The Ecclesiological Gothic Revival Churches of Edward Brickell White

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Acknowledgements

The architectural works of Edward Brickell White have fascinated me since I was a small boy. I initially knew his Market Hall and spire for St. Philip's Church, but eventually discovered his wide array of superb buildings in Charleston. I readily understood his classical revival structures, but his Gothic Revival Huguenot and Grace Churches puzzled me. Almost in a veritable sea of classicism these monuments stood out to me as cultural outposts of a movement not quite fully understood in the South. In the work of this thesis, I have attempted to move beyond the graces of Charleston, and discuss all churches by White in the Gothic Revival style advocated and propogated by nineteenth-century ecclesiologists.

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INTRODUCTION

This work examines the Ecclesiological Gothic Revival churches of Edward Brickell White, the first being his Huguenot Church in Charleston, 1844-45.(Figure 1) From then until the War Between the States he designed and built seven other such churches. In White's churches one can see an expanding knowledge of ecclesiological principles, their application to suitable architectural structural systems, and an ability to adapt both of these to the specific needs of his clients.

The Ecclesiological Gothic Revival formally began in the late 1830s when the Cambridge Camden Society of England began using the term ecclesiology, a derivation from ecclesiastical, to describe the science of church building in the Gothic style. Heightened awareness of Medieval theology, liturgy, and decorative arts were also included in the movement. Considered by contemporaries as a science, ecclesiology evolved over time through publications on theory and practice, first in England and then concurrently in America.

As nineteenth-century revivalists, the architects of Ecclesiological Gothic believed that architecture revealed the state of society and could be used to bring society certain moral principles.[1] Morality in architecture was a fundamental precept for the adoption of archaeologically correct Gothic design motifs. Many architects had built

churches in one of the Classical Revival styles, but changed to "Pointed or Christian Architecture," the style believed to produce morality in built form.[2] Edward Brickell White was such an architect.

Having designed ecclesiastical structures in Tuscan and Greek Revival styles, White permanently abandoned them in 1844 with his Huguenot Church. Thereafter, for church commissions, regardless of denomination, White used only the Gothic Revival style. His architectural vocabulary evolved as ecclesiological theory and practice did. White then adapted this style to masonry and wood-frame constructions to meet the specific needs of clients as varied as wealthy Charlestonians and the workers of a mill village.

This thesis will first examine ecclesiology, its chief practitioners and the societies to which they belonged in England and America, and the major publications and views of these people. The next chapter begins with a brief overview of White's architectural career to 1844 to be followed by a discussion of his masonry ecclesiological churches. The next chapter will examine his wood-frame churches, and will be followed by the conclusion.

This thesis surveys all of White's ecclesiological structures, assembled and described together here for the first time. Much emphasis has been given by other scholars, such as Mills Lane and Kenneth Severens, to his three great masonry buildings, the Huguenot and Grace Churches of Charleston and Trinity Church of Columbia. Even these have

never been discussed together in their entirety. White's wooden, "Carpenter's Gothic," churches have never been examined as a group. This thesis will discuss his style in both types of construction and consider why each was appropriate to its specific commission.

Unfortunately, White's personal papers and most of his drawings are missing. They are not in the collections of the South Carolina Historical Society, the Charleston Museum, the Charleston Historical Society, the Preservation Society of Charleston, the College of Charleston Library, the Charleston County Library, or the archives of any of his churches. Nor do any of them exist in the South Caroliniana Library or the Cooper Library at the University of South Carolina. Following the War Between the States, White moved to New York City. Previous writers and researchers have noted that his papers do not exist in the Avery Architectural Library. In my research I have not found them in the archives of the New York Public Library, the American Institute of Architects of New York, or the Metropolitan Museum of Art. I have also not found them in the collections of the Library of Congress, in Washington, D.C.

However, a few of his drawings do exist. The Virginia State Library owns a competition entry by White for the Washington Monument, Capitol Square, in Richmond. The National Archives hold three sheets of White drawings for the arsenal, barracks, officers' quarters, and store house in Charleston, built by the Federal government in 1844.

In 1936 and 1937, the South Carolina Historical Society published the diaries of White's family. The Society also holds a file on the White family and is the best place to follow White's descendants and those who have been contacted. Unfortunately, none thus far claim to know of or have any of White's architectural papers and drawings.

Other avenues of research do exist. These have come to my attention in the course of the work on this thesis. First, White seems to have been heavily influenced by Richard Upjohn. In fact, both White and Upjohn were consulted for Trinity Church, Columbia, and the mill village of Graniteville. Future research on White's ecclesiology could possibly be furthered by studying the papers of Richard Upjohn, which are held in the New York Public Library, and which have been edited. It remains possible that there was a correspondence between Upjohn and White concerning architecture. Also, further research can be undertaken to locate periodicals and newspapers of the 1850s which may have recorded some of the various wood-frame churches by White.

The best surveys to date of White's major buildings are in Beatrice St. Julien Ravenel's Architects of Charleston, (1945); Lane's Architecture of the Old South: South Carolina (1984); and especially in Severens' Charleston Antebellum Architecture and Civic Destiny (1988), which contains meticulous documentation and excellent references to periodicals and newspapers of White's era.

Chapter 1

The Creation of the Ecclesiological Gothic Revival Style

The Gothic Revival began in England during the eighteenth century, though in many rural areas the Gothic tradition had never died out. Primarily focused on houses, follies, and other secular structures, eighteenth-century Gothick was seen as a decorative and picturesque architectural vocabulary and generally was not used for churches. The first renewed interest in Gothic as a style for ecclesiastical structures began in Scotland and England in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Craig Church, Angus, Scotland, 1799, and St. Thomas the Martyr's Church, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1828, by John Dobson, are examples of these early Gothic Revival churches in Great Britain.(Figures 2 and 3) These churches were designed in plan as seventeenth- and eighteenth-century preaching halls constructed with Gothic ornamentation. Other architects, such as James Wyatt, achieved a firmer grasp of Gothic through renovations of British cathedrals. To this the architects of the early nineteenth century "the Gothic was more than a decorative accent; it was a medium for expressing the intensified Romantic spirit of the age."[1]

Yet the Gothic Revival of Wyatt lacked a major emphasis: a "moral dimension."[2] This "moral dimension" of Gothic Revival architecture was supplied by the Englishman Augustus Welby Pugin, son of Augustus Pugin, who advocated Gothic in

the first quarter of the nineteenth century. Augustus Welby Pugin attributed the decline of architecture to the Reformation in the central argument that a necessary connection between religious truth and architectural truth exists.[3] Pugin believed in the superiority of the Middle Ages and in its architecture, the Gothic.[4] With Pugin and many of his contemporaries, Gothic was no longer to be viewed as one of several alternative styles, but now was seen as the only proper style for religious structures. This approach to Gothic is Ecclesiological Gothic Revival.

The central belief of ecclesiology was that Medieval architects, through theory and practice, had discovered principles which led them to develop a style of architecture particularly suitable for Christian liturgy and society. The discernment and revival of these principles was ecclesiology. Ecclesiology was revolutionary in that its practitioners vehemently rejected the Wren-Gibbsian, Graeco-Roman articulated model for church design. Its practitioners, ecclesiologists, were nostalgic in that they chose to look back to native English Gothic architecture.[5]

Just as with the general Gothic Revival, ecclesiology began in England. Its primary focus almost always revolved around the Church of England and divergent attempts at the Church's reformation. During the 1830s Pugin and two collegiate societies, the Cambridge Camden Society and the Oxford Society for Promoting the Study of Gothic Architecture, provided the basis for the movement. In

addition to these three, there were, of course, other men designing at the time, such as R.D. Chantrell at St. Peter's, Leeds, 1837-41.(Figure 4) All men in these groups and other non-members were all considered to be ecclesiologists. But among individuals in the 1830s, Pugin had the most influence due to his numerous building projects and his series of publications, the most important being his Contrasts: or a Parallel Between the Noble Edifices of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries, and Similar Buildings of the Present Day: Showing the Present Decay of Taste (1836).[6] However, Pugin's most influential treatise was The True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture, 1841. Almost all of Pugin's writings were brought to the United States. The images in True Principles provided inspiration for many American architects, particulary Richard Upjohn and Edward Brickell White.[7]

As the dogma of English ecclesiology emerged, it was eventually controlled by the Cambridge Camden Society. This group formally organized in May 1839 at Cambridge University.[8] The Cambridge movement concentrated on architectural aesthetics, and they ultimately advocated the revival of a particular Medieval building type, the fourteenth-century English parish church.[9] They began publishing much of their theories in their own publication The Ecclesiologist, beginning in November 1841.[10] In the first issue the Society announced the issues which it proposed to concern itself:

> Church Building at home and in the Colonies: Church Restoration in England and abroad: the theory and practice of Ecclesiastical Architecture: the investigation of Church Antiquities: the connection of Architecture and Ritual: the science of Symbolism: the principles of Church Arrangements: Church Musik and all the Decorative Arts which can be made subservient to Religion: the exposing and denouncing of glaring cases of Church Desecration: Criticisms upon Designs for and upon New Churches.[11]

Almost concurrently, the Oxford Society for Promoting the Study of Gothic Architecture formed at Oxford University.[12] In regard to their names the two movements appear to be strikingly similar. However, the Oxford Movement, as it is more commonly called, never exerted the power in architecture that its counterpart in Cambridge did. The Oxford group ultimately had little effect on architecture; it was primarily concerned with theology, and was increasingly oriented towards Roman Catholicism.[13] At Oxford were published the theological Tracts for the Times, heavily Roman Catholic in outlook, giving rise to an alternative name for those associated with the movement: Tractarians.[14] Both the aesthetics of the Cambridge Camden Society and the theology of the Tractarians would transfer, via principally by publications, to America where the Episcopal Church grappled with the same issues confronting the Anglican Church.

The Cambridge and Oxford societies never had strong, formal connections to each other. Like Pugin, both groups believed in the principle of morality in architecture, but

grew radically diverse on the issue of Roman Catholicism and its return to a prominent theological and congregational setting in England. The Cambridge Camden Society was leery of any connections to Roman Catholicism and ultimately remained within the Anglican Church.[15] The Cambridge group eventually attempted to purge all men within or tied to the organization sympathetic to Roman Catholicism in January, 1846. To accomplish this, they severed ties with and condemned Pugin, who had converted to Roman Catholicism in 1834, as well as other ecclesiologists who endorsed Pugin's Catholic ideas. Ironically, Pugin's architectural writings and practice had preceded and then paralleled the exact same aesthetic issues during the origins of the Cambridge group.[16] Originally, the Cambridge Camden Society had approved his churches and treatises. However, Pugin's Roman Catholicism proved to be the first of four major reasons for the Society to exile him. First:

> Since Gothic art and architecture had been products of a Roman Catholic society, the existence of Pugin among them was a perpetual threat to Protestant Gothic revivalists: Pugin was an outspoken convert to Roman Catholicism whose presence reminded Anglican believers in Gothic that they might, by their own historical logic, be forced to acknowledge the institutions which had inspired the art they so admired.17

Many American ecclesiologists were also concerned about the issues of Roman Catholicism and its relationship to high-church Anglicanism, but to a much lesser degree. The issue never provoked extremeties such as the treatment of Pugin and his sympathizers by the Cambridge society.

Secondly, Pugin did not relegate Gothic as an appropriate style only to ecclesiastical architecture. He advocated the adoption of Gothic for every building type, in, for instance, his "The Present Revival of Christian Architecture," a drawing of 1843.(Figure 5) In Pugin's utopian vision, Gothic has become an entire integrated system of building which reflects and perhaps encourages the morality of those who live and work in them.[18] In Apology for the Revival of Christian Architecture (1843), Pugin stated that Gothic was the only style permissible in Christian society.[19] To the Cambridge ecclesiologists, Pugin failed to recognize the great tenet of "Sacramentality," which separated Gothic from other revival styles."[20] Most American ecclesiologists agreed with this principle though a few designers did extend the style into secular structures which were intended to have moral qualities, such as the mill village at Graniteville. (See Chapter 3)

Relations concerning ecclesiastical "Sacramentality" were further strained with Pugin's publication of True Principles. In the text Pugin stated that:

> ... there should be no features about a building which are not necessary for convenience, construction or propriety ... all ornament should consist of enrichment of the essential construction of the building ... even the construction itself should vary with the material employed ... in [English Gothic] pointed architecture alone ... these principles had been carried out ... the architects of the Middle Ages were the first who turned the natural proprieties of the various materials to their full account and made their mechanism a vehicle for their art.21

The ecclesiologists at Cambridge pointed out that

despite the references to Pointed architecture, the principles of the book could easily apply to other periods of architectural history and that contemporary architects could be encouraged to use styles other than Gothic. The Cambridge Camden Society condemned the book in part, then made feeble and awkward apologies, for Pugin was designing Gothic Revival churches close to the principles advocated by the Society, such as St. Oswald's, Liverpool.[22] (Figure 6) Ecclesiologists in the United States, especially Upjohn and White in their early careers, used True Principles as a source for Gothic designs and were relatively unconcerned regarding the book's ambiguity.

Finally, by 1846 Pugin and the Cambridge Camden Society had major stylistic differences. Pugin advocated the English Perpendicular Gothic style, though he often combined it with elements of the Early English and English Decorated periods. (Figure 7) Pugin advocated and designed many churches with a titanic scale reminiscent of ancient cathedrals and abbeys. (Figure 8) Pugin also created some smaller structures with the same proportions and details, though in a shrunken size, of his larger works. For many years, the Cambridge Camden Society advocated the adoption of the English Decorated parish church, typically smaller than those of Pugin, as the only style to be revived. The Society said of the style: "No other period can be chosen at which all conditions of beauty, of detail, of general effect, of truthfulness, of reality, are so fully answered as this." Reluctantly, the Society

finally changed to the advocation of Early English, based chiefly on the principle that the Early English period saw the introduction of the Gothic arch.[23] The early ecclesiastic works of Upjohn and White would be in the same mode as those designed by Pugin, though Upjohn would later shift to the English Decorated style.

Despite the rupture of communication between the Cambridge Camden Society and Pugin, both they and all other English ecclesiologists held particular beliefs on basic design principles in common. These were, in turn, upheld by the Americans. In retrospect, speaking for the entire movement, John Mason Neale, a founder of the Cambridge group, stated the core of these in his pamphlet, "A Few Words to Church Builders:" "Our three leading principles have been, REALITY [truth in materials], THE ABSOLUTE NECESSITY OF A DISTINCT AND SPACIOUS CHANCEL, AND THE ABSOLUTE INADMISSIBILITY OF PEWS AND GALLERIES IN ANY SHAPE WHATEVER."[24] Of these three principles, the first was particularly notable because most English and American ecclesiologists "placed a premium on the forthright use of materials and structure - an extension of the idea of liturgical correctness to the means of construction."[25] Other design fundamentals were somber interiors; rich decorations; dark, brilliant colors; and the the absence of pews. These tenets became the orthodox doctrines of English ecclesiology. They were generally applied to churches in the United States until the development of wooden churches in

the mid-1840s, which vernacularized ecclesiology for economy.

By 1846, the Cambridge Camden Society had moved to London and changed its name to the Ecclesiological Society. Through its journal and the publication of numerous pamphlets and books, the Society dominated ecclesiastical architecture in the British Isles through the 1850s.[26]

Beginning in 1841, the Cambridge Camden Society had begun its missionary program to bring ecclesiology to "the Colonies," specifically America and other spheres of English influence.[27] All of the activities of the group were known in United States through the Society's publications. Through these works, Americans were able to follow the purging of Pugin and Roman Catholicism, the belief in "Sacramentality," the initial advocation of English Decorated, and the later acceptance of the Early English, and basic design principles.

During the 1840s the Cambridge organization condemned American ecclesiological architects on stylistic grounds. The Americans, frequently damned for using the wrong period of Gothic or demonstrating too much deviation from Correct Gothic prototypes, never quite measured up to the often tyrannical expectations of the Society.[28]

The introduction of Gothic in America, however, occurred before any activities by the Camden Cambridge Society or Pugin. As in England Gothick was originally considered to be decorative, and was applied to various motifs in furniture and architectural millwork. It was then used as an accessory in the discipline of the picturesque style in garden

pavilions, carriage houses, and other auxiliary buildings.[29]

A new approach began in 1805 when Benjamin Henry Latrobe created a Gothic scheme for Baltimore Cathedral, a proposed alternative to the classical scheme ultimately built.[30] (Figure 9) With this project, and with a few of Latrobe's later schemes, Gothic came to be seen in America as a distinct design alternative, foreshadowing the coming age of revivals. Latrobe developed a Gothic style that was very similar to that of the English architect James Wyatt. Latrobe's ventures into Gothic were "creditable attempts to capture a serious and genuine Gothic flavor far beyond the contrived Gothick ornamentation" of the eighteenth Century.[31] But, these first ventures into Gothic Revival were on the whole ill-proportioned and not very archaeologically correct, very like Craig Church. St. Luke's, New York City, 1821, attributed to John Heath and St. Peter's Church, Columbia, South Carolina, are typical of this time.(Figures 10 and 11) The latter was the first Gothic Revival building in South Carolina and was designed by Robert Mills who had studied under and may have been influenced by Latrobe.[32]

The American ecclesiological Gothic Revival movement began in the mid-1830s. By this time the voluminous amounts of publishing by the Pugins and other English contemporaries on Gothic architecture were arriving in America. American architects had accurate, measured illustrations of Medieval English ecclesiastical architecture available as design sources.

Concurrently, in 1836, John Henry Hopkins, the Episcopalian Bishop of Vermont, published his Essay on Gothic Architecture, with Various Plans and Drawings for Churches: Designed Chiefly for the Use of the Clergy. Here a book of sources by a native American, who, dissatisfied with the previous ecclesiastical efforts in Gothic Revival, addressed the Gothic style and the need for it to be adopted to churches in the United States. Gothic was the "admired style of building," for religious structures, and the Gothic he illustrated was, like Pugin's, English Gothic.[33]

Hopkins's Essay consists of eight principal chapters with a glossary and illustrations. Hopkins discusses in seven chapters his views on church-building: the origins of Gothic; ecclesiastical expenses on materials and labor; light; monuments, cenotaphs, statues and pictures, in churches; pews; color schemes; and ceilings.

Hopkins's book had a profound effect on American Gothic Revival architecture. Buildings influenced by Hopkins text ranged in areas as diverse as New York and Mississippi. In New York City there was St. Peter's, Chelsea, New York City, 1836-38, by James W. Smith and Clement C. Moore.(Figure 12) Christ Church, 1839, was in Vicksburg, Mississippi.(Figure 13) Both were derived from Plate 12 in Hopkins' Essay. (Figure 14) Edward Brickell White would rely heavily on Hopkins' text in all of his masonry ecclesiological structures, the Huguenot Church, Trinity Episcopal Church, Columbia; and Grace Episcopal Church, Charleston. English

Gothic was the style first emulated by Edward Brickell White in these revival churches. Many design motifs and theory from Hopkins's Essay appear in these buildings.

Nevertheless, to many Americans, the English theorists and architects still retained the most authoritative position in Gothic church design. Pugin's True Principles heavily influenced the early career of Upjohn, an advocate of High-Church American Anglicanism. He soon became one of the most prolific ecclesiological architects in the United States.

In the early 1840s, Upjohn emerged as one of the leading architects in New York City, which was quickly becoming the major architectural center of the United States:

> New York was the growing urban center of mid-nineteenth-century American architecture. It offered wealth and people of taste. Major architects had their offices there. The influence of European art was strong, its lessons well understood and well received. In the years after 1840 accelerated building activity encouraged experimentation, and the New York churches built between 1840 and 1846 form a revealing group. They were not only large and expensive but they demonstrated the accomplishment of American architects. The Protestant Episcopal churches ... indicate when and how the English Gothic revival arrived and the sources Americans.34

The Episcopalian seminary in the United States, the General Theological Seminary, was located in New York City. This institution served as a direct link to European Anglicanism and many ideas on English ecclesiology inevitably went through it. However, seminarians were more largely sympathetic to the theological aspects inherent in ecclesiology, and, therefore more sympathetic to the Oxford Tractarian viewpoint.

Upjohn began drawings for Trinity Church, New York City, in 1839, but changed them before the laying of the cornerstone in 1841. In its final development the church bears a strong resemblance to an illustration in True Principles, "an ideal church," and contemporaries made note of this during the church's construction in 1844.(Figures 8 and 15) The Puginian model and the Upjohn creation are both symmetrical Perpendicular designs executed in almost cathedral-size proportions. Both have front towers, high-pitched roofs, battlemented parapets, and pinnacles topping buttressing. However, Trinity, New York, lacked the deep chancel of its model, "a feature too Catholic."[36]

The Puginian style of ecclesiological Gothic Revival in America was further developed by James Renwick, another advocate of High-Church American Anglicanism. Renwick's first major church was Grace Church, begun 1843, also in New York City.(Figure 16) Renwick, also drawing inspiration also from Pugin's "ideal church," created a Latin-cross edifice, much lighter in feeling than Trinity, though Grace's tower dominates its sanctuary more powerfully by its sheer size and proportion to the rest of the church. Renwick included transepts, which did not appear in Trinity.[37] White's masonry churches brought the Puginian-influenced style of Upjohn's and Renwick's early work to South Carolina.

Then in 1844, Upjohn and Renwick diverged from the True Principles pattern. Upjohn designed the Church of the Holy Communion, and moved away from the Puginian Perpendicular

Gothic.(Figure 17) Upjohn now adhered to the Cambridge Camden Society's advocation of the asymmetrical English Parish Church Revival. He placed a single tower alongside the nave below a transept. Renwick, meanwhile, in his Calvary Church, New York, translated the Puginian model into a cumbersome, twin-towered structure in the "'Early English or Lancet style.'" The church had prominent transepts and an emphasis on "'three-dimensional composition.'"[38] Renwick would continue designing these types of structures, though his later churches had little influence on Edward Brickell White.

The American ecclesiological movement was not exclusively led by architects. Several American bishops, such as Doane of New Jersey, had travelled to England, seen English Ecclesiological Gothic Revival architecture, met with the Cambridge Camden Society, and returned to America with building schemes ready to be implemented.[39] Four American Bishops were given honorary patronships in the Cambridge Camden Society for their dedication to ecclesiology. Among them was the Bishop of the Episcopal Diocese of South Carolina, Christopher Edwards Gadsden.[40] Gadsden encouraged the construction of Ecclesiological Gothic Revival churches in his diocese. During Gadsden's Episcopate, 1840-1852, White built Trinity Church, Columbia; Grace Church, Charleston, and began St. Jude's Episcopal Church, Walterboro. Bishop Gadsden was also sympathetic to the anti-Roman Catholic sentiment found in the Cambridge

Camden Society. Gadsden was major voice in anti-Tractarian opinion for dismissal of the Oxford Tracts in American theology.[41]

By 1845 Upjohn had begun experimentation with ecclesiological designs built entirely of wood. St. Paul's Church, Brunswick, Maine, 1845, was one of the first. Upjohn had realized that many small, poor, country parishes could not afford costly masonry structures of elaborate ornamentation. Upjohn sheathed the exteriors of the churches with board-and-batten siding, only recently introduced in America by Andrew Jackson Downing (1815-1852).[42] These board-and-batten churches, with simple interiors and lancet windows, would heavily influence architects in the United States, including White, who, within a year, would follow the new style being established by Upjohn.[43]

The immense popularity of this series of wooden church commissions eventually compelled Upjohn to publish Upjohn's Rural Architecture of 1852, a book intended to provide economical design sources. Deviating slightly from orthodox ecclesiology, the book also included a board-and-batten school house and parsonage. Chiefly, Upjohn illustrated two distinctive ecclesiological prototypes, both lacking transepts. The smaller design, the "Wooden Chapel," is a plain rectangular box with no narthex and no distinct chancel.(Figures 18 and 19) The larger, a "Wooden Church," and is asymmetrically planned with a prominent narthex under the tower and a distinct chancel.(Figure 20) In elevation it

is not unlike his masonry Church of the Holy Communion, with a single tower placed beside the nave.(Figure 21) Here Upjohn translated the English Parish Revival building type, advocated by the Cambridge Camden Society, into wood.

Due largely to economy, American wooden Gothic Revival churches have varying degrees of ecclesiology. Plans can range from complex arrangements of narthexes, transepts, and chancels to the simple, box-like "Wooden Chapel" depicted in Rural Architecture. Somber interiors; sumptuous decorations; and deep, brilliant colors may appear, although plain, white interiors are just, if not more, common.

The Cambridge Camden Society had condemned most earlier wooden ecclesiastical structures in North America. In The Ecclesiologist the society published a speech by the Reverend William Scott, "On Wooden Churches," which dwelt on the unfavorable horizontal emphasis in most wooden churches rendered by clapboard siding and low-pitched roofs. In accordance with the perceived vision of Gothic, Scott maintained that churches should have vertical orientations.[44] Upjohn's application of board-and-batten siding and steep roofs thus provided the verticality sought by the Englishmen.

The Cambridge ecclesiologists persuaded Robert Ralston, a wealthy Philadelphian who had recently been indoctrinated with the ecclesiological zeal, to found an American society for the movement. As New York City was quickly becoming the major urban architectural center for the nation and was the location of the General Theological Seminary, the New York

Ecclesiological Society was formed there on April 2, 1848. Ironically, students and faculty at the General Theological Seminary, more Oxford or Tractarian in viewpoint, composed a significant majority of the membership.[45] The New York Ecclesiological Society never had a good relationship with the Ecclesiological Society in England. By 1850 the American group dramatically diverged from the ecclesiological orthodoxy in England. Architects in the United States were given free reign to work in the Gothic style of any period or type, and would no longer be subject to creating churches in "servile imitation" of advocated English models.[46] Edward Brickell White was a member of the New York Ecclesiological Society by 1851.[47]

From 1848-1853, the American society published The New York Ecclesiologist, dedicated to the art of church building. While expressing American viewpoints, the editors also chose to publish parts of English publications, from the The Ecclesiologist to drawings by members of the Oxford Society. This publication provided a focal point among American architects for the transfer of information necessary to practice ecclesiology in the United States.

The favored architect of the American Society was Frank Wills, who published Ancient English Ecclesiastical Architecture and Its Principles, in 1850, almost exclusively devoted to high-style Gothic architecture and furniture.[48] Although the book was extremely influential, it appears that his work had little effect on White, who was in his wooden

Gothic mode by that time.

The influence of the New York Ecclesiological Society gradually waned in the 1850s; a decade that ended with the beginning of the War Between the States, the economic decline of the South, and but for a few small commissions, the end of White's architectural career.

The Society consolidated many American views on ecclesiology. Ecclesiologists in the United States abandoned the orthodox canons of the Cambridge Camden Society, and applied Gothic motifs and ideas to many different types of commissions and materials. Gothic was accepted for American churches of many denominations because of its heavy associations with Christianity. American church architects were never as a group committed to a single period of Gothic and were not terribly bothered when Gothic details were used inaccurately. American ecclesiologists were much more open-minded than their English counterparts, and were dedicated to the Ecclesiological Gothic Revival as long as it worked well.[49]

Chapter 2

Edward Brickell White and Ecclesiology: The Masonry Churches

Edward Brickell White was born on January 29, 1806, near Charleston, South Carolina. He received his elementary education in Charleston and attended West Point, graduating in 1826 with a degree in engineering. He then accepted a commission in the Army of the United States, which first ordered him to Newport, Rhode Island. There he assisted as a member of the Corps of Engineers in the planning of a fortification to be erected in Florida.[1]

Following his resignation from the Army in 1836, White gained employment "'on the survey of the Grand projected Charleston and Cincinnati Rail Road devoting himself wholly to civil engineering ...'"[2] He surveyed for that and other railroads until 1839 when he returned to Charleston and established himself as a "Civil Engineer, Architect, and Surveyor."[3]

Within a year White received important commissions from the city, despite turbulent economic times brought on by the Panic of 1837, because more civic buildings and churches were needed in Charleston, as the city remained not only South Carolina's only major urban center, but also one of the major cities in the United States. White, probably through family connections, quickly became the city's leading architect.[4] (APPENDIX I)

In his antebellum career, White chiefly worked in

Charleston, though five of the ecclesiological churches in this study are located elsewhere. White probably received these commissions because of his renown as the leading architect of Charleston.

White was a revival architect, creating compositions with distinct architectural vocabularies. White never merged styles in an eclectic mode, although he designed separate buildings in the Roman, Tuscan, Greek, Palladian, and two distinct Gothic Revival styles: Ecclesiological Gothic (appropriate for churches) and Castellated Gothic (appropriate to buildings suggesting fortification, such as the parapets and crenelations of the old Citadel and the Military Hall).(Figure 22)

White used the Greek Doric Revival for his Second Baptist Church, now the Centenary Methodist Church, 1841-1842, Charleston.(Figure 23) This masonry edifice has archaeologically correct details, designed as a pure Greek temple with baseless columns. White designed the interior in the preaching hall format of eighteenth-century Anglican churches. Balconies frame three sides of the nave which has no attached chancel, and the pulpit was placed where an altar would normally be located, design features which were abhorrent to both English and American ecclesiologists.[5] (Figure 24) The Second Baptist Church congregation was wealthy, and White adorned the interior with lavish ornamentation such as the fluted Corinthian columns which support a balcony decorated with festoons beneath a coffered

tray ceiling. This sense of elaboration would be a carry-over to his masonry ecclesiological structures, though his wooden churches used some Gothic details.[6]

When White first became acquainted with ecclesiology can not be accurately determined. He may well have heard of or read any of the English publications or the Hopkins treatise before he designed the Huguenot Church in 1844. However, he had probably seen an ecclesiological Gothic Revival edifice under construction, Upjohn's Trinity Church, New York, in the Fall of 1842, when he made an extended trip to the North.[7] (APPENDIX II)

White was not the first South Carolinian to become interested in the Gothic Revival and its implications for ecclesiastical architecture. As stated earlier, Mills had built St. Peter's, Columbia, in 1821. Also, an apparent initial understanding of Gothic's moral qualities is evidenced by an argument of Hugh Legare in the 1830s: "'A Gothic cathedral has its beauties - it has its own peculiar proportions - it has fitness to the solemn purpose for which it was designed (which) conspire to make it one of the most impressive objects that can be presented to the imagination of man.'"[8] Even as White was completing the Huguenot Church, William Gilmore Simms, South Carolina's most famous novelist and also an arbiter of taste, discussed the Gothic Revival and its appropriateness for churches. He specifically mentioned those recently built in New York, and advocated the style for Charleston.[9] (APPENDIX III)

Charlestonians and their fellow South Carolinians were certainly informed of the ecclesiological movement in the Church of England by October of 1842, when an article, taken from an English magazine, appeared in The Charleston Gospel Messenger, and Protestant Episcopal Register, the publication of the Episcopal Church in South Carolina.(APPENDIX IV) The article, "Ecclesiastical Architecture," included passages on ecclesiological disgust with classically styled, preaching-hall ecclesiastical structures and the complete advocation of English Gothic.[10]

In addition, all of the major sourcebooks on Gothic architecture were very probably in Charleston and White probably used them in designing his three large masonry churches. These churches form the first phase of White's ecclesiological career. In these churches, one can see White's expanding knowledge of ecclesiological principles primarily derived from those of Pugin and those of Upjohn in his early years, the application of these principles to masonry and wooden-truss structural systems, and the ability to adapt both of these to the special needs of his clients.

The Huguenot Church, Charleston, 1844-1845

White's Huguenot Church is the third Huguenot Church to stand on the site, which was acquired by the congregation in 1687, seven years after the city of Charleston was founded.[11] Since then this site has always been associated with Huguenot descendants in South Carolina. The original congregation of

Huguenots, French Protestants who had fled France after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, quickly assimilated into the English colony and the Church of England in the eighteenth century. Once assimilated the Huguenots and their descendants became some of the most influential and wealthy citizens of South Carolina, though membership in the Huguenot congregation plummeted, and the church nearly expired.[12] However, in the nineteenth century, a group of Episcopalians of Huguenot descent returned to the faith of their ancestors and revived the Huguenot Church.[13] At this time the Huguenot liturgy, the 1737 and 1772 editions of the Liturgy of Neufchatel and Valengin, was translated from French into English in an effort to accommodate the vast number of Huguenot descendants not fluent in French.[14] A new sanctuary to house this revived congregation was begun in 1844.

White's clients for this project were wealthy merchants and planters who wanted to replace the second Huguenot church, from 1800, which was insufficient in size for their scheme.[15] They commissioned White, who gave them a church in the most fashionable style of architecture for ecclesiastical structures, the ecclesiological Gothic Revival of New York and England.

White's Huguenot Church is articulated in the Gothic style espoused by Pugin and Upjohn. One of White's design sources was Pugin's <u>True Principles</u>. The book must have been well known to Charlestonians; during the consecration the minister stated: "'We are indebted to the

genius of our fellow citizen, E.B. White, architect, by whom the whole was designed and executed, for this the only specimen of pointed, or emphatically Christian Church Architecture, which has ever been erected in our city [Charleston].'"[16] White drew inspiration from Pugin's "ideal church" and the well-known edifice it inspired, Upjohn's Trinity Church, New York. All of these designs have elaborate pinnacles capping buttresses above the roof line, finished with crenelations. However, the Pugin image and Trinity contain side aisles where the Huguenot Church does not. This is because the Charleston edifice is essentially a preaching hall in plan, the standard type loathed by orthodox ecclesiologists.

A study of Hopkins's Essay on Gothic Architecture reveals more stylistic similarities with the Charleston church. A general silhouette of the Huguenot Church can be derived from Plate 7-Figure 20 of the Hopkins text, but without the projecting tower, most likely omitted in the actual building due to site restrictions.(Figures 25 and 26) Other stylistic similarities between White's church and Hopkins's illustrations can be found in a comparison of the Hopkins Plate 2-Figure hh and the tracery framing the front entrance of the Charleston edifice.(Figures 27 and 28) This unique motif is almost identical for both have trefoils in their centers. For a Huguenot church, White turned to the works of High-Anglicans and a Roman Catholic because of their immense popularity and the characteristic open-mindedness in

American ecclesiology.[17]

The plan of the Huguenot Church is not "correctly" ecclesiological, even for a parish church.(Figure 29) There is no true chancel. This space has been transformed into two sacristies with an organ loft above. The altar has been replaced by a preaching pulpit just as in White's Greek Revival Second Baptist Church.

The church does have an appropriate narthex, separated from the nave by a partition wall of grained wood punctured with three portals.(Figure 30) The partition consists of an arcade with movable inset panels, recalling Medieval rood screens, although here it is adapted to climatic purposes. (Figure 31) Charleston winters are generally chilly, worsened by ferocious winds from the open sea. The city is then plagued in the summer by exhaustive heat with intense humidity. Yet the breezes remain. Therefore in the Huguenot Church the panels are raised in the winter months to avoid the winds that are in turn pulled through in the summer months for ventilation.

This partition is made of pine which is then grained to resemble walnut. The ecclesiological Gothic Revivalists from Pugin to Hopkins to Upjohn, "all placed a premium on the forthright use of materials and structure - an extension of the idea of liturgical correctness to the means of construction."[19]

With the Huguenot interior, White broke almost every ecclesiological rule. The walls are plaster painted a coral

color, despite the principle that "colors selected should be of a sober character."[19] Here, White was surely conceding to a typical Charleston format of tropical pastels, which had been derived from colonies in Barbados and other islands in the Caribbean basin.[20] Also, the walls are outlined in gray to simulate stone blocks; some of the millwork is marblized; and the vaulting is plaster-and-lath, thus ignoring the tenet of truth in materials.(Figures 32, 33, and 34)

The interior of the Huguenot Church also includes non-ecclesiological, immense, clear-glass windows that flood the interior with natural sunlight, a standard practice in preaching halls, but contradicting ecclesiological principles.(Figure 29) Meting-hall box-pews with paneled doors appear here as well, also contradicting ecclesiological principles.[21]

Edward Brickell White's Huguenot Church, while considered to be the first Gothic Revival building in Charleston, is not a "correct" ecclesiological Gothic Revival building because of the deviation from ecclesiological distinctions in its plan, colors, deceitfulness of materials, clear windows, and box-pews. The Huguenot Church is, thus, a nineteenth-century preaching hall ornamented in the Gothic style.

Trinity Episcopal Church, Columbia, 1845-1847, 1860-1862

In Trinity Church, White demonstrated a much better understanding of the Ecclesiological Gothic Revival.

From its first building phase, Trinity was designed with two towers on its West End, a tall nave with clerestories above, distinct side aisles, and a chancel separated from the nave by an arch. During the second building phase the chancel was refurbished, while transepts were added. These features had been deleted from, but then built according to, White's original 1845 drawings for the church, giving the church its cruciform plan.[22] Therefore, since the 1862 product was the constructed design of 1845, the church will be treated as a whole involving both building phases in this discussion.[23] (Figure 35)

White's Trinity Church was built because of two major issues: the revival of the American Episcopal Church and the desire for a monumental religious edifice in the state capital. The Episcopal Church was in disfavor among communicants following the Revolutionary War, because of its history as the Church of England. Membership plummeted and the Episcopalian communion was in danger of extinction. James Patrick, in "Ecclesiological Gothic in the Antebellum South," states that this revival occurred because of the theological revolution at Oxford in the early 1830s and the revived interest in English culture.[24] Growing membership in Trinity Church provided the opportunity to construct a new edifice in the current, fashionable Gothic Revival style of Upjohn.[25] Secondly, Columbia, the state capital since 1790, was still a city in its infancy.[26] Very few monumental buildings had been built there, as Charleston was still the

economic center of the state. Wishing to enhance the appearance of their capital, South Carolinians by this time "demanded" that a large church be built in Columbia.[27] The site was next to Capitol Square, where the State House sat, and it was not constricted like that of the Huguenot Church, so that a new church could be well-displayed in its setting.

White's clients were wealthy planters and merchants, in particular the Hampton family, who could afford to make large donations toward an ecclesiastical structure. The contemplated cost for the church was $25,000, at that time a rather exorbitant amount of money for the backwoods of the state.[28] White created what one early critic described as having "nothing that compares with it in the [remaining] United States or the Canadas."[29] Numerous articles concerning the edifice appeared in the Gospel Messenger and numerous Charleston newspapers, providing many descriptions of the church in various building stages.[30] (APPENDIX V)

Trinity Church, Columbia, built during the episcopate of Bishop Gadsden coincides fittingly with ecclesiological principles advocated by the Cambridge Camden Society, of which Gadsden was an honorary patron.

White's building is in the Gothic style depicted in True Principles and the Essay by Hopkins, White's basic bibliographic references that he scanned for the Huguenot Church. The pinnacles along the sides of Trinity, Columbia, are similar to Hopkins's illustration Plate 4-Figure F, as both are unadorned with heavy copings which are placed at

right angles beneath.(Figures 36 and 37) Hopkins's Plate 4, Figure F shows a buttressing member with a hollowed-out niche motif similar to that below the pinnacles on the Columbia church. White used lancet windows with two lights and a perpendicular coping above, almost identical to those in Hopkins's Plate 7-Figure 20.(Figure 25) The system of external articulation of side aisles and nave is in accordance with that from True Principles and Upjohn's Trinity Church. In each, independent buttressing members distinguish the internal bays on two levels, the lower aisles and the clerestory of the nave.

He may have also taken inspiration from Renwick's Grace Church, New York, begun 1843, descriptions of which were being discussed frequently in Northern publications probably being sent to South Carolina. Renwick's edifice may be the source for the cruciform plan of Trinity, Columbia, though the cruciform-plan idea was popular in ecclesiology. The plan of Trinity Church with transepts, a sacristy, a vestry, a chancel, a narthex, and side aisles is in accordance with ecclesiological tenets.(Figure 35)

In addition, in April 1847, a descriptive article in the Gospel Messenger specifically cited York Minster, England, as the source for the West front towers of Trinity.[31] (Figures 38 and 39) The immense scale and much detail have been lost in the transformation to Columbia, but White's church follows the basic pattern of stepped, empty niches diminishing in size from below the base to the cornice of the

tower. Also, the towers of York Minster are each terminated by eight pinnacles, which White again used.

The interior of Trinity Church, Columbia, is a developed study in ecclesiology. All is dark, and rich in color. The narthex is divided from the nave by a wooden rood screen, similar in concept to that in the Huguenot Church, but at Trinity, Columbia, it is filled with stained glass instead of movable wooden panels.(Figure 40) All of the clerestory-and aisle-level windows are filled with stained glass, which do not allow much natural light into the church. White observed the tenet of truth in materials. The walls are painted a dull gray and not scored to imitate stone. What appears to be marble is such. With timber trusses to support the roof, there is no faux vaulting. However, box-pews were used, a feature in almost every church by White, though box-pews were not favored by most ecclesiologists.[32]

White created the new sanctuary for Trinity Church to accommodate the growing congregation and to give Columbia its first monumental church. Ecclesiological principles were rigorously applied in accommodating these functions.

Grace Episcopal Church, Charleston, 1847-1848 and 1859-1862

In Grace Church, White again demonstrated his knowledge of the ecclesiological Gothic Revival, but made a few concessions to local traditions. Grace has a "correct" plan, having a spacious narthex beneath a tower, a nave with a clerestory, side aisles, a chancel, and a sacristy. The

present sacristy, an enlargement of the original; communion rail; pulpit; and the layout of the entire East end were installed during an 1859-1862 renovation.[33] The plans were drawn by White at that time.[34] (Figure 41)

Grace Church was built due to the same revival of membership in the American Episcopal church that had necessitated a larger sanctuary for Trinity Church, Columbia. A new parish was needed in Charleston. In 1846 the congregation of Grace Church organized and in 1848 undertook to build a large edifice more in the tradition of Charleston's St. Philip's and St. Michael's Churches, as opposed to the numerous chapel-size, Episcopalian edifices erected by the rich of St. Philip's and St. Michael's for those who could not buy or rent church pews.[35]

The first site selected for Grace was at the northeast corner of Wentworth and Meeting Streets, a city property. The city had originally intended to provide funds for a tower to have an "alarm bell and lookout." However, the city dropped that option, due very likely to the extremely deplorable state of its finances, and Grace's congregation began seeking another site.[36] They then bought the Glebe land property from St. Philip's Church, which had owned it since 1698.[37]

The subscription of stock in Grace Church reveals White's clients, who were some of the city's wealthiest citizens.[38] The total cost of the project had cost $23,835.00 by completion on November 1, 1848.[39] White

provided his clients with the first true Ecclesiological Gothic Revival Church, the now fashionable style for Episcopalian sanctuaries, in Charleston.

Grace, like Trinity, Columbia, was built during the episcopate of Gadsden who encouraged the building of ecclesiological structures in his diocese.

Grace Church is in the Puginian-inspired, Perpendicular Gothic style. As design sources for Grace Church, White appears to have relied on Pugin's True Principles and Hopkins' Essay on Gothic Architecture. The general outline of Grace, Charleston, is in the tradition of the "ideal church" in True Principles and its first American "descendants," Upjohn's Trinity Church, Renwick's Grace Church, and White's earlier two ecclesiological edifices. (Figure 42) In this design, White eliminated the pinnacles used on the side facades of the Huguenot Church and Trinity Church, Columbia. Instead, buttresses extend up to an unbroken cornice on both the aisle and nave-clerestory external facades.(Figure 43) However, he did place two at each corner of the tower above the narthex.(Figure 44) These pinnacles are more elaborate than those in White's earlier work, and bear a striking resemblance to Hopkins's Plate 2-Figure dd.(Figures 45 and 46) Both have angled corbel pieces and foliage along the edges which lead up to an elaborate vegetative finial. White used the same Perpendicular copings above the windows as in Trinity Church, Columbia. The single tower over the entrance, while following the "ideal church"

pattern, also follows a Charlestonian tradition. Both St. Michael's and St. Philip's Churches, those which Grace would be distinguished with in both congregational and built size, have towers in the same location.(Figures 47 and 48)

White's Grace Church tower as completed is misshapen, and has a rather squat, clunky appearance not in proportion with the rest of the edifice.[40] (Figure 49) Some of this may be the result of an unclear sense of perspective, on White's part, where the spire appears to taper off too quickly and should have been lengthened. However, in defense of White, his original drawings for the church do not exist. The tower, even following the lack of city funds for a watchtower, may have been intended to be taller.

The interior of Grace Church, Charleston, is ecclesiological, but not quite as refined as at Trinity, Columbia. The interior is dark, and filled with rich woods and marble. The chancel has a polygonal scheme with a stone altar and elaborate reredos screen beneath an enormous five-part stained-glass window.(Figures 50 and 51) The clerestory is filled with stained glass. The walls, painted grey, do not have any scoring to suggest stone blocks. The pews are not original and a plausible guess would be that those originally installed were box-pews, as in White's earlier churches.

However, the edifice does have plaster-and-lath vaulting, breaking the ecclesiological principle of truth in construction. That in Grace Church may well have been

inspired by the faux vaulting in the Huguenot Church. As in the Huguenot Church, the ceiling does have bosses at the junctions of the ribs, as advocated by Pugin.[41] (Figure 52) The faux vaulting system never again appears in White's work.

White created a building for the wealthy congregation of Grace Church in the most fashionable and proper style. Because of its wealth, the church congregation could afford a masonry structural system to achieve the effects of depth found in many Gothic and Ecclesiological Gothic Revival churches. White combined both functions in a composition, though with defects, that brought true ecclesiological principles to Charleston for the first time.

Chapter Three

White and Ecclesiology in Wood

During the second phase of his ecclesiological career, White worked exclusively in wood. His buildings were based on prototypes from Alexander J. Davis, Andrew J. Downing and Upjohn, which are often called "Carpenter's Gothic, a term used to distinguish wooden buildings in the Gothic Revival style. Particularly influential on White after its publication in 1852 was Upjohn's Rural Architecture. Probably Upjohn's single most important publication, Rural Architecture brought the board-and-batten style into national focus as the relatively inexpensive style depicted in its plates spread over all terrains of the United States.

White's commissions in this style were all for congregations who lacked the funds to create monumental architecture in the English Gothic style of White's first ecclesiological building phase. By using the "Carpenter's Gothic" style White expanded his ecclesiological principles into a wooden architectural vocabulary.

The typical characteristics of ecclesiology in masonry churches were also to be applied to those in wood, depending on economy. The distinctions of narthex, nave, and separated chancels were desired but often not obtained. Generally, the principle of truth in materials was followed. Dark colors did not often predominate in the interiors, as plaster, whitewashed walls were cheaper than those paneled in wood.

St. John United Methodist Church, Graniteville, 1846-1848

St. John United Methodist Church, constructed in 1848, was commissioned by William Gregg, an industrialist, for the new mill village he founded, Graniteville, located in the sand hills of South Carolina near the Savannah river.[1] (Figures 54 and 55) Gregg, born in Pennsylvania, intended that Graniteville would be a moral community as an alternative to slavery, an ill Gregg believed was ruining the South. In 1846 Gregg consulted Richard Upjohn, asking for a "'stile of Architecture, that we may ... build up a uniform village conforming to some sort of order.'"[2] For economy, board-and-batten construction in the Gothic style was chosen for all village building exteriors, most importantly the churches.[3] Board-and-batten churches were being built by Upjohn during the mid-1840s, preceding Rural Architecture of 1852 . Upjohn's numerous economical wooden churches for small, poor country parishes were becoming well known and this may have been why Gregg consulted him.[4]

For the design of the Methodist Church Gregg turned to Edward Brickell White. That ecclesiological principles would be used in the design of a Methodist church is not unusual when one considers that the greater church body was known as the Methodist Episcopal Church after 1830. Having an episcopal church structure, church members had little say in church government, similar to that of the Episcopal Church.[5] (APPENDIX VI) However, White was the most well-known, native

ecclesiologist practicing in the state, and Gregg would naturally have turned to him to design for a church in his moral, model community.

In designing St. John, White was severely restrained by a limited budget. Gregg's company, the Graniteville Manufacturing Company set an original financial limit of $300.00. This accounts for the extreme simplicity of the edifice.[6]

Upjohn had considerable design input in the mill village project from its inception; he is credited with designing the Baptist Church for Graniteville, a building destroyed before 1900 which has no archaeological trace.[7] However, the ecclesiological buildings of Upjohn throughout the United States were known to contemporary builders, and in all probability including White. Upjohn's St. Paul's Church, Brunswick, Maine, 1845, is particularly similar to the Graniteville church. Both have cruciform plans with transepts, small chancels, wooden truss ceilings, and small stoops on their front facades.(Figures 55, 56, and 57) Also, even though both have board-and-batten exteriors, the interiors are designed to give the impression of masonry construction: the windows and doors are deeply set into the walls with a heavy plaster coating.(Figure 58) White achieved this effect at St. John, where the walls are two-feet thick, by creating two distinct walls, interior and exterior, and having a one-foot, hollow space between them. Thus, the lancet windows and doors appear to be deeply set in

a thick masonry wall, appearing to be similar to the actual walls at White's Trinity Church, Columbia, and Grace Church, Charleston. White may have strongly desired this architectural effect of openings deeply set in masonry.

For St. John's interior, White abandoned many ecclesiological tenets he had shown in Trinity Church and used design features similar to the Huguenot Church. There are four design similarities between St. John's and the Huguenot Church. Probably for economy, White designed clear windows. The walls are painted pure white. No altar was designed originally for St. John United Methodist Church; none has ever been installed. The pulpit dominates the termination of the main axis of the nave. Because of these factors the building is stripped of the uniform darkness, richness, and high church planning of ecclesiological sanctuaries.

However, most of the original interior woodwork exists and is quite ecclesiological. White articulated the communion rail with simple Gothic-arch panelling. The pulpit has more elaborate Gothic carving with deep-set Gothic-arch panels and faux buttressing.(Figures 59 and 60) The present pews are late nineteenth-century, but may have been box-pews originally.

Externally, in addition to the Carpenter's Gothic board-and-batten sheathing, White designed a Gothic stoop supported by columns and enormous brackets which is similar to that of Upjohn's St. Paul's, Brunswick. White used recessed, Gothic

windows and doors, necessary with the two-foot thick walls of the building. In addition to the narthex doors, he placed doors in the transepts and on the exterior of the left side of the nave. The latter was the only access to the gallery. White did not articulate the polygonal chancel-bow externally, leaving the exterior of the edifice in the pure form of the cross.(Figure 61)

In St. John United Methodist Church, Graniteville, White, with severe economic constraints, adhered to rudimentary ecclesiological principles of plan and basic ornament for a mill-village congregation with affiliations toward Episcopalianism. He adapted his expanding ecclesiological architectural vocabulary into an entirely wood-frame system of construction, probably derived from the influence of Upjohn. All of his later ecclesiological Gothic Revival churches would be wooden structures.

St. Jude's Episcopal Church, Walterboro, 1850-1852

St. Jude's originated as a chapel in the city of Walterboro for St. Bartholomew's parish. White's church was consecrated by Bishop Rutledge of Florida on November 14, 1852, as Bishop Gadsden had died in June. St. Jude's survived the War Between the States, but a cyclone totally demolished the church on April 16, 1879, leaving no known physical trace.[8] Unfortunately, no known descriptions exist.

St. Jude's was probably a wooden church, very likely board-and-batten in the "Carpenter's Gothic" style for

reasons of economy: St. Bartholomew's parish was frequently plagued by financial problems from its founding in 1706. Also, St. Jude's was built as a chapel, not the main church of the parish. It obtained its autonomy in 1855.[9]

Christ Episcopal Church, Charleston, 1854

For Christ Church, Charleston, White designed a small, sanctuary in the "Carpenter's Gothic" ecclesiastical style of Upjohn.(Figure 62) Not much is known of the building; it was demolished in 1930, following the merger of its congregation with that of St. Peter's which was the mother church of Grace Church.[10] Christ Church was built to accommodate the growing numbers of Episcopalians in the city who could not afford church pews in the city's more prestigious churches.

White's clients were middle-class Charleston Episcopalians. The site, located in one of the city's northwestern suburbs, had been given to the diocese in 1823 with the intention that a church be built upon it eventually. The original budget for the construction was $1000.00.[11]

White probably relied on St. John's, Graniteville, and Upjohn's Rural Architecture as design sources for the board-and-batten front facade. Here are the typical lancet windows though not deeply inset as were those at Graniteville, suggesting that Christ Church's walls were not double-skinned. The pitch on Christ Church's roof is also greater than that of St. John, and is identical to Upjohn's Plate 3, "East elevation."(Figure 63) White's most innovative

design at Christ Church is the front porch. Here White translated the triptych motif from Upjohn's Plate 3, "East elevation," into an arcade. Christ Church is also distinguishable because of the brackets in the cornice, a feature not found in Rural Architecture or the Graniteville church. This design motif had been frequently used in many Italianate Revival buildings in which White may have seen it.

For Christ Church, a new parish of moderate means, White designed a more polished study in board-and-batten Gothic Revival than the Graniteville church while remaining within a relatively tight budget.

Episcopal Church of the Cross, Bluffton, 1857

White designed the Church of the Cross, a developed study of Episcopalian ecclesiology in the "Carpenter Gothic" tradition of Upjohn, as one of four for a plantation parish, St. Luke's, which had existed since 1767.(Figure 64) The parish had nearly died out several times since its founding, but appears to have undergone a revival in the 1840s as had many Episcopalian parishes. The church, with a seating capacity of 600, was erected at the very edge of the small town of Bluffton, overlooking the Coosawhatchie River from

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which cotton was exported.

The congregation of the Cross, composed of successful, but not extremely wealthy, planters, farmers, and Bluffton merchants, built the Cross with $5000.00. Probably due to these financial restraints, when considering the costs of

White's masonry buildings, a wooden church with board-and-batten siding was the most economical means of construction.[13]

The church was not built during the episcopate of Bishop Gadsden who had died in 1852. The attitude of his successor, Thomas Frederick Davis, towards ecclesiology is not known.[14] However, by 1857, Ecclesiological Gothic Revival was the style for new Episcopalian edifices.

Design prototypes for the Church of the Cross were St. John and Upjohn's Rural Architecture. Like St. John, the Cross is cruciform in plan, appropriate for its name. (Figure 65) It has a wide narthex, defined transepts, and a chancel with a polygonal apse. Though the plans of the churches in Upjohn's book are different than that of the Cross, White most probably relied on other illustrations in the book for prototypes. The original transept pews are similar to Upjohn's example on Plate 9.(Figures 66 and 67) The pitch of the roof on the Cross, like Christ Church's, is identical to Upjohn's Plate 3, "East elevation."(Figure 63) Also, the three windows above the Bluffton church are similar to those in Upjohn's Plate 3, East elevation. The windows of the Cross are lancet windows as at White's St. John, though most have double lights and are filled with light crimson-colored glass. On the entrance and transept facades of the Cross, White designed tiny trefoil and quatrefoil windows, also filled with colored glass. The possible source for these is Plate 15 of Rural Architecture, the "Perspective

View of Schoolhouse."(Figure 68) In the gable of the porch is a trefoil puncture.

For "Carpenter's Gothic," the interior of the Church of the Cross is a developed study in ecclesiology. Dark woods are used profusely and the walls were originally painted a terracotta color. However, White again uses scored plaster to imitate stone, and box-pews in the nave.(Figure 69) The galleries of the Cross, built to seat slaves, are located above the narthex and the transepts. Ecclesiologists did not tend to favor galleries as they were frequently used in the preaching halls of the seventeenth and eighteenth century.

White designed the Church of the Cross for a revived country parish. Having not immense sums, the wooden "Carpenter's Gothic" was an appropriate style for the congregation.

St. Andrew's Episcopal Church, Mt. Pleasant, 1857-1858

St. Andrew's Church, like St. Jude's in Walterboro, began as a chapel in a small town for a plantation parish founded in the eighteenth century. However, St. Andrew's did not become a parish until 1954. White's building replaced an 1835 chapel which had become to small too accommodate the growing membership.(Figure 70) White's client's were similar to those in all of his earlier rural ecclesiological structures; they had to economize. The inexpensive chapel was consecrated on May 11, 1858.

The plan of St. Andrew's is simple: a narthex, a nave,

and a deep chancel, similar in format to that in White's Church of the Cross.(Figure 71)

White designed St. Andrew's in much the same way as Christ Church. A simple front facade has a centered porch and a cornice filled with brackets as at Christ Church. The interior is not very ecclesiological; though the wall between the narthex and the nave, though similar to that in the Huguenot and Trinity Churches, is puncture with clear glass windows. Clear glass fills the windows and the colors are light pastels. White again used his typical box- pews. (Figure 72)

In his design for St. Andrew's Church, White completed the second phase of his ecclesiological career. Working for congregations of moderate means, White logically turned to the style pioneered by Upjohn for inexpensive ecclesiastical structures.

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Gothic had become the standard vocabulary for new projects of the Episcopal Church, and carried a sense of morality in architectural form, a typical belief of the period of architectural revivals. When required by finances, "Carpenter's Gothic" allowed architects the versatility and economy to break with costly masonry construction. White, however, did not use the style exclusively for Episcopalian commissions, as evidenced by the Graniteville church. The Ecclesiological Gothic Revival style,

articulated in wood, carried the sense of morality in architecture common in larger edifices and White used it where appropriate, even denominations outside of the Episcopal communion.

White perhaps received Episcopalian church commissions because he himself was an Episcopalian and a member of the New York Ecclesiological Society, a body dominated by Episcopalians.[17] However, White was not the only architect to practice ecclesiological principles in South Carolina. Numerous other masonry and wooden churches were built in state, often using Pugin's True Principles, the edifices built by Upjohn, and Upjohn's Rural Architecture as design sources.[18] In addition, architects used Gothic forms, motifs, and details in churches for congregations that had no connections to ecclesiology.[19] White is distinguishable from these other architects in that he was the first in South Carolina to build according to ecclesiological principles.

White's architectural career was interrupted by the War Between the States, for which he joined the Confederate Army and organized the Palmetto Battalion. He was in North Carolina when the Confederacy surrendered at the end of the war.[20] He returned to Charleston to resume his career.

Because of the total collapse of its economy, South Carolina had a sharp decrease in large-scale architectural commissions. White was to never again see the profusion of work he had been commissioned to do in Charleston's antebellum days. He repaired the eastern end of

St. Michael's Church and designed a pedestal for a portrait bust of William Gilmore Simms.[21]

In 1879 he moved to New York City where his younger brother, Octavius, had been practicing as a surgeon for many years. He died in that city on May 10, 1882, but was buried in St. Michael's graveyard in Charleston in the White family plot.[22]

Almost all of Edward Brickell White's buildings in Charleston have survived intact, despite the ferocious fire of December 11-12, 1861, that cut a south-west to north-east swath through the center of the city; the bombardment of the city by Union forces in 1863-1864; the devastating earthquake of August 31, 1886; and numerous cyclones and hurricanes.[23] Although most of White's drawings and papers have disappeared, the profusion of existing buildings can be utilized fully when examining his career as a revival architect.

Conclusion

White's career as an Ecclesiological Gothic Revivalist had two parts: the first in masonry with enormous financial budgets in major metropolitan settings, the second in wood with sparse funds generally in rural settings.

For his masonry churches, White used the Ecclesiological Gothic Revival architectural vocabulary of the early works of Pugin and Upjohn, English Gothic, in embelishing his Huguenot Church, what was in plan a preaching hall. The congregation of the Huguenot Church used a low form of liturgy and White exhibited this in designing their building, a church with neither a distinct chancel nor an altar. Trinity Church, Columbia, White's most ecclesiological work, followed closely the architectural principles of the ecclesiological movement in plan and articulation, and provide the South Carolina capital city with its first monumental church. Grace Church, Charleston, drew on the prototype set by Trinity, but made concessions to local tastes in its vaulting. Still, all three of these masonry churches show an architect not quite in mastery of his chosen style. The buildings have a rather clunky appearance, almost seeming to have been deeply carved but with too little elaboration of detail.

For his wooden churches, White relied again on Upjohn's "Carpenter's Gothic" churches and Rural Architecture for the basis of his inexpensive edifices in rural setings. In St. John Methodist Church, White created an ecclesiological

building for a community of mill workers, providing a "moral," economical architecture, probably derived directly from Upjohn's consultation. St. Jude's provided space originally as a chapel for a growing Episcopalian community swelling in the Anglican church's nineteenth-century revival as did Christ Church, the Church of the Cross, and St. Andrew's Church. Christ Church allowed White to design a small-scale ecclesiological structure set in the middle-class neighborhood of Charleston. White created the Church of the Cross, his finest ecclesiological structure in wood, for a parish of rich, but not wealthy, plantation owners, overlooking the river which transported their economy. St. Andrew's, like St. Jude's, began as a small chapel for a rural parish. In this church White reworked basic motifs of the Upjohn-inspired board-and-batten format to create a different design in the wooden Ecclesiological Gothic Revival style. This characteristic of St. Andrew's, the reworking of familiar motifs, characterizes the aesthetics of White's wooden churches, where different financial restraints or liberties allowed for simplification or elaboration in plans, elevations, and materials.

In all of these ecclesiological churches, one can see an expanding knowledge of ecclesiological principles, their application to appropriate architectural structural systems, and an ability to adapt both of these to the specific needs of his clients.

Endnotes

Introduction

1 Phoebe B. Stanton, The Gothic Revival and American Church Architecture: An Episode in Taste (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1968) 166.

2 Augustus Welby Pugin, The True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1841) 1.

Chapter 1

1 Calder Loth and Julius Trousdale, Jr., The Only Proper Style: Gothic Architecture in America (Boston: New York Graphic Society, 1975) 28.

2 J. Mordaunt Crook, The Dilemma of Style: Architectural Ideas from the Picturesque to the Post-Modern (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987) 34

3 Stanton 19.
David Watkin, Morality in Architecture: The Development of a Theme in Architectural History and Theory from the Gothic Revival to the Modern Movement (Oxford, England: Clarendon Press, 1977) 17.

4 James Patrick, "Ecclesiological Gothic in the Antebellum South," The Winterthur Portfolio 15.2 (1980): 121.

5 Patrick 120.

6 In these publications, Pugin followed his father's "footsteps," as the senior Pugin also publish books on Gothic.

7 Stanton 3-29.

8 James F. White, The Cambridge Movement (Cambridge,

England: University Press, 1962) 37-39.

The Cambridge Camden Society began at Cambridge in the Fall of 1837 as the Ecclesiological Society and included John Mason Neale and Benjamin Webb, who were to be two of its biggest proponents. The next name for the group was the Camden Society, but soon the ecclesiologists added Cambridge to distinguish their group from a literary society in London, the Camden society. The name was changed to the Cambridge Camden Society, after its formal organization in May 1839. (White 37-38)

9 Stanton 7-8.

10 White 45.

11 Stanton 16.

12 White 38.

13 Crook 59.

14 Eugene Fairweather, The Oxford Movement (New York: Oxford Univeristy Press, 1964) 5.

15 Crook 58.

16 Stanton 26-28.
Loth 57.

17 Stanton 20.

18 Crook 47.

19 Crook 52.

20 Stanton 21.

"Sacramentality," also called "symbolism," was a doctrine elucidated from the interpretation of Gothic decoration, liturgical furnishings, and architecture, even though Pugin had believed that a necessary connection between religious truth and architectural truth exists.(Stanton 19, Watkin 17, and Patrick 120) Pugin had abused

"Sacramentality" by advocating Gothic for secular structures as well as ecclesiastical ones. "Sacramentality" was introduced in many publications, one of which was The Symbolism of Churches and Church Ornament by the aforementioned Neale and Webb. It was based on a translation of Book I and portions of Book V of Durandus's Rationale divinorum officiorum, the first two chapters of The Mystical Mirror of the Church by Hugh of St. Vicar, and notes of Edmond Martene (a nineteenth-century contemporary).(Stanton 17) This book advocated the necessity for re-establishing "sacramentality" in church architecture in an explanation of its history in the early Christian Church and its use in the following centuries.(White 68)

21
Pugin, True Principles 1.

22
Stanton 21-23.

23
Elizabeth Claire Welch, "Ecclesiology: Its Influence on the Gothic Revival Church in Antebellum Mississippi," thesis, Univeristy of Virginia, 1981, 8-9.
White 89 and 99.
Stanton 11.

24
John Mason Neale, A Few Words to Builders with an Appendix (Cambridge, England: University Press, 1842) 4.

25
Kenneth Severens, Charleston Antebellum Architecture and Civic Destiny (Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 1988) 129-130.

26
Stanton 29.

27
Stanton 31.

28
Douglas Scott Richardson, "Hyperborean Gothic; or, Wilderness Ecclesiology and the Churches of Edward Medley." Architectura (1972): 51.
Rev. of "The New York Ecclesiologist," The Ecclesiologist 10 (Nov. 1849): 203.

29
There were in the seventeenth century, American churches erected using Gothic means of construction, such as St. Luke's, Isle of Wight County, Virginia, 1632.(Marcus Whiffen, American Architecture, 1607- 1860, 1981, vol. 1

(Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1984) 16.

30 Loth 30.

31 Loth 28.

32 Mills Lane, Architecture of the Old South: South Carolina (Savannah, GA: Beehive Press, 1984) 181.

33 John Henry Hopkins, Essay on Gothic Architecture, with Various Plans and Drawings for Churches; Designed Chiefly for the Use of the Clergy (Burlington, VT: n.p., 1836) 1.

34 Stanton 55-56.

35 Stanton 215.

36 Stanton 61.

37 Stanton 65-68.

38 Stanton 69.

39 Stanton 43-45.

40 Rev. William Way, D.D., History of Grace Church (Charleston, SC: Congregation of Grace Church, 1923) 35.

41 Kenneth Edward Whitlock, Jr., "Conflict in American Anglicanism: The Tractarian Controversy in the Episcopal Church," thesis, Univeristy of Virginia, 1986, 56.

42 Richardson 54.

43 Everard M. Upjohn, Richard Upjohn, Architect and Churchman, 1939 (New York: Da Capo Press, 1968) 90-91.

44 Richardson 53.

Rev. William Scott, "On Wooden Churches," The Ecclesiologist 9 (Aug. 1848-June 1849): 20-21

45
Stanton 159.

46
Stanton 207.
"Church Architecture II," The New York Ecclesiologist 2 (Oct. 1849): 17.

47
Severens 285.

48
Stanton 161.

49
Stanton 211.

Chapter 2

1
Beatrice St. Julien Ravenel, Architects of Charleston, South Carolina (Charleston, SC: Carolina Art Association, 1945) 181-184.

2
Ravenel 181-184.

3
The Charleston Courier 1 August 1842.
Ravenel 181-184.

4
Severens 103-106.
Following proposed projects for the city's new market hall by other architects, White landed the commission even as financing was being arranged for another architect's plans. White articulated his Market Hall with a Roman Revival format, having a rusticated base and one portico on the front facade.

5
Hopkins 16.

6
White did receive an ecclesiastical commission after this in which he used a classical architectural vocabulary: the spire for St. Philip's Church, built between 1847 and 1850. The Second St. Philip's of the early eighteenth century burned in 1835 and the body was replicated by Joseph Hyde. However, by 1847 the church sill had no tower and

White was commissioned to design one. A Gothic spire would have been totally inappropriate for this classical edifice, and to maintain architectural integrity, both his own and the church's, White created a seven-tiered tower in the same mode as that on St. Michael's Church.(Severens 84-90)

7
Ravenel 188-189.
Severens 128-129.

8
Severens 126.

9
Severens 129.

10
"Ecclesiastical Architecture," The Charleston Gospel Messenger, and Protestant Episcopal Register 19 (October 1842): 215-216.

11
Henry A.M. Smith, "The Town of Dorchester in South Carolina - A Sketch of its History," South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine 7 (1905): 67.

12
Arthur Henry Hirsch, The Huguenots of Colonial South Carolina (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1928) 130.

13
Ravenel 189.

14
"Memoirs of Frederick Adolphus Porcher," ed. Samuel Gaillard Stoney, South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine 47 (1946): 216.

15
W.C. Morange, "The Huguenot Church" The Charleston Yearbook (1857): 307.

16
Charles Wallace Howard, Sermon Delivered at the Reopening of the French Protestant Church of Charleston (Charleston, SC: Burges and James, 1845) 4.

17
Stanton 211.
In his Essay, Hopkins stated, "I think there are remarkable indications ... that the Temple of Soloman claimed affinity in many respects with what we now call the ecclesiastical Gothic style."(Hopkins 6) By placing the origins of Gothic in Judaen antiquity, Hopkins completely

avoided the idea that Gothic originated in a Roman Catholic culture. Later, Hopkins reiterates the belief that the classical styles were not appropriate to ecclesiastical architecture.(Hopkins 8) The other High-Anglican, Upjohn, designed Trinity Church, New York, which stylistically influenced White on the exterior of the Huguenot Church. Pugin's True Principles, however, makes no specific reflections to Roman Catholicism, and advocated the perpendicular Gothic style chiefly through the illustrations.

18 Severens 129-130.

19 Hopkins 19.

20 Charleston is still full of stuccoed buildings in these paint colors.

21 Hopkins 16.

22 Lane 229.

23 White's Trinity Episcopal Church became Trinity Episcopal Cathedral when the Diocese of Upper South Carolina was created on October 10, 1922.(Thomas, Historical Account 463)

The first chancel of Trinity Church, Columbia, contained an elliptical communion rail, very similar in plan to that constructed in the Huguenot Church.(Figure 53)

24 Patrick 118.

25 Albert Sidney Thomas, A Historical Account of the Protestant Episcopal Church in South Carolina: 1820-1957 (Columbia, SC: n.p., 1957) 536-539.

26 Severens 16-17.

27 "Trinity Church, Columbia," The Charleston Gospel Messenger, and Protestant Episcopal Register 22.10 (1846): 312-313.

28 Thomas, Historical Account 538.

29
The Charleston Mercury 18 November 1847.

30
The Charleston Courier 19 May 1846.

31
"Trinity Church, Columbia, S.C.," The Charleston Gospel Messenger, and Protestant Episcopal Register 24.1 (1847): 18-19.

32
Hopkins 16.

33
Thomas, Historical Account 208.

34
Severens 133.
Grace Church is currently, Spring 1991, undergoing renovations and repairs for significant damages sustained in the hurricane of September 26, 1989. The interior has been almost completely stripped of ornament, including the marble pavers, the stone wainscoating, all pews, the lectern, the pulpit, and many stained glass windows.

35
Severens 82.

36
Way 25.
Severens 113 and 133.

37
Severens 133.

38
Way 11-15.
Among them were T. Drayton Grimke, a descendent of both the Huguenot Grimke line and the wealthy Barbadian Draytons; Nathaniel Heyward Jr., son of a signer of the Declaration of Independence; and a former governor of South Carolina, the "Hon." William Aiken.(Way 11-15) These men were some of the city's wealthiest and most powerful citizens.(Way 11-15)

39
Thomas, Historical Account 207.

40
The original tower had been planned to be taller, but when the city pulled out of the venture to create a watch-tower for fire, the steeple was made lower. The tower may also have an ecclesiological undertone in that at the

consecration of the church it was specifically stated that Grace Church "is set apart from all secular employment; and is to be made use of exclusively for ... religious purposes," thereby referring to the ecclesiological tenet that churches and secular structures were to be completely separate, and the function of one should not be conducted in the other. Way 11-15) The tower remained ecclesiastical in purpose.

41 Pugin, True Principles 5.

Chapter 3

1 Louise Timmerman, History of St. John United Methodist Church (Graniteville, SC: St. John United Methodist Congregation, 1987) 2.

Charleston and Graniteville were industrially linked by the Charleston-Hamburg railroad, one of the first in the United States, thus contributing to greater and quicker communication through those regions of the states.

2 Lane 229.

3 Lane 229.

4 Everard M. Upjohn 90-91.
Lane 229.

5 Timmerman 5.

6 Timmerman 3.

7 Lane 229.

8 Thomas, Historical Account 436-439.
Lane 229.

9 Thomas, Historical Account 436-439.

10 Thomas, Historical Account 251-253.

---, St. Peter's Church, Charleston, publications of the Dalcho Historical Society of the Diocese of South

Carolina 8 (Charleston, SC: Dalcho Historical Society, 1955) 17.

11 Thomas, Historical Account 251.

12 Thomas, Historical Account 192-195. Lane 229.

13 Thomas, Historical Account 192-195.

14 Thomas, Historical Account 49.

15 Lilly 89.

16 Thomas, Historical Account 368.

17 Ravenel 200. White was buried in St. Michael's graveyard in a family plot, so that the question of his religious affiliation can be answered by the fact that his family had been Episcopalians for generations.

18 Three very notable examples of this are: St. Luke's Episcopal Church, Charleston (1859-1862), by Francis D. Lee, a Charleston native. This edifice has a plaster-and-lath vaulting system similar to that used in the Lady Chapel at Wells Cathedral, England. For a an illustration see Severens, p. 240. Secondly, Patrick Keely, an architect based in Brooklyn, New York, who was rumored to have studied with the younger Pugin, designed the Roman Catholic Cathedral St. John and St. Finbar, 1850-54, which was modeled on the "ideal church" in Pugin's True Principles. Keely's cathedral followed the Pugin example much more closely than any building by White.(For an illustration and description see Severens, pp. 178-179) Thirdly, Trinity Episcopal Church, Abbeville, 1859-1860, designed by George E. Walker, follows the "ideal church" image as well.(For an illustration see Hodges, pp. 90-91)

19 A particularly good example of this is the Unitarian Church in Charleston, 1852-1853, by Edward C. Jones and Francis D. Lee. This was, in fact, a renovation of an eighteenth-century church, but the exterior was modeled on on the illustration, Plate 12, in Hopkin's Essay on Gothic Architecture.(For a good engraving of this see Severens, pp.

202) The interior has a plaster-and-lath vaulted ceiling based on that in the Chapel of Henry VII at Westminster Abbey.(For additional information see Shealy, who discusses the works of the architectural firm of Jones and Lee)

20 Ravenel 200.

21 Ravenel 200.

22 Ravenel 200.

23 Ravenel 200 and 250.
George W. Williams, St. Michael's, Charleston, 1751-1951 (Columbia, SC: Univeristy of South Carolina Press, 1951) 160.

APPENDICES

I. Taken from: The Charleston Courier 1 August 1842.

> At your request, I state below some of the buildings on which I have known your patent to be used in this city, viz: the Market Hall, the High School, the German Lutheran Church, and the Second Baptist Church, (for all of which I made plans and specifications) ... Have recommended it ... for the U.S. Arsenal (to be built in Charleston) the plans for which I made a short time since.
>
> I am your very obed't serv't.
>
> EDW'D. B. WHITE,
>
> Civil Engineer, Architect and Surveyor.

II. Taken from: The Charleston Courier 1 August 1842.

The Charleston Courier, listed the imminent departure of the Edward Brickell White from Charleston:

> Notice - The subscriber intending to visit the Northern cities, on professional calls, which will engage his attention until the first of November next, will receive and execute at the North any orders in the Architectural branch of his profession with which he may be charged ...
>
> EDW. B. WHITE
> Civil Engineer, Architect and Surveyor.

A notice in the same paper announced his return on November 24 to Charleston.(Ravenel 188-189)

III. Taken from: Severens 128.

William Gilmore Simms stated his opinion on the Gothic style and its appropriateness for churches in a Charleston newspaper in 1845:

> "The miserable rage for Grecian structures in the crowded thoroughfare of a city which is all one wide sea of flat, is completely done away with in New York; and a better taste prevails for the light and lofty towers of the French Gothic, a noble and beautiful specimen of which appears at the head of Broadway [James Renwick's Grace Church] .... Its graceful proportions, the lightness and delicacy of its plan, the order (French Gothic) ... all seem to me better suited to our skies

and climate, and to the dead level of our cities than any other plan I know ...."(Severens 128)

IV. Taken from: "Ecclesiastical Architecture," The Charleston Gospel Messenger and Protestant Episcopal Register 19 (October 1842): 215-216.

Ecclesiastical Architecture

From the Churchman.

The establishment of new bishoprics in the colonial dependencies of the British empire, full of high promise as the movement is to the best interests of the Church, affords a very desirable opportunity, which, it is hoped, will not be lost sight of, for the introduction of a pure style of Christian architecture in the erection of Cathedrals and Churches which will be required for the undertaking. Till within the last few years, far too little importance has been attached to the preservation of unity in the styles of those structures destined for the Church's worship. The tasteless and meagre edifices raised during the last century prove how far in this respect the moderns have degenerated from the practice of their forefathers ... in raising structures derived, if from authority at all, from buildings of pagan antiquity. The rebuilding of St. Paul's, originally a Gothic edifice, upon a Roman plan ... gave the first energetic impulse to the prejudice which pronounce the ancient structures of the Church barbarous and fantastic, and which could see nothing worthy of imitation in the glorious piles of the 13th and 14th centuries.

The architects of the 17th and 18th centuries, studiously avoided in their designs all reference to national architecture, appropriated recklessly, and without meaning, mutilated fragments of Greek and Roman buildings, and observed no distinction between edifices destined civil and those intended for sacred purposes. A cold and lifeless orthodoxy assumed the place of that self-denying holiness which she inculcates upon her members; and, as if the beauty of the external sank with the loss of purity in the internal, a tasteless insipidity was henceforth manifested in our religious architecture; t possessed no analogy to that peculiar style which for centuries had been practiced among us; and was only emblematical of the depressed spiritual condition into which the Church itself had fallen ... the expression of Christian art was, for the time, lost; its distinctiveness was abolished, and the idea of unity, which a connected and uniform ecclesiastical architecture is calculated to convey, destroyed.

A better era is, however, dawning; with a revival

of the Church's neglected doctrines, discipline, and forms. We recognize a growing appreciation of that style of art which, in one form or another, has been in use amongst us from the earliest records of the Anglo-Saxon Church; which emphatically owes its origin and progressive perfection to Christian minds and Christian taste; and which in moral association is so far better suited for our sacred buildings than imitation of Pagan models, however beautiful, of Greece and Rome. Let, then, England's religious architecture take root in her colonies, together with England's Church. - British Magazine.

V. Taken from: "Trinity Church in Columbia, S.C.," The Charleston Gospel Messenger, and Protestant Episcopal Register 23.3 (1846): 183.

Trinity Church in Columbia, S.C." - This interesting building is in a rapid state of progress, and will, we understand, be finished and consecrated during the session of the next Legislature. Its design is in the purest style of English Pointed Architecture in the latter part of the 15th century, and will be the only complete specimen of Ecclesiastic Gothic in the Southern country. Its front presents a breadth of 57 feet, flanked by two towers 75 feet high, rising in successive stages of niched buttresses, crowned with an open work parapet and a cluster of pinnacles. From the sides of the Church project double rows of buttresses which shoot up into rich pinnacles, and which are perhaps the most beautiful ornaments distinguishing this style of architecture, marking in the far distance the true character and intention of the structure. Upon the summit of the western gable will appear conspicuous the Cross, emblem of the Christian faith. A double tier of pointed windows pierce the sides of the Church, and will be filled with richly stained glass, in the style of the ancient cathedrals, shedding its mellow hues, throughout the interior of the sacred edifice ...

VI. Taken from: Louise Timmerman, History of St. John United Methodist Church (Graniteville, SC: St John United Methodist Congregation, 1987): 5.

According to the author:

The Methodist Episcopal Church began in America with its organization at the Christmas Conference in Baltimore, Md. in 1784. In 1830 a split came in the church when some laymen demanded more voice in the government of the church. The Methodist Protestant Church was born at this time. in 1844 a split came in

the Methodist Episcopal Church over the issue of slavery and the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, was born. The fracturedness of the church remained until 1839 when the three bodies of Methodism reunited as the Methodist Church.

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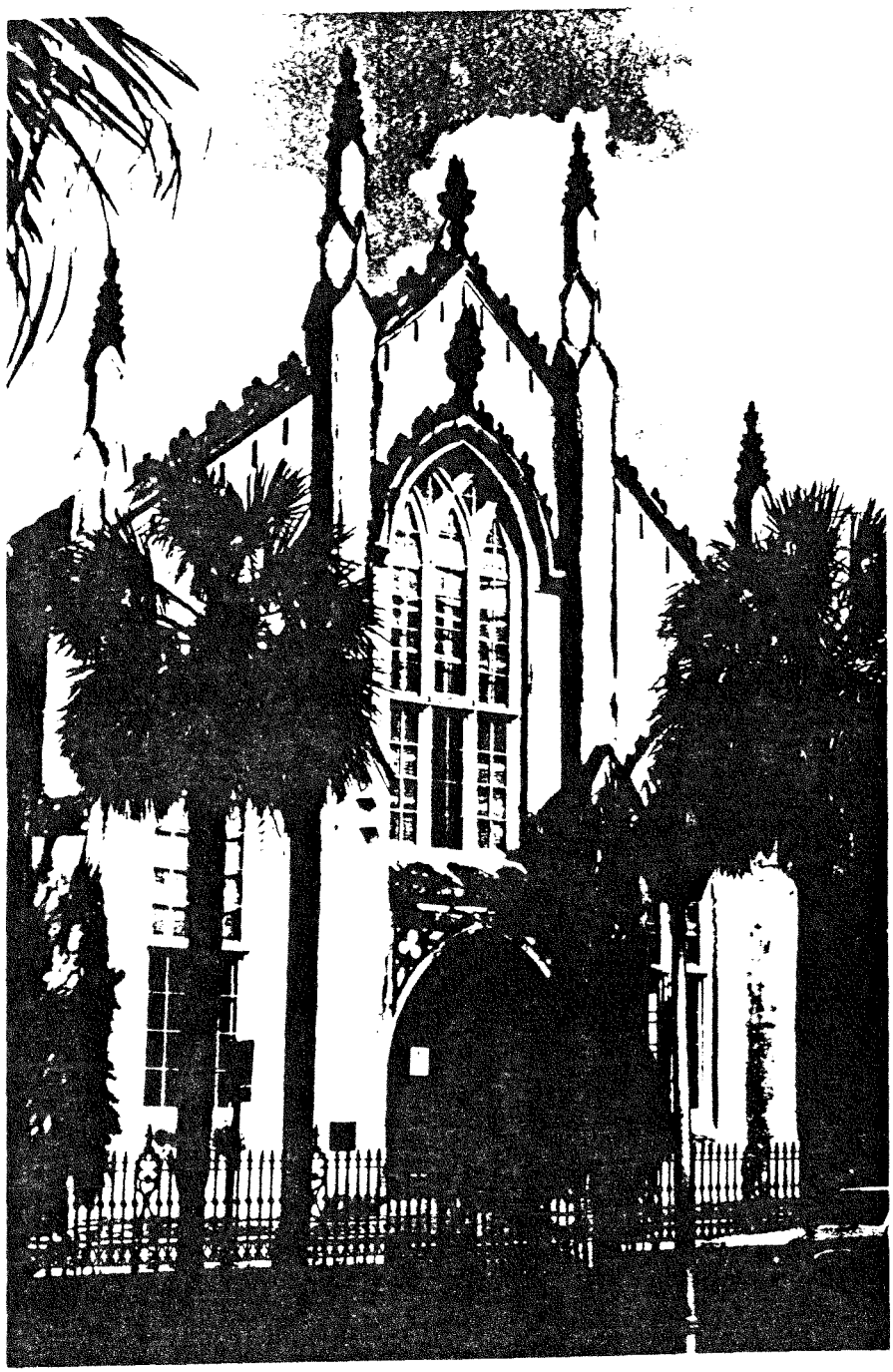
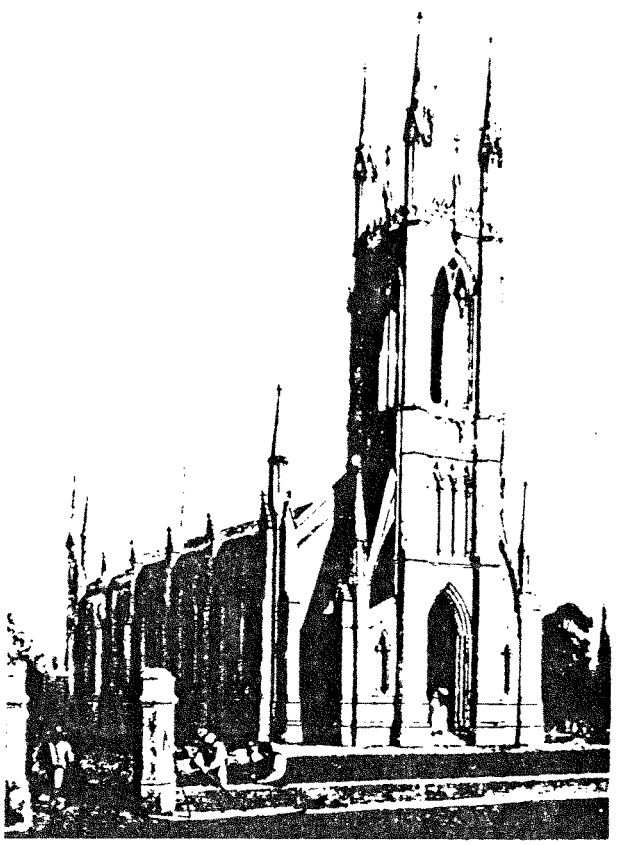


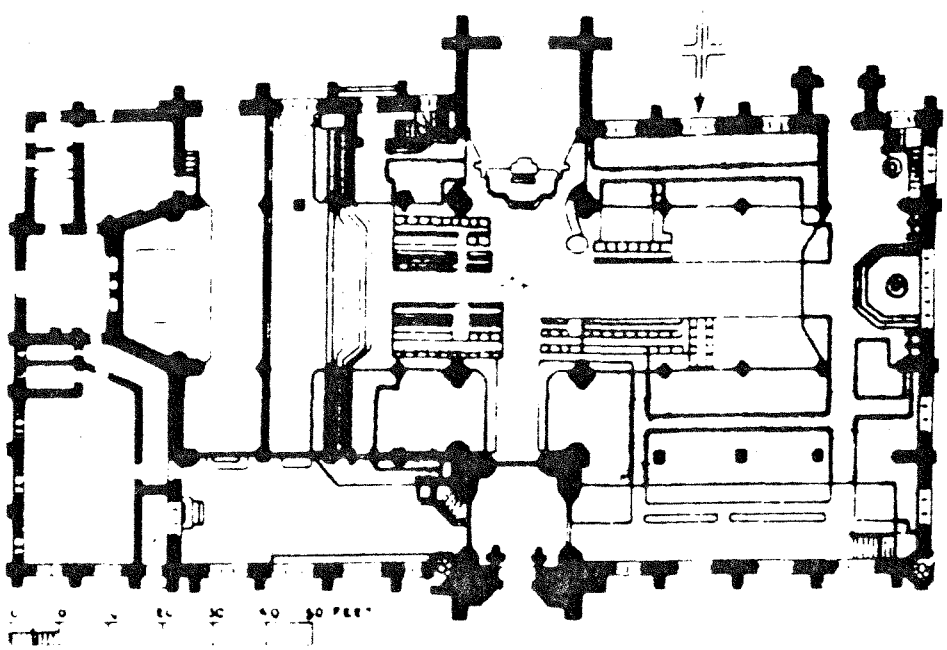
1. Huguenot Church, Charleston, S.C. 1844-1845. Edward Brickell White.

2. Craig Church, Angus, Scotland. 1799.

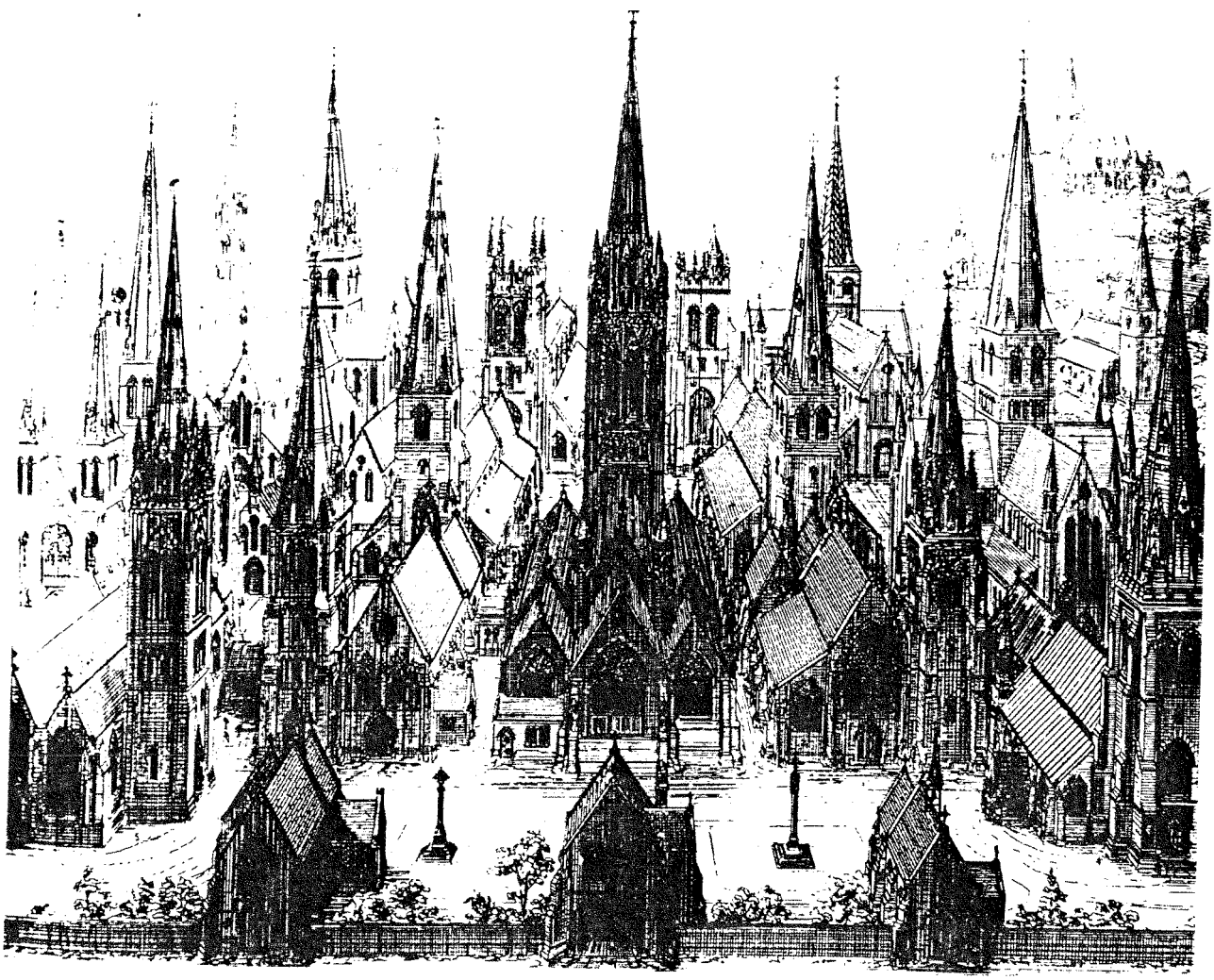


3. St. Thomas the Martyr's Church, Newcastle-upon-Tyne. 1828. John Dobson.

Figure II-2. New St. Peter's, Leeds. Southwest view. R. D. Chantrell. 1837–41.

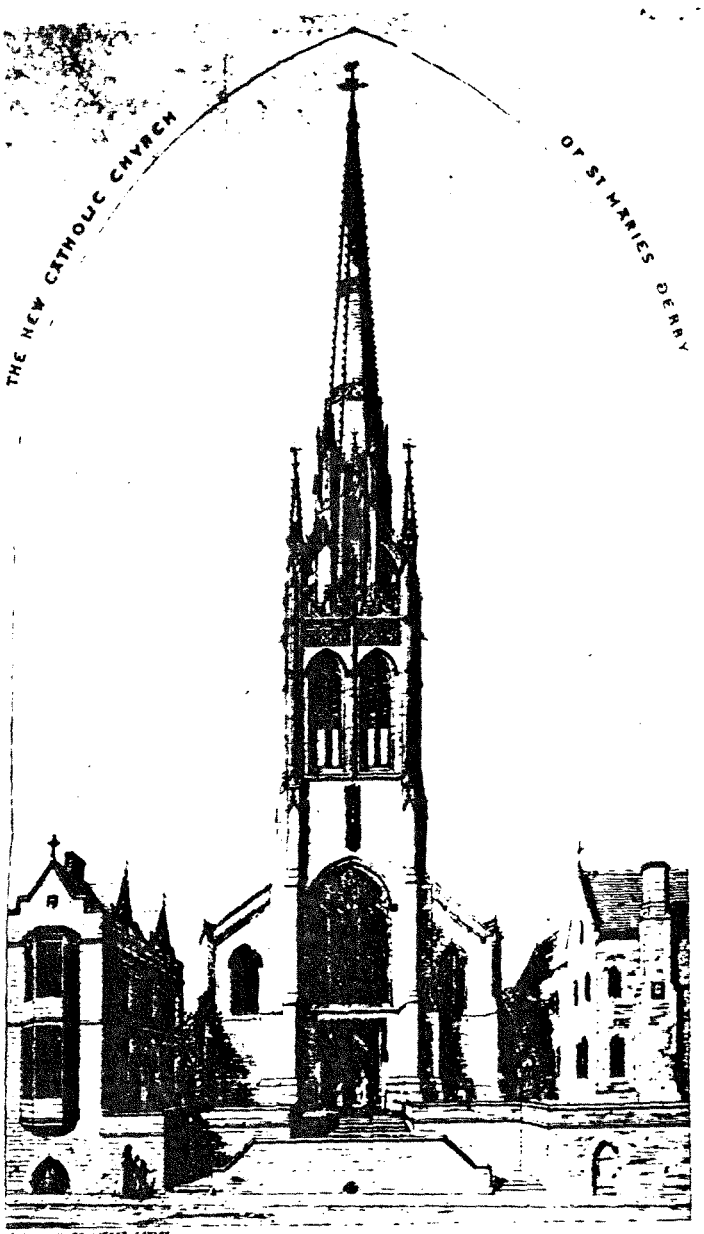


4. New St. Peter's, Leeds. 1837-1841. R.D. Chantrell. Southwest view and plan.

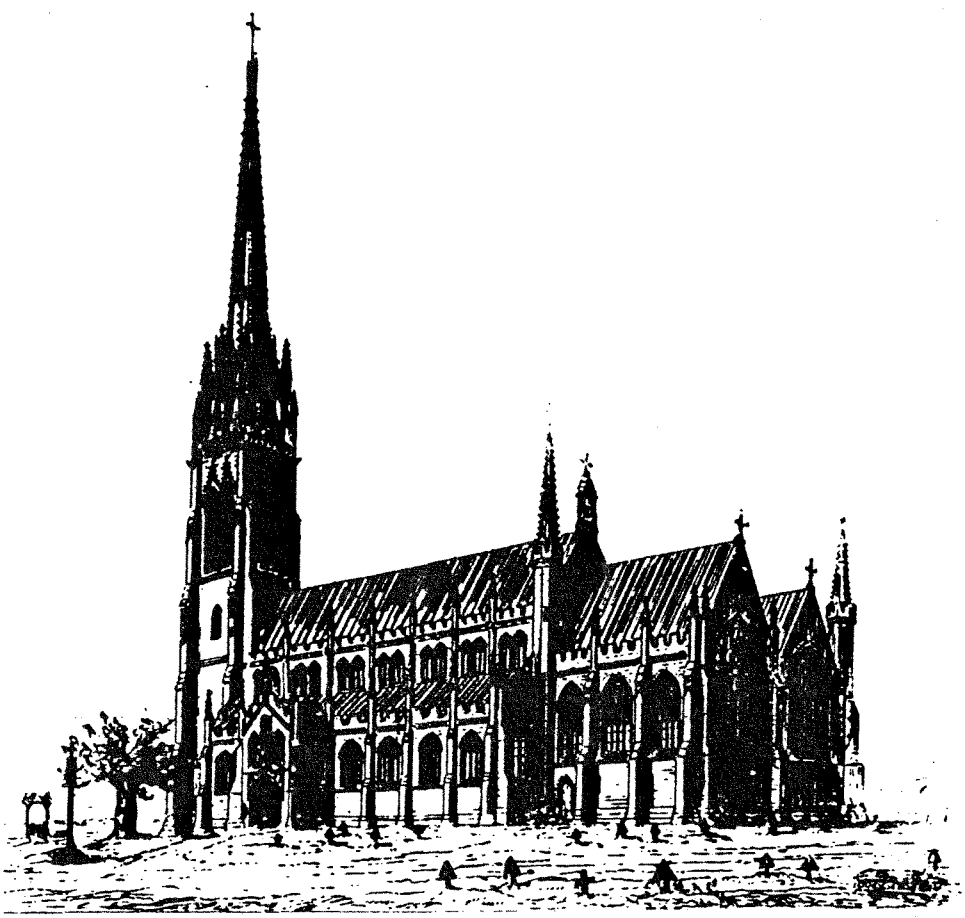


5. "The Present Revival of Christian Architecture," by A.W. Pugin. 1843.

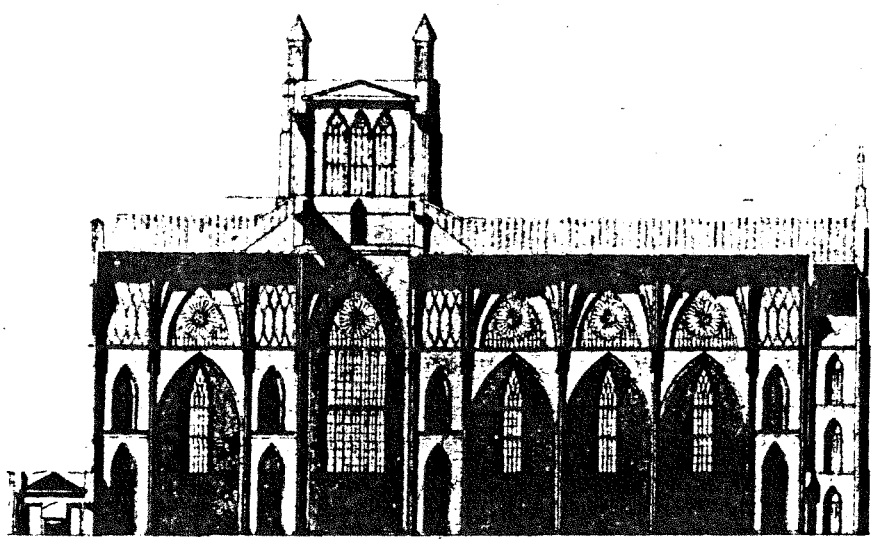
6. St. Oswald's, Liverpool. 1839-1842. A.W. Pugin. Southeast view.

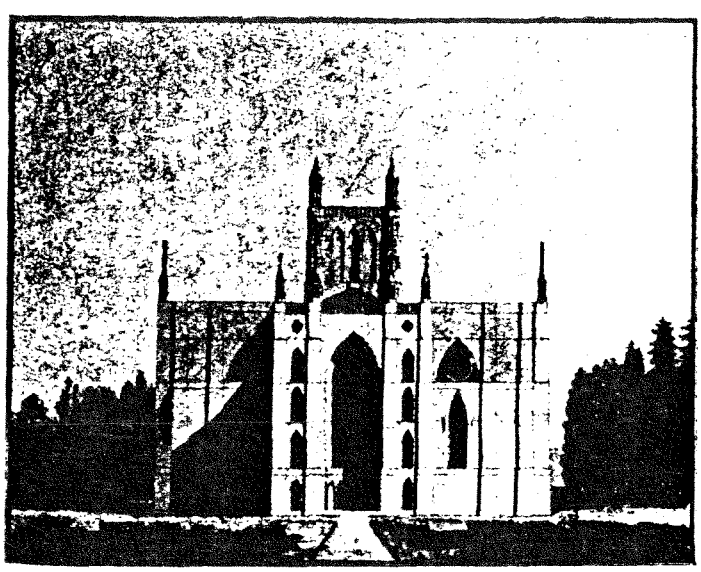


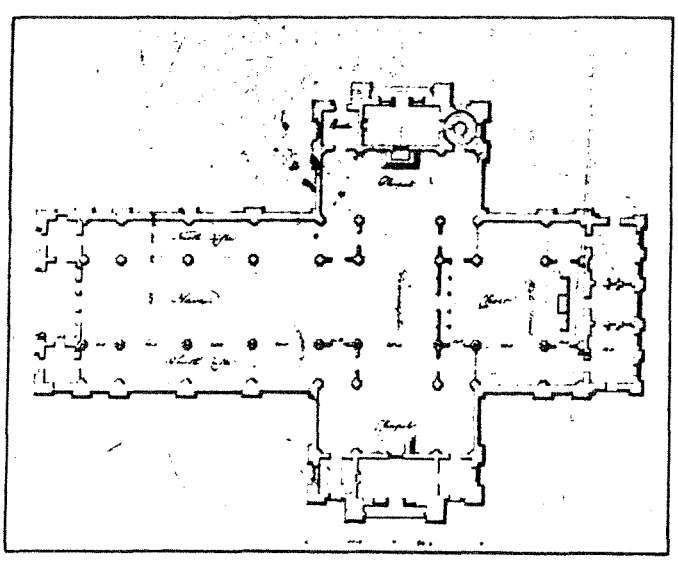
7. St. Mary's, Derby, an etching by Pugin, c. 1839.



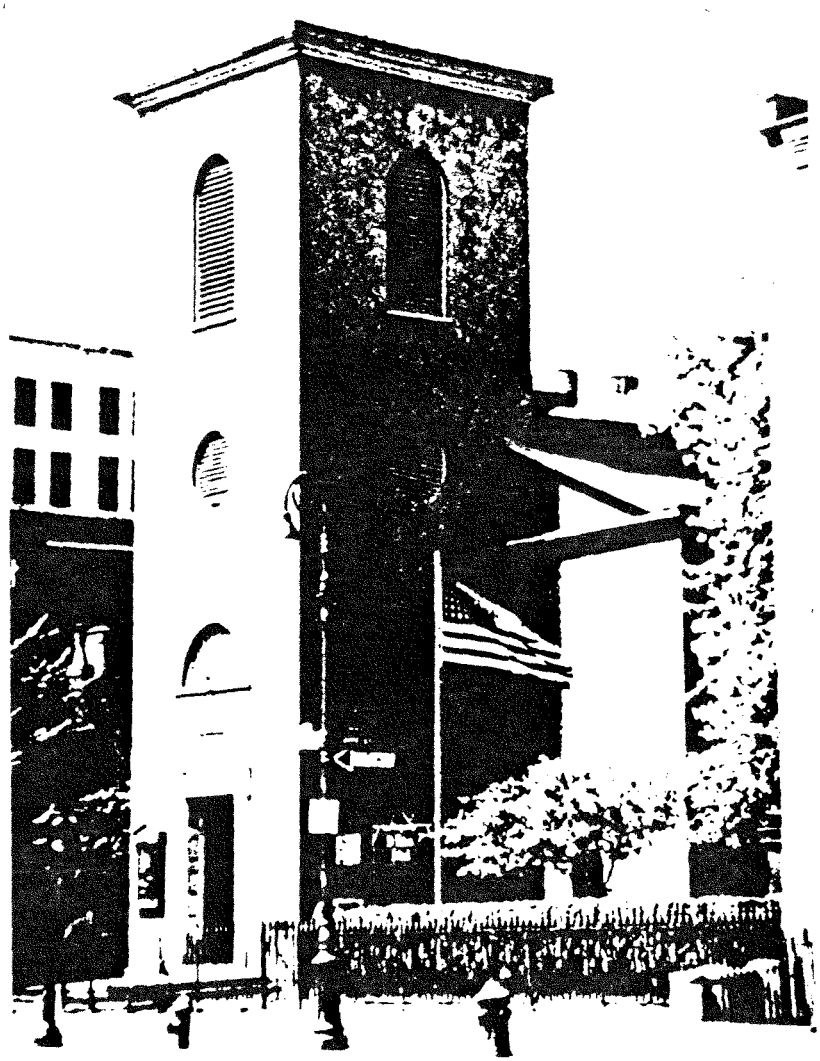
8. "An Ideal Church." Taken from: Augustus Welby Pugin, The True principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture



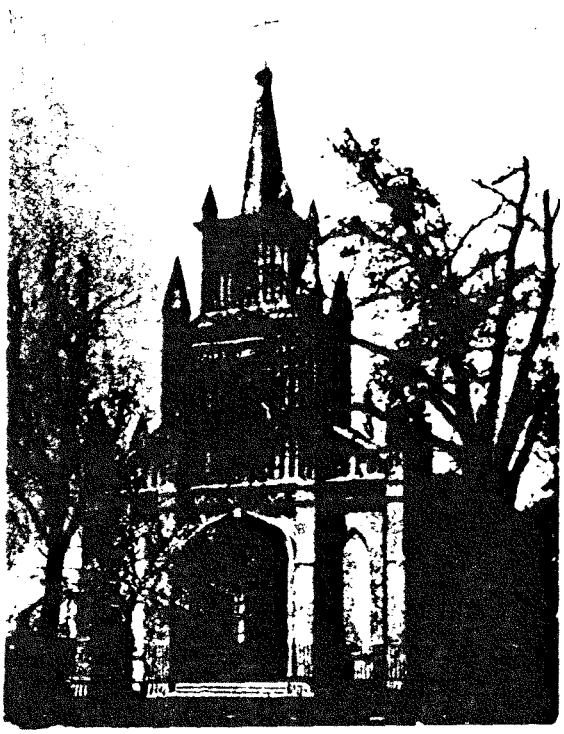




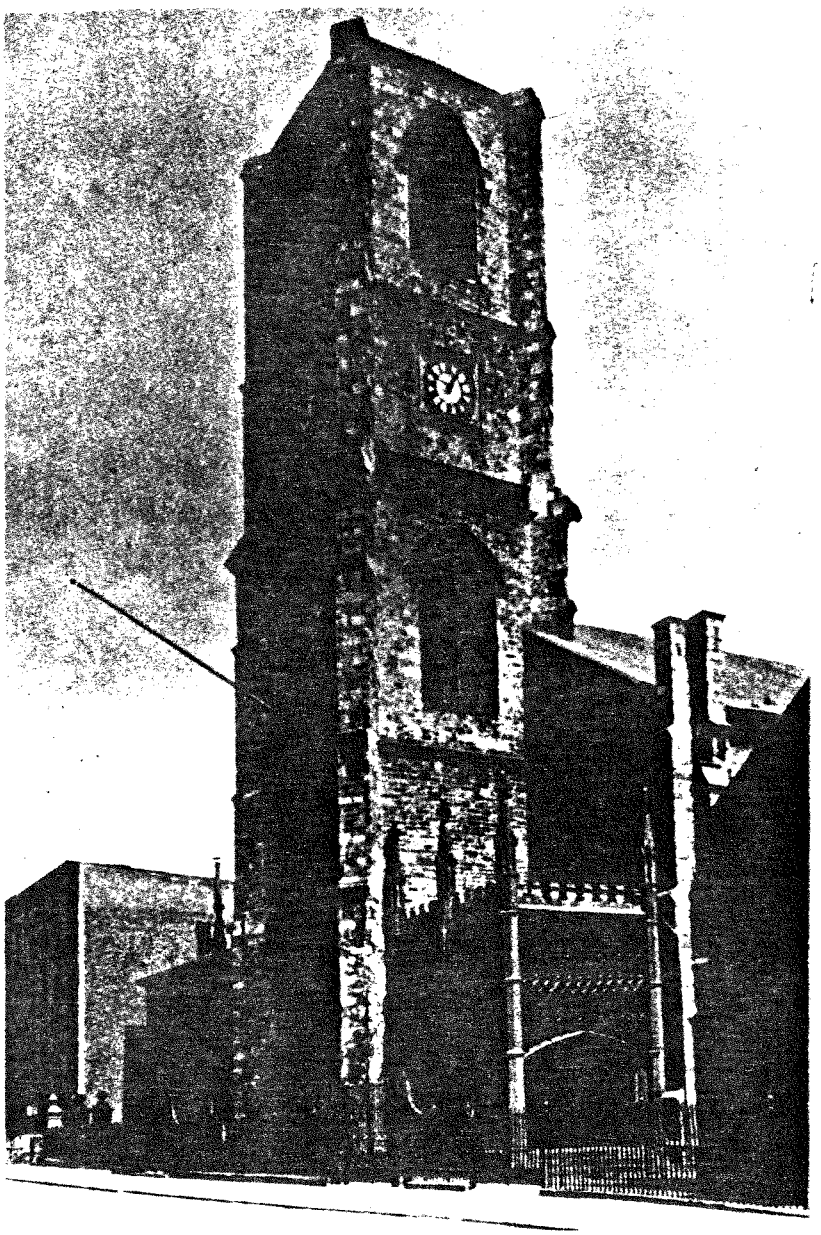
9. "Rejected Gothic scheme for the Baltimore Cathedral." 1805. Benjamin Henry Latrobe.



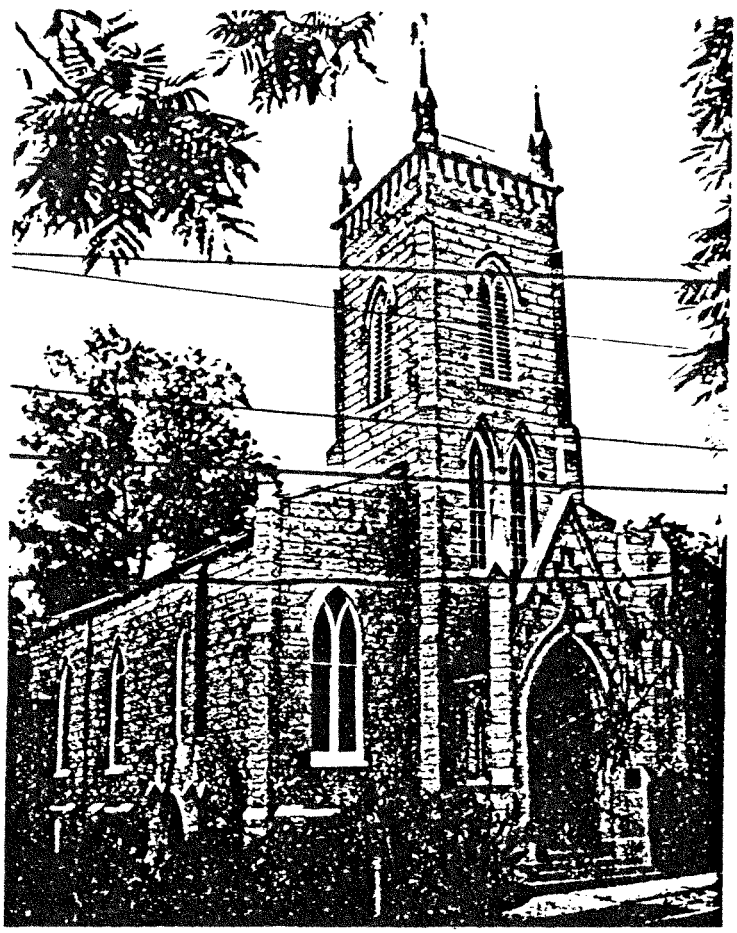
10. St. Luke's Church, New York City. 1821. Attributed to John Heath.



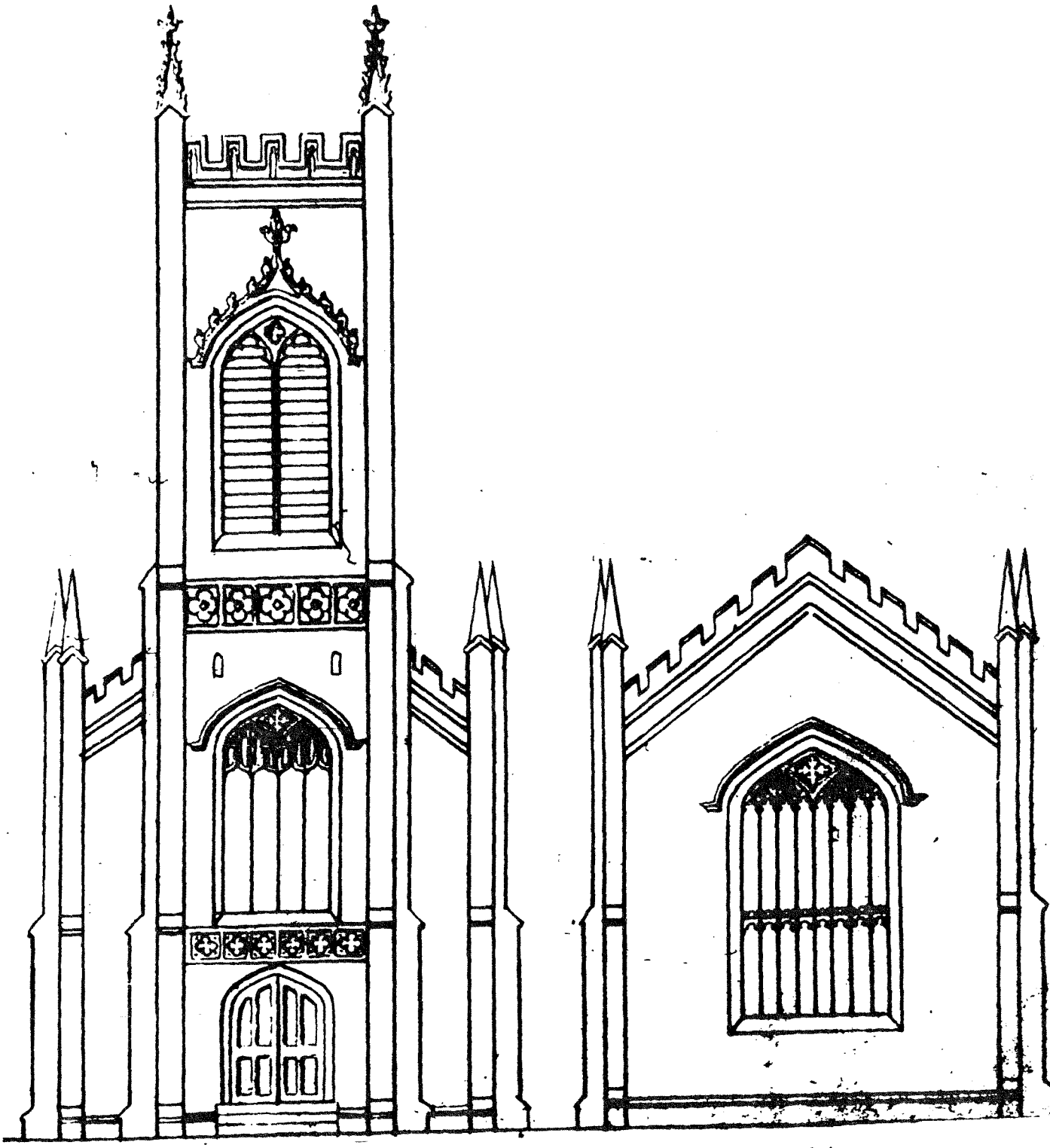
11. St. Peter's Church, Columbia, S.C. 1824. Robert Mills.



12. St. Peter's, Chelsea, New York City. 1836-1838. James W. Smith and Clement C. Moore.



13. Christ Church, Vicksburg, MS. 1839.

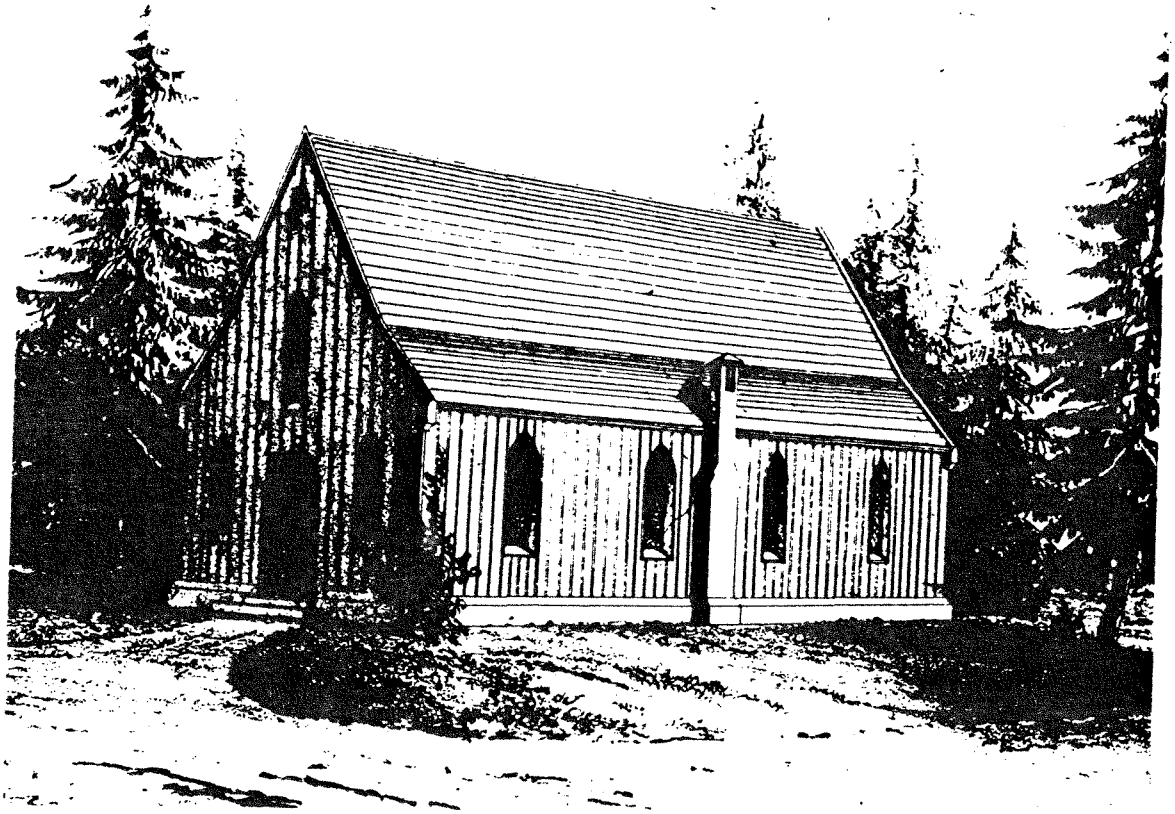


14. A church project. Taken from: John Henry Hopkins, Essay on Gothic Architecture, with Various Plans and Drawings for Churches: Designed Chiefly for the Use of the Clergy. (Burlington, VT: 1836) Plate 12-Figures 30 and 31.

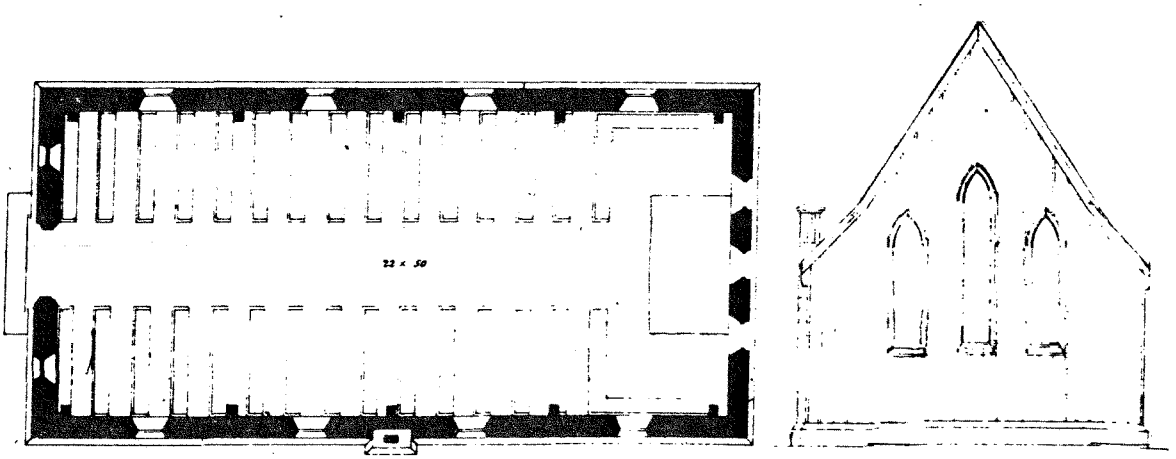
15. Trinity Church, New York City. 1840-1846. Richard Upjohn.

16. Grace Church, New York City. Begun 1843. James Renwick, Jr.

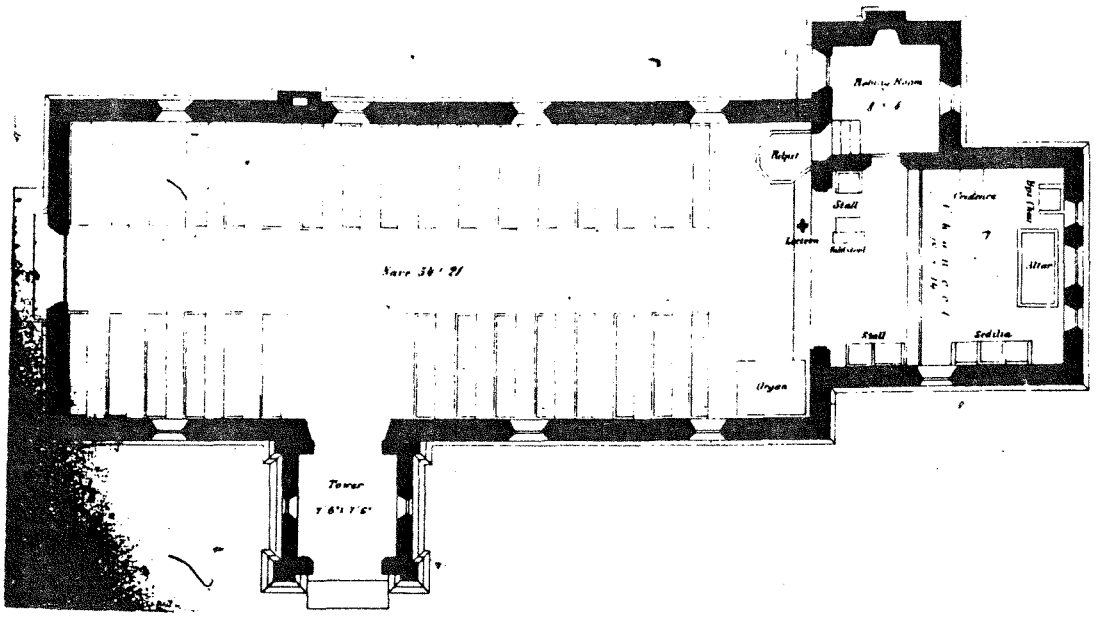
17. Church of the Holy Communion, New York City. 1846. Richard Upjohn.



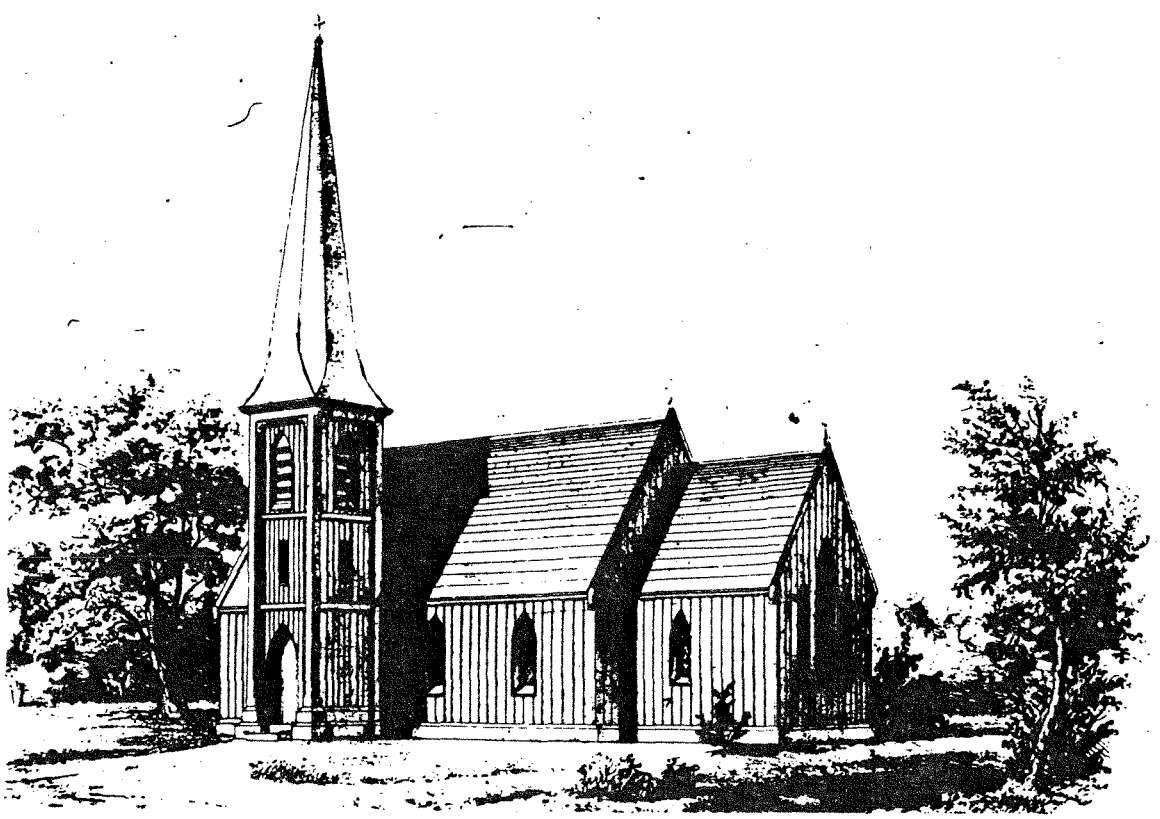
18. "Perspective View of Wooden Chapel." Taken from: Richard Upjohn, Upjohn's Rural Architecture (New York: Putnam, 1852).



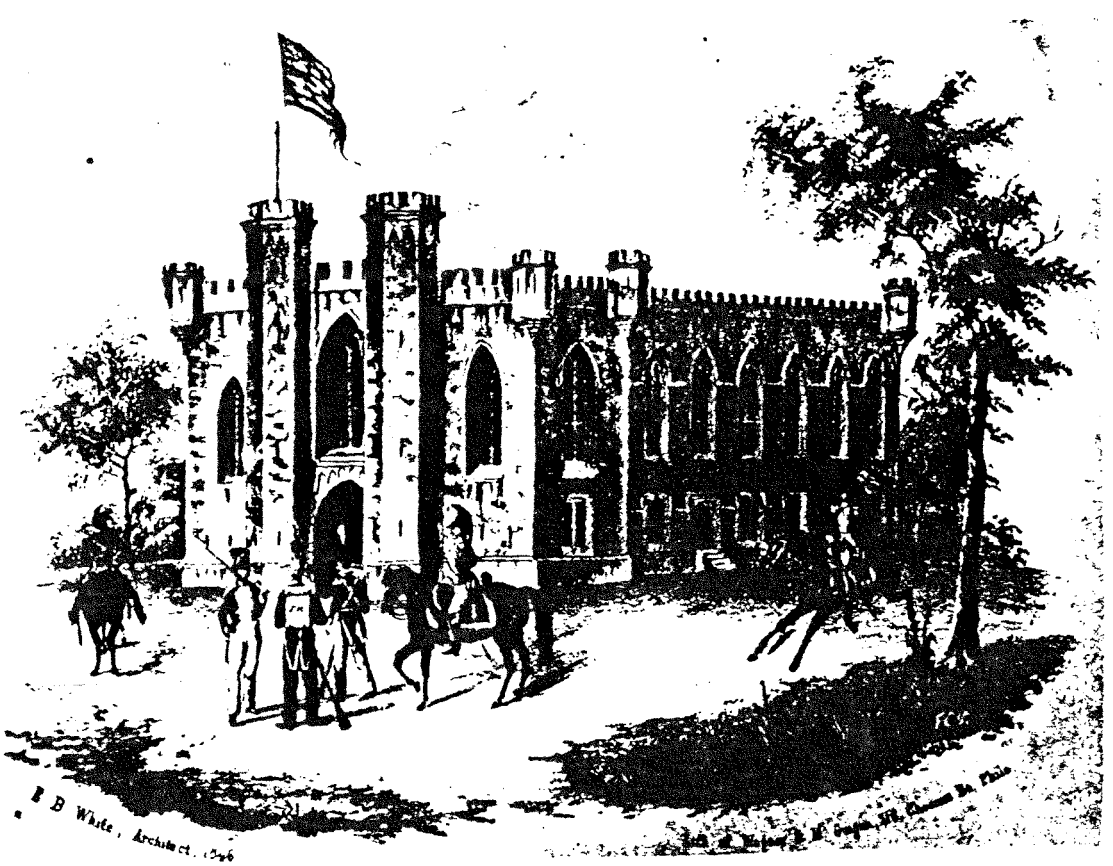
19. "Wooden Chapel. Ground Plan. Rear Elevation." Taken from: Richard Upjohn, Plate 12.



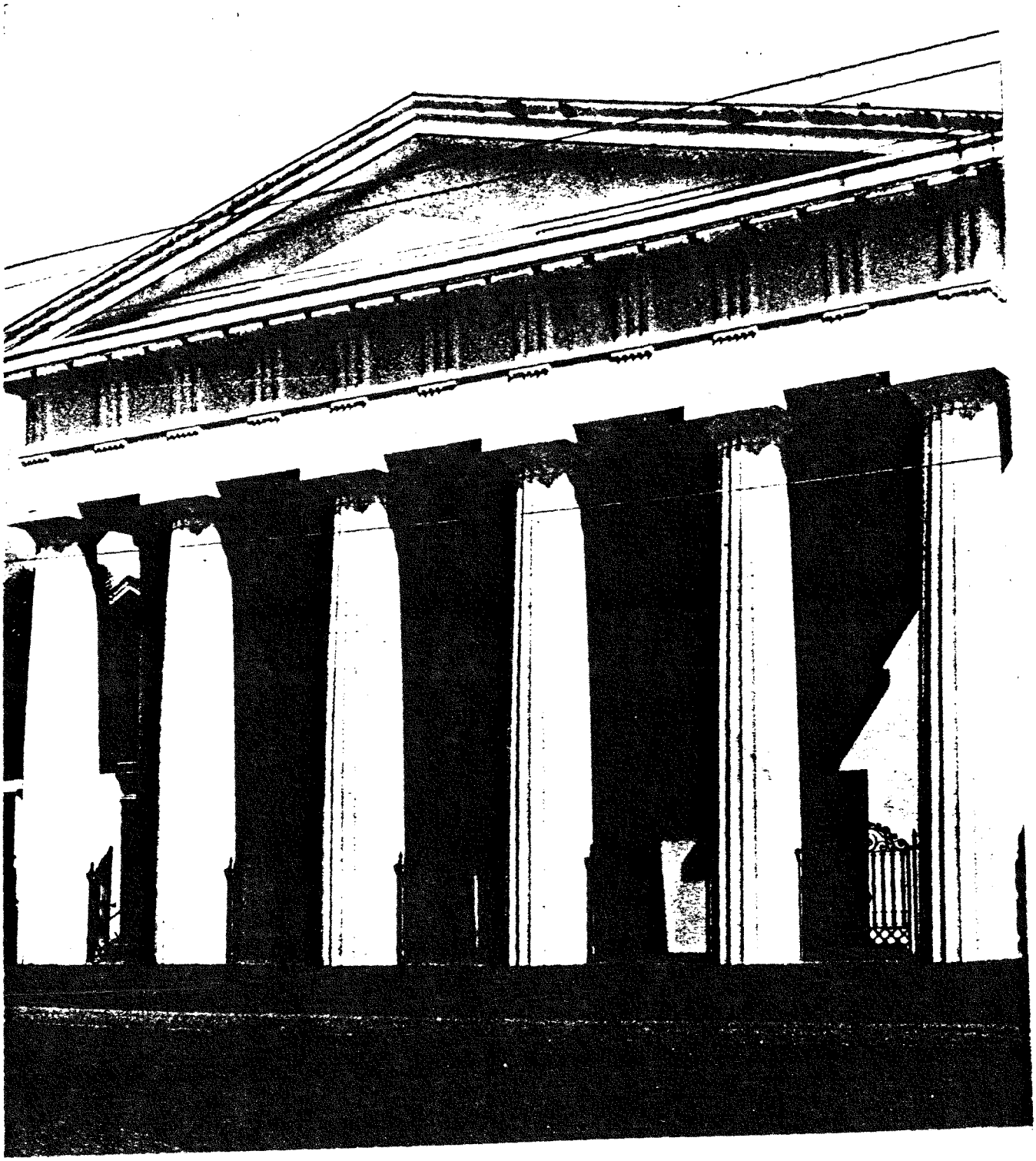
20. "Wooden Church. Ground Plan." Taken from: Richard Upjohn Plate 1.



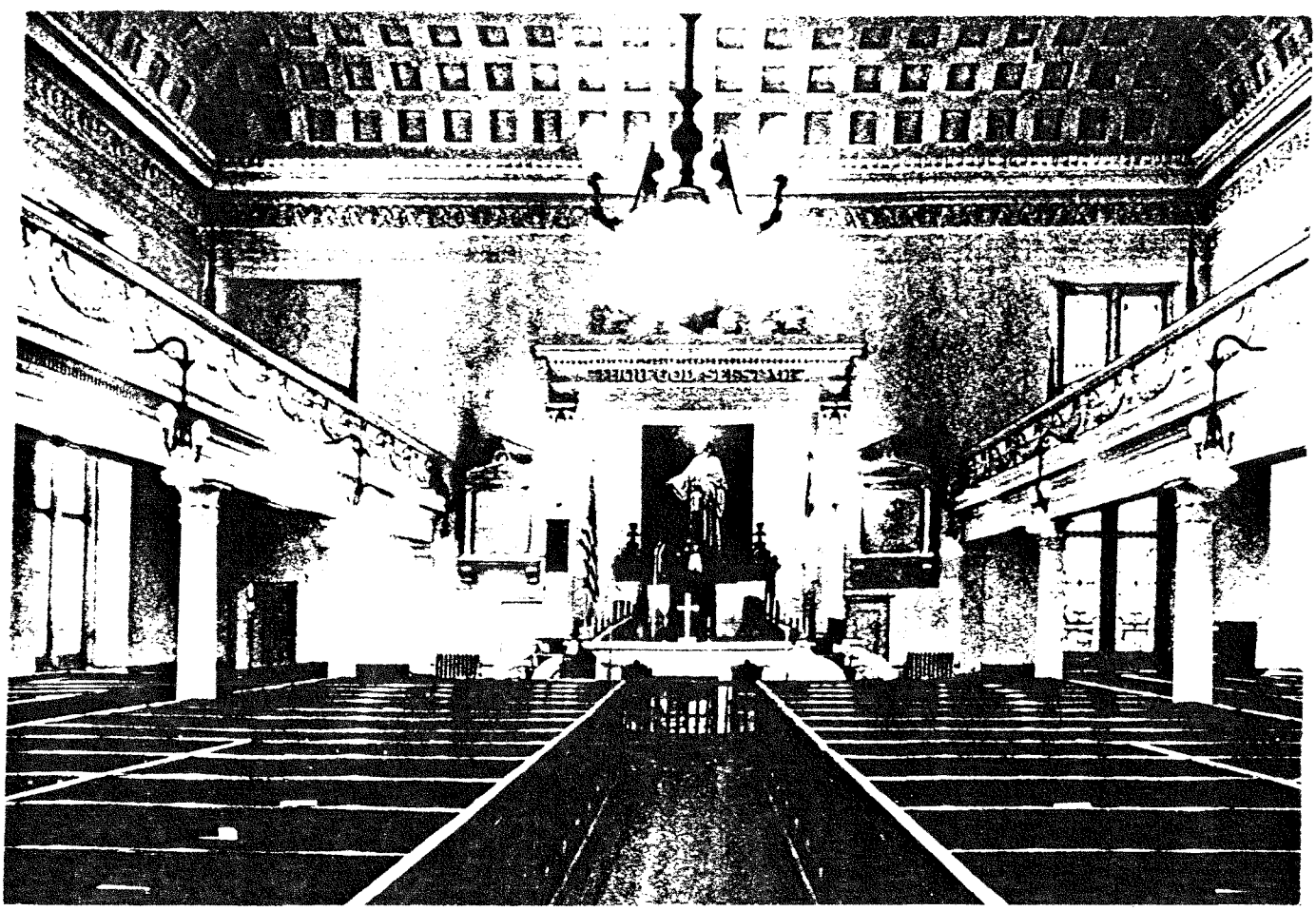
21. "Perspective View of Wooden Church." Taken from: Richard Upjohn, Plate before Plate 1.



22. Military Hall, Charleston, S.C. 1845-47. Edward Brickell White. Lithograph by Wagner & Guigan, 1846.



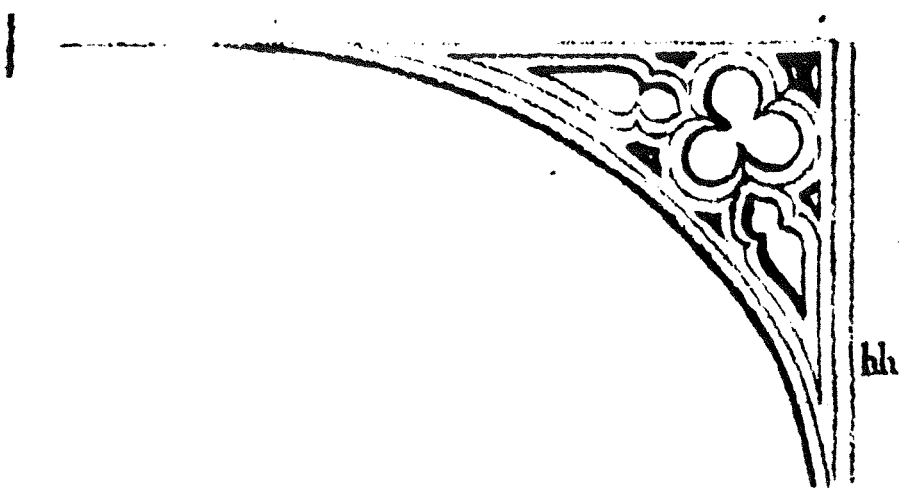
23. Second Baptist Church, Charleston, S.C.. 1842. Edward Brickell White. Exterior.



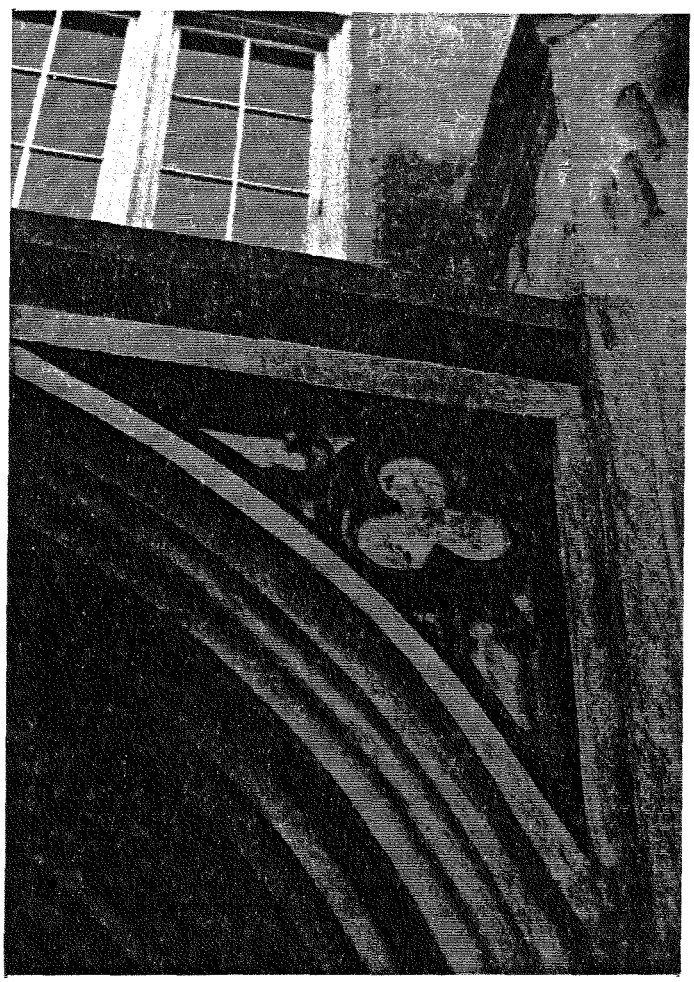
24. Second Baptist Church, Charleston, S.C. Interior.

25. Perspective view of a Gothic church. Taken from: Hopkins Plate 7-Figure 20.

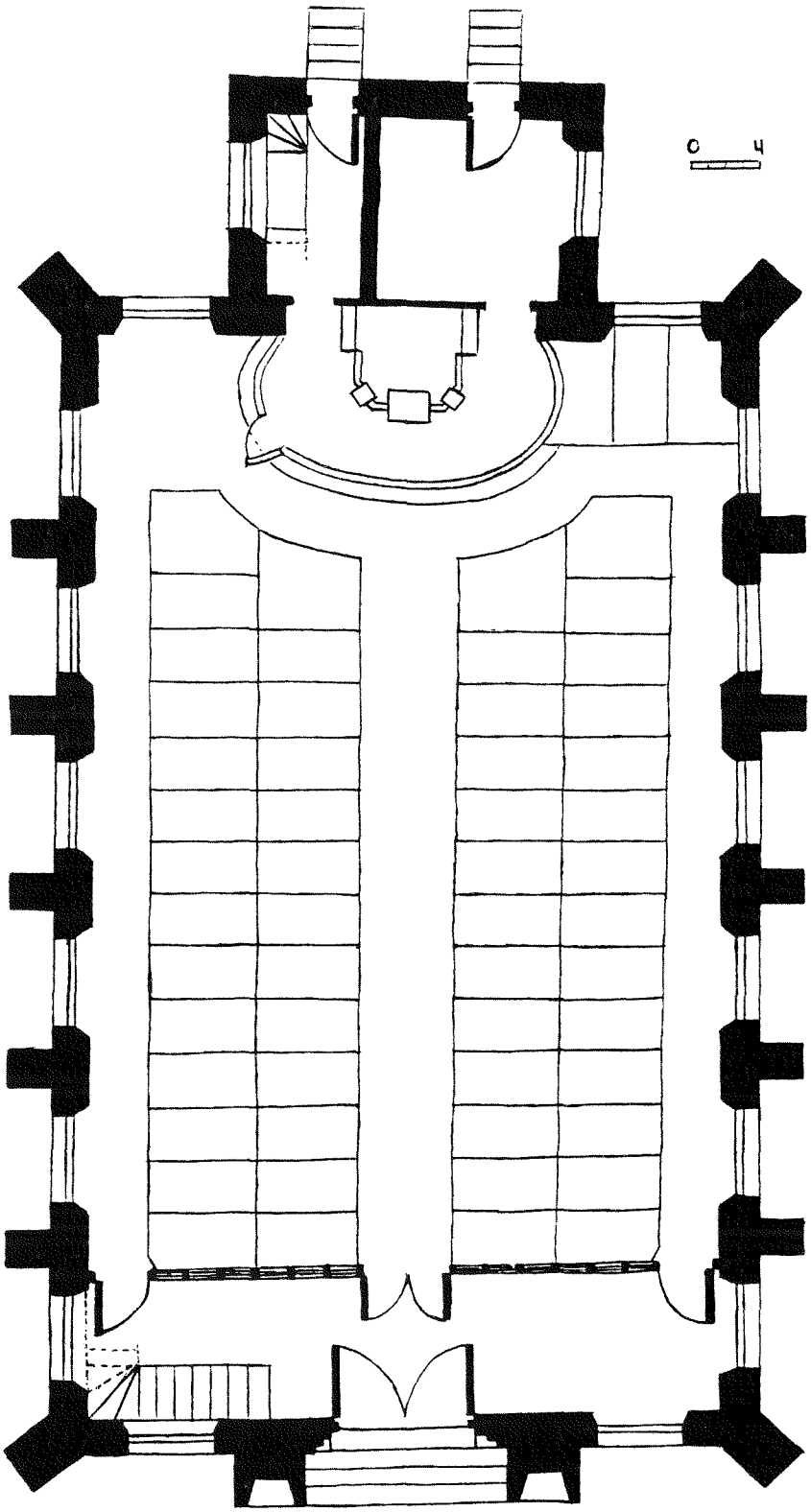
26. Huguenot Church, Charleston, S.C. Exterior, side view of church.



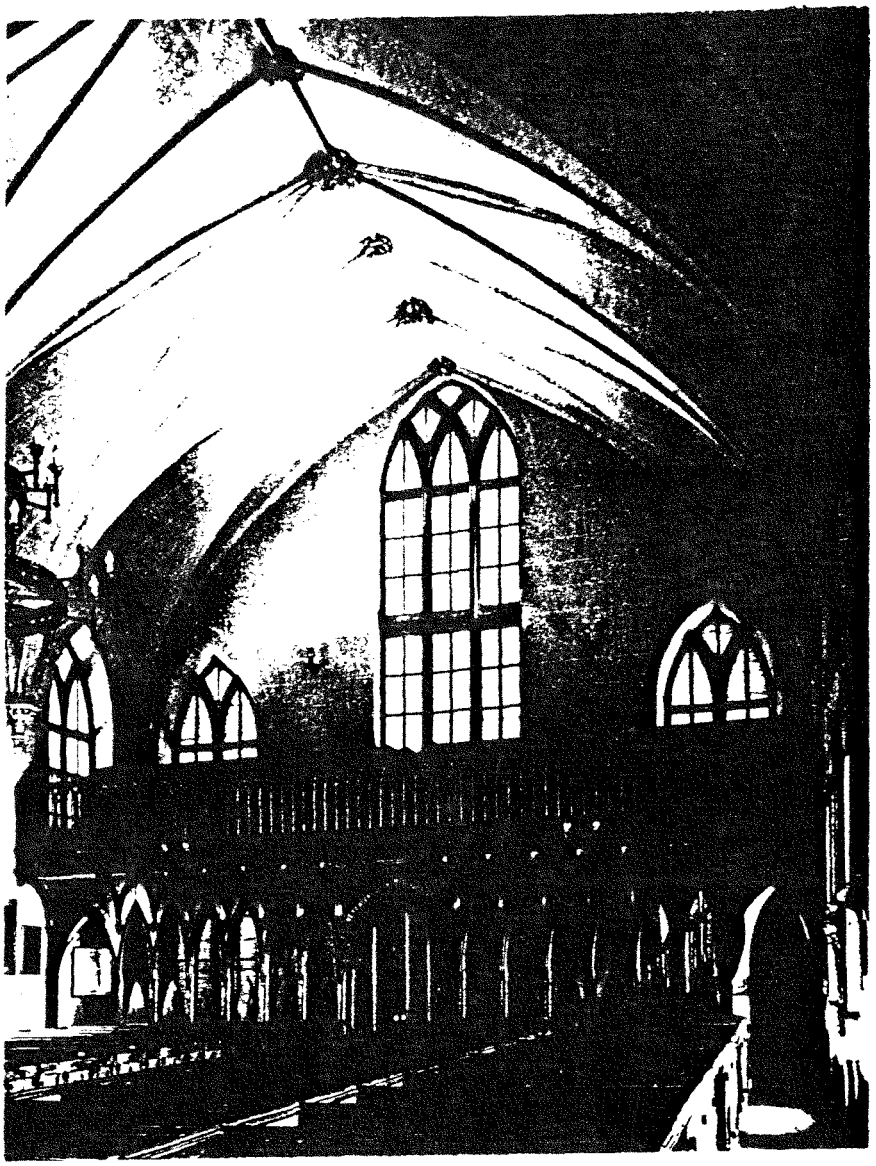
27. Tracery. Taken from: Hopkins Plate 2-Figure hh.



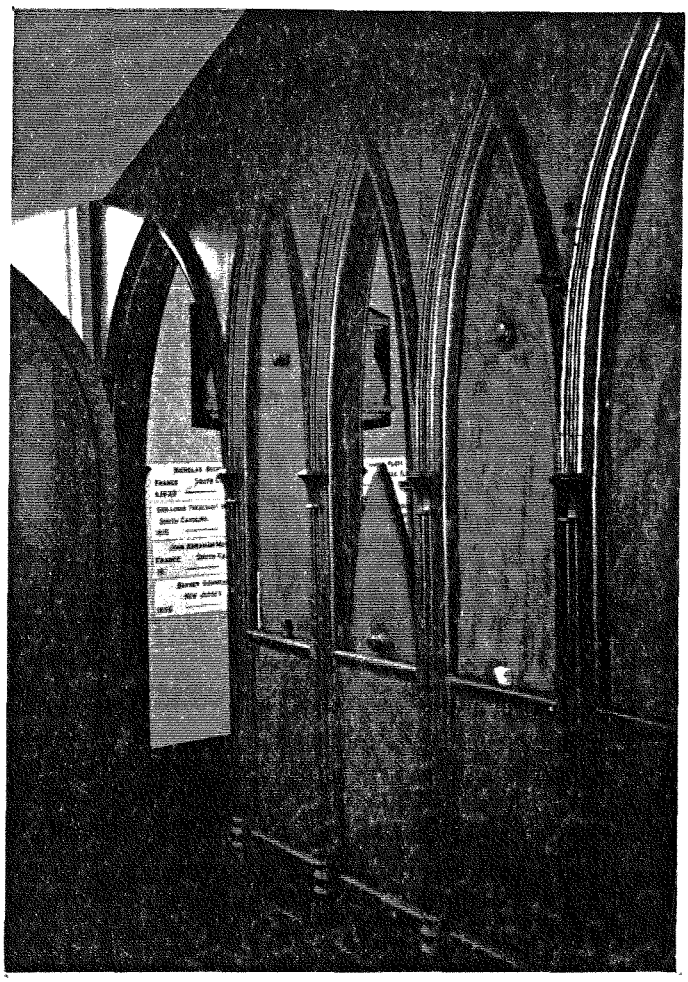
28. Huguenot Church, Charleston, S.C. Tracery.



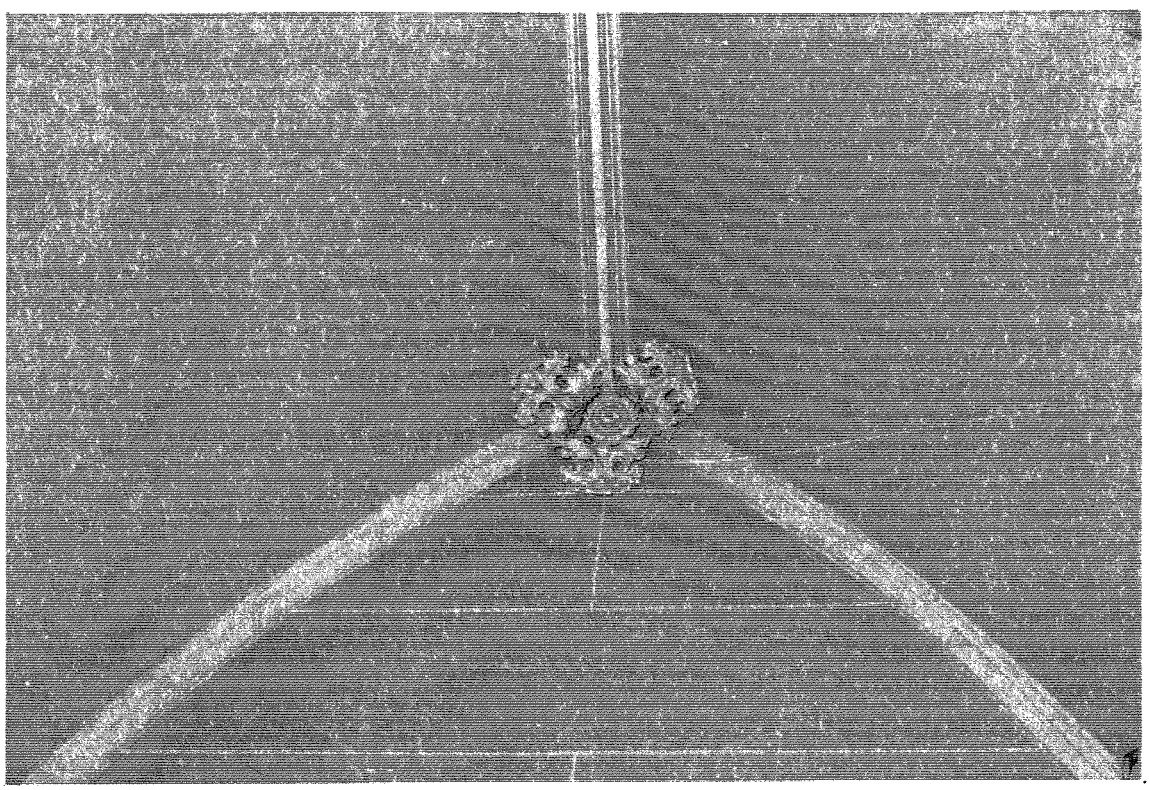
29. Huguenot Church, Charleston, S.C. Conjectural plan, c. 1845. Edward Brickell White.



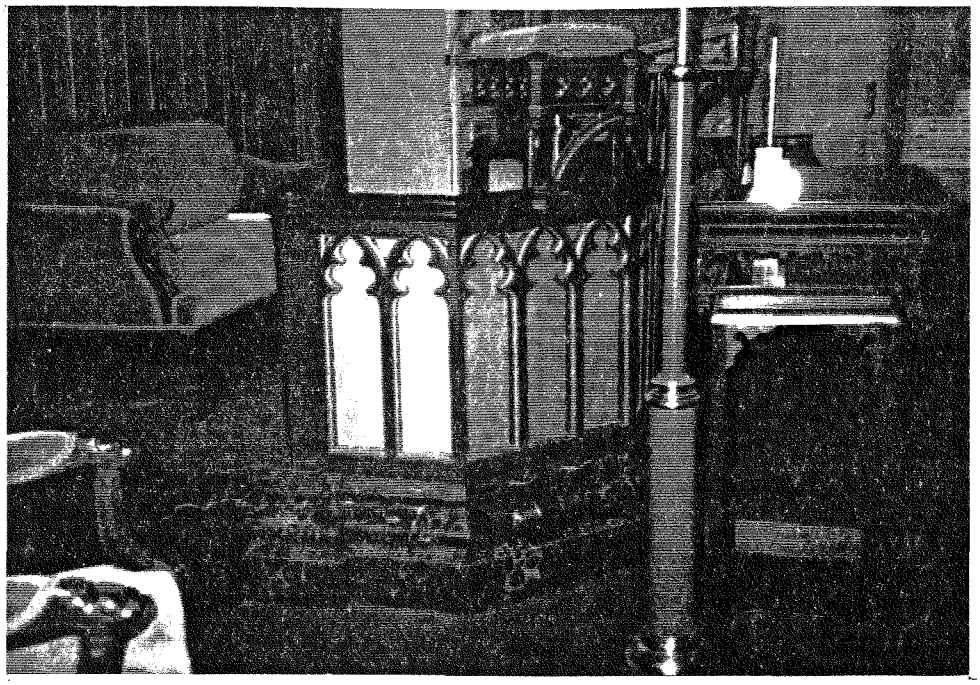
30. Huguenot Church, Charleston, S.C. Interior.



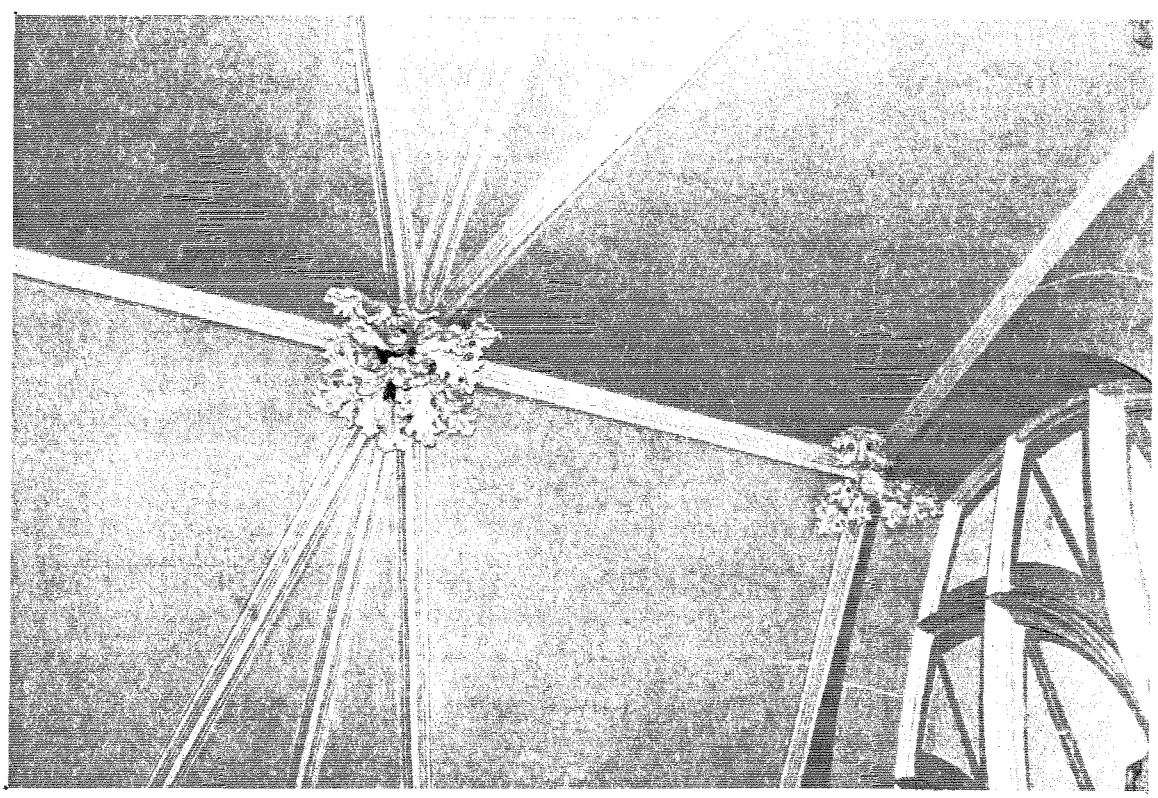
31. Huguenot Church, Charleston, S.C. Interior, arcade with movable inset panels.



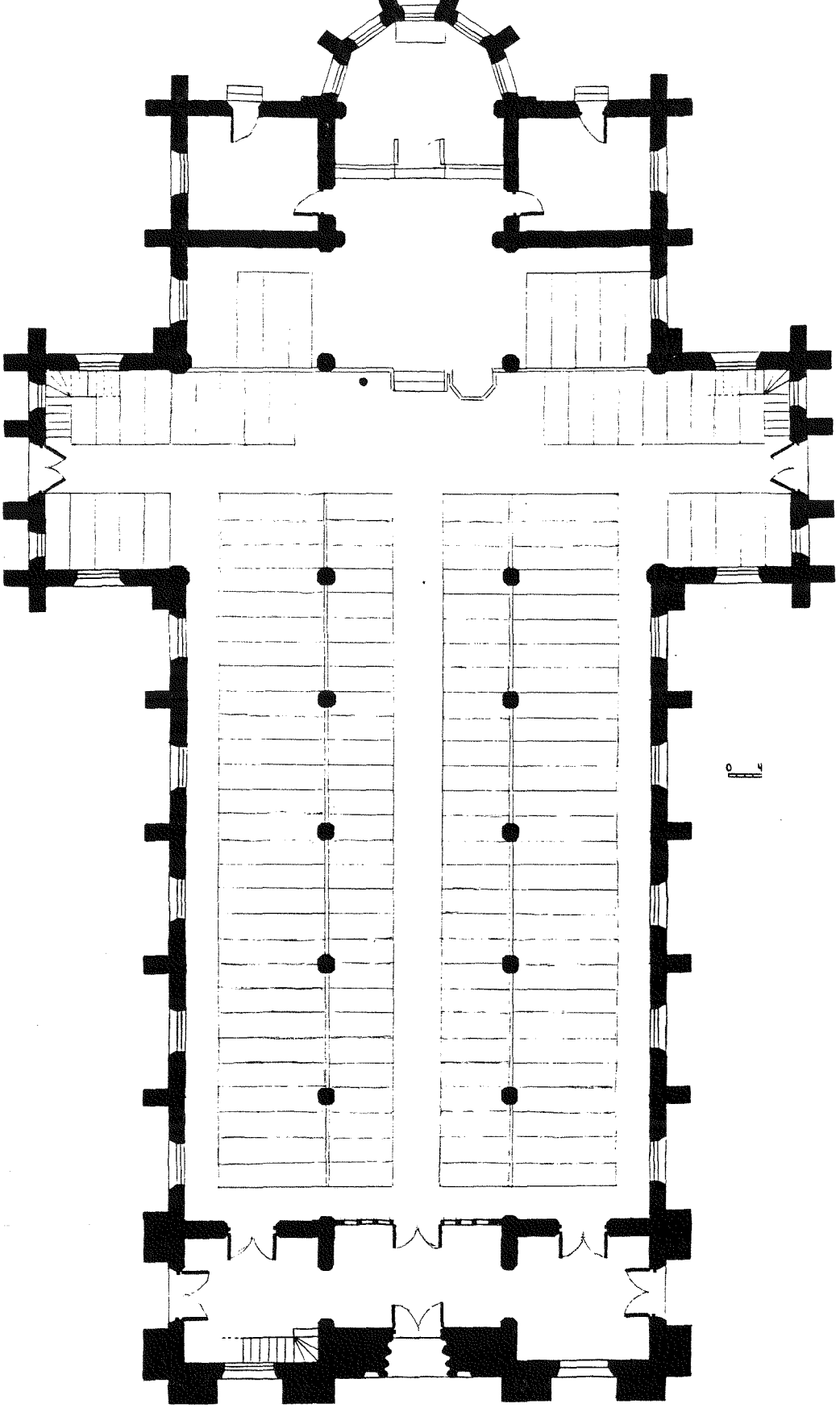
32. Huguenot Church, Charleston, S.C. Interior, view showing painted walls to simulate stone.



33. Huguenot Church, Charleston, S.C. Interior, side view of marbleized pulpit.

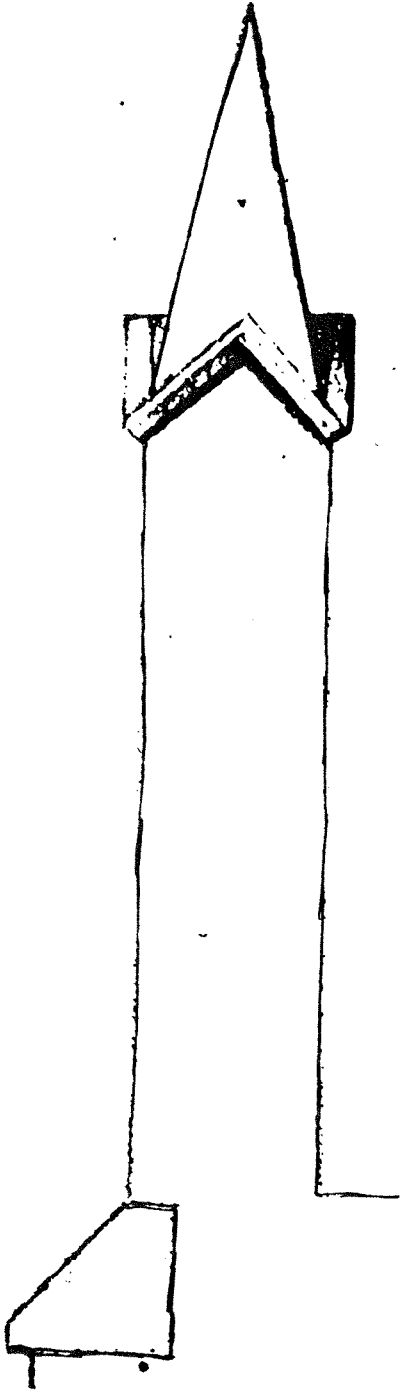


34. Huguenot Church, Charleston, S.C. Interior plaster-and-Lath vaulting.

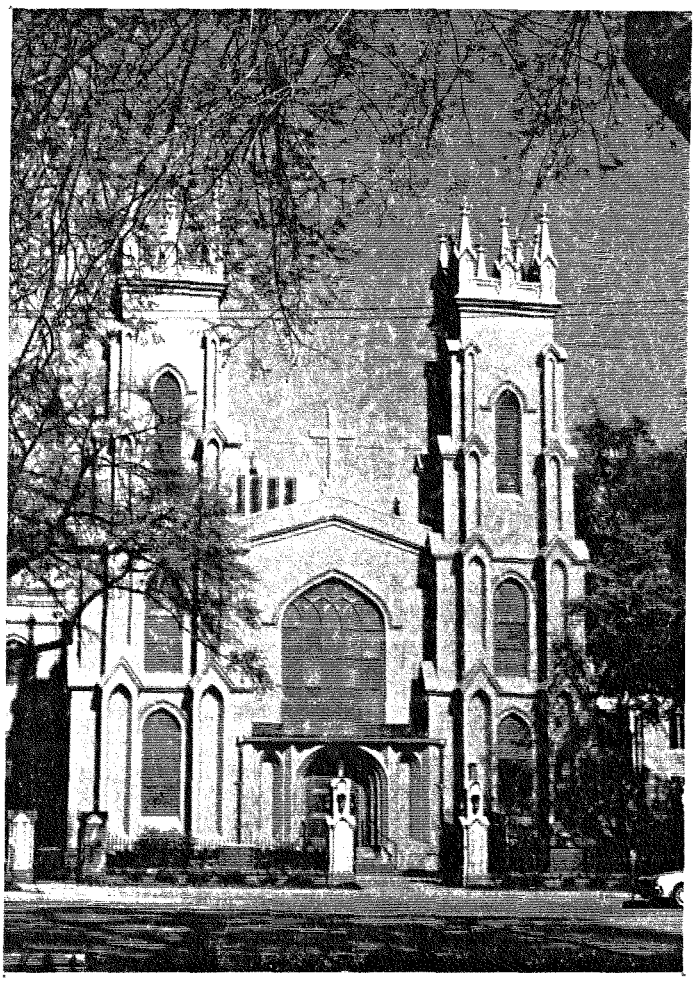


35. Trinity Episcopal Church, Columbia, S.C. 1845-1847 and 1860-1862. Edward brickell White. Conjectural plan, c. 1862.

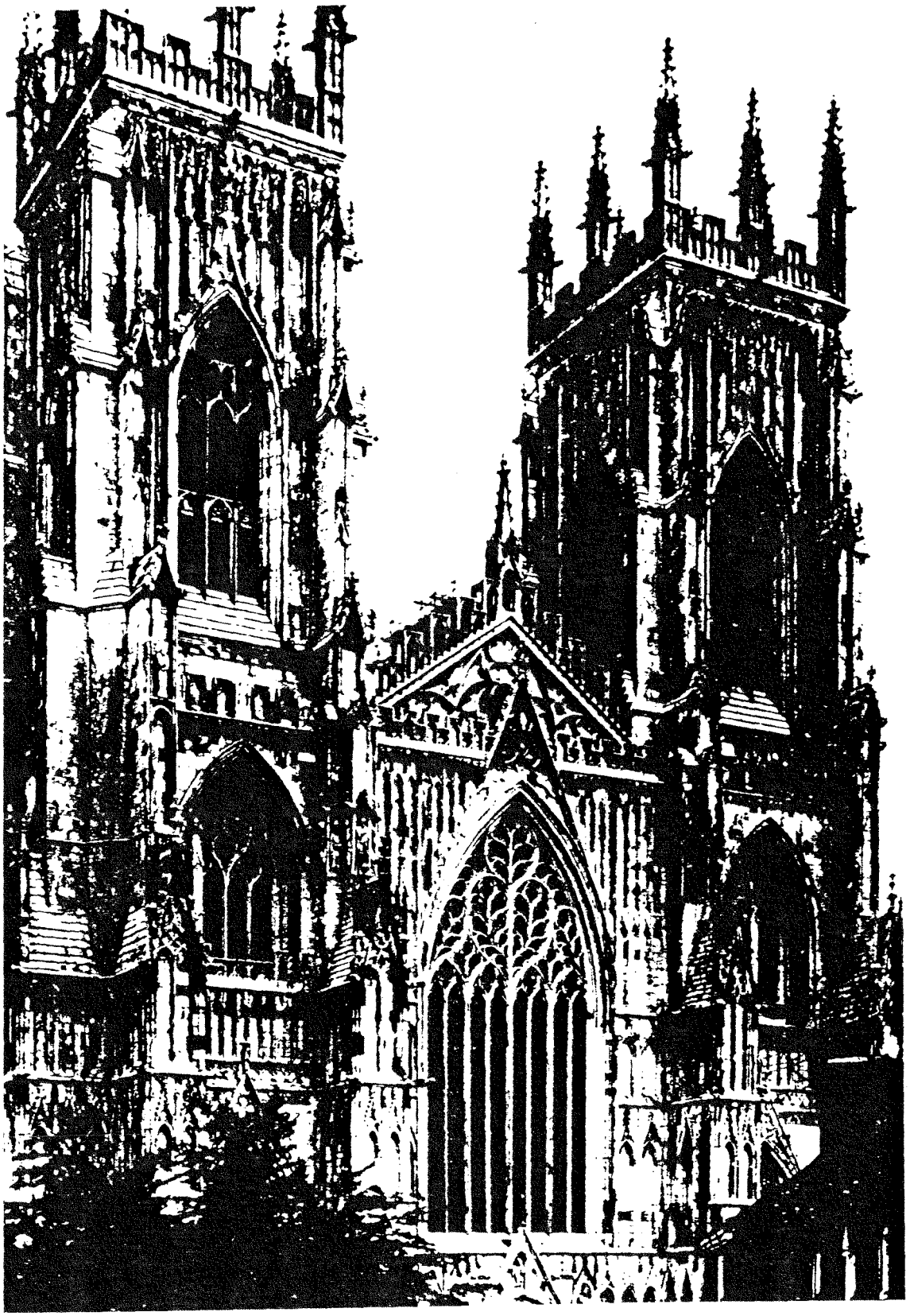
36. Trinity Episcopal Church, Columbia, S.C. 1845-1847 and 1860-1862. Edward Brickell White. Exterior, side view showing buttressing and pinnacles.



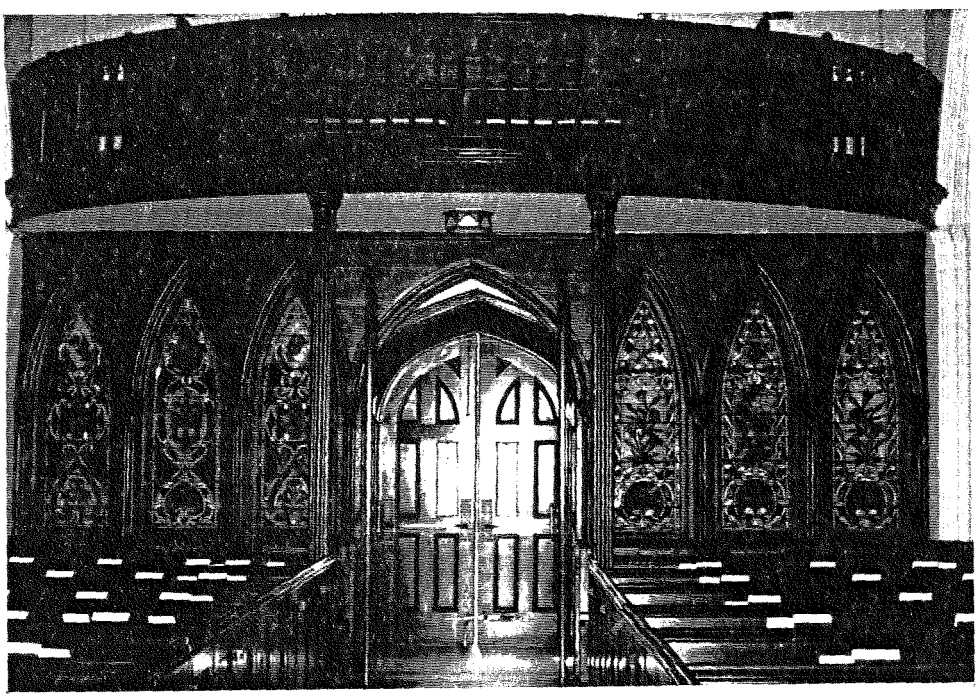
37. "Side elevation of ... [a] buttress." Taken from: John Henry Hopkins, Essay on Gothic Architecture, Plate 4-Figure F.



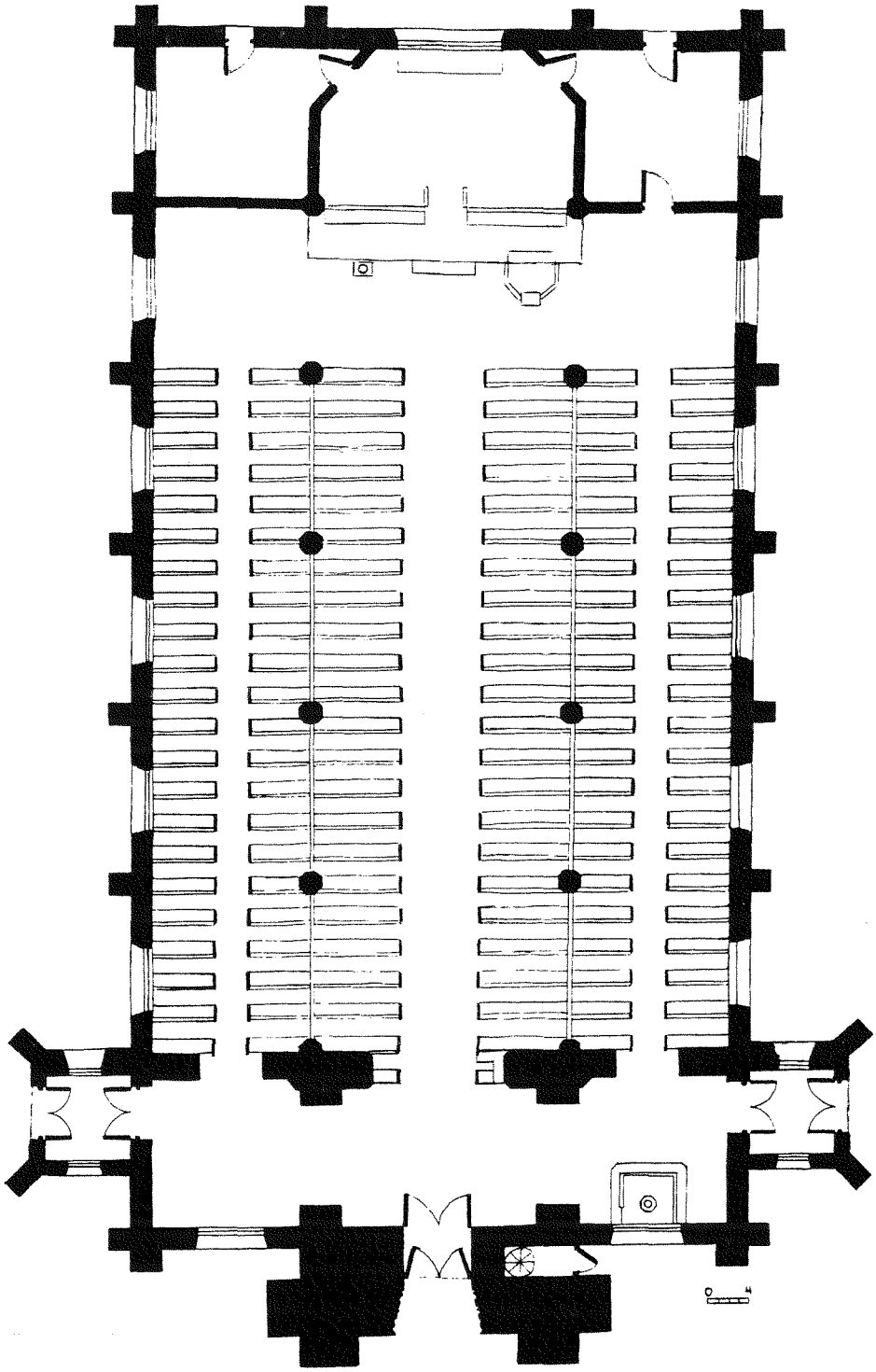
38. Trinity Episcopal Church, Columbia, S.C. Exterior, West facade.



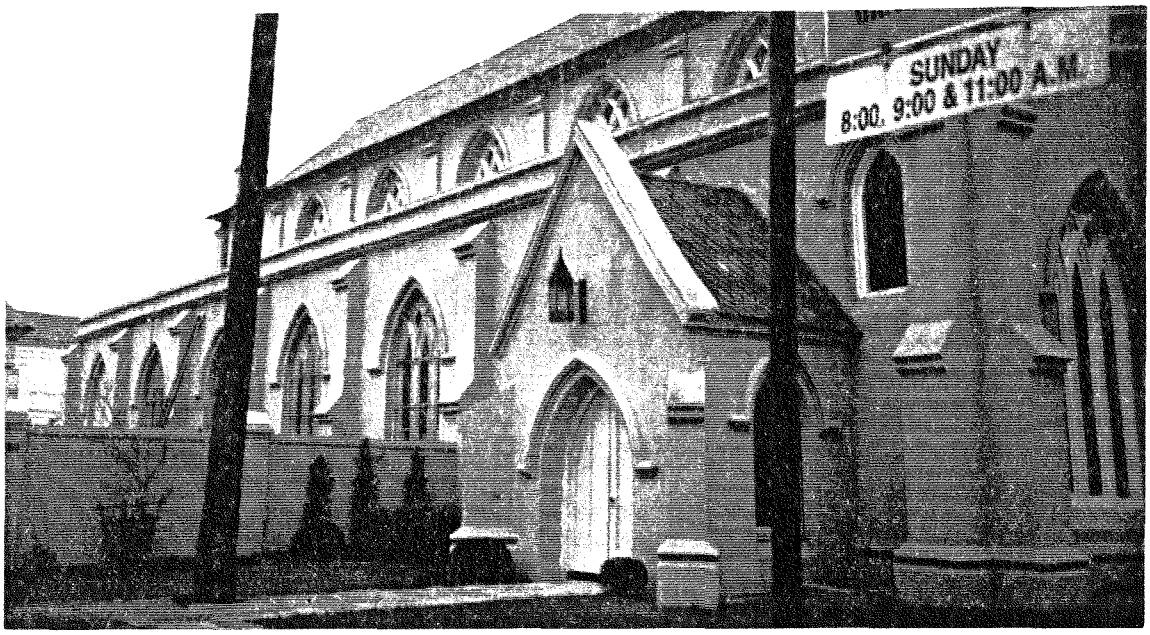
39. West Front of York Minster.



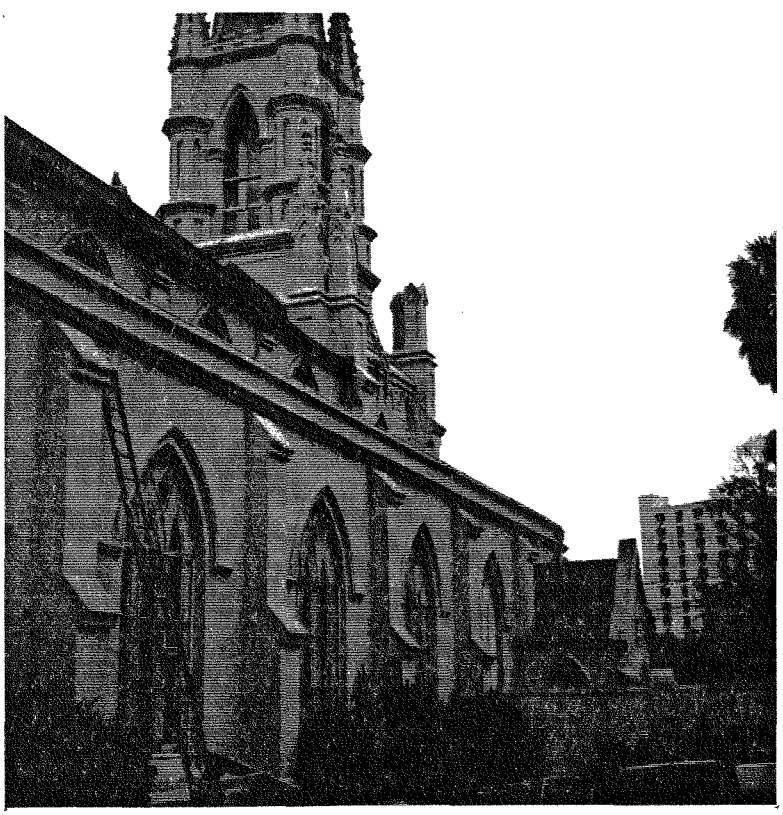
40. Trinity Episcopal Church, Columbia, S.C. Interior, wooden screen between nave and narthex.



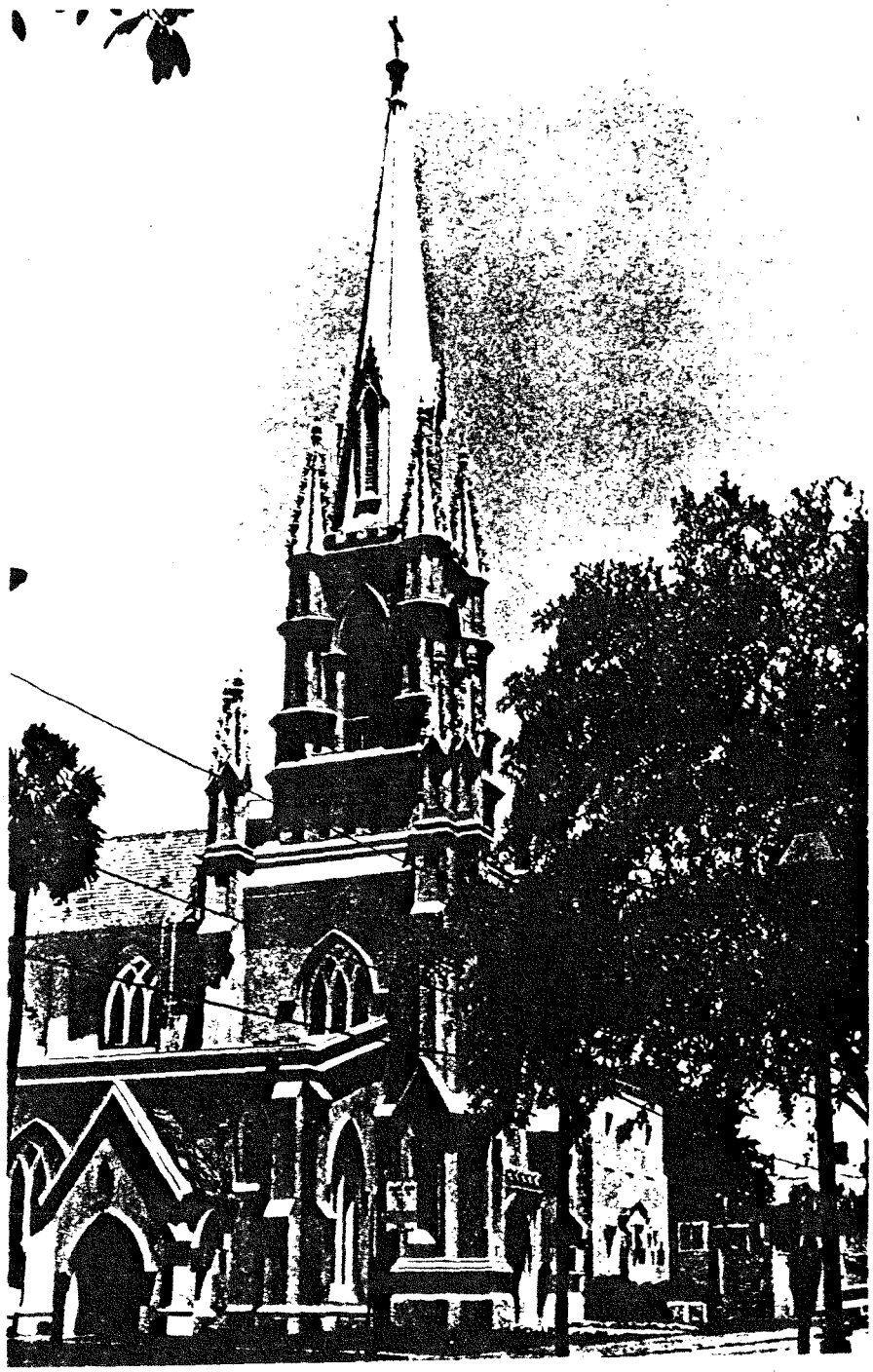
41. Grace Episcopal Church, Charleston, S.C. 1847-1848 and 1859-1862. Edward Brickell White. Conjectural plan, c. 1862.



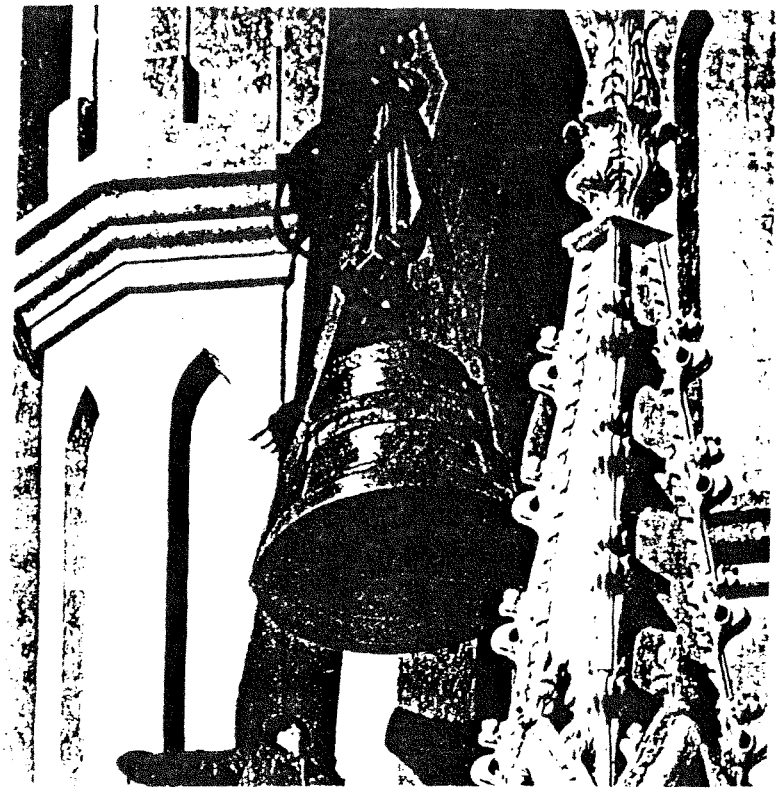
42. Grace Episcopal Church, Charleston, S.C. Exterior, side view of church.



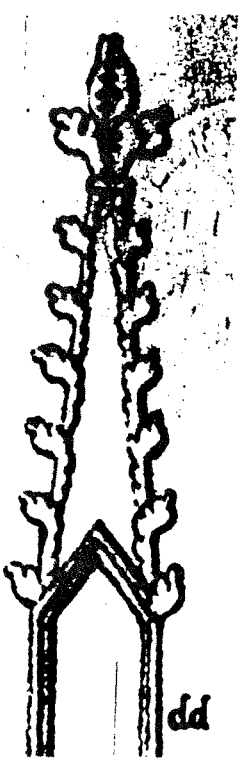
43. Grace Episcopal Church, Charleston, S.C. Exterior, side view showing buttressing.



44. Grace Episcopal Church, Charleston, S.C. Exterior, view of tower with pinnacles.

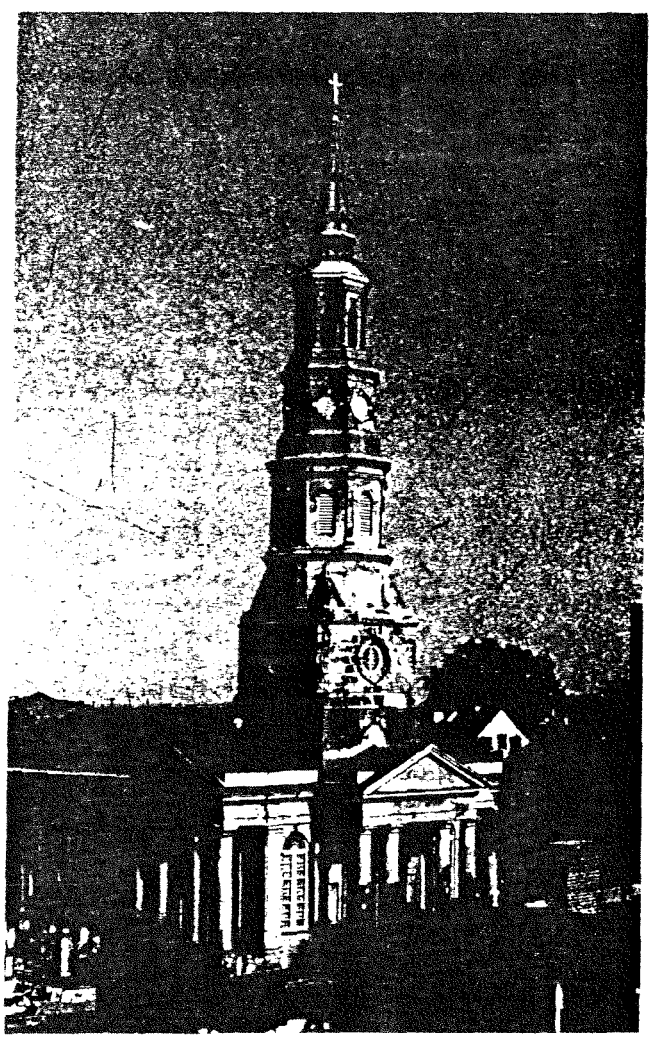


45. Grace Episcopal Church, Charleston, S.C. Exterior, pinnacle of tower.

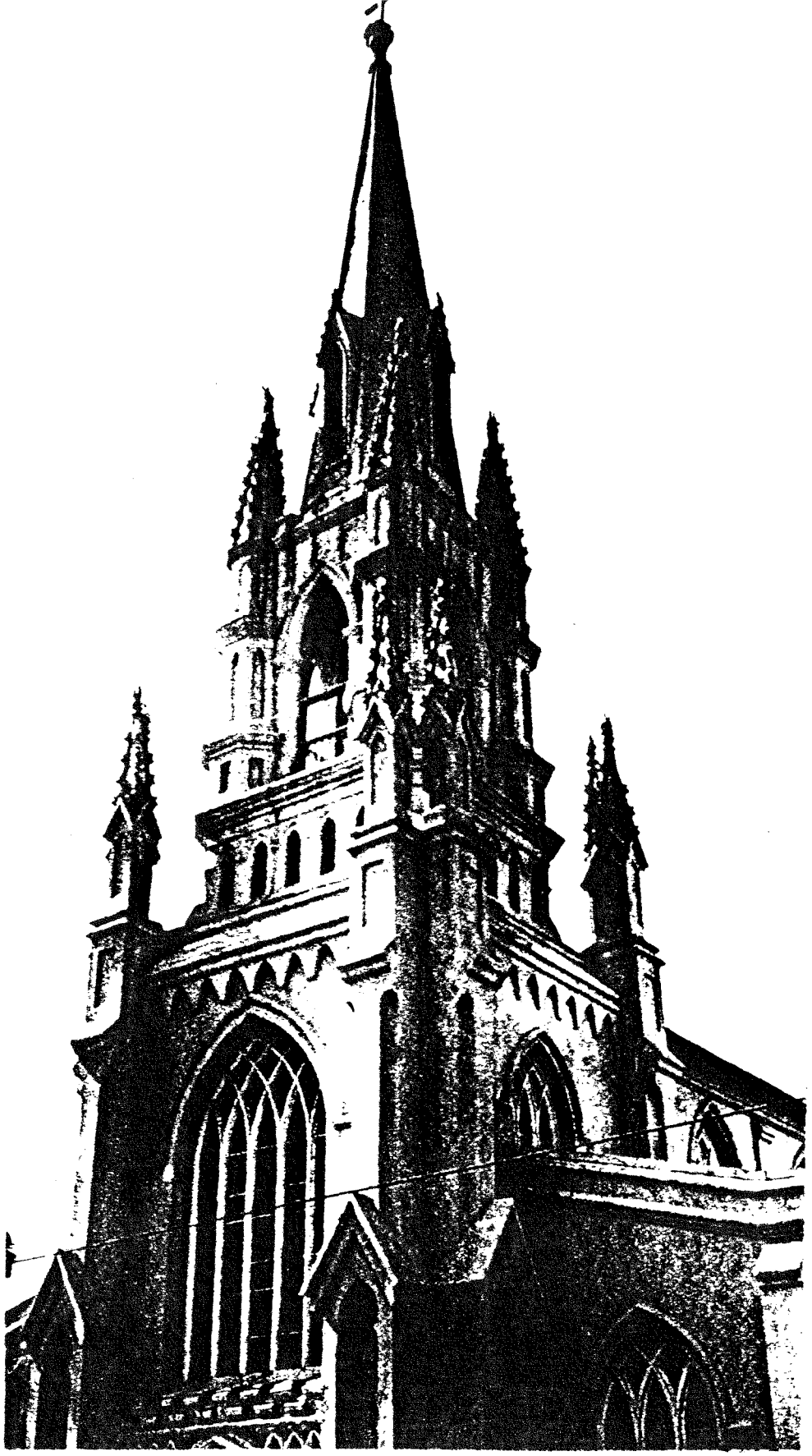


46. A sample pinnacle. Taken from: Hopkins Plate 2- Figure dd.

47. St. Michael's Episcopal Church, Charleston, S.C. 1752-1761. Samuel Cardy (?). Exterior.

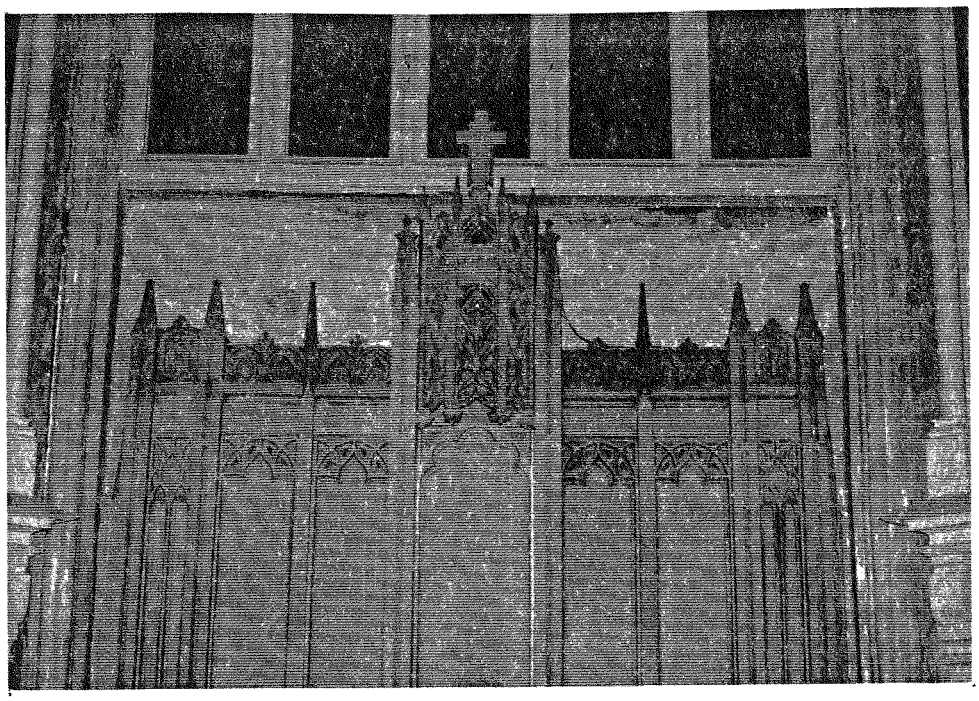


48. St. Philip's Episcopal Church, Charleston, S.C. 1835-1838. Joseph Hyde. Steeple by Edward Brickell White, 1847-1850.

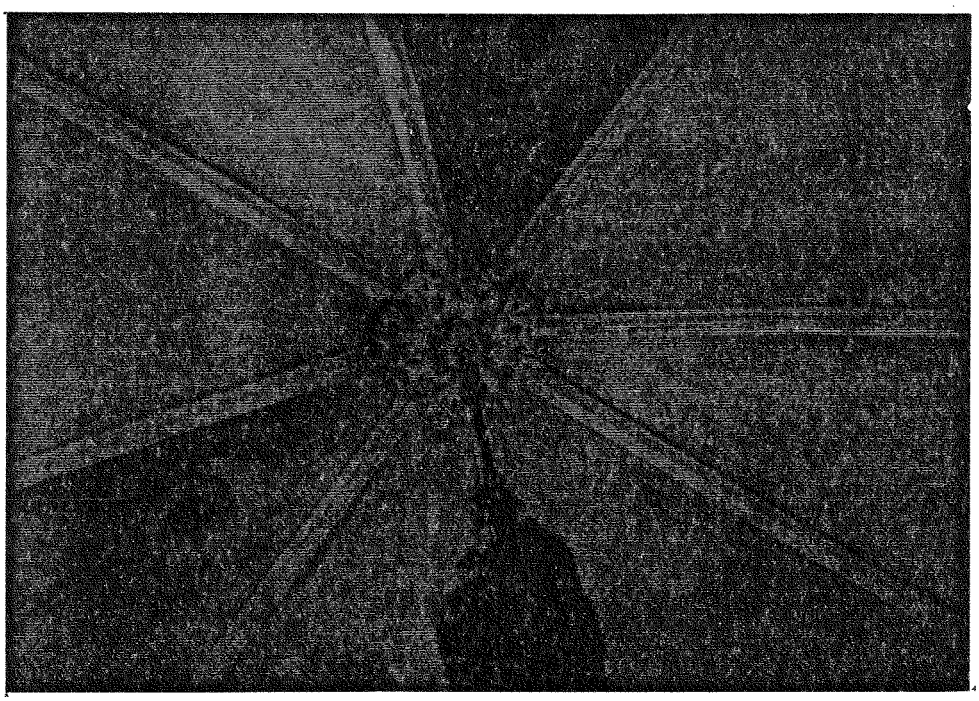


49. Grace Episcopal Church, Charleston, S.C. Exterior, tower.

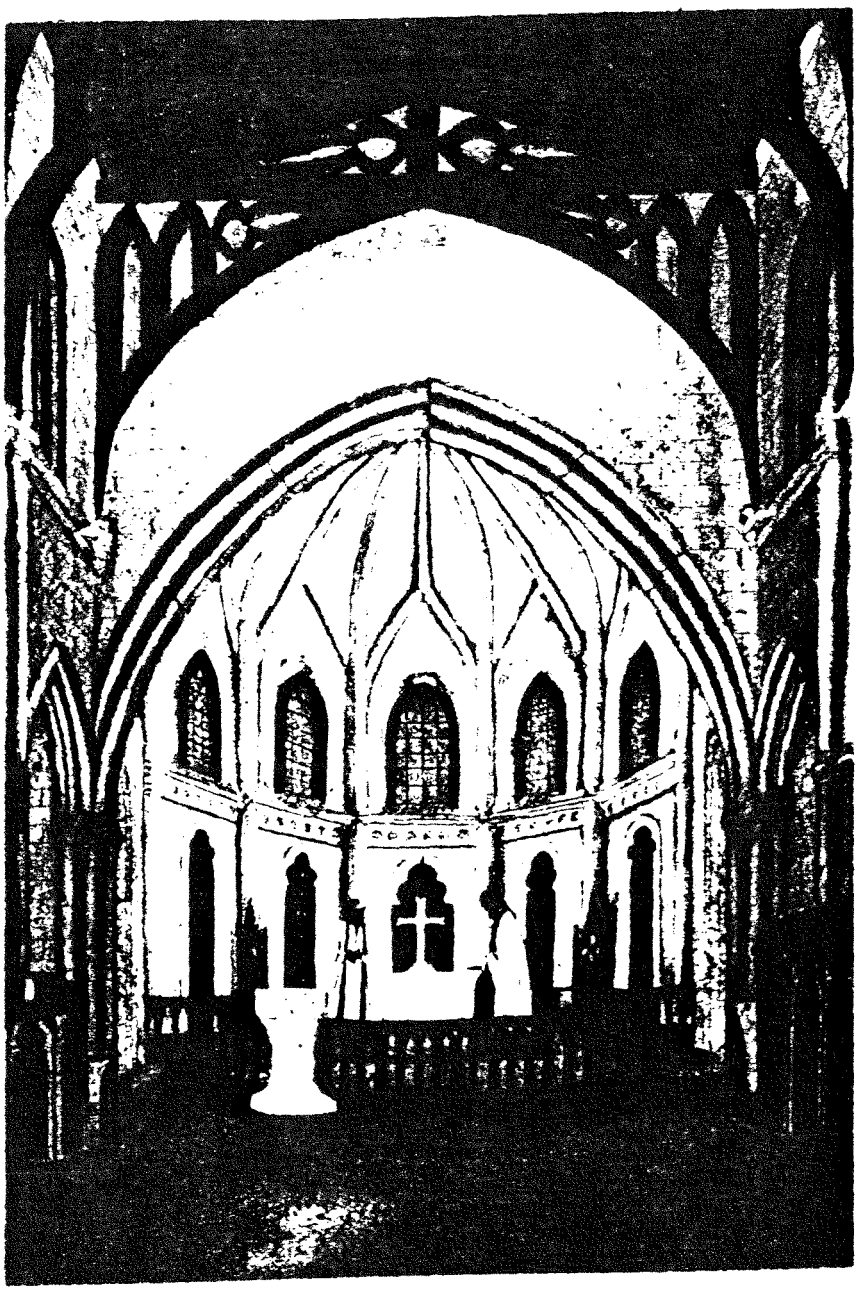
50. Grace Episcopal Church, Charleston, S.C. Interior, nave looking towards chancel.



51. Grace Episcopal Church, Charleston, S.C. Interior, reredos.

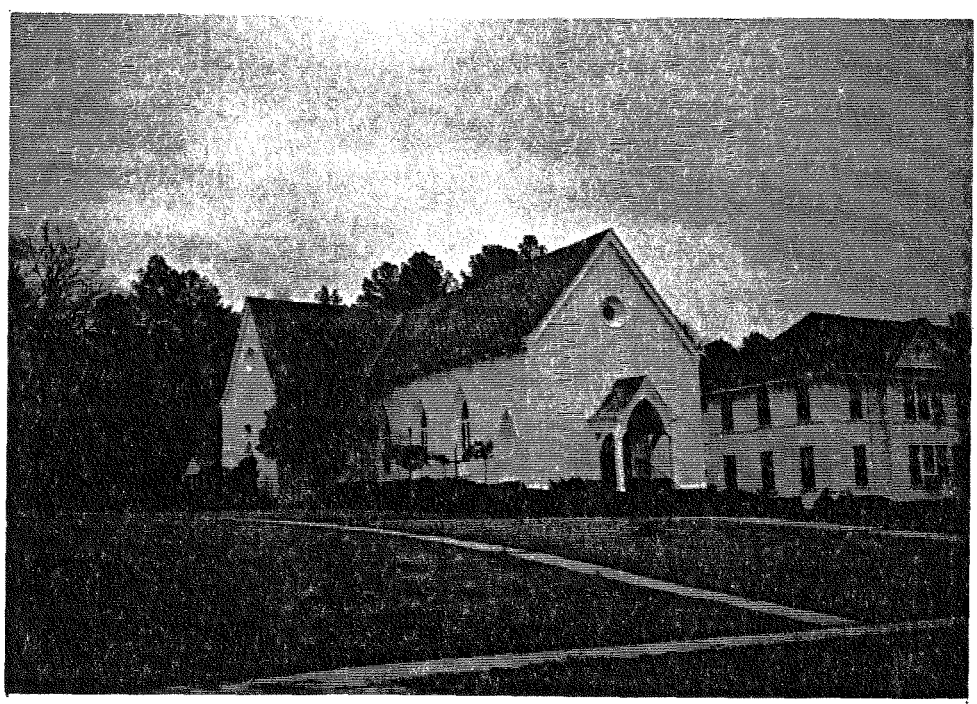


52. Grace Episcopal Church, Charleston, S.C. Interior, boss on vaulting.



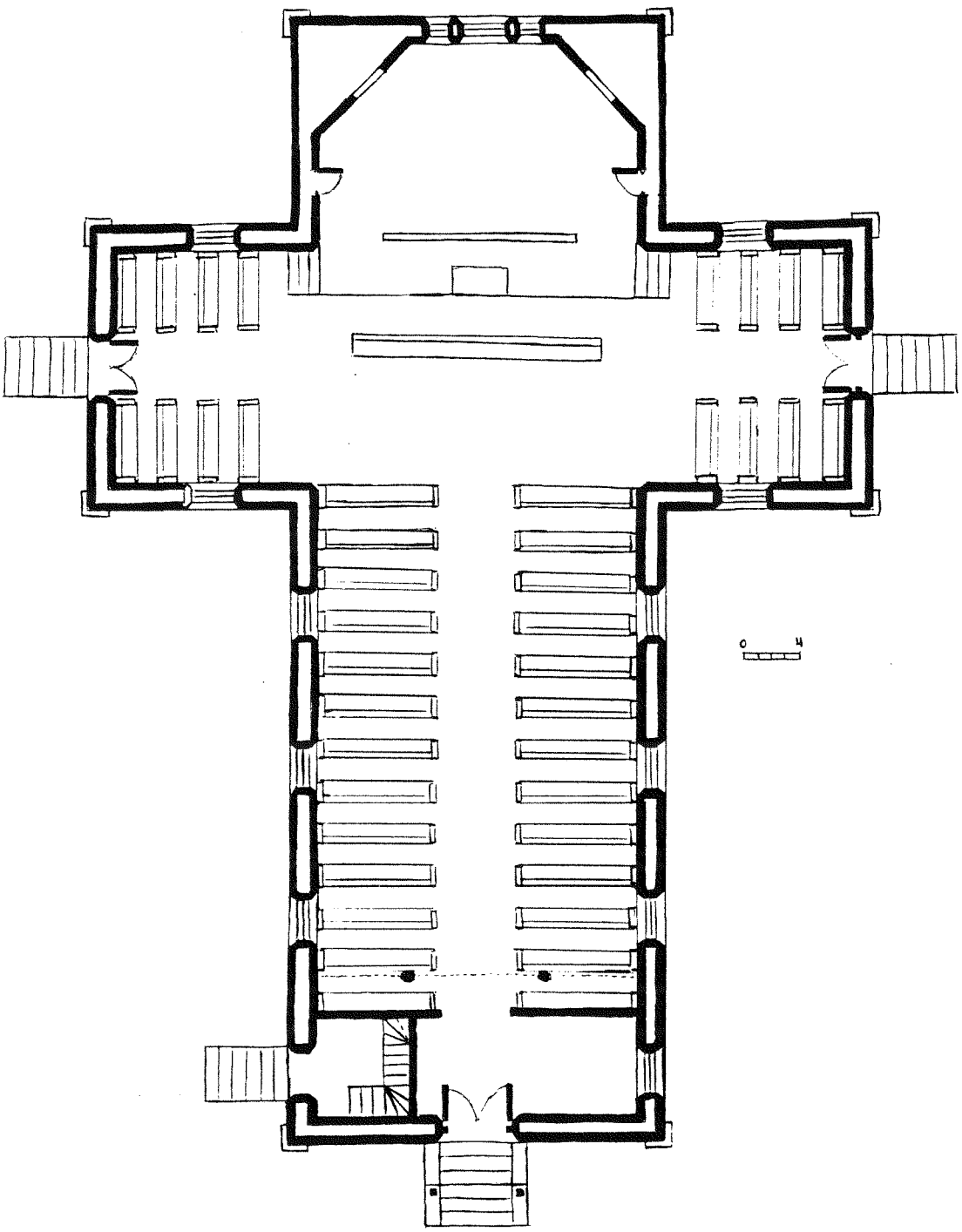
53. Trinity Episcopal Church, Columbia, S.C. Interior view of the church chancel at the time of the first building phase, from an old drawing by Matilda Leverett.

54. Map of South Carolina.

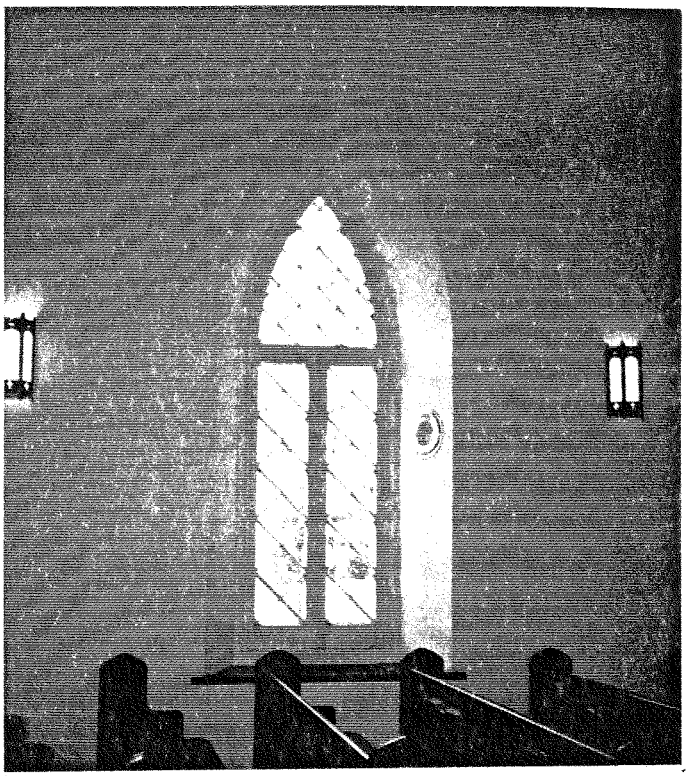


55. St. John United Methodist Church, Graniteville, S.C. 1848. Edward Brickell White. Exterior of front and left side.

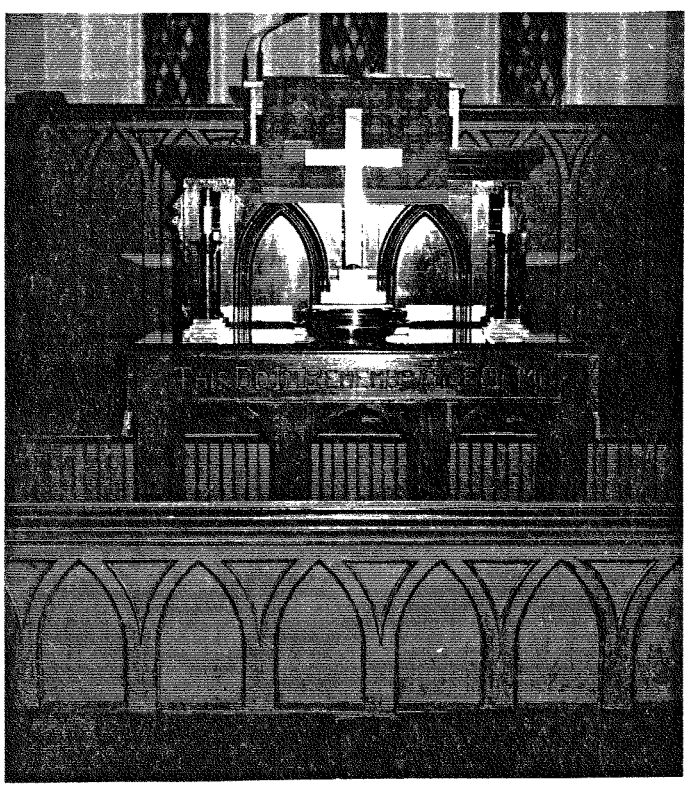
56. St. Paul's Church, Brunswick, ME. 1845. Richard Upjohn.



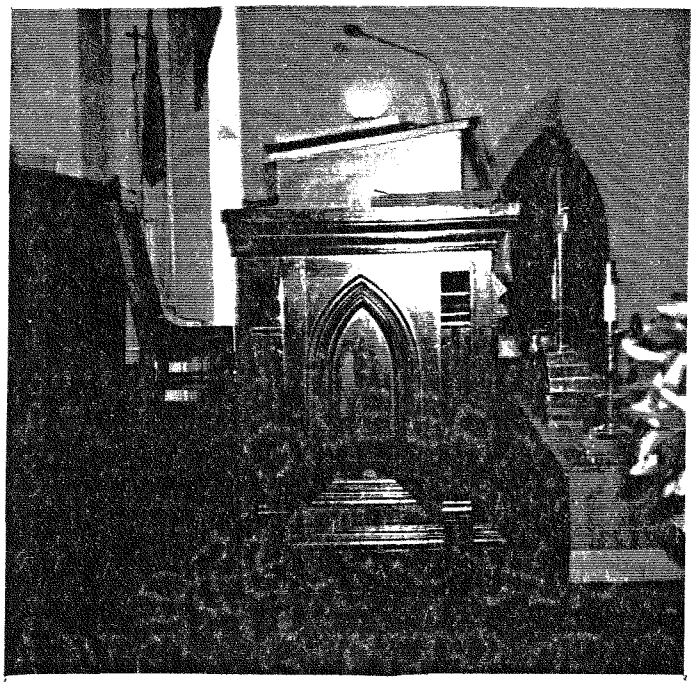
57. St. John United Methodist Church, Graniteville, S.C. Conjectural plan, c. 1848.



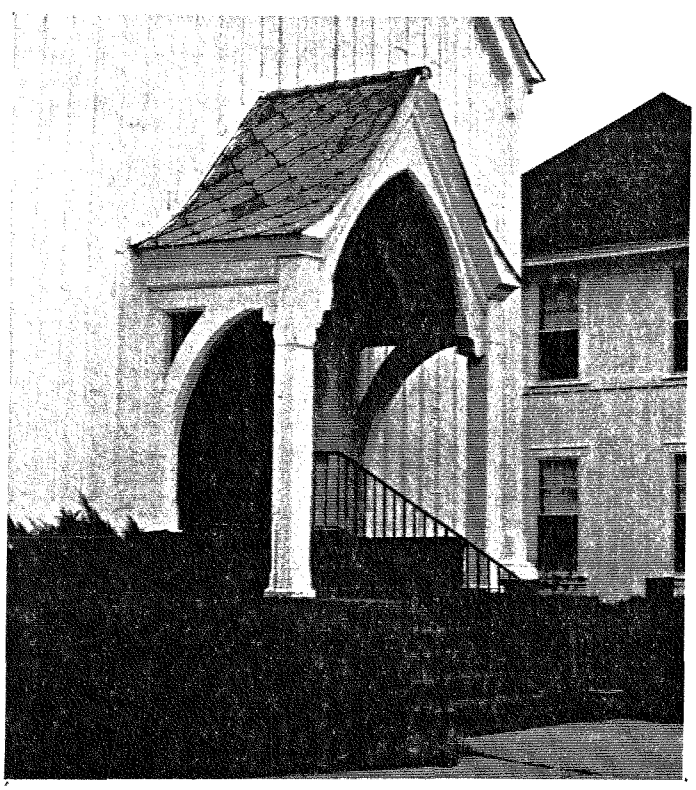
58. St. John United Methodist Church, Graniteville, S.C. Interior, nave window.



59. St. John United Methodist Church, Graniteville, S.C. Interior, communion rail.

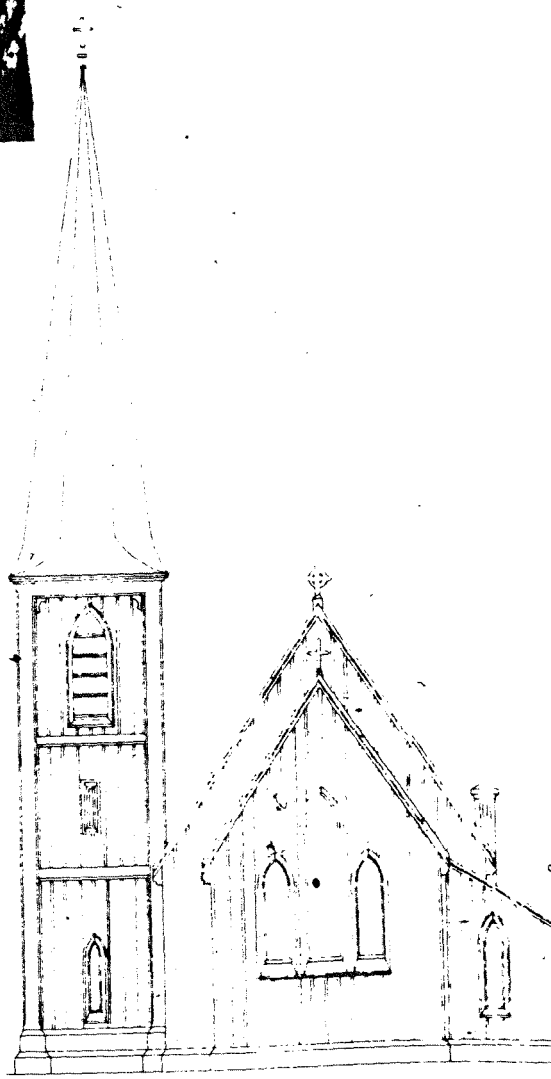


60. St. John United Methodist Church, Graniteville, S.C. Interior, pulpit.

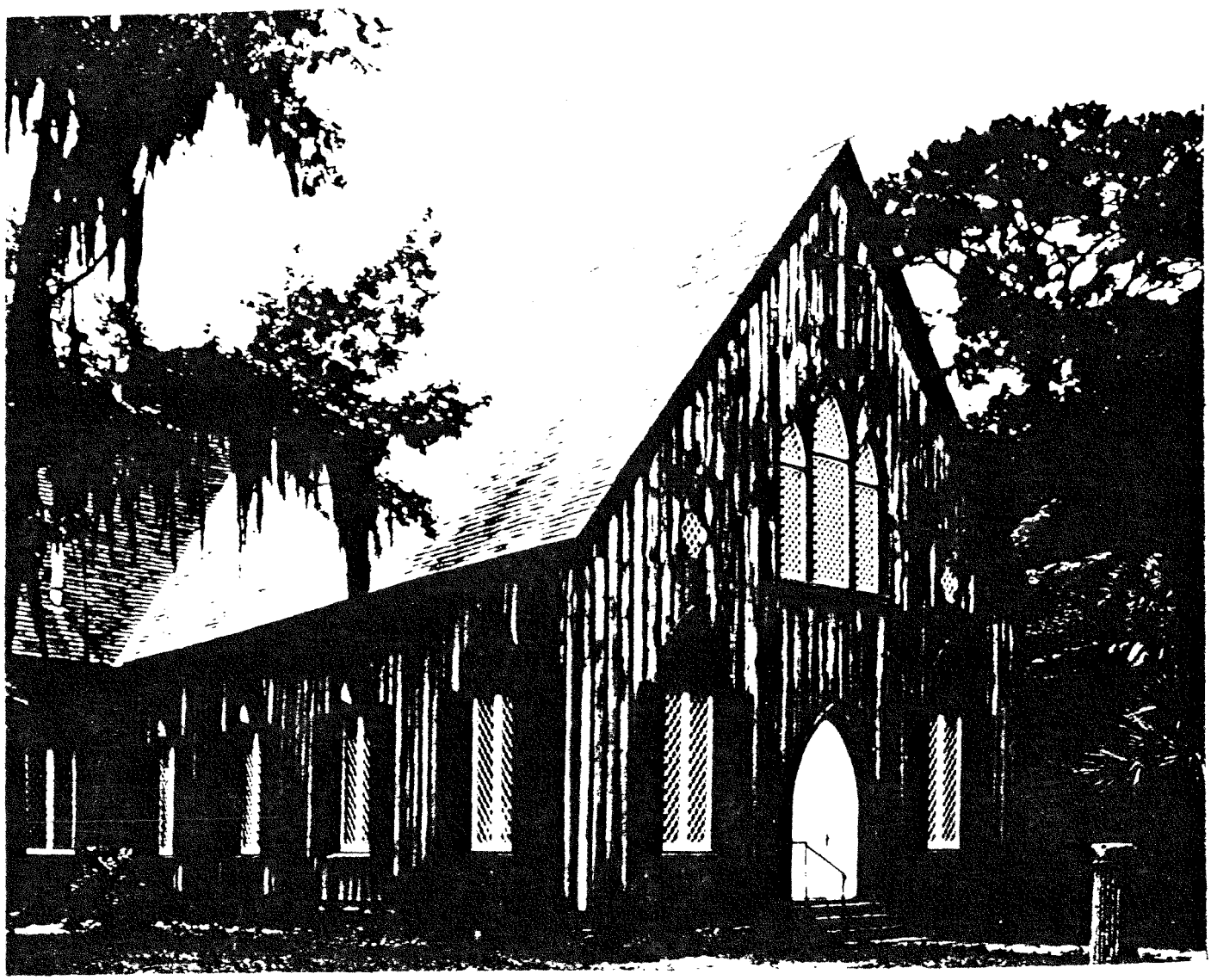


61. St. John United Methodist Church, Graniteville, S.C. Exterior, front stoop.

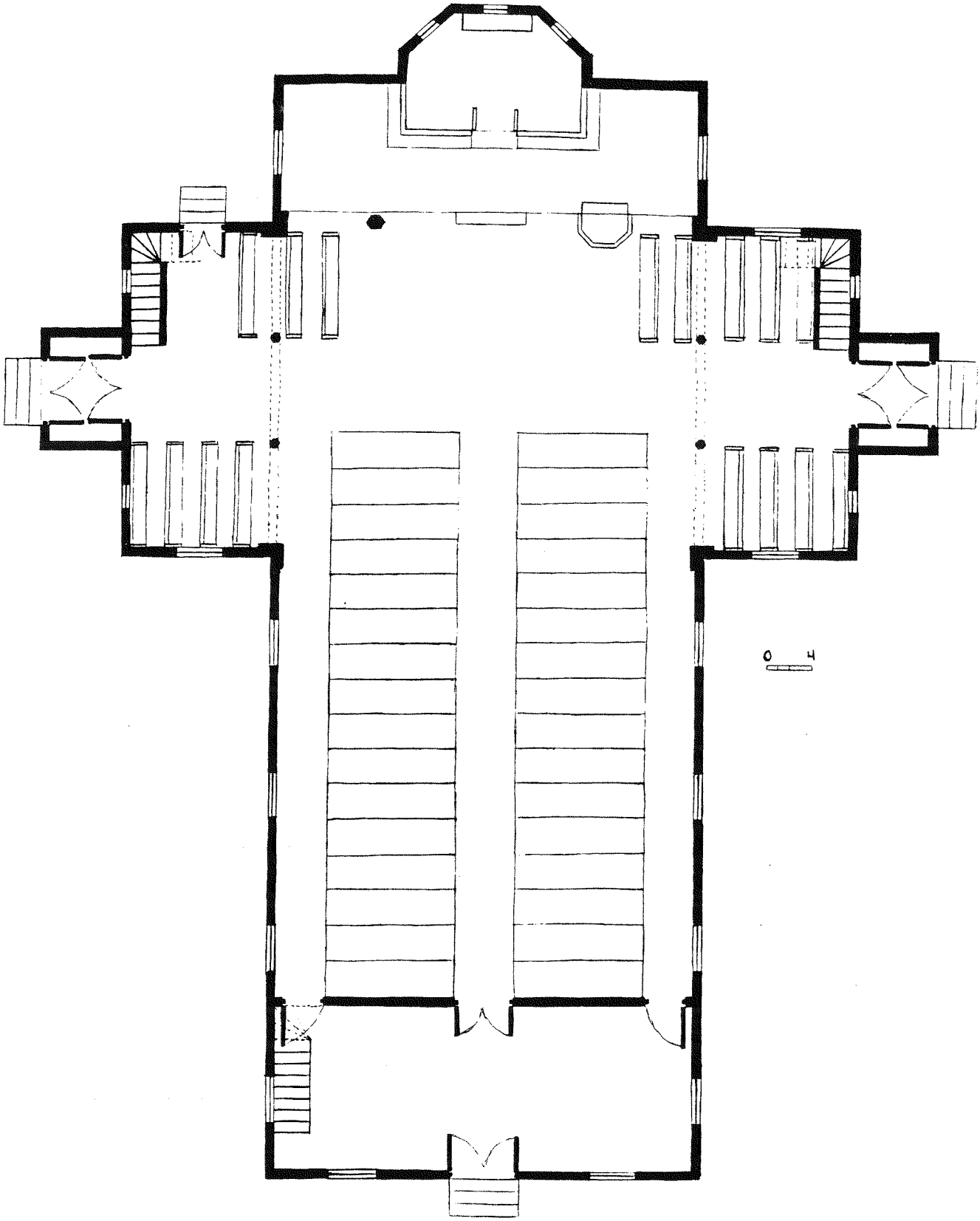
62. Christ Episcopal Church, Charleston, S.C. 1854. Edward Brickell White. Exterior, front facade.



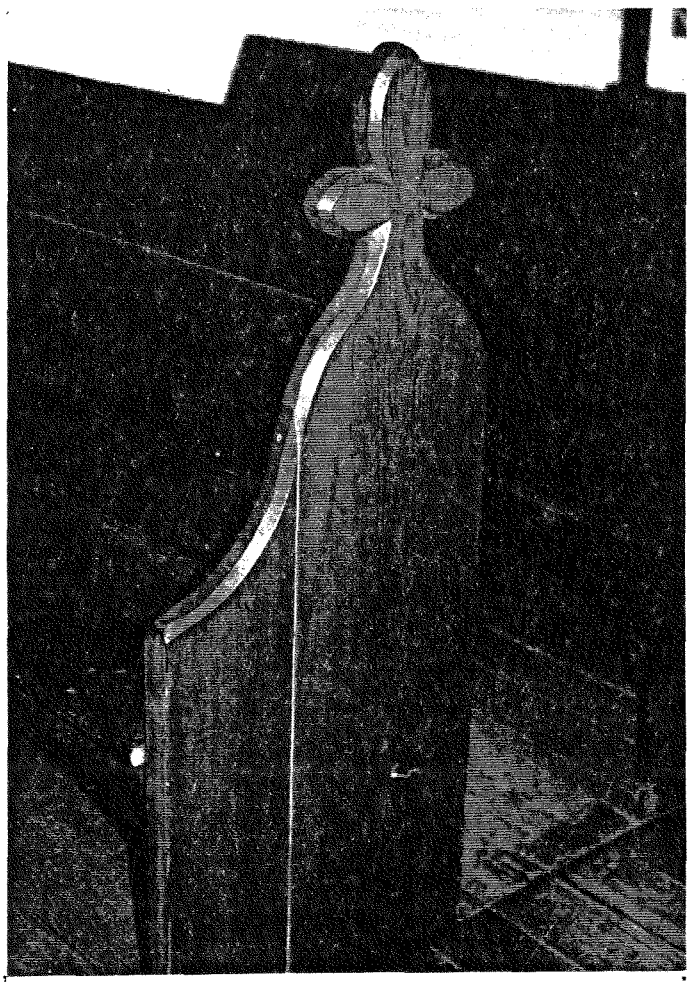
63. "Wooden Church. East Elevation." Taken from: Richard Upjohn Plate 3.



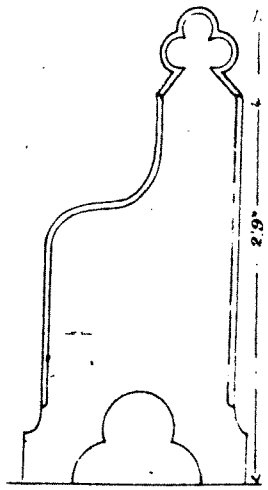
64. Church of the Cross, Bluffton, S.C. 1857. Edward Brickell White.



65. Church of the Cross, Bluffton, S.C. Conjectural plan, c. 1857.

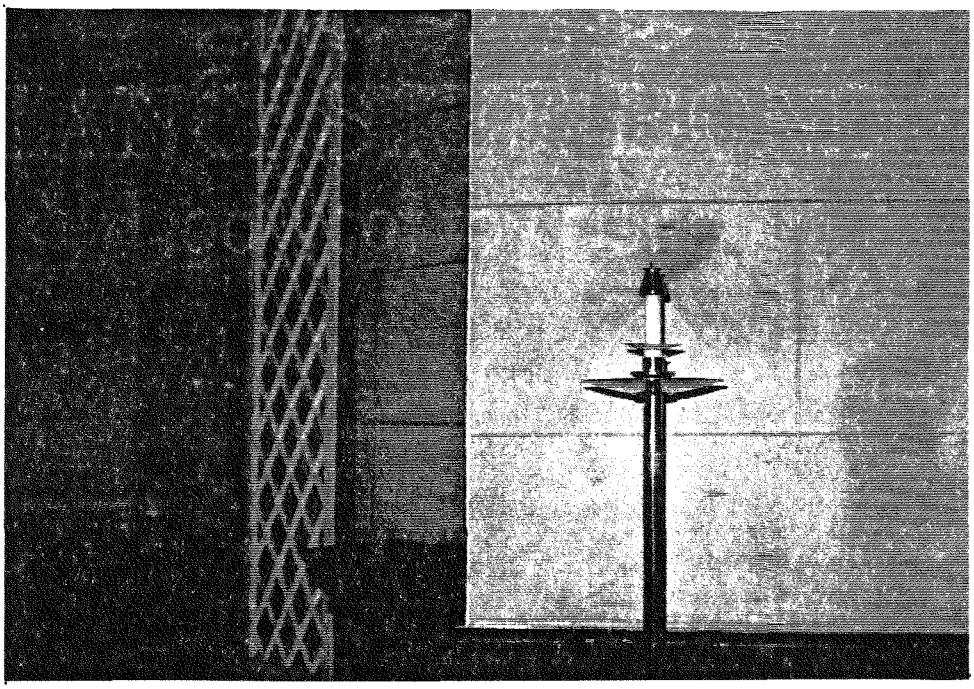


66. Church of the Cross, Bluffton, S.C. Interior, original transept pew.

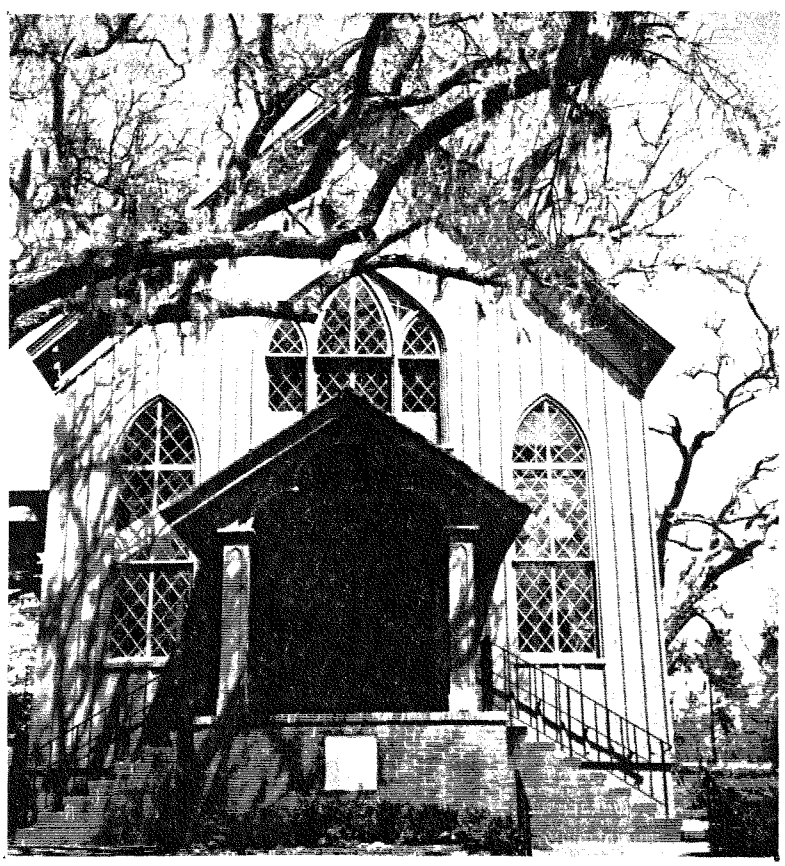


67. "Church Furniture. Pews. End." Taken from: Richard Upjohn Plate 9.

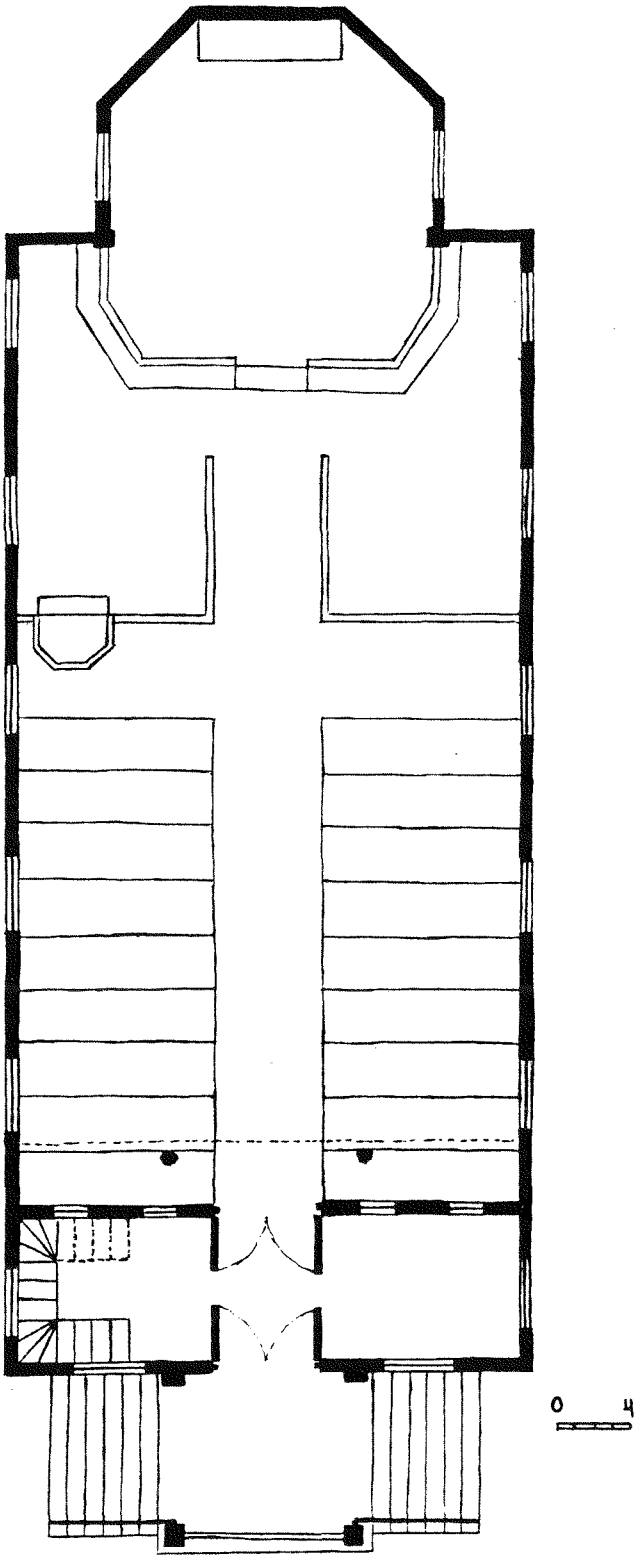
68. "Perspective View of Schoolhouse." Taken from: Richard Upjohn Plate between Plates 15 and 16.



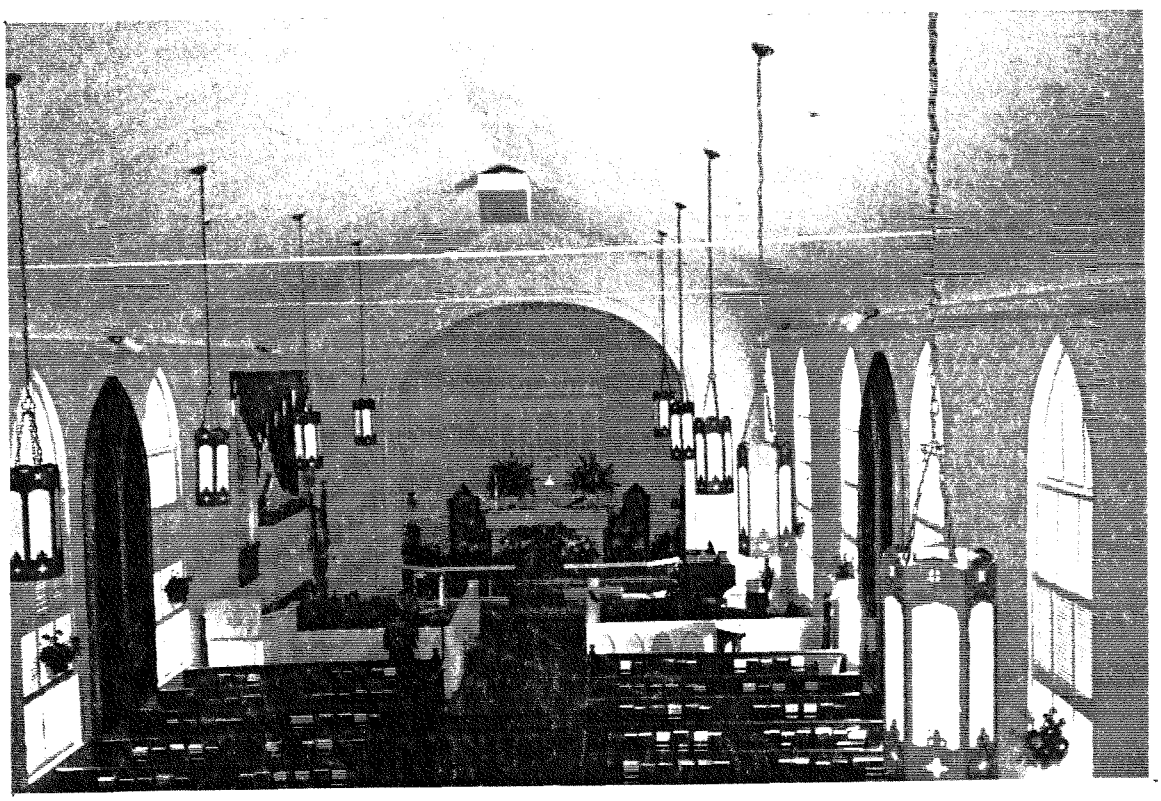
69. Church of the Cross, Bluffton, S.C. Interior, wall with scoring to imitate stone.



70. St. Andrew's Episcopal Church, Mt. Pleasant, S.C. 1857-1858. Edward Brickell White. Exterior.



71. St. Andrew's Episcopal Church, Mt. Pleasant, S.C. Conjectural plan, c.1858.



72. St. Andrew's Episcopal Church, Mt. Pleasant, S.C. Interior, view towards chancel.