Society.

³⁴ Cambridge Camden Society, *Report of the Cambridge Camden Society for MDCCCXLII* (Cambridge: Metcalfe and Palmer, 1842), 4 – 6.

³⁵ “Address,” *Ecclesiologist* 1 no. 1 (November 1841): 1.

medieval churches.³⁶ By doing this, the editors, primarily made up of the Executive Committee members, once again broadened the scope of the Society and its objectives.³⁷

They hoped this publication would become a “convenient medium of communication between architects and ecclesiologists” either belonging to or not belonging to the CCS.³⁸ They also wanted to be a resource for “the clergy in general where they may at all times find advice in practical difficulties, co-operation in their designs, and sympathy in their labours.”³⁹ Over time the *Ecclesiologist* became the main publication through which the committee of the CCS spread its Ecclesiological ideas; in addition to its periodical the CCS published several tracts including ones for builders, sextons and on pews. Ultimately, the *Ecclesiologist* brought the CCS out of the regional confines of Cambridge and established it as the leader in the international Ecclesiological Movement.

When the CCS’s ecclesiological publications came to the United States in the mid-nineteenth century, American Episcopalians generally embraced these writings. The CCS’s publications seemed to only reinforce the American Episcopalian high church liturgical and theological ideologies that were already associated with the Gothic since the turn of the nineteenth century in the United States. However, Episcopalians recognized that there was a lack of ecclesiological knowledge when it came to the actual building and arrangement of their Gothick churches. Interest in the study of Ecclesiology became increasingly important to high church Episcopalians in the United States by the

³⁶ “Address,” *Ecclesiologist* 1 no. 1 (November 1841): 1–2.

³⁷ Boyce, *A Memorial*, 17. The articles written for *The Ecclesiologist* were largely written by a very select group, primarily the Committee of the Cambridge Camden Society, and more specifically by John Mason Neale and Benjamin Webb.

³⁸ “Address,” *Ecclesiologist* 1 no. 1 (November 1841): 2.

³⁹ “Address,” *Ecclesiologist* 1 no. 1 (November 1841): 4.

mid-nineteenth century. These high church Episcopalians did not want to evoke Gothic, they wanted to build neo-Gothic in order to facilitate their liturgical practices. Inspired by their religious brethren in England, a group of men consisting of several of the faculty and students of the General Theological Society (GTS), in 1848 formed the *New York Ecclesiological Society (NYES)* and made the English émigré architect, Frank Wills, its official architect. These men believed that America needed a leader to guide Episcopal church construction. Unlike England, the United States did not have surviving or ruins of medieval churches upon which to model new Episcopal churches, but they wanted to build them in the approved Gothic Ecclesiological style.

In the mid-nineteenth century, there were less than 1,500 Episcopal clergy in the entire United States. However, there was a demand for ecclesiological knowledge, so following the publishing tradition in England the NYES produced its own periodical, *The New York Ecclesiologist*.⁴⁰ It consisted of original articles, reprinted English Ecclesiological articles, critiques of new churches, minutes from the Society's meetings, book reviews, notices, answers to correspondences, and illustrations. The purpose of this publication was to act as a "practical valuable aid" to the clergy and laity of the Episcopal Church.⁴¹ The periodical only ran for five years, but it was influential. Overall the NYES and its periodical helped to fully solidified *Ecclesiological Gothic Revival* architecture as Episcopalian.

⁴⁰ "Address" *New York Ecclesiologist* 1 no. 1 (October 1848): 2-3. The first issue of volume one had a printing of 1,500; however this was probably the largest run of the periodical.

⁴¹ "Address" *New York Ecclesiologist* 1 no. 1 (October 1848): 3.

Description of the Project

Before addressing the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States' utilization of the Gothic, the Episcopal Church needs to be understood in terms of its interrelationship between England and the United States. Chapter One begins with the discussion of the renewed interest in Gothic that started in England in the mid-to-late eighteenth century, the period when America was still a colony of England. For the English and its Thirteen Colonies, Gothic was initially associated as being specifically an English creation, as was first emphasized in architectural pattern books. English architects like Batty Langley began to incorporate Gothic elements into new buildings and created a new Gothick aesthetic that reinforced the Englishness of this style. Shortly after the introduction of Gothick, English Antiquarians began to study medieval structures using new empirical methods. These antiquarians then shared their findings of the medieval Gothic period and its architecture through the print culture. The publications were purchased by individuals in England, the American Colonies and later the United States of America and established specific cultural associations for the Gothic.

In addition to disseminating architectural ideas, print culture played a role in spreading religious ideas. Theological ideas passed between the two nations initially through letters, then publications, and eventually, travel. The American Protestant Episcopal Church was a direct descendant of the Church of England; therefore it drew much of its structure from Anglican high and low church's theological writings and the Anglican *Book of Common Prayer*. While the Episcopal Church was theologically Anglican, the circumstances of restructuring the Anglican Church in the newly-established United States caused the Episcopalians to develop their own distinct

American high church ideology led by Bishop John Henry Hobart in the early nineteenth century. Bishop Hobart was concerned with the low church Episcopalian dominance. He largely wanted the new Episcopal Church to survive as an Anglican institution, which he linked back to the Primitive Catholic Church and Apostolic Succession. All this impacted the American Episcopalians' understanding of their liturgy and built environment prior to the English Ecclesiological movement. This movement developed nearly twenty-five years later and was influenced by the Anglican theological Oxford Movement, which partially may be linked back to the writings by Bishop Hobart.

Chapter Two focuses on the establishment and dissemination of English Ecclesiology with particular attention to the first six years of the Cambridge Camden Society. By examining its annual reports, writings, and drawings, I show the CCS's influence on defining what made a "proper" ecclesiological neo-Gothic church. This society, although based in England, had members from many nations, including the United States. To keep its members informed, the society published *The Ecclesiologist*, which featured articles on various topics of ecclesiology and also provided critiques on new churches in England, the British Colonies, and the United States. This society provided American and English Anglican clergy, laymen, and architects with architectural theories, practices, and critiques based on the notion of exact modeling of specifically identified medieval Gothic churches.

The CCS considered the reproduction of these historically and "archaeologically" accurate medieval models as the best way to serve the liturgical practices of their contemporary Anglican, and by extension, the American Protestant Episcopal Church. However by analyzing the CCS's critiques and advice on contemporary churches and

medieval restoration, the CCS essentially created a model “ideal” church that was not modeled on a specific medieval structure but an amalgamation of features from the study of a variety of medieval churches, yet this “ideal” church would still facilitate the needs of the Anglican Church. My analysis shows that ecclesiology was more than a science of all things relating to the Anglican Church, but was used by the CCS as a way to reinforce the concept that the Gothic form and details were both a symbolic system of the Anglican Church Catholic doctrine and a material reinforcement of Anglican liturgical practices.

Chapter Three explores the development of Episcopalian church architecture and the way English Ecclesiology was adapted and dispersed throughout the United States. The CCS’s writings were seen as building on an already established precedent the Episcopal Church had for Gothic architecture, but its writings and dialogue between American and English members advanced Episcopalian churches from producing the Gothick to constructing ecclesiological neo-Gothic architecture. Inspired by the CCS, a group of Episcopalian in New York created the New York Ecclesiological Society. By focusing on the New York Ecclesiological Society’s publications, and more specifically the writings and works of its official architect, Frank Wills, my examination reveals that Wills further advanced and also adapted English Ecclesiology in the United States. He adapted English Ecclesiology because he understood the needs of Americans and knew American ecclesiastical architectural building practices. His American Ecclesiology was based on having an ecclesiological neo-Gothic architecture that served the Episcopal Church. He created American Ecclesiological churches that combined various English ecclesiological-approved medieval architectural models into one structure but kept with

the form and arrangement as espoused by the CCS, therefore interweaving Episcopalian doctrine within the built environment.

In addition to Frank Wills, the discussion of the development and the dissemination of American Ecclesiology need to include Richard Upjohn for he helped advance American Ecclesiological neo-Gothic architecture as the Episcopalian form. Like Wills, Upjohn was familiar with the English ecclesiological principles. However, comparison of Frank Wills' publication, *Ancient English Ecclesiastical Architecture and Its Principles, Applied to The Wants of the Church At the Present Day* (1850), and Richard Upjohn's pattern book, *Upjohn's Rural Architecture Designs, Working Drawings and Specifications for a Wooden Church, and Other Rural Structures* (1852), along with their rural Episcopalian churches, I demonstrate how Upjohn adopted Wills' American Ecclesiological principles for his rural churches. Ultimately, Upjohn's pattern book helped to solidify Wills' American Ecclesiological neo-Gothic as the form that best symbolized and served the Episcopalian liturgy throughout the settled United States and its frontier.

Chapter Four moves the discussion from the East Coast to the American West. The preceding years of exchanges between the English and Americans regarding doctrinal ideology and Ecclesiological architecture helped the Episcopal Church establish itself in the expanding United States. I conclude my Chapter Four analysis with a case study discussion of the establishment of the Episcopal Church in Wisconsin. Missionary Bishop Jackson Kemper, a major figure in Episcopalian religious history, not only played a large role in establishing the Episcopal Church in the "West;" he also facilitated the promotion of American Ecclesiology. In this chapter I look at how the establishment of

the seminary in Nashotah, Wisconsin, the influence of the New York Ecclesiological Society and the important role of pattern books, especially Upjohn's *Upjohn's Rural Architecture*, acted together in order to lead to the building of rural neo-Gothic Episcopal churches in the Wisconsin frontier. Essentially this is a micro-study that shows the influence of Frank Wills' ecclesiological design via the New York Ecclesiologists in Wisconsin. It also shows that Upjohn's Episcopalian ecclesiastical influence in Wisconsin came after the introduction of ecclesiological neo-Gothic by the New York Ecclesiologists largely through the adaptation of his designs. Overall, this micro-study reveals how American Episcopal Ecclesiological ideas coalesced and continued to spread.

This dissertation contributes to the discussion of American Gothic Revival church architecture by integrating a transatlantic analysis of religious ideology and architecture. I reconsider the conceptualization and role Episcopalian Gothick and Gothic Revival church architecture played in nineteenth century American culture and society. This is an examination of a single denomination and the way it utilized a particular building style to define and position itself in the religious landscape. I show that the use of the neo-Gothic by the Church of England and the Episcopal Church of the United States was for more than a Romantic aesthetic. Ecclesiological Gothic was the physical materialization of the church's doctrine, and it facilitated specific Catholic liturgical practices of the Anglican Church and by extension, Episcopal Church.

My dissertation further demonstrates that the exchanges of theological and doctrinal ideas between clergy on both sides of the Atlantic along with English print culture on medieval Gothic and Gothick architecture led to the utilization and

dissemination of this architecture by the newly-established Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States, for it signified both Anglican legitimacy and Apostolic Succession. I also demonstrate that the conceptualization and dissemination of an Episcopal neo-Gothic architecture grew out of ecclesiological architectural ideas transferred to the United States from England by the CCS, but they were adopted and adapted by architects like Frank Wills and Richard Upjohn, thus creating a distinct American Ecclesiological form that fully embodied its distinct American Episcopalian doctrine. This powerful linkage affirms the interrelationship of intellectual, ritualistic and cultural roles in the development of America.

Chapter 2

The Establishment of the Episcopal Church & Ecclesiastical Gothic in America

Introduction

While scholarship has often marginalized the significance of American Gothick ecclesiastical architecture, this chapter will specifically focus on the renewed interest in the Gothic in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, particularly in relationship to the establishment of the American Protestant Episcopal Church. I show how Americans sought to create and to build their own Gothick structures through the use of English Pattern and Antiquarian books. The story of Gothic Revival architecture begins in England when Gothick became fashionable in the late eighteenth century because of the Rococo. Largely through its dissemination in print culture, it arrived in the American colonies. Around the same time that the Gothick appeared upon the physical and intellectual landscapes in England and the American Colonies, the Thirteen Colonies were moving toward their independence. The American Revolution complicated the use of Gothick in the American-built environment. In this changing atmosphere, the Anglican Church needed to change in order to secure its position in the new nation. Therefore, in addition to a new name, the Protestant Episcopal Church, the church also formulated new practices and intentionally appropriated the Gothick style for its houses of worship.

The process of establishing the former Church of England as the American Protestant Episcopal Church forced this institution to administratively restructure for its survival. The Revolution necessitated the inevitable severing of the Anglican Church in America from its mother Church in England.⁴² American Episcopal clergymen were not going to swear allegiance to the Monarch of England. This act of non-allegiance was the

⁴² For the purpose of this Chapter “America” or “American” will be used to identify the British Thirteen Colonies as used interchangeably with the United States of America, not including Canada.

first act of separation of the Episcopal Church from the Anglican Church. While most Episcopalians agreed that there needed to be a separation of church and state, the American clergy did not agree entirely on the way the Protestant Episcopal Church was to operate. Prior to the Revolutionary War, the Anglican Church in America was a low church institution. During the period of restructuring, a distinct American high church ideology formed. Unlike its low church counterpart, the American high church believed in the necessity of the episcopacy, and it made efforts to get several American clergymen consecrated as bishops by the Church of England, thereby insuring the legitimacy of the Episcopal Church.⁴³

These two parties within the American Protestant Episcopal Church differed primarily on the emphasis of doctrine and liturgical practices.⁴⁴ The two movements did not work in isolation from one other, and in some ways they fostered each other's development. However, the high church soon became the dominant voice of this institution, and it is this liturgical foundation that is critical to the understanding of the reasoning behind the Episcopal Church's adoption of the Gothick. Influenced by British publications and struggling with its identity, the Gothick became more than an aesthetic for the Episcopal Church. This style of architecture became a physical manifestation of its theology, liturgy and was a signifier of their legitimacy.

⁴³ All clergy of the Church of England are required to swear an oath of allegiance to the British Monarch since the Monarch is the "Defender of the Faith and Supreme Governor of the Church of England." However, this oath of allegiance was also seen as an oath of alliance and a possible political threat to the new republic.

⁴⁴ Throughout the history of the Anglican Church, at least since the seventeenth century, there have been two dominant perspectives that shaped this institution. In England, the High Church was closely associated with Parliament, while the Low Church actually consisted of several movements and was largely associated with the laity or parish priest.

Contextualizing the Gothick in England

The renewed interest in Gothic largely occurred in England due to a relatively open press that dispersed intellectual and aesthetic developments relating to the Rococo and the creation of the Gothick, which then circulated to America because of the transatlantic colonial exchange.⁴⁵ Several leading scholars have stated that Gothic Revival architecture did not begin as an architectural movement but as an intellectual and literary phenomenon – popularized by the Gothic Novel – which eventually impacted the built environment.⁴⁶ While I agree that the arrival of the Gothic Novel greatly helped to raise people’s interest in British Gothic ruins and structures within Britain and the United States, this influence is only part of the story of the birth of Gothick. In order to speak of the dissemination of Gothick architecture and its purpose, this discussion investigates events before the introduction of the Gothic Novel and returns to the fields of art and architecture through a discussion of stylistic developments within Europe generally and England specifically.

Although aware of Continental aesthetics and architecture, England also had its own aesthetic and concept of architectural development. Throughout the seventeenth

⁴⁵ Morrison H. Heckscher and Leslie Greene Bowman, *American Rococo, 1750 -1775: Elegance in Ornament* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1992), 5. England’s mercantile regulations essentially prohibited the American colonies from trading with any other nation.

⁴⁶ There is abundant scholarship on the relationship between Gothic Revival and literature, especially relating to the Gothic Novel and its role in helping to renew the interest in Gothic architecture. For more in-depth readings see: William H. Pierson Jr., *American Buildings and Their Architects: Technology and the Picturesque The Corporate and the Early Gothic Styles*, (1978); Michael J. Lewis, *The Gothic Revival*, (2002); Robin Fleming, “Picturesque History & Medieval in Nineteenth Century America” *The American Historical Review* 100 (1995): 1061-1094, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2168201>; Michael McCarthy, *The Origins of the Gothic Revival*, (1987); David Punter and Glennis Byron, *The Gothic*, (2004); Alice P. Kenny & Leslie J. Workman. “Ruins, Romance, and Reality: Medievalism in Anglo-American Imagination and Taste, 1750 – 1840,” *Winterthur Portfolio* 10 (1975): 131-163; and Kerry Dean Carso, "Reading the Gothic: American Art and Architecture in the Age of Romantic Literature, 1800 – 1850" (Ph.D. diss., Boston University, 2001).

century, English architecture was dominated by Baroque classical inspired designs by Sir Christopher Wren. By the eighteenth century, England's high architecture was dominated by Palladian designs, like those by James Gibbs, that were rather mathematically controlled and minimalist in ornamentation.⁴⁷ These neo-Classical structures were quite didactic, and their builders were often more concerned with cost-cutting in order to assure a profit or with accommodating the patron more than with overall aesthetics, thus often the result was the creation of rather austere forms (fig. 1.1).

These austere, orderly neo-Classical structures reinforced and expressed the perceived social and political situation in England. During the eighteenth century England came upon its "Augustan Age:" the landed elite or aristocrats drew parallels between their age and that of the period when Caesar Augustus ruled Ancient Rome. The political situation in England stabilized with the introduction of the Hanoverian line and Whig dominance, thus leading to economic prosperity and the era of Enlightenment.⁴⁸ The Enlightenment in England partly grew out of exposure to Continental intellectual thought. Although highly Francophobic, the English were also consumed by the latest modes of French culture. The idea of exchanging and acquiring knowledge in a salon with a heterogeneous group of people was emulated in London, in particular, among a new growing group in the eighteenth century hierarchy, the "middle sort" or "middling sort."

⁴⁷ Timothy Mowl and Brian Earnshaw, *An Insular Rococo: Architecture, Politics and Society in Ireland and England, 1710 – 1790* (London: Reaktion Book Ltd., 1999), 3; David Watkin, *English Architecture: A Concise History* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2001), Chapter 5. Especially in America both Wren's and Gibbs' pattern books were purchased, and the designs were executed throughout the American Colonies and later in the United States.

⁴⁸ Heyck, *Peoples of the British Isles*, 47. The "Augustan Age" refers to essentially the landed elite who held domination over the Empire, similar to how the landed elite in Augustan Rome held power.

The “middling sort” was made up of hundreds of trade groups, new professionals such as bankers, notaries, and manufacturers along with booksellers, actors, writers, and portrait painters who flourished in London.⁴⁹ Neither aristocracy nor working poor, this group labored and prospered. Their general ambition was to purchase property in order to have political clout; however, they also utilized the consumption of goods as a way to express their wealth and prove their position by the consumption of the latest fashions.⁵⁰ England’s consumption of French Rococo designs, often identified with the “S-curve,” was primarily done through the purchasing of French decorative arts.

However, for the English and later their American brethren, the Rococo was actually a more than about purchasing goods, it was a mode of thought or concept of ideas which was explored through artistic forms such as the novel, fine arts, garden follies, and interior design.⁵¹ At the heart of the Rococo were the prevailing notions of wit, intrigue and interplay between the art and the viewer. There was also a psychological component to this aesthetic in which the participant expected to have some form of reaction. It was out of this French mode of thought that national or regional variations of a Rococo aesthetic were derived. Although the English purchased French Rococo objects, the English also interpreted the Rococo largely based on their own sensibilities, tastes, and history, especially when it came to creating interior spaces and

⁴⁹ Patricia Crown, “British Rococo as Social and Political Style,” *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 23 no. 3 (Spring 1990): 271, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2738796>.

⁵⁰ Crown, “British Rococo,” 271.

⁵¹ William Park, *The Idea of Rococo* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1992), 13. A “Garden Folly” is a costly and often useless structure built in a landscape to enhance the view, create intrigue, or create an effect.

garden follies. The English Rococo therefore drew upon English medieval ornamentation instead of the French “S-curve,” thus giving rise to the Gothick.⁵²

England’s Print Culture and America’s Foundations of Gothic Revival

Pattern Books & Critical Literature

In America during the eighteenth century, the artistic developments that occurred were largely dictated by the fashions of England because mercantile regulations prohibited the American colonies from trading independently with other nations, making artistic dependence inevitable. Similarly to their English counterparts, the American colonist’s consumption of the Rococo was largely confined to decorative arts. Just as the English purchased modern French designs to show they were fashionable, Americans bought modern English Rococo designs. The purchasing of English Rococo pattern books, such as Chippendale’s *Gentleman and Cabinet-Maker’s Director* (1754; 1755; 1756) and Batty Langley’s *Gothic Architecture, Improved by the Rules and Proportions* (1747), provided the first real exposure to Gothick ornamentation as a Rococo mode and established the foundations for the future Gothic Revival.⁵³

Rococo pattern books on furniture ornamentation like Chippendale’s *Director* were not the only pattern books coming from England. However, Chippendale’s *Director* was significant because it codified English Rococo taste, at least in the context

⁵² The discussion of the Gothick as an English Rococo aesthetic has been addressed in art historical writing; see: Michael McCarthy, *The Origins of the Gothic Revival* (1987); Michael J. Lewis, *Gothic Revival* (2002); William Park, *The Idea of the Rococo* (1992); and David Punter and Glennis Byron, *The Gothic*, (2004).

⁵³ Heckscher & Bowman, *American Rococo*, 3-4. Chippendale’s *The Gentleman and Cabinet Maker’s Director* was probably one of the most disseminated book for the codification of English Gothic, and it was widely available in America.

of furniture, into three modes: “Gothic, Chinese, and Modern,” and it illustrated how American cabinetmakers could reproduce it.⁵⁴ While Chippendale’s “Modern” or French Rococo-inspired style was most often replicated in the United States (fig.1.2), his Gothic designs were also reproduced, though not as frequently (fig. 1.3). His Gothic designs differed little from his other modes. The only variation largely came in the carving. Architectural feature such as pointed arches, pinnacles, or tracery inspired Chippendale’s carving details (figs. 1.4, 1.5).⁵⁵ While American cabinet-makers replicated the patterns in Chippendale’s *Director*, they also interpreted or combined the patterns, as was the case with a tea table made in New York (fig. 1.6). The New York cabinet-makers used Chippendale’s *Director* to create highly fashionable tables. Therefore this tea table is evidence of Colonial America’s knowledge of the latest English fashions and reflects the interest in the Gothic mode.

In addition to furniture pattern-books, there were other professional pattern-books that attempted to provide knowledge of architectural mechanics in relation to Gothic. Batty Langley was a trained gardener and writer on landscape design, and in the 1730s he decided to address architecture. Although he had no practical experience in this area, he saw a demand for architectural “training” and formed an academy where he taught drawing, geometry, mechanics and architecture.⁵⁶ In addition to this academy, Langley also produced architectural books that ranged from long works such as *Ancient Masonry* (1733 – 1736) to condensed works such as *The Workman’s Golden Rule* (1750).

⁵⁴ Heckscher & Bowman, *American Rococo*, 5.

⁵⁵ Kenny & Workman, “Ruins, Romance, and Reality,” 137.

⁵⁶ Eileen Harris, “Batty Langley (bap. 1696 – 1751) Writer on Architecture,” In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 – 12, Accessed March 14, 2012, <http://www.oxforddnb.com.proxy.mul.missouri.edu/view/printable/16022>.

Although often hurriedly put together, his works were influential.⁵⁷ Especially significant was his *Ancient Architecture Restored and Improved by a Great Variety of Grand and Useful Design, entirely New in the Gothick Mode of Ornamenting Buildings and Gardens* (1742). This book was reprinted and given a new title *Gothic Architecture, Improved by the Rules and Proportions* (1747), and it brought a resurgence in the use of the Gothick, albeit as another fashionable mode primarily for garden follies.

In some ways, this book can be seen as part of Langley's xenophobic views to counter the use of foreign Palladian classical modes that dominated eighteenth century English architecture, and it is his attempt to promote Gothic as purely English; hence he referred to the Gothick as "Saxon." By placing the Gothick in a Canon of Orders similar to the Classical Canon of Orders and Proportions (Doric, Ionic, or Corinthian), Langley manipulated medieval architecture into an existing Classical framework, therefore making Gothick intrinsic to English architectural practices of this period (fig. 1.7). It was based on highly mathematical, geometric rules and theory of design. By extending the Classical rules of Proportion to the Gothick, Langley legitimized the Gothick style and ensured its further dissemination in both England and the United States.⁵⁸ By classicizing the style, he created a formulaic Gothick that had little relation to original medieval architecture (fig. 1.8) besides its ornamental resemblance. "Langley's Gothick" can be seen as another variation in Gothic survival but also as a groundbreaking book for the future Gothic Revival both in England and America.

⁵⁷ Michael McCarthy, *The Origins of the Gothic Revival* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987), 5.

⁵⁸ Harris, "Batty Langley."

Langley was not alone in his promulgation of Gothick. John Gwynn also advocated for the use of Gothick and in particular for church architecture. In 1758, Gwynn, an influential English architect and purported author of *English Architecture: Or Public Buildings of London and Westminster* was concerned with the almost universal use of Palladian and saw it as a detriment to the development of English architecture.⁵⁹ The author further argued that the Palladian style was not appropriate for all structures: “Let him not introduce into his Gothick structure ornaments purely Roman, nor into the temple of the true God symbols of heathen sacrifices.”⁶⁰ For religious buildings the author believed the Classical style was not to supersede the Gothick. While he argued this, he also positioned himself against critical scrutiny as he ended the opening passage with: “Let not the reader suppose we are on this occasion setting the Gothick upon a level with the Grecian architecture: we only say that each kind has its place.”⁶¹ Thus as early as the 1750s, there is a published argument for the appreciation of the Gothick and an emphasis on its continuation as an ecclesiastical form.

Similarly to Batty Langley’s *Gothic Architecture, Improved by the Rules and Proportions*, Gwynn’s appreciation for Gothick dealt more with its effects as ornamentation, its Englishness, and its appropriateness than its structural merits. Nevertheless, for the amateurs, architects, builders, and antiquarians these publications presented a renewed interest in the Gothic and began to assign it to a specific genre of

⁵⁹ McCarthy, *Origins of the Gothic Revival*, 12. McCarthy has attributed this book to Gwynn because it is similar to slightly later work by him.

⁶⁰ J. Gwynn [attributed] [*sic*] *English Architecture, or Publick Buildings of London and Westminster* (1758), 1-2 quoted in Michael McCarthy, *The Origins of the Gothic Revival* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987), 13.

⁶¹ J. Gwynn [attributed] [*sic*] *English Architecture, or Publick Buildings of London and Westminster*, (1758), 1-2 quoted in McCarthy, *Origins of the Gothic Revival*, 14.

architecture. By the 1760s, the Gothick resurgence in pattern books ended, even though practicing architects, builders, and critics may have been diverted from this mode. The Antiquarians, who had gained in numbers and utilized empiricism to learn from the past, became essentially the aficionados of all things antique. They began concerning themselves with Gothic history, thus they revealed new understandings and associations for surviving Gothic architecture.

Antiquarian Books

While mid-eighteenth century British and Americans discussed and understood the Gothick as a Rococo aesthetic, by the late eighteenth century, the Romantic Movement furthered developed the aesthetic and influenced individuals' curiosity for knowledge of the historical Gothic period. The stability of "Augustan" England provided the background for intellectual development. As art historian Kenneth Clark stated, "as society [became] tranquil, the imagination [was] starved of action, and the immensely secure society of the eighteenth century indulged in daydreams of incredible violence."⁶² In 1757, Edmund's Burke's essay "The Sublime and the Beautiful" manifested ideas that emerged earlier in the English Rococo. In this essay he emphasized the beauty in irregularity and disregarded beauty based on mathematical proportions. This sense of irregularity and beauty in the "wildness of nature" was then furthered by the full conceptualization of the Picturesque. Immediately the Picturesque became the aesthetic

⁶² Kenneth Clark, *The Gothic Revival: An Essay in the History of Taste*, 2nd edition (New York: Humanities Press Inc., 1970), 48.

interpretation of Romanticism and ultimately affected the way people interpreted the world around them.⁶³

In the mid-eighteenth century there was a fascination with the “idea” of the Middle Ages stemming from the introduction of the Gothic Novel and Gothick aesthetic. These two artistic developments evoked the sense of the Middle Ages, but they were not historically accurate. There was a passion for knowledge in the late eighteenth century about the past. Literary scholarship started to investigate surviving medieval poetry in order to learn more about the historical period.⁶⁴ In addition to literary scholarship, archaeology was developing, and its methodology was being applied to surviving medieval ruins. It is this craving for knowledge, along with the development of archaeology in combination with the existing Antiquarian’s interest that yielded some understanding about Gothic architecture beyond the system of Classical Orders and Romanticism.

The entrepreneurship of John Britton and the advancements in publication methods largely led to greater interest in medieval Gothic. Starting around the 1790s, advances in reproduction methods made it possible to produce a large quantity of well-illustrated engraved publications at a lower cost. These improvements led to a rise of not only English popular magazines like *The Gentleman’s Magazine* (1731 – 1907), but also a new generation of Antiquarian Specimens books with highly-detailed illustrations.⁶⁵ In addition to illustrations, both popular magazines and Antiquarian books shifted their

⁶³ Rosemary Hill, *God’s Architect: Pugin and the Building of Romantic Britain* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009©2007), 16.

⁶⁴ Kenney & Workman, “Ruins, Romance and Reality,” 140. The general public was enamored with the pseudo-Medieval and enjoyed ballads and romance.

⁶⁵ Clark, *Gothic Revival*, 79.

content from purely antiquarian subjects to more archaeologically-based discussions of regional histories.⁶⁶ Between the lower costs and the interest in regional archaeology, publications had a far greater circulation than they did a generation earlier.

John Britton was not an archaeologist or an architect but a man with interest in antiquities and in turning a profit. Over the course of his life he published over 100 volumes, but had little economic success. Nevertheless, he produced several pivotal publications including, *The Beauties of Wiltshire* (1801) and *Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain* (1805-1814) that helped lead the shift from Gothick to Gothic Revival.⁶⁷ According to Kenneth Clark, Britton “killed Ruins and Rococo” Gothick, and he did this by providing an ichnography or ground plans of medieval buildings.⁶⁸ His illustrations of Gothic antiquities provided a gateway to understanding medieval structural form.

Aware of a market filled with the ever-growing fascination with archaeology and the need for details, Britton began a series, *Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain*, produced in forty quarterly parts; it was republished later in a four-volume book.⁶⁹ Unlike his earlier publication, *The Beauties of Wiltshire* (a significant work in its own right since it was probably one of the first studies of English and Welsh antiquities from a topographical perspective rather than literary one) *Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain* was not formulated based on principles of the Picturesque. Instead this work did

⁶⁶ Kenney & Workman, “Ruins, Romance and Reality,” 139-140.

⁶⁷ J. Mordaunt Crook, “John Britton and The Genesis of the Gothic Revival.” In *Concerning Architecture: Essays on Architectural Writers and Writing presented to Nikolaus Pevsner*, ed. John Summerson (Great Britain: Allen Lane the Penguin Press, 1968), 98.

⁶⁸ Clark, *Gothic Revival*, 80; Crook, “John Britton,” 98.

⁶⁹ Clark, *Gothic Revival*, 79; Crook, “John Britton,” 111. Britton’s Volume One (1807), Volume Two (1809), Volume Three (1812), Volume Four (1814) and the fifth volume was begun in 1818 but not published until 1827. Volume five was a supplementary volume and does not run along the same lines as the four other volumes because he was trying to provide a chronology for the other volumes.

something that had not been done before. Britton hired illustrators and architects to produce in exact correct details engravings based on a variety of medieval architectural specimens (fig. 1.9).⁷⁰

Britton broke new ground in the study of medieval architecture by documenting, dating and illustrating the visual evidence. However, his interpretation of the Gothic was similar to previous generation, like John Stow's. He did not advance the nomenclature or historical understanding but instead kept with the terms such as "Saxon," "Norman" and "Pointed."⁷¹ Still, this series was extremely important, for although he produced this work as a commercial venture, Britton also provided for the average cultivated person a better understanding of the Gothic form. This work, therefore, was important to the amateur not only in England but also in the United States. For example, Vermont Bishop John Henry Hopkins drew heavily on Britton's work and even reproduced some of Britton's engravings in his *Essay on Gothic Architecture with Various Plans and Drawings for Churches, Designed Chiefly for the use of the Clergy* (1836), the first American book on Gothic architecture in the United States.

Another publication significant to British and Americans was *Specimens of Gothic Architecture* (1821) illustrated by Augustus Charles Pugin and authored by E. J. Willson. This book can be seen as an extension of Britton's publications. A. C. Pugin worked for Britton as an engraver for several of his publications. Britton recognized A. C. Pugin's eye for architectural details, and Britton was aware of the tastes of his consumers and their new sensibility of wanting more details in order to execute the

⁷⁰ Crook, "John Britton," 110; Clark, *Gothic Revival*, 80.

⁷¹ Crook, "John Britton," 111.

Gothick correctly. He suggested to A. C. Pugin that he produce his own book illustrating architectural ‘specimens’ of medieval buildings.⁷² A. C. Pugin’s book departed from Britton’s works by providing detailed engravings as well as measurements to serve the building needs of architects.

By the 1820s, more and more architects and patrons were commissioning houses in Gothick, but most of the architects had no formal training or understanding of this style. While Britton’s *Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain* provided a more tangible understanding of the Gothic, it still was a work that appealed to those with the Picturesque sensibilities, whereas A. C. Pugin’s *Specimens* did more. According to the first edition Preface by John Britton of A. C. Pugin’s *Specimens of Gothic Architecture*:

The drawings for all Plates in the ensuing series have been made with care, and with attention to *practical execution* [*sic*]. It is hoped and believed that every form and member here represented can easily be executed, either on a scale equal to the original, and for similar purposes, or reduced to any other scale.⁷³

Most architects and builders knew what Gothic details looked like, yet they did not know how to incorporate them into their Gothick structures. A. C. Pugin’s book provided the technical information, and with great success, it went into several editions. Ultimately A. C. Pugin’s *Specimens* became such an influential source that his drawings were replicated widely in the built environment around England and even the United States.

These books on the Gothick by authors like Britton and A. C. Pugin, among others, reinforced the connection with England as part of an American lineage. Unlike

⁷² Crook, “John Britton,” 117; Hill, *God’s Architect*, 51.

⁷³ Augustus Charles Pugin & Edward James Willson, *Specimens of Gothic Architecture: selected from Various Ancient Edifices in England: consisting of Plans, Elevations, Sections, and Parts at Large: Calculated to Exemplify the Various Styles, and the Practical Construction of this Admired Class of Architecture, accompanied by Historical and Descriptive Accounts*, vol. 1 (Edinburgh: John Grant, 1895), Preface; Crook, “John Britton,” 117.

the British, Americans did not have medieval ruins to gaze upon or any Gothic Survival to draw upon.⁷⁴ Again, because of the intellectual relationship and shared culture with England, Americans followed suit in purchasing English books, magazines, and periodicals that addressed the latest archaeological developments and the careful analysis of the Middle Ages. These books and periodicals were then used and interpreted by different entities within American culture, in particular by the Protestant Episcopal Church.

The Establishment of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States

According to the cultural historian T. J. Jackson Lears, American Anglo-Catholicism or American high church ideology originated “well before the English High Church ideology surfaced at Oxford and Cambridge in the 1830s.”⁷⁵ This is an accurate observation, and the parallels between the earlier American and later English high church ideologies are striking. During the American Revolution a distinct American high church ideology began to develop when the Anglican Church, then in a newly independent United States, was forced to restructure for its survival. This process led specific ideological systems, namely American low and high church orthodoxy, to become dominant, and these competing ideologies affected the built environment. By understanding the canonical, doctrinal, and liturgical developments of this religious institution, known as the American Protestant Episcopal Church, it is possible to

⁷⁴ There is, St. Luke’s in Virginia, but this is more of an exception than a commonality.

⁷⁵ T. J. Jackson Lears, *No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture 1880 – 1920* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1981), 198.

understand how the Episcopal Church decided to adopt Gothick architecture and how it continued to develop this aesthetic as its doctrine evolved and solidified.

Even though the Church of England had a presence in the Thirteen Colonies, it did not firmly establish itself until the mid-eighteenth century.⁷⁶ In brief, the tolerance and actual presence of the Church of England can be described as sporadic and regional.⁷⁷ For example, the Anglican Church thrived around the Chesapeake Bay area and in South Carolina but was nearly non-existent in other Southern Colonies such as North Carolina or Georgia. In New England, the first Anglican churches were not built until 1689, nearly seventy years after the establishment of the Plymouth Colony; for the Middle Colonies, New York was where the Anglican Church had its most success.

At this point the Anglican Church began to appeal more to American Colonial sensibilities, for its theological tradition became increasingly moralistic and rationalistic.⁷⁸ This type of liberal theological understanding was similar to other dominant American Protestant traditions such as Congregationalism and Presbyterianism; however, after the Revolutionary War this liberal theology within the Episcopal Church began to give way to evangelicalism and high churchmanship.

⁷⁶ Holmes, *A Brief History of the Episcopal Church*, 37. This was the same time in which the first pattern books with Rococo Gothick appeared along with the critical literature on Gothick and Gothic Novels.

⁷⁷ For Episcopal History see: James Thayer Addison, *The Episcopal Church in the United States 1789 – 1931* (1969); Raymond. W. Albright, *A History of the Protestant Episcopal Church* (1964); E. Clowes Chorley, *Men and Movements in the American Episcopal Church* (1946); David L. Holmes, *A Brief History of the Episcopal Church* (1993); and David Hein & Gardiner H. Shattuck, Jr. *The Episcopalians* (2004).

⁷⁸ Diana Hochstedt Butler. *Standing Against the Whirlwind: Evangelical Episcopalians in Nineteenth-Century America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 10-11.

Low Church Episcopalians

During the years of restructuring the Protestant Episcopal Church, many members questioned the hierarchical administrative system of the episcopacy because it seemed undemocratic. This thinking came directly out of Anglo-Puritanism, which was a dominant voice within the Anglican Church for nearly a century in England, and these Anglo-Puritans also influenced the American Anglican Church into the early-Federal period.

Puritanism can be seen as the “second phase” of the English Reformation begun under Henry VIII. The “Puritan Century” occurred between the reign of Elizabeth I, circa 1560 and the Glorious Revolution in 1689. It was during this period in which Puritans institutionalized many Continental Reformed traditions into the Anglican Church.⁷⁹ While Puritanism did not permanently reform the Church, it influenced the liturgical practices of this institution. By the end of the seventeenth century many of the Puritans left the Anglican Church and established the Congregationalist Church. Those who stayed within the Church of England and came to the American Colonies helped shape the Anglican Church there.

The Anglican-Puritans were willing to be under the crown’s governance and to be a part of an episcopacy church, but they also wanted to initiate reforms. These reforms consisted of purging the Church of its popish remnants by removing the establishment of “Apostolic” principles of worship and church order and through teaching reformed doctrine such as Calvin’s writings that advocated for discipline and evangelical or

⁷⁹ Ahlstrom, *A Religious History*, 125.

scriptural piety of clergy and laity.⁸⁰ The Scriptures were their directives, and the core of their theology was the idea of covenant.⁸¹ Covenant theology provided Anglican-Puritans with a personal encounter with God's promises, thus it established an individual relationship or covenant with God and with others who shared in a similar conversion. This theological understanding in combination with liturgical practices that emphasized scripture and dedication to the "word" spiritually empowered the individual and contributed to Anglican low church ideology.

In addition to the Anglican-Puritanism, starting around the beginning of the nineteenth century the Second Great Awakening occurred, and it would influence the Episcopal low church evangelical ideology. While Anglican-Puritanism manifested a new concept of evangelical inwardness and sense of individual spirituality, it also minimized the church institution.⁸² By the 1800s Anglican-Puritanism morphed into Evangelical Episcopalians. While committed to revivalist religion, the Evangelical Episcopalians recognized the relative importance of the episcopacy.⁸³ They believed that the Episcopal rubrics and canons were only good if they promoted the spirit of true Christianity, that of enlivened inward and spiritual experience that occurred through spiritual conversion.⁸⁴ Although focused on keeping the Protestant Episcopal Church unified, low churchmen

⁸⁰ Ahlstrom, *A Religious History*, 125.

⁸¹ Ahlstrom, *A Religious History*, 131. "The heart of covenant theology was the insistence that God's predestinating decrees were not part of a vast impersonal and mechanical scheme, but that, under the Gospel dispensation, God had established a covenant of grace with the seed of Abraham. This was to be appropriated in faith, and hence was irreducibly personal."

⁸² Ahlstrom, *A Religious History*, 128. This concept about piety and gracefulness of the soul was seen as being "the cardinal fact of Christian existence."

⁸³ Butler, *Standing Against the Whirlwind*, 11. The schism of the Methodists in 1784 made Episcopal-Evangelicals cautious about following that form of liturgy and they redefined themselves. (For more about the complexities read Butler's Chapter One.)

⁸⁴ Butler, *Standing Against the Whirlwind*, 13.

continued to emphasize liturgical practices that focused on scripture and preaching. Therefore the low church structures were designed to support these Protestant principles and often appeared more like Congregationalist meetinghouses.

Christ's Church, Duanesburg, New York

Christ's Church, Duanesburg, New York was erected in 1792 on eighty-acres of donated land given by the first mayor of New York City, James Duane, who was also a vestryman of Trinity Church in New York City. As such he desired to establish the Episcopal Church throughout New York State.⁸⁵ The church was erected within the Low Church Reformed tradition being of a simple and plain structure.⁸⁶ Believing in the centrality of the Holy Scripture as did the Congregationalists and other dissenting Protestants, the Episcopalian church at Duanesburg, New York was not an extravagant structure but a humble space, a meetinghouse, essentially a place where all could come together to hear scripture.⁸⁷

The low church Episcopal physical arrangement at Christ's Church reinforces its theological and doctrinal beliefs. For example (fig. 1.10), the original entrance was located on the long side in the center of the structure demarcated by the federal neo-

⁸⁵ Robert Bruce Mullin, *Episcopal Vision/American Reality: High Church Theology in Evangelical America* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1986), 8; New York State Education Department, "Christ Episcopal Church," (Schenectady County, New York: Historic Marker 1932), accessed December 20, 2011. Duane owned 50,000 acres in Schenectady County, a region near Albany, New York.

⁸⁶ Although there have been some minor alterations, with the exclusion of the tower, this church has not been modified since 1793.

⁸⁷ E. Clowes Chorley, *Men and Movements in the American Episcopal Church* (New York: Scribner's Sons, 1946), 60.

classical porch.⁸⁸ The sash windows are simply framed without any embellishment besides plain window trim. The interior also keeps in the tradition of reformed architecture in that it is an “auditory church;” therefore the interior is one single rectangular space. Instead of an altar, the pulpit dominates the space and reinforces the centrality of scripture. The fact that the pulpit (fig. 1.11) has been raised above the box pews, and a sounding board is suspended over the minister’s head emphasizes the importance of preaching and hearing the Scripture. In front of the pulpit is a reading desk built into the paneling where the clerk read the liturgical responses.

The arrangement of the box pews is significant, for this is not a church designed for procession (hence no center aisle), but a church for hearing the Scripture. All the box pews face the pulpit or north wall, and to the left of the pulpit is a set of pews that also face the pulpit placed at a right angle. This set of box pews was specifically for the Duane family, the patrons of the church who were also the most prominent. In addition to the box pews on the main level, a narrow set of stairs lead up to a gallery (fig. 1.12) that wrapped along the perimeter of the structure except for the north or pulpit wall. This seating consists of tiered benches for servants or people who were too poor to pay pew rentals. Again the seating is arranged to “hear the word of God.”

Even though the focus of low church Episcopalians was prominently on hearing scripture for their Salvation, they also valued the sacraments of Baptism and Communion as other means of receiving “Grace.”⁸⁹ The pulpit area was also demarcated by a low

⁸⁸ Christ’s Church, *Summary of History of Christ Church* (Duanesburg, NY: Christ Church). The tower was a later addition done in 1812 and it was again modified in 1877 after a lightning strike and remodeled in 1893 with the addition of the spire and bell.

⁸⁹ Howard Harper, *The Episcopal Dictionary: Church Beliefs, Terms, Customs, and Traditions in Layman’s Language* (New York: Seabury Press, 1974), 82-83. The term “Grace” in the Episcopal tradition

altar rail on which parishioners knelt and received Holy Communion about two times a year in this period. The Lord's Supper or Holy Communion was celebrated on a simple wooden table that could be moved in and out of the railed space.⁹⁰ Baptism was also valued, but only as an outward and visible sign of inward and spiritual grace.⁹¹

Evangelical Episcopalians did not agree with the concept of baptismal regeneration; therefore the baptismal font was often a minor furnishing usually made of wood given no permanent place of prominence.⁹²

It should be reiterated that in the United States at this time there were no set rules of arrangement for Episcopal churches. Even though the Episcopal low church had much more in common with its Protestant brethren, church interiors varied. While Christ's Church was oriented on the long wall with no center aisle, other Episcopal churches were

is a vague theological term that in the nineteenth century was understood as a concept that essentially refers to "God's love for sinful man." According to this tradition, humanity can not earn God's love or "Grace," but it is God's love that allows humanity to better itself. "Grace comes to us through prayer, through reading the Scripture, and especially through receiving the Holy Communion... Grace is the undeserved help we get from God, free to anyone who seriously tries for it." Also see: "Baptism" in William Stunton, *A Dictionary of The Church, Contains an Exposition of Terms, Phrases, and Subjects, Connected with the External Order, Sacraments, Worship, and Usages of the Protestant Episcopal Church With an Especial Reference to the Church in the United States* (New York: Louis Sherman, 1839), 61 – 63.

⁹⁰ William Stunton, *A Dictionary of The Church, Contains an Exposition of Terms, Phrases, and Subjects, Connected with the External Order, Sacraments, Worship, and Usages of the Protestant Episcopal Church With an Especial Reference to the Church in the United States* (New York: Louis Sherman, 1839), 143-147 quoting Jewell's *Apology*, 52, according to the Episcopalian tradition, "Holy Communion" is a sacrament that is "an evident representation – of the body and blood of CHRIST [*sic*]," and it reminds members of Christ's death and resurrection; for which members are to give thanks for deliverance for everlasting life. Staunton further stated "The names designating this sacrament are, the Eucharist, or thanksgiving; the Lord's Supper, in reference to the circumstances of its institution; the Communion, because in this, the members of Christ maintain communion with their Head, and with one another. It is also denominated a 'feast,' a 'sacrifice of thanksgiving,' &c., &c. [*sic*]."

⁹¹ Stunton, *A Dictionary of The Church*, 61-65, 398. According to the Episcopalian tradition, "Baptism" is a sacrament that was instituted by the Lord "as the ordinance by which persons might be admitted to membership in his Church." Upon receiving the sacrament of Baptism there are four benefits or results from this act. A person (1.) receives membership into the visible Church of Christ or member of the Church Militant. (2.) is a recipient into a covenant with God. (3.) receives forgiveness, for original sin. (4.) is "a *mean and pledge of grace* [*sic*]." "Baptismal Regeneration" is the change in ones spiritual state that occurs through the sacrament of Baptism.

⁹² Albright, *A History of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, 171. Often if there was a baptism, the font if made of wood in many American Episcopal Churches would be placed in front of the pulpit for the sacramental distribution.

oriented with the pulpit along the short wall, with a center aisle.⁹³ Nevertheless, nearly all Episcopal low church designs were arranged to focus on the pulpit. The emphasis and enthusiasm for Scripture was reinforced through the built church environment and is significant to the development of this religious institution. As time passed the concept of using church arrangement and design to reinforce doctrine and liturgical practices went in another direction with American Episcopal high churchmanship.

American High Church Episcopalian

Similar to the low church, the high church tradition was transplanted with the founding of the Church of England in the Colonies. After the Glorious Revolution of 1689 a “new” Anglicanism formed in reaction to the nonconformity of Puritanism within the Anglican Church. This “new” Anglicanism can be seen as the beginning of the High Church Movement. In its administration, this group drew on the concept of England’s Catholic past by emphasizing the importance of the episcopacy system. It emphasized the liturgical reforms and importance of the *Book of Common Prayer* as a centrality of their faith. It also retained the “Thirty-nine Articles” as the doctrine that acknowledged its Reformation heritage that drew heavily on the Bible and evangelical sentiments. The Anglican Church was anti-Roman Catholic, but it was also anti-Calvinist and became increasingly Arminian and rationalistic.⁹⁴ In the Colonial period and up to the turn of the

⁹³ Gretchen Townsend Buggeln, *Temples of Grace: The Material Transformation of Connecticut’s Churches, 1790 -1840* (Hanover: University Press of New England, 2003), 90.

⁹⁴ Ahlstrom, *A Religious History*, 96, 153. “Arminianism” relates to a set of doctrines that Jacobus Arminius, a Dutch Protestant theologian, wrote rejecting the concept of Predestination but instead advocated that human actions and behavior could bring upon God’s sovereign will to the individual.

nineteenth century, this Arminian and rationalistic ideology started to become the dominant tradition in the Episcopal Church.

The foundations of American High Churchmanship emerged from its Anglican Church heritage as well as its restructuring into the Episcopal Church during the American Revolution. While restructuring, the Protestant Episcopal Church, through a gathering of a General Convention, decided to compose a constitution that maintained bishops who were given spiritual but not temporal authority. In turn, the clergy and laity were given authority to elect bishops.⁹⁵ After establishing a constitution for the Protestant Episcopal Church, the General Convention of 1785 then decided to revise the liturgy. Bishop William White and Reverend William Smith began to revise the 1662 English *Book of Common Prayer* in order to create a proposed American *Book of Common Prayer*. The revisions were an opportunity for the Episcopal Church to create a “purer” church based on its notions of the Primitive Apostolic Church. Ultimately the American revisions to the English 1662 *Book of Common Prayer* illustrate a distinct American concept of high churchmanship.⁹⁶

In the 1789 approved version of the American *Book of Common Prayer* there were many changes made to the 1662 English *Book of Common Prayer* regarding various rubrics and canons. The most interesting addition into the American *Book of Common Prayer* was in relation to the Holy Communion service and more specifically the Prayer of Consecration. The Prayer of Consecration was not from the 1662 English *Book of*

⁹⁵ Butler, *Standing Against the Whirlwind*, 7-9. This compromise allowed both ideologies to have power within the Episcopal Church.

⁹⁶ Marion J. Hatchett, “The Colonies and States of America,” in *The Oxford Guide to The Book of Common Prayer, A Worldwide Survey*, eds. Charles Hefling and Cynthia Shattuck (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 176.

Common Prayer but was taken from the Scottish *Book of Common Prayer* of 1637 that in turn drew on the original English *Book of Common Prayer* compiled by Cranmer in 1549.⁹⁷ The significance of the inclusion of the Prayer of Consecration is that it shifts the liturgical emphasis of the Episcopal Church away from the scripture-centered institution of its Anglican counterpart to a church centrally focused on the invocation of Communion. Ultimately this particular high church doctrine and liturgical practice led to changes in the physical arrangement of its houses of worship from pulpit-centered to altar-centered.

John Henry Hobart & Hobartian Synthesis

By the 1810s the leadership of the Protestant Episcopal Church shifted to a younger generation who had no recollection of the colonial Anglican establishment. Over the next two decades, two Anglican traditions, low church evangelical and high church prelacy vied for dominance within the Protestant Episcopal Church. One of these leaders, New York Bishop John Henry Hobart (1811 – 1830) significantly shaped the identity of the Episcopal Church by developing a distinct American High Churchmanship based upon the theological education he received at the hands of Bishop William White.⁹⁸ Hobart devised a high church ideology or “Hobartian Synthesis” which he shared through preaching and publications. His doctrinal synthesis set the Episcopal Church apart from other Protestant denominations in the United States and also established a Catholic

⁹⁷ Hatchett, “The Colonies and States of America,” 177 – 178.

⁹⁸ Hobart was an interesting Episcopal figure, and his role in the Episcopal Church has been much discussed and studied. For more scholarship about Hobart and writing by Hobart see: John Henry Hobart, *The Correspondences of John Henry Hobart* volume 1-5, (1911 – 1912); E. Clowes Chorley, *Men and Movements in the American Episcopal Church* (1946); and Robert Bruce Mullin, *Episcopal Vision/American Reality: High Church Theology in Evangelical America* (1986).

sensibility in the Episcopal Church nearly twenty-five years prior to a similar development occurred in England with the Oxford Movement, which may have been influenced in part by his writings.⁹⁹ In the United States, Hobartian High Church ideology also provided a distinct alternative to American evangelicalism that was dominating American culture in the antebellum period. Ultimately it is this high churchmanship that revolutionized Episcopalians' theological and doctrinal understanding, resulting in a distinct manifestation of the material culture.

John Henry Hobart was born on September 14, 1775 in Philadelphia, and his religious instruction began as a child at home where he learned about piety and the power of devotion.¹⁰⁰ When he began studying to become an Episcopal minister, he sought theological instruction from Bishop William White.¹⁰¹ In 1798 Bishop White provided Hobart with a list of books that addressed a wide range of Anglican thought to assist him with his study in divinity. The list was undergirded by two principles: the rejection of Calvinism and the concept that religious authority was based on reasoned consent.¹⁰² The literature Bishop White chose represented nearly all of the movements in Anglican religious thought since the Restoration post-1660 but very little from the actual Reformation period of the sixteenth century. The list consisted of an eclectic grouping of writings including Cambridge Platonists, Latitudinarians, Nonjurors, Caroline High Churchmen, and there was one figure from the English Reformation period included,

⁹⁹ Demille, *The Catholic Movement*, 40 – 41.

¹⁰⁰ Mullin, *Episcopal Vision/American Reality*, 10.

¹⁰¹ In this period, the Episcopal Church had no seminaries, and often if a man wanted to become a priest an ordained priest tutored him.

¹⁰² Mullin, *Episcopal Vision/American Reality*, 15.

Richard Hooker.¹⁰³ Overall these readings were based on a *broadly unified* view of the history of Anglicanism as determined by Bishop White.

Bishop White's list was one strand of Hobart's theological understanding, but Hobart also drew on the writing of four eighteenth century apologetic defenders of the episcopacy. These four writers, George Horne (1730 – 1792), William Jones of Nayland (1726 – 1800), William Stevens (1732 – 1807), and Charles Daubeny (1745 – 1827), were suspicious of speculative theology and instead insisted on supporting their theological writings with scriptural and early church evidence. In addition to these concepts, Hobart was also influenced by the writings of the older Nonjuror tradition and its emphasis on the "visible church."¹⁰⁴ This concept reinforced the authority of the

¹⁰³ Mullin, *Episcopal Vision/American Reality*, 14-16; Tod E. Jones, "The Cambridge Platonists: A Brief Introduction," in *The Cambridge Platonists: A Brief History, with Eight Letters of Dr. Antony Tuckney and Dr. Benjamin Whichcote*, ed. Tod E. Jones, trans. Sara Elise Phang (Dallas, TX: University Press of America, Inc., 2005), 3-8; William M. Marshall, "Church of England," *The Oxford Companion to British History*, ed. John Cannon (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), University of Missouri-Columbia, 5 August 2012, <http://www.oxfordreference.com/views/ENTRY.html?subview=Main&entry=t110/e976>; John Gascoigne, "Latitudinarianism," *Encyclopedia of the Enlightenment* ed. Alan Charles Kors (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), University of Missouri-Columbia, 5 August 2012, <http://www.oxfordreference.com/views/ENTRY.html?subview=Main&entry=t173.e383>.

"Cambridge Platonists" was a mid-seventeenth century school of thought based out of the University of Cambridge that desired to apply the contemporary understanding of science and philosophy into the Church of England, known as religious humanism.

"Latitudinarians" was influenced by the Cambridge Platonists and developed around the late seventeenth century and early eighteenth century. It emphasized the features of Christianity that were common to all Protestants and believed through the process of Reason and careful study of scripture it was possible to understand God's revelation. It stressed reason, morality, and pragmatism.

"Nonjurors" in 1689 William and Mary took the throne of England and for a group of clergy who held to the traditional forms of Church and State, that the monarch had divinely ordained character acquired through the natural rights of succession, could not swear allegiance to this new monarchy.

"Caroline High Churchmen," were a group of writers in the seventeenth century who developed the High Church sixteenth century writings of John Jewel that addressed the returning the Church of England to the principles of the primitive church before the corruption of Medieval Catholicism.

"Richard Hooker" was a University of Oxford educated clergyman who wrote an eight-volume book, *Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity* (1593 – 1597), in which he determined there were two laws, human and divine, and it was reason that guided the making of human laws. Ultimately Hooker determined that according to Tod E. Jones in *The Cambridge Platonists*, page seven, "human reason is consubstantial with the divine Reason and is nothing less than a bond of communication between creator and creation."

¹⁰⁴ Mullin, *Episcopal Vision/American Reality*, 20. The "visible church" was a concept that God's authority ordained man to form a society of worship rather than man's authority.

episcopacy and by extension the Episcopal Church. It also distinctly separated this institution from the other Protestant denominations that saw its religious authority lying within the hands of its members.

In his publication *Apology for Apostolic Order and its Advocates* (1844) Hobart announced, “My banner is, EVANGELICAL TRUTH, APOSTOLIC ORDER [*sic*].”¹⁰⁵ He used “evangelical” not in the context of his own period, where it signified an emotional encounter with divine grace that led to instantaneous regeneration as was seen throughout the Great Awakening. However, as it was defined by eighteenth century English High Church writers to mean salvation could be gifted by god but continuously not at one instance and this needed to be accepted as an intellectual truth not an emotion of the mind.¹⁰⁶ Hobart’s slogan brought together two ideologies in which he sought truth not only through the readings of the gospels but also through the episcopacy system. While he agreed with Evangelical Episcopalians and other Protestants in the idea of the gospels as sources of salvation, he also strongly advocated that the “grace of Christ” was mediated through the sacraments as administered by the Episcopal ordained minister.¹⁰⁷ From his perspective, like those of his Anglican predecessors, the episcopacy was an Apostolic Order.

Similarly, drawing from Anglican writings he viewed the time between the Apostolic-age of the first century CE until the rise of the papacy in the fifth century CE as the period in which the Primitive Church upheld the teachings of the New

¹⁰⁵ Mullin, *Episcopal Vision/American Reality*, 60.

¹⁰⁶ Mullin, *Episcopal Vision/American Reality*, 60-62.

¹⁰⁷ James Thayer Addison, *The Episcopal Church in the United States 1789 – 1931* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Son, 1951), 97.

Testament.¹⁰⁸ This period of the universal church was viewed not as a living or developing entity but instead was seen as a static time that could be mined for information. By emphasizing the Primitive Church and using it as historical evidence, Hobart rooted the Episcopal faith as the inheritor and defender of the apostolic faith, essentially the bastion for tradition unlike the rest of American Protestantism.¹⁰⁹ This understanding of church history also accounts for the Episcopal Church's turning to the Gothick as a visual reminder of its heritage, for there was a general belief among many Christians that the Gothic actually originated with the Temple of Solomon.¹¹⁰

Within a few years, Hobartian Synthesis became *the* American High Church ideology of the Episcopal Church. At the same time, the Evangelical Episcopalian or low church ideology did not disappear but actually kept a vigorous ecclesiastical and theological controversy alive within the Episcopal Church. In some ways these debates can be seen as helping to promote and develop Hobartian High Church ideology, for many of the debates took place in periodicals of the day, like the *Christian's Magazine* and *Albany Centinel*. Hobart emphasized the sacraments of Baptism and Communion, and he believed that the Episcopal canons and rubrics allowed men and women to fulfill their needs for repentance, and they facilitated the working of the Holy Spirit.¹¹¹ By focusing on the legitimacy and necessity of the episcopacy and rubric-based liturgical practices, Hobartian Synthesis established a sense of continuity within the Episcopalian

¹⁰⁸ Hein & Shattuck, Jr, *The Episcopalians*, 64.

¹⁰⁹ Mullin, *Episcopal Vision/American Reality*, 70-71.

¹¹⁰ John Henry Hopkins, *Essay on Gothic Architecture with Various Plans and Drawings for Churches, Designed chiefly for the use of The Clergy* (Burlington, NH: Smith and Harrington, 1836), 6 – 7.

¹¹¹ Mullin, *Episcopal Vision/American Reality*, 72-73; Butler, *Standing Against the Whirlwind*, 13.

religious tradition that appealed to Episcopalians and others in a period of social and religious upheaval.

Episcopal Gothick

Becoming a new Republic affected every aspect of American culture, including public worship. With the establishment of the separation of church and state, many denominations were reconsidering their positions. In essence every denomination was vying for members and trying to expand the reach or influence of its faith and this greatly influenced the religious architecture.¹¹² Denominations began to move away from their colonial attributes toward structures that looked more “churchly.” Although independent from England, many Protestant denominations once again looked to England for the latest fashions in church designs.¹¹³ Since all denominations were becoming self-sustaining institutions, many Protestant sects built fashionable buildings based on patterns from James Gibbs’ *Book of Architecture* (fig. 1.13) and prints of Christopher Wren’s churches as ways to attract attention of and to retain a more cultivated or affluent worshipper.¹¹⁴ For most denominations the neo-classical church designs showed that they were aware of the high fashions but were also capable of adapting these designs to their own religious sensibilities.

¹¹² Buggeln, *Temples of Grace*, 88; Ryan K. Smith *Gothic Arches, Latin Crosses: Anti-Catholicism and American Church Designs in the Nineteenth Century* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 88.

¹¹³ Carl Lounsbury, “God Is in the Details: The Transformation of Ecclesiastical Architecture in Early Nineteenth-Century America.” *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture* 13 n. 1 (2006): 1, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20355366>.

¹¹⁴ Lounsbury, “God Is in the Details,” 18.

While most Protestant denominations embraced the latest neo-classical fashions, the Episcopal Church in contrast turned to Batty Langley's Gothick pattern book as early as 1788. In this year, Trinity Church, New York City built its second structure, and it was done in the Gothick (fig. 1.14). This structure in form was no different than other Protestant churches based on the conventions of the Gibbs church-type (fig. 1.13) in that the second Trinity Church was a rectangular block with a pitched roof and the entrance on the gable end and frontal center tower. However the detailing, primarily the windows and front portico, were Gothick and more than likely inspired from Langley's *Gothic Architecture Improved by Rules and Proportions* (fig. 1.15). Trinity Church established a precedent, and over the next two decades more Gothick Episcopal churches were built.¹¹⁵

Trinity Church, New Haven, Connecticut

Even more influential than the second Trinity Church of New York was Trinity Church, New Haven, Connecticut (fig. 1.16) designed and built by the young architect Ithiel Town. The construction of this church began in the same year he completed the Congregationalist Center Church in the neighboring parcel. Town's Episcopalian church is a significant monument not only in the canon of American architectural history, but it also explains a lot about how Episcopalian presented themselves in this period. In general many scholars have seen this as a rectangular structure with pointed windows, a

¹¹⁵ Pierson Jr., *American Buildings and Their Architects*, 113-116; Roger Hale Newton, *Town & Davis Architects Pioneers in American Revivalist Architecture 1812 – 1870 Including a Glimpse of Their Times and Their Contemporaries* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1942), 213. The Episcopalian were not the only ones using this aesthetic, as discussed earlier. In this chapter I stated that the Gothick became another mode of ornamentation, and it would be utilized or proposed to other denominations including Roman Catholics, Presbyterians, and Unitarians. In these cases, I believe they used it more as a mode of ornamentation or possibly as a way to evoke a sense of churchliness but nothing beyond the fashionable aesthetic of church.

pitched-roof and a tower with Gothick flourishes, but to the person of 1815 this was “authentic” Gothic when compared to the other two churches on the New Haven Green (fig. 1.17).

In a late 1815 edition of the *Connecticut Journal*, there appeared an article containing supposedly three individual letters from a member of each of the churches on the Green. According to the letter by a member of the First Ecclesiastical Society, Trinity Church was “all over gothic – gothic inside and out – gothic from top to bottom.” In another letter by a member of the United Society stated the United Society’s church was “neat and elegant throughout... He is nothing of *gothic barbarism*, but the *style is after the best models of Grecian and Roman architecture [sic]*.” Finally, the Episcopalian stated that his church was “in the true Gothic style, and is uniformly so in all parts.” He further saw the First Ecclesiastical Society and United Society structures as two Conventicles – spaces for nonconformists to meet – otherwise known as a Meeting Houses, and while neat “they are like four dollar cassimere compared to eight, when examined with ours.”¹¹⁶ From allusions in these quotes and the image of the three churches on the Green, the Episcopalian church stood apart from the others. These quotes also show how New Haveners perceived these structures, and Trinity Church was Gothic.

Ithiel Town’s design for Trinity Church (fig. 1.18) specifically drew on his personal collection of Pattern and Antiquarian books.¹¹⁷ He utilized Batty Langley’s book for inspiration for the interior motifs for the columns and capitals. The structure

¹¹⁶ Buggeln, *Temples of Grace*, 102-103. A single author wrote the article in order to address all the discord being made about these structures, and this article also shows a sense of pride.

¹¹⁷ Due to later modifications today’s Trinity Church, New Haven, Connecticut looks more reserved and classical than it did when it was first built.

was made of quarried stone. The roofline had a wooden crenellation that looked like castle battlements around the whole building and carried through onto the tower. Town's wooden tower design was adapted from an illustration of All Saint's Church in Derby, England from Gibb's *Book of Architecture*.¹¹⁸ In addition to the crenellated tracery on the tower the four corners also had wooden corner pinnacles, which reached some thirty feet above the parapet line, therefore making this rather horizontal structure seem to soar into the sky.¹¹⁹

The interior of Trinity Church was essentially built to emphasize an auditory experience (fig. 1.19). It was the execution of the space and not its form, which made it "in true Gothic style" according to an Episcopalian in 1815.¹²⁰ However, keeping in the tradition of the Episcopal liturgical practices as emphasized by Bishop Hobart there was a designated space for the Office of Communion. Although not a separate space, it was demarcated both in name and in design; "the chancel is to be handsomely finished in the Gothick style with a railing and banister of mahogany."¹²¹ Another feature of the interior that made this building "uniformly" Gothick was the ceiling (fig. 1.20). The ceiling itself was not structural but a ribbed vaulted drop ceiling made of wood and plaster to simulate stone vaulting.

¹¹⁸ Pierson Jr., *American Buildings and Their Architects*, 130. Compare Figure 1.18 with Figure 1.16, the wooden tower appears more delicate and complex than the stone tower that was added in the 1870s.

¹¹⁹ Pierson Jr., *American Buildings and Their Architects*, 130; Buggeln, *Temples of Grace*, 113.

¹²⁰ *Connecticut Journal*, 20 November 1815 quoted in Buggeln, *Temples of Grace*, 102-103. The interior has been altered several times, the first real alteration was the addition of the Chancel in the 1880s, then there was a remodel in 1901 – 1902, which switched out the box pews and reduced the seating from the original 1,400. Additional modifications have been made to adhere to modern fire codes and handicap accessibility laws that occurred in the 1960s and as recent as the 2000s.

¹²¹ Contract between Ithiel Town and Trinity Church, New Haven, Connecticut to build Church July 1814, Box 1 Folder J, Ithiel Town Papers, New Haven Colony Historical Society, New Haven, Connecticut.

Between the stone construction and the Gothic ornamentation, Trinity Church stood out in the landscape, and while the First Congregational and United Church were building Conventicles – meeting houses – in the fashions of the day, the vestry of Trinity Church built a “Gothic *church* [*sic*].”¹²² Trinity Church is one of the examples in this period of how Episcopalians consciously took ownership of the Gothick. The Gothick was a signifier to all that the Episcopal Church had what Bishop Hobart called “primitive integrity” that is a not only a long-standing liturgy of Anglican tradition but also a tradition that went back to the period of Christ and the apostles.¹²³ It was this theological understanding that separated Episcopalians from the rest of the Protestant denominations who were seen by Episcopalians as casting off this Anglican tradition. By not following the fashions of the day, the Episcopal Church visibly reinforced those differences, and in the process, brought greater attention to itself.

Culmination of American Episcopal Church Architecture

By the 1820s American religions were moving away from rationalism, and evangelicalism was rising, but there were also people seeking an alternative Protestant tradition.¹²⁴ Often these individuals were looking for a more guided devotional system, and the Episcopal Church was seen as this alternative. Its devotion was largely scripted through the *Book of Common Prayer*. In addition to its liturgy, the Episcopal Church use of Gothick architecture and its choral music had a sensate appeal to many individuals and ultimately reinforced the doctrine of the Episcopal Church. Understanding the

¹²² Buggeln, *Temples of Grace*, 107.

¹²³ Buggeln, *Temples of Grace*, 109.

¹²⁴ Mullin, *Episcopal Vision/American Reality*, 94.

connection between the built material environment, doctrine, and liturgical practices, Bishop John Henry Hopkins published in 1836 the *Essay on Gothic Architecture with Various Plans and Drawings Designed Chiefly for the Use of The Clergy* (fig. 1.21). Hopkins illustrated and explained to Episcopalians how to utilize Gothick architecture for its associational attributes, its ritualistic character and its roots from the Primitive Church.

John Henry Hopkins was a scholarly type who first trained as a lawyer before he was ordained as an Episcopal priest in 1823. Like Bishop John Henry Hobart, Bishop Hopkins believed and promoted similar high church ideology, but he came to his conclusions on his own.¹²⁵ His first ministerial position was in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania at Trinity Church, where he was involved almost instantly in designing a new church for the parish (fig. 1.22). Although Hopkins had no prior knowledge of architecture, he had admired “the Gothic style above all others.”¹²⁶ Hopkins’ interest in the Gothic was largely based on his position as a high churchman, and like so many other Americans, such as Ithiel Town, his knowledge of European architecture came from pattern books, specifically by John Britton (fig. 1.23) and Augustus Charles Pugin (fig. 1.24). After 1830, Hopkins went to Trinity Church, Boston and was an assisting priest to George W. Doane, another high churchman, future bishop, and scholar fascinated by the Gothic and its ecclesiastical significance.¹²⁷

As the Episcopal Church continued to grow in numbers and establish itself in the frontier, parishioners desired to build authentic Gothick Episcopal ecclesiastical

¹²⁵ Albright, *A History of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, 184.

¹²⁶ John Henry Hopkins, *Essay on Gothic Architecture with Various Plans and Drawings for Churches: Designed Chiefly for the Use of The Clergy* (Burlington: Smith & Harrington, 1836), iii.

¹²⁷ While it is not known exactly how much these two shared or exchanged about the Gothic and its use by the Episcopal Church it is likely they did discuss the topic during their time together.

structures like Trinity Church, New Haven. In spite of their zeal for such design, they did not have the knowledge to go about it. Bishop Hopkins' *Essay on Gothic Architecture* attempted to solve this problem. He created this publication because he was supplying the desires of the Episcopal Church, and it was targeted at the clergy.¹²⁸ This publication is important because it exemplifies how the Episcopal Church circulated its associational ideas that were accumulated from a variety of influences in order to formulate its identity both liturgically and physically.

From a closer reading of Hopkins' *Essay* one immediately sees the influence of A. Charles Pugin (A. C. Pugin) and Edward J. Willsons' *Specimens of Gothic Architecture* (1821 – 1823). Hopkins' preface and his first chapter entitled "On the Origin of the Gothic Style of Architecture" are similar to A. C. Pugin's book. Both Willsons' essay, "Remarks on Gothic Architecture and on Modern Imitations," and Hopkins' essay explain the Gothic style, the correct ways to use it, the history and even its origin. Hopkins also uses this chapter to specifically link the Gothic style to religion, and more specifically, to the Episcopal Church. The first sentence of this chapter begins "The Gothic style of architecture has long possessed a high rank in the estimate of ecclesiastical taste."¹²⁹ The most intriguing part of the chapter was how Hopkins defined the origin of the ecclesiastical Gothic, and through this explanation I began to see why he and others saw the Gothic style as the most appropriate design for the Episcopal Church.

Hopkins drew on the latest scholarship on the origin of the Gothic and brings the reader to the Middle East of the Old Testament; "I think there are remarkable indications,

¹²⁸ Hopkins, *Essay on Gothic*, iv-v.

¹²⁹ Hopkins, *Essay on Gothic*, 1.

at least, that the Temple of Solomon claimed affinity in many respects with what we now call the ecclesiastical Gothic style.”¹³⁰ He substantiates his claim with Biblical evidence and created six points to support his argument. Hopkins concluded his chapter with

we cannot err in assuming it as highly *probable*, at least, that the style in question is the most ancient in the world which has been applied to sacred purposes; and that it deserves to be esteemed, not only for its solemn beauty, and its general fitness for the offices of religion, but for its special application to those very objects by the chosen people of God [*sic*].¹³¹

Since the Episcopal Church saw itself as the true Apostolic successors, and considering Christ’s Biblical lineage, for an Episcopal bishop to see a direct correlation with Solomon’s Temple actually was a logical conclusion, therefore the Episcopal Church needed to build “proper” Gothic ecclesiastical structures.

While Hopkins’ *Essay* can be seen as a document that justifies the use of the Gothic for the Episcopal Church, his book also implements the design for high church practices. In his plate four (fig. 1.25), titled “Plain village Church with several external parts,” figure B shows the interior elevation of an Episcopalian church. This is the modern, proper Episcopal Gothick High Church including a chancel, although not an articulated space but a separate space demarcated by the chancel railing. Behind the chancel railing in the center, still prominent is the elevated pulpit and raised reading desk. A difference between this interior and Christ’s Church, Duanesburg is the arrangement. In this drawing the communion table has been placed in front of the pulpit and reading desk therefore giving the sacrament of Communion prominence. On the other side of the chancel railing, closer to the pews, is the baptismal font. This arrangement clearly is a

¹³⁰ Hopkins, *Essay on Gothic*, 6.

¹³¹ Hopkins, *Essay on Gothic*, 9.

physical expression of a very specific American High Church ideology that fully speaks to the necessity of Baptism, Eucharist, and the liturgy as the central tenets to the Episcopalian faith.

Bishop Hopkins' book not only solidified high church ideology into the physical fabric of the church, he also ensured that Episcopal clergy had an understanding of ecclesiastical architecture and access to otherwise expensive often-inaccessible knowledge on the subject. He paraphrased and directly borrowed from A. C. Pugin's two-volume book *Specimens of Gothic Architecture*, which had over 100 engraved plates. He took illustrations from Britton's five-volume book *The Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain* (1809 – 1826). By copying directly from these books and creating his own book, Hopkins promoted the building and dissemination of these structures throughout the United States through Episcopal clergy and parishes.

With the Episcopal Church embracing Hobartian Synthesis or American High Church ideology, the church drew on an associational style of architecture that: embodied their religious practices, reflected their long history, and set them apart in the religious landscape. For Bishop Hopkins and many other high churchmen the Gothick, as prescribed by Batty Langley, John Britton, A. C. Pugin and others, was that style. It was largely through publications that these ideas and images became accessible and incorporated into the Episcopal mindset. By the time the Cambridge Camden Society's publications arrived in the United States, American Episcopalians were fully invested in the Gothick and ready to improve and further standardized *their* aesthetic.

Chapter 3

Cambridge Camden Society & Ecclesiological Architecture

Introduction

Almost twenty-five years after the construction of Ithiel Town's Trinity Church in New Haven, Connecticut and three years after the publication of Bishop Hopkins' *Essay on Gothic Architecture*, a group of undergraduates at the University of Cambridge came together and established a scholarly society dedicated to Ecclesiology and medieval church restoration. Its aims and ambitions were to reengage the Church of England with its own sense of being and spiritual servitude. Ultimately their work affected a change in the liturgical practices of the Church.¹³² The Cambridge Camden Society (CCS) became an influential force around the world in defining the purpose, design, and construction of neo-Gothic Anglican Church architecture in the mid-nineteenth century.¹³³

This society was established at the University of Cambridge in 1839, and although it went through some restructuring and name changes, it did not officially dissolve until 1868, for it felt its work was done.¹³⁴ Over the course of its history the CCS disseminated its ideas through meetings, correspondences and annual reports. By 1841, publications including the periodical, *The Ecclesiologist*; a series of tracts regarding constructing, restoring, and remodeling ecclesiastical architecture; several books on ecclesiastical topics, and eventually, working design pamphlets; were printed and continued to be used through the years of the CCS Schism of 1845 and into 1846.

¹³² Although not officially a Church organization the Cambridge Camden Society was a Church society. They were a group of men who were members of the Established Anglican Church but were not sponsored by the Institution.

¹³³ Boyce, *A Memorial*, 9 – 15. Over the course of the lifetime the Cambridge Camden Society's went through several name changes from: 1839 – 1840 Camden Society, 1840 – 1845 Cambridge Camden Society, 1845 – 1852 Ecclesiological late Cambridge Camden Society, and 1852 – 1869 Ecclesiological Society. For the purposes of this discussion any time I refer to the Cambridge Camden Society prior to 1845, I will call it the CCS and post-1845 when it moves its home base to London, I will refer to it as the ELCCS.

¹³⁴ For a more in-depth history on the Cambridge Camden Society refer to James F. White's *The Cambridge Movement: The Ecclesiologists and the Gothic Revival* (1962).

By focusing on the writings of the CCS it is possible to make conclusions about its actions and its understanding of the Anglican religion. In the years of 1839 – 1845, the society’s membership predominately consisted of collegiate-aged men studying to be Anglican clerics. They were caught up in the ideals of the period, influenced by Romanticism, and located in an environment where scholarly investigation into ecclesiastical matters was promoted. These were men trying to figure out their place in a very tumultuous period. Inspired by the *Tracts for the Times* (1833 – 1841), the CCS saw the power of print for the dissemination of its ideas. Initially, its publications were for the promotion of Ecclesiology and the CCS’s activities. My aim for this chapter is to present an analysis of the CCS’s early publications between 1841 – 1846, in order to demonstrate that the CCS created Ecclesiology in order facilitate an ideological change in the Anglican Church, and by extension the Protestant Episcopal Church. The CCS created a system based on ecclesiological studies of medieval churches and identified every element in these Gothic structures as having significance and specific purpose for the Anglican Church. By returning to an “authentic” Gothic form and arrangement the CCS felt that the Anglican liturgy that emphasized its Catholic traditions could only then be fully implemented. The concept of an ecclesiological correct neo-Gothic structure was important not only for shifting the high church practices of the Anglican Church, but it shifted the way American Episcopalians constructed their houses of worship.

Cambridge Camden Society

The foundations of the Cambridge Camden Society were laid in 1836 when John Mason Neale and Edward J. Boyce spent their summer studying and drawing medieval

churches, but it was not until 1839 that the CCS was formally established.¹³⁵ The CCS was created as a society that promoted the study of ecclesiastical architecture, antiquities and the restoration of medieval church architecture.¹³⁶ For each succeeding year its membership grew larger and larger. Many of the new members joined for a variety of reasons: some joined based on the objectives in the 1839 Laws; others wanted to direct the CCS, some joined to acquire technical advice for the restoration of their dilapidated churches, and still others saw it as a way to add to their religious education. While members joined for a variety of reasons, the leaders of the CCS or the Committee were made up of approximately twelve: six elected members and executive officers within the first year the Committee began to broaden the scope of the CCS's objectives. Through the careful examination of medieval churches, the Committee under Thorp's guidance decided to not only restore but also to explain ecclesiastical architecture, thus making old and new churches fit for proper Anglican liturgical use, as determined by the Committee and as expressed in its publications.¹³⁷

Publications

In its first two years, 1839 and 1840, the CCS published the *Church Scheme* and *A Few Hints on the Practical Study of Ecclesiastical Antiquities for the Use of the*

¹³⁵ Although the nuances of the Cambridge Camden Society are important to the development of this study, this is not a history of the Society. For a more in-depth study of the developments of the Cambridge Camden Society I suggest reading, James F. White's, *The Cambridge Movement: The Ecclesiologists and the Gothic Revival* (1962); D. Adelman's *The Contribution of the Cambridge Camden Society to the Revival of Anglican Worship, 1839 -1862* (1997); and Christopher Webster & John Elliot (eds) *'A Church As It Should Be' The Cambridge Camden Society and Its Influence*, (2000).

¹³⁶ Cambridge Camden Society, *Laws &c. of the Cambridge Camden Society Instituted May 1839*.

¹³⁷ Thomas Thorp, "Address Delivered at the Second Annual Meeting of the Cambridge Camden Society, May 11, 1841," *Report of the Cambridge Camden Society for MDCCCXLI* (Cambridge: Metcalfe and Palmer, 1841), 28.

Cambridge Camden Society. A Few Hints provided the vocabulary, historical context, and attributes of particular styles of medieval architecture; *Church Scheme* was a worksheet to help a member document ecclesiastical structures. Other publications the Society produced were the *Laws* and *Reports* pertaining to the proceedings from the Annual meetings.

The CCS in 1841 decided to produce a report of procedures and publication of the papers presented at its meetings for its members who moved away. They instead produced *The Ecclesiologist*, a periodical that did include procedures and papers, but also instructions, reviews of publications, and “critical notices of churches recently completed, or in the process of building,” meaning they commented and critiqued new churches, designs and restorations of medieval churches.¹³⁸ By doing this, the CCS broadened the scope of its periodical, its objectives, and extended its audience beyond its members.¹³⁹

In addition to the periodical, the CCS also began to produce its first tracts and to commission church plans. These publications went beyond the study of the ecclesiastical; instead they offered an authoritarian perspective upon Ecclesiology. From these publications the CCS took the organization from the regional confines of Cambridge to an international movement. The tracts initially began as guidelines aimed at specific church officials: churchwardens in country parishes or manufacturing towns, sextons and clerks, but within a couple of years the CCS began advising about church

¹³⁸ “Address,” *Ecclesiologist*, 1 no. 1 (November 1841): 1 – 2.

¹³⁹ Brandwood, “Fond of Church Architecture,” 61. Although the CCS name is on these publications, the reality was that a very select group, primarily led by Benjamin Webb and the Committee of the CCS wrote these publications. More specifically John Mason Neale and Webb contributed majority of the articles.

enlargement, arrangements, reasons to remove pews, and instructing church builders and workmen on their motives and codes of behavior for working on “God’s temples.” From the perspective of the CCS, everything it produced and did was for the benefit of the church, and this seemed to be reinforced by the numerous bishops who were patron members.

Through its publications and activities, the CCS quickly acquired an authoritative position on the subject of Gothic Revival church architecture. Many people sought the society’s advice. At the same time, there were many others who did not seek out its advice but received it anyway. This situation often resulted in more publications written by architects who disagreed with the CCS’s opinion. Through its publications the CCS attempted to address the industrial building practices of the period with regard to ecclesiastical architecture. My analysis of the CCS publications between 1841 and 1846 demonstrates that the CCS was, however, doing more than discussing architectural practices – it promoted a specific ecclesiological agenda.

While the CCS continually stated that its periodical and other tracts were only about ecclesiastical architecture, it also emphasized a specific ecclesiological agenda that reinforced Apostolic Succession, the role of the episcopacy, and the forgotten or even dismissed rubrics from the *Book of Common Prayer*. Their ideal parish church arrangement was as much about liturgical practices and behavior as it was about architecture and aesthetics. The CCS wanted the Church of England to return to its true Catholic roots, for it believed the Church of England was the “true” Catholic Church, unlike the Roman Catholic Church. By drawing on the *Book of Common Prayer*, a

product of the Protestant Reformation that was understood as containing the canons and rubrics of the purified Catholic Church, the CCS justified its claim.

Since the CCS was situated in the walls of the University of Cambridge, it felt its responsibility was to educate not only members but also society at large, in particular members of the Church of England and architects. The publications created by the CCS were also done to correct the incorrect forms and physical features it identified that had been done to the Church of England. The CCS largely attributed the “errors” to ignorance of all levels of members in the Anglican Church and architects who all lacked a basic ecclesiological understanding. It was this lack of knowledge that created what the CCS called “cheap churches.”

Combating the “Modern Cheap Church”

The Contemporary Architect

What the CCS qualified as contemporary “cheap churches” generally was based on what it determined as improperly trained architects and the architectural profession of the period.¹⁴⁰ In the first issues of the *Ecclesiologist*, there were several articles specifically addressing the concerns with modern architectural practices. According to the CCS, unlike the contemporary architects and builders, the actual medieval architect sought not fame but sacrificed all in order to build a sacred structure for the glory of God.¹⁴¹ The CCS doubted the sacred intentions of contemporary architects and attributed the downfall in church design to the rise in architectural competition. By the nineteenth

¹⁴⁰ Hill, *God's Architect*, 135-136, 148. Pugin also came to similar conclusions in *Contrasts*.

¹⁴¹ “On Competition Amongst Architects (Continued),” *Ecclesiologist* 1, nos. 6/7 (April 1842): 83.

century, architectural competitions for churches were often the way architects earned contracts; this system from the CCS perspective was fraught with issues.

According to the CCS, a committee of ecclesiastical uninformed vestry board members and clergy created these church competitions to judge the quality of the church designs. Also, unlike a restoration, the architect of a new construction was free to create a design based on what he determined as appropriate for particular Anglican churches. Since the architect lacked ecclesiastical knowledge he was incapable of creating a church design with a sense of propriety, and unlike the medieval architect, contemporary architects often only created one design and submitted that plan to multiple committees, not taking into account the variables of geography and capability of builders. Ultimately because of the architectural professions' lack of ecclesiastical knowledge, architects created plans that fell well short of any historical medieval precedent. The CCS concluded that the architectural competition system only resulted in an "amount of meagre and faulty deformities" and generally only "the notion of a modern cheap church!"¹⁴²

By the concept of "cheap" the CCS meant both poorly constructed and ill-designed, possibly leaning towards tacky, which they attributed to a lack of knowledge about ecclesiastical precedent. In the eyes of the CCS, architects' training had not prepared them to construct a church, but

Fresh from his Mechanic's Institute, his Railroad Station, his Socialist Hall, he [the architect] has the presumption and arrogance to attempt a church. Let it but be remembered what a church is – a building set apart for the holiest purposes, adapted to the administration of solemn rites, symbolic in every part.¹⁴³

¹⁴² "On Competition Amongst Architects" *Ecclesiologist* 1 no. 5 (March 1842): 65; "On Competition Amongst Architects (Continued)" *Ecclesiologist* 1 nos. 6/7 (April 1842): 81 – 82. Quote is from page 82.

¹⁴³ "On Competition Amongst Architects" *Ecclesiologist* 1 no. 5 (March 1842): 66.

Architects in this period were trained to create a variety of building types. They were not specialists in any specific building type and often created buildings utilizing pattern books and their training. When creating a church, generally architects kept with a basic auditory ground plan, as established by Sir Christopher Wren, then combined various architectural elements from pattern books of medieval churches and cathedrals, thus creating a design the architect believed was appropriate for a church. As a result of this process of design, the CCS saw its responsibility to address this subject in order to combat “cheap churches.”

In the first issue of *The Ecclesiologist* there was an extensive critique of Christ Church (figs 2.1), a newly erected Anglican ecclesiastical structure in a section of Cambridge known as “New Town.” This extensive review listed many features of “cheapness” that included “disproportionate octagonal turrets” and “square clerestory-windows” (fig. 2.2) that the CCS considered “indefensible.” Overall, the final product of Christ Church was an original church design that evoked the medieval, but because of this it did not adhere to the CCS prescribed ecclesiological principles. The CCS therefore called these designs “*inventive imitation*” and attributed the architects’ lack of understanding about ecclesiastical architectural elements to the creation of unfit Anglican designs [*sic*].¹⁴⁴

To resolve this misunderstanding and production of “cheap churches” the CCS felt that architects needed to do more research on medieval churches. For the CCS, the past Gothic ecclesiastical architectural tradition was without fault. “Any architect who would set the example of building new churches after the exact models of good ancient

¹⁴⁴ “New Churches,” *Ecclesiologist* 1 no. 1 (November 1841): 9 – 12; “A Hint on Modern Church Architecture,” *Ecclesiologist* 1 no. 9 (June 1842): 135.

ones, would, we think, have the glory of commencing a new and happy era in the history of modern church-building.”¹⁴⁵ The CCS further believed that the careful study of medieval ecclesiastical models would reveal to the contemporary architects the “obvious defects of modern” ecclesiastical structures and therefore transform contemporary ecclesiastical design.¹⁴⁶

The CCS saw nothing wrong with direct copying of past models to serve the contemporary period because these were in their minds proven designs that had once served the Anglican Catholic liturgical practices. Also, unlike the modern churches that affected to copy through “*inventive imitation*,” the CCS’s advocacy for “mechanical imitation” was, according to them, the only way to achieve excellence in ecclesiastical architecture, as well as the ultimate way to destroy the modern cheap church.¹⁴⁷ From the perspective of the CCS, if architects followed its advice and designed churches based on detailed plans of medieval churches approved by the CCS, only then could architects learn the principles of ecclesiastical architecture.

Materials

Meaning in architecture was ultimately at the heart of the CCS’s endeavors. This concept came through an understanding that every element within a Gothic church served a greater purpose than just utility, but each was a physical expression of the Anglican doctrine. The CCS believed that medieval masons and artisans had a greater understanding of scripture, liturgy, and the symbolic power of church materials than did

¹⁴⁵ “A Hint on Modern Church Architecture,” *Ecclesiologist* 1 no. 9 (June 1842): 134.

¹⁴⁶ “The Practical Study of Ancient Models,” *Ecclesiologist* 1 nos. 10/11 (July 1842): 150 - 151.

¹⁴⁷ “A Hint on Modern Church Architecture,” *Ecclesiologist* 1 no. 9 (June 1842): 135. [*sic.*]

their contemporaries. This was why the CCS painstakingly documented structures through its *Church Schemes*. These architectural records, combined with theological and liturgical research, allowed the CCS to substantiate its claim that there was a proper and ideal Anglican Church design. Influenced by August Welby Northmore Pugin (A.W. N. Pugin), the CCS advocated for perceived “authenticity;” innovation was not its objective. Ultimately the objective of the CCS was the restoration of ecclesiastical architecture taken in the broadest sense.

The CCS sought authenticity and truth of materials: “We have condemned the making one thing pretend to be something better than it is, and that it therefore is not.”¹⁴⁸ Hence, when benches were made of wood other than oak and then stained to look as oak, the CCS saw this as “aesthetical hypocrisy.” This sense of hypocrisy also led the CCS to strongly advocate that under no circumstances was brick allowed, for “such miserable materials [were] worse than useless” because it was often faced with plaster to simulate stone.¹⁴⁹ Another building material that the CCS felt created a “cheap church” was cement, because like brick walls these walls could also be made to imitate stone. In their opinion it was far better to leave objects unfinished or partially finished than to create illusions. Hence, if a church could not afford to construct a Gothic-beamed ceiling or stone vaulting, then it was not justified in putting in a ceiling made of lath and plaster molded to simulate fan vaulting. Influenced by the writings of A. W. N. Pugin and the Tractarians, the CCS advocated that the church was symbolically a presentation to God and an exaltation of God’s glory; therefore deception in materials and finishes meant

¹⁴⁸ “On Decorative Color,” *Ecclesiologist* 4 (new series vol. 1) no. 5 (September 1845): 201.

¹⁴⁹ Cambridge Camden Society, *A Few Words to Church Builders* (Cambridge: University Press, Cambridge Camden Society, 1841), 9.

deceiving God. To combat this deception the CCS advocated that individuals return to the rubrics of the *Book of Common Prayer* and study pre-reformation Gothic churches in order to build appropriate structures to God.

The Ideal Church

From a close examination of the first five years of the *Ecclesiologist* and through a careful analysis of the CCS's tracts, I demonstrate that within the initial years of the CCS, it developed a *theoretically* ideal ecclesiastical structure based on the CCS's three central ecclesiological principles: Propriety, Symbolism, and Beauty, by which all Anglican churches were critiqued. The principles of Propriety and Symbolism were heavily based upon historical architectural precedents, the canons and rubrics of the Church of England and the CCS's concepts of Anglican Church history and Christian iconography. The Principle of Beauty was based on the notion of variety as "the very soul of Ecclesiastical beauty."¹⁵⁰ Although the CCS never advocated for an amalgamation of its critiques of new construction in these early years, by analyzing its publications it is possible to extrapolate that the CCS had formulated an ideal structure that facilitated a more Anglican-Catholic liturgy.

The CCS's definition of "Catholic" is critical to understanding the embracing and promotion of ecclesiastical Gothic as the ideal form for the Anglican Church. All the members of this society were also members of the Anglican Church and believed in that doctrine. According to the Apostle's Creed, Athanasian Creed, and the Nicene Creed, all summations of Anglican doctrine, the Anglican Church was the "Holy Catholic Church"

¹⁵⁰ "Western Triplets," *The Ecclesiologist* 2 no. 18 (January 1843): 66. However, it must be stated that all these principles were based on standards established by the CCS, no one else.

or “one Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church.”¹⁵¹ By stating it is Catholic through its creeds, the Anglican Church stresses, to this day, its religious legitimacy and genealogy back to Christ.¹⁵² Although the line of succession did not cease according to the CCS or the Anglican Church, the CCS felt the Church of England had lost its way.

The CCS advocated that individuals return to the rubrics of the *Book of Common Prayer* and study pre-reformation churches in order to return the Anglican Church to its Catholic arrangement. Such advocacy by the CCS created controversy; according to Archdeacon Thorp, president of the CCS, people who questioned and accused the CCS of being papists because of its actions and publications

cannot adequately have reflected how intimately and even essentially the principles of Christian Architecture [were] mixed up with the elements of the faith to which it ministers; how inevitable at any rate is the contact of history and doctrine with the consideration of the construction of the material fabric.¹⁵³

Accordingly, the CCS believed when it came to church design there was a specific “Catholic Arrangement,” and these architectural elements were necessary for facilitating Anglican worship.

¹⁵¹ Staunton, *A Dictionary of the Church*, 170 – 177; Harper, *The Episcopalian’s Dictionary*, 20 – 21, 111 – 112. A creed is a statement of belief or a summary of Scripture doctrine as determined by the Church. The *Apostle Creed* is believed to be the oldest and consisted of doctrines taught by the original Apostles and may also be referred to as the Apostolic Creed. The whole creed as it is seen more today was formalized in the works of St. Ambrose c. 374 CE. The *Athanasian Creed* name is derived from the fourth century CE St. Athanasius, but he did not write it and it is more likely it was written in fifth century CE France. The *Athanasian Creed* is an extensive summary, forty verses, and is primarily concerned with the doctrine of the Trinity. The *Nicene Creed* was originally composed in 325 CE to define the Christian faith in opposition to Arius, who did not believe in the divinity of Christ, was later modified probably by the fifth century CE and gives a concise statement about Christian belief in both the Eastern and Western Catholic Church.

¹⁵² According to Catholic doctrinal tradition, Christ laid his hands upon his Apostles and they laid their hands on their followers thus creating bishops. The Apostolic Succession according to the Anglican Church continued even through the Reformation since the bishops of the Church of England were ordained under the Catholic Church.

¹⁵³ Thomas Thorp “Address Delivered at the Third Anniversary Meeting of the Cambridge Camden Society May 11, 1842.” *Report of the Cambridge Camden Society for MDCCCXLII* (Cambridge: Metcalfe and Palmer, 1842), 12.

Countering the Puritan Low Church Arrangement

The CCS developed specific guiding ecclesiological principles primarily to counter the generations of the low church liturgical practices that it saw originating from the century of Puritan dominance in the Anglican Church. In the eyes of the CCS, the deterioration of the Church of England both liturgically and in form largely related to the rise of the Puritanism, their reform efforts, and the eventual dominance of low church ideology. Under the Puritans, the sacrament of Holy Communion was reduced from a weekly practice to roughly two or three times a year, and the chancel, which originally focused on the altar, was abandoned entirely or altered to accommodate a multi-tiered pulpit and desk (fig. 2.3). A large pulpit physically and symbolically shifted the central focus of the Anglican Church to emphasize a more low church ideology, of a scripture-focused liturgy, thus subjugating the sacrament of Holy Communion and other canonical practices. The CCS thus advocated that the ideal church structure was one that removed all Puritan-derived low church alteration and the return to Gothic church arrangement and form. This ideal neo-Gothic form and arrangement then facilitated and reinstated Anglican liturgical practices that had been either fully abandoned or reduced to a minimum by the church over the last one and a half centuries.

According to the CCS, it was all the Puritans' influence that led to the abandonment of specific liturgical practices and the undermining of Episcopal authority. The Puritans implemented some changes to the Anglican liturgy, but from the perspective of the CCS it was their introduction of box-pews within the churches that physically asserted more Calvinistic practices within the Anglican Church. The pew or "pue" system, according to Neale, was but a reflection of "the history of human pride, and

selfishness, and indolence,” brought “into the worship of God.”¹⁵⁴ Not only did box-pews insert private ownership in what should have been an egalitarian space, they also became very luxurious spaces for the comfort of the parishioner at the expense of the liturgical rubrics of the Anglican Church (fig. 1.11). The pew system was seen by the CCS as the physical desecration of the church, which should have been a space specifically designed for the worshipping God, not the comfort of humanity.

In addition to their comfort such as the inclusion of stoves for heating, the CCS believed pews kept their occupants out of the direct sight of the priest. The boxes were often built with tall sides, and seats were positioned in ways to allow reclining or with no space for kneeling. Thus according to the CCS these box-pews allowed parishioners to conceal their liturgical disobedience, such as not bowing when the name Jesus was mentioned or avoiding standing or sitting at specific points in the service.¹⁵⁵ The CCS’s tracts also stated that the pew system diluted the significance of Communion. Since parishioners did not need to proceed up to the Chancel to receive the Eucharist as a community of worshippers. Instead the Eucharist was brought to the parishioners and only the priest knew if parishioners were kneeling to receive, again allowing people to avoid the rubrics of the *Book of Common Prayer*. It was because of this irreverence that the CCS declared war on the pew system and why the ideal church did not have pews.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁴ John Mason Neale, *The History of Pews A Paper Read Before the Cambridge Camden Society on Monday December 6, 1841*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: University Press, 1842), 3.

¹⁵⁵ In Neale’s *History of Pews* the pew system is entirely blamed on the Puritans who from 1561 through the seventeenth century had significant influence on the Church of England and helped institutionalize more Protestant means of worship into the Church. However, this insubordination of Canons and Rubrics continued after the Puritans. This could have been more due to apathy and lack of knowledge than as a direct protest towards more Catholic practices.

¹⁵⁶ Neale, *History of Pews*, 28 – 40.

Style

The interiors of churches were not to have Puritan or low church furnishings that marginalized the catholic practices of the Anglican Church. The CCS also advocated that there was only one ideal style for the Anglican Church, the neo-Gothic. In the late 1810s there was a shift Anglican church design from the pagan neo-classical (fig. 2.4) to structures that incorporated the Gothick, and the CCS disapproved of these designs too. The Gothick was the result of contemporary architectural practices. It was essentially an architectural style learned primarily from books, where medieval Gothic elements taken from cathedrals or parish churches from various stylistic periods were according to the CCS often thrown “into a common stock, to be freely and indiscriminately applied to any building, without regard.”¹⁵⁷ This architectural practice only reinforced the CCS’s concept that modern builders did not understand Gothic structurally, as in its form, but only ornamentally as something that looked churchly, and this was because they did not study the actual architecture.

At first it seemed the CCS was attempting to combat the misunderstanding of the Gothic form; however it was actually trying to do much more through its discussion of ecclesiastical architecture. The CCS’s discussion of the built environment was intended to reshape the Anglican Church and draw people back to the Church. The CCS wanted Anglicans to conceptualize the church as a sacred space. It used architecture in conjunction with the canons, rubrics, and ecclesiastical history to reinforce the concept that every element had significance or a specific purpose, thus facilitating or reinforcing the Anglican liturgy that emphasized the administration of the sacraments.

¹⁵⁷ “On Simplicity of Compositions, Especially in Churches of the Early-English Style,” *Ecclesiologist* 2 nos. 21/22 (April 1843): 119.

Generally, the CCS saw two forms of Gothic ecclesiastical architecture as appropriate for Anglican structures: Early English, 1180 – 1275 (fig. 2.5), and Decorated, 1275 – 1380 (fig. 2.6). It rejected the Perpendicular, 1350 – 1550 (fig. 2.7), as a debased form since it was most prominent during the tumultuous Reformation period.¹⁵⁸ The reason the CCS advocated one particular style over another was based primarily on the Principle of Propriety. Early English churches were smaller structures, while Decorated churches were built for larger congregations. The CCS also asserted to get the Anglican Church back to its Catholic roots; for example emphasizing communal worship and the sacraments, builders needed to build based on medieval churches that served these liturgical functions. For the first five years the CCS therefore promoted the ideal Anglican church as the rural Early English parish church.¹⁵⁹ The CCS did this because it believed that only with a general understanding of the basic form and arrangement could the ecclesiastical neo-Gothic then evolve to the grandeur of the original. However this transformation could not effectively take place until people understood the Gothic form through Ecclesiology.

Foundations of the Ideal Church

Through the practice of Ecclesiology the CCS determined that there were two parts that made an Anglican church a “church:” the chancel and nave (fig. 2.8.A). These two parts were “absolutely essential” and needed to be distinct in the plan and in the

¹⁵⁸ The scholarship on the CCS often states that the CCS advocated for only one specific style of architecture and that was the Decorated style, however during the first six years the CCS articles often were on the topic of Early English designs rather than Decorated.

¹⁵⁹ Cambridge Camden Society, *A Few Words to Church Builders*, 1841, 4; “Report of the Twenty-Ninth Meeting of the Cambridge Camden Society, on Thursday, Nov. 7,” *Ecclesiologist* 4 no. 1 (January 1845): 24. Even in these initial years, the CCS did express that at times the Early English was not appropriate if the number of worshippers was large.

superstructure.¹⁶⁰ Given that the CCS wanted the Anglican Church to be more similar to its Primitive Church origins, the focus on the chancel and nave facilitated an ideological shift within the contemporary church from a low church emphasis to a Tractarian high church ideology. Since the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, most Anglican churches had been either built without chancels, or if they were older churches, the chancel was often neglected or abandoned because the liturgical focus shifted away from Holy Communion and towards Holy Scripture. The CCS's chancel and nave arrangement reinforced the importance of the weekly celebration of Communion by emphasizing the necessity of the chancel space.

While the nave had been and continued to be the space where parishioners gathered to participate in communal prayer, it was the chancel that was specifically designated by the CCS, based on their understanding of theological writings and the *Book of Common Prayer*, as the space for the priest and other officiates to occupy when carrying out the liturgical service.¹⁶¹ Only during the celebration of Holy Communion were parishioners allowed to enter this space. The chancel was seen as being absolutely necessary, for it provided the “due regard to the solemnity with which the worship of Almighty God ought to be performed.”¹⁶² If churches only consisted of a nave or had no articulated chancel, then the emphasis or focus was too much on the priest, who became more of a minister of “sermons and read “exhortations” instead of acting as a medium for

¹⁶⁰ Cambridge Camden Society, *A Few Words to Church Builders*, (Cambridge: University Press, 1841), 5.

¹⁶¹ John Mason Neale, *A Few Words to Churchwardens on Churches and Church Ornaments, Part 1 Suited to Country Parishes*, 14th ed. (London: Joseph Masters, 1846), 7. The use of Chancel comes “from a Latin word *Cancelli*, which means *rails*, because it always used to be railed off, as it generally is now;” therefore it was a distinct space divided from the body of the church.

¹⁶² Cambridge Camden Society, *A Few Words to Church Builders*, (Cambridge: University Press, 1841), 10.

worship and praise of God.¹⁶³ The CCS wanted to reduce the evangelical preaching; by constantly reinforcing the chancel and nave layout the CCS assisted with the reinstating of the regular practice of the reception of Holy Communion and other older liturgical rituals.

The ground plan of the chancel and nave established the core of the ideal Anglican structure; however, there were variations on this plan. The CCS advocated five ground plans; however none of the variations were permitted if that meant diminishing the chancel. The most basic ground plan consisted of a nave and articulated chancel (fig. 2.8.A). The four other plans depended on the availability of funds and varied with additions of aisles and even a transept (figs. 2.8.C & fig. 2.8.D). The CCS insisted that a single aisle, nave and chancel (fig. 2.8.B.1 & 2.8.B.2) held “to the true principles of Ecclesiastical Architecture [...for its] boldness of design and variety of ornament.”¹⁶⁴ These two variations of the same architectural features created an asymmetrical design that the CCS valued as the pinnacle of the Principle of Beauty. The overall foundations of all these proposed ground plans were based on two major concepts: liturgy and aesthetics.

In the theoretical, ideal neo-Gothic Early English parish church, the ground plan essentially consisted of a nave with flanking side-aisles and an articulated chancel. This ground plan, however, was not complete, for the ideal neo-Gothic church based on Early English models required other architectural spaces and specific ornamentation, according to the CCS, in order to facilitate the Anglican liturgy and the ecclesiological principles of

¹⁶³ “The Arrangement of the Chancels,” *Ecclesiologist* 3 no. 35/36 (September 1844): 163.

¹⁶⁴ Cambridge Camden Society, *A Few Words to Church Builders*, (Cambridge: University Press, 1841), 8. [Brackets are my addition.]

Symbolism and Beauty. These other spaces necessitated by the Early English style were symbolically significant and also helped with storing ritual objects and included the porch, tower and vestry (fig. 2.9).

Basing a new construction church on the ideal Early English model took into account the way worshippers entered the structure. A parish church did not have a triple portal in the western façade, as was the case for many medieval cathedrals. Rather, parishioners entered through a portal entrance located within a porch structure or through a single portal in the western end of the nave.¹⁶⁵ Ideally, as stated in *A Few Words to Church Builders*, the porch had a groined ceiling consisting of notch heads carved as “true-love knots,” or “zodiacal signs, and the like.” According to the CCS it was fine to have these more secular types of vaulting in this location rather than in the interior of the church, since this was a transitional space that led from the secular world into the sacred world.¹⁶⁶

Another feature the ideal parish church needed was a tower or at the very least a bell-cote.¹⁶⁷ According to the CCS a “church tower [was] not built for effect; it [was] not built to carry a spire (for a spire [was] nothing more than the capping of a tower); it [was] not built for the accommodation of people; but it [was] built to hold the bells” and

¹⁶⁵ Of course, there are exceptions such as St. Mary’s, Snettisham, Norfolk, one of the many medieval churches the CCS did not recommend as a model.

¹⁶⁶ Cambridge Camden Society, *A Few Words to Church Builders*, 16.

¹⁶⁷ “Review *Remarks on Church Architecture*. By the Rev. J. L. Petit, M.A.” *Ecclesiologist* 1, nos. 6/7 (April 1842): 90. In the review of this book the author of the review highlights that Petit does not advocate for well-designed churches but promotes the “plain cheap walls, and thus to pander to the wretched economy of the age,” and then suggests applying external decoration to these walls thus creating a “picturesque” effect, which according to the CCS is a term “so entirely depending upon individual taste or caprice” that it provides no parameters for an acceptable design except what is determined by the individual, in this case, Reverend John Louis Petit.

bell-ringers.¹⁶⁸ Bells served an important role in the church because they announced to the area liturgical festivals, marriages, baptisms, signified the death of a parish member, and called people to attend service.¹⁶⁹ Without the bells a church symbolically had no voice.

Prior to and even after the influence of the Puritans, a tower was included as part of Anglican ecclesiastical design; even the “cheap” modern churches had included a tower located on the western façade. Even though churches still included a tower, in *A Few Words to Church Builders* the CCS discussed that the tower could be placed in other locations other than the center of the west end (Appendix A). After making these suggestions, architects proceeded to place the tower in alternative locations, “with reason, and without reason” but essentially for effect; thus the editors of the *Ecclesiologist* created a rule: “*Every church, not being cross, should have its tower or bell-cot at the west-end, unless be some stringent reason to the contrary [sic].*”¹⁷⁰ The CCS then justified its rule with the argument that there was medieval precedent for this specific location. For these reasons the ideal Early English neo-Gothic parish church had to have a western tower.

The architectural features of the tower and porch were rather practical since both made the church accessible and visible. The stress on the importance of constructing a

¹⁶⁸ “A Word on Church Towers,” *Ecclesiologist* 3 nos.35/36 (September 1844): 173.

¹⁶⁹ “A Word on Church Towers,” *Ecclesiologist* 3 nos.35/36 (September 1844): 175; Cambridge Camden Society, *A Few Words to Church Builders*, 8; “On Belfry Turrets” *The Ecclesiologist* 4 (new series vol. 1) no. 6 (November 1845): 262. Although the ideal church had a tower, the CCS made concessions and allowed a bell gable to be constructed. Another variation with the Tower was the addition of a Belfry Turret containing a staircase leading to the bell chamber and it was to be visible on the exterior of large church towers.

¹⁷⁰ “Western Towers,” *The Ecclesiologist* 4 (new series vol. 1) no. 5 (September 1845): 205, 206. Reasons the tower would be in another position if: 1. Lot is too small, 2. A hill, building, or large old trees block the view of the tower, 3. Collegiate church or similar type church structure then this canon does not apply.

vestry, on the other hand, supported the reintroduction of specific ritual liturgical practices. According to the CCS the vestry was a necessary space for all parish churches because it was the place to store dressings for the altar, priestly vestments and sacred vessels.¹⁷¹ Prior to this period, priests did not wear vestments, such as an alb or stole, but usually wore black clothes or robes and a collar. Once high church clergy began to emphasize the ritualistic or symbolic aspects of the liturgy, these priests also began to reintroduce Catholic vestments and needed a space to robe prior to a service. As for the location, ideally the CCS advised to locate the vestry alongside the north wall of the chancel, but the south wall was fine too.¹⁷² The only wall location of the chancel to which the vestry was not allowed was the east wall, for that was the most sacred location of the church.

Windows

The Principle of Propriety guided much of the discussion of ornamentation and location of architectural features within the ideal church, especially the windows. The CCS advocated that the ideal church contained well-proportioned lancet windows suitable for their location within the church. Through careful examination of existing medieval ecclesiastical architecture, the CCS wrote an extensive article on “Early English Lancets” and identified seventeen examples of lancet windows for the adoption in modern Early English designs. It was also in this article that the CCS presented its ideal proportion of a lancet, based on averaging numerous windows’ measurements from

¹⁷¹ “On Sacristies” *Ecclesiologist* 5 (new series vol. 2) no. 7 (January 1846): 6.

¹⁷² “On Sacristies” *Ecclesiologist* 5 (new series vol. 2) no. 7 (January 1846): 8. For parish churches that were larger or located in industrial towns the location of the Vestry was not so stringent, as long as it was not located east of the altar.

around the country, therefore establishing a 1:7 or 1:8 foot ratio for the ideal lancet.¹⁷³

These proportions, along with the stained glass, created the muted interiors the CCS valued for a sacred space. At the same time the CCS recognized in order to serve the contemporary church “there [were] circumstances attending church worship at the present day which render[ed] a certain quantity of light indispensable.”¹⁷⁴

While there were some concessions to facilitate the needs of the modern liturgical church practices, such as allowing more light in, these concessions were not made at the expense of historical precedent or at the expense of the Principle of Symbolism.

Ultimately the CCS created a canon with regard to windows “[i]n *Early-English churches, the number of lights at the east end must exceed that at the west [sic].*”¹⁷⁵

According to Ecclesiology, worshippers needed to be reminded of Christ’s sacrifice and specific numbers of architectural features such as stained glass lancets symbolized in the west end, and the Savior and their redemption was symbolized in the east end. A single lancet therefore, represented the one Savior, Jesus Christ, but if a single lancet was not sufficient for lighting the space, then a double lancet was utilized in this location, because a double lancet or couplet symbolized the Divine and Human nature of God, therefore reinforcing the concept of the Savior.¹⁷⁶ A triple lancet in the western end of a parish church contradicted both the Principle of Propriety and Symbolism because the triple lancet window symbolized the Holy Trinity, not the Savior. The ideal location for the

¹⁷³ “On Sacristies,” *Ecclesiologist* 5 (new series vol. 2) no. 7 (January 1846): 8.

¹⁷⁴ “Early English Lancets,” *Ecclesiologist* 3 nos. 29/30 (February 1844): 71.

¹⁷⁵ “Editors Response to “Upon Western Triplets of Lancets To the Editor of the Ecclesiologist,” *Ecclesiologist* 1 nos. 10/11 (July 1842): 173.

¹⁷⁶ “Western Triplets,” *Ecclesiologist* 2 no. 18 (January 1843): 66.

triple lancet window was located in the east end, also the location of the altar where imagery of the Holy Trinity was most often evoked during Holy Communion.¹⁷⁷

The discussion of the symbolic importance of lancet windows actually caused the CCS to develop ideal layouts for windows and types to be “mechanically imitated” in a neo-Gothic Early English style church. The simple ideal window layout consisted of two types of double lancet windows taken from St. Mary’s in Etton, England (fig. 2.10.A).¹⁷⁸ The chancel would have in the north and south walls the more ornate double lancet with a trefoil, signifying the Trinity. The East wall featured three detached-lancets with the central light slightly higher and wider than the other two, above the altar and slightly smaller triple lancets in the east end of the aisles. The aisles’ north and south walls had a less ornamented double lancet with a circular window above, and in the clerestory there were foliated circles instead of lancets. The west end contained single lancets symbolizing the Savior flanking the tower.

The second variation was more complex because there was a greater variation of windows utilized throughout the structure (fig. 2.10.B). Each wall of the chancel had a different type of window. The east wall consisted of three detached lancets similar to the simple ideal layout (fig. 2.10.A). The nave clerestory consisted of clerestoried foliated circles (not included in figures), while the north and south walls of the aisles had double lancets. The east ends of the aisles consisted of double lancets like those from St. Andrew’s Dowsby, Lincolnshire England. The west end consisted of single lancets.¹⁷⁹

From these two descriptions it is possible to see that when it came to incorporating

¹⁷⁷ Cambridge Camden Society, *A Few Words to Church Builders*, 13; “Western Triplets,” *Ecclesiologist* 2 no. 18 (January 1843): 66.

¹⁷⁸ “Early English Lancets,” *Ecclesiologist* 3 nos. 29/30 (February 1844): 70.

¹⁷⁹ “Early English Lancets,” *Ecclesiologist* 3 nos. 29/30 (February 1844): 69 – 70.

windows, the CCS provided more of a set of guidelines for its readers. The main objective for the CCS when it came to this matter was that those who were building churches needed to acknowledge the propriety of the features.

Roof

According to the Society “one of the most essential features of the Christian style [was] a high-pitched roof.”¹⁸⁰ These roofs did not need to be constructed of stone vaulting; wood timber trussing was actually advocated as a suitable type of roof system. The wooden timbers “exposed in all their honest nakedness, as becomes the builder upon the principles of Reality.”¹⁸¹ While the truss system was exposed internally, externally it created a steep-pitch and was finished with lead. In addition to its pitch, the ideal Early English neo-Gothic church had non-ornamented gables and a plain parapet. The only decoration necessary was the addition of gable crosses.¹⁸² The cross completed the gable because it allowed the eye to be led to the sky or heavens. The CCS further instructed that the gable crosses were located at the east end of the chancel and the south-end of the porch gable. According to the CCS writings, the addition of the crosses completed the exterior of the ideal Early English neo-Gothic church.

¹⁸⁰ “Wooden Roofs” *Ecclesiologist* 3 nos. 29/30 (February 1844): 73.

¹⁸¹ “Church Roofing,” *Ecclesiologist* 3 nos. 31/32 (May 1844): 102; Cambridge Camden Society, *A Few Words to Church Builders*, 17.

¹⁸² “On Simplicity of Compositions, Especially in Churches of the Early-English Style,” *Ecclesiologist* 2 nos. 21/22 (April 1843): 119 – 120; “Gable Crosses,” *Ecclesiologist* 5 (new series vol. 2) no. 7 (January 1846): 16 – 18.

Interior Arrangement

Nave

The function of an Anglican ecclesiastical structure was to facilitate the administration of the sacraments and other rites and ceremonies outlined in the *Book of Common Prayer*. In order to facilitate these liturgical practices, the CCS determined an interior arrangement based on its understanding of Gothic precedence. The first major alteration of the interior arrangement was the seating in the nave. Since the influence of the Puritans, churches had had gallery seating, and Gothic structures were often retrofitted with such seating, as well (fig. 2.11). The CCS advised the removal of all galleries. In addition to the removal of galleries, the ideal church interior was to vanquish the rented pew system and replace the box-pews with open seats or slip-pews (fig. 2.12). These open seats consisted of long-backed benches spaced about thirty to thirty-six inches apart, allowing for kneeling and creating more seating than the box-pews.¹⁸³ Kneeling was an important act in the liturgical services; for example parishioners were to kneel during the beginning of the administration Holy Communion or during portions of the Morning Prayers as a way to show respect and reverence for God. In addition to the kneeling, the open seats removed rental dues, allowed the church to be open to all and allowed full implementation of the rubrics of Anglican Church.

The open, backed benches were arranged in two series of rows located in the nave facing east toward the Chancel (fig. 2.9). Between the two sections were approximately a

¹⁸³ Neale, *A Few Words to Churchwardens on Churches and Church Ornaments, Part I*, 11.

“five [feet] passage down the nave and at least three feet down each aisle.”¹⁸⁴ Also, the CCS suggested that the backed benches be moveable, not fixed to the floor; therefore the seats could be reduced during weekday services when attendance was lower and brought out when more seating was needed.¹⁸⁵ Ultimately, the arrangement and the style of seats made parishioners visible not only to the Priest but also to their fellow parishioners, therefore making all worshippers accountable for their actions or apathy.

Chancel

The greatest change in the interior arrangement of the Anglican Church was the reemphasis on the chancel. Similarly to the exterior, the chancel according to the CCS was a distinct space that was articulated from the nave, thus signifying the sacredness of the Church Triumphant, the space specifically designated for priest and officiating the church service, in particular the office of Communion, from the Church Militant, the location for the parishioners who battled sin and evil in their daily lives. Although part of the entire structure, the chancel was elevated above the nave; it was narrower in width and demarcated with a chancel arch (fig. 2.13).¹⁸⁶ In the same way the nave had specific “Catholic arrangement,” the chancel did as well. The CCS derived this arrangement from documenting existing pre-Reformation churches such as Trumpington parish church Cambridgeshire, and drawing on ecclesiastical documentary sources, thus justifying the

¹⁸⁴ Neale, *A Few Words to Churchwardens on Churches and Church Ornaments, Part I*, 11. I would also note that moveable seats were advocated for the transepts positioned to face the chancel and if seating was also needed benches could be placed in the aisles facing east similarly as those in the nave.

¹⁸⁵ “Open Seats” *Ecclesiologist* 4 (new series vol. 1) no. 6 (November 1845): 271. Moveable seats also made it easier to clean the Church.

¹⁸⁶ Cambridge Camden Society, *A Few Words to Church Builders*, 11. The CCS specified that the chancel be elevated above the nave floor by a minimum of two steps, but depending on the size of the parish a flight of nine or ten steps could be done as well.

numerous architectural features and furnishing that facilitated the more ritual liturgical practices of the Anglican Church.

According to the CCS, the ideal chancel needed to contain a roodscreen, choir/officiates stalls, sedilia, sacrium, credence, piscina and altar; all had specific locations within the chancel (fig. 2.9).¹⁸⁷ The purpose of these architectural features and furnishing was to reinforce the position of the priest as an advocate of God and facilitator of the worship of God. These objects also assisted in the transformation of the Anglican ideology of worship, for they were physical implementations of canonical practices of the Church.

Utilizing documentary and physical evidence, the CCS stated that in addition to the chancel arch, the chancel and nave were also divided by a roodscreen (fig. 2.13). The CCS had determined that the roodscreen had existed since the Primitive Church, and its reintroduction was supported by the Anglican rubric. The lower portion of the roodscreen was to be paneled and composed of an “unequal number of open [tracery] arched compartments, of which the middle one [spanned] the main alley of the church.” The middle arch did not have solid panels but instead double doors, which could be locked or opened inwards to allow access to the chancel.¹⁸⁸ While the screen allowed visibility into the chancel from the nave, it also physically separated the worshippers from this holiest of spaces.

The entire arrangement of the chancel that the CCS formulated was centralized around the doctrinal concept of Holy Communion. The symbolic significance of this

¹⁸⁷ “The Word “Altar,”” *Ecclesiologist* 1, no. 2 (November 1841): 30 – 31. The CCS specifically use the word “Altar” instead of “Communion Table” essentially since they are advocating for a return to “primitive Catholic” practices they site historical precedent for the term “Altar,” as this editorial reveals.

¹⁸⁸ “The Arrangement of the Chancels,” *Ecclesiologist* 3 no. 35/36 (September 1844): 162

sacrament according to Anglican doctrinal tradition was that it allowed individuals as “members of Christ maintain communion with their Head, and with one another.”¹⁸⁹

This sacramental act took place on the altar and united the Anglican Church in a celebration of the remembrance of Christ and what he did for their everlasting salvation. On the altar, bread and wine symbolically represented the body and blood of Christ, reminding worshippers of the sacrifice of Christ, but also representing an outward sign of the grace bestowed on those who participated in this sacrament. For this reason the altar was elevated and set within the sacrium, placed lengthwise next to the east wall and under the east triplet lancet window.¹⁹⁰

Besides returning to the Pre-Reformation nomenclature and location, the altar was also dressed for Communion services, which was another practice that had not occurred since the Reformation. The CCS stated that the altar needed a floor-length frontal cloth that varied in color with the liturgical season. On top of the frontal cloth and running lengthwise on the altar was a linen cloth that hung over the north and south ends of the altar top. In addition to the altar clothes, the CCS stated that two candlesticks made of precious metals needed to reside in the eastern corners of the altar, signifying that Christ was the light of the world.¹⁹¹ This entire conceptualization had not been fully implemented in the Anglican Church for nearly two centuries.

The greater emphasis on the sacrament of Communion also changed the role of the priest and the way divine offices or liturgical services were done. The *Book of*

¹⁸⁹ Staunton, *Dictionary of the Church*, 144.

¹⁹⁰ The term altar was associated with Pagan sacrifices but was reintroduced by the CCS in order to replace the nomenclature for the “Communion Table” and to reinforce the concept that Holy Communion was a reminder of Christ’s ultimate sacrifice for humanity.

¹⁹¹ “Altars and Altar-Screens,” *Ecclesiologist* 3, nos. 25 & 26 (September 1843): 6 -7; Cambridge Camden Society, *A Few Words to Church Builders*, 11, 26.

Common Prayer at times called for more than a priest, depending on the liturgical service, hence the reintroduction of the sedilia on the south wall of the chancel. On this three-seated furnishing sat the Celebrant, Epistler, and Gospeller or the Priest, Deacon, and sub-Deacon during the communion service (fig. 2.9).¹⁹² As part of the Holy Communion liturgy, the priest was to wash his hands, and the CCS insisted in reintroduction of the piscina or stone basin, to facilitate this practice before the celebration of Holy Communion. On the opposite north wall was the credence, either designed as a table, niche, or shelf, where the chalice and paten were placed before the service began, to be available for that portion of the service.¹⁹³ These furnishings were all common churchly fixtures prior to the Reformation, but when the Anglican Church turned to the Gospels over the sacraments, these rubric elements of the *Book of Common Prayer* were dismissed.

The interiors of the auditory pagan-inspired churches constantly reinforced the function of the importance of the scripture. These interiors overshadowed the altar with a multi-tiered floating pulpit and clerk desk (fig. 2.14).¹⁹⁴ The emphasis here was on the word of God, not the sacraments of God, hence the 82nd Canon instructed that instead of a reredo or altar-screen behind the altar, the Ten Commandments was to be painted or

¹⁹² “On Sedilia and Altar Chairs,” *Ecclesiologist* 2 nos. 19/20 (February 1843): 90; “The Arrangement of the Chancels,” *Ecclesiologist* 3 no. 35/36 (September 1844): 163. The stalls reserved for officiates located in front of the Choir Stalls were for those officiates not officiating in the Communion service. The Sedilia were not used during Morning or Evening Prayer services; instead Priest and other officiates sat in the stalls.

¹⁹³ “The Arrangement of the Chancels,” *Ecclesiologist* 3 no. 35/36 (September 1844): 161. A chalice is a cup that holds the sacramental wine and a paten is the plate that holds the sacramental bread. The Chancel could also contain two chests, one storing the Holy Vessels located on the east wall and another to hold the vestments if there was no Sacristy or Vestry.

¹⁹⁴ “To the Editor of the *Ecclesiologist*” *Ecclesiologist* 2, nos. 14/15 (October 1842): 26.

displayed on the east wall.¹⁹⁵ Drawing once again from ecclesiastical evidence, the CCS disagreed with the 82nd Canon and insisted that the space between the altar and the east chancel wall window contain a reredo. At the same time the CCS was hesitant to advise on the way it should look, primarily because there were very few surviving reredos made of either wood or stone. Overall the CCS advocated for filling this space with only suggested alternatives, not specific instructions for the Ten Commandments.¹⁹⁶

Other Interior Features

In addition to the alteration of the chancel and the nave seating, the CCS also repositioned the font, pulpit, and reintroduced the lectern and faldstool within its ideal interior arrangement (fig. 2.9). According to the Society, when low church became the more dominant ideology between the seventeenth and early nineteenth centuries, the baptismal font was moved from the west end of the nave to the chancel and was often reduced to a bowl. The moving and changing of the baptismal font went against the 81st Canon because according to this canon, a church was bound to have a font of “of stone,” and it was “to be set in the ancient usual places” in which only “the Minister shall baptize

¹⁹⁵ “Altar-Screens,” *Ecclesiologist* 3 nos. 27/28 (November 1843): 35 – 37. Ultimately, the CCS concludes Canon 82 is outdated since most people can read and own a *Book of Common Prayer* that had the commandments listed. Therefore writing the Ten Commandments on the wall next to the Altar made little sense and they attributed this Canon being created after the destruction of most Altar-screens or Reredos.

¹⁹⁶ “Altar-Screens,” *Ecclesiologist* 3 nos. 27/28 (November 1843): 33 – 37; “On Decorative Colour,” *Ecclesiologist* 4 (new series vol. 1) no. 5 (September 1845): 199. Ultimately, the Society came up with three solutions. First, was placing a textile hanging such as a tapestry or embroidery in this space therefore not damaging the wall and serving the purpose of ornamenting the altar space. Second, they advocated for the reintroduction of the triptych thus “forming alone a sufficient background; on each side, hangings, plain or embroidered, from a moderate height, will hide the rough wall, with no disguise, and add beauty and colour to the whole.” Third, they suggested an attempt to design a modern nineteenth century version of a stone Reredos containing niches.

publicly.”¹⁹⁷ The symbolism of the font shape and location were significant because the font basin was to be square, circular, or octagonal in shape – all shapes that symbolize regeneration – and attached to the top of a four-corner shaft. According to the 81st Canon it was also to be located near the entryway of the church.¹⁹⁸ Just as one entered the church physically, the sacrament of Baptism allowed one to enter into the Anglican spiritual religious community.

The two other furnishings reintroduced by the CCS were intended to replace the multi-tiered pulpits and reading desk. The lectern was used to deliver the Lessons to the worshippers, and traditionally this furnishing was in the shape of an eagle (fig. 2.15). The eagle was positioned as if it just landed, symbolized the delivering of the gospel, and upon the eagle’s wings was positioned the sloping desk for the book. This desk was to be located on the opposite side of the pulpit, usually the south side, while the pulpit was placed on the north side (fig. 2.9). In between the pulpit and the lectern but placed closer to the chancel and facing east was the faldstool or litany desk. This small desk with kneeler was where the priest led the Litany and other prayers, but unlike the other furnishings, this one was only alluded to in the rubric in relation to Ash-Wednesday service. The CCS however, insisted a litany desk or faldstool was necessary for church services because two injunctions placed by Edward VI in 1547 and the other by Elizabeth I in 1559 ordered a separate place for the litany to be administered during services. In

¹⁹⁷ John Mason Neale, *A Few Words to Churchwardens on Churches and Church Ornaments, Part II Suited to Town and Manufacturing Parishes*, 5th ed. (Cambridge: Stevenson, 1842), 8.; Cambridge Camden Society, *A Few Words to Church Builders*, 15. The CCS also supported the font position by citing the Visitation Articles.

¹⁹⁸ Cambridge Camden Society, *A Few Words to Church Builders*, 14; “‘Artificial – Stone’ Fonts,” *Ecclesiologist* 1 no. 8 (May 1842): 127 -128. This article discusses why artificial stone is not appropriate even though the Rubric and Canon of 1603 does not outright dismiss such an endeavor because in this period the concept of artificial stone was unknown.

addition to the injunctions faldstools were found in cathedrals, although not usually in parish churches; although this was the case, the ideal church according to the CCS needed one based on its ecclesiological findings.¹⁹⁹

The theoretical neo-Gothic Early English church that I have created based on a close examination of *The Ecclesiologist* and CCS's pamphlets or tracts was not advocated as a practical model in any of the CCS's writing. The CCS in its first six years of existence in actuality never advocated for combining ideal elements from various medieval Early English churches; this it considered "inventive imitation," instead it advocated for effecting copies or "mechanical imitation" of entire medieval churches such as All Saints', Teversham, Cambridgeshire (fig. 2.5). This analysis shows that through its publications, the CCS acquired a platform, and it was largely because of the CCS's writings that the transformation of ecclesiastical architecture occurred. At the same time, my analysis of the CCS's published critiques, advice, and actions provide evidence that the society essentially produced an "inventive imitation" ideal church type that for some of its readers, especially in the United States, could be seen as a model for a neo-Gothic ecclesiological church.

Schism – 1845 - Tractarians in Disguise

The CCS publications also pulled the Society into controversy. In addition to writing on ecclesiastical architecture, it also published articles on returning to "Church Catholic" principles. This led to the 1844 resolution that separated the *Ecclesiologist*

¹⁹⁹ This entire paragraph is taken from a variety of sources that include: "The Arrangement of the Chancels," *Ecclesiologist* 3 no. 35/36 (September 1844): 164, 165, 167, 168; Cambridge Camden Society, *A Few Words to Church builders*, 21 -24; Neale, *A Few Words to Churchwardens on Churches and Church Ornament Part II*, 10; "Eagle Desks" *Ecclesiologist* 1, nos. 10/11 (July 1842): 173.

from the CCS.²⁰⁰ Even without the periodical, the CCS continued to come under attack because it became more apparent that its discussion of architectural fabrics was an ingenious way to address doctrinal changes without directly being pulled into the doctrinal controversy. This strategy essentially caught up to the society in a very public controversy regarding the installation of a stone altar at Holy Sepulchre Church in Cambridge (fig. 2.16). The altar installation was not the first controversial action the CCS had been involved in, but it opened the organization to more doctrinal and liturgical attacks and accusations of Romanism.²⁰¹ Ultimately the Holy Sepulchre's altar court case exposed a hidden truth behind the CCS architectural endeavors and led to the schism of the CCS.

In 1841, the CCS decided to take on the restoration of Holy Sepulchre, a Norman Round church, located only several hundred yards away from Trinity College in Cambridge.²⁰² This structure was built around 1130, and in the fifteenth century over the round nave was constructed a polygonal bell-storey. By the nineteenth century the structure was falling into a state of disrepair. The numerous graves crowded into the surrounding churchyard led to a structural failure of the ambulatory, and the massive weight of the bell-storey did not help the situation.²⁰³ Over the course of two years the

²⁰⁰ From January 1845 until July 1846 the CCS, as a society, was not responsible for what was said in the *Ecclesiologist*.

²⁰¹ For further information on Holy Sepulchre refer to: James F. White, *The Cambridge Movement* (1962); Christopher Webster and John Elliot, eds. *'A Church as It Should Be': The Cambridge Camden Society and Its Influence* (2000) and on the Reverend F. Close accusations of Romanism refer to: Reverend F. Close, *The Restoration of Churches is the Restoration of Popery* (1844); Reverend F. Close, *Church Architecture, Scripturally Considered, from the Earliest Ages to the Present* (1844); and *The Ecclesiologist* volume 4.

²⁰² The Church of Holy Sepulchre in Cambridge is more affectionately known as the "Round Church" and will be referred to as the Round Church throughout the discussion.

²⁰³ *The Round Church Cambridge: The Story through the Centuries*, 3rd ed. (Cambridge: Loin Publishing, 2008), 3 – 9.

restoration of the structure occurred, but it took longer than the CCS originally planned. The project also ran over budget by nearly 3,000 pounds sterling. Although the society was allowed to restore the structure without any interference from the parishioners its restoration upset a variety of people.²⁰⁴ The controversy came to a head after the church was re-consecrated on December 31, 1843.

Just prior to the CCS returning the responsibility of the church maintenance back to the parish of Holy Sepulchre or Round Church, the final interior fittings, including a stone altar and stone credence table, were installed in the chancel. Many people saw the installations of these features as papist additions, and Reverend R. R. Faulkner led the charge. As vicar/curate of the Round Church, Reverend Faulkner had the authority to immediately close the church to worshippers while he took the CCS to Ecclesiastical Court to address the doctrinal legality of such furnishings.

Reverend Faulkner's accusation against the CCS was that the installation of a stone altar and credence table went directly against the Protestant liturgical rubrics of the Anglican Church. The case was presented to the Consistory Court who ruled in favor of the CCS, the churchwardens of the Round Church. Faulkner then appealed to a higher Ecclesiastical court, the Arches' Court where Sir Herbert Jenner Fust reversed the judgment in February 1845, only several months after the earlier decision. In response to this legislation the CCS brought the case to the Privy Council but eventually abandoned

²⁰⁴ *The Round Church Cambridge: The Story through the Centuries*, 9-10. In their restoration the CCS added a new construction south aisle because they removed the gallery seating and exterior staircase. They also replaced the east wall because it was structurally unsound. They reconstructed the north aisle because it had an edifice of red brick and was in poor condition. They also removed the bell-storey because it was too heavy for the ambulatory below and replaced it with a dome roof that would have been similar to the Norman original.

their appeal. By April 18, 1845, the stone altar and credence table were removed by the Society. According to *The Times* (London),

These innovations, which have for as long a time occasioned great pain and dissension among the friends of our Protestant Church have at length been removed by the churchwardens, who received a monition to that effect from the Archdeacon of Ely. The church will therefore, very shortly be re-opened for divine service, and peace and harmony restored.²⁰⁵

Within a couple of weeks an oak carved table and communion-rails were installed, and the church was reopened for services.

While this series of court battles ensued over the Round Church, the CCS's intentions and architectural motives were revealed to others. These individuals, such as Reverend Francis Close, began to question and challenge the CCS largely through print.²⁰⁶ Reverend Close published a series of attacks, asserting that the restoration of churches was essentially the restoration of Popery. The attacks upon the CCS became such an issue that during the Fifth Anniversary Meeting of the Society in May 1844, President Thorp's address stressed that the CCS was carrying on with its endeavors of promoting a sacred interest of ecclesiastical architecture, in a critical time, and although they offended some, they could not cease their activities.²⁰⁷ As long as the criticism of the CCS actions continued, the CCS continued to defend its Catholic arrangement and its ideas on ecclesiastical architecture.

²⁰⁵ "Removal of the Stone Altar From the Round Church, Cambridge," *Times* 18 April 1845, 7.

²⁰⁶ Reverend F. Close published several essays quoting directly from the *Ecclesiologist* and the tracts stating the CCS was restoring Popery. See: Reverend F. Close, *The Restoration of Churches* (1844) and Reverend F. Close, *Church Architecture Scripturally Considered, from the Earliest Ages to the Present Time* (1844).

²⁰⁷ President Thorp, "Address Delivered at the Fifth Anniversary Meeting of the Cambridge Camden Society, May 11, 1844" in *Report of the Cambridge Camden Society for MDCCCXLIV* (Cambridge: University Press, 1844), 12.

While the leaders of the CCS were unwilling to remove the altar and credence in the Round Church due to this criticism, their unwillingness also led to several major patrons' leaving the ranks of the CCS. In addition to the Round Church crisis, the unveiling of the CCS's seal in 1844 was seen by some of its members and its attackers as the final demonstration of the CCS doctrinal beliefs (fig. 2.17). The first member to leave was a patron member, the Bishop of Exeter Henry Philpotts, and he not only left but he publically stated his "disapprobation to the world." After the Bishop of Exeter left, the Bishop of Lincoln, then the Chancellor and Vice-Chancellor of the University of Cambridge decided to retire their positions.²⁰⁸ The effect of these four patron members leaving the CCS caused a crisis within the organization. The Committee felt both the University of Cambridge and the Anglican Church questioned its legitimacy, and in reaction, the Committee suggested that the organization dissolve.

At the Sixth Anniversary Meeting in May 1845, a large number of the members assembled at the Town Hall in Cambridge to address the future of the CCS. Prior to this meeting, voting papers were sent out by post to members to see how many wanted to dissolve the organization. In response, 105 assented to the proposed dissolution and 245 dissented; at the meeting another four assented and twenty-six dissented.²⁰⁹ Since this resolution failed, President Thorp proposed another resolution in which a new executive committee would be elected to revise the laws but to keep the framework it had in the past.

²⁰⁸ "Report of the Forty-First Meeting of the Cambridge Camden Society, February 13, 1845" *Ecclesiologist* 4 (new series vol. 1) no. 2 (March 1845): 71.

²⁰⁹ "Account of the Sixth Anniversary Meeting of the Cambridge Camden Society May 8, 1845 (*From a Newspaper Report*)," in *Cambridge Camden Society* (1845), 7.

From this proposed scheme the only real change was that the meeting location and contact with the University of Cambridge would cease. Since

at present the Society mainly consisted of members not residing in Cambridge, church officers, country clergymen, architects, church-restorers, &c. These meetings and that contact with the University the Committee thought rendered the continuance of their functions injurious to academic order [...] This portion of the Society's functions the Committee thought scarcely compatible with academic duty, and they were therefore unwilling to be connected with it anymore.²¹⁰

The former Committee felt that the CCS was no longer a university society but a national society, and it should continue to carry on its endeavors. For some of the members present at this meeting the newest resolution was seen as insufficient and did not address the reasons for the loss of the patron members or the questioning of the intent of the CCS activities. There was even an accusation that the CCS was attempting to do more than restore ecclesiastical architecture but was trying to move the Church of England towards Rome.

Richard Cox Hales was the first at the meeting given the floor, and he essentially questioned the motives of the leaders of the CCS. Were they an architectural society or something more? The President dismissed his question as irrelevant. Professor of Hebrew, Reverend Samuel Lee was the next to address the meeting, and he stated that he supported the idea that men would come to Cambridge to learn about church architecture. However "he could not help thinking there was something more than architecture involved in the proceedings and objects of the committee." He even went as far as stating that there were "certain Church principles, and symbolism which was not Church symbolism, but which had arisen out of the Roman Catholic doctrine" and were "put

²¹⁰ "Account of the Sixth Anniversary Meeting of the Cambridge Camden Society May 8, 1845 (*From a Newspaper Report*)," in *Cambridge Camden Society* (1845), 12.

forth by the Society.” These symbols were “not the symbolism of the ancient church.” In response the President again dismissed this argument as provoking theological discussion and not pertaining to the topic at hand. Professor Lee disagreed and believed if the CCS continued to propagate theological principles in the disguise of architecture then the organization needed to dissolve.²¹¹ After the debates, the resolution proposed by President Thorp to elect a new executive committee made up of six, half whom had been members of the old Committee, was adopted.

From the debate emerged two schools of thought about the function of the CCS. Both sides emphasized the study of ecclesiastical architecture, but for the majority who voted for the resolution, architecture also served a liturgical purpose. This notion was not seen as outside the realm of an ecclesiastical architectural society. After the Sixth Anniversary meeting, fifteen percent seceded from the society.²¹² These members agreed with the accusations that Professor Samuel Lee and Adam Sedgwick, Professor of Geology, rose at the meeting, that the leaders of the CCS were attempting more than the restoration of church architecture. The other 680 members followed President Thorp and the Committee to London, where they continued to pursue their idea of churchmanship.

The CCS was never the same after the Schism of 1845. Once in London it altered its name to the Ecclesiological Late Cambridge Camden Society (ELCCS) but its pursuits were less zealous. Society members never sponsored another church restoration, and they rarely produced any new publications with the exception of Annual Meeting Reports

²¹¹ “Account of the Sixth Anniversary Meeting of the Cambridge Camden Society May 8, 1845 (*From a Newspaper Report*)” in *Cambridge Camden Society* (1845), 16 – 22. The above discussion is a summation of the proceedings.

²¹² Geoffrey K. Brandwood, “Mummeries of Popish Character: the Camdenians and Early Victorian Worship,” in *'A Church as It Should Be': The Cambridge Camden Society and Its Influence*, eds. Christopher Webster and John Elliott (Stamford: Shaun Tyas, 2000), 92.

and *The Ecclesiologist*.²¹³ The membership changed as well; prior to the schism a majority of the members were affiliated with Cambridge or clergymen; only about five percent of the members were artists and architects. After the schism, nearly one-third of the members were artists and architects, thus reducing the number of clergy affiliated with the ELCCS. Also the patron members did not consist of English bishops, for most had withdrawn their support. Instead the patron members of the ELCCS were bishops from Scotland, Wales, the British Colonies, and the United States.²¹⁴

After the Schism of 1845 the ELCCS continued to be recognized especially by architects and ecclesiastical artisans as a significant group. Analysis of the shift in the composition and patronage of the ELCCS, and a close reading of *The Ecclesiologist* from volume five on reveals that the ELCCS was changing its focus and its perception of ecclesiastical designs. The ELCCS went from primarily a national to an international society by communicating with other ecclesiastical organizations and foreign architects, reviewing ecclesiastical architectural designs, advising bishops in the Colonies and the United States, and providing them with plans for new churches. The schism in many ways can be seen as a moment of restructuring for the CCS; it provided it with an opportunity to have an even greater influence beyond England. By promoting Catholic arrangement and the Catholic principles of architecture, the CCS was able to connect with others who shared their views, thus creating a conduit for an exchange and development of ecclesiological ideas.

²¹³ Its reduced publication program was due to the fact that its membership never achieved the same numbers as at the time of the schism, when it was nearly 900.

²¹⁴ Brandwood, “Fond of Church Architecture,” 59.

Chapter 4

Standardizing Episcopal Ecclesiastical Gothic in the United States

Introduction

During the nineteenth century, people from England and the United States were aware of the intellectual, architectural and theological developments occurring in both countries. Ideas continued to be shared between these two countries through correspondences and the production of books, inexpensive periodicals, tracts and pamphlets. The English periodicals and tracts often came to the American shores through subscriptions and were furthered dispersed, either reprinted in full or in part, in inexpensive American periodicals or American book editions. The subscribers and buyers of these English writings, especially the *Tracts for the Times* and *The Ecclesiologist*, were primarily Episcopalians. Since Episcopalians were a part of the most affluent, educated and literate stratum of American society, these publications greatly influenced the development of the Episcopal Church both liturgically and architecturally.

As discussed in Chapter One, since the 1810s the Episcopal Church largely embraced Hobartian High Church ideology and built its churches in the Gothick to reinforce its ideologies. Episcopalians saw its Gothick churches as truly Gothic in form. As discussed in Chapter Two, the Cambridge Camden Society promoted Ecclesiology as the “science of worship carried out in all its material development” of the church. It wanted to counter the modification of low churchmen and correct the misunderstanding of the Gothick by establishing a set of principles that assisted with the comprehension of the Gothic form and arrangement.²¹⁵ Since Episcopalians were already accustomed to the Gothick as its ecclesiastical form, the introduction of English Ecclesiology in the 1840s

²¹⁵ Graham Hutton, Olive Cook, and Edwin Smith, *English Parish Churches* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1994), 212. Quoting A. J. B. Beresford Hope.

was quickly adopted in the United States as a way to create “authentic” Gothic churches. Ecclesiology furthered Episcopalians’ desire to associate with the Gothic, by providing an understanding of the way the structural form facilitated and reinforced its liturgy as well as symbolizing its doctrine. It was this intertwining of architecture and symbolism that became increasingly important for American High Church Episcopalians and led to the building of Gothic Revival churches.

My investigation shows that the evolution of Episcopalian ecclesiastical architecture and its doctrinal implications that occurred between the late 1830s and 1850s were driven by two English émigré architects’ churches and their publications: Frank Wills’ *Ancient English Ecclesiastical Architecture and Its Principles, Applied to The Wants of the Church At the Present Day* (1850) and Richard Upjohn’s, *Upjohn’s Rural Architecture Designs, Working Drawings and Specifications for a Wooden Church, and Other Rural Structures* (1852). I chose them because both were preeminent Episcopal ecclesiastical architects in this period and both authored widely read and highly utilized books. Each architect’s reputation brought solicitations from all regions of the United States, including urban centers of the East Coast and the newly settled, often rural regions of the expanding nation. They were influenced by their faith, training, work-experience in the United States, by the writings of A. W. N. Pugin and *The Ecclesiologists*, and their connections with clergy, parishes and the New York Ecclesiological Society. I will demonstrate through a comparison and contrast of their published Gothic Revival designs and commissions that Wills and Upjohn formulated and dispersed a particular standardized American Episcopalian Ecclesiological neo-Gothic ecclesiastical architecture that facilitated the needs of Episcopal Church.

Frank Wills, Official Architect of the New York Ecclesiological Society

New York Ecclesiological Society

Many Episcopalians by the late-1840s realized as the Church expanded that there was an ever-increasing need for ecclesiastical architectural knowledge. The previous American source directed at Episcopalians, John Hopkin's *Essay on Gothic Architecture* (1836), was seen as outdated. Although there were the English ecclesiological sources, these sources were not specifically written for Americans and their diverse environments. These sources were utilized, but for their full appropriation by the Episcopal Church the CCS [by then known as the Ecclesiological Late Cambridge Camden Society (ELCCS)] suggested to several American ecclesiologists that American Episcopalians should establish their own ecclesiological society. A few years later in March 1848 a group of men, many associated with the General Theological Seminary, gathered in New York City and established the New York Ecclesiological Society (NYES).

Like its English counterpart, its main objective was to “promote the study of Ecclesiastical Architecture and Antiquities” and to implement these ecclesiological principles in Episcopalian churches.²¹⁶ According to the NYES the advancements in ecclesiological architecture largely occurred because of the work done by the CCS in its initial years of carefully studying “old parish churches and other Ecclesiastical buildings in England” in order to formulate and disseminate ecclesiological principles of Gothic architecture.²¹⁷ The NYES further stated since the United States did not have any ancient

²¹⁶ For a more in-depth biographical study of the New York Ecclesiological Society and analysis of its periodical see: Barton Brown, “Quest for the Temple: A Study of the New York Ecclesiological Society 1848 – 1855 and its effect upon the Architectural Setting of Worship in the Episcopal Church in the United States of America 1840 -1860,” M. S. T. Thesis General Theological Seminary 1968.

²¹⁷ “Domestic Intelligence,” *Churchman*, March 18, 1848.

models, they were hampered but foresaw its role to remedy the situation. Ultimately the NYES saw its role as providing assistance to Episcopalians in order that their fellow Episcopalians could build churches that best served its liturgy.

From the outset the NYES desired to change Episcopalians' concept of the church space. In order to assist and promote the design of and building of ecclesiological churches, the NYES decided that if its endeavors were to succeed, it needed to have an official architect.²¹⁸ Frank Wills received the title of the society's architect largely based on his credentials and his associations.²¹⁹ Wills was an architect and was a member of the CCS; therefore he, like the NYES, desired to elevate Episcopal clerical and lay understanding of ecclesiological principles and practices.²²⁰

The NYES also seemed to be primarily focused on architectural design. Architectural historian Phoebe Stanton further attributed the variation in the development of American neo-Gothic from its English counterparts to the NYES's being less conservative and more greatly concerned with abstract principles of design.

²¹⁸ New York Ecclesiological Society, *Third Annual Report of New York Ecclesiological Society* (New York: Stanford and Swords, 1851), 36; "Domestic Intelligence," *Churchman*, March 18, 1848. "Society shall consist of a President, Vice President, *an Architect*, Honorary and Ordinary members." [Italics are mine.] Before the society even elected its vice-Presidents, it elected its architect for this position was seen as the utmost importance.

²¹⁹ Douglas Scott Richardson, "Christ Church Cathedral, Fredericton, New Brunswick" (master's thesis, Yale University, 1966), 20. Similarly to Richard Upjohn, Wills was born in England but he was a trained architect. He apprenticed with the Exeter architect, John Hayward, and was involved with the Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society (EDAS), a society inspired by the CCS and seen as its sister-organization. It was partly due to his training and involvement with the EDAS that Wills was commissioned to go to Fredericton, New Brunswick to design and build the first Anglican cathedral in North America. In addition to his dutifulness to Ecclesiology and his architectural experience, Wills was also a Puginian.

²²⁰ Richardson, "Christ Church Cathedral," 18. The biography on Wills is rather scant. Extrapolation is often used to fill in-between the gaps of the historical records. He came to North America via Fredericton, New Brunswick, Canada until he moved his architectural office to lower-Manhattan, New York. By the time he established his architectural office in New York City in 1847, Wills was one of a few architects in England, the British Colonies, and the United States who had successfully constructed or designed to ecclesiological standard a cathedral, church, and chapel. Wills was criticized for some of his design choices however, overall he had adhered to the principles of Ecclesiology.

Stanton's analysis mitigates the main thrust of Ecclesiology – architectural symbolism – and states that this was of little to no concern to Americans.²²¹ In my investigation of the society's periodical, *The New York Ecclesiologist (NYE)*, and of its architect, Frank Wills, I found the opposite: that underpinning these discussions of design and construction was Ecclesiology or architectural symbolism. Indeed, about a third of the articles in *The New York Ecclesiologist* addressed the significance of church symbolism in art and architecture.

The New York Ecclesiologist Promulgates Christian Symbolism

The *New York Ecclesiologist (NYE)* (fig. 3.1) consisted of articles on practical issues such as ventilation, pews, building materials and treatments, style, and arrangements; however at the core of all the content was the adherence to the principles of Ecclesiology.²²² Christian symbolism was defined as the “sacred similes embodied in permanent, visible form.”²²³ According to the NYE, the study of Gothic architecture was done to understand the purpose of these architectural elements both in form and symbol. By understanding the architectural symbolism and incorporating specific design

²²¹ Phoebe Stanton, *Gothic Revival and American Church Architecture: An Episode in Taste 1850 – 1856*, Paperback ed. (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1997), 180.

²²² “Address” *New York Ecclesiologist* 1 no. 1 (October 1848): 2. The content of the *New York Ecclesiologist* was predominately architectural in nature it was not a periodical specifically targeted at architects. Its primary audience was American Ecclesiologist and Episcopal clergy. In this period, Episcopalian clergy numbered around 1,500 men and was seen as the most critical group that needed architectural knowledge in order to assist in the establishment of the Church as it expanded, hence the first issue consisted of a 1,500 run that was then distributed “widely” to the Episcopal clergy in hopes to acquire subscribers.

²²³ John H. Hopkins, Jr. “Symbolism in Church Architecture,” *New York Ecclesiologist* 2 nos. 2/3 (March 1850): 79.

elements and ornamentation in its churches, mankind would then be awakened “to the reverence due to God’s House” and ultimately to God.²²⁴

The NYES intended to enlighten its contemporary churchmen of the intimate connection between church building and church ritual. The society stressed the symbolic significance of English Gothic architecture and all its attributes, for English Gothic was seen by them as “specifically and truly *our* [*sic*] Christian Architecture” and “the one best fitted to symbolize the Catholic Faith” as it was defined by the Church liturgy.²²⁵ Its articles constantly defended and explained of the pervasiveness of Christian symbolism in Gothic ecclesiastical architecture.

Turning to scripture for support for religious symbolism, the *NYE* articles highlighted the rampant symbolism in the Bible that came in the forms of parables, proverbs, and metaphors.²²⁶ Just as Biblical words provided symbolic insight, the *NYE* argued that this symbolism extended into the built ecclesiastical environment. Like other architecture that was imbued with meaning, ecclesiastical architecture was imbued with hidden Catholic symbolism that became apparent to the reverent and contemplative mind. Consequently, certain architectural forms were deemed necessary for any Episcopal church-structure that adhered to the doctrinal and liturgical practices of the true Catholic Church.

²²⁴ “Address” *New York Ecclesiologist* 1 no. 1 (October 1848): 4.

²²⁵ “Address” *New York Ecclesiologist* 2 no. 5 (July 1850): 134; “Ecclesiology in America,” *New York Ecclesiologist* 3 no. 2 (March 1851): 36; “Ecclesiological Tendencies Not Rome-Ward,” *New York Ecclesiologist* 3 no. 2 (March 1851): 43. Quotes taken from “Address” and “Ecclesiological Tendencies Not Rome-Ward.”

²²⁶ Reverend Prof. Mahan, “The Spirit of Symbolism, Sanctioned by Holy Scripture,” *New York Ecclesiologist* 4 no. 4 (July 1852): 101 – 108; Reverend Prof. Mahan, “The Spirit of Symbolism, Sanctioned by Holy Scripture Continued,” *New York Ecclesiologist* 4 no. 5 (September 1852): 133 – 136.

In one of its first articles, the *NYE* claimed the relativism and propriety of the Gothic architectural form by addressing the use of neo-Gothic by Unitarians.

We counsel them, however, to bear in mind that they are playing in the dark with edged tools; that Religious Architecture is the language of religious feelings – typical of doctrines – symbolic of faith, and expressive of reverence for many things they profess to despise. Would they hold to their sectarian teaching, let them eschew Catholic Church Architecture; or, on the other hand, would they both understand and feel, as well as employ, Catholic forms, let them believe their teaching, that they may speak truly, and be used appropriately – and not like triplets and trefoils in Unitarian Chapels, tell of a mystery which the worshippers reject.²²⁷

In this passage, the author of this *NYE* article demonstrated the doctrinal values placed upon neo-Gothic architecture. Gothic architecture was more than a churchly aesthetic, it was a signifier of a particular theological and spiritual beliefs held by the people who built and utilized the structure.

Wills' Ecclesiological Gothic

The significance of Wills' position as the official architect of the NYES cannot be overstated, for it allowed him to use the *NYE* as the means to enlighten its readers about the ecclesiological principles and how they should be put into practice. By appealing to American practicality through design and text, he illustrated to his audience what were the more abstract ideas of ecclesiology, nomenclature and archaeological accuracy. In the first three years of *NYE*, Frank Wills was the primary author of articles about ecclesiological design, gravestones, building materials, plans, practical matters such as ventilation, and the architectural differences between cathedrals and parish churches.²²⁸

²²⁷ "Christian Art," *New York Ecclesiologist* 1 nos. 2/3 (January 1849): 51.

²²⁸ In the first three volumes of *The New York Ecclesiologist* only about six articles were actually assigned to Wills. With this said, there were numerous articles, responses, and critiques on "New Churches" that

Wills was dutiful to the principles of ecclesiology but also aware that the strict adherence to English Ecclesiology teaching of comprehensive “mechanical imitation” of approved Gothic structures did not suit American needs or capabilities. He maintained that there were specific principles that needed to be followed, but in an expanding nation and growing Church, American Episcopal Ecclesiological churches needed to be “adaptive imitation” of Gothic.²²⁹

At the same time, Wills believed like the CCS that before American Episcopalians could construct any type of ecclesiological church they first needed to understand the essential ecclesiological principles. Like his fellow members of the NYES, Wills derived his ecclesiological principles largely from two sources: the Cambridge Camden Society and A. W. N. Pugin. Wills acknowledged the influence of A. W. N. Pugin in his writings.²³⁰ His terminology was adopted from A. W. N. Pugin’s terminology but instead of determining “Christian” and “Catholic” in the context of Roman Catholicism, Wills defined “Christian” and “Catholic” based on his Anglican constructs. Also, Wills used the principles espoused by A. W. N. Pugin to help evolve the Episcopalian neo-Gothic form.

can be attributed to the pen of Wills. After 1851, the articles on architecture and critiques of new churches were contributed by other architects and individuals invested in Ecclesiology.

²²⁹ The terms “mechanical imitation” and “adaptive imitation” are adopted from Richardson, “Christ Church Cathedral, Fredericton, New Brunswick,” (M.A. Thesis, Yale University, 1966) and “mechanical imitation” also was a term used in *The Ecclesiologist*.

²³⁰ “The Late Mr. Pugin,” *Ecclesiologist* 13 (new series 10) no. 92 (October 1852): 352. Unlike the CCS, who more often than not decried Pugin’s theories because they were laden with Roman Catholic sympathies, that had a mixed relationship with Pugin, largely because of his conversion to Roman Catholicism. It often decried Pugin during his lifetime, but they adopted many of his ideas. Upon the announcement of Pugin’s death *The Ecclesiologist* had a two-page commentary about its relationship with Pugin and reprinted the obituary from the *Morning Chronicle*. Ultimately the ELCCS claimed him as a friend and pronounced him, once he was dead, the “most eminent and original architectural genius of his time.”

At the heart of Wills' ecclesiological designs was the notion of "Reality" that he derived in part from the CCS but largely from A. W. N. Pugin's *Contrasts or a Parallel between the Noble Edifices of the Middle Ages, and Corresponding Buildings of the Present Day* (1836) and *True Principles of Christian or Pointed Architecture* (1841) (figs. 3.2, 3.3).²³¹ In the first issue of the *NYE*, Wills' essay, "Reality in Church Architecture," like A. W. N. Pugin's *Contrasts*, discussed the architecture of the present day. Like A. W. N. Pugin he believed that "there [was] nothing which more distinctly expresse[d] the mind of an age than [did] its Architecture," yet according to Wills there was only deception in building. Up to this point, churches, Wills stated, had been executed in the "Gothic style" which basically meant they had extremely pointed windows and consisted of "heterogeneous mass of discordant elements." In order to counter this type of architecture, Wills quoted A. W. N. Pugin's saying Gothic needed to be "ornamenting construction and not constructing ornament." This notion of ornamenting construction only occurred by adhering to the reality of materials and the principles of ecclesiological Gothic architecture.²³²

Besides advocating for the adherence to ecclesiological principles Wills also provided subscribers of the *NYE* with an illustration of an ideal American ecclesiological church. The article, "A First-Pointed Church" was not written by Wills but was written by a *New York Ecclesiologist* editor. The basis for this article related to the perspective that the populace lacked the understanding of nomenclature. "Church Architecture is so

²³¹ Hill, *God's Architect*, 213. "Reality" becomes a catch-word of the Victorian period, and although not originated by Pugin, his writings informed the conceptualization of its meaning. It was a term defined by Pugin, his contemporaries, and succeeding generation as a way to get back to integrity and solidity of the religious architectural form.

²³² Frank Wills "Reality in Church Architecture," *New York Ecclesiologist* 1 no. 1 (October 1848): 8 – 12. This entire paragraph was derived from a close reading of Wills' article.

almost entirely unknown among us, that we have to begin with our A, B, C, and having once settled first principles, and learned the rudiments, we may then think of making some advance.”²³³ Clearly, the Early English style was presented as a primer, or an alphabet to understanding Gothic nomenclature. The editor stated he wanted to begin with a “simple” and “correct” church and hoped it would serve as a guide for good design based on propriety. The model church was designed and illustrated by Wills; however it went beyond what the NYES requested. Wills’ design for an ideal neo-Early English Church was unlike the CCS’s ideal church; it was not derived from a single medieval model. Wills created a more elaborate neo-Early English parish church that included a crossing-spire and transepts than his English counterpart. In spite of this, the editor dissected the building to its essentials and explained how both the perspective drawing (fig. 3.4) and plan (fig. 3.5) as proposed, was Wills’ way of providing an entire design that could be built in stages, which was actually a point Wills advocated with his designs.

Wills was aware of the desires of Episcopalians, and he designed ecclesiastical churches that served those values. The *Sketch of a First-pointed Church* seemed to appeal to the latest taste in Episcopal/Anglican ecclesiastical architecture (fig. 3.4). Wills was aware of both ELCCS, St. James the Less near Philadelphia, Pennsylvania (fig. 3.6) and Upjohn’s St. Mary’s in Burlington, New Jersey (fig. 3.7), for these were the latest examples of American neo-Gothic. While these churches both received great press, American “mechanical imitations” of medieval Gothic models were not entirely successful, for these buildings were not entirely suitable for their locations or purpose.²³⁴

²³³ “A First-Pointed Church,” *New York Ecclesiologist* 2 no.1 (October 1849): 18.

²³⁴ Stanton, *The Gothic Revival and American Church Architecture*, 73-83, 91-115.

Wills' *Sketch of a First-Pointed Church* showed his ability to design an ecclesiological-based Early English parish church that was largely derived from "adaptive imitation." He essentially took his knowledge of the parish church of St. Mary's, Snettisham, Norfolk (fig. 3.8) and his own design of the Chapel of St. Anne, Fredericton, New Brunswick, Canada (fig. 3.9) to create his proposed church. The large crossing spire (fig. 3.4), a characteristic of later Gothic parish churches, made the structure appear more significant, and countered the rather ground-hugging design. Wills created a design that he knew appealed to Episcopalians' high church sensibilities, continued in the ecclesiological tradition, and most importantly gave Episcopal churches a very distinct and dominant presence on the American landscape.

Richard Upjohn, The Proclaimed Episcopal Ecclesiastical Architect

Trinity Church, New York City

At the same time Wills was hailed by the NYES as the preeminent Episcopal ecclesiological architect in the United States, Richard Upjohn was also creating Episcopalian churches that adhered to the high church sensibilities of ecclesiology.

Richard Upjohn was twenty years older than Frank Wills, and he arrived in the United States eighteen years before him.²³⁵ Due to his drive, initiative and fortunate

²³⁵ Everard Upjohn, *Richard Upjohn Architect and Churchman* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1939), 19 – 21; Dr. Thomas U. Walker, "Memorial delivered at the American Institute of Architects 12th Annual Convention November 13, 1878," Folder Y-29, Richard & Richard M. Upjohn Papers, Avery Drawings and Archives, Columbia University, New York, New York. Richard Upjohn was born in Shaftesbury, England in 1802. At age seventeen he apprenticed as a cabinetmaker and he left England in 1829, at age twenty-eight, for the United States as a master cabinetmaker. After four years in America Upjohn advertised himself as an architect even though he never received any formal architectural training. Between his ability as a draftsman, his connections, his sense of professionalism, he made his mark on American architecture.

circumstances, by 1840 Upjohn was thought to be the preeminent Episcopal ecclesiastical architect in the United States. This acclaim was due to his receiving the commission for designing and constructing the third Trinity Church on Wall Street in New York City, to date the most affluent Episcopal Church in the United States.

Initially Upjohn was contracted to restore the deteriorating roof and expand the second, 1790 Trinity Church (fig. 1.14), but these plans were abandoned when the structure was seen as unsound. Upjohn then submitted his first drawings for the third Trinity Church in September 1839, and his plan departed from the earlier American Episcopal precedent, such as Ithiel Town's Trinity Church, New Haven. Upjohn's design for Trinity Church, New York City reflected his understanding of the Gothic form (fig. 3.10). This was not an auditory church; there were no gallery seats, and he included a distinct articulated chancel space at the end of the nave.²³⁶ This proposed plan was submitted prior to the publication of A. W. N. Pugin's *True Principles*, the Cambridge Camden Society periodical, and therefore it embodied Upjohn's own understanding of the religious character of the Episcopal Church.

Upjohn's initial ideas for design were more than likely derived from his close study of his collection of John Britton's *Architectural Antiquities* and probably from his personal copy of John Preston Neale and John Le Keux *Views of the Most Interesting Collegiate and Parochial Churches in Great Britain*.²³⁷ These books both discussed, and more importantly illustrated, tripartite Gothic churches and also showed articulated chancels (fig. 3.11). While these works may have influenced the initial scheme he

²³⁶ Pierson Jr., *American Buildings and Their Architects*, 162 – 165; Upjohn, *Richard Upjohn*, 51 – 52.

²³⁷ Upjohn, *Richard Upjohn*, 36.

presented to the Trinity Church Corporation, they were modified and changed. The Corporation did not agree to his articulated chancel, seeing it as papist, and this was modified. It took another year and half before the cornerstone was laid and five more years before completion, and within that period A. W. N. Pugin's *True Principles* was published.

Upon its completion Upjohn's Trinity Church went beyond his initial plan and clearly showed the influence of A. W. N. Pugin's *True Principles* (figs. 3.12, 3.13). In *True Principles* A. W. N. Pugin looked at and described Gothic as a total system of design.²³⁸ Upjohn's plans for Trinity Church attempted to instill A. W. N. Pugin's system. Upjohn created a structure that only had the essential features and with architectural detailing done only to enrich the construction as prescribed by A. W. N. Pugin. Still Upjohn was not able to include all the Gothic details he initially planned, such as the chancel or a timber ceiling.²³⁹

Trinity Church, New York City was significant because it was the first Gothic Revival church constructed in the United States.²⁴⁰ It was done in a reserved late-Gothic style of the Perpendicular. While significant for its architectural advancements, what is more significant in the context of my discussion is what the commission of Trinity Church did for Richard Upjohn's career. The notoriety this building and its architect

²³⁸ Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin, *The True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture: Set Forth in Two Lectures Delivered at St. Marie's, Oscott* (London: J. Weale, 1841), 1.

²³⁹ Upjohn, *Richard Upjohn*, 51. Upjohn did not succeed in implementing all of Pugin's principles largely because the Church Corporation vetoed some of his designs. This was especially the case in the ceiling. Upjohn originally intended to have a timber roof, but the Corporation wanted a simulated vaulted ceiling made of wood and plaster.

²⁴⁰ As noted in: Phoebe Stanton, *The Gothic Revival and American Church Architecture* (1968); William H. Pierson, Jr., *American Buildings and Their Architects* (1978); and Leland Roth, *American Architecture: A History* (2001).

received through the press was on a massive scale. In the United States, newspapers such as the *New Haven Herald*; Episcopal periodicals, *The Churchman*; and even other periodicals of the day, *North American Review* and *Dwights' American Magazine* published articles on this unprecedented structure. The commission of Trinity Church and the subsequent press positioned Richard Upjohn as the preeminent Gothic Revival church architect in the United States.

Solicitations and Changing Forms

Within a matter of months after construction began on Trinity Church, Upjohn received solicitations from Episcopal parishes ranging from the prominent to those with little means, urban as well as small rural parishes, across the nation for assistance with plans for their churches.²⁴¹ Sometimes these requests came through middlemen who spoke on the behalf of the parishes because these men had an acquaintanceship with Upjohn. The letter from Reverend George Upfold of Mount Hobart, Pennsylvania to W. N. Harrison was just one example of these many types of requests for a church needed by a parish of moderate means.

[S]everal of my parishioners residing in it[s] neighborhood are desirous to erect a small but commodious Church[.] They have already opened a subscription among themselves and with good success. I have advised them to build one of these rough plank churches, which have been introduce[d] by Mr. Upjohn, and which I have heard highly commended for durability, economy and beauty. And I have to request of you to consult with Mr. Upjohn in relation to some an edifice

²⁴¹ Upjohn, *Richard Upjohn*, 82 – 89; Stanton, *The Gothic Revival & American Church Architecture*, 73. These solicitations came from places such as Philadelphia, Boston, New York City and Burlington, New Jersey. This is also the period when he decried a Unitarian commission in Boston and proclaimed himself only an Episcopalian Church Gothic Revival architect. Prior to 1846, Upjohn had designed neo-Gothic churches for non-Episcopalian congregations. In 1846, a Unitarian congregation in Boston solicited Upjohn to design a neo-Gothic church for them. Although he visited the proposed site and initially showed interest in the commission, he concluded, based on being a conscientious Episcopalian architect, that he could not go forth with a plan for this denomination based on his doctrinal beliefs.

and obtain from him a design and working plan of a building such as in his judgment would suit such a part as I have described, with a description of it made of putting a work together.²⁴²

Ultimately, these requests required a very different form than Upjohn's larger church commissions. By 1846 when Trinity Church was consecrated, Upjohn was highly influenced by A. W. N. Pugin but also fully engaged with the ecclesiological materials produced by the CCS and the building capabilities of Americans; hence his churches began to take on new forms.

An index of Upjohn's library shows that, among the numerous books in his collection, he owned A. W. N. Pugin's *An Apology for the Revival of Christian Architecture in England* (1843) and the first three volumes of the Cambridge Camden Society's *The Ecclesiologists* (1841-1844).²⁴³ For Upjohn, A. W. N. Pugin's *An Apology* justified the appropriation of the Gothic by the Episcopal Church. A. W. N. Pugin stressed in *An Apology* that church architecture needed to serve or facilitate Anglican canons and rubrics "and if these were properly and universally carried out, a vast move would be made in the right direction."²⁴⁴ A. W. N. Pugin's argument for the Anglican Church's adoption of "Christian architecture" and return to specific liturgical practices was in hopes of its reconciliation with the Roman Catholic Church, which did not occur. However he also formulated nine principles for ecclesiastical architecture that facilitated

²⁴² Reverend George Upfold, Mt Hobart, Pennsylvania to W.N. Harrison, 27 October 1847, Box 2 Folder 8, Richard Upjohn and Richard Michell Upjohn Papers, New York Public Library, New York, New York.

²⁴³ Judith S. Hull, "The "School of Upjohn": Richard Upjohn's Office." *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 52 no. 3 (September 1993): 305 -306. For the purpose my discussion I am only highlighting these sources, even though there were other sources that contributed to Upjohn's understanding of Ecclesiology and Gothic architecture. What is most interesting is that he did not own Pugin's *Contrasts*, and it would not be until 1853 that he owned Pugin's *True Principles of Pointed Christian Architecture*.

²⁴⁴ Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin, *An Apology for the Revival of Christian Architecture in England*, 1st ed. (London: John Weale, 1843; repr. Oxford: St. Barnabus, Press, 1969), 25.

Anglican High Church liturgical practice and doctrine. These nine principles become critical to Upjohn's neo-Gothic development.

According to A. W. N. Pugin's study of Catholic antiquity, a "Christian" church must first have a nave and chancel. Second, a tower was required for bells; this was a church feature "never omitted in England even during the most debased period of ecclesiastical architecture." Third, galleries were "contrary to the intentions of the Anglican Church," and he blamed this addition essentially on the rise of the influence of the Puritans. Fourth, fonts were intended for Baptism and were to stand in their original position, near the entrance of the church. Fifth, A. W. N. Pugin believed pulpits were not "unobjectionable, but necessary," yet they should be placed to the side so not to obscure the view of the altar. Sixth, a chancel screen "mentioned as necessary in old episcopal visitations" was required. Seventh, altars must be placed at the eastern end of the chancel, made of stone, and covered with a linen cloth for communion and candles.²⁴⁵ Eighth, according to 24th Canon of the Anglican *Book of Common Prayer*, the sedilia needed to be placed on the side of the chancel to accommodate the priest, gospeller, and epistler who all participated in the celebration of the communion. The ninth principle reinforced the decorating of churches with "sacred symbols and imagery" as a way to evoke instruction and improvement of individual behaviors. At the very least A. W. N. Pugin suggested the reintroduction of stained glass with such imagery.²⁴⁶

²⁴⁵ A. W. N. Pugin supported this by noting that these ornaments were still in use even during King Edward VI's reign, a significant point since King Edward VI practically annihilated the rest of Papist ornamentation that remained after the reign of Henry VIII.

²⁴⁶ Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin, *An Apology*, 25 – 31. Entire paragraph was derived from these pages.

In addition to the writings by A. W. N. Pugin, Upjohn was also engaged with the ecclesiological writings of the Cambridge Camden Society. These publications further developed his understanding of ecclesiastical architectural form and also provided him with another model for Episcopal churches. Trinity Church, New York City was an exemplar of Upjohn's initial understanding of neo-Gothic, based on his careful study of publications of historic forms, but it was Ecclesiology as dictated by the CCS that became central to Upjohn's future church designs. Upjohn realized that ecclesiology was increasingly influencing Episcopal ecclesiastical architecture, and Upjohn reformulated his designs to take on that form and arrangement as he understood it.

Upjohn's Ecclesiological Gothic

While Upjohn worked on several large urban or diocesan commissions, he most clearly formulated his ecclesiological neo-Gothic in his designs for rural, moderate-means parishes. Many of these requests sought to construct a Gothic Revival church for several hundred persons and hoped to build "in the most economical manner."²⁴⁷ They were not looking for elaborate structures but for buildings that sustained their Episcopal canonical purity.

Many of these letters of solicitation were similar to the one he received from the congregation of St. Thomas's parish in Hamilton, New York in March 1846.

The ladies of the congregation communicants and friends of the Episcopal Church – are endeavouring to erect a house – which shall be dedicated to Divine Service according to our order.

²⁴⁷ Sam H. P. Lee, Fall River, Massachusetts to Richard Upjohn, 26 March 1846, Box 1 Folder 13, Richard Upjohn and Richard Michell Upjohn Papers 1839 – 1914, New York Public Library, New York, New York.

As our means are very limited, and we have no gentlemen communicants to assist us, we have vote[d] to ourselves the liberty of requesting Mr. Upjohn whose skill and liberality are well known throughout our country, to furnish us a plan of a small Gothic Church, which may comfortably seat three hundred persons to be built of wood...hoping through your kind assistance to be able to combined good taste in architecture with Economy in construction.

And we have ventured to hope you would send us a draft or plan without any reward, other than the satisfaction which warms a generous heart from the performance of a kind act. If we are unreasonable in our request – ascribe it to our poverty and not to our wishes [*sic*].²⁴⁸

The letters of solicitation he received were not usually as blatant in requesting Upjohn for pro bono work, but he accepted the commission. Other small and moderate means parishes placed similar requests, however they were often willing to pay but often below his regular commission.²⁴⁹ He eventually created a system in which he provided initial designs for these small church edifices for a fee of \$100 and eventually \$150, therefore compensating his office for the time on these designs even though they were still created at a loss.²⁵⁰

As a devoted Episcopalian and architect Upjohn was willing to assist these parishes; however to contend with the demand and make it financially worth his while, he began to develop some formulaic neo-Gothic church designs. During these years Upjohn tried to ascribe to the ecclesiological principles for his rural parish church designs, but given the financial resources of the churches, he also developed neo-Gothic designs that

²⁴⁸ Mrs. C. J. Birge, Hamilton, New York to Richard Upjohn, 23 March 1846, Box 1 Folder 13, Richard Upjohn and Richard Michell Upjohn Papers 1839 – 1914, New York Public Library, New York, New York. [The underlining was in the original letter.]

²⁴⁹ For other examples of such letters refer to the following folders in Richard Upjohn and Richard Michell Upjohn Papers 1839 – 1914 at the New York Public Library: Grace Church, Port Huron, Michigan, 13 July 1846, Box 1 Folder 15; St. James, New Haven Connecticut, 31 October 1846, Box 2 Folder 2; Mt. Hobart, Pennsylvania, 24 October 1847, Box 2 Folder 8; St. James, Enfanly, Alabama, 5 August 1850, Box 2 Folder 14; Baton Rouge, Louisiana, 5 May 1851, Box 3 Folder 4. Upjohn made it his policy to donate his services to one church a year, seeing this as a demonstration of his faith.

²⁵⁰ G. S. Norris, Baltimore, Maryland to Richard Upjohn, 15 March 1853, Box 4 Folder 10, Richard Upjohn and Richard Michell Upjohn Papers 1839 – 1914, New York Public Library, New York, New York.

had little to do with ecclesiological correctness, as advocated by the CCS, beyond the associational construct for Gothic as a signifier of Catholic legitimacy of the Episcopal Church.

St. Thomas's in rural New York is an example of Upjohn's standard rural parish church type (fig. 3.14). Done in the Early English style, the church was constructed of wood with board and batten siding. The use of board and batten may have been derived from Andrew Jackson Downing's publications in which this style of siding was not only described as more durable but also an "expression of strength and truthfulness" that "signifies to the eye a wooden" structure.²⁵¹ By emphasizing it as a wooden structure with vertical siding, Upjohn expressed the virtue of the building material thus keeping with both A. W. N. Pugin's and the CCS's principles. It also added verticality to a rather horizontal structure since St. Thomas's does not have a steep pitch roof. It originally did not have a bell tower. It is even difficult to know if it originally had an articulated chancel, and from other early Upjohn designs for churches of this type it seems likely it did not.²⁵² The interior St. Thomas's (fig. 3.15) was left with an open-trussed roof with an exposed scissor truss rather than an arch-braced roof, and the walls were plastered. A central aisle led towards the altar and divided the slip-pews. Overall, St. Thomas's was a simple neo-Gothic board and batten church that facilitated the Divine services of the Episcopal Church in this rural region of central New York. Upjohn essentially created a

²⁵¹ A. J. Downing, *The Architecture of Country Houses; Includes Designs for Cottages, Farm Houses, and Villas. With Remarks on Interiors, Furniture, and the Best Modes of Warming and Venting. With Three Hundred and Twenty Illustrations* (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1850; repr. New York: Da Capo Press, 1968), 51.

²⁵² Upjohn, *Richard Upjohn*, 91. In 1853, the transept and bell tower were added; the church was also elongated, which could mean that the chancel was added as well. However none of this is very clear in either the archival records or from Upjohn's biography.

church to serve the parish. It did not adhere entirely to the ecclesiological principles espoused by the CCS or A. W. N. Pugin for a parish church, but he provided a distinct albeit standardized Upjohn ecclesiological design for the Episcopal Church that stood out in the American landscape.

Wills' Ecclesiology Book and Upjohn's Pattern Book

Both Wills and Upjohn saw that there was a demand by American Episcopalians for books about constructing ecclesiological churches, and each author produced his own. In 1847 Upjohn proposed to publish a pattern book available by subscription that would address the demands for simple, moderate costing country churches. The proposed book, *Designs for Country Churches, and Rural Houses, consisting of Plans, Sections, Elevations, Details and Perspective Views of Each Church and House; with Designs for Church Furniture and Decorations, and Hints upon Stained Glass, &c. &c.*, was to be a one volume, royal-quarto style lithograph book with eight designs for churches and houses with “full letter press description.” The proposed designs were similar to the ones he had built in New England and the Middle states. His proposed church designs were to be plain and “should come within the means of the feeblest congregation, yet be in all its essential features, *a Church [sic]*” and would adhere to the “fitness of arrangement.”²⁵³

From evidence in the archival records, Upjohn seemed to have mailed the circular directly to Episcopal priests, and he also ran an advertisement in the *Banner of the Cross* (1839 – 1861), an Episcopalian periodical that circulated among Episcopal subscribers in

²⁵³ Circular 1 March 1847, Box 14 Folder 4, Richard Upjohn and Richard Michell Upjohn Papers 1839 – 1914, New York Public Library, New York, New York. Entire paragraph was derived from the circular.

the United States and its territories.²⁵⁴ While he attempted to solicit subscriptions for his book, and he did have subscribers, the proposed pattern book was delayed for five years. Over the next several years Upjohn continued to be inundated with requests for smaller parish church designs while his practice expanded into designing houses, civil buildings, and larger churches. Although there was a need for Episcopal ecclesiological church plans, Upjohn still did not publish his proposed pattern book specifically targeting rural parishes because he did not have enough subscriptions for such an endeavor.

As the “official architect” of the NYES and because of his work in the United States, Wills realized that the endeavors by the society were limited. He recognized that there continued to be lack of historical knowledge about English ecclesiastical architecture and the way the principles of Ecclesiology served High Church Episcopalian ritual practices. In addition to this lack of knowledge he also realized that there was a need for available ecclesiological church designs. Therefore in 1850, Wills published *Ancient English Ecclesiastical Architecture and Its Principles, Applied to The Wants of the Church at the Present Day* in an attempt to reach a larger audience than the *NYE* and to resolve this problem of the need for ecclesiological design.

Frank Wills’ Publication

Frank Wills’ *Ancient English Ecclesiastical Architecture* needs to be understood as a book in the same vein as Bishop John Henry Hopkins’ *Essay on Gothic Architecture*

²⁵⁴ Carlton Chase Claremont, New Hampshire to Richard Upjohn, 22 March 1847, Box 2 Folder 4; Asel D. Cole Ralamasoo, Michigan to Richard Upjohn, 28 April 1847, Box 2 Folder 4; Henry L. Noble, Cleveland, Ohio to Richard Upjohn, 13 August 1847, Box 2 Folder 6; T. W. Seward, Cazenovia, New York to Richard Upjohn, 30 November 1847, Box 2 Folder 9; W. R. Holt, M.D., Kentucky to Richard Upjohn, 29 March 1847, Box 10 Folder 13, Richard Upjohn and Richard Michell Upjohn Papers 1839 – 1914, New York Public Library, New York, New York. These letters all reference the advertisement or circular.

(1836). It was not a pattern book or an antiquarian book but a treatise on Gothic ecclesiological architecture. While Hopkins' *Essay* was specifically targeted at Episcopal clergy, Wills directed his work towards the general American reader interested in ecclesiology, therefore writing to laity, clergy, and even trained architects. In addition to his self-promotion, Wills' book presented a concise source on and a theoretical understanding of ecclesiology that he saw as the answer to Episcopalian church design.

Wills' published his book with the major Episcopalian publishing house in New York City, Stanford and Swords. It was a single edition with a relatively large run.²⁵⁵ His work was well-publicized and received both positive and negative reviews in United States and England in periodicals including the *Ecclesiologist*, *New York Ecclesiologist*, *Episcopal Recorder*, and *The Church Review & Ecclesiastical Register*, depending on the periodicals' low or high church position.²⁵⁶ His book had an appeal because there was already an Episcopalian interest in ecclesiastical Gothic architecture in America and a large demand for better models. Wills' *Ancient English Ecclesiastical Architecture* can be seen as a hybrid of American and English thought. American Episcopalian ecclesiastical neo-Gothic as prescribed by Wills in his book and his churches adhered to the Ecclesiological principles yet took on its own character.

The book consisted of an introduction, four body chapters and an appendix. The introduction, like that by Hopkins, began with a fairly straightforward outline of the

²⁵⁵ Elizabeth Ann McFarland, "The Invisible Text: Reading Between the Lines of Frank Will's Treatise, *Ancient English Ecclesiastical Architecture*" (master's thesis, Cornell University, 2007), 11. Today there are nearly one hundred copies worldwide which substantiates the claim about the quantity of the publication.

²⁵⁶ McFarland, "The Invisible Text," 11; "Ecclesiastical Architecture," *Episcopal Recorder*, 20 April 1850, 14. This Low-Church periodical scathingly reviewed Wills' book closing the review of the book with, "such sentiments, cherished by minds yearning after the *material*, should be insensibly drawn away from the spiritualities of the faith."

book's content and a discussion of the intended audience. Chapter One began with a four-page Ecclesiological preamble, thus setting the tone for the rest of the book. Wills elevated the study of architecture above all other arts and decried Classical architecture largely for its pagan association. He described how architecture expressed "the religious feeling of a people," hence his debasing pagan architecture in favor of Christian architecture.

After his preamble in Chapter One, Wills provided a history of English ecclesiastical architecture from the ascendance of William the Conqueror in 1066 to the reign of Henry VIII in 1509. The history of English ecclesiastical architecture made up about half of the book, and it was important for illustrating to Americans the progression and developments of this architecture. Building upon the previous chapter, in Chapter Two Wills proceeded at length with the discussion of form and arrangement of churches. He noted that knowledge of architectural details was not sufficient for constructing a neo-Gothic church. However, when one knew the individual details in combination with each other it was then possible to produce a "perfect" building. The crux of his Chapter Two was clearly about defining the different features between a parish church and a cathedral. Wills' discussion of cathedral form and furnishings also informed readers of what was appropriate for parish churches. Ultimately, from this chapter the reader gained the ability to see the parts as a whole and to understand its significance symbolically and in function. Overall, Chapters One, Two, and Four were informative and provided an

understanding for the reasons why pre-Reformation forms were relevant to the modern liturgical practices.²⁵⁷

These chapters provided a concise source to ecclesiology and application of its principles to Americans. Wills reinforced the connection between architecture and dogma. While low church ideology associated neo-Gothic with heresies, corruption and rejected it for its catholicity, Wills further defended the appropriation of the Gothic. He like other high churchmen and ecclesiologists saw “[t]here [was] a catholicity in Architecture as well as in the Church,” and if catholicity could be “separated from Popery as well in one [the Church] as the other [architecture]” then it was the Episcopal Church’s right to use it, for catholicity was the Church’s inheritance.²⁵⁸ Drawing from John Newman’s *Via Media*, a work that identified the Anglican Church as both Catholic and Protestant, Wills as an Ecclesiologist embraced the Catholic tenets of the Anglican faith in the built environment and its liturgy.

Wills’ passion and fervor for neo-Gothic ecclesiological architecture is best seen in his third chapter. Repulsed by “sham,” novel, and showy architecture and longing for architecture that spoke for the period, Wills touted the Gothic as the refuge for the time. Drawing from A. W. N. Pugin’s *True Principles* he stated “[a]s in morals so in Architecture, ‘honesty is the best policy’.”²⁵⁹ He even gave credit to A. W. N. Pugin for being the first who had “clearly showed us what the true principles of Pointed

²⁵⁷ Chapter Four was on the topic of grave monuments. He established the power these monuments had in conveying messages; he then gave several pages to explaining appropriate designs and types for Anglican graveyards along with the orientations of headstones.

²⁵⁸ Frank Wills, *Ancient English Ecclesiastical Architecture and Its Principles, Applied to the Wants of the Church At the Present Day* (New York: Stanford and Swords, 1850), 10.

²⁵⁹ Wills, *Ancient English Ecclesiastical Architecture*, 84.

Architecture were.”²⁶⁰ For Wills, Gothic or Pointed churches depended on “reality” in the way materials were used and in the creation of architectural details, thus restraining redundancy. From his appropriation of A. W. N. Pugin’s principle of truth in materials, Wills expressed that there were three main objectives for any building:

First, Convenience, or adaptation to the purpose for which a building is erected.
Secondly, Beauty, which in a church should be solemnity and grandeur.
Thirdly, Durability, without which the other two requisites are little better than worthless.²⁶¹

While Wills contended the first objective could be achieved both in a “sham” or a “real” building, the second objective, “Beauty” could not, and “Durability” was essentially a byproduct of the other two.

After establishing the main ecclesiological principle as “Reality” Wills talked about specific elements and materials used to construct a church and what as a whole the structure did for its people. The Anglican Church “is the great school where all that is good, and beautiful, and holy, is to be elevated and spiritualized.”²⁶² Wills argued a church built well and honestly was meant more for endurance rather than the allusion of imitated grandeur. He further discussed various materials – including brick and wood as structural materials – and how they could be used to allow a church building to maintain its “solemnity.” Ultimately, materiality in churches was not about the ingenuity of

²⁶⁰ Wills, *Ancient English Ecclesiastical Architecture*, 85.

²⁶¹ Wills, *Ancient English Ecclesiastical Architecture*, 86. Wills’ appropriation of Pugin’s three objectives for architecture are more than likely derived from Vitruvius’s *De Architectura* where Vitruvius stated architecture needed to be: useful, beautiful and solid. This concept continued to be echoed in England through works such as Henry Wolten, *The Elements of Architecture* (1624) and others.

²⁶² Wills, *Ancient English Ecclesiastical Architecture*, 87.

humanity but about the Divinity and the Grace that God provided, and this is how Wills understood neo-Gothic.²⁶³

When he closed Chapter Three, Wills presented a very distinct American understanding about ecclesiological neo-Gothic. He strongly believed in the copying of Gothic architecture, but he stated “it should not be a slavish *literal* copying of any particular building, but rather the adopting the spirit which actuated its builders.”²⁶⁴ At the same time he reinforced the value of comprehensive imitation, for it was the way to understand the parts that made up the whole. By imitating Gothic churches in materials, form, and arrangement he optimistically saw the future of Episcopalian churches as being places that would draw attention, reverence, and adoration of those knowing they were at *a house of God*.²⁶⁵

St. George's (consecrated - St. Peter's), Milford, Connecticut

The concluding paragraph of Chapter Three provided the context for the five plates and descriptions of churches designed by Wills. While the inclusion of these plates can be seen as a blatant advertisement of his work, they also served as models of Wills' idea of “adaptive imitation.” The analysis of Wills' plates and description of St. George's, Milford, Connecticut (fig. 3.16) noted in reviews by the NYES and the ELCCS bring to light how Wills' works fostered an American Ecclesiological, not English Ecclesiological, neo-Gothic in the United States.²⁶⁶

²⁶³ Wills, *Ancient English Ecclesiastical Architecture*, chapter 3.

²⁶⁴ Wills, *Ancient English Ecclesiastical Architecture*, 91. [Italics are mine.]

²⁶⁵ Wills, *Ancient English Ecclesiastical Architecture*, 92. [Italics are mine.]

²⁶⁶ Wills was commissioned to design a church for the parish of St. George's in Milford, Connecticut. The new church that replaced the previous structure was originally to be consecrated St. George's but it

Wills derived St. George's form and its arrangement from his emersion in ecclesiology, and it was predicated on his core principle of "Reality." The overall inspiration for his designs was the "first-pointed" or Early English. Keeping to the essential principles of ecclesiology, the church was oriented on the cardinal points of west-east and consisted of two parts, a nave and articulated chancel – located in the east. The entrance to the church was located in the second bay on the south wall; however, instead of a porch entrance, this church had a sixteen-foot square tower.²⁶⁷ The tower culminated into a crenellated parapet, which marked the transition between the top of the tower and the soaring octagon spire. The structure was built of rough-hewn brown Portland sandstone (fig. 3.17). All the main walls of the nave and chancel contained stained glass lancet windows. In the west wall of the nave there was a pair of long lancet-couplet windows and an oculus window in the gable. The east wall of the chancel contained a triple-detached-lancet, adhering to ecclesiological principle (fig. 3.16).

Wills' design was based on the English ecclesiastical precedent; but the reception of his design varied significantly between the two leading Ecclesiological Societies in England and the United States. After largely praising Wills for his publication, the ELCCS stated he was "generally quite correct in the architectural views and principles that he enunciate[d]." The ELCCS saw the inclusion of his church designs as "a good thing for his American readers to see these practical exemplifications of the theories advanced in the volume."²⁶⁸ However, *The Ecclesiologist* described St. George's as a

was consecrated St. Peter's by the Bishop of Connecticut in 1851. For the purpose of this dissertation I will refer to the structure as St. Peter's and the perspective drawing as St. George's.

²⁶⁷ According to the ELCCS a porch not a tower was more typical of Early English churches.

²⁶⁸ "Mr. Wills on Ecclesiastical Architecture," *Ecclesiologist* 11 (new series 8) no. 80 (October 1850): 168, 169.

“less successful First-Pointed design” and it was “a very miserable whole.”²⁶⁹ The ELCCS also criticized this church because he used “regular buttresses of a later type” and instead of a covered porch he used a square tower “surmounted by an octagonal spire of a Third-Pointed.”²⁷⁰ The combination of these architectural details into one form was seen as undermining the English ecclesiological practice of imitating the whole form.

Back in the United States, the NYES reviewed the church twice; in the first review it highlighted the design and only wished the design was in the “middle-pointed” style. Their major objection of Wills’ St. George’s was his use of the crenellated parapet on the tower. Otherwise he was praised, for he “ha[d] given us some good plans for simple and moderate sized first-pointed churches.”²⁷¹ About a year later the NYES did the second review on “S. Peter’s Church – *S. George’s Parish, Milford, New Haven County, Connecticut,*” because it had been consecrated. The critique of the church focused on the interior (fig. 3.18) and carefully dissected the design. The article noted how Wills designed his interior based on ecclesiological principle of arrangement, with the chancel divided from the nave by chancel arch, roodscreen, and elevated floor. It also discussed locations of furnishings, the stained glass windows and the windows’ iconography as being determined by ecclesiology and based on its understanding of the rubric. On the whole the church received little criticism.²⁷²

²⁶⁹ “New Churches,” *Ecclesiologist* 10 (new series 7) no. 75 (November 1849): 201.

²⁷⁰ “New Churches,” *Ecclesiologist* 10 (new series 7) no. 75 (November 1849): 201. Two-years earlier the ELCCS began to advocate that in the Colonies and therefore the United States should use hybrid neo-Gothic designs for these designs might serve those regions better. In spite of this, it would not be until several years later when they fully embraced and proclaimed “adaptive imitation.”

²⁷¹ “New Churches,” *New York Ecclesiologist* 2 no. 4 (June 1850): 126

²⁷² “New Churches,” *New York Ecclesiologist* 3 no. 5 (September 1851): 159 – 160. The entire paragraph was derived from these pages.

Much like the exterior, the interior of St. Peter's exemplified Wills' mature understanding and commitment to American ecclesiology. His interiors were often sparse in their finish; nevertheless they are warm and intimate spaces, not austere and cold. He created a welcoming ecclesiological and reverential space for those to participate communally in worship.

Wills' design evoked the Early English, yet it was not "mechanical" but "adaptive imitation." Wills always attempted to adhere to the ecclesiological arrangement as promoted by the CCS/ELCCS, for this was a "Reality" that needed to be adhered to, since it facilitated the Catholic liturgical practices of the Anglican and by extension Episcopal Church.²⁷³ The form he advocated in his book did not need to slavishly imitate medieval models, but according to Wills, as long as one knew how the parts worked together as a whole then these models could be adapted.

For Episcopalian Ecclesiologists, St. George's/St. Peter's exemplified their understanding of ecclesiology and its relation to their faith. The more conservative Anglican ecclesiologists in England scoffed in haughty derision about the form and only gave it nominal recognition as a model of an ecclesiological church-type. However, American Ecclesiologists believed it finally gave other Americans grounding in ecclesiology and an understanding of why these principles needed to be adopted and put into practice.

²⁷³ Wills' plans only veered from his ecclesiological principles if the building committee undermined him.

Upjohn's Publication

Wills tried to supply Episcopalians' demands for constructing ecclesiastical architecture with a comprehensive understanding of English ecclesiastical architectural history and ecclesiology. Upjohn, also knowing the market for such knowledge, tried to assist Episcopalians especially in the newly-settled rural regions of the United States by producing a pattern book in 1852.²⁷⁴ As addressed earlier in this chapter, five years earlier and three years prior to Wills' book, in 1847 Upjohn had sought subscriptions for a book of plans for country churches and rural houses but never published the book he planned. Eventually in 1852, he went ahead with a similar pattern book that was targeted at rural regions, as he advertised in 1847, although with fewer buildings. In *Upjohn's Rural Architecture* (1852), Upjohn presented four plans: a church, chapel, parsonage, and school, but it was his plan for the church that showed the direct influence of Wills' book upon Upjohn's ecclesiastical form.²⁷⁵

The form and arrangement of the church and chapel designs Upjohn provided distinctly expressed Upjohn's engagement and exposure to Ecclesiology. Upjohn, who was passionately committed to both architecture and his faith, adopted the ecclesiastical arrangement as espoused by Wills as his own. Through his pattern book Upjohn then disseminated this "adaptive imitation" neo-Gothic in a more pragmatic way. Although Wills had provided his readers with perspective drawings and general specifications of the measurements, if an individual or parish wanted an ecclesiastical church based on

²⁷⁴ Receipt of Delivery of *Upjohn's Rural Architecture* to Publisher Office, 23 June 1852, Box 14 Folder 4, Richard Upjohn and Richard Michell Upjohn Papers 1839 – 1914, New York Public Library, New York, New York.

²⁷⁵ Hull, "School of Upjohn," 306. According to Hull's appendix a copy of Wills' book was a part of the Upjohn book collection donated to the Avery Architectural and Fine Arts Library at Columbia University.

Wills' models they had to solicit his services. On the other hand, Upjohn's pattern book provided straightforward and practical general plans (fig. 3.19) and full working drawings (fig. 3.20) that he expected "any intelligent mechanic" to be able to build.²⁷⁶

By comparing the perspective drawings of Wills' St. George's (fig. 3.16) and Upjohn's Rural Church (fig. 3.21) it is possible to see the connection between these two designs. Both were executed in the Early English style and aside from their use of different materials they at first seem identical. Upjohn even presented his rendering from the same perspective as Wills' St. George's. While Upjohn's ground plan and arrangement were seen as suitable because his plan and arrangement was essentially the Wills' St. George's, a church highly praised by NYES, the form of Upjohn's received some criticism from the NYES. Upjohn merely adapted the arrangement to a more inexpensive material – wood – adjusted its dimensions, and modified some architectural details.

Many of the variations of the details can be attributed to the structural materials and also because Upjohn was trying to facilitate the demand for small, inexpensive but ecclesiological sound structures. Upjohn's Rural Church had no buttresses, given that buttresses on a wooden church have no structural necessity. Another difference between the two perspective drawings was the tower designs. While similarly placed, Upjohn's tower was more modest in its design. His tower was square like Wills', but instead of demarcating the transition between tower and octagonal spire with an octagonal belfry and parapet, Upjohn kept a square belfry with no parapet and capped the tower with a

²⁷⁶ Richard Upjohn, *Upjohn's Rural Architecture Designs, Working Drawings and Specifications for a Wooden Church, and Other Rural Structures*, 1st ed. (New York: George P. Putnam, 1852; New York: Da Capo Press, 1972), Preface.

hexagonal spire. Besides the shape of the belfry-stage Wills had open lancets whereas Upjohn included louvered lancets that protected the bells.

The last structural differences were the windows. While both Upjohn and Wills held to the ecclesiological principle that the eastern wall of the chancel should contain a triple lancet as symbol of the doctrinal belief in the Trinity, the other windows did not match. Both used lancet windows in the south wall of the chancel and nave. Wills' church also adhered to the propriety of proportion as dictated by the Ecclesiologists.²⁷⁷ Upjohn on the other hand did not hold to this, and his lancets are squatter and wider. Other similar but different architectural details were the inclusion of crosses located on the peak of the roof. Wills placed the crosses on the far eastern wall gable peak of the chancel and the peak of the western end of the nave, whereas Upjohn placed his two differently designed crosses on the eastern end gable peak of the nave and chancel. Despite these slight variations in material and design, Upjohn essentially dispersed Wills' St. George's as the Episcopalian prototype of ecclesiological neo-Gothic across the nation.

The *NYE* provided a relatively positive review of Upjohn's book. It acknowledged that there was a "demand for a work of this kind in our country [that was] doubtless great, more especially in its newer settlements."²⁷⁸ It further saw this pattern book as an authoritative source, but only for rural regions because there was lack of ecclesiological understanding in those areas. The article also implied that Upjohn's designs lacked the sophistication that urban areas required. Even though Upjohn had

²⁷⁷ According to the CCS studies of Early English churches, this style of church had lancet windows with either a ratio of 1:7 or 1:8.

²⁷⁸ "Upjohn's Rural Architecture," *New York Ecclesiologist* 4 no. 6 (November 1852): 182.

designed these plans for rural regions and they were in accordance with ecclesiological principles of arrangement and truth in materials, it was his rather formulaic symmetrical execution of neo-Gothic that continued to draw criticism.²⁷⁹ The *NYE* criticized Upjohn's pattern book specifically because he only had one plan for a church, a chapel, a parsonage, and a school with no suggestions about variation. Despite this criticism of the uniformity in neo-Gothic ecclesiastical form, the *NYE* promoted Upjohn's book and did not doubt its usefulness, especially since he did more than provide a plan for a church.

In addition to the architectural plans, Upjohn also included working drawings for ecclesiastical furnishings (fig. 3.22). The *NYE* was impressed by this addition and saw the inclusion of furnishings as necessary in order to facilitate the liturgical practices within the space. Overall he created a comprehensive plan down to the placement of the furnishings with the exception of the font, but his plans did not end there. Upjohn also designed three other structures, essentially thinking of an Episcopal community as a whole with needs besides a place of worship.

The church design was meant to facilitate communal worship, and if a parish built a church it probably had a priest. The priest and possibly his family needed a place to live, thus Upjohn provided a design for a Parsonage (fig. 3.23). His Chapel design provided an alternative structure for a smaller community who did not have a permanent priest (fig. 3.24). This structure too adhered to the essential ecclesiological proprieties. This design also seems to echo an earlier mode of Upjohn's ecclesiastical design that he developed prior to his exposure to ecclesiology. The Chapel was symmetrical externally

²⁷⁹ He never fully embraced asymmetry, not until his son, Richard Michell Upjohn, became a full-partner in the firm, in 1853, then churches designed by the Upjohn firm started to prescribe to the asymmetry of the picturesque.

and internally (fig. 3.25). There was no articulated chancel, yet he created a sanctuary separated from the pews by a rail. This design he used in his earlier “Gothic” churches like Trinity Church, New York City, but it also subscribed to the ecclesiological notion that a chapel did not need an articulated chancel.

Upjohn also included a set of plans for a schoolhouse (fig. 3.26). Education was an important value in America, and in this period most religious sects often established the first institutions of education in their communities. This was partly done to fulfill a need, but it was also a way for denominations to acquire more members to its faith. As communities became more settled in the rural parts of America, they often built churches and schools after their homes. Upjohn understood there was a need for such structures, and also as a High Church Episcopalian he wanted to ensure that his denomination had every opportunity to spread and grow.

Wills’ and Upjohn’s Legacies

On the whole Richard Upjohn and Frank Wills both made substantial contributions to American neo-Gothic architecture. Both men were raised Anglican and came to the United States to make careers, but they also solidified English neo-Gothic architecture as a distinctly Episcopalian architectural form. While both men were high churchmen and understood the principles of ecclesiology, each interpreted and adapted these principles to serve the Episcopal Church.

Through their publications each revealed their dogmatic stances on ecclesiology and neo-Gothic architecture. Each of these men created publications to serve the needs of the Episcopal Church and its understanding of ecclesiastical architecture. Their

approaches differed significantly. Wills supplied that need with a very English approach. His book was a treatise, a theoretical and systematic approach to comprehending ecclesiology, and did not address the practical application of this ideology but rather its theory and history. However, Upjohn's pattern book, although concerned with ecclesiology, simplified its teachings to the core essentials of arrangement and form. Believing in the inherent association of Gothic and Church Catholic, Upjohn designed church plans in order to facilitate high church liturgical practices. He was not necessarily concerned with the ecclesiological symbolic theory but the pragmatic construction of Episcopalian neo-Gothic churches that assisted the establishment of the Episcopal Church in an expanding nation.

Although both Wills and Upjohn were commissioned to design many churches, it was their publications that both helped to standardize Episcopalians' conceptualization of their religious space and Americans' notions Episcopalian architectural form. This distinction in a fully Gothic Revival churchly-form largely developed because of Wills' understanding of ecclesiology that he more widely shared through his *Ancient English Ecclesiastical Architecture*. Upjohn furthered this church form by providing plans adapted from Wills' book. Overall, the neo-Gothic ecclesiological-based designs Wills and Upjohn introduced both facilitated and reinforced a high church ideology that was fully institutionalized throughout the entire Episcopal Church for nearly a century.

Chapter 5

Episcopalians and their Ecclesiological neo-Gothic in the American West

Introduction

Wills' and Upjohn's publications coincided with Episcopal settlement in the expanding American frontier. There is also evidence that their works influenced the design of the Episcopal churches on the frontier. Prior to the 1830s, the Protestant Episcopal Church was not much present beyond the borders of Ohio. Generally, most of the settlers of the American West were entrepreneurs, prospectors, farmers and a people of faith. These settlers were mainly Protestants such as Presbyterians, Baptists, Methodists, Unitarians and Congregationalists, and each group built houses of worship and brought ministers; even the Roman Catholics brought their own priests. The Episcopalians, who settled further and further west, generally had their faith alone to serve them since their spiritual leaders had not settled with them.

It was not until the 1835 General Convention that the Protestant Episcopal Church decided to establish a Domestic Missionary Society to serve the expanding American West.²⁸⁰ It elected Reverend Jackson Kemper of Connecticut to be the first Missionary Bishop of the "Northwest." Initially his diocese consisted of Indiana and Missouri, areas where the Episcopal Church was not officially established. As a bishop and therefore a direct successor of the Apostles, it was the missionary bishop's duty to lead and help facilitate the establishment of the Episcopal Church in these territories and new states. Within a few years Kemper's bishopric covered over 300,000 miles consisting of seven states.²⁸¹ To achieve the objective set forth by the General Convention, Bishop Kemper

²⁸⁰ Hein and Shattuck, Jr. *The Episcopalians*, 69. This act made the Episcopal Church an active missionary institution, and it created two committees within the Society: a Domestic Committee run by High Churchmen and the Foreign Committee managed by the Evangelicals or Low Churchmen.

²⁸¹ Hein and Shattuck, Jr. *The Episcopalians*, 70. Bishop Kemper was known as the Missionary Bishop of the Northwest, and his territory consisted of present day states of: Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Minnesota,

devised a plan consisting of three elements: establishing congregations, building institutions of education and providing clergy.

This chapter is a case study that addresses how the Episcopal Church established itself in the expanding United States through the use of its architectural form. An analysis of the founding of the Episcopal Church in Wisconsin under Bishop Kemper reveals that American High Church ideology and Ecclesiological architecture were implemented by clergy, disseminated through publications such as *Upjohn's Rural Architecture* and ultimately established a permanent Episcopalian presence in this state.

A Land of Spiritual Promise: Wisconsin

It was not until 1818, with the entrance of Illinois into statehood, that Wisconsin became officially a part of the Michigan Territory (fig. 4.1).²⁸² Prior to 1818, the majority of the settlement of the Michigan Territory west of Lake Superior consisted of two forts, Fort Crawford and Fort Howard, both built in 1816. It was French-Canadian fur trappers who did the most substantial settlement of this region. Their settlement consisted of isolated cabins and two French fur trading posts in Green Bay and Prairie du Chien.²⁸³ Only after the 1820s initial lead mining rush of the southwestern corner of

Missouri, Nebraska and Wisconsin. In 1838, Leonidas Polk became the Missionary Bishop of the Southwest that initially consisted of Arkansas and Oklahoma.

²⁸² After the 1803 Louisiana Purchase, the United States spanned both coasts, and the Northwest then also included what is today, Washington and Oregon. The former land that was created by the Northwest Ordinance of 1787 was then known as the "Old Northwest" and was Bishop Kemper's Jurisdiction.

²⁸³ John C. Hudson, "The Creation of Towns in Wisconsin," in *Wisconsin Land and Life*, ed. Robert C. Ostergren and Thomas R. Vale (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1997), 197, 201; Alison E. Smith, *From Exploration to Statehood*, vol.1 of *The History of Wisconsin*, ed. William Fletcher Thompson (Madison, WI: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1973), 163. Green Bay was not even a village, but a trading post surrounded by several habitations known as "Shantytown."

Wisconsin did active settlement and land prospecting occur within the territory (fig. 4.2).²⁸⁴

As settlement increased in the Wisconsin territory, Bishop Kemper in February 1836 appealed to the Episcopal Church:

Why delay our efforts until the ground in the religious point of view is occupied? The M[ethodists], the B[a]p[tists] and the P[resbyterian]s press in with the pioneers, and in this way they have become so numerous in the West. I believe I would now do more for the Ch[urch] in 5 years, with the same means, in that part of the US wh[ich] is North of Mis[souri] and Ill[inois] than I shall be able to accomplish in Indiana.²⁸⁵

Unlike Indiana and Missouri, the region of Wisconsin then part of the Michigan Territory was untouched by any significant settlement, and there was not any dominant religious institution.²⁸⁶ Bishop Kemper recognized that the Episcopal Church had an opportunity to act just as its Protestant counterparts had done and were doing. By creating missionaries before the extensive settlement of the territory the Episcopal Church would be prepared to fulfill the spiritual needs of many pioneers since it would already be established as the United States' expanded settlement.

In spite of the vision Bishop Kemper had for this territory he was unable to act upon it. According to the Bishop of Michigan, Samuel Allen McCoskry, the newly-

²⁸⁴ Robert C. Ostergren, "The Euro-American Settlement of Wisconsin, 1830 – 1920," in *Wisconsin Land and Life*, ed. Robert C. Ostergren and Thomas R. Vale (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1997), 139; Alison E. Smith, 196 – 197. For the purposes of this discussion I will be only addressing the period between mid-1830s and the 1860s. Alison E. Smith provides more statistics regarding numbers of inhabitants.

²⁸⁵ E. Winman of the Church Building Society, St. Louis to Bishop Kemper, 5 February 1836, vol. 52, Box 1 Folder 19, Jackson Kemper Papers 1787 – 1972, Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison, Wisconsin.

²⁸⁶ Alice E. Smith, *From Exploration to Statehood*, 165 – 166, 190. Beginning in the 1820s there was legislation passed that the General Land Office, a division of the U.S. Treasury Department, review the claims of squatters, and by April 17, 1828 these claims were either determined legitimate or not. Although there were lead mines, these mines did not own the land, but they did own the rights or license to mine the land according to the U.S. government that provided the permits, and it was only in June 1834 that the territory established its first Federal government Land Offices for the first official sales of subdivisions.

founded Wisconsin Territory established in July 1836 remained under his tutelage even though the few clergymen in Wisconsin did not want to be under his bishopric. For the next year and a half, a debate ensued over the formation of dioceses. Bishop Kemper informed Bishop McCoskry that “one of the fundamental principles of our Ch[urch] in the US was that Dioceses” were based on “civil divisions.” Therefore, if Congress organized the Wisconsin Territory then this act, according to Bishop Kemper, “cut off your [Bishop McCoskry’s] Episcopal jurisdiction” and these clergymen in the Wisconsin Territory could then “organize a new diocese.”²⁸⁷ Although the clergy in Wisconsin wanted Bishop Kemper, he nevertheless would not respond to their call until all was settled with Bishop McCoskry. That was not until 1838.²⁸⁸

When the Wisconsin Territory was added to Bishop Kemper’s jurisdiction, he immediately made his first official bishop’s visit to the territory. Wisconsin was different from other areas Bishop Kemper ministered to, for its settlement did not really occur until the mid-1830s. At that time it was considered “The West.” These settlers were less transient than the populations of Indiana and Missouri. The “Yorkers” and “Yankees” who bought land on speculation planned to build towns, establish permanent farms or industry, or sell to individuals who either developed or exploited the land. In many cases the people who came to Wisconsin worked on behalf of their business associates back East. Other settlers came to Wisconsin to improve their standard of living because they were able to get more property for their dollars. In these cases these settlers continued to

²⁸⁷ Bishop Kemper to Bishop McCorkey, 11 November 1836, Letter-book vol. 54, Box 1 Folder 20, Jackson Kemper Papers 1787 – 1972, Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison, Wisconsin.

²⁸⁸ Bishop Kemper to Bishop Smith, 20 November 1836, Letter-book vol. 54, Box 1 Folder 20, Jackson Kemper Papers 1787 – 1972, Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison, Wisconsin.

do what they did in the East and desired to have the same institutions they had back in the East, including churches.

Nashotah House

When Wisconsin became a part of Bishop Kemper's missionary bishopric in 1838, there were several established Episcopal parishes, and two churches both had cornerstones laid.²⁸⁹ These were good signs for the Episcopal Church, yet Bishop Kemper continued to be overextended and under-supported, especially with regard to clergy. By 1840 Bishop Kemper decided that if the Episcopal Church was going to succeed in the West there needed to be a way to produce clergy, for he could not depend on those in the East. He decided to establish an educational institution to train clergy in Wisconsin. To fulfill this objective Bishop Kemper went to the General Theological Seminary (GTS) in New York to recruit "self-denying" men to return with him to Wisconsin.²⁹⁰

²⁸⁹ Harold Ezra Wagner, *The Episcopal Church in Wisconsin 1847 – 1947: A History of the Diocese of Milwaukee*, (Milwaukee: Diocese of Milwaukee, Courier Printing Company, 1947), 42 – 43; Wisconsin Historical Society, "Daniel Bread by Samuel Marsden Brookes (1816 – 1892) and Thomas H. Stevenson (1856) Commissioned by the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1856," Museum Label at Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison, WI, accessed July 23, 2011. Hobart Parish or the Oneida parish at Duck Creek was the first Episcopal parish in Wisconsin. This Native American mission parish was established by a portion of the Oneida tribe of the Iroquois nation who was converted to the Episcopalian faith by Bishop John Henry Hobart while they were still in Oneida, New York. Under the leadership of Daniel Bread or Tekaya-tilu, a portion of the Oneida tribe left Central New York to get away from the encroachment of American settlers, and they brought their Episcopal priest, Eleazer Williams. The Oneidas settled in a territory near present day Grand Chute & Kaukauna, Wisconsin. The second Episcopal parish, Christ's Church, was the Euro-Americans' church at Green Bay. These were the first organized congregations of the Episcopal Church in Wisconsin. In 1839, the first Episcopal Church structure completed and consecrated was the Oneida Church in Duck Creek. Today the church is called Holy Apostles in Oneida, Wisconsin.

²⁹⁰ The General Theological Seminary had a reputation of being an institution that produced American High Churchmen and by this period, was being accused of leaning towards Papal Rome.

Four Catholic high churchmen students volunteered to set up a mission, but one dropped out. Bishop Kemper ended up with three GTS volunteers: John Henry Hobart, Jr., son of New York Bishop John Henry Hobart; William Adams, an Irish scholarly-type, and James Lloyd Breck, a romantic and fervent Episcopal-Catholic. From their time at GTS they were exposed to the latest high church teaching including that of the Oxford Movement. Their professors, such as Reverend Doctor William R. Whittingham, a high churchman and bishop-elect to Maryland, inspired them with romantic lectures on church history and missionary work.²⁹¹ From these theological teachings and inspirational speeches, combined with their youthful idealism, these men embarked on a mission of self-denial and sacrifice in order to expand the Episcopal Church under the supervision of Bishop Kemper.²⁹²

Bishop Kemper wanted these men to go to Wisconsin and preach the gospels around the territory as well as to prepare young men for Holy Orders.²⁹³ Hobart, Breck, and Adams decided their mission was a protestant monastic brotherhood. Although there were no permanent vows, they agreed to endeavor in this monastic mission for a minimum of seven years, swore to be celibate, placed their salaries in a communal fund,

²⁹¹ Greenough White, *An Apostle of the Western Church: Memoir of the Right Reverend Jackson Kemper Doctor of Divinity, First Missionary Bishop of the American Church with Notices of Some of His Contemporaries A Contribution to the Religious History of the Western States* (New York: Thomas Whittaker, 1900), 99.

²⁹² For a more extensive history of the establishment of Nashotah House refer to: Imri Murden Blackburn, *Nashotah House: A History of Seventy-Five Years*, (unpublished manuscript, 1966); George E. DeMille, *The Catholic Movement in the American Episcopal Church* (1950); Harold Ezra Wagner, *The Episcopal Church in Wisconsin 1847 – 1947: A History of the Diocese of Milwaukee* (1947); Thomas C. Reeves, “Nashotah House 1842 – 2002 The Catholic Seminary of the Episcopal Church” (unpublished manuscript, 2002); James Lloyd Breck, *James Lloyd Breck : Apostle of the Wilderness : as excerpted from, The Life of the Reverend James Lloyd Breck, D.D. / compiled by Charles Breck, D.D. ; with a new introduction by Thomas C. Reeves* (1992); and Gilbert Doane, “Jackson Kemper and the Establishment of Nashotah House: A Lecture by Gilbert H. Doane,” (unpublished manuscript, 1953).

²⁹³ Imri Murden Blackburn, “Nashotah House: A History of Seventy-Five Years” (unpublished manuscript, 1966), 6.

and promised to adhere to Catholic principles of the Episcopal Church and preach to missions.²⁹⁴ From the outset, the mission organized under these men was religiously progressive compared to mainstream Episcopal ideology.²⁹⁵ At the same time, the circumstances of missionary work also called for such commitment from these men.

Within the first four months the three missionaries traveled nearly 2,600 miles by horse or on foot, establishing and spreading the Episcopal Church. Although still focused on being a brotherhood, these men realized through their travels that many young men wanted more than the preaching of the gospels but also an education or theological training. By 1842, Hobart, Adams, and Breck requested permission from Bishop Kemper to undertake the construction of a permanent missionary and school. In August 1842, they purchased 465 acres on Nashotah lakes, named from the Chippewa meaning “twin,” and decided to name the mission after the two lakes on the property. It was also during this time that Adams and Breck were ordained priests and Breck at age twenty-four was made head of the mission cum seminary.²⁹⁶

Both Bishop Kemper and Reverend Breck knew the demands for clergy in the West were unlikely to be supplied by those in the East. Both agreed the clergy for the West had to be trained in the West. However, they both shared different perspectives of how to produce clergy. Reverend Breck, a fervent Episcopal-Catholic and High Church Ritualist, emphasized the more ritual or Catholic liturgical practices of the Episcopal

²⁹⁴ Blackburn, “Nashotah House,” 7; Thomas C. Reeves, “Nashotah House 1842 – 2002 The Catholic Seminary of the Episcopal Church” (unpublished manuscript, 2002), 26 -27, 37.

²⁹⁵ Reeves, “Nashotah House 1842 – 2002,” 27. There had been no such system proposed before by the Episcopal Church, and there would not be any other attempt for at least a decade.

²⁹⁶ Breck and Adams were ordained in October 1842 at the church in Duck Creek, Wisconsin. They were the first ordination in Wisconsin. Hobart was still East at this time and in many ways was already disassociated with the missionary work in Wisconsin. Since Breck was the one most committed to creating a monastic community, both Adams and Hobart advocated to Kemper that Breck be placed in charge.

Church. He believed “[w]e are certainly taught through the eye as well as the ear.”²⁹⁷

Breck was a devoted Episcopalian, who ascribed to the notions of Catholic symbolism and practices of the Episcopal Church. Inspired by his GTS theological education, Reverend Breck in 1843 commissioned the construction of the first purpose-built chapel at Nashotah House (fig. 4.3). It was within this structure Reverend Breck implemented the Catholic liturgical practices and arrangement of the Episcopal Church as prescribed by the Oxford Movement and the CCS. This chapel, later St. Sylvanus parish, and the liturgical practices within exposed clergy-in-training to a very specific style of Episcopal worship and significantly influenced the Episcopalian built environment in Wisconsin.

St. Sylvanus the Chapel at Nashotah House

The chapel was a rectangular two-story balloon-frame Federal style structure. While the exterior kept with a vernacular building tradition, due to the cost and the capability of the regional builders, Reverend Breck had the interior (fig. 4.4) arranged and constructed based on what was seen as the most essential Catholic or Ecclesiological principles stemming back to the Primitive Church. The space was divided into a nave and chancel. The nave held approximately fifty individuals, and located on the east end was a separate articulated chancel.²⁹⁸ Based on an Ecclesiological understanding of church arrangement, the chancel symbolized the Church Triumphant, a designated space for the officiating of church services and Communion. While the nave literally held the

²⁹⁷ Breck, *James Lloyd Breck*, 109.

²⁹⁸ John H. Egar, “Nashotah,” Chap. 5 in *The Story of Nashotah* (Milwaukee, WI: Burdick & Armitage, 1874), Project Canterbury <http://anglicanhistory.org/Nashotah/story.html>; J. P. T. Ingraham, D.D. “Early Reminiscences of Nashotah” in Nashotah House, *Report of the Jubilee Ceremonies of Nashotah House, with Historical Papers* (Milwaukee, WI: Houtkamp & Cannon Press, 1892), 62.

Church Militant, or the body of Christian believers who strove in their daily life to combat evil and sin on earth. This chapel extended the earlier Hobartian High Church principles by placing an even greater focus on the role of the priest as a facilitator of God's Grace. It also set a precedent for the conceptualization of Episcopalian ritual spaces in Wisconsin.

Settlement around Nashotah House continued to increase, and by February 1846 the chapel became more than the chapel for the seminary but an official community parish, St. Sylvanus. Reverend Breck then modified the chapel to accommodate more people and he also extended the medieval concept into the ornamentation of the structure. The exterior was in the in the older Episcopal tradition of Gothick. This finish can be partly attributed to the ability of the builders and also to the Gothic features that were incorporated into a pre-existing federal-style structure. According to an 1847 account by Bishop Kip:

The Chapel is a wooden building, holding about one hundred and fifty persons. It is painted stone color, and arranged with such attention to ecclesiastical architecture as the means of the builders would allow. The chancel is a recess entirely separate from the nave "the windows are pointed" and the ceiling is a pointed arch, which they were at this time employed in ornamenting with wood work, to produce something of the effect of an open roof.²⁹⁹

From Bishop Kip's account the chapel was adhering to the latest sensibilities of ecclesiastical arrangement based on ecclesiological principles internally. However the exterior remained in an older therefore vernacular Gothick form associated with the Hobartian High Church instead of the Ecclesiological form that symbolized it as Catholic.

²⁹⁹ William Ingraham Kip, "Letter I – First Impressions," in *A Few Days at Nashotah* (Albany, NY: Munsell, 1849), Project Canterbury, <http://anglicanhistory.org/nashotah/kip1.html>.

Other historical accounts addressed how the interior changed. The loft floor that once created the second story was almost entirely removed and allowed for the creation of the pointed arch ceiling. A portion of the second story floor was kept for an organ gallery.³⁰⁰ In addition to the nave modifications, the original articulated chancel was moved to the side to become the vestry, and a larger chancel was constructed in the former location.³⁰¹ These modifications were done partly because they needed more space and also account for the Gothic additions that directly corresponded with the religious ritual practices occurring at Nashotah.

The ritualist, Reverend Breck as the first rector of St. Sylvanus, employed the use of vestments; he used an altar not a communion table; and he decorated the altar with flowers and candles. He insisted on frequent Communion services that occurred every Sunday, Thursday, and on Holy Days and days following prominent festivals.³⁰² Used more for the frequent Communion services, the chancel gained additional importance, for prayers were read from the side of the altar. The Lessons were read at a lectern, not a reading desk, and the pulpit was a separate furnishing opposite the lectern.³⁰³ Keeping with the traditional Catholic arrangement, the lectern and pulpit were placed at the front of the chancel or its west end while the altar was placed on the far eastern wall of the chancel. The chapel's Gothick ornamentation and Catholic arrangement introduced by Reverend Breck influenced the next generation and reshaped high church ideology that

³⁰⁰ Blackburn, "Nashotah House," 72.

³⁰¹ John H. Egar "A Visitor, and his Account of the Mission," Chap. 6 in *The Story of Nashotah* (Milwaukee, WI: Burdick & Armitage, 1874), Project Canterbury <http://anglicanhistory.org/Nashotah/story.htm>.

³⁰² William Ingraham Kip, "Letter III – The Daily Routine" in *A Few Days at Nashotah* (Albany, NY: Munsell, 1849), Project Canterbury, <http://anglicanhistory.org/nashotah/kip3.html>.

³⁰³ William Ingraham Kip, "Letter I – First Impressions" in *A Few Days at Nashotah* (Albany, NY: Munsell, 1849), Project Canterbury, <http://anglicanhistory.org/nashotah/kip1.html>.

was already changing within the Episcopal Church and among his parishioners and the clergy educated at the seminary.

Backlash Against Nashotah

Initially Nashotah House received praise for its endeavors both in the United States and England. From England, Reverend Breck received a letter from Reverend Doctor E. B. Pusey, one of the main contributors to the *Tracts for the Times*, giving recognition to the efforts at Nashotah and seeing it for its promise.³⁰⁴ The praise from Reverend Doctor Pusey, however, became more of a black mark against Nashotah, along with Reverend Breck's institutionalization of rituals and implementation of students' wearing cassocks.³⁰⁵ For some Episcopalians, low churchmen and more traditional Hobartian High Churchmen, these practices and praises only raised concern that Nashotah was training papists.³⁰⁶ These accusations resulted in Bishop Kemper's more active administration of Nashotah House as a seminary and returning it to a more traditional Hobartian ideology instead of the Episcopal-Catholic ideology led by Breck.

In 1847 Bishop Kemper made a request to the Territorial Legislature to grant Nashotah a charter, which established Nashotah House officially as a public institution with a governing Board of Trustees. By acquiring the charter, Bishop Kemper essentially

³⁰⁴ James Lloyd Breck, 59.

³⁰⁵ Nashotah House. *Jubilee Ceremonies of Nashotah House*, 69 – 70.

³⁰⁶ By 1845 in the United States, as well as in England, there was some backlash against the Oxford Movement because of Newman's "Tract 90" which disagreed with the Thirty-Nine articles of the Anglican Church and by this year he converted to Roman Catholicism. Many believed this would be the pattern for all that followed the Oxford Movement or the church would return back to Rome. This concept in the United States was only reinforced when several major Episcopal clergy, who supported the Oxford Movement, followed Newman and joined the Roman Catholic Church. For those against the Oxford Movement, they began to refer to the movement in a derogatory way playing off Dr. Pusey's name and calling it "Puseyism."

ended Reverend Breck's dream of creating a monastic community and was able to placate those back East who believed Nashotah House was a harbor for papists. With the Board and Bishop Kemper's administration, Nashotah went from being progressive in its theological practices to becoming a more conservative Hobartian High Church institution. By the time Reverend Breck left Nashotah in 1850, he had made his mark upon the formation of the Episcopal Church in Wisconsin. He fostered and implemented the Catholic liturgical practices, as promoted by the Oxford Movement, and attempted to influence and create the Gothic form as promulgated by the English and New York Ecclesiologists. Under Reverend Breck's tutelage the deacons that came out of the seminary continued to promulgate the ritualized Episcopal liturgy and drew on the Gothic form and arrangement to facilitate the permanence of the Episcopal Church in Wisconsin.

The Church of St. John Chrysostom

In March 1850 – before Reverend Breck's left Nashotah in 1850 – Reverend William Markoe, initially a member of the Nashotah monastic community in 1844, became the rector of the St. Sylvanus.³⁰⁷ Like Reverend Breck, Reverend Markoe was a High Church Ritualist and continued delivering the Episcopal liturgy with its Catholic tenants. Reverend Breck's successor, Reverend Doctor Azel D. Cole, following the directive of the Board of Trustees that its mission was to be an “academic and

³⁰⁷ Diocese of Wisconsin, *Journal Proceedings of the Fourth Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Wisconsin Holden in Saint Matthews Church, Kenosha, June 12th and the 13th in the year of Our Lord 1850, with Appendices* (Milwaukee, WI: Sentinel and Gazzette Job Office Print, 1850), 199, Google Books <http://books.google.com>; Bishop Kemper to William Markoe, “Letter,” 19 April 1848, Box 1 Folder 15, Jackson Kemper Papers 1787 – 1972, Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison, Wisconsin. From this letter it seemed that it was the intention that Markoe would receive his theological training in New York and return to Wisconsin to continue in his missionary work as a clergyman.

theological, [institution for the] preparation [of] Holy Orders” placed Hobartian ideology at its core.³⁰⁸ Nevertheless, Nashotah continued to have a distinct Catholic character. Cole then began to suppress the ritualism continued by Reverend Markoe. As a result, Reverend Markoe left Nashotah with a portion of the parish of St. Sylvanus and established another Episcopal parish church only two miles away.³⁰⁹ The parish held to the latest Catholic-Episcopalian liturgical practices and built a church structure that fully embodied the principles of ecclesiology.

Reverend Markoe was able to establish a new parish because of the assistance of his brother-in-law, R. Ralston Cox. Cox was an affluent man, a dedicated Episcopal high churchman, graduate from the GTS and former secretary of the New York Ecclesiological Society (NYES), and in 1850 he had recently settled in Wisconsin determined to spread neo-Gothic as promulgated by the NYES. Since there were no Episcopal churches built to the contemporary Ecclesiological standards in Wisconsin, and because his brother-in-law needed a church for his parish, Cox began planning the construction of St. John Chrysostom.

To ensure that the church met the NYES ecclesiological standards Cox requested its approval for the church design in June 1850.³¹⁰ Cox received NYES’s approval for his plans after some modification, probably done by the official architect, Frank Wills. Also in the fall of 1851, St. John Chrysostom was nearly completed because the rector was

³⁰⁸ R. F. Sweet, D.D. “Doctor Cole’s Work at Nashotah,” in Nashotah House, *Jubilee Ceremonies of Nashotah House*, 33.

³⁰⁹ From the historical record it is hard to tell if Reverend Markoe left voluntarily or was fired by the President of Nashotah, Reverend Doctor Cole.

³¹⁰ “New York Ecclesiological Society,” *New York Ecclesiologist* 2 no. 4 (June 1850): 119. “In addition to the regular meetings, your committee held a special meeting in the month of March, when a communication was received from Mr. R. R. Cox, asking for advice respecting a plan for a Church in Wisconsin [*sic*].”

looking for advice on arranging the chancel.³¹¹ This documentation shows that St. John Chrysostom, which has often been attributed to Richard Upjohn or at least to his book, *Upjohn's Rural Architecture* (1852), was not based on his plan. Although there are similarities with the church pattern in Richard Upjohn's book, this can be attributed to the fact that Cox, the NYES and Upjohn used ecclesiological principles as the foundation of their designs.

St. John Chrysostom (fig. 4.5) is a board and batten church that embodies the ecclesiological principles enumerated by the NYES. The church was done in the "First-Pointed" or Early English style not the preferred "Middle-Pointed" or Decorated Gothic style, but a style the NYES saw as a "simple" and "correct" Gothic style. This style was also approved because the NYES recognized there were many parishes in the United States that did not have the means to build the more elaborate "Middle-Pointed." The distinguishing feature of the "First-Pointed" neo-Gothic style was the limited number of narrow lancet stained glass windows located in the sidewalls of the Nave. The structure also kept in the tradition of Early English Gothic because parishioners had to enter through either the south porch or western doors.³¹² Another distinguishing feature that classified this church as "First-Pointed" was the triple-lancet window in the east end of the chancel symbolizing the Holy Trinity (fig. 4.6).

By adhering to the propriety of the "First-Pointed" the church kept with the ecclesiological idea that every element in a Gothic church had specific meaning and

³¹¹ "New York Ecclesiological Society," *New York Ecclesiologist* 3 no. 5 (September 1851): 180.

³¹² This structure was built on top of a hill in Delafield and parishioners originally approached the church up a set of stairs on the south side of the churchyard and were directed by the walkway to enter through the south porch. The road and parking area that lead up to the church on the West end was not created until the late nineteenth century.

purpose. Drawing from documentary evidence from the Primitive Church, the “Apostolic Constitutions” specified that the Christian church needed to be long and “with its Head to the East.”³¹³ In addition to the Primitive Church evidence, orientation of the church structure was also specifically stated in the *Book of Common Prayer* in a rubric pertaining to the Communion Office.³¹⁴ As part of the orientation, the church exterior also distinctly embodied the concept that the chancel and nave were two distinct spaces, and the chancel was the most essential feature, located in the east; without one a structure was not a complete church.

While the exterior of the structure adhered to these ecclesiological principles, internally the advancement of ecclesiology was fully achieved through its layout and arrangement. The church Cox built was a structure that was first “reverential,” and by attaining that reverence, “then will [the builder] find they have attained also that which they sought not, and men will say as they gaze at their work, “How beautiful!”³¹⁵ Through the treatment of materials and the utilization of stained glass windows the interior was designed to be a reverential or devotional space. The nave of St. John Chrysostom expressed that all were welcomed to participate in worship because there were slip pews instead of rented box pews (fig. 4.7). The structure was also constructed of wood, and there were no pretenses in making it appear as anything else. The interior oak structure was left in its natural finish, therefore reinforcing a truth in materials that kept with ecclesiological concept that making material look like something it was not only meant a deception to God.

³¹³ “Orientation of Churches,” *New York Ecclesiologist* 1 no. 4 (April 1849): 108.

³¹⁴ “Orientation of Churches,” *New York Ecclesiologist* 1 no. 4 (April 1849): 113.

³¹⁵ “Why so Few Church Edifices Satisfy?” *New York Ecclesiologist* 1 no. 6 (August 1849): 167.

The greatest advancements of the ecclesiological principles were most apparent in and around the chancel. The distinction of the space was achieved through the principles of *construction* and *arrangement*.³¹⁶ According to the principle of *construction* the chancel was not only to be narrower than the nave but also elevated above the nave floor (fig. 4.8). The plan also distinguished the space from the nave through the physical fabric by having a chancel-arch demarcating the transition of the two spaces.³¹⁷ These aspects of ecclesiastical design were established and commonly used by Episcopalians in the United States by the 1850s. However, the principle of *arrangement*, the act of filling the space with specific ritual ornamentation and furnishings, was a development rooted in Anglican Ecclesiology as I discussed the CCS's ideal church in my Second Chapter. It was then adopted and enhanced by the Episcopalian High Church Ritualists.

The chancel became a more complex space (fig. 4.9). In addition to the elevated floor, a wooden roodscreen topped with a massive wooden cross also divided it. The chancel space then had a set of stalls located on the sides for clergy to sit and did not obscure the view of the altar, which was located in the sacarium (fig. 4.10). The sacarium, according to the NYES, was the location for “the celebration of the highest mysteries” meaning Communion “and being the place of the immediate presence of God.”³¹⁸ Since this was the most sacred of spaces, the sacarium was elevated on another platform with a set of railings where parishioners could kneel when receiving

³¹⁶ Thomas S. Preston, “On the Arrangement of Chancels,” *New York Ecclesiologist* 1 no. 6 (August 1849): 168. According to the NYES the term “construction” meant a distinction made through the fabric of the structure and “arrangement” was achieved through interior design techniques such as furnishings or placement.

³¹⁷ Thomas S. Preston, “On the Arrangement of Chancels,” *New York Ecclesiologist* 1 no. 6 (August 1849): 168.

³¹⁸ Thomas S. Preston, “On the Arrangement of Chancels,” *New York Ecclesiologist* 1 no. 6 (August 1849): 168.

Communion. In this space there were four furnishings: altar, bishop's chair, credence, and a two-seat Sedilia. The altar placed lengthwise against the east wall was elevated on a wooden platform above the sacrarium platform. It is the only furnishing not made of wood but constructed of stone as prescribed by the CCS and New York Ecclesiologists (fig. 4.11). The bishop's chair and the sedilia resided on the lower platform of the sacrarium between the eastern wall and the rails. Traditionally the sedilia consisted of three seats for the Celebrant, Epistler, and Gospeller, but since this was a small church, and due to a lack of clergy in Wisconsin, a two-seated sedilia facilitated those engaged in the liturgical service.

Other furnishings that made St. John Chrysostom distinct at the time and "most correct" were the pulpit, litany desk and lectern. According to *The New York Ecclesiologist* the chancel space was to be used for Morning and Evening prayers and within this space in addition to the stalls was the lectern where the Lessons were read.³¹⁹ The pulpit did not reside in the chancel but was specifically located in the nave on the north side according to Catholic custom.³²⁰ The pulpit of St. John Chrysostom was not really a pulpit but more of a large lectern and may be based on a medieval faldstool (fig. 4.12).

Probably the most Catholic furnishing besides the altar in St. John Chrysostom was the inclusion of the litany desk (fig. 4.13).³²¹ During an Episcopal service the litany

³¹⁹ Today the lectern is not located in the chancel but on the south side just outside the roodscreen in the nave. There is no evidence that tells if this has always been its location or if it once resided in the chancel.

³²⁰ "Form and Arrangement of Churches No. II The Nave" *The New York Ecclesiologist* 1 no. 4 (April 1849): 105.

³²¹ Reverend Doctor Charles Henery, interview with author, Kate M. Kocyba, 25 July 2011. The original litany desk is gone because of a Low Church Episcopal priest in the mid-twentieth century who stripped and burned several furnishings he considered to be Catholic.

was sung before Communion or after either the morning or evening prayers. For this portion of the service, the NYES expected the priest to use a litany desk located within the nave, where he knelt and faced the altar with his back towards the congregation.³²² Reverend Markoe noted in a letter that he “intoned the litany from his kneeling desk and Miss Hitty Cox led in the singing of responses,” thus instilling a more Catholic practice back into the Episcopal service.³²³

Another Catholic concept reintroduced at St. John Chrysostom was the location of the baptismal font (figs. 4.7, 4.14). Instead of being located according to the American Hobartian tradition, near or in the chancel, St. John Chrysostom adhered to the older Anglican canon.³²⁴ Located near the south porch entrance, the stone octagonal font symbolized the resurrection on the eighth day, and its location was representatively significant. According to Anglican, and by extension the Episcopal faith, it is only through the sacrament of Baptism that one enters the Church, thus the font was located near the physical entrance.

Overall, St. John Chrysostom church is exemplary of American rural ecclesiological architecture that was not designed by Richard Upjohn. Its design, construction, and use were firmly based in an Episcopalian-Catholicism. From the Episcopalian understanding of history, theology, church architecture, and liturgy, the neo-Gothic was the only option for architecture. What this church did was not only help solidify another parish in Wisconsin for the Episcopal Church; it gave Wisconsin

³²² “Form and Arrangement of Churches No. II The Nave” *New York Ecclesiologist* 1 no. 4 (April 1849): 106.

³²³ William Markoe to Miss Anketell, 20 October 1908, Box 1 Folder 3, Anketell Papers, Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison.

³²⁴ “Form and Arrangement of Churches No. II The Nave” *New York Ecclesiologist* 1 no. 4 (April 1849): 105.

Ecclesiologists and High Churchmen an example of proper architecture to study and to copy throughout the frontier.

St. Mary the Virgin, Nashotah Chapel: Richard Upjohn's Influence

By the mid-1850s Reverend Doctor Cole, President of Nashotah House, conceded that the Episcopal Church had become a more ritualized institution, as was demonstrated by the appropriation of the neo-Gothic form and arrangement throughout the Episcopalian Church in the United States. This appropriation of neo-Gothic by the Episcopal Church led Reverend Doctor Cole to propose in 1856 to build a new permanent neo-Gothic structure to replace the 1843 chapel.³²⁵ He wanted the chapel to be the most prominent building on the campus, if not in the region.³²⁶ He knew of the churches by Richard Upjohn and his book, *Upjohn's Rural Architecture*, but Reverend Doctor Cole wanted a permanent stone chapel. Upjohn's church in *Rural Architecture* was viewed as a temporary wooden building. Utilizing his connections back East, Reverend Doctor Cole was able to get Upjohn to donate his services to design plans for the seminary chapel. The chapel at Nashotah House illuminates two points of significance. First, it exemplifies the shift in the Episcopal Church's high church ideology, since a Hobartian High Church institution actively pursued a neo-Gothic chapel, a representational signifier of the more ritualized church, for its seminary. Second, it demonstrates how Upjohn often became involved with church projects in the frontier and how he lost the projects

³²⁵ Blackburn, "Nashotah House," 72. By this date the chapel was essentially on the verge of collapse and in desperate need of costly repairs.

³²⁶ Reverend Doctor Azel Cole to Reverend John Henry Hopkins, Jr., 14 July 1858, Box 7 Folder 12, Richard and Richard M. Upjohn Papers, Manuscript and Archives Division, New York Public Library, New York, New York. Only two miles away from the seminary was the ecclesiologically acclaimed St. John of Chrysostom.

because his designs were too costly to build, only then to have his designs practically copied to specification at a lesser cost by local draftsmen and builders.

Therefore, after a visit to Nashotah in 1858, Reverend John Henry Hopkins, Jr., returned to New York in pursuit of assisting Nashotah with acquiring the assistance it needed to get new chapel it so desperately needed. Hopkins had an association with Upjohn, and in July 1858 Hopkins communicated to Reverend Doctor Cole that Upjohn and Company offered its services to the seminary.³²⁷ Since Hopkins had a connection with Upjohn and Nashotah, Reverend Doctor Cole asked Hopkins to act as its representative during the design process. In this position, Hopkins relayed the details Reverend Doctor Cole desired for the chapel to Upjohn and commented or requested changes to the proposed plans on behalf of the institution.

Reverend Doctor Cole as an Episcopal clergyman was aware of church design, and he proposed the new chapel to be made of stone with a polygonal chancel and an alternative worship space to be used during the winters. Reverend Doctor Cole also established that the chapel that Upjohn designed could not exceed \$10,000.³²⁸ Given these parameters Upjohn then could design the structure however he desired. Over the course of the following months Upjohn communicated with Reverend Doctor Cole inquiring about the cost and quality of materials. Reverend Doctor Cole directed Upjohn's questions to James Douglas, a Milwaukee builder and draftsman.³²⁹ Although Douglas was not privy to the architectural details but knowing it was Upjohn's design for

³²⁷ Reverend Doctor Azel Cole to Reverend John Henry Hopkins, Jr., 14 July 1858, Box 7 Folder 12, Richard and Richard M. Upjohn Papers, New York Public Library, New York, New York.

³²⁸ Reverend Doctor Azel Cole to Reverend John Henry Hopkins, Jr., 14 July 1858, Box 7 Folder 12, Richard and Richard M. Upjohn Papers, New York Public Library, New York, New York.

³²⁹ Douglas was the contractor who built the first permanent building at Nashotah House, Bishop White Hall.

an Episcopal chapel, he presumed the building would be done “in the pointed style with buttresses.”³³⁰

By January 1859 Richard Upjohn & Company completed the sheets showing the proposed structure from its ground plan, cross-sections, and elevations (fig. 4.15). On March 10, 1859 Reverend Doctor Cole received Upjohn’s donation of the plans and the specifications.³³¹ Reverend Doctor Cole seemed more than satisfied with Upjohn’s plans because Upjohn created a chapel that fit his parameters (fig. 4.16). Upjohn’s plans kept with the ecclesiological principles for a collegiate chapel. The space consisted of a nave and apse and the nave was divided by three-steps and led into a choir area where the stalls faced each other.³³² There were another three steps from the choir leading into the apse divided by a roodscreen. The altar was placed in the center of the space, not on the far Eastern wall. The pulpit was located on the north wall in the nave, again keeping with the Ecclesiological principles. Upjohn’s design was asymmetrical in that it was a nave with an aisle, and the aisle had a lower roof. This aisle provided more space, and it also provided a location for an organ near the choir stalls. There was also another room that may have been intended for the vestry.

From the exterior Upjohn’s proposed chapel was in the “Middle-Pointed” neo-Gothic style (fig. 4.17). The windows on the north wall of the nave and toward the west end of the aisle were double-lancets with oculus tracery. On the east side of the aisle exterior wall there were two sets of quadruple-lancets tracery windows; these were placed

³³⁰ James P. A. Douglas to R. Upjohn & Co., 28 October 1858, Box 7 Folder 14, Richard and Richard M. Upjohn Papers, New York Public Library, New York, New York.

³³¹ Reverend Doctor Azel Cole to Richard Upjohn & Co., 11 March 1859, Box 7 Folder 17, Richard and Richard M. Upjohn Papers, New York Public Library, New York, New York.

³³² Overall the nave and choir were approximately 82 by 41 feet and the apse centered over the nave was 17 by 26 feet.

to provide more light for the organist and for those putting on vestments. Overall, Upjohn's design was rather minimal in its use of buttresses, and there was no tower but a bell-cote placed over the portion of the structure that marked the transition of the nave from the choir.³³³

In June 1856 Reverend Doctor Cole presented Upjohn's plans at the Board of Trustees' annual meeting. While it was Reverend Doctor Cole who pursued the generous offer of Richard Upjohn & Company, the Board of Trustees and Reverend Doctor Cole did not entirely agree with this endeavor. All agreed the seminary needed a new chapel, but the cost of this structure was the issue.

Richard Upjohn & Company offered its services for free, but the Board decided his design, therefore Reverend Doctor Cole's vision, were beyond the means of Nashotah House. This rejection of Upjohn's design surprised Reverend Doctor Cole and he wrote when returning the plans:

Mr. Upjohn offered last summer to give the plans for the New Chapel without any fear of their being declined by the Trustees. I accepted his kind offer when their regular meeting came around the Trustees refused to ratify my acceptance of Mr. Upjohn's kind gift. Such unexpected result leaves me in a very embarrassed position wherein the least said the soonest mended. I have tried to do right and leave the matter thus.³³⁴

While the Board may have sincerely regretted turning down Upjohn's design, they still proceeded to undertake the construction of a new chapel. The Board appointed Reverend

³³³ Bell-cotes were a feature characteristic of Upjohn's work and used by him for his smaller church designs owing to their lower construction costs.

³³⁴ Daniel Dana, Jr. to Richard Upjohn Esq. 15 July 1859, Box 8 Folder 1, Richard and Richard M. Upjohn Papers, New York Public Library, New York, New York. Dana wrote this to Upjohn quoting the letter Reverend Doctor Cole sent him regarding the returning of the plans. Dana on behalf of Reverend Doctor Cole personally returned Upjohn's drawings and acted upon the behalf of Nashotah House with any further business. From this letter it is known that there was more information pertaining to possible business Upjohn had with Nashotah House, but Reverend Doctor Cole ordered that the letter he sent to Dana be burned after he read it.

David Keene, Reverend Doctor Cole and Reverend Doctor Clarkson as the new Building Committee and empowered them with the collecting funds, deciding on the location and design of the new chapel.

The Building Committee ultimately had the authority over the construction; however the Board established the parameters for the chapel: built of Milwaukee brick, costing no more than \$5,000, not including a tower or windows, and if possible to be finished by Trinity Sunday 1860 or June 3, 1860.³³⁵ Although the Board of Trustees established these parameters, the end product of the Nashotah Chapel (fig. 4.18) was a stone chapel that looked nearly identical to Upjohn's design (fig. 4.17).

The Nashotah Chapel was designed and constructed by Milwaukee builder and draftsman, James Douglas, not Richard Upjohn.³³⁶ It is likely when Reverend Doctor Cole received the drawings from Upjohn he called in Douglas for a consultation before the Board meeting, since Douglas had constructed a brick structure at the seminary earlier and it seems he was to be the builder contracted for this structure. After the Board meeting, three weeks passed before Reverend Doctor Cole returned the plans to Upjohn. This amount of time provided Douglas with sufficient time to acquire what the Building Committee liked about Upjohn's design, adopt aspects, and create a similar structure for half the price.

Construction of the Chapel of St. Mary the Virgin was begun in September 1859, and it was completed in the 1870s. The structure constructed in stone was done in the "First-Pointed," like St. John Chrysostom and had a bell-cote on the "West" end (fig.

³³⁵ "Minutes of the Proceedings of the Trustees of Nashotah House Wisconsin," vol. 1, 16 – 17 June 1859, Nashotah House Archives, Nashotah, WI.

³³⁶ "Contract – Nashotah Chapel" 26 August 1859, Chapel Box, Nashotah House Archives, Nashotah, WI.

4.19).³³⁷ The floor plan consisted of a central nave flanked by single side aisles, but unlike Upjohn's chapel, Douglas created a symmetrical structure (fig. 4.20).³³⁸ He also provided two entry portals, one located through the south porch and the other in the west end that was partially inset and flanked by buttresses, whereas Upjohn only had one in the south wall.

The interior of the chapel consisted of a nave and aisles separated by wooden piers painted stone color.³³⁹ These piers or columns supported wide, slightly-pointed arches that then supported the wooden arched ceiling. The walls were plastered white and pierced with stained glass lancet windows (fig. 4.21). Around 1863 the chapel only had temporary furnishings, primarily wooden benches, but they were positioned according to ecclesiological precedence, facing the altar (fig. 4.22).

The finalized Chapel of St. Mary the Virgin proves that neo-Gothic ecclesiological architecture was institutionalized as part of mainstream Episcopalian mindset by the late 1850s because this was a chapel for a Hobartian High Church seminary. The history of its ultimate design also reinforces the notion that Richard Upjohn facilitated neo-Gothic church designs in the frontier.

³³⁷ Although the Chapel does not adhere to the East – West orientation, I refer to directions based on this liturgical Catholic orientation, in which the chancel or apse is in the East, as do the clergy at Nashotah House.

³³⁸ The nave and choir were approximately 74 by 39 feet and the polygonal apse 20 by 14 feet, 3,166 square feet, or nearly 600 square feet less than Upjohn's plan and this can account for the reduction in price because less material was needed.

³³⁹ "Contract – Nashotah Chapel" 26 August 1859, Chapel Box, Nashotah House Archives, Nashotah, WI. The Contract specified that the columns were to be painted stone color. I can only presume this meant grey.

Bishop Kemper and *Upjohn's Rural Architecture*

The use of ecclesiological neo-Gothic and its arrangement to facilitate Episcopalian High Church liturgical practices were furthered promoted by Bishop Kemper. Once Wisconsin Episcopalians established parishes, they then wanted to build “suitable” churches. Even though parishioners and clergy wanted churches in ecclesiological neo-Gothic, they still needed plans. In 1852, Richard Upjohn’s one-volume publication, *Upjohn's Rural Architecture*, met this demand by providing four patterns for rural regions of the United States. The book was priced at five dollars, and Bishop Kemper bought a copy to assist parishes in his diocese of Wisconsin with church construction.³⁴⁰ Bishop Kemper’s utilization of *Upjohn's Rural Architecture* demonstrates how ecclesiological architectural design was now the dominant church form in the Episcopal Church by the 1850s and how it was dispersed throughout the Episcopal Church.

From Bishop Kemper’s fastidious records it is possible to trace how he utilized Upjohn’s pattern book. Bishop Kemper forwarded the book to clergy and laity who were contemplating building churches, and in many cases these were going to be the first Episcopal Church structures in these regions. His records reveal that he first started sharing the book on February 10, 1853, only a few months after the initial release of the publication. From his notes it seems like Bishop Kemper was smuggling contraband, for he wrote “Show it to no one for curiosity” builders may “take it home a week – it may be

³⁴⁰ “Found Among Old Papers,” Box 1 Folder 1, Bishop Kemper Paper, Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison, WI; Kemper to L. William Davis, 14 June 1853, Box 2 Letterbook vol. 62, Jackson Kemper Papers 1787 – 1972, Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison, WI. Bishop Kemper actually purchased *Upjohn's Rural Architecture* for three dollars instead of the selling price of five dollars.

loaned to country parishes for [three] mo[nth]s.”³⁴¹ Besides laying out guidelines for how individuals were to use the book, Bishop Kemper also instructed various correspondents that once they were done with the book, to then forward it to others who were inquiring about church designs. From tracing the correspondences over the course of nearly two years, it seems that Bishop Kemper’s copy of *Upjohn’s Rural Architecture* was viewed by at least five individuals.³⁴² Some of these individuals have been identified with particular parishes in Pine Lake, Oshkosh, and Plymouth. Bishop Kemper provided access to *Upjohn’s Rural Architecture* and recommended local builders, like James Douglas, who could build such structures in regions where knowledge was limited.

St. Paul’s Church in Plymouth, Wisconsin (fig. 4.23) is one example of how *Upjohn’s Rural Architecture* facilitated the latest ecclesiastical designs in the hinterland.³⁴³ The town was established around 1845, and by 1850 there were three Episcopalian families residing in this settlement. After several years of holding church services either in the home of one of the parishioners or the store of Horatio Smith, the parish decided it needed a purpose-built structure. Bishop Kemper in 1852 wrote to vestryman, Horatio Smith, to “collect for a Ch[urch] at Plymouth. Go on & build [*sic*].”³⁴⁴ The process of acquiring funds took several years. Nevertheless, Horatio and Laura Smith pursued acquiring plans even before the parish raised sufficient funds.

³⁴¹ Kemper to S. A. White, 10 February 1853, Box 2 Letterbook vol. 59, Jackson Kemper Papers 1787 – 1972, Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison, WI.

³⁴² Box 2 Letterbook vol. 59; Box 2 Letterbook vol. 62; Box 6 Folder 2, Jackson Kemper Papers 1787 – 1972, Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison, WI.

³⁴³ The one major issue about discussing Upjohn’s wooden churches in Wisconsin is that if they were not torn down in the later nineteenth century for another generation of churches, then they were modified with additions and expansions.

³⁴⁴ Kemper to H. N. Smith, 17 June 1852, Box 2 Letterbook vol. 59, Jackson Kemper Papers 1787 – 1972, Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison, WI. Horatio Smith was an important figure in the establishment of

On August 18, 1855, Bishop Kemper wrote Laura Smith informing her that he would loan his copy of *Upjohn's Rural Architecture* for it

Contain[ed] a plan for a Church, Chapel, Parsonage, and School House, with minute specifications[...] It is quite at the service of Mr. Smith. I advise all cases the employment of Mr. James Douglas of Milwaukee and [was] now erecting a Hall for us at Nashotah. At a reasonable rate he would supply you with plans and directions. My opinion is that where funds are limited the whole amount should be laid out on the length, breadth, and height of the building.³⁴⁵

Although Bishop Kemper provided encouraging words, the parish of St. Paul's took several more years before sufficient funds were raised for construction. Once construction began, the parish of St. Paul's built its church based on adapted plans of Upjohn's chapel from *Upjohn's Rural Architecture* (fig. 3.24).

In *Upjohn's Rural Architecture* the estimated cost of construction for the church (fig. 3.21) was \$3,000, whereas the chapel design (fig. 3.24) was estimated at \$900. For a small congregation raising the funds through donations the chapel design seemed more practical. There are specific resemblances between St. Paul's and Upjohn's Chapel.³⁴⁶ By comparing the rendering with the structure one can see the similarities in the rooflines and the placement of lancet windows (figs. 3.24, 4.23). The church of St. Paul's is not exactly the chapel plan Upjohn designed, but his is likely the inspiration for its design.³⁴⁷

Plymouth. His wife, Laura, was the granddaughter of Ohio Bishop Philander Chase and this accounts for why they desired a church structure.

³⁴⁵ "Found Among Old Papers," Box 1 Folder 1, Jackson Kemper Papers 1787 – 1972, Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison, WI.

³⁴⁶ "St. Pauls Episcopal Church History," accessed October 16, 2011, <http://www.stpaulplymouth.com>; "History," St. Paul's Episcopal Church, Plymouth, WI, accessed September 6, 2012, <https://sites.google.com/a/stpaulsplymouth.com/st-pauls-plymouth/>. St. Paul's has gone through several modifications within the last 150 years. In 1863 "wings" were added to the church as well as enlarging the chancel and vestry. There were other modifications to the interior including the addition of a pipe organ.

³⁴⁷ "St. Pauls Episcopal Church History," accessed October 16, 2011, <http://www.stpaulplymouth.com>; "History," St. Paul's Episcopal Church, Plymouth, WI, accessed September 6, 2012, <https://sites.google.com/a/stpaulsplymouth.com/st-pauls-plymouth/>. The original church cost \$1471.11 to construct and the parish actually raised, between its own donations and those from back East, \$1,862.50.

Taken as a whole, St. Paul's is another illumination of how ecclesiological architectural ideas were dispersed throughout the Episcopal Church in Wisconsin. Bishop Kemper supplied the wants of his parishes with a pattern book created by the most acclaimed ecclesiastical Episcopal architect of the period, and through the careful passing of the book to various clergy and vestrymen, the Episcopal Church established a distinct architectural presence.

Ecclesiological neo-Gothic means Episcopalian

By the time of the American Civil War (1861), Wisconsin was no longer perceived as the frontier, since half of the state was settled. Due to the missionary work of Bishop Kemper and the establishment of Nashotah House, a specific Catholic-Episcopalian Church was established in this territory, which became a state in 1848. Through the Episcopalian understanding of its theology and specific liturgical practices, parishioners recognized that churches were more than large temporal gathering spaces. These buildings were sacred structures that needed to have distinction. This view was the foundation from which Ecclesiological neo-Gothic flourished and why it became synonymous with the Protestant Episcopal Church throughout the United States of America.

The extra funds may account for the variation between Upjohn's plan and the built structure with the addition of the west façade bell-tower entrance.

Chapter 6

Conclusion

In this dissertation I assert that the use of neo-Gothic architecture by the Anglican Church, and more specifically by the Protestant Episcopal Church prior to the American Reconstruction of the late 1860s, acted as a distinct representational signifier of this institution's doctrine of being both Catholic and Protestant, facilitated its return to an increased Catholic liturgy, and allowed it to stand apart in the American landscape both physically and religiously. These three conclusions about the relationship between the neo-Gothic and the Episcopal Church come from analyses of pattern books, writings on architecture from the period, built architecture and Anglican and Episcopalian periodicals, theological and liturgical writings and clergy and architects' correspondences. By looking beyond the pattern books and the architecture and by contextualizing Episcopal religious architecture in a discussion of a transatlantic exchange and religious cultural understanding, I have employed another methodological model to broaden our knowledge of religious architectural history, centering on primary documents, illustrations, and a case study.

There have been long held architectural historical ideas that the Gothic Revival was a romantic aesthetic promulgated by the British and embraced by Americans, or a move forward in American architectural design theory toward the modern constructs. I have challenged that interpretation and shown that, for the Episcopal Church, the neo-Gothic was embraced first as a symbol of its Anglican inheritance, and second to buttress an American High Church ideology that stressed sacraments and Apostolic Succession. The American High Church also used Gothic-style architecture to separate itself from other denominations in America. By the late eighteenth century, English books and periodicals had concluded that Gothick continued to have its greatest associational and

national values when used in Anglican Church designs. This idea was transferred to America through publications, and by the time of the American Revolution Gothick was viewed as English.

When reestablishing the Anglican Church as the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, its clergy had to reject the oath of allegiance to the Monarch of England, thus severing ties between the American Episcopal Church and the Church of England. Through the use of Gothick architecture as promulgated through English publications and modifying but essentially adhering to the Anglican *Book of Common Prayer*, the Episcopal Church reinforced its legitimacy as the direct descendant of the Church of England in the United States after the Revolutionary War. It also saw itself as the continuation of the Primitive Church. Together these ideas created a distinct American High Church ideology, known as Hobartian Synthesis, nearly twenty-five years before similar concepts dominated Anglican High Church ideology in England with the Oxford Movement, and they reinforced the symbolic importance of Gothic architecture.

The Cambridge Camden Society (CCS), which created the field of Ecclesiology -- the science of all things relating to the Church, but especially church architecture -- codified Gothic architecture into a symbolic representation of the Anglican Church's liturgy and theology. It then espoused these ideas through print and utilized this codified style of architecture as a way to shift the liturgical practices of the Anglican Church to the CCS's own prescription of more Catholic tendencies. Through the observational, empirical study of surviving medieval ecclesiastical architecture in England and its Anglican theological understanding of the worship of God, the members of the CCS fostered the redevelopment of the Gothic from the ornamental Gothick to a perceived

complete historically accurate neo-Gothic structure. Under Ecclesiology, Gothic details and form became not just a churchly style, but also a symbolic system that translated its Church Catholic doctrine into material form.

By creating new churches based on “archaeological” studies of specific medieval churches, the CCS believed churchmen, builders, and architects would have a better understanding of the church’s parts and ultimately the whole Ecclesiological Gothic form. The CCS was both praised and ridiculed for its dogmatic stance of using Gothic architecture for the Anglican Church and its auxiliaries. However, if it were not for the CCS’s commitment to Ecclesiological Gothic and the promulgation of this style, it is likely that the dominance of Anglo-Catholicism would not have occurred or developed as it did in the United States or England in this period. The built environment facilitated the institutionalization of this specific high church ideology that the Anglican Church was at its core Catholic.

Between the 1830s and 1850s, the American Episcopal Church entered a period of stability and expansion that coincided with the arrival of English Ecclesiology. Since there was already an established Episcopal precedent for Gothick ecclesiastical architecture in the United States, the CCS’s Ecclesiological understanding was embraced by the high churchmen of the Protestant Episcopal Church. However, it was the publications and architecture of English architect émigrés, especially Frank Wills and Richard Upjohn, that did the most to create a more standardized American Episcopal Ecclesiological neo-Gothic form throughout the United States.

Richard Upjohn’s work has long been identified in the architectural historical canon, as having brought to the United States the first fully realized Gothic Revival

ecclesiastical structure, with the construction of the third, Trinity Church in New York City. However, his contemporary Frank Wills also played a large role in the development of ecclesiastical Gothic Revival. As I have shown, without Wills' understanding of Ecclesiological architecture as circulated in his *Ancient English Ecclesiastical Architecture and Its Principles*, American Episcopalian neo-Gothic would not have developed as it did. Knowing the needs of the Episcopal Church, Wills' theoretical and systematized approach, combined with his knowledge of American building materials and technologies, allowed him to advance a view of Episcopalian buildings that reinforced the Episcopal Church's system of devotion. Wills died at a the young age of thirty-five. He likely would have continued to be heavily influential in the Ecclesiological Gothic Revival had he lived. It was Upjohn who promoted Wills' ideas through his pragmatic pattern book, *Upjohn's Rural Architecture*, and helped solidify American Ecclesiological neo-Gothic as a distinctly Episcopalian form.

The discussion of the Episcopal Church's establishment in the territory-cum-state of Wisconsin, demonstrated how the Church positioned itself in an expanding nation. Bishop Kemper, a Hobartian High Churchman, took three fervent Episcopal-Catholics to help him found the Church in Wisconsin. The Episcopal Church in Wisconsin, largely because the Nashotah House taught the latest high church ideology, embraced the institutionalization of ritualized Catholic liturgical practices. As parishes were established and congregations grew, there was a need for ecclesiastical structures, and parishioners insisted that they have plans for neo-Gothic churches. Bishop Kemper fulfilled their requests for architectural plans by carefully disseminating his own copy of *Upjohn's Rural Architecture* to the parishes. Through the sharing of this plan book,

Bishop Kemper and the parishes of Wisconsin built structures that further solidified the idea that Ecclesiological neo-Gothic was the only architecture suitable for the Episcopal Church, for neo-Gothic was fully represented and perceived as the material embodiment of its doctrine.

By the outbreak of the American Civil War, Ecclesiological neo-Gothic churches were distinctly identified as *the* Episcopalian form. Nevertheless, the story of the Gothic Revival does not end there. My dissertation has focused on a religious minority that only made up about one percent of the United States' population, yet it significantly impacted American culture because of its affluence and influences. Through both the built environment and its publications the Episcopal Church disassociated the Gothic form from Papal Catholicism and ultimately made it a Protestant form. At the same time of this disassociation, other Protestant denominations in the United States who took up Gothic Revival as early as the late 1840s saw it as continuing in the fashions of churchly structures.³⁴⁸ Moreover, the broader Christian association was fully adopted by most Presbyterians, Methodists, Congregationalists, Baptists, and other Protestant denominations later in the nineteenth century.

A Look Ahead: Continued Investigation into Identity through Style

Prior to the Civil War there was no single unified American Protestant identity. In Antebellum America each denomination held firmly to its doctrine and dogma. During the Civil War Protestant denominations were often more divided by their

³⁴⁸ Ryan K. Smith, *Gothic Arches, Latin Crosses*, 83-86; Jeanne Halgren Kilde, *When Church Became Theatre: The Transformation of Evangelical Architecture and Worship in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), Chapter 3.

regional, political, and moral stances than by their own doctrines. Therefore, with disunion of the United States came the disunion of most of the Protestant denominations. By Reconstruction, America was faced with an identity crisis stemming from the need for post-war unification, increased modernization, industrialization, secularization and massive immigration – especially of Roman Catholics, Eastern Orthodox Christians, and Jews from Europe. This growth through immigration of those seeking work combined with those seeking their power positions in a new Union greatly impacted the way neo-Gothic would be utilized from this period forward.

In reaction to diversity and in response to modernism, Old-stock Protestant Americans looked beyond their individual doctrines and reached out to other Protestant denominations in order to maintain their sense of a unified American Protestant hegemony.³⁴⁹ Just as Episcopalians utilized neo-Gothic architecture to signify and self-fashion their denomination and doctrine from the late eighteenth century through the 1860s, so too did other Protestant denominations in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. By associating neo-Gothic with a broader sense of Christianity, Victorian America was able to adapt this style to suit Protestant spiritual needs and to act as a cultural marker. No greater marker of neo-Gothic as symbol of American Protestantism can be seen than when, in the 1890s, a national campaign to build a neo-Gothic National Cathedral in Washington D.C. began. This structure solidified in the psyche of this

³⁴⁹ Lears, *No Place Of Grace*, xiv; Kristin Schwain, *Signs of Grace: Religion and American Art in the Gilded Age* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008), 5. This portion of American society was a minority who were geographically centered in the Northeast and consisted of members from the economic strata of the bourgeoisie class, the intellectual and moral leaders of America in this period.

nation and demonstrated to the world the notion that the United States was a Protestant Christian nation.³⁵⁰

The historical redefinition of Gothic Revival from a signifier of the Protestant Episcopal Church's doctrine to a general Protestant form has yet to be written. Did the use of Gothic Revival by Protestants in this period result from the disassociation of Gothic style from Papism, or was it the case that in an increasingly secularized and diverse nation, the notion of universal Christianity had "inundated the public sphere?"³⁵¹ What were the roles and associations of Gothic Revival in High Victorian America and beyond? How did the understanding of Gothic form and its associations as espoused by Pugin and others influence the next generations of architects and moralists? These questions only skim the surface of possible future studies and allow scholars to go outside the ecclesiastical framework. While there has been scholarship on Gothic Revival outside the ecclesiastical framework, such as Paul Venable Turner's *Campus: An American Planning Tradition* (1984) and Gail Fenske's *The Skyscraper and the City: the Woolworth Building and the Making of Modern New York* (2008), there is necessity of more scholarship on Gothic Revival architecture and its manifestations.

The story of Gothic Revival architecture shows a complex history of continual evolving definition. From the mid-eighteenth century until the mid-nineteenth century it was the style that embodied the Protestant Episcopal Church. From the post-Civil War period to the beginning of the twentieth century, Gothic Revival architecture can be seen in the broader context of High Victorian moralism, Modern rationalism and the rise of

³⁵⁰ The significance of this structure goes beyond the scope of this discussion but represents a period of Protestant unity and both the power and position of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

³⁵¹ Schwain, *Signs of Grace*, 6.

Modernity. For example, the Gothic skyscrapers such as The Woolworth Building, New York City (1913) and the Chicago Tribune Tower (1923) both epitomized American modernity and commercialism. However, the Gothic style was still strongly associated with the spiritual, and those who built America believed that spiritual pursuits led to a better society. By utilizing the Gothic, corporate America wanted this virtuous association attached to its companies. Hence Frank Woolworth had Cass Gilbert design a “Cathedral of Commerce,” for Woolworth wanted people to believe through commercial pursuits or consumption of goods, society would be united and at peace.³⁵² Similarly, the builders of the Chicago Tribune Tower wanted people to understand that its pursuits were about more than the dissemination of information or its own commercial success; they were about the betterment of Chicago.³⁵³ Even in the modern, secular, corporate sphere, Gothic acted as a signifier of something greater.

Gothic Revival in its archaeological form continued to be used into the mid-twentieth century and it still was seen as an architecture that conveyed virtue and embodied a sense of spiritualism. However, as architecture evolved, the Gothic Revival in its archaeological form dissipated. Yet, as espoused by A. W. N. Pugin the Gothic principles of: truth in materials, structural rationalism, and that “*all ornament should consist of enrichment of the essential construction of the building [sic]*” continued to be

³⁵² Montgomery Schuyler, “The Towers of Manhattan and Notes on the Woolworth Building,” in *Skyscraper The Search for an American Style 1891 – 1941 Annotated extracts from the first 50 years of Architectural Record*, ed. Roger Shepherd (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2003), 184; Katherine Solomonson, *The Chicago Tribune Tower Competition: Skyscraper Design and Cultural Change in the 1920s* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 182. Solomonson quoted a critical or ambivalent foreword by S. Pakes Cadman in Edwin A. Cochran, *The Cathedral of Commerce* (1913) regarding the lofty ideals that Woolworth had attached to commercialism.

³⁵³ Solomonson, *Chicago Tribune Tower Competition*, 182 – 183.

adhered to, if not trumpeted, by the next generation of Modernist architects.³⁵⁴ Although the Modernists abandoned the Gothic Revival form and rejected the spiritual rationale, they adopted its moralistic and architectural theory as their own. As Modern architecture flourished, so came the end the Gothic Revival. It became just one more style of the past, but a style that remains rich in historical, architectural and spiritual material waiting to be investigated and explored.

³⁵⁴ Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin, *True Principles*, 1.

APPENDIX

A.

Tower Position

“This remark applies particularly to the position of the Tower. Now-a-days it is almost universally placed at the west end of the church, that it may “stand in the middle;” whereas the following positions are equally good: the intersection of a cross church, or between the Chancel and Nave, where the church is not cross; these are very common. Other positions are

Middle of north Aisle, Vaucelles, near Caen.
Middle of Nave, Caen S. Sauveur.
North of Chancel, Berneval, Normandy.
South of Chancel, Standon, Herfordshire.
North end of the north Transept, Montgomery.
South end of the south Transept, East Lavant, Sussex.
North side of the Nave, Goustranville, near Caen.
South side of the Nave, Midhurst, Sussex.
East end of the north Aisle, Patching, Sussex.
West end of the north Aisle, Clapham, Sussex.
East end of the south Aisle, West Grinstead, Sussex.
West end of the south Aisle, Amiens S. Loup. Holyrood, Southampton.
North-west angle of Nave, York S. Crux.
South-west angle of Nave, Sacombe, Herts.
Western part of the Chancel, Yainville, Normandy.

It shews the perverseness of modern times, that the only position in which a Tower never ought to be built, namely over the Altar, is almost the only one which in modern churches ever takes place of that at the west end; and it is adopted for the same reason it is “just in the middle” too.”

Source:

Cambridge Camden Society, *A Few Words to Church Builders*, (Cambridge: Cambridge Camden Society by University Press, 1841), 8.

Figures

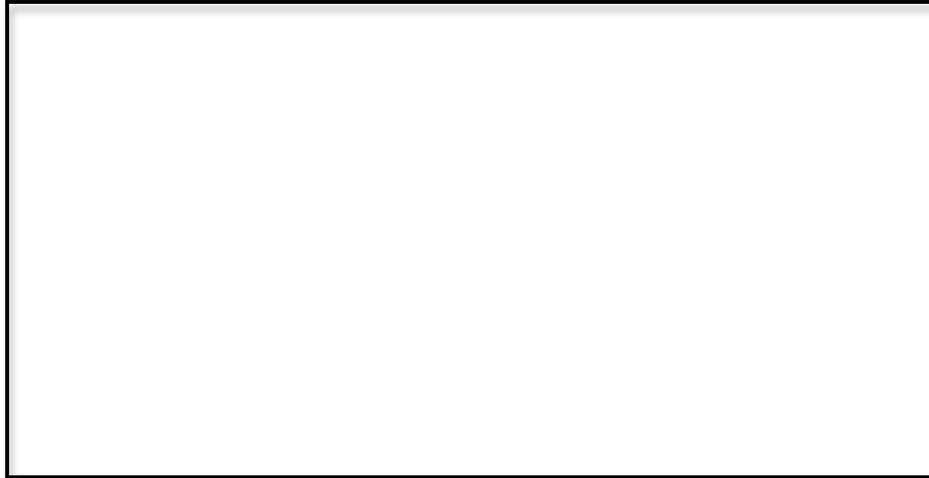


Figure 1.1: *Neo-Classical Street, Upper Merrion Street, Dublin.* Reproduced in: Timothy Mowl and Brian Earnshaw, *An Insular Rococo: Architecture, Politics and Society in Ireland and England, 1710 – 1770*, (London: Reaktion Books, 1999), 8.

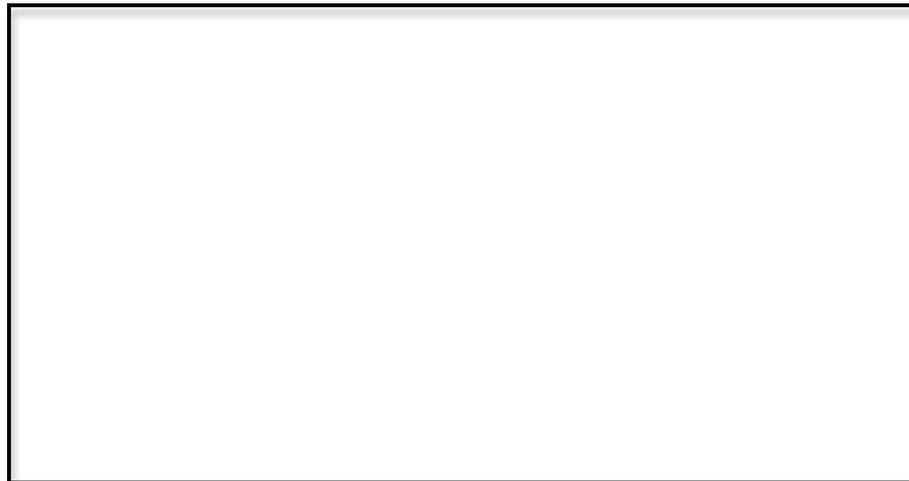


Figure 1.2: Thomas Chippendale, *Set for Backs of Chairs.* From: Thomas Chippendale, *The Gentleman and Cabinet-Maker's Director: Being a Large Collection of the Most Elegant and Useful Designs of Household Furniture, in the Most Fashionable Taste...* London, 1762, Facsimile edition, with Supplement of A Gallery of Chippendale Furniture and A Sketch of Chippendale's Life and Works by Walter Rendell Storey, (New York: Towse Publishing Company, 1938), Plate 16.

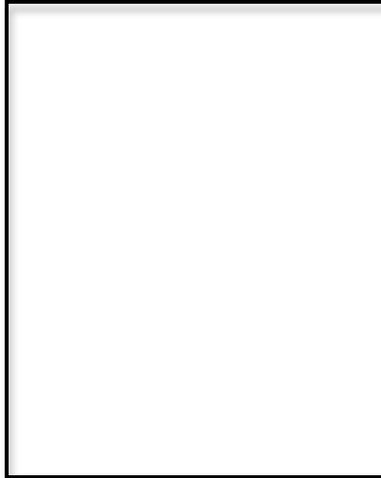


Figure 1.3: Thomas Chippendale, *Hall Chairs*. From: Thomas Chippendale, *The Gentleman and Cabinet-Maker's Director: Being a Large Collection of the Most Elegant and Useful Designs of Household Furniture, in the Most Fashionable Taste...* London, 1762, Facsimile edition, with Supplement of A Gallery of Chippendale Furniture and A Sketch of Chippendale's Life and Works by Walter Rendell Storey, (New York: Towse Publishing Company, 1938), Plate 17.

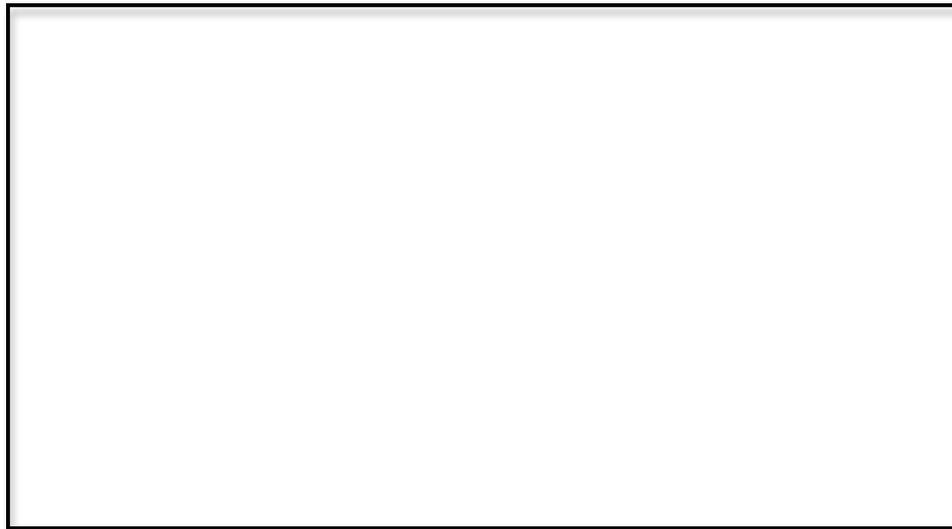


Figure 1.4: Thomas Chippendale, *Library Bookcase*. From: Thomas Chippendale, *The Gentleman and Cabinet-Maker's Director: Being a Large Collection of the Most Elegant and Useful Designs of Household Furniture, in the Most Fashionable Taste...* London, 1762, Facsimile edition, with Supplement of A Gallery of Chippendale Furniture and A Sketch of Chippendale's Life and Works by Walter Rendell Storey, (New York: Towse Publishing Company, 1938), Plate 97.

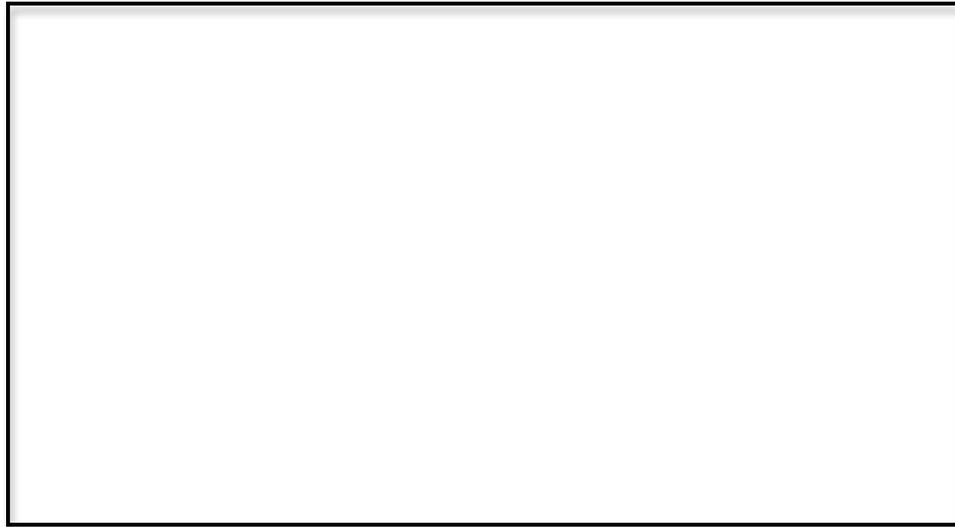


Figure 1.5: Thomas Chippendale, *China Tables*. From: Thomas Chippendale, *The Gentleman and Cabinet-Maker's Director: Being a Large Collection of the Most Elegant and Useful Designs of Household Furniture, in the Most Fashionable Taste...* London, 1762, Facsimile edition, with Supplement of A Gallery of Chippendale Furniture and A Sketch of Chippendale's Life and Works by Walter Rendell Storey, (New York: Towse Publishing Company, 1938), Plate 51.

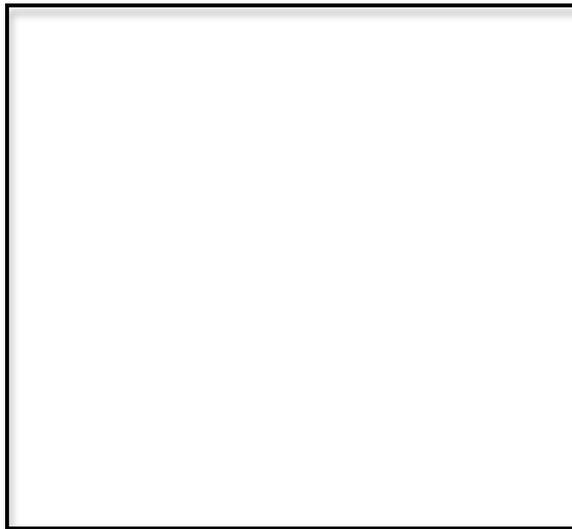


Figure 1.6: *Tea Table, New York City, 1765-77*. Reproduced in: Alice P. Kenny and Leslie J. Workman, "Ruins, Romance, and Reality: Medievalism in Anglo-American Imagination and Taste, 1750 – 1840," *Winterthur Portfolio* 10 (1975), 137.

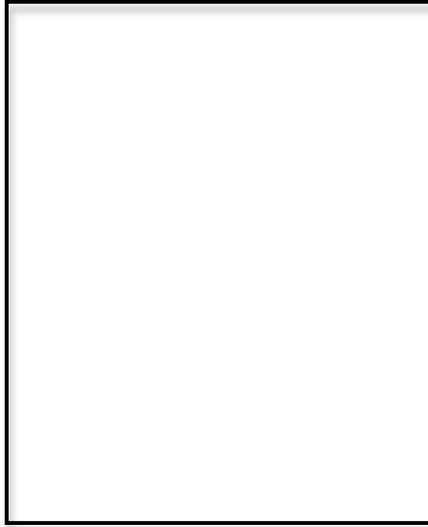


Figure 1.7: *The Fifth Order of the Gothick Architecture*. From: Batty and Thomas Langley, *Gothic Architecture Improved by Rules and Proportions...* (London: L & J. Taylor at the Architectural Library No. 59. Holborn, 1790), Plate 13. Eighteenth Century Collections Online. Gale.



Figure 1.8: *Gothick Window*. From: Batty and Thomas Langley, *Gothic Architecture Improved by Rules and Proportions...* (London: L & J. Taylor at the Architectural Library No. 59. Holborn, 1790), Plate 38. Eighteenth Century Collections Online. Gale.

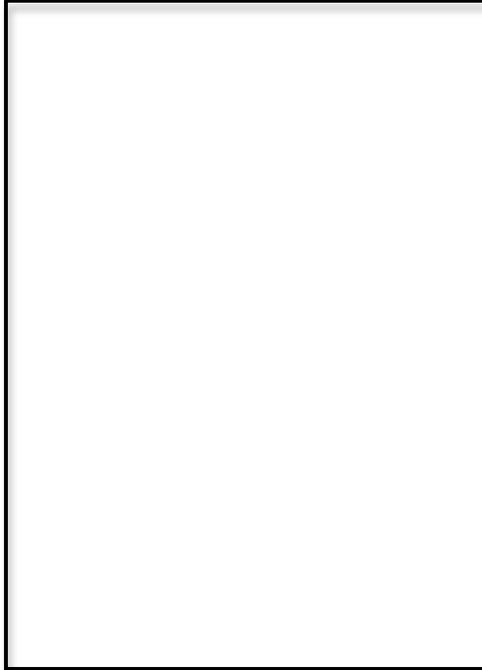


Figure 1.9: *Henry VII Chapel Flying Buttress etc...* From John Britton's *Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain...* v. 2 (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, and Orme, 1809), Plate 8. Courtesy of the Division of Special Collections, Archives, and Rare Books, University of Missouri at Columbia.



Figure 1.10: *Christ's Church*, Duaneburg, New York, 1792 – 3. Photograph by Kate M. Kocyba.



Figure 1.11: *Pulpit of Christ's Church, Duaneburg, New York.* Photograph by Kate M. Kocyba.



Figure 1.12: *Interior of Christ's Church, Duaneburg, New York.* Photograph by Kate M. Kocyba

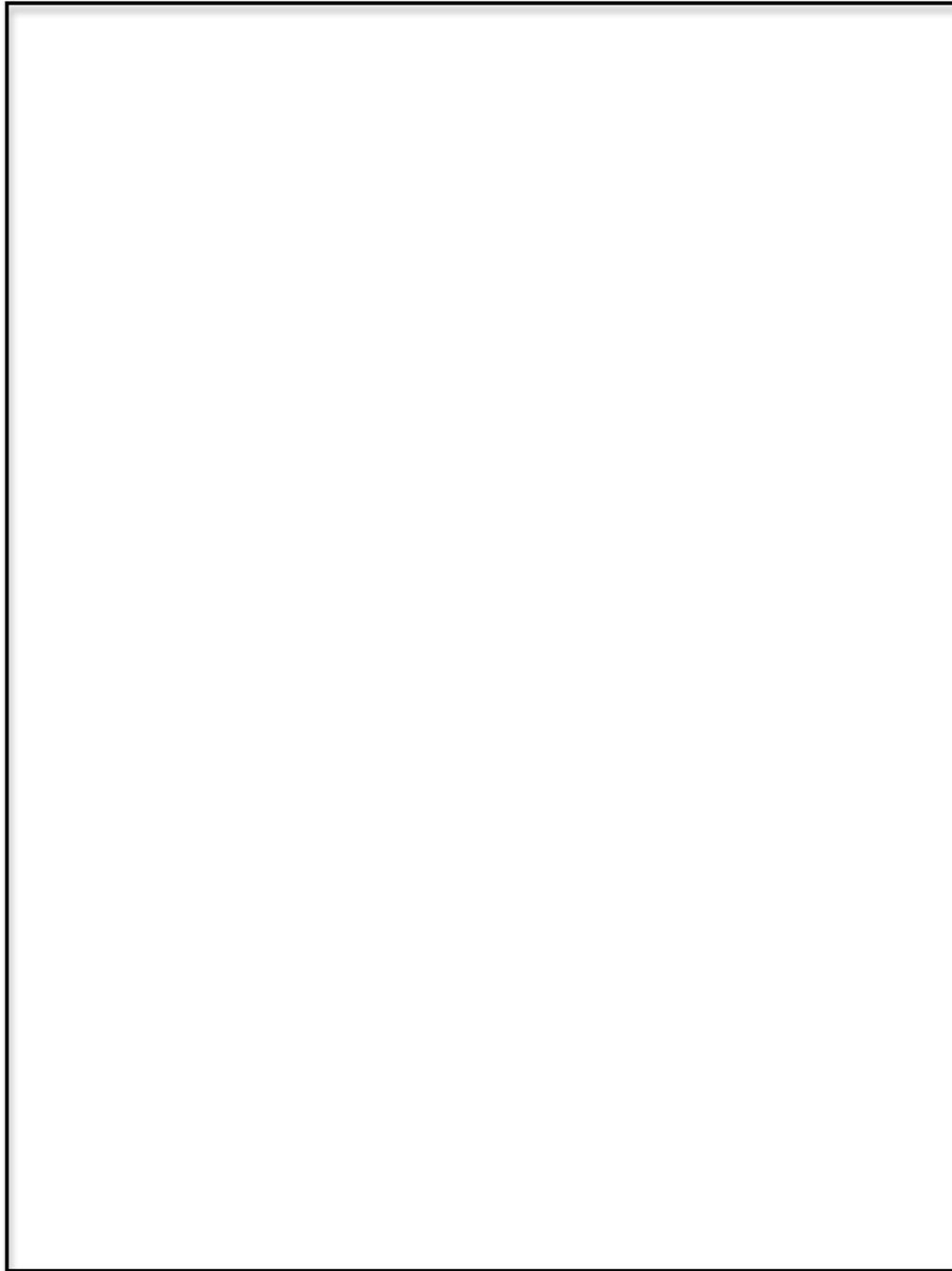


Figure 1.13: *West Front of St. Martin's Church, 1720 – 27*, James Gibbs, *A Book of Architecture*, pl. 3. Reproduced in: Gretchen Buggeln, *Temples of Grace: The Material Transformation of Connecticut's Churches, 1790 – 1840*, (Hanover, CT: University Press of New England, 2003), 81.



Figure 1.14: *Second Trinity Church, New York City, 1788 -90.* Reproduced in: William H. Pierson Jr., *American Buildings and Their Architects...* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1978), 113.

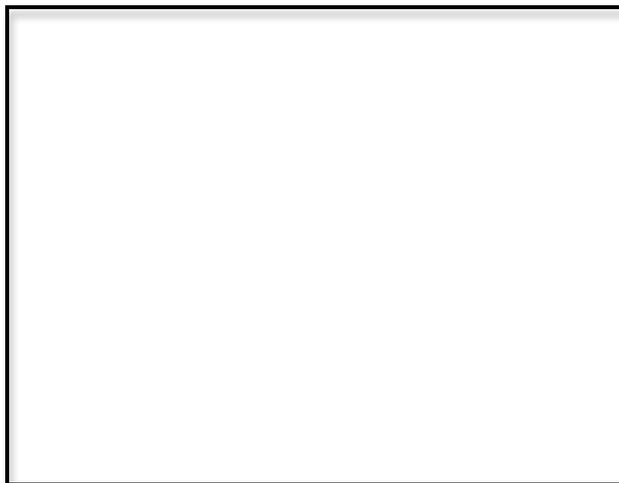


Figure 1.15: *An Umbrello for the Centre or Intersection of Walks.* From: Batty and Thomas Langlely, *Gothic Architecture Improved by Rules and Proportions...* (London: L& J Taylor at the Architectural Library No. 59. Holborn, 1790), Plate 55. Eighteenth Century Collections Online. Gale.



Figure 1.16: Ithiel Town, *Exterior Trinity Church*, New Haven, Connecticut, 1814 – 1817. Photograph by Kate M. Kocyba.

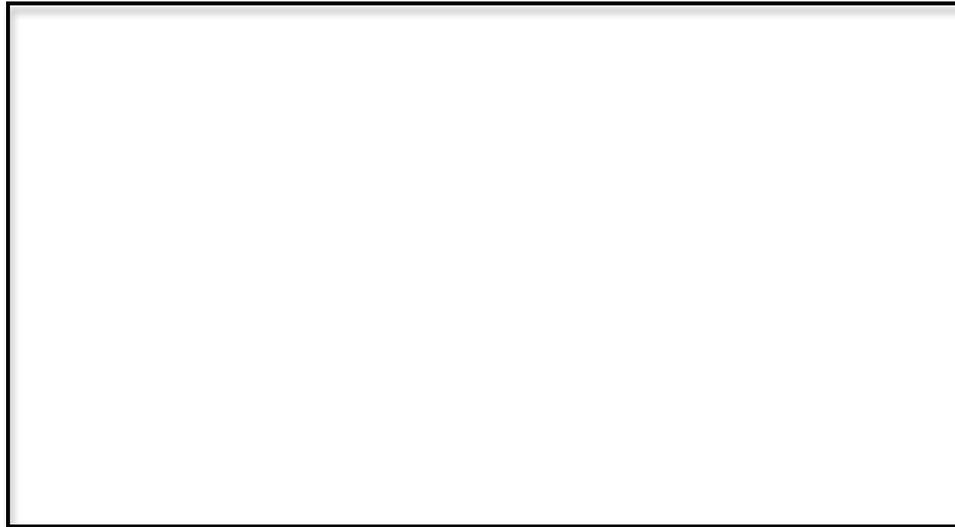


Figure 1.17: *New Haven, Connecticut, Comprising a View of the Episcopal and Presbyterian Churches, Statehouse and Yale College*, 1831, hand-colored engraving, Illman & Pilbrow, New York. Reproduced in: Gretchen Buggeln, *Temples of Grace: The Material Transformation of Connecticut's Churches, 1790 – 1840*, (Hanover, CT: University Press of New England, 2003), 101.



Figure 1.18: Ithiel Town, *Engraving of Exterior Trinity Church, New Haven, Connecticut, 1814 – 17*, Watercolor dated 1884. Reproduced in: William H. Pierson Jr., *American Buildings and Their Architects...* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1978), 131.

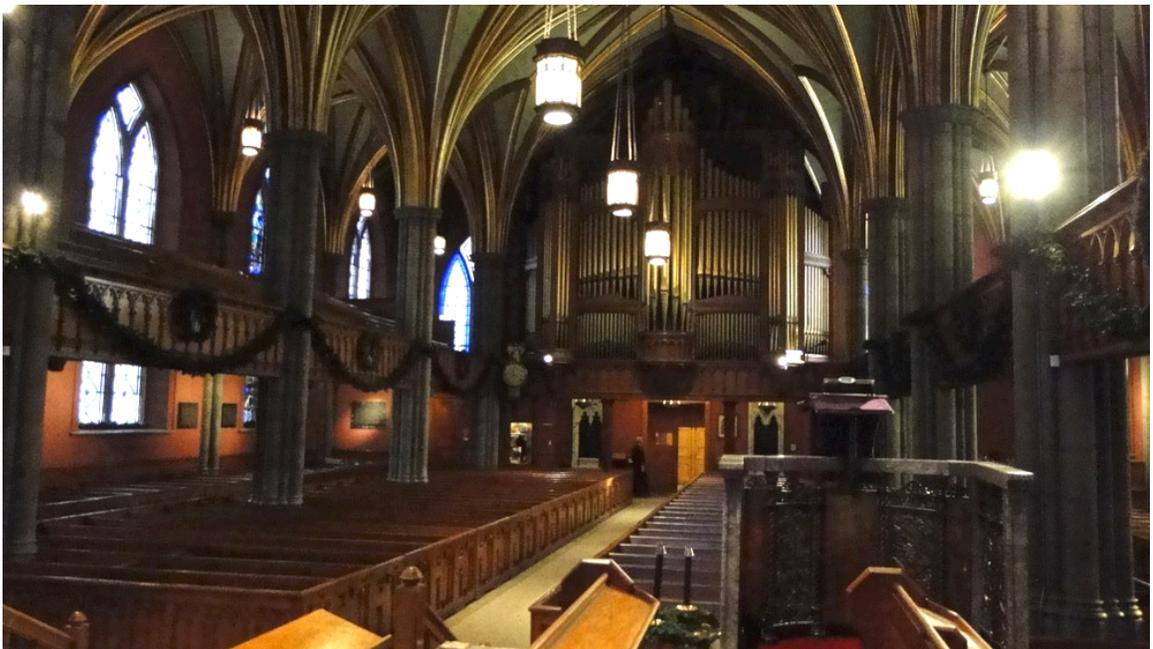


Figure 1.19: Ithiel Town, *Interior of Trinity Church looking West*, New Haven, Connecticut, 1814 – 1817. Photograph by Kate M. Kocyba.

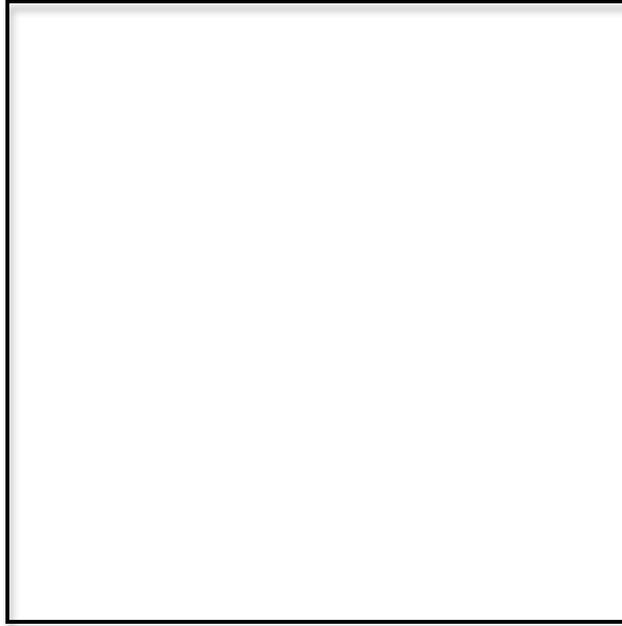


Figure 1.20: *Engraving of the Interior of Trinity Church in 1816.* Reproduced in: Gretchen Buggeln, *Temples of Grace: The Material Transformation of Connecticut's Churches, 1790 – 1840*, (Hanover, CT: University Press of New England, 2003), 114.



Figure 1.21: *Frontispiece Essay of Gothic Architecture.* From: John Hopkins, *Essay of Gothic Architecture*, Burlington: Smith and Harrington, 1836. Google Books.

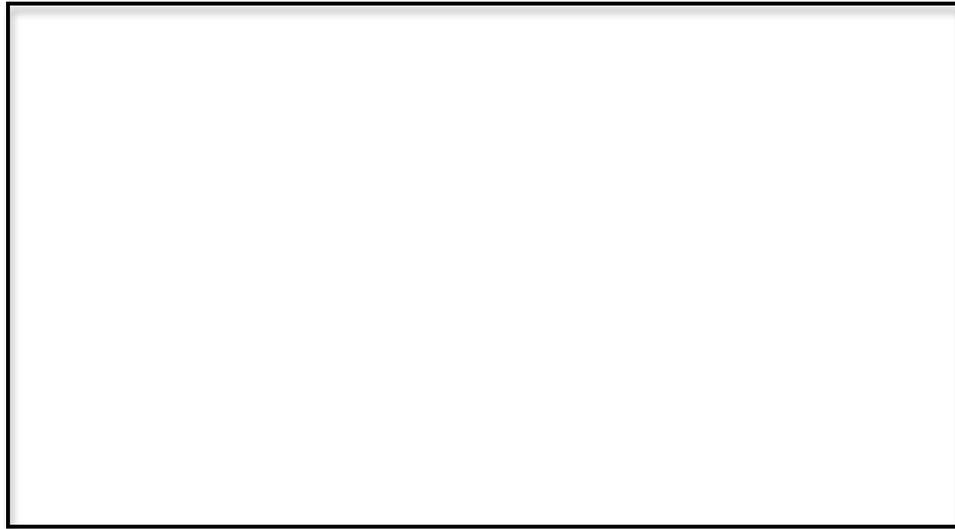


Figure 1.22: John Henry Hopkins, *Perspective View of Trinity Church*, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania c.1823. From: John Hopkins, *Essay of Gothic Architecture*, (Burlington, VT: Smith and Harrington, 1836), Plate 5. Google Books.

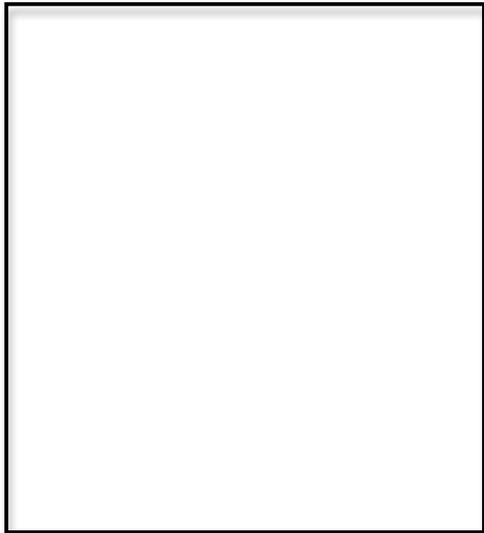


Figure 1.23: *Frontispiece of Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain*. From: John Britton's *Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain...* v. 1 London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, and Orme, 1807. Courtesy of the Division of Special Collections, Archives, and Rare Books, University of Missouri at Columbia.

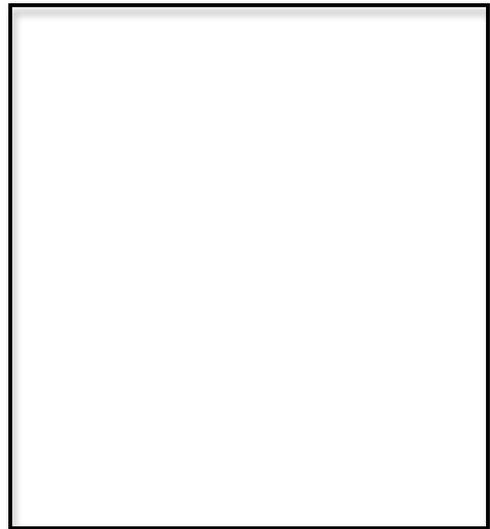


Figure 1.24: *Frontispiece of Specimens of Architecture*. From: Augustus C. Pugin, and E. J. Willson. *Specimens of Gothic Architecture...*Edinburgh: John Grant, 1895.

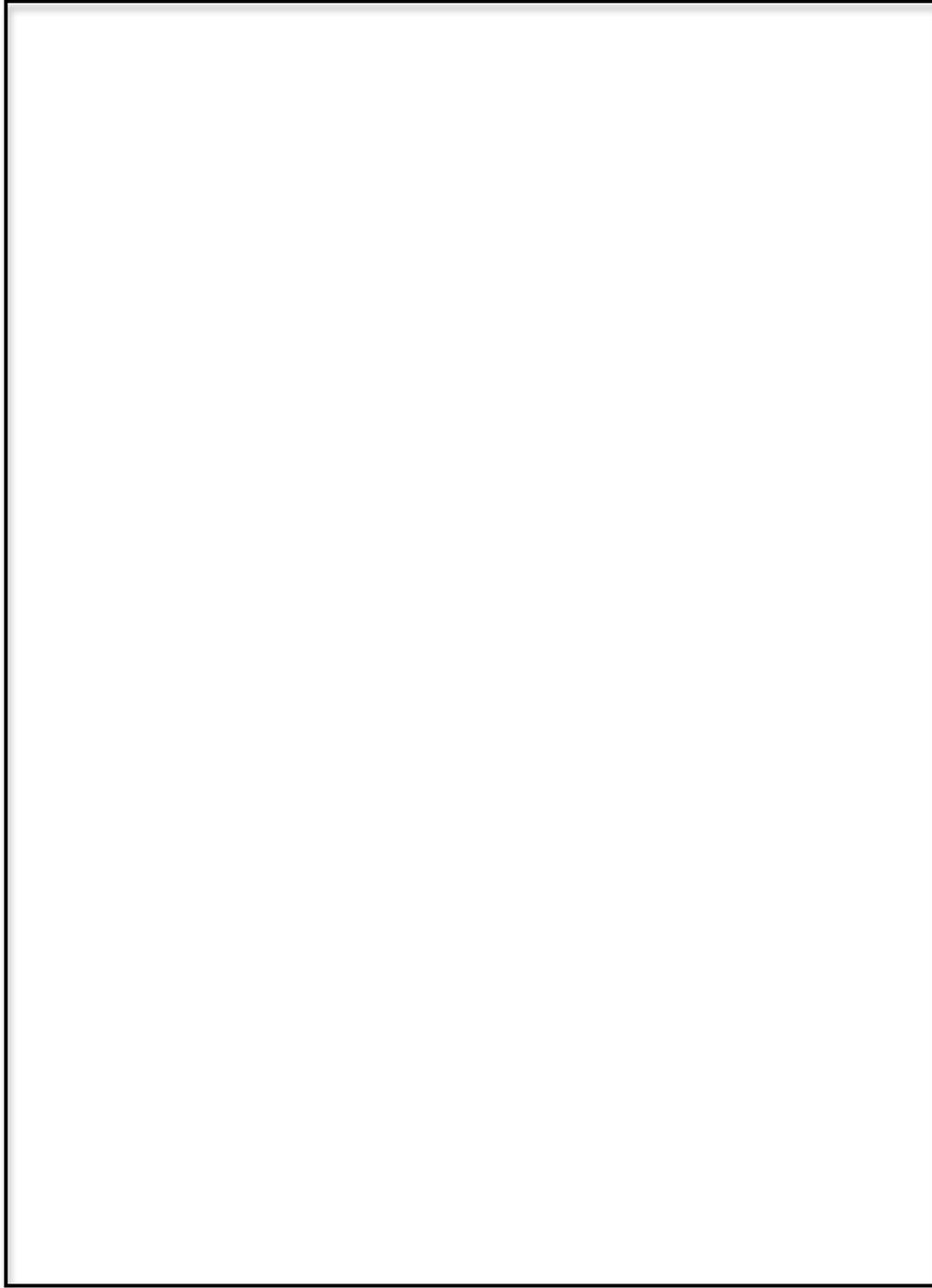


Figure 1.25: John Henry Hopkins, *Interior of a Plain Village Church*. From: John Hopkins, *Essay of Gothic Architecture...* (Burlington, VT: Smith and Harrington, 1836), Plate 4. Google Books.



Figure 2.1: *Christ Church*, c. 1839, Cambridge, England. Photograph by Kate M. Kocyba.



Figure 2.2: *Interior Clerestory Windows*, Christ Church, Cambridge, England. Photograph by Kate M. Kocyba.

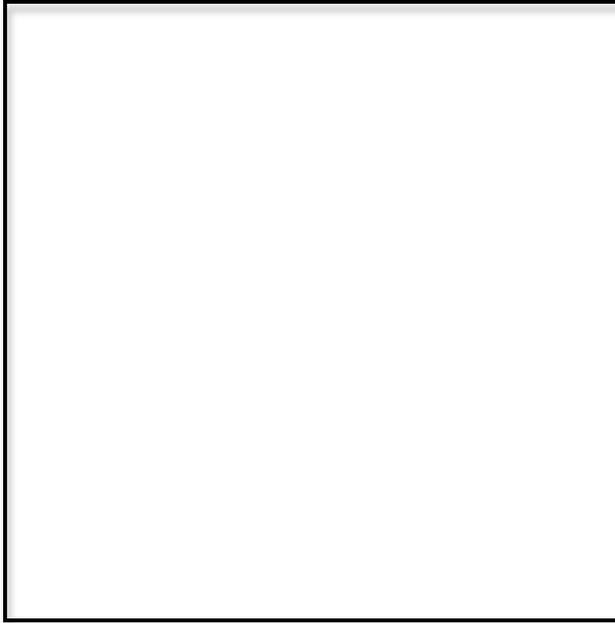


Figure 2.3: A *‘Three-Decker’ Pulpit*. Reproduced in: James F. White, “Prayer Book Architecture,” In *The Oxford Guide to The Book of Common Prayer: A Worldwide Survey*, edited by Charles Hefling & Cynthia Shattuck, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 109.



Figure 2.4: James Gibbs, *St. Martin's in the Field*, 1720 – 1727, London, England. Photograph by Kate M. Kocyba.



Figure 2.5: *All Saints' Church*, c. 13th – 14th centuries, Teversham, England. The older portions are an example of Early English Gothic. Wikipedia via geograph.org.uk.



Figure 2.6: *St. Mary and St. Michael Church*, c. mid-13th – 14th centuries, Trumpington, England. An example of Decorated Gothic. Photograph by Kate M. Kocyba.



Figure 2.7: *King's College Chapel*, c. late 15th – early 16th centuries, University of Cambridge, Cambridge, England. An example of Perpendicular Gothic. Photograph by Kate M. Kocyba

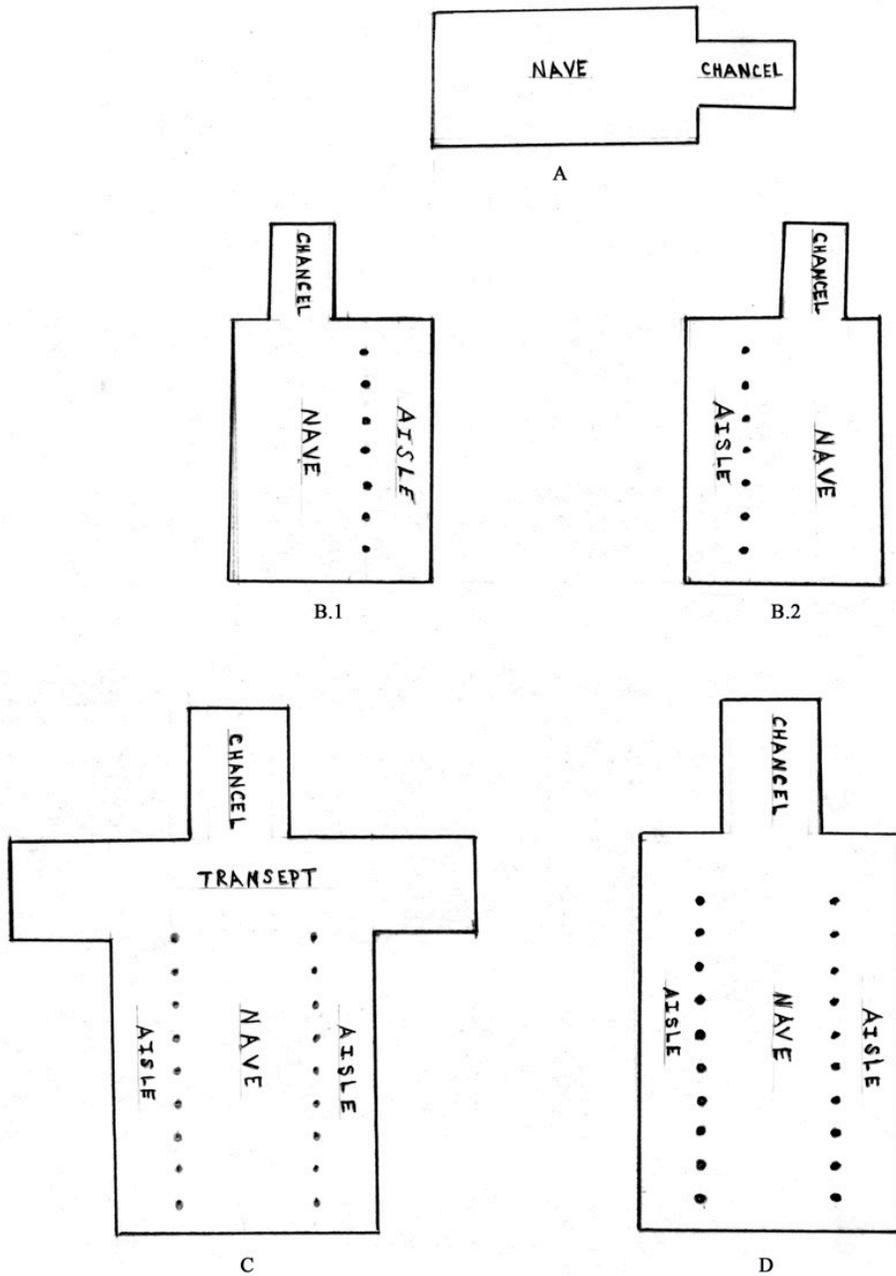


Figure 2. 8.A – D: *Five Appropriate Plans for neo-Gothic Parish Churches.* Determined by the Cambridge Camden Society. Drawn by Kate M. Kocyba

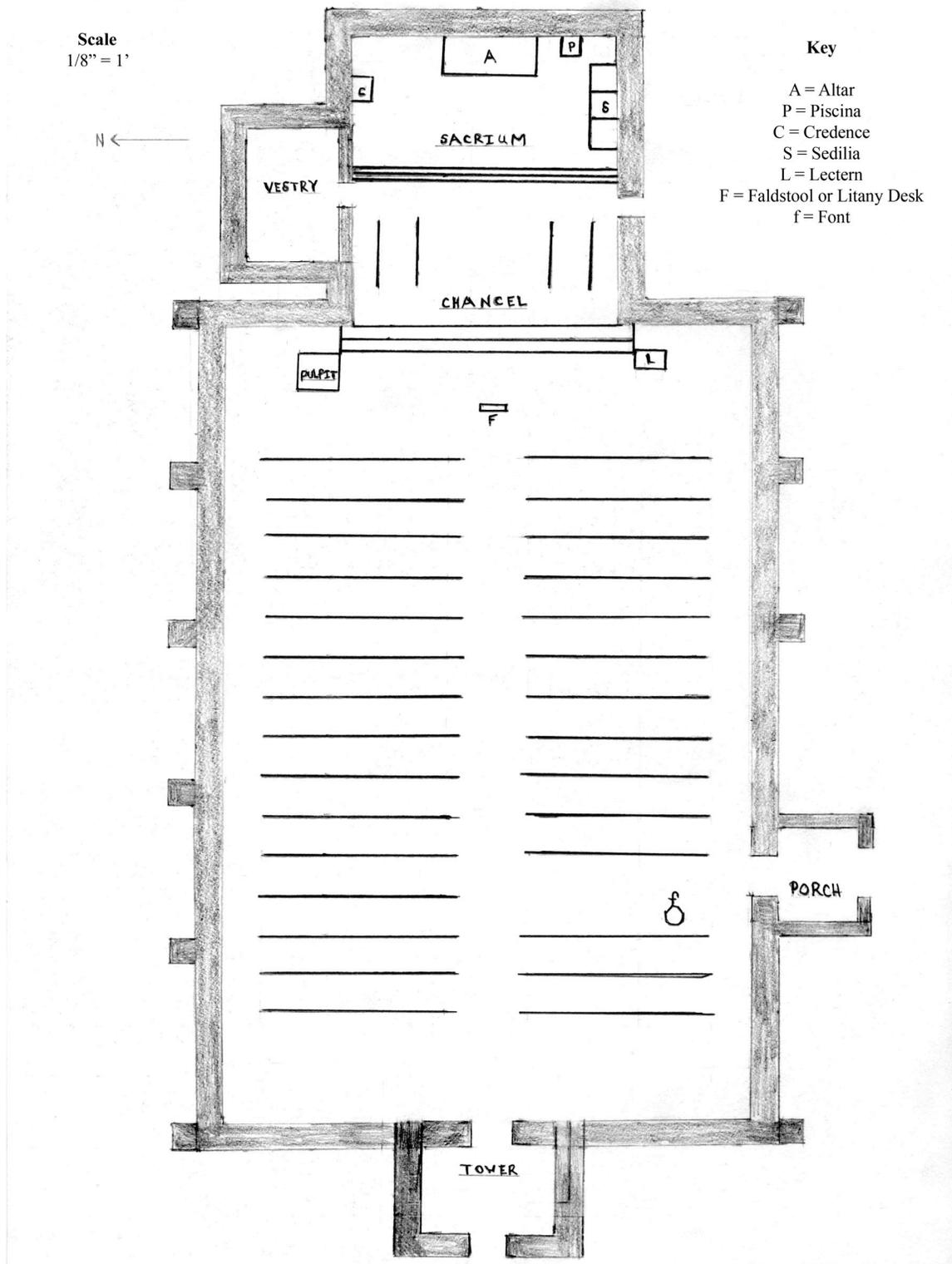
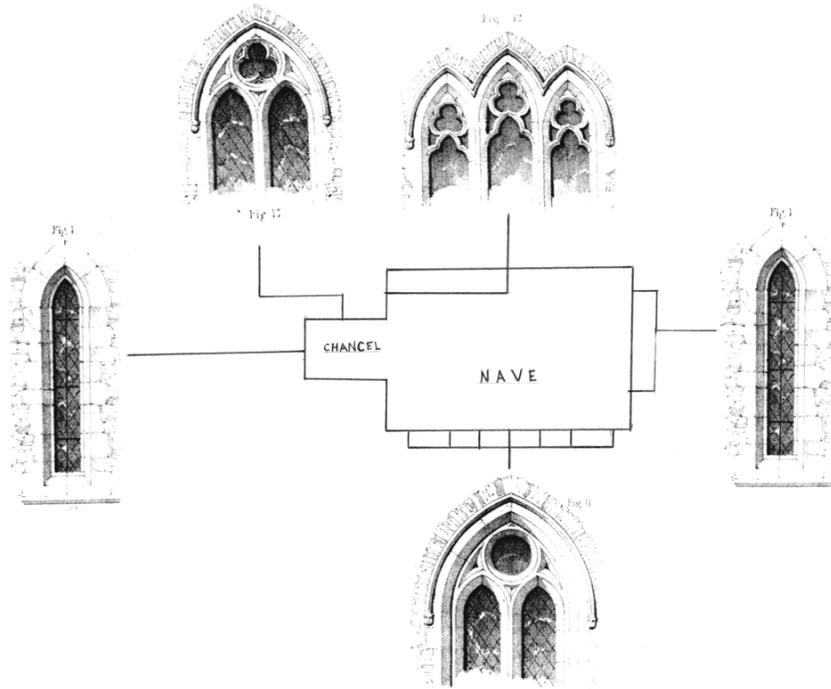
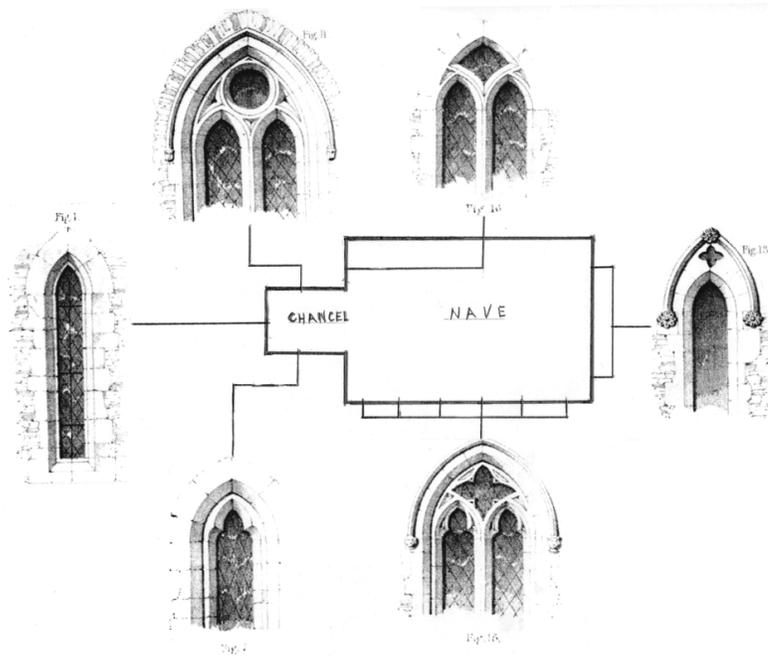


Figure 2.9: *Theoretical Ideal First Pointed or Early English neo-Gothic Parish Church*, as determined by Kate M. Kocyba from the analyses of the publications of the Cambridge Camden Society. Original Scale reduced by 33%. Drawn by Kate M. Kocyba.



2.10.A



2.10.B

Figure 2.10.A & 2.10.B: *Theoretical Ideal Window Types and Locations as Espoused by the Cambridge Camden Society. Drawn and Compiled from *The Ecclesiologist* 3 nos. 29/30 (February 1844) by Kate M. Kocyba.*



Figure 2.11: *Great St. Mary's Church Interior – Galleries*, c.1350 – 1609, Cambridge, England. Photography by Kate M. Kocyba



Figure 2.12: *Slip Pews*, c. 1845 in Holy Sepulchre Church, Cambridge, England. Photography by Kate M. Kocyba.

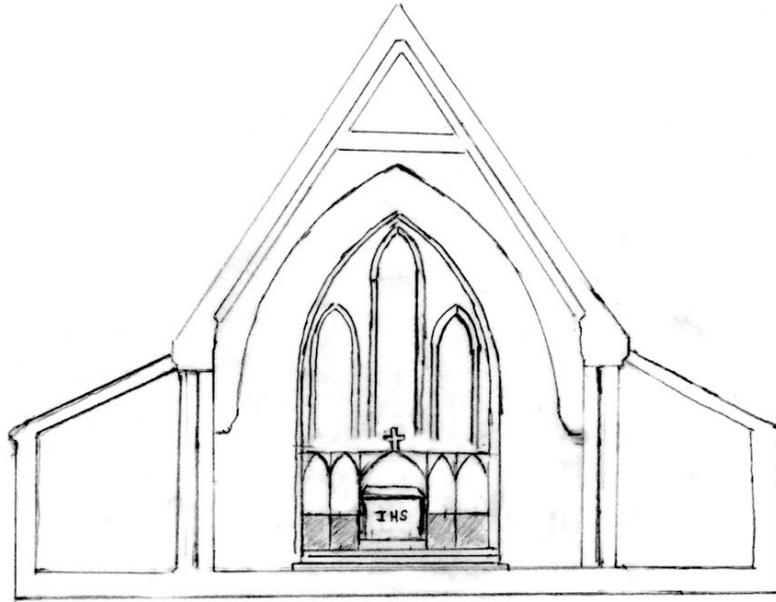


Figure 2.13: *Theoretical Ideal Church Cross Section of Nave and Chancel with Roodscreen & Altar*. Drawn by Kate M. Kocyba.

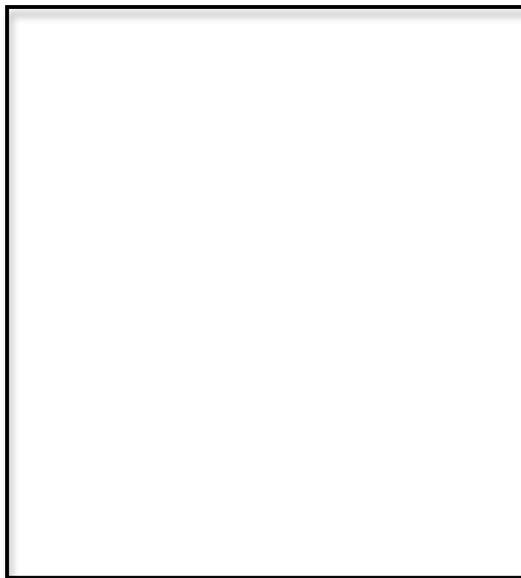


Figure 2.14: *A Georgian Auditory Church*. From 'The Deformation and the Reformation', a collection of drawings of religious practices before and after the 'reformation' by the Ecclesiologist. Oxford: Mowbray, mid-nineteenth century. Reproduced in: Graham Hutton, Olive Cook, & Edwin Smith. *English Parish Churches*. (London: Thames and Hutton, 1976), 180.

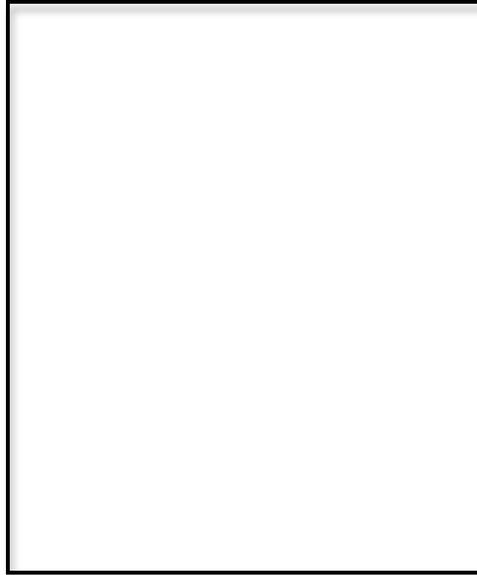


Figure 2.15: *Eagle Lectern* in Christ Church Cathedral, 1845 – 1853, Fredericton, New Brunswick, Canada. Reproduced in: Phoebe Stanton, *The Gothic Revival & American Church Architecture: An Episode in Taste 1850 – 1856*. Paperback ed. (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1997), 140.

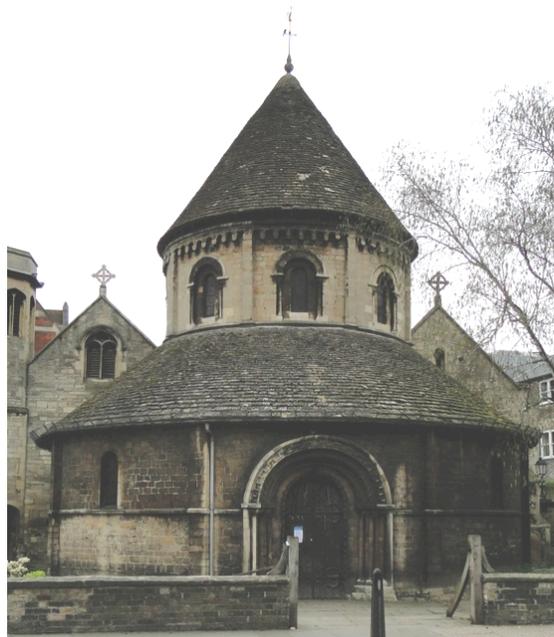


Figure 2.16: *Holy Sepulchre Church* known as the “Round Church,” c. 1130, Cambridge, England. Photograph by Kate M. Kocyba

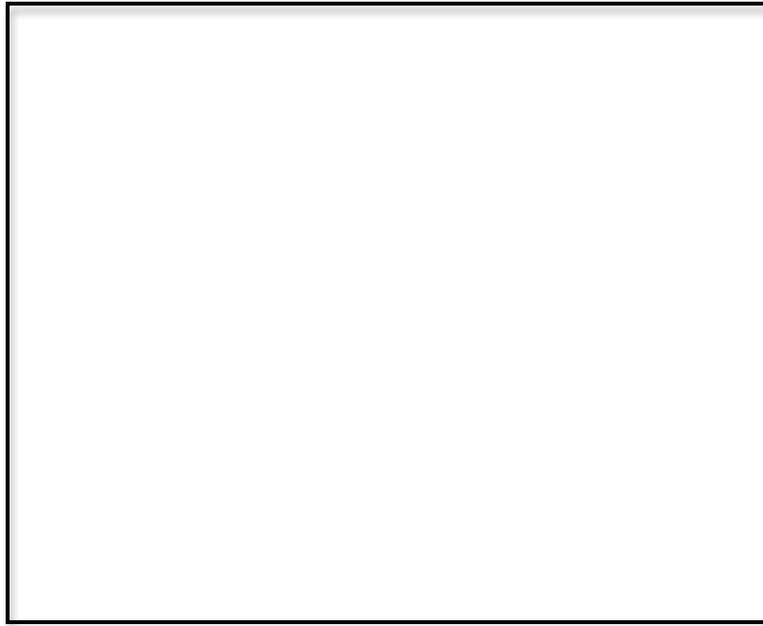


Figure 2.17: *Cambridge Camden Society Seal*. Reproduced in: Phoebe Stanton, *The Gothic Revival & American Church Architecture: An Episode in Taste 1850 – 1856*. Paperback ed. (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1997), Frontispiece.



Figure 3.1: *Cover of the New York Ecclesiologist with the Seal of the New York Ecclesiological Society*. From *New York Ecclesiologist* v. 3, (New York: Stanford and Swords, 1851), Frontispiece.



Figure 3.2: A. W. N. Pugin, *Contrasts Frontispiece*. From A. W.N Pugin, *Contrasts...2nd Edition*, London: Charles Dolman, 1841 Facsimile with an introduction by H. R. Hitchcock New York: Leicester University Press, 1973.



Figure 3.3: A. W. N. Pugin, *The True Principles of Pointed Architecture Frontispiece*. A. Welby. N. Pugin, *The True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture...* London: J. Weale, 1841.



Figure 3.4: Frank Wills, *Sketch of a First-Pointed Church*. From: *New York Ecclesiologist* 2 n. 1 (October 1849), Facing page 16.

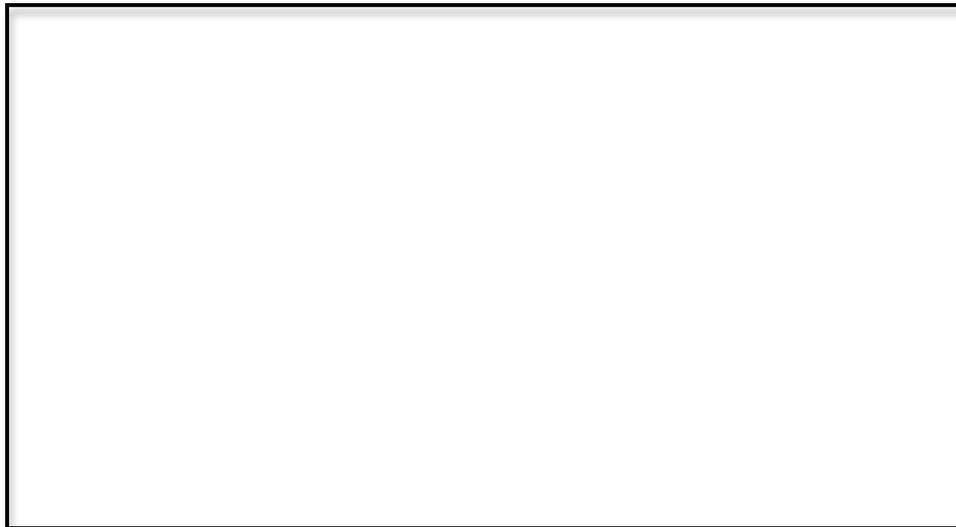


Figure 3.5: Frank Wills, *Outline Ground Plan of a First-Pointed Church*. From: *New York Ecclesiologist* 2 n. 1 (October 1849), Facing page 17.



Figure 3.6: *St. James the Less*, 1846 – 1848, Philadelphia, PA. Photograph From: Library of Congress, Prints and Photography Division, HABS PA, 51-PHILA, 318--1.



Figure 3.7: Richard Upjohn *St. Mary's Church*, c. 1846 – 1853, Burlington, NJ. Photograph From: Library of Congress, Prints and Photography Division, HABS, NJ, 3-BURL, 2--3.

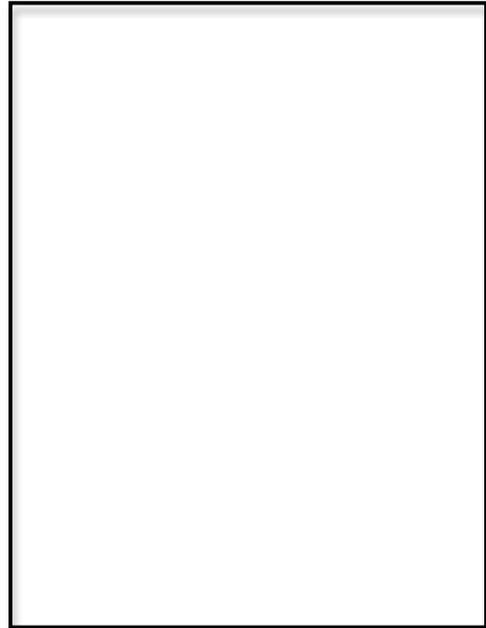


Figure 3.8: *St. Mary's Church*, c. 14th century, Snettisham, England. Photograph From: Wikipedia via www.geograph.org.uk.

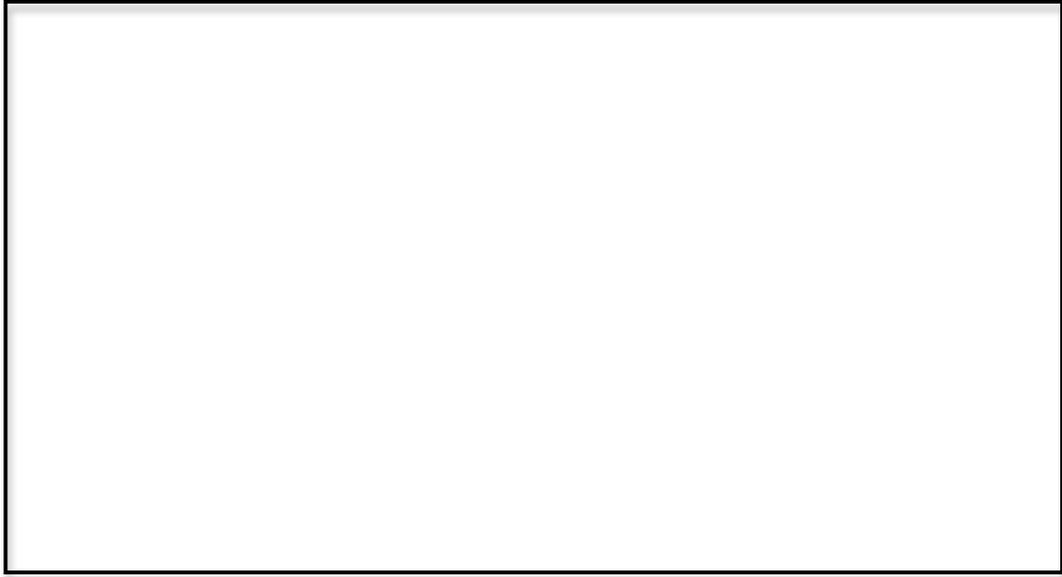


Figure 3.9: Frank Wills, *St. Anne's Chapel*, 1846, Fredericton, New Brunswick, Canada. Reproduced in: Phoebe Stanton, *The Gothic Revival & American Church Architecture: An Episode in Taste 1850 – 1856*. Paperback ed. (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1997), 133.

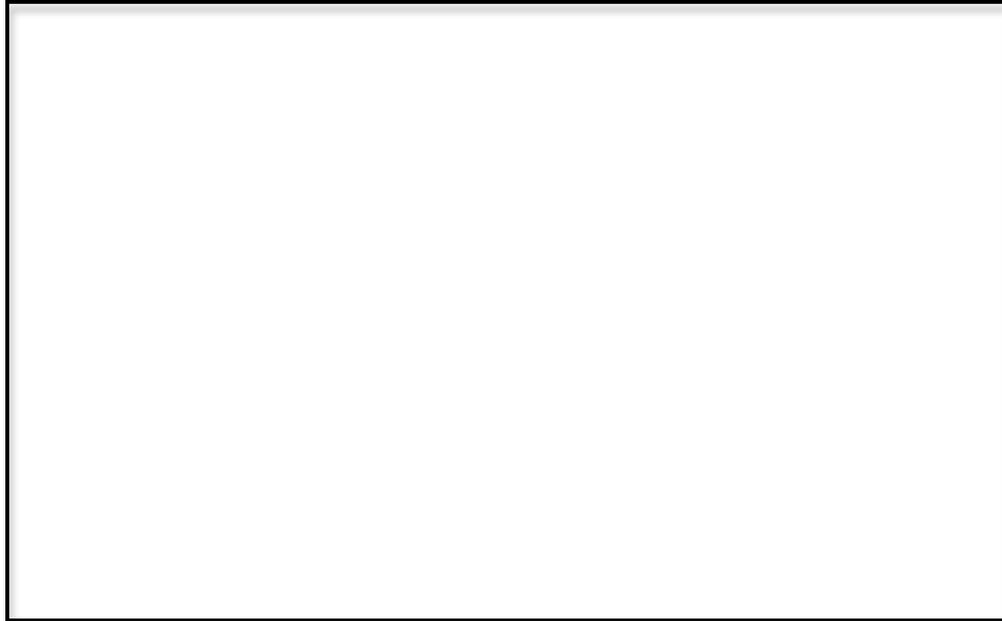


Figure 3.10: Richard Upjohn, *Original Longitudinal Section Drawing of Trinity Church New York*, 1839 – 1846. Reproduced in: Everard M. Upjohn, *Richard Upjohn: Architect and Churchman*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1939), Figure 12.

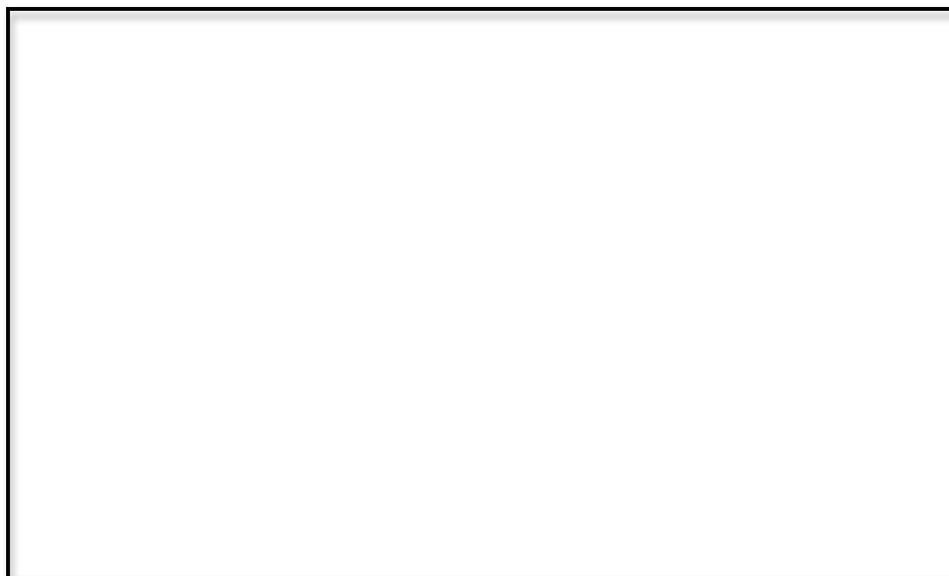


Figure 3.11: *South East View of the Collegiate Church, Manchester, England, c. 15th century.* From John Britton's *Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain...* vol. 3 London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, and Orme, 1809. Courtesy of the Division of Special Collections, Archives, and Rare Books, University of Missouri at Columbia.



Figure 3.12: A. W. N. Pugin, *An Ideal Church* from A. W. N. Pugin, *True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture* (1841). Reproduced in: Phoebe Stanton, *The Gothic Revival & American Church Architecture...* Paperback ed. (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1997), 62.

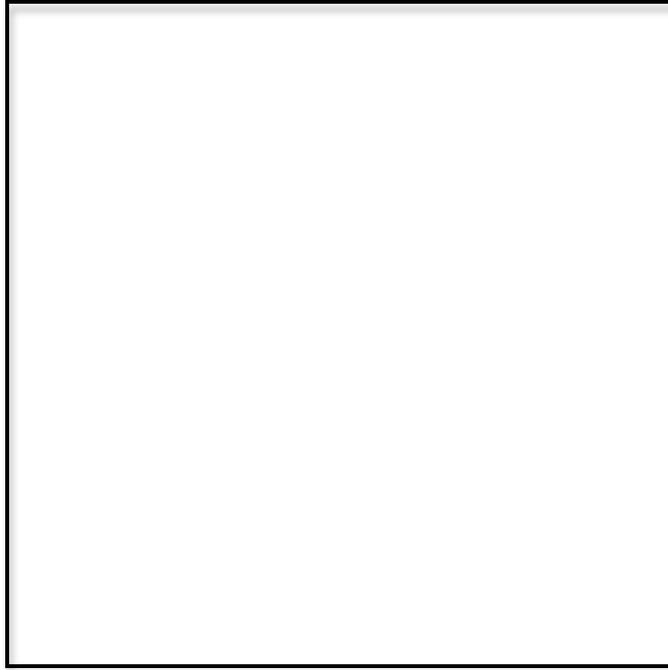


Figure 3.13: Richard Upjohn, *Trinity Church*, New York City, 1840 – 1846. Reproduced in: Phoebe Stanton, *The Gothic Revival & American Church Architecture...* Paperback ed. (Baltimore: John Hopkins University, 1997), 63.

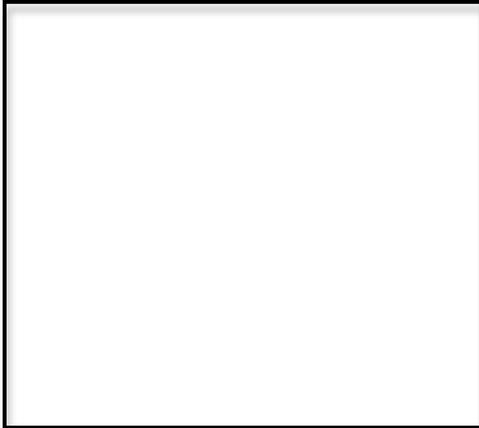


Figure 3.14: Richard Upjohn, *St. Thomas's Church*, 1847, Hamilton, NY. Reproduced in: Everard M. Upjohn, *Richard Upjohn: Architect and Churchman*. (New York: Press, Columbia University Press, 1939), Figure 42.



Figure 3.15: Richard Upjohn, *Interior St. Thomas's Church*, 1847, Hamilton, NY. Reproduced in: Everard M. Upjohn, *Richard Upjohn: Architect and Churchman*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1939), Figure 41.

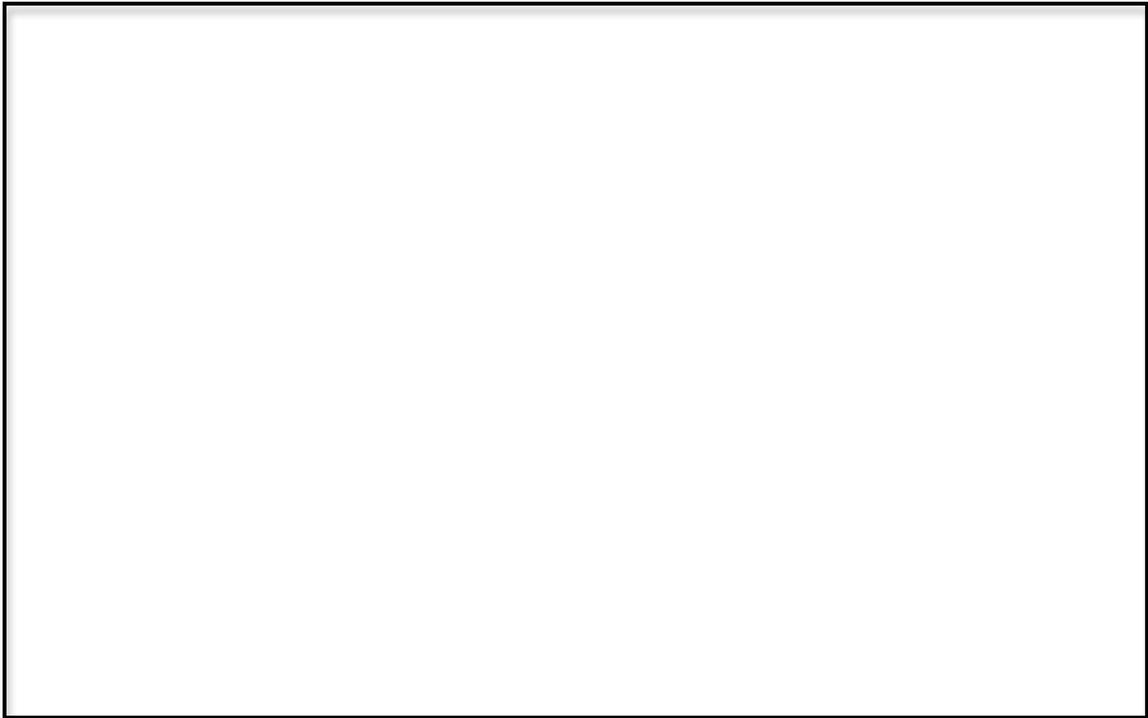


Figure 3.16: Frank Wills, *St. George's Church, Milford, CT*. From: Frank Wills, *Ancient English Ecclesiastical Architecture and Its Principles* (New York: Stanford and Swords, 1850), Appendix. Google Books.

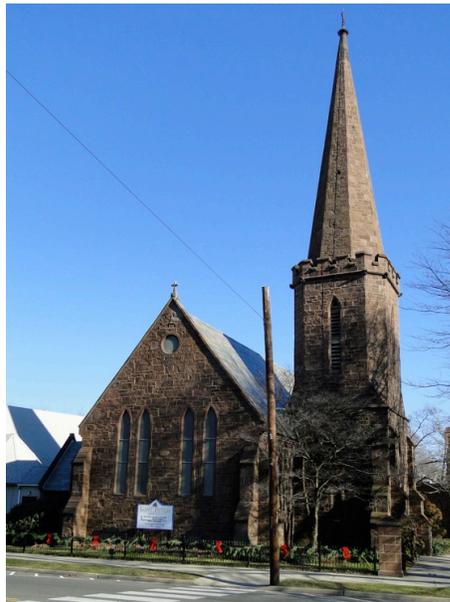


Figure 3.17: Frank Wills, *St. Peter's Church (Originally St. George's Church)*, c. 1850, Milford, CT. Photograph by Kate M. Kocyba.



Figure 3.18: Frank Wills, *Interior St. Peter's Looking East*, Milford, CT. Photograph by Kate M. Kocyba.

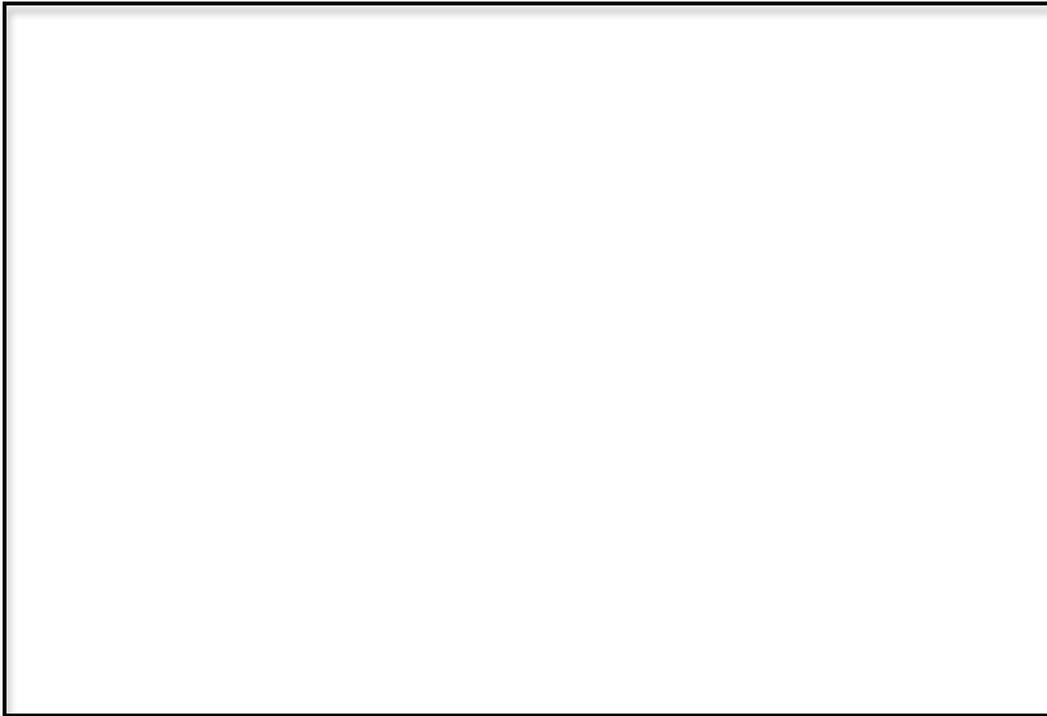


Figure 3.19: Richard Upjohn, *Wooden Church Ground Plan*. From: Richard Upjohn, *Upjohn's Rural Architecture...* (New York: George P. Putnam, 1852 Facsimile, Edited by Adolf K. Placzek. New York: Da Capo Press, 1972), Plate 1.

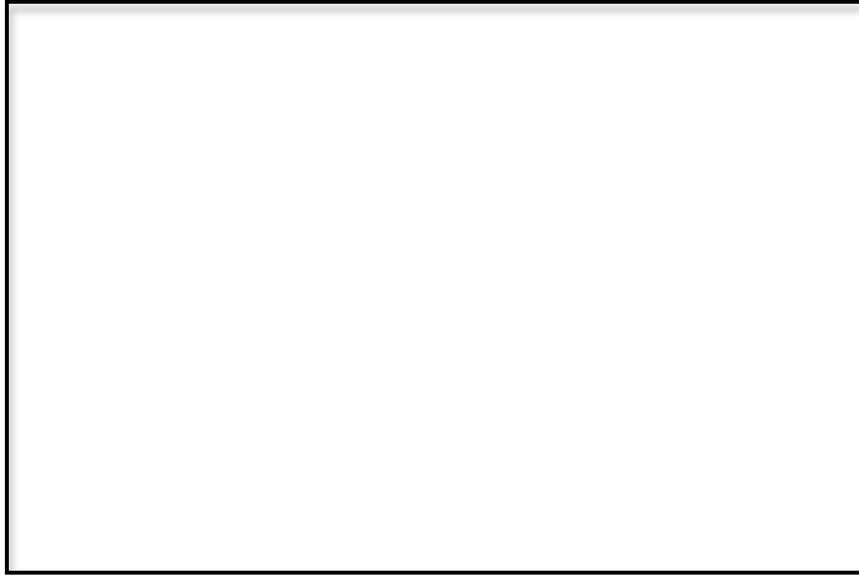


Figure 3.20: Richard Upjohn, *Wooden Church Details*. From: Richard Upjohn, *Upjohn's Rural Architecture...* (New York: George P. Putnam, 1852 Facsimile, Edited by Adolf K. Placzek. New York: Da Capo Press, 1972), Plate 4.

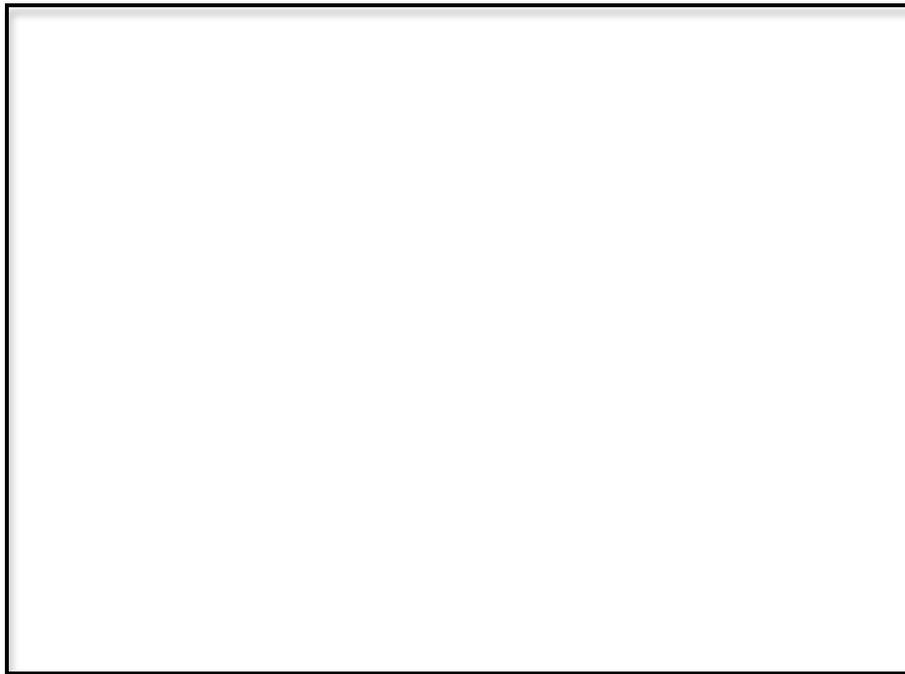


Figure 3.21: Richard Upjohn, *Perspective View of Wooden Church*. From: Richard Upjohn, *Upjohn's Rural Architecture...* (New York: George P. Putnam, 1852 Facsimile, Edited by Adolf K. Placzek. New York: Da Capo Press, 1972).

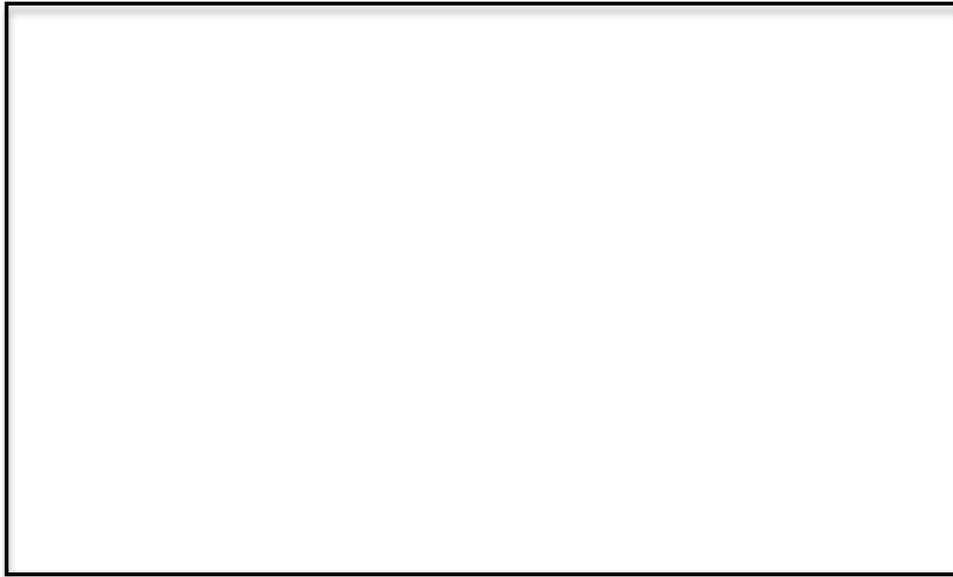


Figure 3.22: Richard Upjohn, *Church Furniture*. From: Richard Upjohn, *Upjohn's Rural Architecture...* (New York: George P. Putnam, 1852 Facsimile, Edited by Adolf K. Placzek. New York: Da Capo Press, 1972), Plate 9.

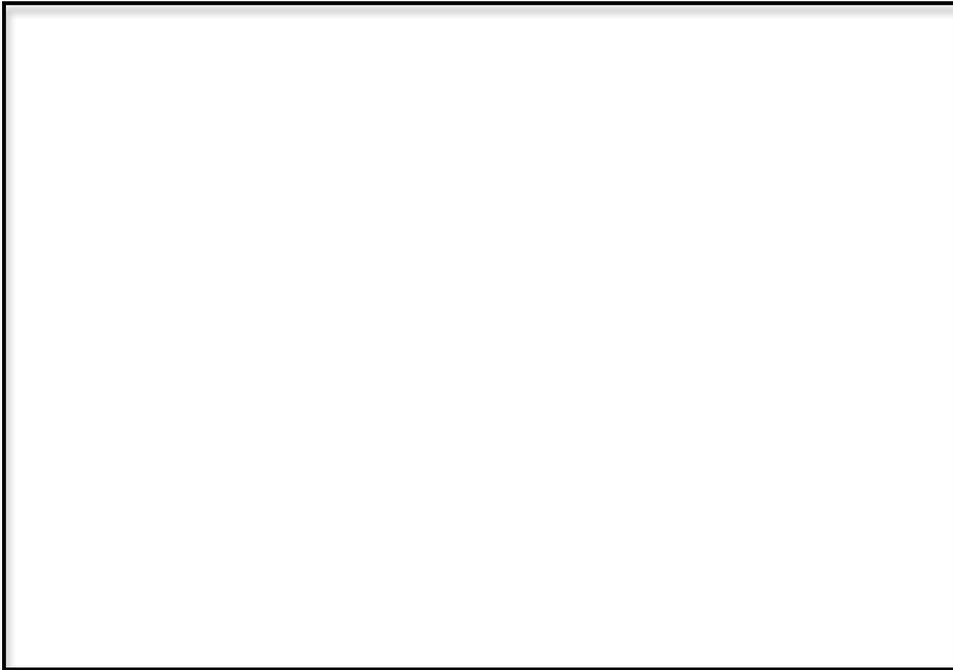


Figure 3.23: Richard Upjohn, *Perspective View of Parsonage*. From: Richard Upjohn, *Upjohn's Rural Architecture...* (New York: George P. Putnam, 1852 Facsimile, Edited by Adolf K. Placzek. New York: Da Capo Press, 1972).

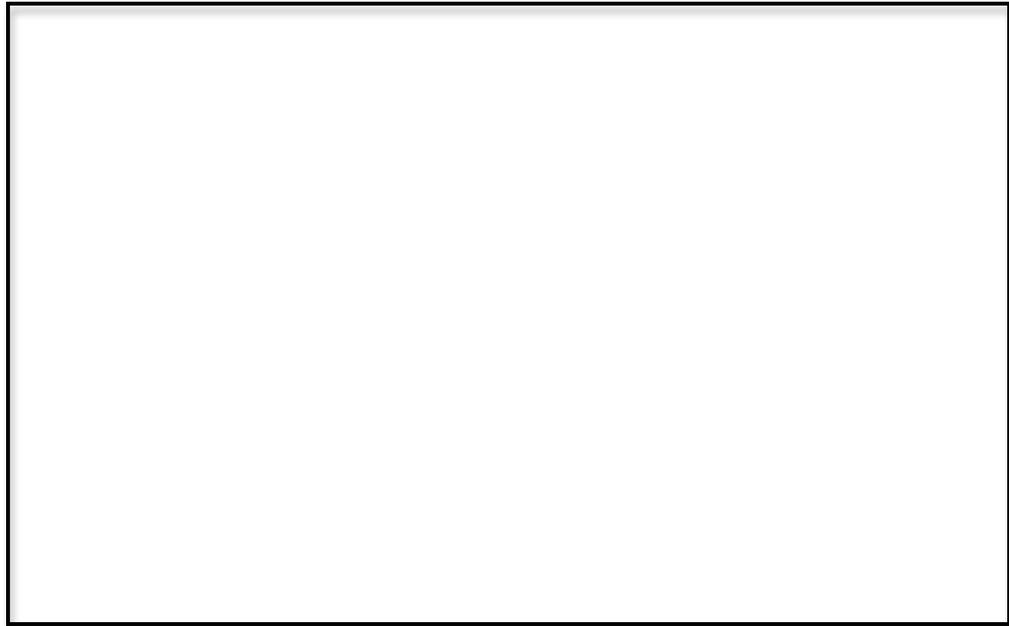


Figure 3.24: Richard Upjohn, *Perspective View of Wooden Chapel*. From: Richard Upjohn, *Upjohn's Rural Architecture...* (New York: George P. Putnam, 1852 Facsimile, Edited by Adolf K. Placzek. New York: Da Capo Press, 1972).

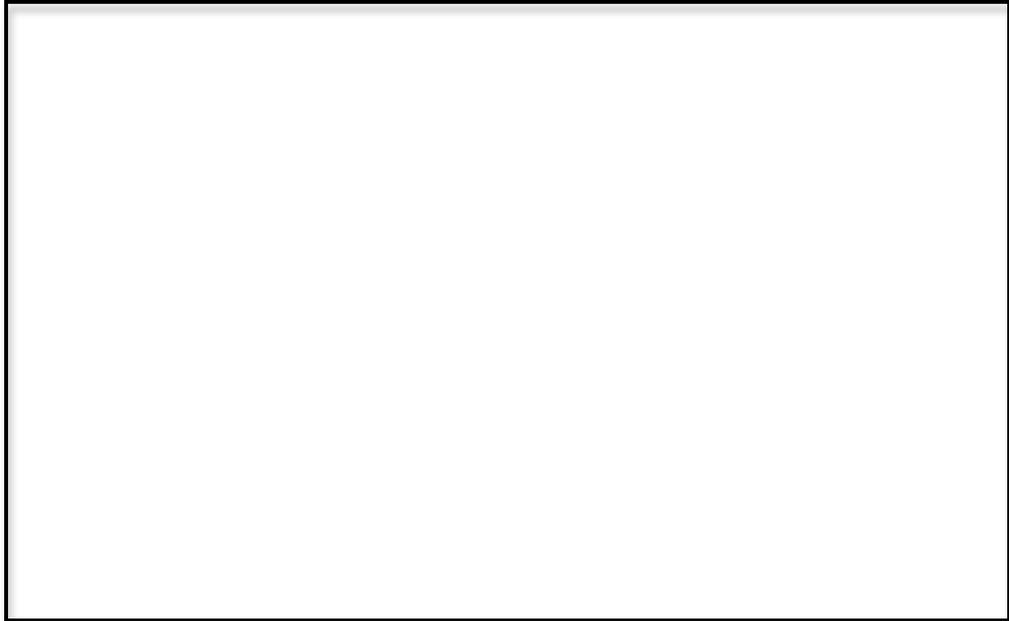


Figure 3.25: Richard Upjohn, *Wooden Chapel Ground Plan*. From: Richard Upjohn, *Upjohn's Rural Architecture...* (New York: George P. Putnam, 1852 Facsimile, Edited by Adolf K. Placzek. New York: Da Capo Press, 1972), Plate 12.

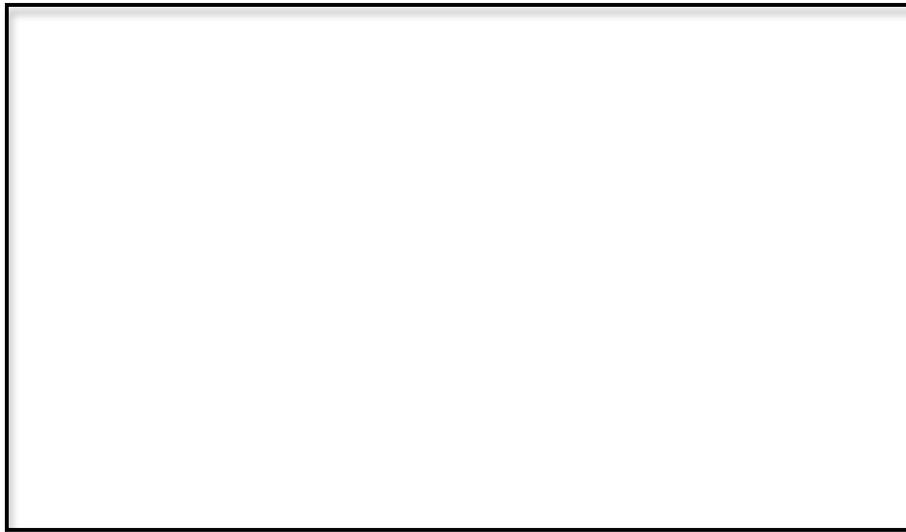


Figure 3.26: Richard Upjohn, *Perspective View of Schoolhouse*. From: Richard Upjohn, *Upjohn's Rural Architecture...* (New York: George P. Putnam, 1852 Facsimile, Edited by Adolf K. Placzek. New York: Da Capo Press, 1972).

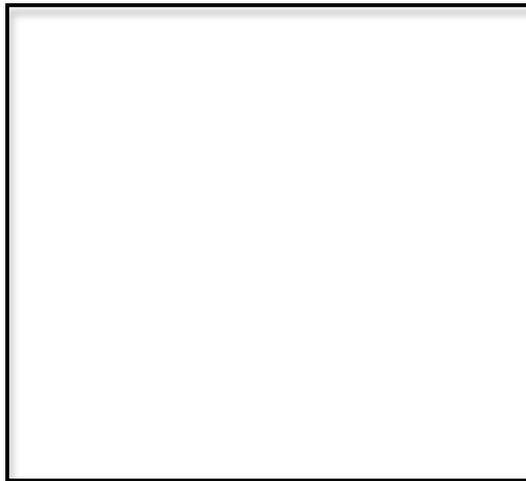


Figure 4.1: *Map of Territorial Changes 1818*.
Reproduced In: Alice E. Smith, *From Exploration to Statehood*. Vol. 1 of *The History of Wisconsin*. Edited by William Fletcher Thompson. (Madison, WI: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1973), 201

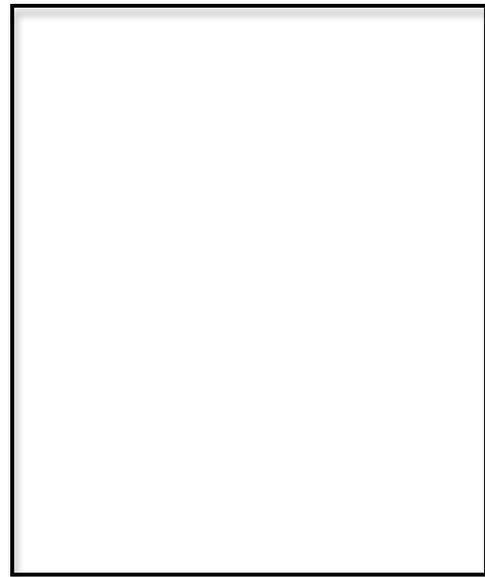


Figure 4.2: *Map of the Advance of Settlement in Wisconsin*. Reproduced Robert. C. Ostergren, "The Euro-American Settlement of Wisconsin, 1830 -1920." In *Wisconsin Land and Life*, Edited by Robert C. Ostergren and Thomas R. Vale, 137 – 162. (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1997), 138.



Figure 4.3: *St. Sylvanus Chapel*, 1843, Nashotah, Wisconsin. Photograph by Kate M. Kocyba.



Figure 4.4: *St. Sylvanus Interior Restored*, Nashotah, Wisconsin. Photograph by Kate M. Kocyba.



Figure 4.5: *St. John Chrysostom Church Southwest Exterior*, 1850 – 1851, Delafield, Wisconsin. Photograph by Kate M. Kocyba.

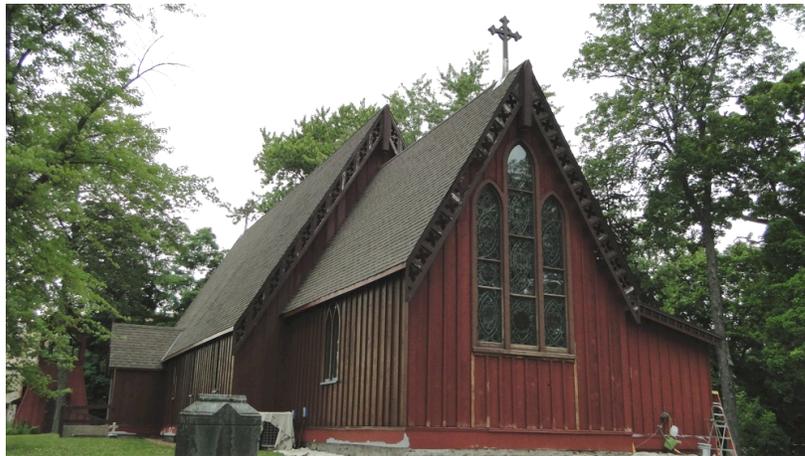


Figure 4.6: *St. John Chrysostom Church East End Exterior*, Delafield, Wisconsin. Photograph by Kate M. Kocyba.



Figure 4.7: *St. John Chrysostom Church Looking West Interior*, Delafield, Wisconsin. Photograph by Kate M. Kocyba.



Figure 4.8: *St. John Chrysostom Church Interior looking East, Delafield, Wisconsin.* Photograph by Kate M. Kocyba



Figure 4.9: *St. John Chrysostom Church, Chancel, Delafield, Wisconsin.* Photograph by Kate M. Kocyba



Figure 4.10: *St. John Chrysostom Church, Sacrament table, Delafield, Wisconsin.* Photograph by Kate M. Kocyba



Figure 4.11: *Altar of St. John Chrysostom Church, Delafield, Wisconsin.* Photograph by Kate M. Kocyba.

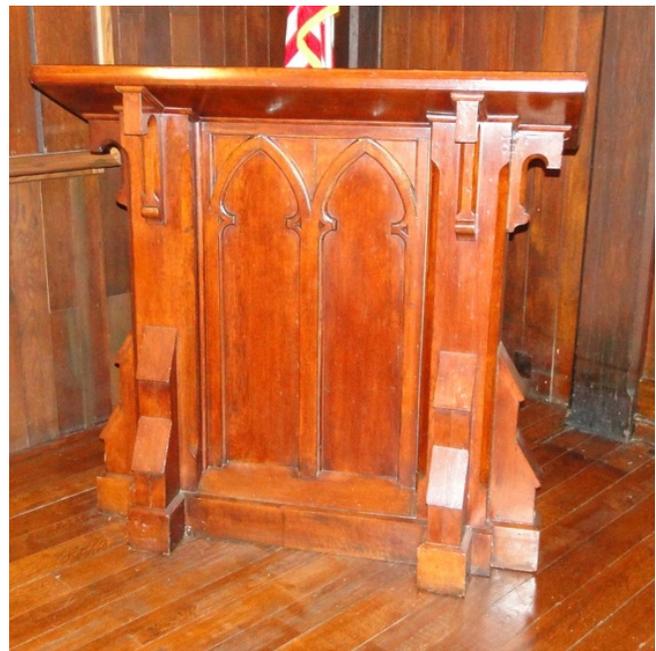


Figure 4.12: *Pulpit of St. John Chrysostom Church, Delafield, Wisconsin.* Photograph by Kate M. Kocyba.



Figure 4.13: *Postcard of St. John Chrysostom Church East Interior with Litany Desk, Delafield, Wisconsin. Photograph by Kate M. Kocyba and Courtesy of St. John Chrysostom.*



Figure 4.14: *South Porch Looking in at Baptismal Font, St. John Chrysostom Church, Delafield, Wisconsin. Photograph by Kate M. Kocyba.*

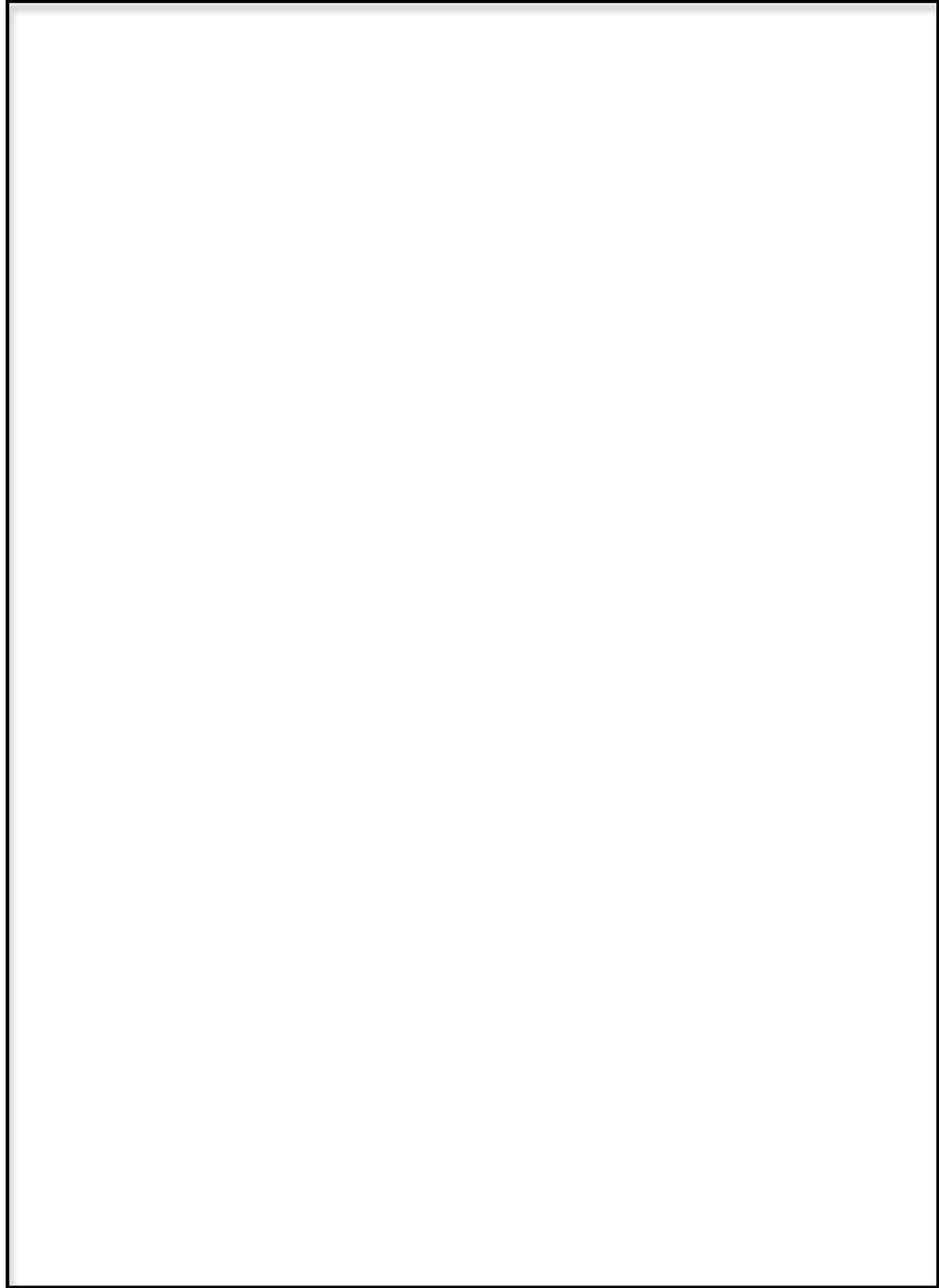


Figure 4.15: Richard Upjohn, *Proposed Chapel Nashotah Mission*, c. 1859. Courtesy of: Drawings and Archives Department, Avery & Architectural & Fine Arts Library, Columbia University.

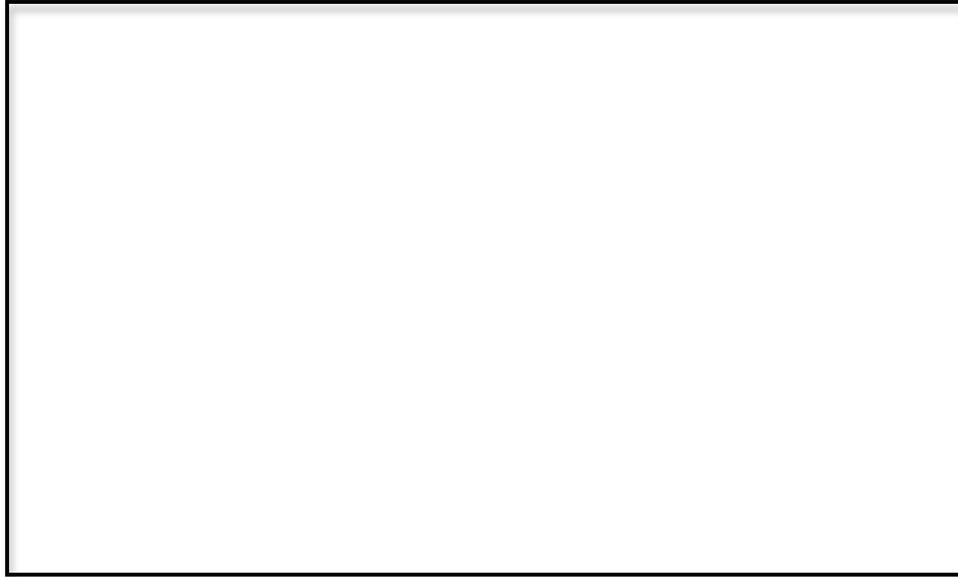


Figure 4.16: Richard Upjohn, *Ground Plan of Proposed Chapel Nashotah Mission*. Courtesy of: Drawings and Archives Department, Avery & Architectural & Fine Arts Library, Columbia University.

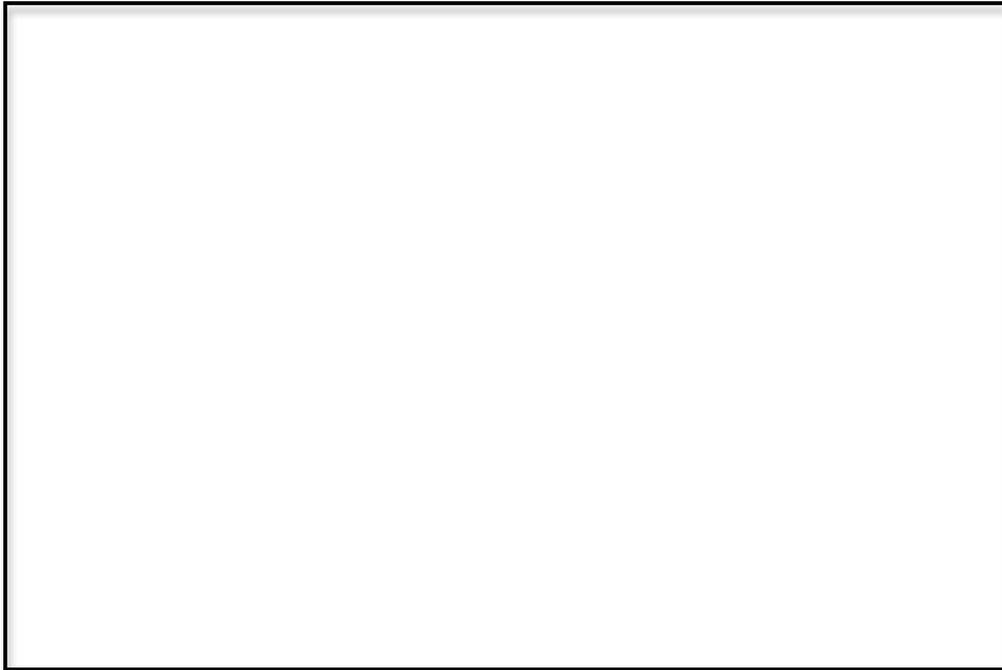


Figure 4.17: Richard Upjohn, *Proposed Perspective Drawing of Proposed Chapel Nashotah Mission*. Courtesy of: Drawings and Archives Department, Avery & Architectural & Fine Arts Library, Columbia University.

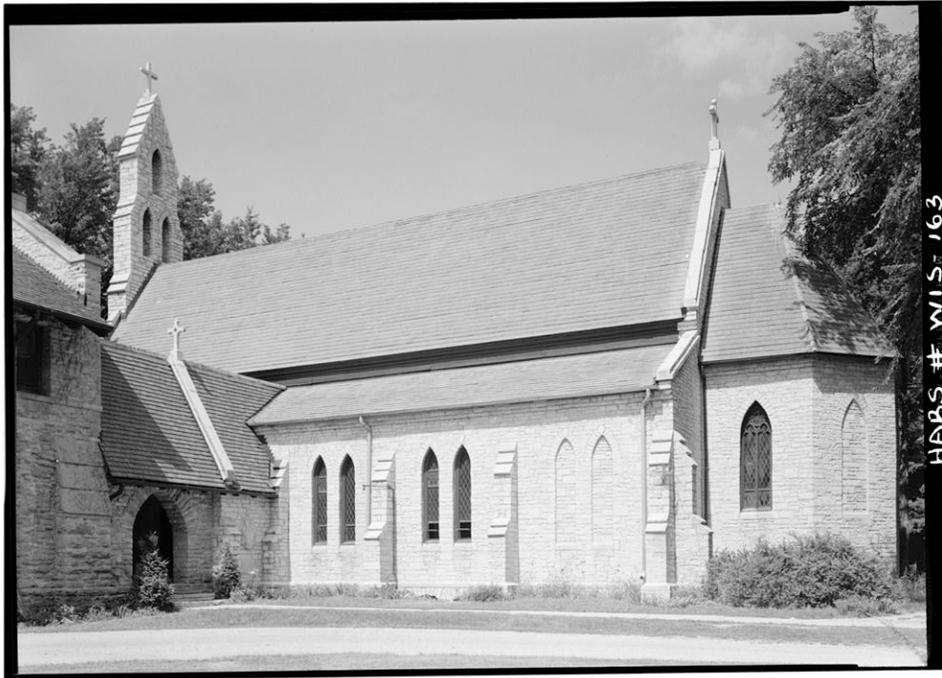


Figure 4.18: *Chapel of St. Mary the Virgin*, c. 1859, Nashotah, Wisconsin. Photograph From: Library of Congress, Prints and Photography Division, HABS WIS, 67-NASH.V, 1--4.

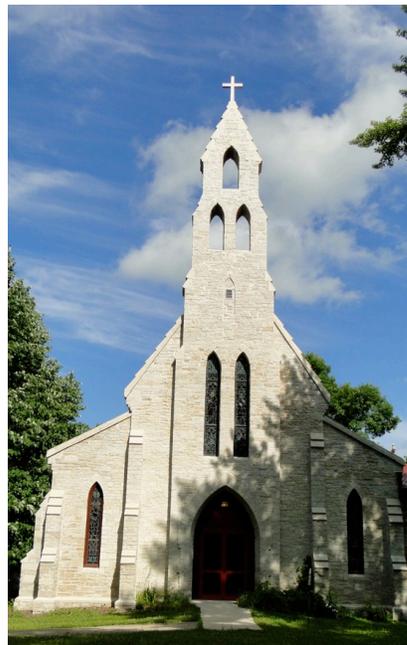


Figure 4.19: *Chapel of St. Mary the Virgin*, Nashotah, Wisconsin. Photograph by Kate M. Kocyba

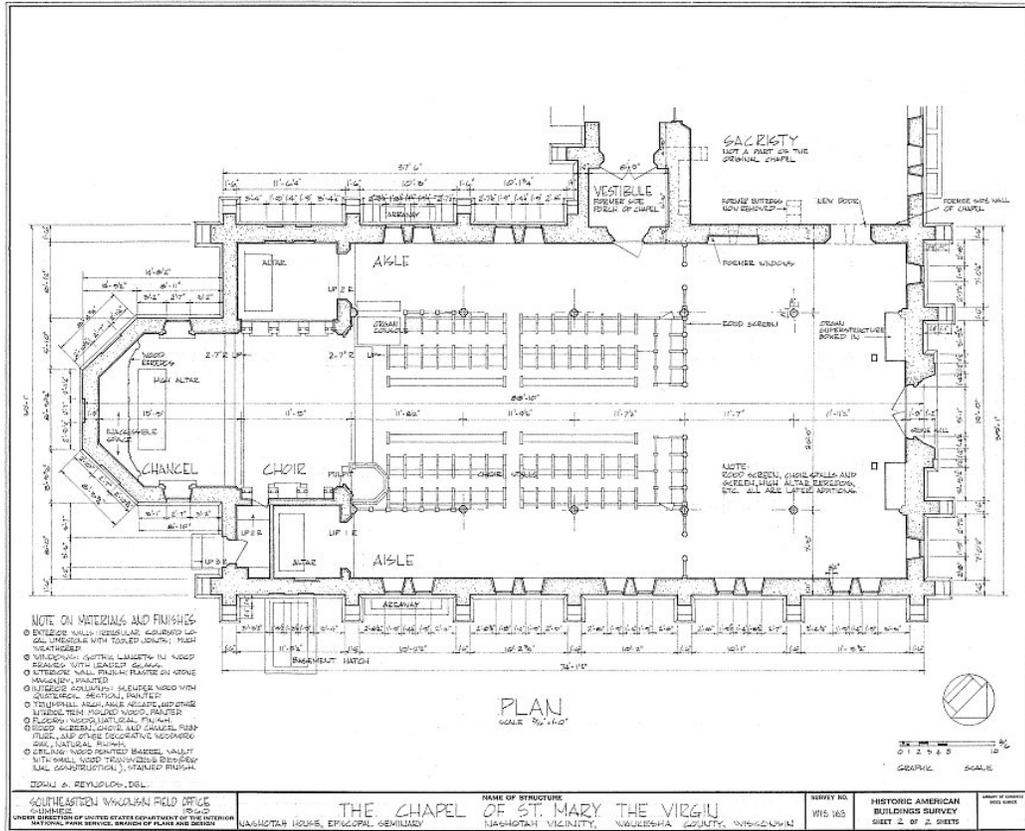


Figure 4.20: HABS, *Ground Plan of the Chapel of St. Mary the Virgin, Nashotah, Wisconsin.* Photograph From: Library of Congress, Prints and Photography Division, HABS WIS, 67-NASH.V, 1-(Sheet 2 of 2).



Figure 4.21: Interior looking “West,” Chapel of St. Mary the Virgin, Nashotah, Wisconsin. Photograph by Kate M. Kocyba.



Figure 4.22: *Postcard of Interior of Nashotah Chapel (Chapel of St. Mary the Virgin), c. 1863, Nashotah, Wisconsin. Courtesy of Nashotah House Archives.*

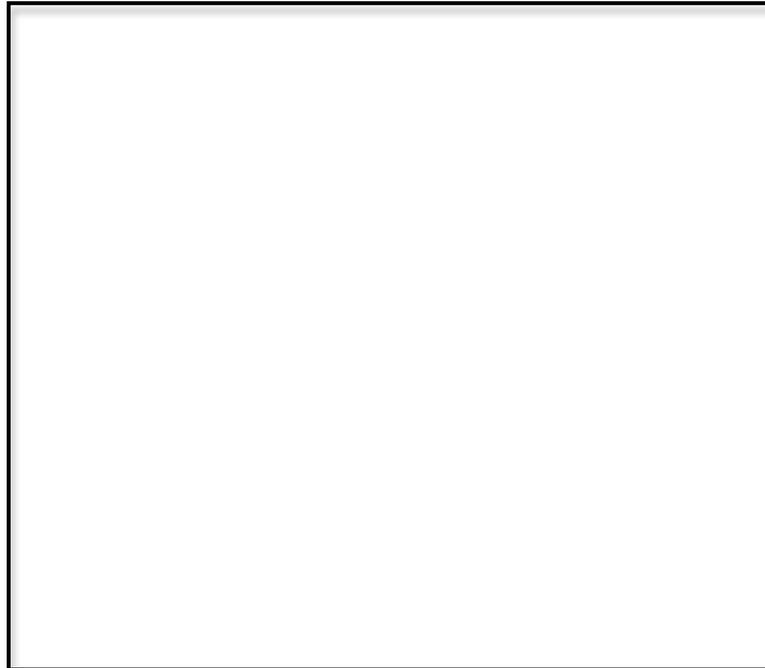


Figure 4.23: *St. Paul's Church, 1858, Plymouth, Wisconsin. Photograph from: St. Paul's Episcopal Church Website Accessed: September 6, 2012. <http://sites.google.com/a/stpaulsplymouth.com/st-pauls-plymouth/home>.*

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VITA

Kate M. Kocyba was born on October 12, 1980 in New Hartford, New York and was raised in the foothills of the Adirondacks just outside the village of Barneveld, New York near the geological feature known as Trenton Falls. She is the daughter of a General Contractor, Thomas, and a house-wife/working mother, Mary, and a much younger sibling to two brothers, Tom and Stanley, and a sister, Amanda, until she was tragically taken away. Kate grew up on twenty-eight acres of wooded land, enjoying the outdoors, learning about nature and life from her mentor and friend, Mrs. Kuchler. It was here in Barneveld where her curiosity and imagination was allowed to flourish.

She graduated from Holland Patent Central School in 1998 and pursued a dual Bachelor of Arts in History and Art History with a minor in Museum Studies at the State University of New York College at Potsdam, which she earned in 2002. Following the completion of the B. A. in the Autumn of 2002, she went to the University of Manchester in England and pursued a Master of Arts in Art Gallery and Museum Studies. This degree program was enlightening, for it revealed to her that her true passion was art history of the Victorian period. While this was the case, she pursued the degree with full commitment and also took advantage of living in England as the gateway into Europe and turning that year of study into a Grand Tour.

In the Autumn of 2003 she returned to Barneveld, New York with an M. A. and was hired by the Central New York Community Arts Council (now Stanley Center for the Arts) to be the Development Associate, a job she held for nearly three years, working on both an annual campaign and a multi-million dollar capital campaign. During this period, she also had the opportunity to be an adjunct instructor at the Mohawk Valley Community College for Art Appreciation, and it was this opportunity that reignited her interest in art history and teaching. After teaching this course, she applied for graduate school and in August 2006, moved to Columbia, Missouri to pursue her Ph. D. that was completed in the Fall 2012.