NINETEENTH-CENTURY ANGLICAN ARCHITECTURE IN VIRGINIA

GOTHIC CHURCHES IN AN EVANGELICAL DIOCESE

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Introduction

In July, 1855, the Rt. Rev. William Meade (1789-1862) rode up "the hill" in Alexandria to Virginia Theological Seminary.[1] It was an important day for the bishop. In the previous two-and-one-half decades of his episcopacy, Meade had overseen remarkable growth in the Diocese of Virginia. The Seminary was beginning to play an important role in forming clergymen for the bishop's churches as well as reinforcing the uniquely evangelical quality of the diocese within the Episcopal Church. Early in the bishop's tenure, the seminary had been given a grant of land outside of the city of Alexandria and an opportunity to move out of its inadequate facilities in town. The bishop's 1855 visitation had the purpose of consecrating a new chapel in the cluster of buildings Virginia Episcopalians had built to replace the make-shift academic campus once held at nearby St. Paul's Church.

Benefactors sought to construct a seminary worthy of its purpose, and great expense was taken to construct the decorated, Italianate buildings which formed central campus of the seminary. In the small chapel, appropriate for the daily worship of the seminarians and their professors, the architect prescribed a series of "modest, trefoil or poppy-head" finials to adorn the ends of the pews, no doubt an homage to the similar finials that adorn the choir pews of many cathedrals and parish churches in England. As he entered the building, Bishop Meade, however, did not see these trefoils as a welcome decorative reference to the architecture of the

[1]Diocese of Virginia, *Journal of the Sixty-first Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Virginia* (Richmond: Whig Book and Job Office, 1856), pg. 22-23
Though it is unnoted in Smith or Allen, the Journal of the 61st Annual Convention of the Diocese of Virginia, held in May 1856, seems to indicate that it was during Meade's examination of Seniors at Virginia Theological Seminary and the neighboring Episcopal High School that the consecration took place. In his report, Meade notes additional "religious services connected with" graduation at VTS and how "the Chapel has been enlarged to twice its former size, and much improved in its appearance, at a cost of four thousand dollars raised for this special purpose."

denomination's Mother Church, but as foliated crosses -- crosses he viewed as utterly inappropriate to Protestant architecture. That a Protestant church would have figural representations of the cross even as unassuming elements of pew design, was, to him, an idolatrous incursion into a worship space otherwise devoid of such images. The Bishop refused to consecrate the chapel until they were removed and, in the words of one seminarian, "every poppy-head was laid low before the opening service."[2] The iconoclastic Bishop's attempt to remove the symbol from the new chapel backfired, however, as seminarians retrieved the trefoils and took them to their rooms, apparently as objects of devotion.[3]

This episode demonstrates the remarkable architectural history of Virginia's churches, and the churches of the country more broadly. The mid-nineteenth century marked the beginning of a radical transformation of Protestant architecture in America, from austere and undecorated to the use of crosses, stained glass and gothic elements common today. William Meade, in his role as Bishop of Virginia, attempted to hold back the tide of aesthetic, architectural, and liturgical innovation. In just a few decades, the architecture of the dominant Protestant denominations in the Commonwealth, among them The Episcopal Church, went from eschewing statuary or any figural representation of the crucifixion to infusing the cross-topped steeple into the religious landscape and imagination of the state.[4] Thus, the "National" Cathedral Church of Sts. Peter and Paul, a nostalgic and highly ornamented invocation of an English cathedral, sits atop a hill mere miles from Virginia Theological Seminary and its contested chapel. The story

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[2] Ryan Smith, *Gothic Arches, Latin Crosses: Anti-Catholicism and American Chruch Designs in the Nineteenth Century*. (The University of North Carolina Press, 2006), pg.53

[3] Alexander Allen, *Phillip Brooks: 1835-1893: Memories of His Life with Extracts from his Letters and Note-Books* (Dutton, 1907), pg. 46

[4] The contemporary ecclesiastical structure I am referencing is more commonly known today "The Episcopal Church," but was formerly called "The Protestant Episcopal Church" and retains this as an official name. In this work, "The Episcopal Church" will stand in for both these names.

that created this remarkable juxtaposition of two Episcopal architectural projects with such extremely divergent conceptualizations of sacred space is a complex tale of shifting theological convictions and aesthetic predilections competing within broader ideological shifts. In many ways, the story of Bishop Meade's consecration of Virginia Theological Seminary's chapel encapsulates the complexity which this thesis seeks to unravel. While previous histories of the Diocese of Virginia have highlighted the evangelical, Low Church nature of the Diocese up to and through the 20th century, I seek to advance a more nuanced narrative of Episcopal history in Virginia, offering critical correctives to overly-simplified and contextually-limited histories by utilizing a variety of architectural and theoretical resources. By prioritizing architecture as a major historical source, I hope to augment and, in some ways, subvert previous historical narratives which have over-emphasized the opinions, proclamations, and polemics of Virginia's bishops and discover the role of parochial clergy and lay leadership during this transitional period. More crucially, I hope to prove that while the elite discourses from, among, and about high-level clergymen might suggest otherwise, the architecture and (inextricably) the worship practices of local congregations suggest a major shift in Episcopal piety in Virginia throughout the 19th century.

Problems of Interpretation

Historians and scholars of religion face a monumental challenge in the interpretation of sacred space. A brief survey of scholarly texts about religious architecture reveals a vast array of interpretive modes, and it is appropriate here to offer an examination of various lenses as a precursor to my own interpretative work.

Lindsay Jones's two-volume *The Hermeneutics of Sacred Architecture: Experience, Interpretation, Comparison* offers perhaps the most comprehensive interpretive paradigm of sacred space available. Volume II provides three major categories of "ritual-architectural priorities": orientation, commemoration, and ritual context. These major categories are further divided into specific subcategories. Orientation includes *homology*, *convention* and *astronomy*, while commemoration is divided into *divinity, sacred history, politics* and *the dead*. *Theatre, contemplation, propitiation* and *sanctuary* form the category of ritual context.

Jones understands sacred architecture not as static monuments of unified message but rather as shifting subjects of individual interpretation and ritual use. "The study of architecture," he writes, "must be constituted (or problematized) in terms of ritual-architectural *occasions* rather than architectural objects."[5] Architectural and liturgical function are inextricable, constitutive elements of an interpretive occasion. For Jones, the critical role architecture plays in the formation of ritual demands the coinage of the term "ritual-architectural" to describe cultic events.[6] This term appropriately highlights the complex interplay between liturgy and build environment in the creation of worshiping experience. As I will later argue, a major architectural shift within a tradition is itself constitutive of a ritual-theological shift, even if the words of the liturgy themselves have not changed. Architecture is an effective agent in the experience of worship, and interacts constructively with liturgical elements. The built environment can facilitate the preaching of sermons, accentuate objects of devotion, optimize places of ritual movement, and position the congregation in relation to the power structures of the broader

[5] Lindsay Jones, *The Hermeneutics of Sacred Architecture: Experience, Interpretation; Comparison Vol. II: Hermeneutical Calisthenics: A Morphology of Ritual-Architectural Priorities* (Harvard University Press, 2000), pg. 4, emphasis added
[6] Jones, pg. 28

society. Thus, changing architecture constitutes *eo ipso* a shift in the liturgical practice and experience of the community.

Importantly, Jones's eleven interpretive subcategories or "priorities" are "radically non-mutually exclusive."[7] For Jones, sacred architecture is the locus of a variety of overlapping, complimentary, and sometimes competing, interpretations that vary not only from person to person, but also across time and from ritual to ritual. Considering motivations at the time of a building's construction, Jones writes that

> Even when the design-making process [of religious architecture] is not explicit and self-conscious (which it seldom fully is), the need to give ritual-architectural expression to rarified theological doctrines must somehow … be reconciled with the more prosaic concerns of engineering stresses and loads; fidelity to the canons of tradition and style competes with geographic and climatic conditions; and propagandistic sociopolitical interests must, in some peculiar way, be balanced against the choreographic potentialities of color, light and sound. Moreover, remembering that always-considerable dissonance between initial design intentions and the diversity of concatenate apprehensions and receptions of those designs - receptions that invariably rearrange the original builders' and ritual choreographers' hierarchy of priorities - interpretive complexities are exacerbated even more.[8]

According to Jones, interpretation, in addition to being multivalent and complex, is not the exclusive domain of the cleric, theologian or architect. Hermeneutical modes must not be

[7] Jones, pg. 7
[8] Jones, pg. 11

evaluated only in light of the "architect-thinkers" and theologians, but also by the lived experienced of non-professional ritual participants.[9]

As his detailed ordering of interpretive priorities suggests, Jones's hermeneutical approach provides the framework for a wide variety of building motivations, ritual uses, and spatial experiences. As is clearly evident in the immense geographic and temporal spans between his many examples, Jones's hermeneutical work can be applied to a wide variety of cultural situations and theological contexts. The depth of his analysis and its expansive applicability warrants his wide usage in this thesis.

Richard Kieckhefer, whose conceptualization parallels much of Jones but is less concerned with sociopolitical dimensions, offers a tripartite paradigm for understanding religious architecture within the Christian faith. Christian buildings, he writes, follow one of three "traditions:" the "sacramental church," the "evangelical church" and that "modern communal church." Offering Rome's Santa Maria Maggiore as paradigmatic of the sacramental tradition, Kieckhefer describes this genre of Christian architecture as being essentially longitudinal, with a centralizing focal point "meant to evoke the immanence of God and the possibility among worshipers for transcendence of ordinary consciousness."[10]

Classic evangelical churches, by contrast, eschew ornament and the awe-inspiring proportionality of sacramental churches to prioritize the auditory reception of God's Word through the reading of scripture and the interpretive homily of the minister. Including a print of the interior of a puritan chapel in Suffolk, Kieckhefer frames these "often relatively small"

[9] Jones, pg. 64

[10] Richard Kieckhefer, *Theology in Stone: Church Architecture from Byzantium to Berkley* (Oxford University Press, 2004), pg.11

buildings as essentially an "auditorium," built for the edification of the congregation through the spoken word.[11]

The modern communal church emphasizes not the spoken word or a specific contemplative subject, but the gathering of people itself. A response to theological shifts after the Second World War and Second Vatican Council, these buildings seek to create "a sense of group identity" in which "the assembly itself may thus become the main focus of attention."[12]

Kieckhefer's models, if limited in comparison to Jones's paradigm, is useful in its centralization of the experience of the congregant as the primary locus of meaning making and theological formation, whether the participant is primarily construed as witness of sacred performance in the sacramental model; as auditor of the divine Word in the evangelical model; or as constitutive member of holy congregation in the communal model. Kieckhefer's disinterest in the hermeneutical priorities of "architect-thinkers" and clergymen during the construction of sacred space is, at the risk of being reductive, useful to my project in its single-minded focus on the reception of such spaces.

Both Kieckhefer's and Jones's hermeneutics are limited in two distinct ways. The first is in material agency. Though Jones gestures at the idea in an aforementioned quotation, the agency of material and building technology in limiting, enabling or inspiring architectural forms is largely absent in his work. Indeed, the material properties of brick and wood in the construction

[11] Kieckhefer, pg. 11-12

[12] Kieckhefer, pg. 12 I agree with Kieckhefer that his category, however intriguing, postdates the temporal scope of this project and thus will not require further explication.

project I consider below may play as large a part in dictating, for example, the fenestration of colonial parish churches as any aesthetic, theological, or socio-political concern.[13]

Secondly, neither scholar appropriately highlights the subjective, emotive experience invoked by a sacred space of its own agency outside of ritual context. Jones writes that "from a medieval Christian view, the gothic cathedral was 'truly the house of God' which … was conceived as no less than the earthly embodiment of the heavenly Jerusalem."[14] Jones is correct to note that elite theologians and clerics conceptualized the art they patronized as representing, even embodying, the heavenly Jerusalem. But -- as is especially imminent for the layman who interacted with such a building -- cathedrals were also built to *feel* like the heavenly Jerusalem. Stephen Hall notes that, while a film or photograph might provide a visual representation of a cathedral,

> only the actual building allows the eye to roam freely among inventive details; only the architecture itself offers the tactile sensations of textured stone surfaces and polished wooden pews, the experience of light changing with movement, the smell and resonant sounds of space, and the bodily relations of scale and proportion. All these experiences

[13] In one notable case, historian Gretchen Buggeln remembers that Harry Crosswell, Rectory of Trinity Episcopal Church in New Haven, CT wrote that, after 1815 "the long round-topped windows, and the corresponding forms of doors, vestibules, and entrances, were then held in great aversion by the descendants of the puritans, and was always pointed out, and sneered at, as peculiar to prelatical houses of worship." Crosswell may not have known, and Buggeln does not note, that the proclivity of Congregationalist churches to build with rectilinear windows likely had everything to do with the fact that these meetinghouses were built of timber. At the same time, many Episcopalians like Crosswell built churches of brick or stone that, in a time before reinforced concrete lintels, demanded the use of arches to span significant window space. It seems that, in this case, proclivity for certain architectural forms from one denomination to another was, in fact, a secondary effect of preferences for the use of specific building materials.

[14] Jones, pg. 100, 228

> combine within one complex experience, which becomes articulate and specific, though wordless. The building speaks through the silence of perceptual phenomena.[15]

This phenomenological perspective as Molnar and Vodvarka note, which is "largely concerned with the world as immediately experienced through our senses… [and] seeks not to explain the world objectively but describe the manner in which the world makes itself evident to awareness through direct, sensorial experience," is both the initial and primary mode in which a practitioner experiences a sacred space. [16] The laborer entering a prototypical parish church in 18th century colonial Virginia, or a merchant entering a neo-gothic construction a century later, may not be aware of the symbolic and theological motivations of the architect, nor have acknowledged the hierarchical socio-political demonstration they are about to witness, but they will have a distinct physiological reaction to the space. The ability of these buildings to create *feeling* in members of the congregation, even before the inception of ritual activity, is a crucial dimension of architecturally designed experience.

The work of phenomenologists such as Joy Monice Malnar and Frank Vodvarka is a crucial addition to the conceptualizations of sacred space offered by Jones and Kieckhefer. Malnar and Vodvarka, disinterested in the history of ritual act, describe a cohesive conceptualization of a building to include the space mechanically (as it is), visually (as it appears), and bodily (as it feels).[17] Though the inclusion of such subjective elements as the skin's sensitivity to heat, the eye's physiological response to light, or the body's unthinking reaction to space and proportion, will make an objectivity-minded scholar of religion wince, these factors

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[15] Stephen Hall, *Questions of Perception: Phenomenology of Architecture*, (a+u, 1994), pg. 41. Quoted in Joy Monice Malnar and Frank Vodcarka, *Sensory Design* (University of Minnesota Press, 2004) pg. 25
[16] Malnar & Vodvarka, pg. 24, citing David Abram, *The Spell of the Sensuous*, (Vintage, 1997), pg. 35
[17] Malnar & Vodvarka, pg. 41

are primary agents in the formulation of the experience of space.[18] Sacred space is the locus of both phenomenological experience and socio-political proposition.[19] The recognition of theological, liturgical and phenomenological elements as preeminent architectural motivators thus form the *sine qua non* of any robust study of religious buildings.

Liturgy, Theology and Architecture

This thesis takes as its founding presupposition the conviction that architecture is inherently ideological in nature, and particularly so in the case of public and religious edifices. As Jones's work so compellingly demonstrates, ecclesiastical buildings embody, and seek to impress upon their visitors, a series of conceptual postulations. This thesis seeks to offer a detailed conceptualization of Anglican churches built in Virginia not merely as aesthetic endeavors but also as pedagogical buildings in that, understood from ritual and phenomenological perspectives, formed their clergy and parishioners. It also maintains that congregants impressed upon these buildings their own meanings and conceptual frameworks.

Peter Hammond, writing in England in the years immediately after Second World War, sought to convey the interplay between theology, liturgy, and architecture to those designing and building churches that would meet the needs of England's growing suburban population and replace the structures destroyed in the war. He wrote that "the function of a Christian church is essentially liturgical. The whole structure, no less than the altar, the font or the chalice, is an

[18] Jeanne Kilde, for example, while noting that the "aesthetic interpretation of the powerful attraction of the Gothic Revival carries a great deal of merit" chooses to prioritize the archives over the architecture and highlight "crucial political and economic factors." Jeanne Kilde, *When Church Became Theatre: The Transformation of Evangelical Architecture and Worship in Nineteenth-Century America* (Oxford University Press, 2002) pg. 89

[19] Jones, pg. 131

instrument of worship." A church, he claimed, would take on a symbolic function in relation to the worshiping practices of the gathered community.[20] What made Hammond's work important is how well he articulated the nature of the relationship in the Anglican tradition between corporate liturgical worship and the teachings and theology of the church. The experience of worship, as shaped by the Book of Common Prayer, including its symbolic dimensions, is both informed by theological convictions *and* theologically formative for worshippers.

This connection between liturgy and theology is well understood within the intellectual tradition of Anglicanism, which takes seriously the maxim *lex orandi, lex credendi*. As John Webster notes, "the 'prayer' which shapes belief is not natural, spontaneous utterance. It is, rather, a highly organized body of language, selected by authorized members of the community and surrounded by complex rules concerning its usage."[21] Liturgical experience, including spoken and sung words as well as meanings conveyed symbolically, are principal vehicles of theological formation within Anglicanism. It may be tempting to understand the liturgy as competing with the sermon in this regard, but even the most committed Episcopalian evangelicals recognized the crucial role played by liturgy. The legendary Revolution-era parson and evangelical Devereaux Jarrett, for example, made an effort to improve lay liturgical participation, and "attached great importance to the Lord's Supper."[22] Bishop Meade himself is

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[20] Peter Hammond, *Liturgy and Architecture* (Barrie and Rockliff, 1960) pg. 29

[21] Christopher Webster, *'Temples…worthy of His presence:' the early publications of the Cambridge Camden Society* (Spire Books Ltd. 2003), pg.569

[22]George E. DeMille, *The Catholic Movement in the American Episcopal Church* (Church Historical Society, 1950), pg. 30, citing E. Clowes Chorley, *Men and Movements*, (Scribner, 1948), pg. 23. Jarratt, who DeMille calls "the founder of Evangelicalism in Virginia" was also a firm believer in apostolic succession, one of the most dearly held tenets of the Oxford Movement. (DeMille, pg. 16) Jarratt likely prized his ordination at the hands of a bishop as a polemical tool against fellow Protestants who practiced presbyterian ordination. He attacked Methodists as "self-created priests," arguing that the break from episcopal ordination and apostolic succession meant the Methodists had "embraced a new faith."

said to have bribed the children of his parish of Christ Church, Alexandria, to say the responses of the congregational liturgy, thus encouraging their parents (who had grown accustomed to listening quietly to the parts being said between parson and lay clerk in turn) to do the same.[23] Indeed, for the majority of the laity, for whom the reading of academic theology is not a significant endeavor, the rituals of the Book of Common Prayer -- both in major congregational settings and as part of domestic, family devotions -- form the most frequent and most significant modes of theological formation.

Given the role of liturgical practice in both expressing and teaching theology, it is important to underscore the highly charged and political nature of the Tractarian controversy of the nineteenth century.[24] In 1833, a group of English clergy and academics, including John Henry Newman (1801-1890) and Edward Bouverie Pusey (1800-1882), began to publish a series of theological pamphlets entitled *Tracts for our Times*. These members of what would come to be known as the "Oxford Movement" understood Anglicanism to be one of three "branches" of the historic church, along with Eastern Orthodoxy and Roman Catholicism. Eschewing much of the theology and liturgical practices in continental Protestantism, these English theologians

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Jarratt wrote, "I dearly love the Church. I love her on many accounts- particularly for the three following: I love her because her mode of worship is so beautiful and decent…I love her because of the soundness of her doctrines, creeds, articles, etc. I love her because all her officers, and the modes of ordaining them are, if I mistake not, truly primitive and apostolic. Bishops, priests and deacons were, in my opinion, distinct orders in the church in her earliest and purest ages. These three particulars, a regular clergy, sound doctrine, and a decent, comprehensive worship, contain the essentials, I think, of a Christian church."

[23] David Holmes "The Decline and Revival of the Church of Virginia" in *Up from Independence: The Episcopal Church in Virginia* (Green Publishers, 1976) pg. 87

[24] Members and allies of the Oxford Movement have been known by many names, including Anglo-Catholics, Newmanites, Puseyites and Tractarians. They are sometimes called High Churchman in opposition to "Low Church" evangelicals. Though some seek to draw clear distinctions between these terms, often attempting to separate High Church liturgical aesthetics from the theology of the Oxford Movement, doing so neglects the historical fact of these issues' intertwined nature. Throughout this thesis I will use "Tractarian" and "High Church" interchangeably as referring to allies of the Oxford movement. "Low Church" and "evangelical" are synonymous terms as well.

advocated a theology of apostolic succession, the creation of Anglican religious orders, more frequent celebrations of the Eucharist, as well as more ornate liturgical expression and service to the poor. Their radical emphasis on catholicity, understanding it in terms of early church doctrine and an eye on consistencies between the Thirty-Nine Articles of Faith and Roman Catholicism, attracted particular attention. The group and their publications drew great criticism from evangelically-minded clerics and leaders throughout the Anglican world for challenging the Church's understanding of itself as Protestant. Some Oxford Movement leaders, finding the Church of England hostile to their views, eventually converted to Roman Catholicism.

The Tractarian controversy was similarly divisive in the United States. Just eighteen years after Bishop Meade demanded the removal of pew trefoils in the chapel of Virginia Theological Seminary, a group of eight evangelical clergy and nineteen lay people, angered by liturgical elements and theology introduced in the Episcopal Church by the Tractarian movement, seceded and founded the Reformed Episcopal Church. The year after the schism, in 1874, the Episcopal Church Congress was founded in response to a need for unity amidst theological and liturgical differences. The creation of such a body to encourage unity within a single denomination is demonstrative of just how contentious liturgical practice, and the theology that attended it, had become. That same year, at the General Convention of The Episcopal Church, a resolution was passed to give bishops and diocesan standing committees the authority to prevent ritual practices considered divergent from Episcopal norms, raising the stakes of the liturgical controversy even higher.

Participants in this great ecclesial drama understood liturgical controversies to be intricately bound up in the Church's denominational and theological identity. High-churchmen, in the eyes of their opponents (Bishop Meade preeminent among them), posed a threat to the

very nature of the Church as Protestant on the grounds of both their theological propositions and their concomitant ritual practice. It is telling that, in response to the 1874 resolution empowering bishops and standing committees to police parochial liturgical practice, high-churchmen went on to propose at nearly every meeting of General Convention well into the twentieth century that the legislative body remove the word "Protestant" from the Church's official name.[25] Some went so far as to suggest "American Catholic Church" as an alternative.[26]

Churches built during this contentious period are polemical buildings, as histories of parishes outside of the Diocese of Virginia clearly demonstrate. [27] In the early 1840s, the vestry of Trinity Church in New York City debated the inclusion of a cross to crown the building's monumental spire. Seeing that the inclusion of what was considered by some an 'outward emblem of Popery' on a Protestant church was unlikely to be approved by the parish's governing board, architect Richard Upjohn (1802-1878) instructed masons to prepare a cross, place it on the spire, and immediately remove the scaffolding. When vestrymen objected, Upjohn pointed out the great expense and delay reassembling the scaffolding would cause; the cross remained. A mid-century writer in the periodical *The Episcopalian* framed the use of crosses, ritualist elements in the liturgy, and other aesthetic considerations, as an infiltration of the Roman Catholic Church, which he claimed had "sent among us secret emissaries…whose mission it is to introduce one Romish novelty after another, until the congregations in which they are introduced are gradually but surely drawn into the communion of the Romish Church."[28] Questions of how

[25] Jesse Lee, "The Contentious Conferences of 1924: A Study of the Proceedings of the Anglo-Catholic Priests' Convention and the Thirty-Eighth Episcopal Church Congress" *Anglican and Episcopal History* 89, no.3 (2020) pg. 284-285

[26] The Episcopal Church, *Journal of the Proceedings of the Bishops, Clergy and Laity of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America Assembled in a General Convention 1877*

[27] Smith, pg. 53

[28] Smith, 64-65

Episcopalians worship, the defining feature of church life and self-understanding, were especially fraught throughout the 19th century.

That the intra-denominational battles over liturgy and churchmanship were played out architecturally is likely unsurprising to the religious practitioner, who takes for granted the complex mutual-interplay between theology, liturgy, and architecture. As Jeanne Kilde has noted: "while churches have provided a physical setting for worship practices, they have also inspired, fostered and sustained significant changes in both belief and practice."[29] The symbolic elements through which convictions about God were conveyed, and the architecture in which worship was done, form a crucial and unneglectable element in understanding the history of Virginia Anglicanism.

This project proceeds in two distinct parts. The first section explores Anglican architecture before 1870 as a reflection of ecclesiology, social hierarchy, and liturgical expression. Understanding colonial ecclesiastical architecture as the nexus of a complex social and political system while entering into critical dialogue with the many ecclesiastical historians of this period, this first chapter explores Christ Church, Lancaster County (b. 1735) and Abingdon Parish Church (b. 1750) in Gloucester as exemplary parish churches of the colonial period. Phenomenological and building technology perspectives augment the well-trodden historical ground of these buildings, as does the inclusion of the important material culture work of Lauren Winner.

[29] Jeanne Kilde, *When Church Became Theatre: The Transformation of Evangelical Architecture and Worship in Nineteenth-Century America* (Oxford University Press, 2002), pg.9

The introduction of neoclassical architectural forms in the period following the American revolution and Anglican disestablishment in Virginia is a much less rigorously studied phenomenon. This first section concludes with an unfortunately brief consideration of this post-revolutionary period from 1770-1870. The original construction of Christ Church, Charlottesville (b. 1825) and post-bellum restoration of Abingdon Parish Church, Gloucester, in 1867 serve as case studies for this important ecclesiastical architectural movement.

Part two, the focus of the thesis, explores the rise of neogothic architecture among Episcopal church builders and its adoption in the Diocese of Virginia. Critical to this history is the connection between High Church theology, accusations of "popery," and gothic architecture. Beginning with the Cambridge Camden Society (est. 1839) and the trans-Atlantic Tractarian movement, the second chapter traces the various associations, aspirations, and hermeneutical priorities involved in the adoption of gothic architecture among Anglicans. Grace Church in Keswick (b. 1855) arises as an early instance of the adoption of gothic architecture. Christ Church, Charlottesville's second building (b. 1895), a large stone structure built in an augmented gothic style, serves as the final case study.

This thesis intends to demonstrate that, despite the protestations of evangelical bishops, the piety of Episcopalians in 19th-century Virginia shifted rapidly. The adoption of gothic architecture over colonial and evangelical models represents not only an aesthetic shift, but is also constitutive of a theological change in that the architectural movement from one form to another shifted Virginia Episcopalians' conceptions and practices of worship, and thus their relationship to, and understanding of, the Divine.

Chapter I: Setting the Stage: Colonial and Evangelical Architecture in Virginia

The consecration of Virginia Theological Seminary's chapel and Bishop Meade's objection to its pew finials is remarkable not only for its drama, but also for the vast theological differences between the Bishop of Virginia, the bishops of surrounding dioceses, and clerics and laity within Meade's own theological jurisdiction. Bishop Meade promoted a form of Low Church, austere and word-centered evangelical Protestantism and this, in turn, was taught by the faculty of VTS and expected of Virginia's clergy. Meade and his compatriots understood themselves as fighting a battle against "Popery" and the rising Tractarian movement, which, by the 1850s, had already begun to transform the Anglican Church. The ecclesiastical leadership of surrounding dioceses gave Meade much to fear about the growth of the High Church theology and liturgical practice. In the north, the Rt. Rev. William Whittingham (1805-1879), Bishop of Maryland, seemed more than amicable to Tractarian thinking and, in to the south, the Bishop Meade's relationship with the Diocese of North Carolina and its leadership was "less than cordial" because of these disputes.[30] Bishop Meade, Virginia Theological Seminary, and many congregations of the Diocese of Virginia, appeared as hold outs to an increasingly popular form of liturgical, sacramental, and theological expression within the broader world of Anglicanism.

To understand how Episcopalians in Virginia came to play this role requires a consideration of the unique history of Virginian Anglicanism stretching back to the earliest days of European settlement in North America. The architectural artifacts left behind by colonial and early American Anglicans present enlightening and contrapuntal examples to later case studies.

[30] Edward Bond and Joan Gunderson, "The Episcopal Church in Virginia, 1607-2007" in *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 115, no. 2 (2007) pg. 87

The Colonial Cruciform

Christopher Wren (1632-1723), perhaps the most influential anglophone architect of his day, conceived of his grand churches primarily as preaching halls. Writing of the essential concerns of ecclesiastical architecture, Wren noted that

> in our reformed religion, it should seem vain to make a parish church larger, than that all who are present can both hear and see. The Romanists, indeed, may build larger churches, it is enough if they hear the murmur of the mass, and see the elevation of the host, but ours are to be fitted for auditories.[sic] I can hardly think it practicable to make a single room so spacious, with pews and galleries, as to hold above 2000 persons, and all to hear the service, and both to hear distinctly, and see the preacher.[31]

In Wren's understanding, the ability of the congregation to hear the sermon constitutes the essential difference between worship in the Roman Catholic and the reformed traditions of Christian Europe. Anglican architecture built during the Georgian period reflects a seemingly single-minded concern with auditory capacity over and above visual-aesthetic concerns.

Wren became the Surveyor General of the Royal Works after the Great London Fire of 1666, and redesigned fifty-two of the eighty-seven churches which had once stood in the city. While before the fire, "English Protestant churches tended to be either stripped-down, medieval buildings or, if built new, simple, rectangular structures with flat ceilings, white walls, wooden galleries, bench or box pews, and a combination of pulpit-altar-baptismal font in one central place along one of the walls," Wren took advantage of the conflagration to set a new standard for Anglican architecture.[32] Rejecting the tall, narrow chancels of English "Perpendicular Gothic"

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[31] Kieckhefer, pg. 46

[32] Gretchen Buggeln, *Temples of Grace: The Material Transformation of Connecticut's Churches, 1790-1840* (University Press of New England, 2003) pg. 79

churches in which light was carefully articulated and dispersed through stained glass, Wren created "high, airy, barrel-vaulted plaster ceilings" with classical proportions "and an infusion of light from large, clear windows."[33]

While the earliest Anglican churches in Virginia were necessarily simple and lamentably impermanent, by the mid-eighteenth century, colonial Anglicans began to build large churches of brick, adopting the architectural and liturgical priorities displayed by Wren.[34] Highly symmetrical churches, with restrained classical detail, prominent pulpits, and walled box pews reflected the ritual needs of the church. While these structures thus adopted a style and form popular in England, they also adapted to local material availability, climate, and craftsmanship. Dell Upton notes that

> colonial churches were highly nuanced buildings. When they used the European high style, it was for Virginian purposes. When they drew on tradition, it was by choice. Their design was a process in which many people -- the vestry, the undertaker, the craftsmen, and, occasionally, even the parishioners -- played a role.[35]

The construction of colonial churches brought nodes of civil, economic and ecclesiastical authority together with skilled craftsman well-adapted to local building customs, possibilities and restraints. In a context without strong ecclesiastical leadership (where there was no colonial bishop, and vestries held much greater power over their parson than they did in England) these

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[33] Buggeln, pg. 79

[34] One notable exception to this statement in the late 17th century church known as St. Luke's in Smithfield, VA. A rectangular structure with arched windows, brick mullions, rood screen and a large tower, the church is an interesting replication of the modified Medieval structure Georgian era Anglicans retrofitted in England. Thus the fenestration and internal layout reflected concessions to the medieval fabric of English churches which the colonials quickly realized they did not have to replicate when building their own.

[35] Dell Upton, *Holy Things and Profane: Anglican Parish Churches in Colonial Virginia* (Yale University Press, 1997) pg. 28

buildings reflect both the liturgical and theological convictions of the church and the political and social posturing of the powerful planters who underwrote their construction.

High priority was given to the ability of parishioners to hear the liturgy, while other senses (smell and sight, particularly) were restricted. High walled box pews like those at Christ Church, Lancaster County [fig. 1] helped achieve this goal, as did the cruciform layout adopted by many churches in the period [fig. 2]. In this layout, wide aisles and transepts form a nearly equilateral cross shape. A large pulpit, often with a sounding board above it, sits at one of the corners of the crossing. Comparing this arrangement to longitudinal churches of extended naves and limited transepts, one can see that this colonial arrangement allowed parishioners to be as

Figure 1- Interior of Christ Church, Lancaster County, showing Chancel, Pulpit and High Walled Box Pews

close to the parson – and his sermon – as possible. The layout thus provided for unimpeded auditory reception of prayers and homilies offered from the pulpit.

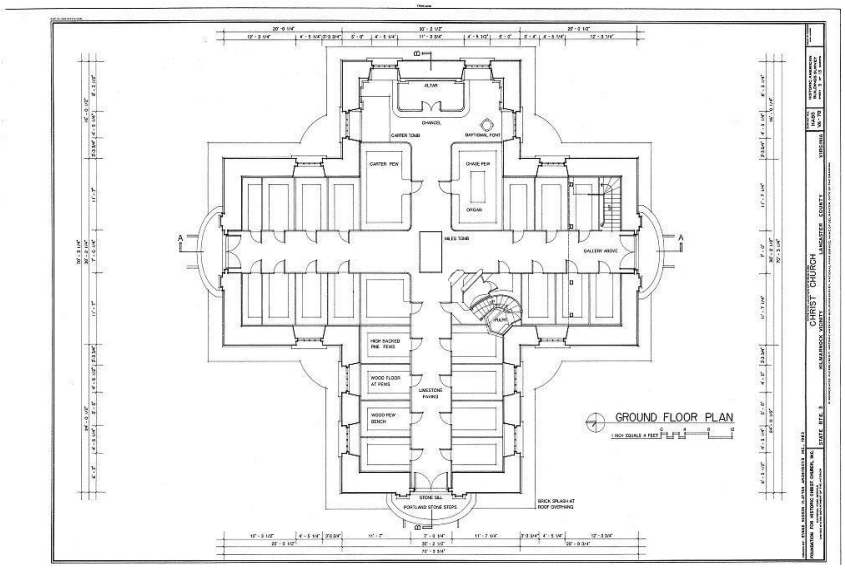

Figure 2- Floorplan of Christ Church, Lancaster County from the Historic American Buildings Survey, 1933

It is also important to note that only major parish churches were built in the cruciform arrangement. Many churches of this era, including the multitude of chapels-of-ease that dotted the countryside, were simple, rectilinear halls in plans. Some also formed a "T" shape, the result of construction and change over time.[36] Alterations and additions to these buildings were frequent, as in the case of St. Mary's, White Chapel, which was built as a hall arranged on an East-West axis in 1669. In 1741, transepts were added to create a cruciform plan, much like that of nearby Christ Church. After falling into disuse and disrepair in the early nineteenth century, the original eastern and western portions of the church were torn down, and the transepts joined to make a hall church perpendicular to the original construction, rotating, in effect, the arrangement of the church.[37]

Despite its floorplan, it is unlikely that any crucifix symbolism was intended by the cruciform layout of colonial churches.[38] The construction of transepts were a familiar architectural element colonial Virginians inherited from English architectural heritage, and while

[36] Upton, pg. 96-97
[37] Upton, pg. 85
[38] Upton, pg. 82

pre-Reformation thinkers understood the cross shape of a church with transepts as a reference to the means of Christ's execution, there is no indication that the arrangement retained the same crucifix connotation in the minds of colonial Virginians. This layout was, instead, a practical concession to the auditory priority of the liturgy and focus on the spoken word.

These cruciform floorplans were, in fact, the only crosses to be seen in the ecclesiastical architecture of iconoclastic seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Anglicans. With very little exception, "crosses and crucifixes were not used between the Reformation and the nineteenth century" and religious imagery was minimal.[39] Figural crosses shown in contemporary images of colonial churches, like fig. 1, are anachronisms. Colonial Anglicans did not employ images of the cross, statues of saints, inscriptions of the *nomen sacrem* or any other sacred figure as decoration or objects of devotion. Depictions of cherubim in ecclesiastical and domestic items form a notable but uncommon exception to this rule.[40]

The Eucharist was celebrated extremely irregularly and in a diminished area, usually in the eastern portion of the church. Though the area was invisible to all parishioners while sitting, and many while standing, in churches with high-walled pews, most of these restrained chancel areas included altarpieces in the form of tablets mounted to the wall. The tablets displayed the written text of common liturgical elements, often the Lord's Prayer, the Nicene Creed and the Decalogue, or Ten Commandments, which was recited before the service of Holy Communion.[41] Thus they served not so much as objects of devotion, reflection or meditation, but rather as

[39] Upton, pg. 118
[40] Upton, pg. 144-145, see also Lauren Winner, *A Cheerful and Comfortable Faith: Anglican Religious Practice in the Elite Households of Eighteenth-Century Virginia* (Yale, 2010) pg. 29-30
[41] See Upton, pg. 121- 131

pedagogical tools to instruct the literate in the prayers and as totems of the common faith, heritage, and teaching of the church.

Christ Church, Lancaster County

Figure 3-Exterior of Christ Church, Lancaster County

Christ Church was built between 1732 and 1735 in a cruciform plan with slightly offset transepts, giving it the appearance of bilateral symmetry. The church is of a monumental size, seventy feet in both length and width.[42] It is made of local clay bricks laid in a Flemish bond, with carved and rubbed bricks forming the detailing around doors and windows [fig.3]. A great deal of the original woodwork is extant [fig. 4]. Of exceptional quality, Christ Church was used as a model for many large parish churches throughout Tidewater Virginia and became somewhat prototypical in defining the taste and tradition of local ecclesiastical architecture. Vestries throughout the period regularly instructed builders to copy specifications, details, and architectural elements from the church.[43]

Christ Church was closely aligned with the local gentry socially, economically, and architecturally. Robert "King" Carter left £200 sterling to the construction of the church in his will, and likely contributed more than that over his lifetime; Dell Upton estimates that Carter contributed about one-third to one-quarter of the cost of the large, expensive and ornate building.[44] Planters and gentry had a social interest in sponsoring the sacred space, as colonial

[42] Upton, pg. 84
[43] Upton, pg. 86
[44] Upton, pg. 15

Figure 4- Triple Decker Pulpit of Christ Church, Lancaster County

churches in Virginia were the loci of communal events and the architecture and liturgical elements inside worked to reify social and hierarchical relationships.

One major way in which the churches of the colonial period accomplished this was in their seating arrangements. Box pews were assigned on the basis of prestige and were prized for their location and size. Large, prominent pews with benches on three sides were held by the wealthiest families of the area for their exclusive use. Smaller pews of two benches facing each other were held by lesser land owners, while single pews facing the pulpit held strangers, visitors and smallholders. The poorest of the parish, including enslaved Black laborers and poor whites, sat on low benches in the aisles of the churches.[45] The seating arrangement of these buildings thus acted to represent and legitimate the hierarchy of colonial Virginia.

While they molded the architecture and construction of the church to buttress their social station, elite planters simultaneously undermined the institution and worship of the church in order to assert their own power in it. Upton reports that at the beginning of a Sunday service in colonial Virginia,

> the parishioners entered the building [when a signal was given] but the elite males hung back until the rest of the parish was in place, sometimes until the commencement of the sermon…When they finally entered as a group, moving along the long axial route from the west door, and possibly using the cross aisle at the chancel door, they caught everyone's attention. Aware of the gaze of their inferiors, they did not acknowledge it.

[45] Upton, pg. 176-177

> Bowing briefly, gravely, almost imperceptibly, to the parson as they passed the desk, they finally made their way to their seats in the chancel, or ascended private stairs to galleries or hanging pews.[46]

Church gatherings were thus an opportunity for planters to theatrically demonstrate a lack of regard for worship, their fellow parishioners, and the parson, thereby demonstrating their own social standing and power over both the clerical authority and lower social classes, even as they found their seats.

High walled pews, as noted, restricted sight and focused attention on the large, triple-decker pulpit from which the priest read a homily. This sermon, "a reasoned discourse explicating a piece of scripture" formed "the centerpiece of Protestant worship" and the elevated, highly decorated pulpits reflected this importance.[47] Colonial parsons alone were authorized to author a sermon, though towards the end of the period some parishes had also acquired collections of sermons, one of which a lay officer called the clerk might read on Sundays when the minister officiated at another church.[48] Pulpits worked to authenticate the preacher as the proper interpreter and conveyor of the Word of God, architecturally reflecting his intellectual and spiritual station over the congregation. [49] Box pews acted ritually to restrict lines of sight to the pulpit and prioritize the spoken word along with their aforementioned social function.

The Eucharist was celebrated only irregularly and, breaking with pre-Reformation tradition, was done so on a wooden table instead of a stone altar. The reformers' rejection of stone altars was driven by a variety of motivations. In the English context, deep chancels

[46] Upton, pg. 205
[47] Kilde, pg. 11
[48] Upton, pg. 141
[49] Kilde, pg. 12

demanded that the altar was moved out towards the people, and wooden tables were much more portable than stone. From a more theological perspective, the reformers understood the Eucharist not as a sacrifice requiring an altar but as a spiritual meal to be recapitulated on a dining table. A moveable table, especially during the Edwardian years of the Reformation, allowed participants to gather around, as they would in a domestic setting, conveying an understanding of the liturgy as a spiritual feast rather than unbloody sacrifice.[50] These tables, like those in wealthy domestic situations, were covered in expensive fabric, often imported and crimson in color, highlighting the connection between plantation households and the church.[51]

The liturgy of the Eucharist took place in a particular, cordoned-off location of the church called the chancel. While pre-Reformation Britons built large chancels, which served to simultaneously separate and highlight the sacramental work of the priest in the celebration of the Mass, colonial Anglo-Virginians built diminished spaces to house their domestic Holy Tables and host the infrequent ritual action of the parson in the Lord's Supper. While the placement of Decalogue Tablets above the Table and circumscription of the area by a low altar rail [fig. 1] set the chancel apart from the rest of the church, Reformation architects muted these spaces in contrast to their Roman Catholic predecessors. Chancels, as will be discussed in Chapter 2, were not understood by theologians of the Reformation as a most holy area within the church. Instead, altar rails and a raised chancel (often only one step in colonial contexts) were practical concessions to the Eucharistic liturgy. Unlike those in many medieval churches, these chancels were not expressed externally by a break in the roofline or shift in fenestration.

[50] Upton, pg. 50, 151
[51] Upton, pg. 153

Though they made little architectural gesture towards the division of space, colonial Anglicans did place a linguistic barrier between the "chancell" and the "church" when speaking of the internal space. The vestry of Bruton Parish charged double for "the privilege of Burials…in the Chancell," suggesting that, while there was little architectural separation between the space, reformers and clerics were never able to fully exorcise the popular conception that the area immediately around the altar was somehow holier than the rest of the church and thus deserved increased exclusivity.[52]

Evangelicalism and the Post-Disestablishment Church

The American Revolution and disestablishment of the Church of England brought Virginian Anglicanism to the brink of collapse. Churches fell into disrepair or were co-opted by other denominations, glebes and other ecclesiastical property were forfeited to the government, and the institutional life of the church fell to a miserable state.

Anglican spiritual practice survived in the few churches that managed to stay soluble and in the home, where faithful practitioners continued the cycles of liturgy and practice that had been celebrated in the state since the earliest days of English settlement. [53] In the first decades of the nineteenth century, dedicated churchmen capitalized on these remnants to rebuild the Anglican – now Episcopal – Church as the Diocese of Virginia. Under the leadership of Bishops Richard Channing Moore, (1762-1841), William Meade, (1789-1862), John Johns, (1796-1876), and Francis McNeece Whittle, (1823-1902), the Episcopal Church in Virginia adopted a particular evangelical flavor, combining the religious revival of the Second Great Awakening

[52] Upton, pg. 73
[53] Winner, pg. 180-181

with the liturgical practice of the Anglican Church. Though the Protestant emphasis on the spoken word continued, evangelicals constructed a ritual practice that was far more emotional than its colonial counterpart. This new liturgical expression demanded new spaces for worship, and evangelicals throughout the early nineteenth century worked to explore and promote liturgical furniture and architectural features appropriate to their style and aims.

Christ Church, Charlottesville

In May of 1826, Bishop Moore mounted his horse and "proceeded in company with the Rev. Mr. Lee to Charlottesville, and in that place [he] consecrated a new church, preached and administered confirmation and the Lord's Supper."[54] The Bishop's visit was the culmination of six years of hard work on the part of Frederick Winslow Hatch, (1789-1860), an Episcopal parson who came to Charlottesville in 1820 with the purpose of planting a church in the town. A preacher of solidly evangelical conviction, Hatch led weekly services at the Albemarle County Courthouse, delivering emotional homilies that emphasized the necessity of a personal conversion experience. As his congregation grew throughout the first half of the 1820s, Hatch despaired of the "unhallowed place" where he preached.[55] The minister expressed his hope to build a "Temple of Salvation" in the city, where he could conduct divine worship and deliver his homilies.[56]

[54] Wootton pg. 7
[55] Michael Dickens, *Like and Evening God: A History of Christ Episcopal Church, Charlottesville, Virginia Upon the Occasion of Its 200th Anniversary* (self-pub. 2019) pg. 44 This remark, referring to the Courthouse, was made during a February, 1824 sermon and was likely part of his fundraising efforts.
[56] Dickens, pg. 11

Hatch got his wish in 1824, noting in his annual parochial report to Diocesan Convention that "several respectable gentlemen in the vicinity" had pledged "funds for building an Episcopal Church in the town." In February, Hatch enlisted the help of the area's most prominent planter, Thomas Jefferson (1743-1826), sending him his proposed plans for the church and soliciting capital for the build.[57] Bishop Meade, in his *Old Churches and Families of Virginia,* claims that Jefferson would end up designing the building[58] and Thomas Jefferson Randolph, (1792-1875),

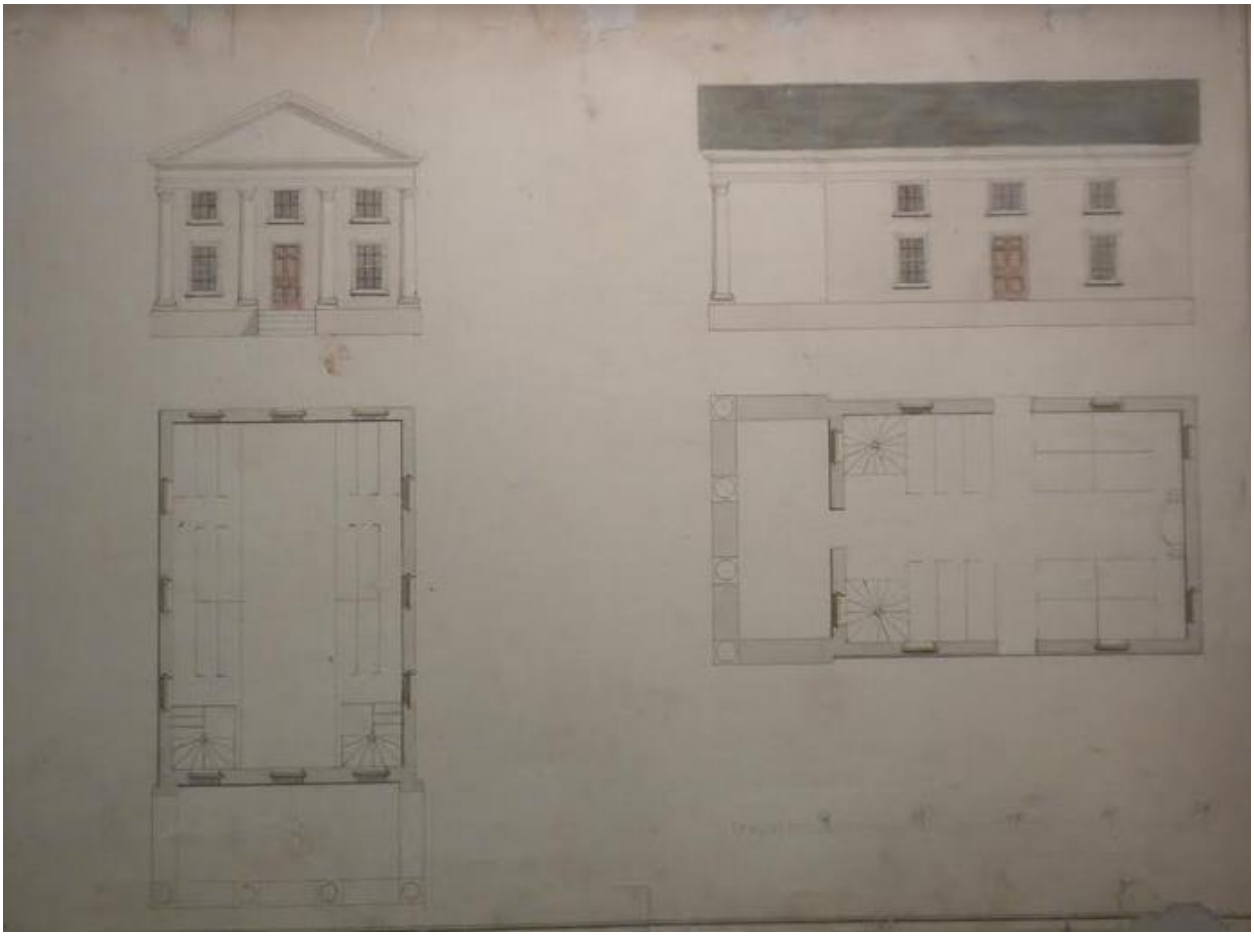

Figure 5- N-495, Drawings for Church with Portico and Galleries

[57] Anne Elizabeth Bruder. *The Evangelical Architecture of the Protestant Episcopal Church In Virginia 1814-1853*. (University of Virginia, 1996) pg. 55
[58] Bruder, pg. 63

grandson of the Monticello planter, stated that his grandfather "drew the plan of the Episcopal Church in Charlottesville, was one of the largest contributors to its erection, and contributed regularly to the support of its minister."[59] Later architectural historians, including Fiske Kimball, George Shackelford, and Frederick Nichols, point to an extant drawing, N-435 [fig.5] as the aforementioned plan. Fiske compares the building to a temple and Shackelford suggests that it was based on the Church of St. Philippe de Roule, a parish near Jefferson's second house in Paris which was depicted on the frontispiece of a book he would later sell to the Library of Congress.[60] As Bruder correctly notes, however, these historians base their identification on a late nineteenth century photograph [fig.20] which depicts the church after significant renovations. In truth, it is unlikely that Jefferson produced the drawing of his own hand and, even if he did, it was not adopted.[61] Bruder suggests that, for Parson Hatch, the "Jeffersonian Roman temple with Doric columns" was "still a pagan form" and thus an unacceptable building for Christian worship.[62]

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[59] Henry Randall, *The Life of Thomas Jefferson, Vol. III* cited in Bruder, pg. 64. Thomas Jefferson Randolph is acknowledged to have provided historical misinformation to protect his grandfather's legacy, and his account of Jefferson's great legacy and piety should not be accepted uncritically. It is unlikely that the president had so heavy a hand in designing the church as is suggested and his contribution to the church, though generous, was limited.

[60] Fiske Kimball, "A Church Designed by Jefferson," *Architectural Record* LIII (February 1923) pg. 185; cited in Bruder, pg. 62

George Green Shackelford, *Thomas Jefferson's Travels in Europe 1784-1789* (John Hopkins University Press, 1998) pg. 18; cited in Bruder, pg. 62

[61] Nichols attributes the drawing to Jefferson's granddaughter Cornelia Randolph, suggesting that she drew it as a study of one of her grandfather's (now inextant) drawings. Patricia Sherwood and Joseph LaSala suggest in *Thomas Jefferson's Academical Village* that John Neilson produced the drawing, noting that Jefferson was very ill in March of 1824 and asked Neilson to produce drawings for him at that time. Others have suggested James Dinsmore as the author.

[62] Bruder also suggests that the neoclassical design would have been unacceptable to William Meade, though, as we will see, Bishop Meade's son would oversee the adoption of these elements as parson during his father's episcopacy. It may have been, in other words, that Hatch found the "pagan" elements untenable, but, barring a change of heart in the three decades between the original construction and the expansion, it seems unlikely that Meade would have objected.

Bruder's argument for N-435's 1824 dating is, however, tenuous at best, and it may very well be that the drawing is entirely unrelated to the construction of Christ Church.

While plans were drawn up and Jefferson and Hatch corresponded into March of 1825, ads ran in the local papers seeking to purchase a lot for the building.[63] One was bought late in the year, and construction was soon well underway. At about forty feet wide and fifty feet long, the church was a wide rectangular shape, built with money donated by local Episcopalians and materials leftover from projects at the nearby University of Virginia. Three large, clear windows pierced the longer walls, and a gallery was built over the entrance on the southern side, while a central pulpit was attached to the north wall. [64] The southern, primary entrance consisted of a pair of two doors, mirroring an internal arrangement of pews into a central block with two side sections. This arrangement, common among Protestant architecture at the time, was a departure from both colonial and pre-Reformation practices, in which a primary processional axis bifurcated the seating areas, creating a central aisle. Anne Bruder associates

Figure 6- Christ Church, Glendover Exterior

[63] Dickens, pg. 36

[64] Bruder, pg. 58. It is notable that the church bus built on a North-South axis and not East-West, as is traditional within the history of Anglican church construction and sacramental churches generally. This augmented positioning is likely a response to geographic features, but it also displays evangelical Episcopalians' willingness to break with architectural tradition.

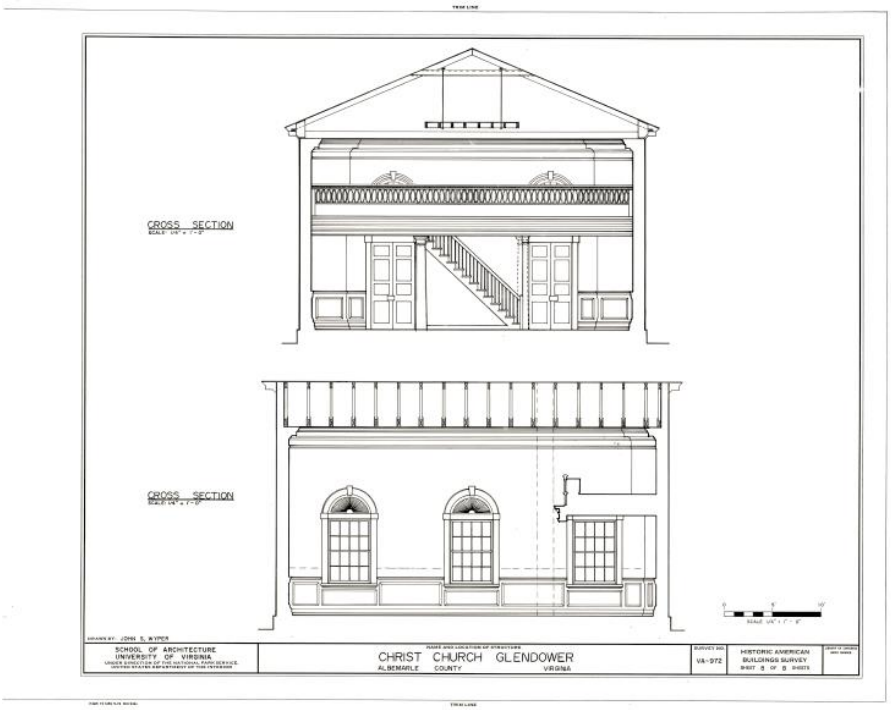

Figure 7- Christ Church, Glendover Section Drawings from the Historic American Buildings Survey

these double doors specifically with evangelical architectural practice.[65] A double-aisle arrangement produced a single block of seating in front of the preacher, giving the effect of a theatre rather than a dynamic ritual space.

This original Christ Church building served as a model for two churches in the vicinity, through which we can gain a greater understanding of the style and effect of the building. Christ Church, Glendower, was built near Keene in St. Anne's Parish, the southern portion of Albemarle County [figs. 6,7]. Constructed in 1832, it shared many of the architectural features of the original Christ Church, built just seven years previously, including a gallery, doubled entrance, and rectangular construction with restrained classical detailing. St. John's in Boswell's Tavern, Louisa County, was completed in 1845 and shares many of the same details of Christ Church, Glendower, including a semicircular element in the central gable, a low-pitched roof, and cornicing. Both include three equally-spaced windows on its longitudinal sides. St. John's is much plainer, however, and lacks arched doors and windows on its primary façade [fig. 8].[66] These two

[65] Bruder, pg. 2 and 66

[66] St. John's is now home to the "Church at the Crossroads," a campus of the non-denominational fundamentalist Grace Covenant Church.

buildings provide a speculative record of what Christ Church, Charlottesville, may have looked like when it was built, although details clearly shifted from iteration to iteration of this preaching hall design.

Hatch preached his first sermon in Christ Church, Charlottesville, on Sunday, November 27th. Though only the first of three annual pledge payments had been collected, the church was consecrated during Spring of the following year, on May 26, 1826.[67]

In 1839, the vestry of Christ Church voted to divide the central block of pews in two to create a central aisle.[68] This otherwise unremarkable decision had an oversized impact on the experience of the space upon entry. Now, instead of entering through an off-center door and continuing

Figure 8- Exterior of St. John's, Bosewell's Tavern

[67] Bruder, pg. 80
Dickens, pg. 37-38. cites Anita Black, *Christ Episcopal Church- Its History through November 12, 1958* (self-pub, 1958) pg. 3 as having "correctly concluded that this formal service would not have been held before the property was clear and free of debt and the church had clear title." A letter from Hatch to Thomas Jefferson from February, 1824 describing a "subscription [that] will embrace materials for building and even work in pay and money subscrib'd [and will be] payable in three annual installments, the first on the first Jan'y next." (Bruder, pg. 80) suggests that very little money -approximately a third- would have been raised by the time the church was consecrated. It is my opinion that Dickens and Black are anachronistically imposing Episcopal financial practices around church consecration that came about after this period.
[68] Dickens, pg. 97

immediately down an aisle to find one's seat, the congregation of Christ Church would enter and find themselves faced with the back of a pew. Turning towards the center of the church, they would pass through a semi-enclosed pseudo-narthex under the rear gallery, a liminal space of decreased ceiling height. Finally, turning into the main aisle, their eyes would be drawn upwards as they stepped out from under the gallery and become centered upon the sanctuary before finding their seat. The vestry appointed a committee to oversee the project, but it is unclear whether the plan was followed through.[69]

The rearrangement of the pews foreshadowed major renovation work to come. In 1853-54, under the leadership of the Rev. Richard Kidder Meade, (1812-1892), whose father, the bishop, would mutilate the pews of Virginia Theological Seminary's chapel, the growing congregation of Christ Church undertook major renovations to expand the seating capacity of the church and alter the exterior. A large portico was added to the southern façade of the building, with a pair of monumental columns framing a central doorway, replacing the pair of doors and reflecting the new internal arrangement of the pews.[70] Vestibules were added to either side, in which stairs were constructed to allow access to new side galleries running along the eastern and western walls of the church which connected to the preexisting gallery on the southern side.[71] George W. Spooner's proposal, adopted by the vestry on January 25, 1853, details this work:

[69] Bruder, pg. 65
[70] Dickens, pg. 48
[71] James E Wootton, *Christ Church, A History, 1820-2000* (self-pub, 2000), pg. 9. Although no historian I have found records it, I find it likely that the original staircase was situated between the two south-facing doors in much the same way as at Christ Church, Glendower.

Extension on end 10’ x 40’ have an open porch of entrance 10’ x 16’, with vestibules on each side about 10’ by 10’ with a door and window in each story, also a back window on sides of same, in each vestibule a staircase will be placed leading to the gallery.

There will be two columns and two pilasters to the porch with full entablature of the full height connecting with the present cornices of the building.

The two doors of present end to be take out, and one door place in the center.[72]

Many of these additions reflect contemporary proclivities for neo-classical architecture, discussed briefly in the previous chapter. A comparison of the façade of the building as recorded in an 1880 photograph [fig. 20] compared to Christ Church, Glendower [fig. 6] highlights the imposing, temple-like nature of the church following the addition of the portico. A proclivity for classical elements continued in the interior of the church. Instructions were provided that the new side galleries “be supported by columns eight to nine inches in diameter and Ionic in form.”[73]

Figure 9- Exterior of St. John's, Bosewell Tavern

[72] Vestry minutes for 11 and 22 December 1852 and 25 January 1853, cited in Bruder, pg. 66.

[73] Dickens, pg. 104. An 1880 photograph of the interior reveals that the columns were in fact built in the Corinthian rather than the Ionic mode.
It should be noted that Christ Church at this point began to resemble many of the elements of congregationalist meeting houses.

Just a few years later, in 1858, transepts were added to either side of the building and the chancel area was deepened. At some point wooden pilasters and an engaged architrave in a simplified classical style were added to frame the entrance of the chancel and are visible in the 1880 photograph of the interior [fig.20]. It may have also been at this time that the 1839 decision to create a central aisle was reversed. The liminal nature of the space under the rear gallery was retained and joined with the addition of the portico to create an extended transitional space into the sanctuary as reflected in the 1880 photograph.

Remarkably, this 1854 addition incorporated many of the suggestions of the drawing labeled N-435, including a rectangular plan and prominent, classical columns. If Bruder is correct and the image associated with Jefferson was intended to be a design for Christ Church, it suggests both that the drawing may have influenced the renovation and, notably, that attitudes around the inclusion of classical ornament had shifted among the leaders of the Episcopal Church.

Episcopal ministers and vestrymen had good reason to rethink their seeming distaste for classical architecture**.** First, their adoption of classical elements occurred in a geographical and temporal context that associated the use of columns, friezes, and pilasters with civic and intellectual power. The early American Republic chose the classical style for it's largest and most prominent buildings, thus associating the form with secular authority. These structures "reflected the cultural self-consciousness of a country trying to be the next center of civilization and learning," tying the American Republic to the democratic government and intellectual prowess of ancient European antiquity.[74] Daniel Bluestone argues that, while the gothic revival

[74] Buggeln, pg. 77

gestures “backwards,” classical architecture in the American context “pointed emphatically forward,” reflecting the enthusiastic zeitgeist of the period.[75] These buildings “on the surface, appeared to be about logic and restraint” but were also “optimistic about society, confident in the order and proportion of nature.”[76]

Less than two miles down the road from Christ Church, Jefferson’s monumental Rotunda, itself modeled on the Pantheon in Rome, set the architectural tone for the University of Virginia, which made wide usage of classical elements. Following Lindsay Jones, we can understand that these “conventualized design elements,” associated with nodes of power worked to “cultivate an impression … of credibility, legitimacy, or pedigree, which convinces people that the proceedings undertaken here and pronouncements delivered here carry the force of history and tradition.”[77] Thus, Christ Church’s adoption of “pagan” ornamentation in the form of Corinthian columns and an articulated architrave aligned the building -- and thus the congregation and clergy -- with contemporary structures of power both at the local university and nationally, breaking with colonial-era Anglican structures whose association with authority had, with disestablishment and the appropriation of glebe lands and church property, become rather obsolete. The architectural shift from a Georgian plan to a neoclassical one thus represents the congregation’s dynamic concerns to align itself with nodes of civil authority.

Neoclassical architecture also lent itself particularly well to the interior layout favored by evangelicals. For one, the use of columns as a prominent architectural feature made the construction of galleries both easy and architecturally consistent. The extensive use of galleries

[75] Kieckhefer, pg. 196-197
[76] Buggeln, pg. 130
[77] Jones, pg. 63

had already been established by Congregationalists in the Northeast. Preaching halls lent themselves easily to classical elements like columns, architraves and pediments. These elements allowed for clear lines of sight and the creation of compact seating, maximizing the capacity of the limited area in which the preacher's message could be heard.

Besides its utility in the creation of space appropriate for evangelical worship, the use of classical elements also stood in aesthetic contrast to the mysterious and ornate quality of gothic architecture. Indeed, Bruder posits that the classical elements of Christ Church during this time were a rebuttal to "the arrival of the Ecclesiological Movement in Albemarle County" with the construction of Grace Church, Cismont, during the same period.[78] The classical style is an architectural embodiment of rational thought, with clear and logical construction techniques, pleasing and simple proportions, and an immediate and unveiled structural logic. As Chapter Two explores, gothic, by contrast, seeks to create a sense of awe through the restricted use of light, soaring proportions and echoing acoustics. Thus, Christ Church's 1854 addition became an architectural polemic against the lavishness and ornament of the European gothic in addition to marking a shift away from colonial building forms and towards a purer neoclassical aesthetic and increased functionality as an evangelical worship space. Similar shifts occurred throughout the Diocese. As the next case study shows, evangelicals, in addition to building new structures, retrofitted colonial churches to suit their purposes

Abingdon Parish, Gloucester County

Abingdon Parish Church sits among a grove of trees on Route 17 between the Rappahannock and York Rivers in Tidewater Virginia. The large, Georgian church was built

[78] Bruder, pg. 67

around 1750 on land donated by Augustine Warner, maternal grandfather of George Washington and prominent area planter. Like Christ Church across the Rappahannock, Abingdon was built in a cruciform pattern with tall box pews, the most prominent of which was claimed by the Page family, whose plantation, Rosewell, sits on a nearby creek. The soaring triple-decker pulpit was attached to the southeast corner of the structure.[79]

The spiritual and architectural fabric of Abingdon suffered greatly during the American Civil War. The 169th Drafted Militia of Pennsylvania found the walled graveyard a convenient place to make camp and loose their horses, resulting in broken headstones and destroyed tombs. Inside, high box pews were broken and used as firewood. Remarkably, the Union troops left the altar tablets bearing the Lord's Prayer, Ten Commandments, and Apostles' Creed alone, though the grand triple-decker pulpit was destroyed.[80]

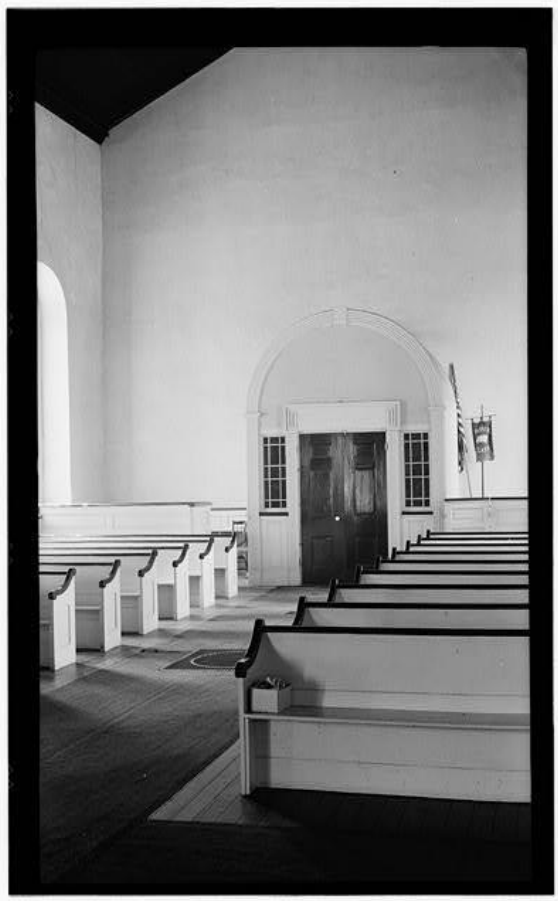

Figure 10- Interior of Abingdon facing Nave. From 1933 Historic American Buildings Survey

Abingdon parishioners, led by layman J. Lyle Clark, raised $1,550 to repair the church in 1867. The destroyed interior also provided an opportunity for church leaders to markedly change the layout and liturgical function of the space, as shown in a 1933 photograph taken as part of the Historic American

[79] It is notable that the pulpits of both Abingdon and Aquia church in Stafford, built shortly after Abingdon, are situated on the southeast corner while the earlier Christchurch's pulpit is to the southwest.
[80] Caroline Sinclair, *Abingdon Church: A Chronology of Its History 1750-1970* (self-pub, 1970) pg. 20

Figure 11- Chancel of Abingdon Church from 1933 Historic American Buildings Survey

Buildings Survey[81] [fig. 11]. The colonial pulpit was replaced with a diminished platform to the right of the Holy Table, paired with a lectern to the left. The reredos was brought forward and a vestry was built between two arches on the eastern wall, each of which terminates at the midpoint of a window. A photograph of the nave from the same report [fig. 10] shows an inner vestibule built onto the large colonial doors. The stone floors had been covered with wood and carpeting. Most notably, the original high-walled box pews had been replaced with lower pews, all facing the chancel. Upton claims this reconfiguring of seating was "a common nineteenth-century evangelicals' alteration" and occurred at many colonial parishes in the Commonwealth.[82]

[81] Many elements of the 1933 photograph should not be of the original to the 1867 renovation , including both the altar cross and metallic cross above the reredos, as well as the credence table, hymn boards, and episcopal throne with miter to the left of the altar.

[82] Upton pg. 177

Abingdon's renovation reflects nineteenth-century evangelical Episcopalians' distaste for what they understood as the rote, unfeeling liturgical practice of the colonial era. The social division and sensory deprivation of the high-walled pews were eschewed in favor of more egalitarian seating arrangements resembling those of congregationalist Protestants in the northern states. Pulpit and lectern remain prominent features of the setting of the church, but not at the expense of the worshipers' lines of sight. Bishop Meade, a major critic of the colonial church, noted the inconvenience of the triple decker pulpit and high-backed pews for evangelical worship. He wrote that the

> location and form of [the colonial] pulpits were…such to show that [the parsons] did not care to look at the congregation….only a small portion of the congregation could be seen by the minister. [The pulpit] was also so deep, that unless he were a very tall man his head only could be seen. In the earlier part of my ministry I have often been much at a loss how to elevate myself in many of these old churches which I visited, and sometimes hurried to church before the congregation assembled, in order to gather up stones, bricks, and pieces of plank to raise a little platform under me, and which was not always very steady. [83]

Meade further noted with pride that, at his direction, "all of these old pulpits have been lowered and their location changed."[84] As Bugglen notes, triple-decker pulpits "marked the ascendancy of the preacher, socially, intellectually and spiritually." The move away from these structures and to

[83] William Meade, *A Brief Review of the Episcopal Church in Virginia From Its First Establishment to the Present Time: Being Part of an Address of the Right Rev. William Meade, D.D., Bishop of Virginia, to the Convention of the Church, in Fredericksburg, May 22, 1845*
[84] Meade, *A Brief Review*

layouts like those of the remodeled Abingdon represented a "fundamental cultural shift in the relationship between preacher and people" in which

> ministers could be charismatic leaders, [and] physical and spiritual distance was no longer a dominant or even very useful strategy for getting one's message across. The new architecture of worship dramatically emphasized this different relationship between minister and congregation, facilitating a level of engagement and emotional connection not previously required.[85]

Thus, while the architecture of the renovated Abingdon Parish continued the austere and orderly orthodoxy of the Protestant building tradition, it also offered ritual possibilities inconceivable in the colonial space.[86] Its renovation made the building a thoroughly evangelical church.

Christ Church, Lancaster, (b.1732) the first Christ Church, Charlottesville buildings (b. 1826) and the 1867 renovation of Abingdon Parish, Gloucester, demonstrate two important points. The first is that Anglican churches in Virginia are not static buildings of unified message. The buildings change over time with renovation, expansion and the introduction of new liturgical elements as new generations of leadership introduce their own aesthetic paradigms and respond to the theological landscape around them. As historical artifacts, then, we might describe these churches as polyvocal in that they reflect the priorities of multiple persons and logics. Secondly, the preceding exploration of Anglican churches in the rational tradition of the colonial period and the evangelical piety of later years provides an necessary and contrapuntal background to the exploration of gothic architecture which, as we will see, works in reaction to earlier architectural traditions.

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[85] Buggeln, pg. 208. She is, of course, speaking of churches in New England, but the statement is applicable to Episcopal architecture in Virginia during the same period.
[86] Buggeln, pg. 126

Chapter II: The Rise of Gothic Architecture

Ryan Smith's *Gothic Arches and Latin Crosses* details the adoption of gothic architecture by American Protestants in the mid-19th century. It was an ironic development that paired the assumption of a style associated with Roman Catholicism with a rise in anti-Catholic sentiment. Episcopalians played an important role in this period. While the Tractarian controversy was in full swing across transatlantic Anglicanism, "a midcentury crossover movement" took place in the world of ecclesiastical architecture, marking the beginning of the adoption of the gothic style and figural objects of devotion by Episcopalians, including the introduction of these elements into the mainstream American architectural landscape. A Boston Episcopalian and editor noted in 1847 that the "demand for a symbolic use of the cross has been wonderfully increased of late" and that "during the last six or seven … years, the picture of the cross has been multiplied upon the covers, the title-pages and indeed upon all pages" of the books he had published. This proliferation of crosses was part of a larger shift, he claimed, in which his rational, iconoclastic religion was being usurped by a "system which exalts trifles into great importance, and constructs a sacramental and sensuous religion out of forms."[87] By 1877, the Roman Catholic archbishop James Gibbons would marvel to an acquaintance how an Episcopal church in Richmond had been "adorned with twelve crosses…where, eleven years before, the sight of a single cross was viewed with horror by the ministry."[88] The architectural shift among nineteenth-century Episcopalians was as much a reflection of debates raging within global Anglicanism as it was a reaction to the increasingly crowded -- and increasingly Roman Catholic -- American

[87] Smith, pg. 74-75
[88] Smith, pg. 75

religious landscape.[89] Episcopalians built gothic churches in response to the political-denominational landscape and as a reflection of their own shifting theology.

The Cambridge Camden Society

In 1839, across the Atlantic, a group of earnest undergraduates founded the Cambridge Camden Society "to promote the study of Ecclesiastical Architecture and Antiquities, and the restoration of mutilated Architectural remains."[90] As the word "mutilated" suggests, the club members considered Medieval English architecture to be historically important and lamentably disfigured by Protestant iconoclasm from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries through the Georgian period of the eighteenth to early nineteenth centuries, when many medieval churches were renovated and retrofitted to meet contemporary worship demands of plain style and rational architecture.[91] The Society came into existence during a period in which the academic study of architecture throughout England was focused on the popular classical style, reflecting contemporary taste. Building on a limited corpus of architectural knowledge about gothic architecture, the society considered the style not from an "academic, antiquarian or architectural standpoint" but rather

[89] Buggeln, pg. 77 states that Gothic made its first appearance in the U.S. among Episcopalians.
Smith, whose project takes a much wider scope, does not properly highlight internal conflict within Anglicism as crucial to the adoption of the gothic first among Episcopalians. The work of the Cambridge Camden society and its allies was a crucial step in promoting gothic architecture within Anglicanism, and it is Episcopalians' building in this form that gave tacit permission to other American Protestants to do the same.

[90] *Laws, etc. of the Cambridge Camden Society* 1839. pg. 1

[91] See E. Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, (Yale, 1992) for a well-considered history of early English iconoclasm.

from its liturgical and devotional aspects, finding an "essential aspect of Anglicanism's Catholic heritage."[92]

Through the publication of pamphlets and their newsletter, the *Ecclesiologist*, the Society worked towards "a thorough Catholic restoration" of Anglicanism's churches.[93] They advocated the replacement of "Holy Tables" with altars, the restoration of credence tables, the removal of triple-decker pulpits, box pews, and galleries. They sought a clear separation of the church into nave and chancel, rejecting the prioritization of hearing the preacher over aesthetic and devotional functions.[94] The Society published small and inexpensive tracts with elaborate illustrations of churches, combining an "emotional evocativeness which the nineteenth century was disposed to admire in gothic" architecture, social commentary, and a particular concern for the poor.[95] The Society quickly surpassed its humble origins, and within just a few years, the names of bishops, deans, and aristocrats from throughout the Anglican world could be found on its roster of patrons, as in the Society's 1841 *A Few Words to Church Builders,* including the Bishops of Nova Scotia, New Zealand and "The Right Rev. Lord Bishop of New Jersey, U.S."[96]

Given the close ecclesiastical ties between the Church of England and the Episcopal Church, the work of the Society quickly crossed the Atlantic. Phoebe Stanton, author of *The Gothic Revival and American Church Architecture,* notes that by 1846, not only had plans for gothic churches designed by the Cambridge Camden Society begun to circulate among

[92] Webster. pg. 18
[93] *Ecclesiologist,* 2 (1842) pg. 59. Cited in Webster, pg. 21
[94] See *A Few Words to Church Builders,* Reprinted in Webster, pg. 133
[95] Phoebe Stanton, *The Gothic Revival and American Church Architecture: An Episode in Taste, 1840-1856* (John Hopkins Press, 1968), pg. 42-43
[96] Reproduces in Webster, pg. 134.

Episcopalians, but that at least one church had been built using them.[97] Episcopalians drew up plans for an American counterpart to the Cambridge Camden Society with the aim of bolstering the distribution of the society's literature.[98] While architectural plans, drawings and tracts were important parts of spreading the Society's message to the United States, it was most likely the early buildings constructed with the Society's oversight that influenced Episcopalians the most, allowing them to see and *experience* "true" gothic architecture for themselves, as well as participate in the liturgical phenomena those buildings made possible.[99] More than mere configurations of space, these early American gothic buildings shaped the liturgical and theological formation that happened inside them. Liturgy, architecture, and theology were inseparable in these experiences, as they were in the writings of the Cambridge Camden Society. The following sections describe gothic architecture's close association with both the liturgical action and theological convictions of the Tractarian movement.

Gothic Architecture and High Churchmanship

James McAllister, writing "Architecture and Change in the Diocese of Virginia," sought to separate the work of the Cambridge Camden Society from the Oxford Movement, arguing that the "revival of ritualism in the mid-19th century was an outgrowth not of the Oxford Movement but of the Cambridge Society's concern to restore old medieval churches and to build new ones

[97] Stanton, pg. 98
[98] Stanton, pg. 104
[99]Stanton, pg. 91 described the church of St. James the Less in Philadelphia (b. 1846) as having been "erected under the direct supervision of the English ecclesiologists."
Stanton, pg. 112

in a gothic style which emphasized the supreme importance of the altar."[100] Many architectural historians, however, view the Oxford Movement and Cambridge Camden Society as inextricably linked.[101] DeMille writes that High Churchmanship demanded,

> considerable change in the church building itself. The meeting-house, so characteristic of the Church in the North, with its great central pulpit and its half-concealed altar, was obviously planned for Morning Prayer and sermon, and not much else could be done in it. …. historically, in the nineteenth century, Catholic revival and gothic revival often went hand in hand.[102]

Society publications like the *Hierugia Anglicana* and *The Symbolism of Churches and Church Ornaments*, which related gothic architecture directly to the worship and theology of pre-

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[100] James McAllister, "Architecture and Change in the Diocese of Virginia" in *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church* 45, No. 3 (1976), pg. 308; 310
It should be noted that some Gothic historians and Society sympathizers like Robert Willis "wished to keep religion out of architecture." And did not think it proper to "convert the Society into an engine of polemical theology instead of an instrument for promoting the study and practice of Ecclesiastical Architecture." Webster, pg. 39. That Willis had such concerns only further proves the close relationship between the "polemical theology" of the Oxford Movement and the work of the Cambridge Camden Society.

[101] Chris Brooks understands the work of the Society as "a compound of dogmatic theology gleaned from the Tractarians and dogmatic architectural theory gleaned from Pugin." (Christopher Brooks, *The Gothic Revival* (Phaidon: 1999), pg. 246, cited in Webster, pg. 13.) Webster argues that "if the doctrines of the Oxford Movement were to be fully implemented, its supporters needed to look beyond theology: a new approach to the liturgy and the design of church [was] a necessary concomitant." He also writes that "It suited the Camdenians to leave this aspect [of Tractarian theology] to the Oxford men and concentrate their own energies on the physical setting of worship, an area of debate in which the Oxford Movement stated it had little interest." (Webster, pg 23, 28-30) Kilde notes that "In the nineteenth century…English Anglicans and Anglo-Catholics celebrated medieval Gothic architecture as the epitome of Church form."(Kilde, pg. 56) Smith similarly associates Tractarianism with "arguments over the propriety of symbols, ritualism" and architecture. (Smith, pg.73-74)

[102] Demille, pg. 75. Here DeMille does not use "Catholic" to mean "Roman Catholic," but rather as reflecting what he understands to be the global, and highly liturgical, heritage of the church.

Reformation England, further linked the work of the Cambridge Camden Society with the Oxford Tractarians.[103]

The most convincing evidence of gothic architecture's association with liturgical High Churchmanship in the United States comes from its most preeminent architects. Richard Upjohn (1802-1878), whose prolific portfolio includes Manhattan's Trinity Church (built 1839-1846) and St Paul's Cathedral, Buffalo (1849-1851), was an early proponent of gothic architecture, including the architectural use of crosses. According to Richard Kieckhefer, Upjohn is said to have refused to design his much-sought-after buildings for low-church congregations, believing they would not properly utilize the space and would thus never properly appreciate it.[104] Ralph Adams Cram (1863-1942) similarly believed, in Kilde's words, "that gothic vocabularies grew out of liturgical formalism" and were therefore most suitable to ritualist, high-church congregations.[105]

Evangelical bishops, conversely, actively fought against the architecture and ornament associated with Tractarian thinking. One evangelically minded English cleric, the Rev. Francis Close, published a pamphlet deriding the Camden Cambridge Society, entitled *The 'Restoration of Churches' is the Restoration of Popery* -- a clear articulation of the relationship between gothic architecture and Roman Catholicism in the eyes of evangelical Anglicans.[106] The mid-

[103] Stanton notes that the Oxford men themselves had attempted some of the same work done by the Cambridge Camden Society. Oxford High Churchman published a collection of drawings of gothic churches, many in Oxfordshire, between the years 1841 and 1844, causing the editors of Society's *Ecclesiologist* to feel that the Oxford men had "trespassed upon territory to which the ecclesiologists had prior claim."(Stanton, pg. 44) That the Oxford theologians felt it appropriate to produce and include such drawings is a notable reproof to McAllister's rejection of the connection between Oxford theologians and Cambridge architect-historians.
[104] Kieckhefer, pg. 198
[105] Kilde, pg. 206
[106] Webster, pg. 33

nineteenth-century architectural critic John Weale described the work of the Society as the "impotent incipiency of a bastard superstition!...Under the banner of architecture [they seek] to revive… the power of Popery."[107] In Virginia, meanwhile, Bishop Richard Channing Moore (1814-1841) oversaw the introduction of an especially evangelical architectural feature into the Commonwealth: the so-called *Hobart Chancel*, [fig.12] "a pulpit in the east end of the nave with a small Holy Table in front of it, based on Protestant European traditions which emphasized the prophetic nature of the Gospel over the role of clergy-administered sacraments." [108] Almost every church built or remodeled during the evangelical William Meade's episcopacy (1841-1862) included such a design.[109] That Tractarian clergymen embraced gothic architecture while evangelicals like Meade and Moore fought against the elements advocated by the Cambridge Camden Society is too widespread and too repetitive to be ignored or deemed a coincidence. Indeed, just as evangelicals embraced architectural forms that highlighted the directness, immediacy, and simplicity of their religion, High Churchmen

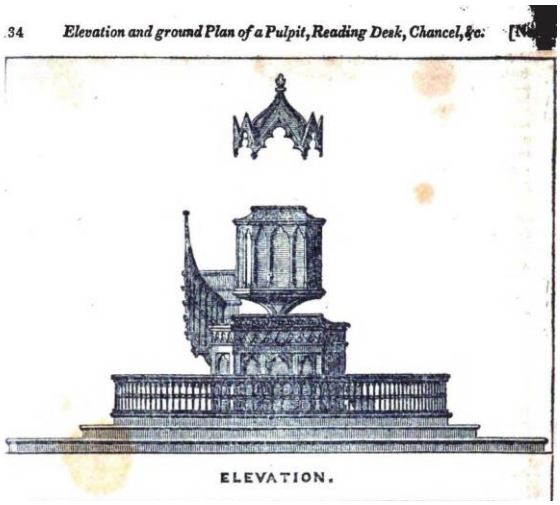
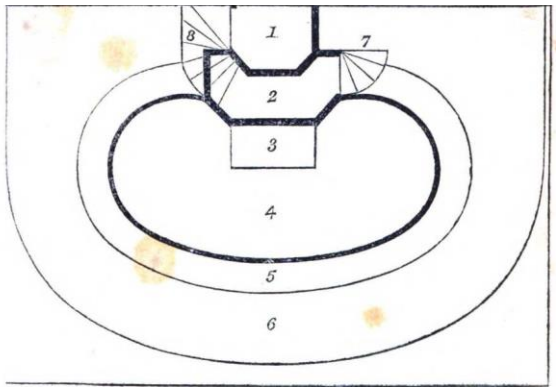


Figure 12- The Hobart Chancel



[107] Webster, pg. 39
[108] Robin Lind, *Stewards of the Mysteries of God: The Story of the Bishops of the Diocese of Virginia*, (Hope Springs, 2011) pg. 41
[109] Lind, pg. 45-46. Lind separates this style from the "tradition of the Colonial church which had placed pulpit and baptismal font outside the chancel which was railed off."

adopted gothic architecture because it was suitable to their liturgy, symbolically resonant, and properly embodied their theological convictions.

Gothic Architecture and Theological "Innovation"

Gothic architecture's popularity with High Churchmen is a reflection of its utility for the creation of a sense of awe and wonder which characterizes ritualistic liturgy. "How could the longed-for return to the pre-, or immediately post-Reformation service be accommodated in buildings… designed specifically for the Georgian service?" Webster asks.[110] Indeed, ecclesiastical architecture's close relationship to liturgy demanded the adoption of certain architectural elements.

The medieval English church form seemed especially appropriate for the creation of these liturgies and, inextricably, reflected the heightened sacramental role of the clergy. "The cruciform gothic church plan, with its nave, chancel, choir, and transepts, was ideal for establishing and maintaining the mystery of the Mass and power of the clergy in the eucharistic sacrament."[111] Conversely, "it was inimical … to Protestant worship that focused on the sermon" due to the distance placed between preacher and congregation. Thus, no church of colonial Virginia was built with a separate chancel.[112] It also is notable that when evangelical Protestant denominations outside of the Episcopal Church began to adopt gothic aesthetics in their buildings in the second half of the nineteenth century, they did so only superficially,

[110] Webster, pg. 23
[111] Kilde, pg. 57
[112] Upton, pg. 57

neglecting the traditional sacramental division of space between nave, choir, and sanctuary.[113] Nineteenth-century Presbyterian William Dod, while advocating for the "use of elements of gothic style as convenient and beautiful forms of church ornament," nevertheless recognized the gothic organization of space as inconsistent with Protestant worship, writing that,

> A gothic nave is a fearful place, and cathedral art has a power that would, in its own time and way, sooner or later, compel cathedral worshipers to a cathedral service. The only adequate cathedral service is the mass. The very idea is preposterous -- turn any Protestant congregation into a gothic cathedral, and where are they, and what have they for the place?[114]

For Dod, gothic architecture must only be appropriated by Protestants in a superficial manner, lest the power of the architecture itself compel them to adapt the ritual practices associated with it. In Kilde's words, "evangelical Protestants separated architecture from its liturgical function and imagined a generic Christian origin."[115] Members of the Camden Cambridge Society, by contrast, denounced superficial ornamentation of churches with gothic arches and statuary without the use of proper proportions and divisions of space as not *truly* gothic. For High Churchmen, the use of gothic architecture was not a superficial and romantic adoption of an anachronistic style, but an unavoidable concomitant to a sacramental emphasis. Applying pointed arches to an evangelical preaching hall, therefore, was not a true example of the Gothic because it did not accompany proper emphasis on the ritual and sacramental action of the church.

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[113] Kilde, pg. 66
[114] Dod, Albert and William Dod, "Church Architecture," *Biblical Repertory and Princeton Review* 27 (Oct. 1855) pg. 644-45. Cited in Kilde, pg. 71
[115] Kilde, pg. 68

Gothic architecture also provided processional space important to ritualist liturgies. While Dell Upton has suggested that colonial Anglican architecture provided processional space without an end, an examination of Christ Church, Lancaster County, reveals that the primary processional axis from west to east terminated in the cordoned-off Holy Table, and would have been approached by the parson and select laity only occasionally. [116] The pair of entrance doors of the original Christ Church, Charlottesville (1820-1853) and its two, decentralized aisles, similarly suggest a lack of concern on the part of designers for creating axial pathways appropriate for liturgical procession. Gothic architecture, however, was designed with ritual movement in mind. A long central aisle, designated by space between blocks of pews and in the increased height that marks the longitudinal center of the nave, creates a compelling space for ritual movement from the narthex or exterior of the church to the chancel.

There was also an aesthetic and political dimension to the adoption of gothic forms. The aesthetic feature of gothic architecture, Kilde notes, is disjunctive both from Protestant architectural heritage and the patriotic federalist construction of the early American Republic. In the context of the nineteenth-century United States, he wrote, the richness of gothic ornament harkened back to a European feudal past, which the American political experiment deplored.[117] Gothic architecture marked both a break with Protestant iconoclasm and a new way of defining the church in relation to the state. The use of the gothic in major ecclesiastical projects is also notable because, rather than attempting to gain legitimacy and authority by adopting the architectural forms associated with the state (notably classicism), these churches claim authority

[116] Indeed, the long, cedar lined road connecting the church to Robert "King" Carter's Corotoman Plantation House suggests that if there was a procession to be had, it was by the lay gentry into the church, reinforcing their superiority, not by the minister as a liturgical act.
[117] Kilde, pg. 57

by opposing the state. To a degree, the gothic rejected the rationalism that characterized the building scheme of the early Republic and pointed out the temporality of the state in contrast to the long and cosmic heritage of the church. By adopting a style that predates European colonization of North America, congregations that built in the gothic style asserted the eternity -- or indeed the atemporality -- of the Kingdom of God versus all earthly kingdoms.

The vestments that clergy and lay liturgical leaders wore within these worship spaces played important roles in defining the ritual nature and "otherness" of the liturgy, or lack thereof, as well. One loyal, evangelical parson of Meade's era, when asked "what vestments he wore in his parish" offered that he wore "generally, overcoat and leggings."[118] This cleric's vesture of choice would quickly become the minority style, as elsewhere, Episcopalians began to experiment with liturgical clothing for both ministers and musicians. Clericals to be worn by lay choristers -- most often a white, knee-length tunic called a surplice, often in combination with the cassock -- had special resonance for Anglicans who prized choral music sung in their cathedrals. Oxford Movement clergy "had long desired to enrich the Church Service" by the introduction of "candles, flowers, and surpliced choirs."[119] Gothic architecture provided high ceilings, vaults, and stone walls to give a particular ethereal acoustic element to church music, as well as extended chancels for seating these choirs. DeMille understands these developments to follow logically from Tractarian thinking:

> Enrichment of ceremonial is, of course, the almost inevitable concomitant of catholic [sic] doctrine. When you have been proclaiming loudly in words the apostolic succession of your bishop, you are bound at length to want to show it forth symbolically by dressing

[118] Holmes, pg. 88
[119] Stanton, pg.83

> him in cope and mitre. When you have been asserting in sermon and controversial pamphlets the immense gulf between the Catholic Church and Protestant sects, you naturally emphasize the fact by trying to make your church building look different from the neighborhood meeting-house. Above all, when you are teaching the full Catholic doctrine of the sacraments, you are inevitably led to demonstrate the doctrine in action and in dress. Ceremonial, rightly understood, is only the translation of Catholic doctrine into visible symbols.[120]

Indeed, Mullin notes that for many "High Church writers, piety could never be divided from form. The church and its ordinances were the chief vehicles of piety, the liturgy spurred on the growth of individual piety, while the catechism continued the work of instruction."[121] The connection between these theological tenets and their visual, architectural counterparts created a highly charged aesthetic counter-environment in the ecclesiastical domains of low churchmen like Moore, Meade, Johns and Whittle. All four bishops attempted to stem the tide of these liturgical and theological "innovations," but were unsuccessful.

Gothic Architecture Comes to Virginia

Despite gothic architecture's association with ritualism and high-churchmanship, early advocates of the style found their way into the pages of the *Southern Churchman*, an Episcopal newspaper

[120] DeMille, pg. 76-77. Again I note his broad use of the term "Catholic" to refer to a larger sacramental and liturgical heritage of the church pre-reformation.
[121] Robert Mullin, *Episcopal Vision/American Reality: High Church Theology and Social Thought in Evangelical America* (Yale, 1986) pg. 72

printed in Richmond and associated with the Diocese of Virginia. In 1836, an anonymous correspondent promoted a treatise written by the architect-bishop of Vermont:

> Bishop Hopkins has just published an essay of gothic architecture. The first part of the work treats of the origin of the gothic style of architecture, the expense required for it, the degree of light expedient for churches, monuments, cenotaphs, statues and pictures in churches, the pews of churches, the colors appropriate to the gothic style, and the ceiling of churches: these subjects being discussed in as many different chapters…The latter part of the work consists of various plans and drawings for churches. The author tells us that the work is designed chiefly for the use of the clergy, and as the want of such a treatise has been much felt, the Bishop will no doubt receive the thanks for his brethren for his attention to this important science. [122]

John Henry Hopkins of Pittsburg, the author of this treatise, had designed a new building for his growing parish as early as 1824 which, in DeMille's words, "was neither a meeting-house nor a pseudo-Roman temple, but at least an attempt at gothic," demonstrating that there were precursors to mid-nineteenth century champions of the gothic in the United States prior to the Cambridge Camden Society.[123] That the bishop's treatise on the gothic received such a positive reception shows the early and enthusiastic affection for the gothic style among some laymen and parochial clergy in Virginia and the wider Episcopal Church.

Even more remarkably, the *Southern Churchman* printed a letter from a Rev. Mr. Dewey in the summer of the same year, which not only recommended the study of gothic architecture

[122] *Southern Churchman* Vol. II- No.18 April 29, 1836
[123] DeMille, pg. 28

and its due consideration by the clergy, but also advocated its use over and above other styles, comparing its features to the handiwork of God in nature:

> I confess that if I could build a church in all respects to suit my own taste, I would build it in the solemn and beautiful style-of the churches of England, the gothic style; and I would build it in enduring stone, that it might gather successive generations within its holy walls, that passing centuries might shed their hallowing charm around it, that the children might worship where their fathers had worshipped from age to age, and feel as if the spirits of their fathers still mingled in their holy rites.
>
> Let it not be said, as detracting from the importance of the religious architecture of a country, or as an apology for neglect or irreverence towards churches, that all places are holy - that the universe is the temple of God. It is true, indeed, that the whole frame of nature is a temple for worship, but is it a mean or an unadorned Temple? Nay, what a structure is it! And what a glorious adorning is put upon it, to touch the spring of imagination and feeling, and to excite the principle of devotion? What painted or gilded dome is like that arch of blue, 'that swells above us?' What blaze of clustered lamps, or even burning tapers, is like the lamp of day hung in the heavens, or the silent and mysterious lights that burn forever in the far-off depths of the ever-lasting sky. And what are the splendid curtains with which the churches of Rome are clothed for festal occasions, to the gorgeous clouds that float about the pavilion of morning, or the tabernacle of the setting sun? … and, in fine, what anthem or pean ever rolled from organ or orchestra, or from the voice of a countless multitude, like the dread and defending [sic] roar of ocean, with all its swelling multitude of waves! Yes, the temple of nature is full of

> inspiration, full of objects that inspire devotion, and so, as far as may be, should our Temples of prayer and thanksgiving be made.[124]

The author, subverting an imagined argument for the simplicity of religious architecture on the basis of the holiness of all of creation, creatively reinterprets the recognition of nature's beauty as divine inspiration and encouragement to build highly ornamented "temples."[125] This remarkable text highlights a number of ritual-architectural priorities that challenge Anglican architecture in Virginia up to that point.

The importance of architectural endurance, so that "successive generations" might worship in the same building, suggests that gothic's insistence on masonry over wood carried a spiritual significance as well as a structural one. The materiality of the gothic suggests a relationship between the Church and its dead that differed from that of previous Virginian Anglicans. As the Rev. Dr. Lauren Winner has convincingly argued, elite Virginians of the colonial period associated their dead not so much with the parish church, but rather with the family plantation. Virginian planters often sought to be buried in an estate cemetery rather than the churchyard, disassociating themselves from the parish and "the tacit social leveling suggested by burial in the churchyard, where a certain 'everyone' had the same resting place."[126] Even when buried at church, moreover, colonial tombstones featured "baroque and classical curves, swirls, flourishes and geometric patterns" reminiscent of plantation architecture and thus, "tied the tombs back to the deceased's estate," ensuring the recognition of their social status even after

[124] *Southern Churchman,* Vol. II, No. 30 July 22, 1836
[125] Kilde understands mid-nineteenth century religious significance attached to nature as being "inspired by European Romanticism" and "the transcendentalism of Ralph Waldo Emerson and his New England compatriots." pg. 152
[126] Winner, pg. 150

death and reflecting the desire to be associated primarily with one's home.[127] Winner's work suggests a theological interpretation of the dead's relationship to the church among elite colonial Virginians that is markedly different from Rev. Dewey's. Instead of wanting to "feel as if the spirits of their fathers still mingled in their holy rites" by surrounding the church with the remains of their loved ones, it seems colonial planters preferred the architectural locus of their memory to be centered on the home, not the parish church.

Additionally, the suggestion of architectural elements as "objects that inspire devotion" is markedly different from the architectural concerns of colonial church builders. The article from the *Southern Churchman* contains a convincing demonstration of the shift from what Kieckhefer calls the "evangelical church," in which the ability of the congregation to hear the preacher is the highest priority, to the "sacramental church" model, in which the ability to produce a feeling of devotion and awe is prioritized. Kieckhefer writes that,

> the classic sacramental church is characteristically marked by a sense of aspiration, of mystery, and of timelessness. Among the means used to convey these qualities, the most important are height, light and acoustics: height chiefly to convey a spirit of aspiration, light to evoke a sense of mystery, and acoustics to suggest timelessness.[128]

These three aspects: height, in the references to domes and "that arch of blue;" light, in the comparisons of candles to the sun and stars; and acoustics, in the author's endorsement of choral "anthems" and organ peals, are prominent features of Rev. Dewey's essay. These are not merely superficial features but rather, they are architectural forms that have an experiential end.

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[127] Winner, pg. 151. See also Chapter Twenty in Jones, titled *The Dead: Memorials, Stones, and Bones* pg.153

[128] Kieckhefer, pg. 103

Dewey's reference to nature suggests an emotive response to gothic architecture. Gothic churches produced in the worshiper feelings of vastness, awe, and diminishment of the self relative to God, "touch[ing] the spring of imagination and feeling and excit[ing] the principle of devotion." As objects to encourage worshipful feeling, these features operated on the worshiper in ways entirely antithetical to Protestantism's iconoclastic tradition.

What is perhaps most astounding about the Southern Churchman piece is the unapologetic recognition that the decorative elements the author praised were associated with "the churches of Rome." This passage and its republication in the *Southern Churchman*, represents the tension between, on one hand, the need to buttress the Church's identity as Protestant in the face of the increasing immigration of European Catholics and, on the other hand, the shifting architectural and liturgical predilections of many of its clergy and laity . That Dewey associates the liturgical ornamentation common to gothic churches with Roman Catholicism, and yet advocates its adoption in all churches without addressing the connection further, suggests far different theological and ecclesiological priorities than the evangelical bishops of the Diocese of Virginia, for whom the fear of "popery" was preeminent.[129]

One should not be surprised that Virginian clergy and congregations were often out of step with their bishops. Milo Mahan, a Virginian by birth and former teacher of Greek at Episcopal High School (which shares a campus with Virginia Theological Seminary), studied under Bishop Meade and was ordained by his hands in 1845. Six years later, this son of the

[129] It should be noted that it does not appear that a Rev. Dewey served in the Diocese of Virginia at or around the time of this essay's publication, as no roster of the Diocesan Conventions of the era bears his name. It is possible that the name is a pseudonym or that Dewey lived outside of the Commonwealth. Regardless, the article's inclusion in the *Southern Churchman* without commentary or criticism is remarkable.

Diocese seems to have absconded, heading to General Theological Seminary, where he wrote extensively in advocation of High Church causes.[130] Meade, in an attempt to ensure the theological and liturgical purity of his diocese, was known to exile unruly clergy from the Old Dominion, as in the case of Nicholas Hamner Cobbs, a High Churchman who was elected the first Bishop of Alabama in 1844.[131] Nevertheless, Tractarianism and its attendant architectural projects appeared in the Diocese of Virginia despite the evangelical bishop's watchful gaze.

Grace Church, Cismont

Rev. Dewey's 1836 advocacy for gothic architecture in the *Southern Churchman* would take some two decades to materialize in the landscape of Virginia. Twelve miles outside Charlottesville, one of the oldest examples of gothic ecclesiastical architecture in the Commonwealth can be found, Grace Church Keswick, built in 1855. The current structure of Grace Church replaced two older buildings. An Anglican church was built at the site sometime between 1724 and 1727 and was positioned across the road from the entrance to Bellvoir, a plantation owned by Robert and Jane Lewis.[132]

This church stood until 1745.[133] The Fredericksville Parish Vestry paid Francis Smith £80 to replace it, instructing the builder to construct a church "32 feet by 24 feet with 14 feet pitch" and "a Gallerie eight feet out." The walls were to be "boarded with feather edged plank dressed and beaded, the roof to be square well framed and strong with a neat cornice covered

[130] DeMille, pg. 95-96
[131] DeMille, pg. 105
[132] Barclay Rives, *A History of Grace Episcopal Church, located in Walker's Parish in Cismont, Keswick, Virginia* (self-pub, 2010) pg. 12-13
[133] Rives, pg. 13

with shingles 19 inches long to lie three doubled & well nailed on." A humble structure, the vestry nevertheless ensured that the church would be well-built, with careful detailing and imported glass. Fenestration consisted of "18 lites 12 by 10 the frames and sashes all to be well done and glas'd with Bristol crown glass."[134] A true colonial church, a parishioner remembered it as "being of the colonial style, having high-backed pews and very lofty pulpit, which admitted of small space between the ceiling and the preacher's head."[135] Though of a much smaller size than the monumental parishes of the Tidewater (a mere 920 square feet, for instance, compared to Christ Church, Lancaster County's 3,660 square feet, including the galleries), the church operated, liturgically, in a similar manner. High-walled pews restricted sight and focused attention on the towering pulpit, making the experience of worship in this building very much like that in Tidewater parishes, despite its relatively humble appearance. The church was finished by July, 1747.[136]

The small wooden church stood for nearly a hundred years before the parish leadership sought to replace it. The Vestry met on New Year's Day, 1845, and appointed a committee to "consider and determine upon a design for the said church as the funds, which may be raised, will authorize."[137] Though the committee consisted of four men, it was Judith Page Rives (1802-1882), wife of William Cabell Rives (1793-1868), who seems to have been the primary driver of

[134] Fredericksville Parish Book, Rosalie Davis, editor. Vol I. pg. 109. Cited in Rives, pg. 21
[135] Rives, pg. 21
[136] Rives, pg. 22
Wootton, pg. 2 Implies that a 1767 visit of Thomas Jefferson and Nicholas Meriwether to the site of Grace, then known as Walker's Parish, was "for the construction" of the church. He is incorrect in this. As Rives correctly notes, the visit of these vestrymen was to survey and mark of two acres around the church, which would be purchased from John Walker, the owner of Belvoir and most of the surrounding area. Rives, pg. 27-28
[137] Rives,. Pg. 38

the project. In July of 1845, Judith Rives wrote to William Strickland, former apprentice of Benjamin Henry Latrobe and an experienced architect himself, forwarding preliminary drawings of the church.[138] Rives, having spent some years in France where her husband was Minister under Andrew Jackson, wanted a building for her parish like the gothic architecture she enjoyed in Europe. She indicated as much to Strickland, who assured her that, if they used the proper materials, the church would resemble "the abbey architecture of England and France." She wanted the church to be built with "solid materials, the best construction and as much architectural beauty as can be reasonably attained." Rives expressed little interest in ensuring that the homilies could be heard or that the Protestant church was appropriately plain. In fact the simple wooden church in which she worshiped at the time seemed especially inappropriate

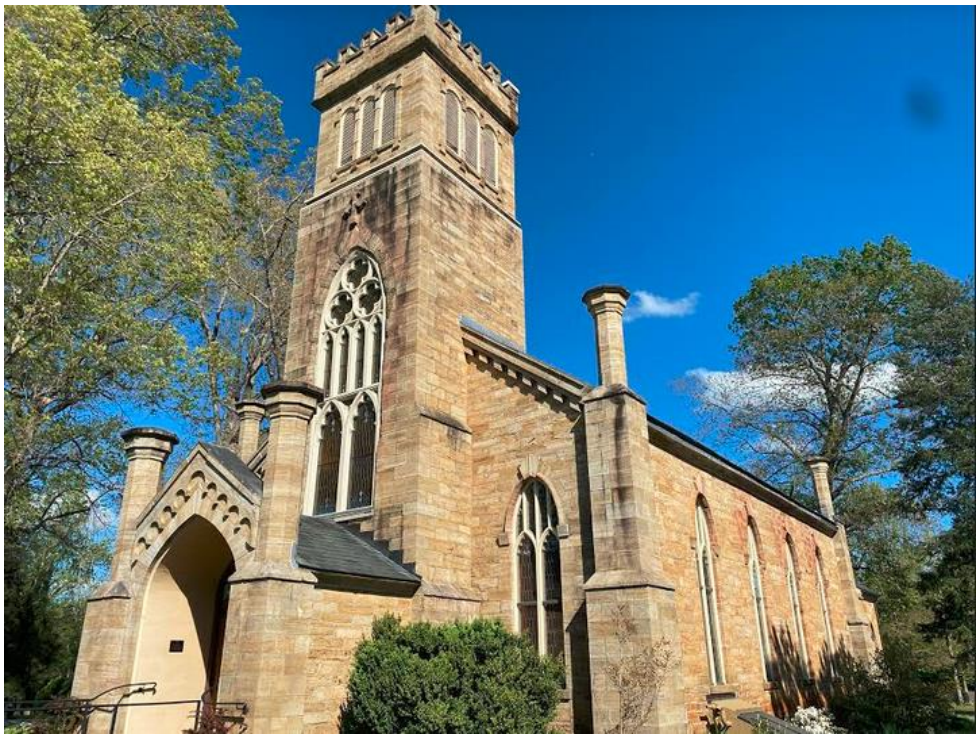

Figure 13- Exterior of Grace Church, Cismont

[138] Rives, pg. 39

It is unclear who might have produced these original drawing, as neither they nor Rives' original letter are extant. Whether Judith produced them or not, she clearly had a significant role in their production, likely guiding the design based on architecture she had experienced in France.

among the grand plantation houses of Albemarle County. “The House of God should be at least the best and most costly edifice in the parish,” she wrote.[139] Instead, the wooden church, made of “perishable materials and awkward construction” was “fast sinking into dilapidation and decay.” [140]

Figure 14- Elevation plan of Grace Church, Cismont produced by William Strickland, 1845

While previous Anglican architecture reflected what Lindsay Jones understands as a “deep enmity for idolatry” common to the Abrahamic religions and their insistence on the “unity and transcendence of God,” Judith Rives’s insistence on ornament as reveals her differing conceptualization of sacred space. While Protestant architecture insists that “the church is *not* a house for the deity; rather it is a house for the *people* of the deity,” Rives seems remarkably unconcerned about what is appropriate to the people of her parish and far more concerned with what is appropriate as a way of honoring the “House of God.”[141]

The idea that the parish church was the “House of God” was not absent from previous discussion of Anglican churches in Virginia. Landon Carter, son of Robert “King” Carter, referred to his local parish as “the house of my God.” Yet the idea of the built church as God’s

[139] Rives, pg. 42
[140] Rives, pg. 49
[141] Jones, pg. 103

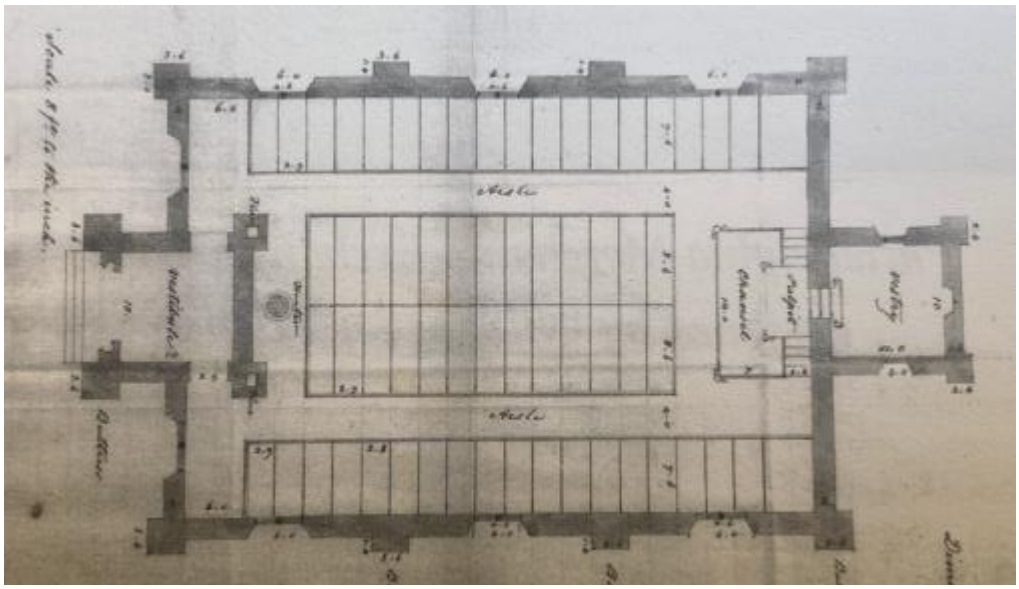

Figure 15- Plan of Grace Church, Cismont produced by Willaim Strickland, 1845

house seems to have taken on a new and different meaning in Judith Rives's mind. Dell Upton has noted that colonial Anglicans created architectural similarities between their churches and elite plantation houses. For them, "the house of God was not a slave's house or a common planter's house: it was a gentleman's house."[142] This "close affinity between church architecture and… the costly homes of the elite in colonial Virginia [was] a means of reifying power relationships."[143] Lauren Winner has expounded upon Upton's argument by drawing connections between the liturgical equipment of parish life -- notably textiles and silver -- and life in elite households. Elite Virginias thereby constantly challenged, undermined, and co-opted religious symbolism in order to consolidate and increase their social power.[144] For Rives, however, the construction of a peculiarly ornate church in a distinct architectural style presented an opportunity, not to mimic the houses of local elites, but to place the church above them as the "best and most costly edifice in the parish." Thus, while the ecclesiastical architecture of colonial

[142] Upton, pg. 164
[143] Buggeln, pg. 74
[144] Winner, pg. 31

Virginia sought to distinguish itself by aligning with the domestic architecture of the neighboring plantations, the gothic architecture of Grace Church found legitimacy in difference. Grace Church was constructed unlike any other Episcopal Church in Virginia because its primary benefactor, a wealthy and well-traveled lay woman, had in mind markedly different architectural and theological priorities than her colonial forebearers.

Rives seems to have understood the conceptual shift she was advocating and the radical ramifications it had for ecclesiastical architecture. Hers was a monumental task, she knew. She "desire[d] to see a reform in the style of our rural church architecture," decrying "the apathy which now prevails on this subject." The undecorated style of Episcopal churches was not, in the eyes of Judith Rives, a reflection of well-grounded, rational theology or an appropriate concession to prioritize the auditory elements of worship, but instead a reflection of carelessness, indifference, and sinfully disordered priorities. Moreover, Rives understood her own power, which, despite her affluence and pedigree, was restricted by her gender and lay status. The apathy -- or as may have been the case, the antipathy -- of bishops and powerful clerics might "be overcome by the perseverance of a few individuals in their parishes" who

Figure 16- Plate depicting Grace Church, Cismont

would lead the way in erecting a new style of church and thus inaugurate a new experience of worship.[145]

So crucial was Judith Rives and her vision to the building project that construction was delayed between 1849 and 1853, when her husband William began another term as Minister to France and the pair left for Paris.[146] Upon their return, the Vestry engaged Englishman Erasmus McSparren as Master Carpenter to finish the church's interior. No expense was spared, with wooden tracery carved for the windows and "massive hand-carved oak pews with high, elaborate peaked sides" constructed.[147] Remarkably, these pews seem to have included trefoil finials of the same sort William Meade removed from the chapel of Virginia Theological Seminary later the same year.[148] Bishop Meade, however, appears not to have made a fuss when he came to consecrate the building in 1855. Perhaps he did not find these finials as objectionable in a country parish as he did in his seminary. Or perhaps the bishop, famously deferential to Virginia's aristocracy, knew it would be inexpedient to criticize the diligent work of Judith Rives and her wealthy planter friends and kinsmen.[149] He reported dutifully to Diocesan Convention that he visited,

> Grace Church, Albemarle, which had been built on the site of old Walker's Church. This substantial and very imposing church has been built at great cost, chiefly by contributions and collections on the part of one family of the parish, Mr. William C. Rives, although

[145] Rives, pg. 41
[146] Rives, pg. 45
[147] Rives, pg. 52
[148] I am basing this assertion on the photograph of the interior from Christmas, 1891 [fig16] and assuming that the pews in that image are those made by McSparren and not replacements.
[149] Meade's 1857 book, *Old Churches, Ministers and Families of Virginia* is testament to his interest in Virginia's planter class and the close association between the gentry and Virginia Anglicanism.

> the rest of the congregation shared most liberally in the expenses. Three persons were confirmed in it on the day of its consecration. [150]

If he was unsettled by the church design, Meade found a great deal of solace in the inclusion of a centralized pulpit and a Hobart Chancel as shown in Strickland's original plan for the church [fig. 15]. The elevated, rectilinear pulpit towers four steps above a diminutive chancel, and included a rather awkward door immediately behind the preacher, leading back down into a vestry room on the rear of the building. The prominent pulpit paired with a small Holy Table continued the Protestant priority of the spoken word in this remarkably ornate building.[151]

The church would undergo massive renovations before the turn of the century, but even before then, a photograph of the interior of the church, taken Christmas, 1891 [fig. 17], reveals that the elevated pulpit was removed sometime between 1855 and 1891 or perhaps it was never built. In its place stands a raised chancel complete with ornate Decalogue tablets behind a prominent baptismal font.[152] Two side aisles were consolidated into a large, central walkway. The pulpit can be seen on the right side of the image, bearing a frontal decorated with "IHS" and mirroring a lectern on the other side. An ornate bishop's chair sits immediately to the left of the altar, and a cross features prominently above the altar in an alcove created by a pointed arch.

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[150] *Journal of the Convention of the Diocese of Virginia* (1855), Pg. 23

[151] Bruder, pg. 68 maintains that, though the exterior presented "a Gothic appearance … on the interior it was an evangelical Episcopalian church." This is an overstatement. As we have seen, the church was built with far different architectural priorities and formed an experience, both of worship and the space itself, far unlike the evangelical architecture built previously.

[152] It is possible that, among the many changes to Strickland's plan, the elevated, centralized pulpit was never built and the church as it appears in fig. 17, perhaps with a few alterations, is the original. I think this is unlikely, however, and that the sanctuary as appears in fig. 17 is the result of a renovation sometime in the 1880s. See below for details about a fire and the need for renovations.

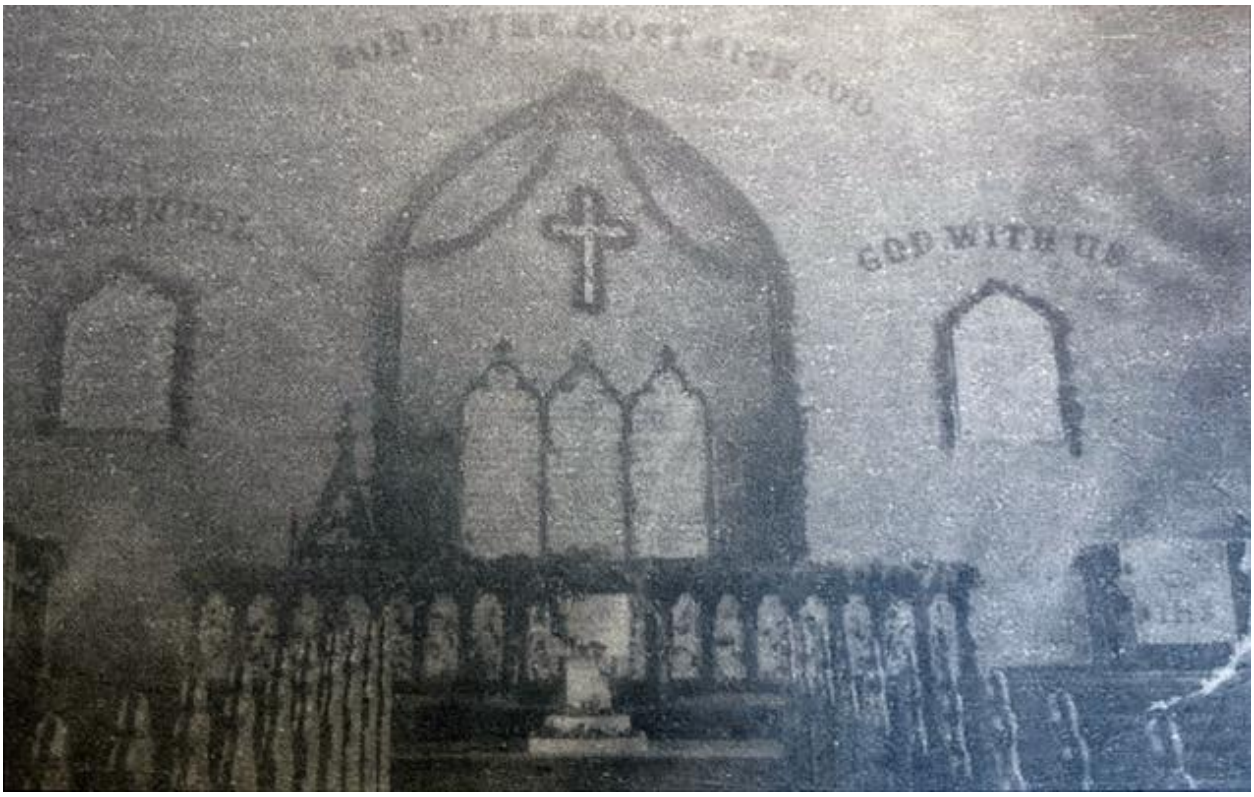

Figure 17- Interior Photograph of Grace Church, Cismont, 1891

Grace Church, as it was experienced in 1891, is a testament to the radical liturgical, theological, and architectural shift that gradually occurred throughout the 19th century. Sensitive to this change, in his 1877 pastoral address to the Diocese, the low-church Bishop Francis Whittle (1896-1902) warned of an

> evil from a small beginning [that] has in a few years grown to such proportions as on some occasions to involve wasteful and sinful expense, and to make our Father's house a place for floral exhibition, to please the eye and gratify a sensuous tase… And now in addition to flowers we begin to see what are called altar cloths, and cloths of different colors for the different church seasons, on some of our reading desks and pulpits…a system of.. practice not sanctioned by the Word of God…utterly repudiated by our Church at the Reformation, and which is held in abhorrence by a large majority of the

> ministers and people of this Diocese….Rituality and Romanism has [sic] grown up little by little. We must resist every innovation. [153]

That "evil" was in full swing in Cismont. Grace Church at Christmas 1891 fulfilled all the portents of "Romanism" Bishop Whittle decried just fourteen years earlier. Garlands and flowers made the church a "floral exhibition," decorative cloth draped from the pulpit and throughout the chancel ornaments were laid to "gratify a sensuous taste." Grace Church could no longer be called in any way "an evangelical Episcopal church" but reflected the liturgical and decorative priorities of the High Church movement.[154] It no longer prioritized the spoken Word of God above all else or clung tightly to the iconoclasm of the Reformation. Instead, it was a church "to please the eye," one in which a highly ornamented ritual could join a deemphasized sermon in forming the faith and convictions of the congregation.

Further renovations, spurred by the need to repair the damage from a devastating fire in the last decade of the 19th century, continued the sensuous emphasis already well underway. On Saturday night, February 9th of 1895, the sexton of the parish traveled to the church to load and light the wood-burning furnace, so that the sanctuary would warm in preparation for the next day's liturgy. Five hours later, the church was engulfed in flames, and neighbors rushed to fight the fire, but with little success. By dawn, the ornate woodwork which once decorated the interior was reduced to ashes, the timber roof was entirely destroyed, and the mammoth bell had fallen through the belfry and embedded itself in the floor.[155] Suspiciously, parishioner John Armstrong Chanler had purchased a twelve-thousand-dollar insurance policy on the church -- without the

[153] Dickens, pg. 140
[154] Bruder, pg. 68
[155] Rives, pg. 68

Vestry's knowledge or approval -- just a few months before the fire. Donna Lucey has suggested that Chanler torched the church as an act of revenge against his soon-to-be ex-wife, Amelie Rives, granddaughter of Judith and William.[156]

Regardless of the cause of the fire, whether an all-too-common furnace accident or an act of arson, the parish took the opportunity provided by the fire and its attendant insurance payout to expand the church. Two major additions acted to rearticulate the space and its usage. The first was the addition of side aisles to the central aisle. The second was the introduction of a recessed chancel off the east end of the building.[157] The chancel, the part of the church immediately surrounding the altar, was perhaps the most contentious portion of the building in the architectural debates between high and low churchmen. For low churchmen, according to DeMille, "chancels were in the main mere alcoves, the central place taken by a massive pulpit, behind which stood the plain wooden table where the Lord's Supper was administered, perhaps once every three months, by a priest who frequently failed to wear even a surplice."[158] Early Anglican divine Richard Hooker, a moderate in terms of his theological conception of sacred space, nevertheless went to great pains to separate the chancel from many of the ideas laid upon the space.[159] Hooker wrote "we do not with anie greate strictnes or curiositie" hold a "distinction between the clergie and the rest," and stated the elevation and separation of the chancel from the

[156] Donna Lucey, *Archie and Amelia, Love and Madness in the Gilded Age.* (Crown, 2007) Cited in Rives, pg. 69

[157] Rives, pg. 70

[158] DeMille, pg. 6

[159] Rudolph Almasy, :Richard Hooker and Places of Worship – 'In due season they are all pleasaunt and good'" in *Anglican and Episcopal History* 85, no. 3 (2016) claims the Hooker blended Roman conceptions of ecclesiastical architecture as *domus dei* with Protestant descriptions of the built church as *domus ecclesiae.* Hooker, Almasy contends, reflects a piety in which God is especially present both in the space set aside for worship as well as in the gathered worshiping community itself. Almasy, pg. 515. See also J.G. Davies, *The Secular Use of Church Buildings,* (Seabury, 1968) pg. 155-156

nave in so many of England's churches did not represent a "most holie place" as in the Temple of the Old Testament.[160]

For High Churchmen, like the members of the Cambridge Camden Society, however, a recessed chancel was "absolutely essential." If there was not a nave, they wrote, the church was "at best only a chapel." Without a chancel, however, a church "is little better than a meeting house." A "well-defined Chancel," they argued, was the appropriate home to "the more solemn rites of our religion," represented the "Church Triumphant" and continued the tradition of "our ancient architects…of the Holy Catholick Church."[161] At the most basic level, the division of an extended chancel operated in the sacred/profane dichotomy made famous by Mircea Eliade.[162] In spite of Hooker's insistence that the chancel did not represent "a most holie place" similar to the Holy of Holies in Solomon's Temple, in the minds of many lay practitioners, this was exactly the mode in which the cordoned-off section operated.[163] The chancel is an elevated space of restricted access and even a division of financial responsibility in terms of ornament and upkeep.[164] Only clergy and particular lay ministers including altar servers and choristers (in some contexts all-male), found their seats in this section of the church. The rest of the laity could cross

[160] Almasy, pg. 323, citing Hooker's Lawes, 2.56. Also see Upton, pg. 48
[161] *A Few Words to Church Builders* (1841), pg. 5. Cited in Webster, pg. 137
[162] Mircea Eliade, *The Sacred and Profane: The Nature of Religion* (Harcourt, 1959)
[163] See previous discussion of Bruton Parish burials, pg. ##
[164] Upton, pg. 72

Figure 18- Exterior of Grace Church, Cismont

into this space only once, at the height of the celebration of the Eucharist, to receive the elements. An elongated chancel further separated the altar from the majority of the laity, thus highlighting its prominence and providing a transitional space of heightened emotion as one approached the altar. To understand the emotive power of the chancel, then, one need only imagine the sensation of mounting the steps and proceeding along an aisle flanked on either side by the singing choir as one approached the altar to receive the consecrated elements. More than simply providing additional space for an increased number of lay and clerical ministers and choristers, the chancel presented an area of increased ornamentation, intensified acoustics, and a heightened sense of sanctity. Thus, the chancel created a particular experience of space within the overall design of the church and was not merely additional seating capacity.

The people of Grace Church also took the opportunity afforded by the fire to introduce stained glass into the sanctuary. Numerous parishioners donated funds to have windows made as a memorial to themselves or loved ones. Most are in a floral, botanical design, though many include figural elements. Strikingly, the central window over the altar displays a bouquet of

white lilies and an inscription from Psalm 130, "De Profundis," in Latin. To the left, a smaller window includes an interlaced articulation of the "Alpha and Omega" symbols and, at the top of the window, a golden cross. The window on the right includes the *nomen sacrum,* "HIS," and a royal crown. That a church of this time would include stained glass -- much less the symbols and images (including a cross and Latin inscription) once associated with Roman Catholicism and decried by iconoclastic evangelical bishops -- is notable.[165]

Besides Grace Church's inclusion of "Romish" symbols, its stained glass further augmented the quality and feeling of the space. The restriction of light by eliminating clear fenestration has the converse effect of heightening the *experience* of light. By darkening an interior space, individual points of light, whether emanating from a candle or streaming through stained glass, become all the more notable and effective.[166] Kieckhefer would categorize this church as "sacramental," being "marked by a sense of aspiration, of mystery and of timelessness" created by proportionality that emphasizes height, echoing acoustics to "suggest timelessness" and restricted, colored light to "evoke a sense of mystery."[167] Gothic structures like Grace Church attempted to evoke a sense of awe and wonder within their visitors and this constitutes a major division between the gothic and both the evangelical and colonial architectural forms. Churches like Grace, and the architectural and devotional elements they included, joined, or perhaps supplanted, the spoken word in the effort to produce a religious feeling of awe. This shift is worth noting, not only in that gothic architecture shifted the means through which religious feeling was created (for example, from auditory only to visual, auditory, and olfactory) but also because these churches exhibit an increased level of agency in the

[165] Rives, pg. 70-71
[166] Kieckhefer, pg. 108
[167] Kieckhefer, pg. 103

production of worship. Gothic churches were not mere backgrounds or settings for worship, but were liturgical participants themselves and objects of devotion, meditation, and contemplation.

Bishop Whittle, who denounced so many of the elements of gothic architecture in his 1877 pastoral address quoted above, reconsecrated Grace Church in a lavish ceremony on April 17, 1896, after its restoration. A long procession, complete with the bishop and twelve other Episcopal clergymen, made its way up the center aisle to dedicate the place to God's service. A local newspaper asserted that the evangelical Bishop Whittle was spared the sight of the lavish and ornate church, because he was functionally blind. The fact that the rector read the long sentences of consecration from the Book of Common Prayer on the bishop's behalf certainly supports this idea.[168]

Another element of the history of Grace Church, Cismont, deserves to be highlighted, namely the relationship between the architecture and race. In 1759, the parishioners of Fredericksville Parish asked their parson, James Maury, to conduct two rites of baptism within the same service, one Black parishioners and one for whites. The cleric and erstwhile tutor of Thomas Jefferson explained that, more than being a "breach upon the Order & Regularity of divine Service," the request manifested the "Pride & Arrogance" common in his planter parishioners and which he understood Christianity as seeking to "mortify & abate."[169] A century later, the elite leaders of Grace Church continued the exclusionary heritage of their predecessors. Preceding the construction of the stone church, the Vestry voted to move the century-old wooden church off its foundation and to the rear of the new building. It was planned that the old church would house a separate, black congregation, making the new church a white-only

[168] Rives, pg. 72-73

[169] Winner, pg. 44 Citing a letter from James Muary to an unnamed recipient, October 10, 1759

space.[170] While some historians have noted the close relationship between High Church theology and a particular care for the poor, especially in its English and New England contexts, this charitable association is lacking from the history of Grace.[171] Judith Rives and her planter and slave-owning peers used the opportunity presented by the new church's construction to further marginalize and oppress the Afro-Virginian population of the parish. While the effort to move the old church was unsuccessful (the frame was difficult to lift off its foundations and eventually was disassembled and sold to a farmer for "a more irreligious use"), the plan demonstrates an important element of the region's, and the denomination's, history. The construction of an ornate, stone church for white citizens to overshadow an old, run down, wooden sanctuary for Black Virginians was an architectural manifestation of the white supremacy endemic to nineteenth-century Virginia, and an important consideration in the architectural and ecclesiastical history of the era. Despite the failure of the plan to relegate Black parishioners to a separate building, racial divisions continued to be expressed, as Black congregants were forced to sit in the gallery of the church well into the twentieth century.

[170] Rives, pg. 53

[171] Kieckhefer, pg. 216, for example, notes that the Oxford Movement quickly developed "a keen sense of social responsibility on the one hand and a commitment to richly symbolic worship on the other."

The Rebuilding of Christ Church, Charlottesville

In nearby Charlottesville, the present building of Christ Church, [fig. 19] sits on the ridge of a hill overlooking the central portion of town. The structure is built of a dark grey stone, roughly faced. The fenestration is pointed with light, cast-stone tracery. Facing High Street, the façade includes a massive rose window within a larger pointed arch surmounting a similarly arched, deep-set, red-painted door, flanked by rows of engaged pilasters. Two towers of unequal height mark either side of the façade, behind which a transept belies the cruciform layout of the sanctuary. The building is undoubtedly gothic, and bears little resemblance to its classical predecessor.

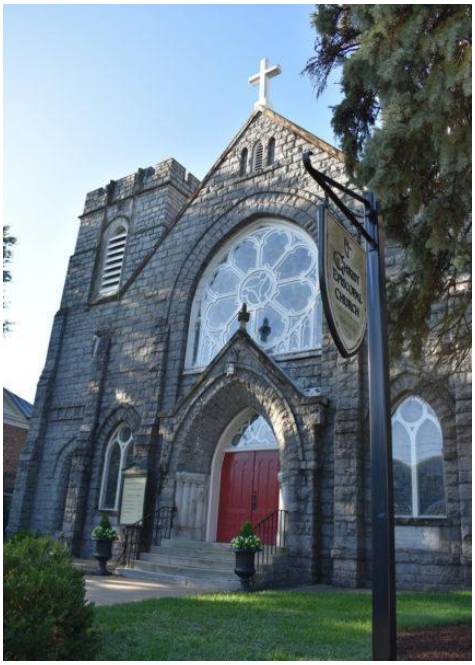

Figure 19- Contemporary Facade of Christ Church, Charlottesville

As I have already suggested, the story of how this unquestionably gothic building came to stand within the evangelical Diocese of Virginia is not the result of a sudden or decisive moment. Indeed, the original structure underwent numerous architectural changes before its replacement in 1895. Two images from around the year 1880, one of the exterior of the church [fig. 20] and one of the interior [fig. 21] are the only extant photographs of the original church. They record the many renovations and additions to the church since its 1825 construction.

On the exterior, the photograph shows a brick wall built by William Phillips and financed by the request of a prominent parishioner that marks the internal church yard or “close” from the

outside world.[172] The separation of a church close has a long history within the Church of England, beginning in the pre-Reformation period and continuing through the present day. Pre-Reformation Britons understood their land in terms of concentric levels of sanctity. All settled land was divided into parishes, each with a parish church and some number of chapels-of-ease. A wall, hedge, or fence encircled the parish close, wherein parishioners were buried. In the close stood the parish church, which itself was divided into a nave and chancel, in which the primary altar at the far end of the chancel represented the holiest and most restricted area, and thus the sacramental center of the entire parish. Annual rogation days were celebrated, in which parishioners gathered to "beat the bounds" of their parish, reminding themselves of agricultural and parochial boundaries through a formal procession. Sunday Masses featured miniaturized versions of these events, in which the procession into the church began on a porch and walked the boundaries of the parish close before entering the nave. Thus areas of increased holiness were set apart for their sacred purposes and the division of property gained clerical assent.[173] Colonial Anglicans continued the tradition during the Georgian period. Seventeenth-century law demanded "that there be a certayne portion of ground appoynted out, and impaled or fenced in … to be for the burial of the dead."[174] Virginians regularly reaffirmed boundaries with rowdy rogation festivals and set apart land around the church for burials. Although they neglected to build chancels of much note, communion rails often separated, distinctively clerical space around the Holy Table from the rest of the church, as at Christ Church, Lancaster County. In a similar

[172] Dickens, pg. 95-96
[173] See Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England 1400-1580* (Yale, 1992)
[174] Upton, pg. 199

Figure 20- 1880 Exterior Photograph of Christ Church, Charlottesville

way, the brick wall and fence seen in the 1880 photograph [fig.20] separated Christ Church, from the profanity of the bustling town.

An octagonal belfry in an Italianate style was added to the façade of the church in 1873.[175] It replaced an adjacent, free standing bell tower built for $1000 in 1837.[176] The 1873 belfry housed a newly-purchased bell, and at or around the time of its construction, a cross was fabricated to surmount it, as shown in fig. 20.[177] The use of a cross is remarkably disjunctive

[175] Wootton, pg. 12

[176] Dickens, pg. 96 , The bell tower was similar to a structure that stood at nearby Buck Mountain Church into the 20th century

[177] Wootton, pg. 12 I believe, based on the articulation of the pointed belfry roof, that that belfry was designed to have a cross and that the cross is original.

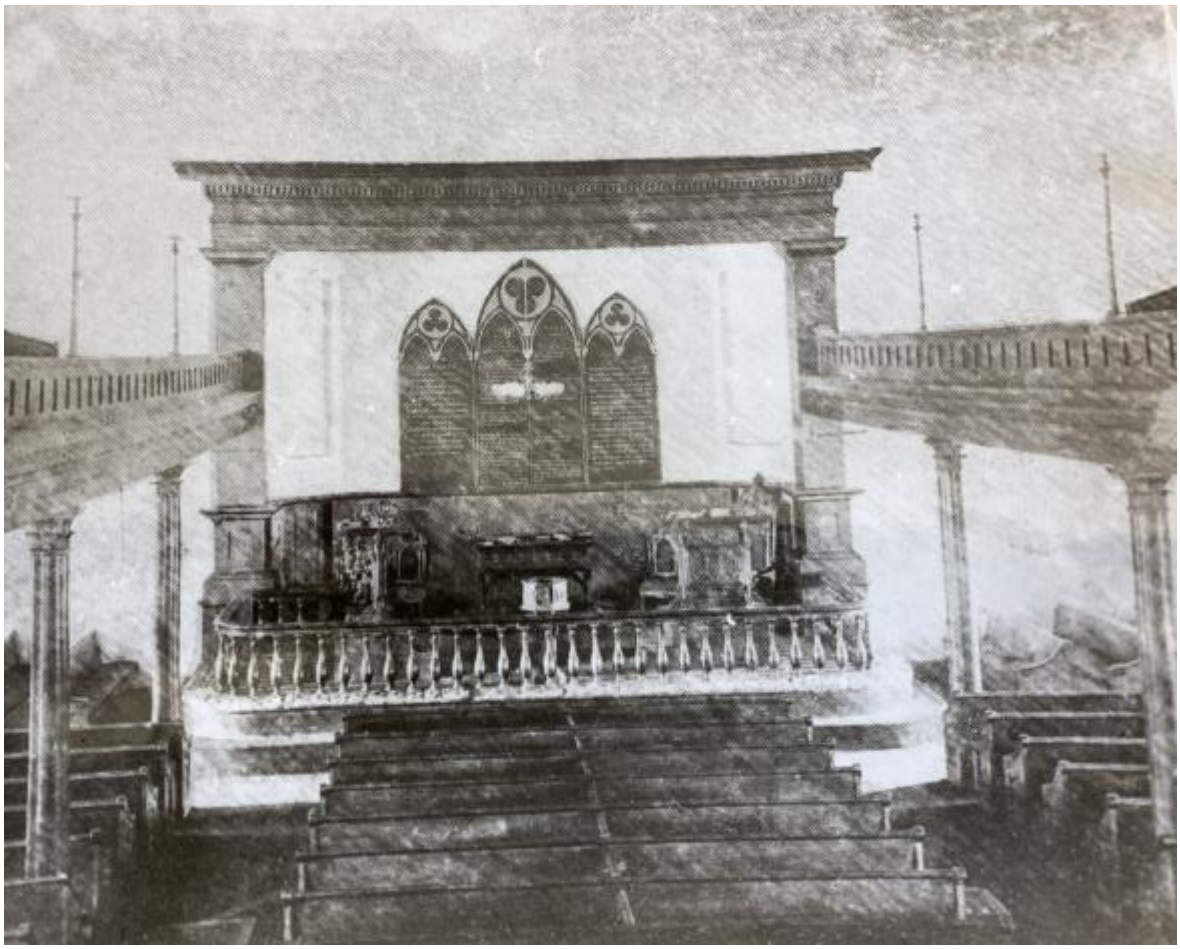

Figure 21- Interior Photograph of Christ Church, Charlottesville, 1880

with Protestant architectural heritage up to that point, and Christ Church may have been the first Protestant church in the area to include a steeple cross.[178]

While these architectural renovations of, and additions to, the original Christ Church, including the transepts and portico discussed in Chapter 1, represent a dramatic reconceptualization of sacred space, the gothic elements introduced in this period did not constitute a "true" gothic church. As one 1836 critic wrote in the *North American Review*, American ecclesiastical architecture of the period "has neither the stern simplicity and unpretending rudeness of the puritanical meeting-houses, nor the grace and richness of form and

[178] See Smith, pg. 73-75

ornament of European churches." Christ Church, Charlottesville, of 1890 could certainly be said to be such a church, featuring a meeting-house form but lacking the iconoclastic simplicity. With the rebuilding of the church in 1895, however, Christ Church would become just what the critic advocated: a "really gothic edifice, instead of [a] Yankee meeting-house with gothic ornaments."[179]

A pledge campaign led by the Rev. Henry Bedinger Lee in the early years of the 1890s continued work begun a decade earlier, when the Vestry appointed a committee to study the possibility of building a new church. That study, and a vote in 1888 to replace the decaying building with "a new brick church," were stymied by financial concerns. By 1893, the parish 's financial situation had improved and large collections were taken to fund the construction of a new church. Portions of the rectory's large lot were also subdivided and sold, evidence of the parish's determination to construct the new church.[180] Lee secured the approval of Bishop Whittle for a new church in the spring of 1894, and the Bishop announced his assent and encouragement during a pastoral visit to the city that year. The old church was razed on Monday, August 12th 1895. [181] After reviewing plans from numerous firms, the Vestry approved the proposal of the McDonald Brothers of Louisville, Kentucky.[182] Instead of the brick church envisioned by the Vestry in 1888, the McDonald plan called for the church to be built in stone. The large, gothic building would have capacity to seat seven hundred worshipers and would, as recent chronicler of Christ Church, Michael Dickens, points out, present a departure from the "Temple of Salvation" built by Frederick Hatch in 1825. The McDonald Brothers were hired

[179] Stanton, pg. 56
[180] Dickens, pg. 157
[181] Dickens, pg. 159
[182] Dickens, pg. 158

around the same time to do renovation work on the University Rotunda, but were shortly thereafter let go following a collapse on the build site. A similar disaster occurred at Christ Church on Christmas Eve, 1895, when a partially completed wall fell. The Vestry laid the blame at the feet of the contractor, alleging that they used gravel instead of brick to back the stone façade of the wall.[183]

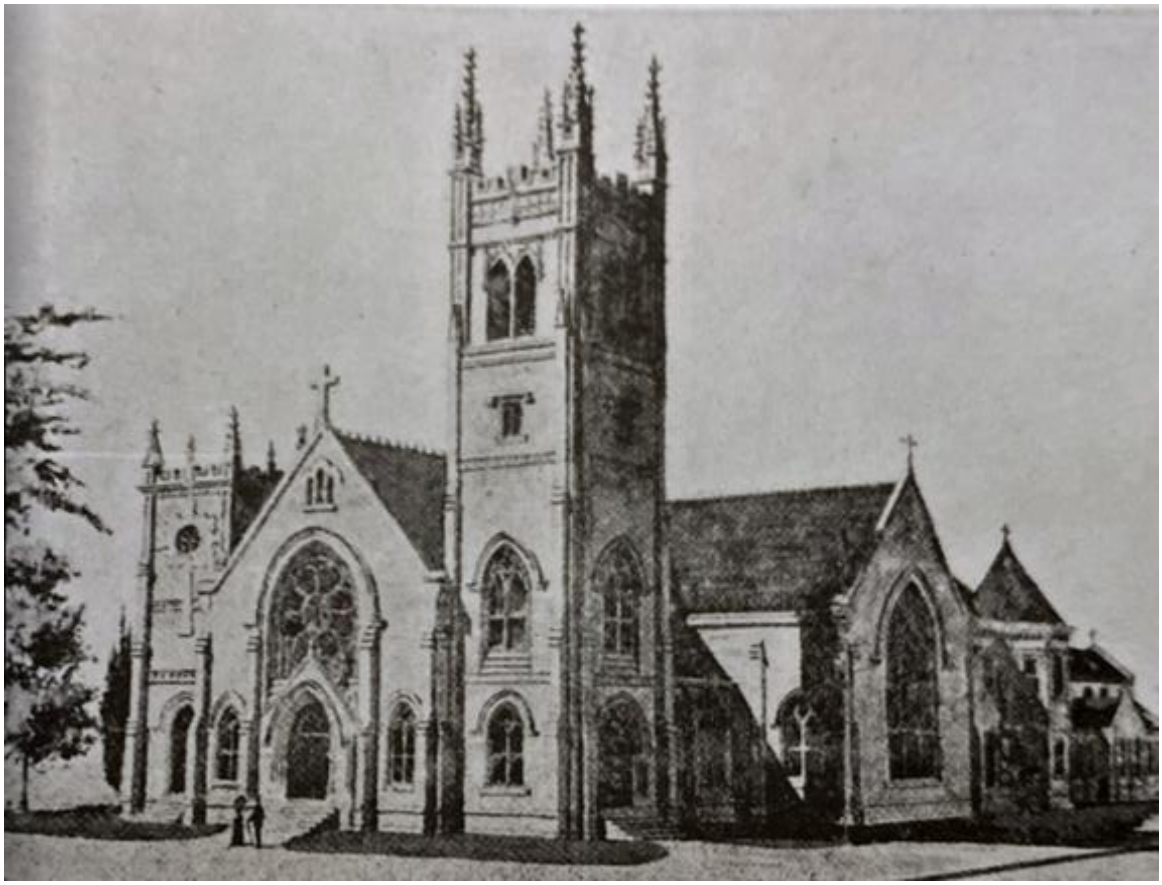

Figure 22- Architect's Rendering of Christ Church, Charlottesville

The architect's rendering of the building [fig. 22] reveals just how disjunctive this new building was from the old Christ Church. The exterior includes engaged buttresses, highly ornate tracery, and prominent windows. Crosses surmount nearly every gable of the structure, including the offices and Sunday school buildings shown in the background on the right. Two large towers

[183] Dickens, pg. 165

flank either side of the façade, though they would not be built with the same height or decoration as planned.

On the inside, hammer beam roof trusses in a carpenter gothic style allowed high ceilings without the use of masonry vaulting. A photograph from 1991, before the installation of a large organ at the far end of the church, reveals the significance of the chancel, which allowed room for a lay choir and a processional space as one approached the altar, and a communion rail installed by the Ladies Sewing Society in 1903.[184] As at Grace Church, the imposing, multi-story pulpit was replaced by a diminished podium to the right of center when looking at the chancel. It is notable that this chancel space was designed contemporaneously with the addition to Grace Church, Cismont. This development reflected the complex nexus of liturgical planning, architectural priority, and the experience of worship. Episcopalian liturgical practice, including the introduction of trained choirs and increasingly ornate celebrations of the Eucharist with processions, large altar parties, and increased ritual action, demanded specialized architecture in the chancel and, in turn, created a change in the experience of worship. Thus, inextricable aesthetic and theological

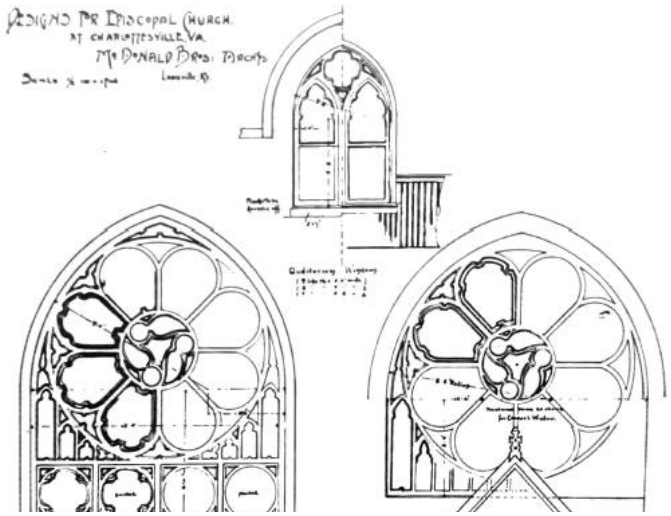

Figure 23- Architectural Plans for Windows of Christ Church, Charlottesville, showing Tracery. Produced by McDonald Brothers

[184] Dickens, pg. 169. It is unclear if an altar rail existed before this time, though it is likely given contemporary eucharistic practice.

Figure 24- Interior Photograph of Christ Church, facing Nave

convictions about the Eucharist became manifest architecturally, and worked to reinforce the importance of the sacramental theology through an augmented and heightened experience of worship.

Decorative, stained glass windows were a major element of the 1895 Christ Church building. The McDonald Brothers designed highly ornamented fenestration throughout the structure, including large rose windows with abstract tracery [fig. 23]. This was not the congregation's first foray into using stained glass in their sanctuary. In 1884, while still in their old building, the principal of the nearby Edgehill School suggested that students raise money to purchase a large stained-glass window to replace the Decalogue tablets in the chancel. After initially refusing, the Vestry asked Ms. Ellen Wayles Randolph Harrison, the principal, to finance two smaller windows to go on either side of the tablets instead. Three years later, the Vestry changed their mind, voting to remove the Decalogue tablets and replace them with a large oriel window, and to replace all the clear glass fenestration throughout the nave with stained glass.[185] It is unclear how much of this work was completed by the time the Vestry decided to construct a new building.

[185] Dickens, pg. 144

The 1895 Church had stained glass throughout. Christ Church signed a contract with Tiffany Glass and Decorating Company of New York to create memorial stained-glass windows for the new sanctuary. While "the old church had enjoyed natural light streaming in through the windows during the day, supplemented by lights, lamps, and candles in the evening," the new building would become bathed in a variegated rainbow of color across its surfaces. These windows were abstract and non-figural but, throughout the years, were replaced by windows representing biblical scenes.[186] While the original 1895 chancel window, shown in a 1963 Christmas Card [fig. 25] included only small figural elements, it was soon joined by windows that displayed not only the then-common representation of the cross, but the Holy Spirit as a dove, as well as saints, angels, prophets, portrayals of the nativity, the Baptism of Christ, the Sermon on the Mount, Jesus's prayers in the Garden of Gethsemane, the Crucifixion, and the Resurrection. The replacement of these abstract windows with figural ones is highly significant for, as Jones notes, images of sacred history "ossif[y] and thus reactualize" sacred events, transporting worshipers into these stories.[187] Parishioners gazing into stained glass windows before worship -- or perhaps during an elongated sermon -- are able to imagine

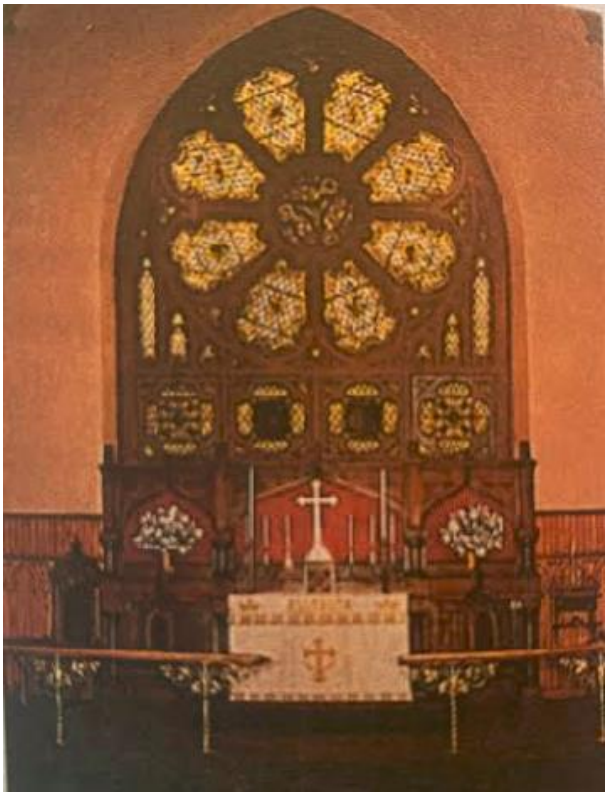

Figure 25- Chancel of Christ, Church, Charlottesville from 1963 Christmas Card

[186] Dickens, pg. 166
[187] Jones, pg. 144

themselves as part of those events: standing before the saints, among the crowds as Jesus preached the Beatitudes, or witnessing for themselves the Crucifixion.

Stained glass windows and the many ornaments of the chancel and altar operated in what Jones calls the contemplative mode, in which, "architecture… serves variously as an object of concentration, a prop or focus for devotion, an aid to spiritual exercise or ascent, a support, or a guide- in short, a direct catalyst of religioritual experience."[188] While the absence of these images in evangelical churches focused attention on the sermon, providing little visual distraction from the auditory message, the decorative elements of the new Christ Church invited the contemplation and rearticulation of Christianity's sacred history through art. While the

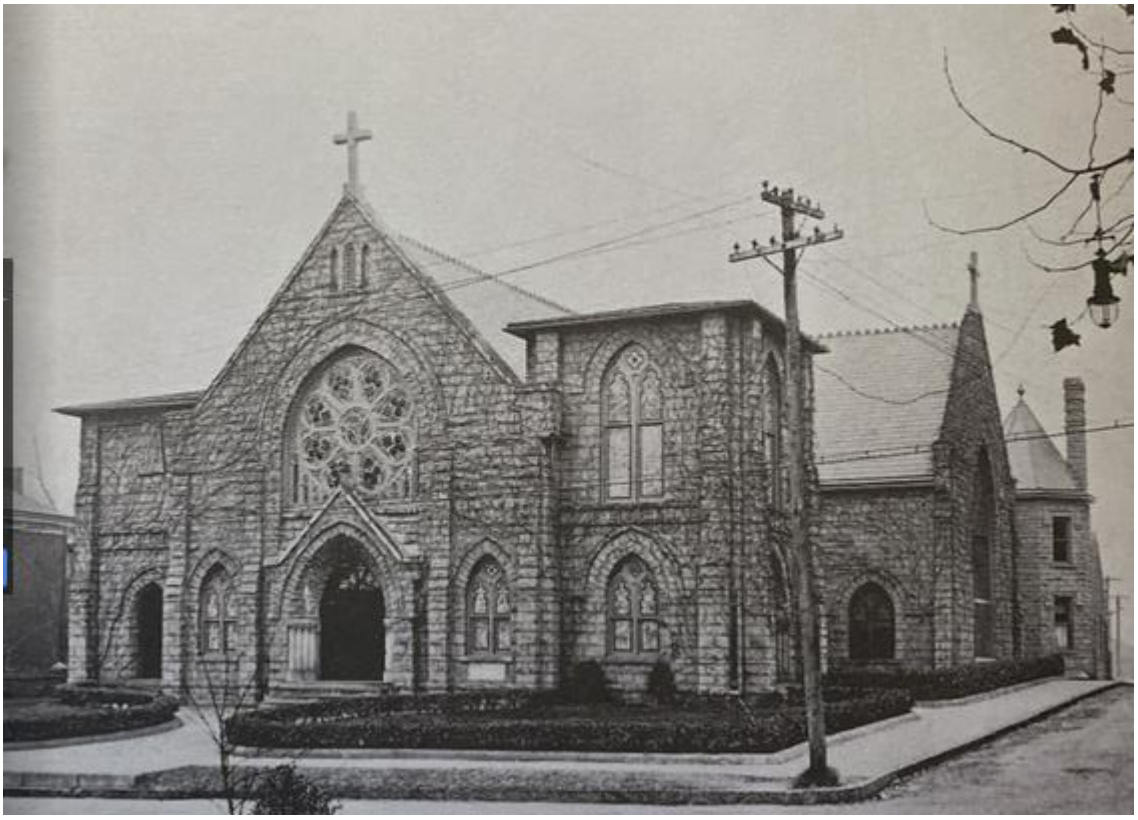

Figure 26- Photograph of Christ Church, Charlottesville before the Completion of Towers

[188] Jones, pg. 214

architrave, columns, and woodwork of old Christ Church operated as a theater, providing a background and setting for liturgical action, the contemplative elements of the new Christ Church were themselves liturgical participants, meant to be meditated upon and primary elements of the worship experience.[189]

[189] Jones, pg. 186

Chapter 3: Conclusions

Parishioners of Christ Church, Charlottesville, and Grace Church, Keswick today experience worship in ways unimaginable to colonial-era Anglicans and the evangelical bishops of the nineteenth century. Full, vested choirs sing from large chancels. “Parsons” are “priests” and wear highly ornate vestments to celebrate the Eucharist, which has supplanted Morning Prayer as the *de facto* primary service on Sundays. Pulpits are smaller and less centralized, reflecting the repositioning of the sermon as only part of the worship service, rather than its climax. Crosses adorn walls, roofs, and doors, and images abound in stained glass and on altar linens. How worship in the Diocese of Virginia came to utilize images and materials as objects of devotion (to move from an “evangelical” to a “sacramental” church in terms of Kieckhefer’s paradigm) is a complex history of competing theological priorities and aesthetic predilections. Ecclesiastical history is complex, and individual churches resist clear categorization. Nevertheless, it is appropriate here to offer an interpretive paradigm for Episcopal Churches in Virginia.

Affirming a Tripartite History

Kieckhefer’s model conflates the austere, word-centered Protestantism of colonial Puritans with later evangelicals under a category of the same “evangelical” label. While colonial parsons and nineteenth-century evangelical clergy shared a concern for the spoken word and sermon, thus accentuating the pulpit and minimizing visual distractions, the two groups demonstrate markedly different approaches to worship. Colonial clergy preached a comfortable and rational faith, highlighting one’s duty to society and social station. Liturgically, they offered a rigid liturgical ceremony stripped of ritualism or ornament.

Evangelicals, sharing their predecessors' distaste for "romish" practices, took a different homiletical route. They combined the decorous liturgy of the church with an increased emphasis on religious feeling and the need for personal conversion, reflecting the concerns of the Second Great Awakening. [190] The differences between rational piety of the colonial period and later evangelical practices displayed themselves architecturally, most clearly in the type and position of the pulpit and layout of the pews. While triple-decker colonial pulpits towered over box pews and restricted sight to limited lines in an attempt to remove distraction, evangelical pulpits served as elevated stages for emotional sermons, with pews arranged to maximize congregants' view of the preacher.

While rational and evangelical churches share a priority of the spoken word, evangelical and sacramental churches share a concern for the production of religious feeling among the congregants.[191] While evangelical architecture frames and amplifies the emotive and homiletical power of the preacher, sacramental churches are agents of emotion and objects of devotion themselves. Sacramental architecture includes figural images and ornament as aids to worship and objects of meditation. These, in combination with echoing acoustics, carefully mediated light, and dramatic proportions, work to produce a feeling of awe and devotion in the worshiper.

These three categories - rational, evangelical, and sacramental – constitute a comprehensive paradigm for the analysis of Anglican architecture in Virginia up to the mid-

[190] Buggeln, pg. 125

[191] I employ the word "sacramental" to describe gothic churches like contemporary structures of Grace Chruch, Cismont and Christ Church, Charlottesville with some hesitancy. At the time that they were built, the Eucharist was not the primary Sunday service and would not be until after the Second Vatican Council. Though gothic is particularly attuned to the ritual demands of the celebration of the Lord's Supper, I describe it here as "sacramental" in a broad sense, that ritual and material elements (bread, wine, water, the hands of a bishop) become the means of grace and are thus to be prioritized even at the expense of preaching.

twentieth century. It is important to note, however, that these categories are not temporally distinct nor mutually exclusive. Christ Church, Charlottesville, as we have seen, introduced decidedly evangelical elements into the fabric of the church at the same time that the gothic Grace Church was being built mere miles away. As taste, liturgical practice, and parochial leadership changed overtime, elements of one category were augmented with another, as in the post-bellum renovation of Abingdon.

Classicism, Gothic and the Quality of Feeling

Central to this tripartite division of churchmanship and architecture is the essential question: "what comprises the religious person?" Is it enough, as was the case for colonial Anglicans, to know and be able to recite the teachings of the church, or must true practitioners also demonstrate an appropriate feeling and emotional response in combination with or instead of their catechetical competency?

While colonial Anglicans expressed concern about the "enthusiasm" of dissenting churches and their emotive preaching, High Churchman and evangelicals desired to invoke religious feeling among their congregation, and used architecture as a tool to accomplish this aim. Thus High Church Bishop John Henry Hobart (1175-1830) wrote that a Christian ought to feel a sense of awe and wonder when engaged in the liturgy of the church:

> Let him feel especially that the 'Lord is in this place' where he thus worships, and his affections will be awed, his manner will be solemnized, his whole soul will be occupied in that human which he offers to his God, glorious in holiness, fearful in praise.[192]

Evangelicals too, inspired by the emotion and preaching of the Second Great Awakening, emphasized the importance of a personal conversion experience in which an individual made a commitment to God in addition to the baptism offered to them at birth. The symbol of the font, placed prominently in evangelical churches, became a reminder of this promise. Preaching was more expressive, and used an emotive and approachable polemical style to attract and retain the attention of a large and engaged audience.

While both evangelicals and High Churchmen sought to cultivate religious feeling among their congregations, the differing means they utilized to accomplish this goal demonstrates an important distinction. Evangelical clergymen like Meade understood themselves to promote a "reasonable faith" through the immediacy and clear logic of the spoken word. Polemically, evangelicals combined an emotional entry point with scholastic structure, using their sermons to express a logical and cohesive faith. Classical elements (recalling the great and "rational" thinkers of antiquity) provided a restrained and comprehendible setting for the homiletical discourse.

Tractarian High Churchmen, by contrast, used architecture and ritual to express the incomprehensible. Rev. Dewey's aspiration, that gothic architecture might produce "imagination and feeling, and … excite the principle of devotion," encapsulates this point. Gothic architecture was used in combination with symbolic practice to point to a deeper mystery and facilitate

[192] Mullin, pg. 76

feelings of expansiveness, uncertainty, and awe. Thus, while both sacramental and evangelical architecture seeks to produce religious feelings, the differences between their methods reflect a more profound disjunct between the ultimate object of those feelings; inspiration to dedicate oneself to a rational faith, in the case of evangelicals, and as an evocation of a sacred and ultimately experience-able, but incomprehensible, mystery in the case of High Churchmen.

Mimicry and Authority

Another fundamental difference between the three categories of Anglican churches in Virginia – colonial, evangelical and sacramental – is the way in which they seek to claim authority and legitimacy from the society around them. Early Anglican churches, for example, used architectural elements to mimic the domestic structures of colonial elites, associating themselves with local nodes of economic and political power. At the same time, the gentry utilized the rituals and implicit hierarchy of church life, gravestones, and liturgical elements to reify and legitimate their social standing. Aesthetic similarities between plantation houses and parish churches produced an authority paradigm that promoted the authority of the church within colonial plantation society and legitimated the social standing of elites, thus lending their lifestyle, and the violent economy from which they benefited, the sanction of spiritual authority.

Early evangelicals continued this tradition by adopting ornament and building technology associated with the secular state and local nodes of power. By adopting the classical ornamentation in tandem with the state, evangelicals in post-disestablishment Virginia sought to reify their own power by aligning themselves architecturally with the state.

The mid-nineteenth century adoption of the gothic, however, seeks to affirm the spiritual authority of the church -- not through the mimicry of elite aesthetics, but through a denunciation

of them. By adopting an anachronistic and highly ornamented style, Episcopalians like Judith Rives built authority in opposition to both secular nodes of power and other denominations within the increasingly heterogenous American religious landscape. By building in a medieval style, High Church Episcopalians claimed both their English heritage and the church's atemporality.

Loci for Evaluation

It is prudent here to offer suggestions for the study and evaluation of Virginian Anglican churches in a systematic way, highlighting points of difference between the three categories.

Perhaps most prominent is the *pulpit*. As has already been noted, the structure and position of pulpits in Anglican churches in Virginia shifted dramatically from the colonial period to the nineteenth century. Soaring, triple-decker pulpits with sounding boards dominated the interior space of the rational churches of the colonial period. Serving a utilitarian function by reflecting and raising the voices of Anglican parsons, they also were a symbolic representation of the clergyman's spiritual and moral authority over his congregation.

Evangelicals retained a raised pulpit but centralized it, building a chancel which served to theatrically frame the preacher and his message. The "Hobart chancel" arrangement, in which a raised pulpit towers over a diminished Holy Table, reflects the evangelical emphasis on preaching and the spoken word over the celebration of the Eucharist. Tractarians decentralized and diminished the pulpit in order to prioritize the Holy Table, reflecting their sacramental theology.

Closely related to the pulpit is the *arrangement of the pews*. The high-walled, box pews of rational churches in the colonial period are an extreme example of the Protestant aversion to

visual distraction. This pew type created self-contained cells in which sound was the primary sensory input available to congregants. At the same time, box pews allowed for colonial elites to ritually enact and reify their social standing over their fellow parishioners through an intensely hierarchical seating arrangement.

Evangelicals and High Churchmen alike lowered or demolished pew walls and arranged seating to maximize visual focus on the chancel, whether primarily on a large, evangelical pulpit or a prominent Holy Table or altar. One notable difference between evangelicals and High Churchmen, however, was the arrangement of aisles. While evangelicals favored a pair of aisles, creating a theatre-like central block of seating directly in front of the pulpit, High Churchmen continued the tradition of the pre-Reformation church by creating a central aisle and dramatic processional space from the western entrance to the Eucharistic table.

The *prominence and type of altar* is another important evaluative measure. Rational, colonial Anglicans broke with medieval tradition in using wooden tables to celebrate the Eucharist. These liturgical items recalled the domestic furniture of elite households and implicated a theology in which God was a gracious host at the eucharistic feast, not a sacrificial victim. Shallow chancels with low altar rails and inscription tablets were the setting for the infrequent production of this rite.

Evangelicals continued to use a low chancel, desiring to minimize the distance between pulpit and the congregation. High churchmen extended the chancel, maximizing space for choirs and accentuating the prominence and ritual importance of the distant altar. Increasingly ornate altars and the placement of flowers in this area embodied the sacramental emphasis of the Tractarians.

The *position of the baptismal font* is a reflection of baptismal theology and a compelling evaluative tool. Colonial fonts often stood to one side of the chancel, associating the two accepted sacraments of the Protestant religion (baptism and the Eucharist) with one another. Still, high-walled box pews and the practice of christening the children of elite colonials in their plantation homes restricted the font's symbolic and ritual usage and further cemented the tight bond between plantation home and church. This arrangement was a contested issue, however. In the pre-Reformation period, fonts were placed close to the western door of the church. Upton notes that "While some reformers argued that it was more convenient and desirable to have it adjacent to the table or the pulpit, Church authorities decreed that entry into the holy community through baptism was appropriately signified by the old arrangement."[193]

While the plans for Grace Church, Keswick [fig. 15] show the font at the western end of the church, near the principal door, some nineteenth-century Episcopalians began placing fonts in front of the chancel, as is shown in the 1891 photograph of the interior of that church [fig. 17] and in the photograph of Christ Church, Charlottesville, from the same period [fig. 21]. The arrangement of the font in front of the pulpit served a similar function to having it at the western end, placing it symbolically between the uninitiated practitioner and full sacramental participation in the Eucharist. The prominent location of the fonts in the nineteenth century examples also position it as an object of contemplation, creating for the congregation a visual reminder of one's baptism, a rite which many of the parishioners would have undergone as infants.

[193] Upton, pg. 50

The effect of sacred architecture in colonial, evangelical, and sacramental spaces is closely related to the *proportionality* of the space. Rational and evangelical Anglicans alike adopted the simple, logical proportions of European antiquity, reflecting their commitment to clarity and rationality. High churchmen, in distinction, reverted to the practices of the pre-Reformation church in the construction of buildings with dramatic height. Sacramental churches with proportions in which the height is significantly greater than the width created a sense of grandeur and invoked the numinous, embodying the Tractarians' theological recourse to mystery and the sacraments.

Closely related to the issue of proportionality is that of *acoustics*. The word-centered worship practices of rational and evangelical Anglicans demanded the minimization of echo for the purpose of acoustic clarity. Low and flat ceilings and simplified floorplans helped achieve this goal in many cases, as did construction using wood and sounding board above the pulpit. The high ceilings, solid walls, and complex ceiling geometry of sacramental churches, however, intensified echoing, lending the space a feeling of eternity.

The use of *vestments*, while not thoroughly examined in this project, is another important evaluative metric. While evangelicals and colonial parsons wore no, or limited, vestments, usually a surplice and perhaps clerical collar with preaching tabs, High Churchmen made greater use of the clerical collar (including its tab-less version) and increasingly ornate vestiture, especially for the celebration of the Eucharist.

These evaluative loci and the tripartite categorization I have outlined above form an interpretive paradigm that will be improved and nuanced by further research and examination of both archival and architectural records. It is my hope that this thesis will serve as a foundation for further architectural-historical research within or outside the Diocese of Virginia.

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