

Church of St. James the Less, (Protestant Episcopal)
3200 W. Clearfield Street
Philadelphia
Philadelphia County
Pennsylvania

HABS No. PA-1725

HABS,
PA,
51-PHILA,
318-

PHOTOGRAPHS

Historic American Buildings Survey
Heritage Conservation and Recreation Service
Department of the Interior
Washington, D.C. 20243

ADDENDUM
FOLLOWS...

ADDENDUM TO
THE CHURCH OF SAINT JAMES THE LESS
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HISTORIC AMERICAN BUILDINGS SURVEY
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HISTORIC AMERICAN BUILDINGS SURVEY
Admission 78
~~EPISCOPAL~~ CHURCH OF SAINT JAMES THE LESS

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Location: W. Clearfield Street at the southwest corner of Thirty-Second Street and the Intersection of Hunting Park Avenue), Philadelphia, Philadelphia County, Pennsylvania.

Present Owner/
Occupant: Church of Saint James the Less

Present Use: Protestant Episcopal Church

Significance: Built between 1846 and 1848, St. James the Less is the first pure example of a Medieval Parish Church in the United States. It is also the first church to be inspired by, and constructed under the supervision of, the English Ecclesiological (late Cambridge Camden) Society, a highly influential group dedicated to reviving Medieval ritual and church design.

An intimate and exquisitely beautiful church, St. James the Less is a superb reproduction of St. Michael's, Longstanton in Cambridgeshire, built ca. 1230. Measured drawings of St. Michael's were executed by English architect G.G. Place. By providing plans for the church as well as technical assistance regarding its furnishings and ornamentation, the Ecclesiological Society was highly instrumental in the erection of St. James the Less in its present form. Construction was supervised by Philadelphia architect John E. Carver, along with founder and building committee leader Robert Ralston whose vision and financial backing made the erection of the church possible.

The authenticity of St. James the Less' undisguised materials and structure--with its massive granite walls and buttresses, oak trussed ceiling, stone arcade and pillars--surpassed previous Gothic Revival churches in America. Moreover, unprecedented liturgical and stylistic correctness was achieved first and foremost by its clearly articulated chancel and symmetrical design, as well as High Church elements including the prominent marble altar, richly carved choir stalls and pews, spectacular stained glass windows and metal rood screen embedded with semi-precious stones.

St. James the Less' simple nave plan provided the most suitable prototype yet to appear for America's rapidly emerging suburban and rural Episcopal parishes, and stimulated a parish church revival throughout the country. Prominent architects Richard Upjohn and Frank Wills produced numerous churches based on St. James the Less. Later, as the American frontier expanded, the design inspired by St. James the Less travelled farther west. Although the design became modified in its passage, its essential elements continue to influence small church design even today.

Historian: Jean Guarino, HABS Historian, Summer 1996

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PART I. HISTORICAL INFORMATION

A. Physical History

1. Date of Erection: Between 1846-1848. According to the Vestry minutes, on October 10, 1846 a conditional contract with Carver & Hall for the building of the church, together with Carver and Hall's specifications in detail, was adopted. On October 28, 1846 the cornerstone was laid by Bishop Alonzo Potter.¹

The structure was apparently completed by the end of 1848. On October 31, 1848, the Building Committee referred to the completed structure in the minutes as "*...the erection of a house (that is) something worthy of Him who is worshipped there - at the least a comely thank-offering for manifold and great mercies, and which if not a model of economy is certainly one of beauty and durability.*" According to the Accounting Warden's Book 1846-1867, on November 14, 1848, the vestry made their last payment to Carver and Hall. However, they continued to provide Carver and Hall with funds through 1850 for various work, such as carpentry, necessary to complete the interior of the church. Payments for the church furniture also continued until 1850. As reported in the September 9, 1850 minutes, the church was consecrated by Bishop Alonzo Potter on May 26, 1850.

2. Architect: There were three individuals involved with the design of the church: G.G. Place (England); William Butterfield (England); and John E. Carver (Philadelphia). Coordinating the efforts of these individuals was Robert Ralston, church founder and building committee member. It was Ralston's impassioned study of ecclesiology and financial backing that were responsible for the church's construction.

G.G. Place, Architect for the Cambridge Camden Society in England, created measured drawings of St. Michael's, Longstanton, Cambridgeshire. These drawings were used by the building committee of St. James the Less for the design of their church. Place introduced minor alterations in his drawings of St. Michael's, such as designing a smaller south porch, altering the bell cote, and replacing the Decorated Windows with windows of Early English design, based on a single original window in St. Michael's.

William Butterfield, Architect, had served as official designer for the Cambridge Camden Society since March 1843. Butterfield created and sent drawings for the east and west windows, as well as external details for the aisle windows. In addition, Butterfield provided Robert Ralston--the man instrumental in the construction of the church--with a copy of the Instrumenta Ecclesiastica, which he had prepared for the Cambridge Camden Society. The designs for the original altar, font and numerous other elements of the church and its site were derived from the drawings in this book.

¹ Perot, Reverend Elliston J., The Church Standard, October 7, 1899.

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John E. Carver, Architect, supervised the construction of St. James the Less. He revised the G.G. Place plan by lengthening the nave by one bay and adding the vestry. In addition, he is responsible for the structure's excellent craftsmanship. Carver first appears in the Philadelphia city directories in 1830 as a "builder" at 158 South Fifth Street, the same year that he and William L. Johnston advertised a "drawing school" in Carpenters' Court. Between 1841 and 1845 he is listed as an architect at 128 Mulberry Street, and in 1846 is in partnership with John G. Hall at 51 North Sixth Street. (This same year the firm of Carver & Hall maintained an office in New York City at 31 Wall Street.) By 1848 the partnership appears to have dissolved; Hall disappears from Philadelphia and Carver continues on alone, adding "Engineer" to his directory listing in 1855.²

Buildings and additions:

Sexton's House: Built in 1874, with a two-room addition in 1902.

Lych Gate: Erected in 1885.

Wanamaker Tower: 1908; John Windrim, Architect, Philadelphia. John T. Windrim succeeded his father, James H. Windrim, in a highly lucrative architectural practice based on commercial, public and municipal buildings. John Windrim began the study of architecture with his father in 1882, and by 1892 had assumed the operation of their firm. Their local commissions included monumental structures, such as the Franklin Institute and the Philadelphia Municipal Court, as well as utilitarian structures, including stations for the Philadelphia Electric or the Bell Telephone Co.³

Rectory and Parish House: 1916; Stewardson and Page, Architects. Their office was located at 316 Walnut Street, Philadelphia.

Sacristy addition and enlargement of Rectory: 1927-28; Wilfrid E. Anthony, Architect, 131 E. 47th Street, New York.

3. Original and subsequent owners, occupants, uses: For almost 150 years this structure has operated as the Church of Saint James the Less, with adjoining cemetery (other associated buildings erected later).

4. Builder, contractor, suppliers:⁴

* Contractor for Church: Carver & Hall.

* Landscape Designer: According to various entries in the minutes dating from 1846

² Tatman, Sandra L. and Moss, Roger W. Biographical Dictionary of Philadelphia Architects: 1700-1930. Boston: G.K. Hall & Co., 1985, p. 133.

³ Ibid, p. 873.

⁴ All financial information regarding suppliers was taken from Accounting Warden's Book 1846-1867, Church of St. James the Less.

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- to 1918, the vestry made all landscape decisions concerning the church yard.
- * Stone for Church: probably Wissahickon schist; minutes from 12/11/1848 show a bill from Shanty & Evans for the balance on stone
 - * Bells: In 1849 Joseph Bernhard was paid in full for four bells--a total of \$250.
 - * Misc. Carpentry work: Various payments were paid to J&A Ferguson and Benjamin Marley for carpentry work between 1848 to 1850.
 - * Church Furniture: Between 1848 and 1850 several payments totalling \$607 were made to John Hare Otton for church furniture.
 - * Altar and Floor Tiles: Minton & Co., Stoke-upon-Trent, England. On September 18, 1849, the vestry reimbursed Robert Ralston \$313 for his previous payment on October 21, 1848 to Minton & Co.
 - * Hardware: On February 26, 1849 the company Bowlby and Brenner was paid in full for hardware.
 - * Iron Gates: A payment of \$98 was made to Robert Wood on January 9, 1849 for "iron work." The minutes of June 28, 1851 refers to a contract between St. James and Robert Wood, Manufacturer, of Spring Garden regarding an iron gate.

5. Original plans and construction: The original appearance of St. James the Less was very similar to its present appearance, with articulated chancel and south porch enclosing the main entrance. A small, one-story shed vestry was located against the north wall of the chancel, rather than the present sacristy. Steeply sloping roofs covered the nave, chancel and south porch, and the ridge beams were originally lined with stylized terra cotta coping or cresting. The north and south facades consisted of alternating single lancet windows and buttresses. The west facade featured angled buttresses at the corners, two massive buttresses flanking a two-light lancet window, and culminating in a two-tiered bell cote and cross. The east facade was pierced by a three-light lancet window and topped by a stone cross.

Inside, the chancel consisted of a simple altar backed by a reredos of Minton tiles, with a richly carved bishop's chair and sedilia. The original lectern was initially placed in the chancel, where the westernmost choir stall on the south row was located. Each row of stalls added its westernmost seats at a later date than the original stalls. The original rood screen was constructed of wood. With the exception of the larger, east window in the sanctuary and west window to the front, all of the church's narrow, double-lancet aisle windows were originally glazed with diamond-shaped clear glass panes, cast in a simple floral pattern, and set in lead. Early photos show that the nave was originally illuminated by one or two Gothic-style chandeliers, each of which held twelve candles. The original organ was located at the east end of the south aisle. The baptismal font was originally located in the cross aisle connecting the north and south doors, next to the column on the north side of the nave. The November 11, 1885 Philadelphia Inquirer provided a contemporary description of the church:

"The Church of St. James the Less...has long been regarded as one of the most beautiful church edifices in the neighborhood in Philadelphia, while its churchyard has elicited universal admiration."

6. Alterations and additions: The original vestry, located on the northeast corner of the nave and chancel, was a one-story stone structure with a shed roof, measuring

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10' x 13-1/2' in plan. In 1929, it was demolished and replaced with the present sacristy, designed by Wilfrid E. Anthony, Architect, New York. The new building is two stories with a basement, measures 10 x 24 ft., and has water and sewer connections. The contractor for the Sacristy was Irvin S. Grindrod Company, Engineers/Constructors.

The present chimney, located directly east of the south porch, was added in 1887. The stone bell cote was rebuilt in 1896, with stone matching the original. The current stone cross crowning the bell cote was placed there in the 1960s, and is the third cross to occupy that position. It is an exact copy of the original cross. A single lancet opening was created in the east wall of the north aisle in 1907 for a memorial window. The stylized coping that lined the ridge beams of the gabled roofs was replaced by copper coping, most likely after the roof was replaced in the 1960s.

All but one of the church's original, double-lancet (stained glass) windows have been replaced with stained glass of various designs. The only remaining original window is located west of the north door, hidden behind the ranks of organ pipes, and visible only from outside the church. Between 1878 and 1880 the chancel underwent significant alterations. A more elaborate altar was erected around the original altar; a rood screen of copper, brass and iron replaced the original wooden screen; and the chancel ceiling was decorated with paintings of angels between the trusses. At an unknown date, each choir stall had a seat added to its western ends. The easternmost pews in two middle rows were later removed.

In 1858, the original organ was moved from its position at the easternmost end of the south aisle to the western end of the south aisle where the Confessional is now located. The enlarging of the organ necessitated breaking through the internal buttress to link the console to the ranks of pipes. This opening, later dressed off, now provides the priest's entry to the confessional. In 1876 a new organ was situated where the current organ is located, with the ranks of pipes positioned in the westernmost bay of the north aisle. The current organ was placed in 1927. Some time after 1913, the Baptismal Font was moved to a location two pews west of the interior south door in the nave. In 1931, the Lady Altar was placed in the easternmost end of the south aisle. The confessional was placed at the western end of the south aisle ca. 1936.

B. Historical Context:

The Medieval Parish Church

With its massive granite walls and buttresses, oak-trussed ceiling, and stone arcade and pillars, St. James the Less embodies an English building tradition that lasted for nearly four centuries. The Gothic style was England's dominant mode of construction from the late twelfth through the mid-sixteenth century, especially in ecclesiastical structures. Characterized by the pointed arch and elaborate structural systems of rib vaults and buttresses, Gothic buildings became increasingly more elaborate through the years. The style can be divided into three periods: Early English (ca. 1180-1250), identified by sparse ornament and simple lancet arched windows and doorways; Decorated, (ca. 1250-1380), a style of naturalistic carved ornament and elaborate tracery; and Perpendicular, (ca.

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1380-1530), characterized by thin, vertical tracery, fan vaulting, and geometric ornament.

Thousands of parish churches were erected throughout England during the Middle Ages, usually inspired by spectacular cathedrals such as Salisbury (1225-50) and Ely (1325-50). Although primarily built for religious worship, the Medieval parish church was also the center of social life for the community. The nave was a venue for a variety of functions, ranging from church business meetings to riotous dancing and celebrations during parish festivals. Medieval churches in England were built on an east-to-west axial line, with the sanctuary placed at the east. This was in keeping with the Christian tradition of facing churches east in the direction of the new light, with reference to the resurrection of Christ, as opposed to the west where lies darkness and the underworld of Satan. All Gothic churches were erected with masonry walls, and timber roofs supported an outer covering of thatch, tiles or lead.

Parish churches were erected in all sizes, ranging from two-room chapels to spacious churches of almost cathedral size and complexity. Beginning in the twelfth century, the simplest plan for parish churches consisted of an aisled nave, with or without a western tower, and an unaisled chancel. However, as parishes grew they often transformed this design through a variety of extensions, alterations and additions. For example, square footage was increased by lengthening the nave from the east or west ends, or by adding aisles to increase the width. A cruciform design could be created by the addition of north and south transepts between the nave and chancel. Numerous modifications often resulted in churches of irregular size and haphazard layout. *(See Figures #1-5.) in field notes*

The tower occupied various positions in the parish church. Most commonly it was placed at the western end, although in cruciform churches a tower was sometimes built at the crossing. The main entrance was usually placed on the southwest side of the nave and enclosed by a porch. Like the nave, the south porch was used for religious and secular purposes, such as marriages, the preliminaries of baptism, and the transaction of legal business related to parish affairs.⁵ A vestry--where the parish priest robed himself for services--consisted of a small, rectangular chamber that was attached to either side of the chancel, although the north side was more typical.

Inside the Medieval church, color was lavished on both stone and woodwork. Screens, reredoses, roofs, images and baptismal fonts were brilliantly colored and gilded. Moreover, in an era when few were literate, interior walls were frequently covered with narrative paintings. The most popular subject was the Doom, a representation of the Second Coming and the Last Judgment. After the Doom, narrative paintings commonly depicted the Crucifixion, scenes from the Passion, the Resurrection, and the life of the Virgin Mary.⁶ The paintings were executed in tempera, applied to dry plaster. The more subdued colors of the wall paintings were complemented by richly colored glass which filled the lancet windows. As windows increased in size, colored glass was increasingly in demand. Although there was no artificial lighting in Medieval Churches, there were always lamps and candles burning in some part of the church for devotional purposes. The sanctuary lamp,

⁵ Cook, G.H. The English Mediaeval Parish Church. London: Phoenix House, Ltd., 1954, reprinted 1961, p. 189.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 197.

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suspended before the High Altar, burned continuously. Every altar had candlesticks placed upon it, while a candle or lamp burned before every image.⁷

The layout of the parish church consisted of two essential spaces; the chancel at the east was reserved for the clergy, while the nave was the domain of the laity. On the exterior, the chancel was distinguished as a clearly articulated mass. In earlier Gothic churches, the chancel was small in size and used solely to house the High Altar. As ritual became more elaborate, greater space was needed in the chancel for the officiating priests. Thus the chancel was extended to about two-thirds the length of the nave. The eastern end of the chancel consisted of the sanctuary, which was usually raised a step above the chancel. The sanctuary housed the High Altar, and was the most sacred space of the church. The High Altar was invariably made of stone, and backed by a reredos or retable. In most parish churches, the reredos consisted of a band of carving or a series of panels beneath the sill of the east window. Suspended from the roof of the chancel above the High Altar was a receptacle of silver or ivory containing the Reserved Sacrament and covered by a silken veil. It was raised and lowered by means of a pulley.⁸

The piscina, a shallow basin with a drain hole running down through the wall to the ground outside, was typically located in the northeast corner of the chancel. Another permanent feature of the chancel was the sedilia, consisting of three seats cut into the thickness of the south chancel wall, for use by the deacon, sub-deacon and celebrant of the mass. The western end of the chancel consisted of seats for the clergy and choristers. In the middle of the chancel stood a desk or lectern for the reading of the Gospel at high mass. The chancel was separated internally from the nave by a rood screen, which was common to all parish churches. The Rood was the figure of Christ crucified, that was placed high above the screen. Rood screens were usually built of less costly timber, and often featured painted figures of apostles, saints and prophets.

In the nave, fixed seats were not introduced until late in the fourteenth century, although by the middle of the sixteenth century many churches were furnished with seats or benches. During the Middle Ages, worshipers in the parish church stood when they were not on their knees.⁹ Every parish church contained a baptismal font at the west end. Although they were often octagonal, fonts consisted of numerous forms and decorative treatments. It was also customary to attach locked covers to fonts to prevent the holy water from being stolen or put to superstitious uses. Earthen floors strewn with straw were the most typical, although they were occasionally covered with flagstones or red tiles. Encaustic tiles were used sparingly in parish churches, and then only for the High Altar steps or the sanctuary.

Although there are an infinite variety of parish churches, St. Michael's in Longstanton, Cambridgeshire, typifies a simple layout that was consistently used throughout the Middle Ages. This Early English structure was built ca. 1225, and six centuries later would become the model for the

⁷ Ibid, p. 203.

⁸ Ibid, p. 168.

⁹ Ibid, p. 185.

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Church of St. James the Less in Philadelphia. Made of undisguised stone, St. Michael's is composed of an articulated chancel, a nave with aisles, and is topped by a twin bell cote on the west end. There are three doors, with the main entrance located in the south porch. The steeply pitched roof reaches down low over the nave and chancel. The west facade features diagonal buttresses at the corners and a second pair of buttresses running up the center, which flank the double lancet window. Arcades of four low piers, which are alternately circular and octagonal, separate the aisles from the nave space. (See Figures #6 & #7) ^{in field notes}

The dominance of the Gothic style was brought to an end by the combination of two significant events--the Protestant Reformation and the emergence of the English Renaissance. The Catholic Church was a major proponent of and closely associated with the Gothic style. Following the Protestant Reformation in the mid-sixteenth century, Catholicism lost its influence in England and members of the Reformed Church of England wanted all associations with "Romanism" severed. These efforts persisted during the 17th century under the parliamentary rule of Oliver Cromwell, tolerant of only non-Anglican Protestants. As a result, many of the country's Medieval Gothic churches were either altered or destroyed. Those churches still in use were modified to suit the new type of pared-down liturgy based on the Book of Common Prayer. This process was often accompanied by neglect and lack of reverence for the church building and its furnishings, and by the 1830s many Medieval structures were in very poor repair.

The ancient separation of clergy and laity disappeared as the priest moved the celebration of mass from the deep chancel into the nave. No longer hidden behind a rood screen, the clergy preached from three-decker pulpits, as great emphasis was placed on the parishioners' ability to see and hear the ceremony. The chancel, no longer considered the holiest space in the church, was generally used on the rare occasion of Holy Communion. As a result, chancels were commonly ignored, destroyed or misused, as was the case at St. Michael's Church, in Longstanton, where it was reported:

"The Chancel of this very beautiful little Early-English chapel is used for a school, a green curtain being drawn across the Chancel-arch, and a common kitchen-fire grate had been inserted in the north wall, with a huge red brick chimney behind it, for the comfort and accommodation of the teacher (who sits within the altar rails with his chair against the holy table) and his flock, who thus imbibe early principles of irreverence which must be most baneful."¹⁰

During this time, the nave of the Medieval church was also transformed as massive, comfortable pews for the rich took up a great deal of space, necessitating the addition of aisles or galleries for the poor. In addition, Medieval churches in England were stripped of any symbolism suggesting Catholic ritual, for fear of association with Romanism. Rood screens, statues and reredoes were wrecked and torn down. Mural paintings were whitewashed, while colored glass windows portraying figures of the saints were obliterated, thereby destroying the color harmony that graced the interiors of Medieval parish churches. Stone altars were ordered removed and replaced with tables of wood. Ancient features such as the piscina and sedilia, no longer essential elements of worship, were often removed

¹⁰ Ecclesiologist, Volume II, p. 171. (White, James F. The Cambridge Movement, The Ecclesiologists and the Gothic Revival. London: Cambridge University Press, 1962, p.6)

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or destroyed. Colorful vestments, polyphonic hymns, and elaborate ceremony associated with the traditional Medieval church were considered suspect as elements of ritualism and eliminated.

Due to English architect Inigo Jones (1573-1652) and the country's emerging Renaissance, few people were concerned with the deterioration of the Medieval church and its changing design. Classical forms quickly superseded Medieval Gothic in popularity and dominated English taste through the eighteenth century. This was aptly demonstrated following the Great Fire of London in 1666, which destroyed eighty-six of the city's churches. In the extensive program of church building that followed, architect Christopher Wren was highly influential in patterning most of the new churches after the ancient Roman basilica, rather than Medieval precedents.¹¹ The churches of Wren and his successors represented the austere Puritanism of the seventeenth century, while Gothic churches symbolized the ornate splendor and romanticism of the Medieval faith.¹²

Despite the popularity of classicism, countless structures built in the centuries-old Gothic tradition throughout England ensured that the style would not completely be forgotten. Scattered examples of the more authentic forms of Gothic continued to be constructed into the eighteenth century. Even Christopher Wren and William Kent--both prominent classical architects--built in the Gothic style when required and appropriate. In fact, Wren designed tower additions to Westminster Abbey, among the best-known English Gothic buildings.¹³ However, the handful of Gothic designs by these architects and their followers had strong classical overtones and constituted a "survival" of the style from its Medieval past, rather than a true revival. They served an important role as a link between authentic Gothic structures and those which constituted the initial Revival.

Early Gothic Revival in England and America

In order to appreciate the structural and stylistic advances of St. James the Less, it is necessary to understand the church in the context of the larger Gothic Revival as it spread from England to America. The early Gothic Revival in both countries was tied to the Romantic principles of the Picturesque Movement, which emerged in the eighteenth century. Poets such as Wordsworth and Coleridge appealed to the imagination and emotions by proclaiming "the beautiful wildness of nature",¹⁴ and provided the most important stimulus to the Revival. The formal aspects of the Picturesque were first demonstrated in irregular plans for English landscape gardens early in the century.

English antiquarians and dilettantes were the first to become interested in erecting their country houses or outbuildings in a style complementing their newly created "untamed" landscapes. This

¹¹ White, James F., p. 2.

¹² Cook, p. 60.

¹³ Pierson, William H. American Buildings and Their Architects. New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1978, p. 101.

¹⁴ Pierson, p. 11.

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called for structures that embodied picturesque features and were therefore the antithesis of classicism's rationalistic style. Architectural elements of the picturesque included asymmetry, movement and roughness. The exoticism of the Gothic appealed to the Romantic mind, as it symbolized a conscious endeavor to arouse an emotional response through evoking a particular historical atmosphere.¹⁵

In England, Gothic Revival was first exhibited in domestic structures, such as Horace Walpole's Strawberry Hill in Twickenham. Commonly considered England's first Gothic Revival structure, Strawberry Hill was remodelled by Walpole in the 1750s into an elaborate Gothic fantasy, a process that continued until his death in 1797. Walpole was inspired by decorative elements of the Medieval past--such as tombs and pew carvings--which provided an almost limitless supply of elaborate interior decoration and exterior frills. However, Strawberry Hill was not a true Gothic building, as it was erected with vaults of wood and plaster rather than the thrust and counterthrust of a stone structural system.

Probably one of the best-known eighteenth century Gothic structures was William Beckford's Fonthill Abbey, in Wiltshire. Designed by James Wyatt and conceived in 1795 as a garden ruin, the completed structure was astounding in both size and character. Enclosed by nearly seven miles of walls rising twelve feet in height, the Abbey had a central tower at least 276 feet high.¹⁶ Structurally, however, it was no more Gothic than Strawberry Hill. Although the walls of Fonthill were masonry, its vaults and many details were still executed in wood and plaster. The structure was so inadequate that the main tower blew down in 1800, and its replacement also collapsed in 1825. Structural considerations were of little importance though, compared to the effect of "gloomth" which Beckford had sought.¹⁷

The first architectural patterns books dealing with the Gothic style emerged in the mid-eighteenth century. During the 1720s and 1730s architect Batty Langley examined English Medieval buildings, and in 1742 published one of the first books ever devoted to the style, Gothic Architecture Improved by Rule and Proportions in Many Grand Designs. In this book, Langley attempted to reclassify Gothic columns and capitals into five architectural "orders", and illustrated how they could be applied to contemporary works. Other English architects followed Langley with publications illustrating Gothic design. In 1752, the brothers William and John Halfpenny produced Chinese and Gothic Architecture Properly Ornamented, in which they provided elaborate schemes for country houses in both the Chinese and Gothic styles.¹⁸

¹⁵ Loth, Calder and Sadler, Julius Trousdale, Jr. The Only Proper Style, Gothic Architecture in America. Boston: New York Graphic Society, 1975, p. 3.

¹⁶ Garrigan, Kristine Ottesen. Ruskin on Architecture. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1973, p. 9.

¹⁷ Ibid, p. 9.

¹⁸ Loth, p. 12.

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Both Strawberry Hill and Fonthill Abbey were erected as incredible pieces of stage scenery, and epitomize the eighteenth century romanticized view of the Gothic style. These structures, combined with early pattern books by writers such as Langley, wonderfully illustrate the modern "Gothick," where stylized versions of Medieval motifs were used as applied decoration, rather than an integral part of the structure. Gothic was considered simply one of several exotic styles from which a builder dissatisfied with classicism could choose. As such, early Gothic Revival was limited to country houses and frivolous outbuildings, and had nothing to do with the religious character of the style. There was no attempt at this time to integrate Gothic ornament and structure, or to understand the internal dynamics of buttresses and rib vaults which constituted Medieval builders' most impressive achievement.

During the early nineteenth century, increasing literary and archaeological studies on England's Medieval past made greater knowledge available about Gothic through a large number of published works. Pattern books and writings geared to both the professional architect and the educated public enjoyed great success, and greatly influenced the growing interest in the Gothic style. In 1805 John Britton launched a well illustrated series in forty parts, issued quarterly, entitled Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain. This was completed in 1814, and followed by a series on British cathedrals that continued to be published until 1835.¹⁹ The question of nomenclature for the various stages of English Gothic was determined by Thomas Rickman's 1819 publication, An Attempt to Discriminate the Styles of Architecture in England. It was Rickman who divided Gothic into three basic stylistic periods: Early English, Decorated and Perpendicular.

When the Gothic Revival emerged in America shortly before 1800, it was initially based on English literary sources. The Revival was also stimulated by Sir Walter Scott, whose novels romanticized the Medieval past. With vivid historical narrative, heroic characters, and detailed descriptions of Gothic buildings, Scott helped to dispel the aura of mystery and gloom that had hung about the Middle Ages, bringing the period alive.²⁰

As in England, a handful of seventeenth century Gothic "survival" structures, followed by a century of neoclassicism, preceded America's early Revival phase. St. Luke's Church in Isle of Wight County, Virginia, (ca. 1632), is America's most direct link with the Middle Ages, exhibiting buttressed walls, lancet side windows, and a traceried east window. Another direct descendant of Medieval Gothic--the first Trinity Church in New York--was completed in 1698. As originally built, Trinity was a small, square structure, with round-arched openings divided by masonry mullions forming Y tracery. It is unknown whether the tower and its octagonal spire were part of the original design.²¹

The first true phase of the American Gothic Revival was displayed primarily by church buildings, such as the second Trinity Church in New York (1788-90), America's first Gothic Revival structure.

¹⁹ Ibid, p. 18.

²⁰ Ibid, p. 42.

²¹ Ibid, p. 9.

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Interestingly enough, this structure replaced the original Gothic "survival" Trinity Church, after it was destroyed by fire in 1776. Located at the head of Wall Street, the conscious choice of Gothic for a major building was extremely uncommon at the turn of the century.²² Trinity's body was composed of a rectangular block topped by a pitched roof and fronted by a central tower and spire. Gothic detailing was tacked on, rather than integrated into the structure, and consisted of pointed windows, pinnacles and crenelation. Trinity's small, semicircular portico was similar to illustrations by Batty Langley, whose pattern books were relied upon heavily by the American architect or builder immediately after 1800.

The second Trinity Church anticipated the "classicized" Gothic taste that would typify most early nineteenth century churches in America. Often, although the details of the building are Gothic, the symmetrical massing, proportions, and scale are consistent with the neoclassical style which dominated new England in 1820s and 1830s. This was quite similar to the equally classical churches erected in England by Christopher Wren in the preceding century.

Three other examples illustrate early Gothic Revival churches that were classical in form, while using Medieval ornamentation. St. Mary's Chapel in Baltimore (1806), was designed by Maximilian Godefroy, a European trained architect and committed neoclassicist. The structure's symmetrical facade has a central door and flanked by niches, while Gothicized engaged columns at the corners support a full entablature and parapet.²³ Like Godefroy, Charles Bullfinch was a neoclassicist, with the Federal Street Church in Boston (1809) being his only known Gothic work. The building was a traditional Georgian rectangle, with applied Medieval ornament. St. John's Church (now Cathedral) in Providence, Rhode Island, (1810-11) was designed by John Holden Green. The basic form of the building consists of a main rectangular block fronted by a projecting central pavilion and tower. A classical cornice is carried around the entire building, and encloses a pediment above the central pavilion. However, the detailing is Gothic, such as double-lancet windows, crenelation around the belfry, and tall unadorned pinnacles at the corners. Like the second Trinity Church, St. John's semicircular portico also follows designs by Batty Langley.

Ithiel Town's Trinity Church in New Haven, Connecticut (1814-1816) was an exception to America's early manifestations of the Gothic Taste. It was the first Gothic work of Town, a highly influential figure in architecture, who formed a partnership with Alexander Jackson Davis in 1829. Trinity, New Haven, was the most distinctly Gothic church yet seen in this country, and anticipated the more authentic Gothic structures that would appear throughout America by mid-century. The simple, rectangular structure has an attached front tower. However, Town's sophisticated Gothic detailing reflected his familiarity with Medieval churches, studied from books and engravings. Town designed a true Gothic tower, rather than adding Gothic ornament to a classical tower. The cornice line and tower were once crowned by wood crenelation, which could be traced to specific Gothic sources, such as Gibb's Book of Architecture.²⁴ Moreover, the tower originally displayed an intricate design

²² Ibid, p. 20.

²³ Pierson, p. 119.

²⁴ Pierson, p.130.

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in wood and tall corner pinnacles. Like all vaults of the early Gothic Revival in America, those at Trinity were wood and plaster rather than masonry. But the splay of the non-structural ribs produced something that visually resembled a Gothic vaulted ceiling, if only in its pattern effect.²⁵

After Trinity was completed in New Haven in 1817, the next two decades were marked by a substantial increase in church building in America, as burgeoning growth continued to move the frontier farther west. The Congregational churches, especially in New England, remained predominantly Neoclassical in style, constructed in wood or brick. However, the majority of Episcopal and Catholic churches were some form of Gothic, and almost all were stone. Several new churches built for the Episcopal Church were influenced by Town's Trinity, and displayed slightly more authentic Gothic elements. Although St. Luke's in Rochester, New York (1825) was a conventional rectangle, the top of its central tower included tall pinnacles at the corners and open crenelation carried around the entire roof line. St. Paul's Episcopal Church in Troy, New York (1826-28) was an almost exact replica of Trinity, New Haven.

The Right Reverend John Henry Hopkins, Vermont's first Protestant Episcopal Bishop, contributed to the growing effort to provide Gothic Revival churches with greater accuracy by producing his Essay on Gothic Architecture in 1836. Hopkins' book resulted from his frustration at the absence of suitable Gothic plans on which to model a church his Pittsburgh parish was planning to build. He eventually designed the building himself with the help of a volume of Brittons' Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain. Hopkins' own book, "designed chiefly for the use of the clergy," was highly influential on America's newly emerging Gothic churches.²⁶

St. Peter's Church in Chelsea, New York (1838), designed by James W. Smith and Clement Moore, was a departure from the late Georgian ecclesiastical style. St. Peter's had a massive central tower with Medieval details. The size and mass of the buttresses suggest that Moore may have been inspired by illustrations of Medieval English churches or Reverend Hopkins' newly published book. However, this stone church was not really Gothic, as no integral relationship existed between its buttresses and adjacent walls.

Despite the attempts of churches such as Trinity, New Haven and St. Peter's, Chelsea to strive for greater accuracy in the execution of the Gothic style, most Revival churches continued to be built in the conventional way--as box-like structures with attached frontal towers, pointed arch openings, and simplified Gothic details. These early churches also continued to display a casual attitude toward accurate historicism, and structural authenticity had yet to emerge. However, church architecture was destined to become serious business during the 1830s and 1840s, at a time when the Anglican church was caught up in a major transition. The English Ecclesiologists would provide ample stimulus to the growing awareness and acceptance of the Gothic style in America.

²⁵ Ibid, p. 131.

²⁶ Loth, p. 56.

Early Gothic Revival Architecture in Philadelphia (prior to completion of St. James the Less in 1848)

The American Gothic Revival received an early start in Philadelphia, with a handful of public and domestic buildings. Some of these structures were designed by the nation's foremost classical architects of the time, demonstrating a versatility that was much admired. With the exception of Benjamin Latrobe's design for the Baltimore Cathedral, these initial works exhibit the flimsy "Gothick" taste, which focused on the style's decorative potential. None displayed the archaeological accuracy that characterized the style in later years. During this time, Americans did not demonstrate enough interest in Gothic structures for an architect to make it his specialization, and these works created more curiosity than demand for residences and public buildings in the style.

Benjamin Latrobe, the first professionally trained architect to practice in the United States, left London and settled in Philadelphia in 1798. Prominent structures like the Bank of Pennsylvania catapulted Latrobe into national prominence as a founder of the Greek Revival movement. Although Latrobe's Gothic structures comprise only a fraction his work, these buildings provided an early stimulus to the Revival. Latrobe's earliest Gothic design was Sedgley, a house designed for William Crammond on the Schuylkill River, just outside Philadelphia (1799; demolished 1857).²⁷ At Sedgley, Latrobe applied Gothic details to basic geometric forms. Pointed arches were placed in the corner pavilions, dormers, and some of the second story windows, while covered porches were supported by slender Gothic posts. Other windows were topped by hood moldings and the eaves were lined with scalloped boards.

In 1805, Latrobe submitted two entirely different designs for the Baltimore Cathedral, one Gothic and one Roman. Although the Roman scheme was chosen, the rejected design would have been the most convincing Gothic structure to be seen in this country since the ca. 1632 St. Luke's Church in Virginia.²⁸ It displayed all the features essential to a true Gothic cathedral, such as a cruciform plan, buttressed walls, vaulted ceiling, side aisles and a full range of Gothic details. A less convincing design was Latrobe's Bank of Philadelphia (1807-8; demolished ca. 1832), which constituted the first time Gothic was used for commercial building.²⁹ Latrobe's assistant Robert Mills supervised the Bank of Philadelphia's construction, and the structure was well received. Although the main banking room boasted an elaborate ceiling with fan vaulting executed in plaster, its symmetrical, brick exterior was Gothic in detail rather than in form.

Similar to Latrobe's Bank of Philadelphia, William Strickland's Masonic Hall (1809-11, burned 1819) was a symmetrically balanced building with a central tower and spire, with Gothic details superficially applied to its rather flat exterior. Strickland's use of Gothic at St. Stephen's Episcopal Church (1822-23) was also decorative rather than structural. With its balancing twin octagonal towers and austere

²⁷ Loth, p. 28.

²⁸ Ibid, p. 28.

²⁹ Tatum, George B., Penn's Great Town, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1961, p. 76.

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flat-planed walls, St. Stephen's is Gothic only by virtue of its tall lancet windows and crenelated top. Like Robert Mills, Strickland worked with Latrobe and was a too steeped in neoclassicism to have a natural feeling for the Gothic. During this period, noted architect John Haviland designed Eastern State Penitentiary (1823-29) in the Gothic style. This is one of America's earliest castellated buildings, characterized by crenelated battlements and towers.

Other early Revival structures in Philadelphia were equally unconvincing in terms of true Gothic design, but significant as early essays in the style. John Dorsey, auctioneer, politician, and amateur architect, built his Gothic mansion in 1809. Although on a much smaller scale, the richly detailed house can be compared to earlier English Gothick country homes, and stood in exotic contrast to Philadelphia's rows of brick townhouses.³⁰

In 1812, a simple, one-room building with applied Gothic decoration was erected to house the oldest social club in the English speaking world. Called the Castle, the structure is the headquarters of State in Schuylkill, organized as a private institution in 1732. It replaced an earlier clubhouse which burned, and is now located on the west bank of the Delaware River. Pointed arches in black paint with tracery in white surmount the rectangular door and window openings, while the eaves are decorated bargeboards of various designs.³¹

The Emergence of Ecclesiology and its Influence on Church Architecture

Changing attitudes in England toward Gothic as a style suitable for ecclesiastical structures was stimulated by an Act of Parliament in 1818, which provided a million pounds for church construction in the country's emerging manufacturing districts. Of the 214 new churches, 174 of them were Gothic. This style was preferred primarily because Gothic churches made of brick were considered less expensive than classical churches, which needed more costly stone for their columns and porticos. Although these churches were erected in a rather drab version of the style, they helped accustom the public to the idea of Gothic being used for modern ecclesiastical purposes. At the same time, these churches helped stimulate some Englishmen to promote a return to the "purer" forms of the style.

In the 1830s, the Ecclesiological Movement emerged as a reform movement within the Anglican Church, and called for a return to traditional Medieval forms both in ritual and in church building. This movement was a reaction to three centuries of struggle for the Church of England which followed the Protestant Reformation. During that time, power was continually exchanged between a High Church party which advocated the continuation of the Catholic tradition, and a Protestant faction. Established at both Oxford and Cambridge, the Ecclesiological Movement represented the High Church position, and was destined to have a major impact on nineteenth century church building, both in England and America.

³⁰ Loth, p. 35.

³¹ Ibid, p. 22.

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The Oxford Movement was started in 1833 by group of influential Church of England clergymen as a rejection of the eighteenth century Protestant domination over the church, and a plea for the earlier High Church position. The leaders of the Oxford Movement insisted on the direct development of the Anglican Church from original Christianity. They were more interested in teaching correct doctrine relating to episcopacy and the importance of the sacraments, than in matters concerning the brilliant ceremony typical of the Medieval church.

The High Church position had also been preserved at Cambridge, where the theoretical ideas being formulated in Oxford were put into architectural form by the Cambridge Camden Society. Founded in 1839 by three undergraduates of Trinity College--John Mason Neale, Edward Boyce and Benjamin Webb--the Society aimed to reform church architecture and revive traditional forms of liturgy. Unlike the Oxford Movement, the Society was primarily interested in matters of ritual and aesthetics. Over the next fifty years this influential organization caused a revolution in the appearance of England's churches and the way worship was conducted in them.

According to the Cambridge Camden Society's first manifesto, its mission was to "promote the study of Ecclesiastical Architecture and Antiquities, and the restoration of mutilated Architectural remains."³² The Decorated or "Middle Pointed" style, which flourished between 1250 and 1380, was preferred as purest form of Gothic. The elegant Perpendicular style, so popular with the early revivalists, was cast aside as debased. In their advocacy of Ecclesiology (the science of church architecture), the Society stimulated a careful examination of original Gothic buildings.

The Society proclaimed the Medieval Parish Church to be the only true type of Christian church. Its insistence on reviving this ancient style was associated with ideas regarding social and religious reform. The search for an ideal era led to the Middle Ages when men were believed to be "more spiritually-minded and less worldly-minded"³³ than in the nineteenth century. The Society was convinced that good societies produce good architecture, and that the Middle Ages was a more pious era. The crusade to re-create the Medieval parish church was also a reaction against the secularizing influence of classicism, and demonstrated a great dissatisfaction with the simplified state of the nineteenth century church.

In keeping with its objectives, the Society led a crusade to promote the preservation and restoration of Medieval parish churches, as well as the erection of new churches in the liturgically "correct" style. In addition to its periodical the Ecclesiologist (1841), the Society set forth its ideas in a series of pamphlets, among the first of which were Hints for the Practical Study of Ecclesiastical Antiquities (1839); A Few Words to Church Builders and A Few Words to Churchwardens on Churches and Church Ornaments (1841); and Church Enlargement and Church Arrangement (1842).³⁴

³² White, James F., p. 40.

³³ Report of the Cambridge Camden Society for MDCCCXLII (Cambridge, 1842), p. 16. (White, James F., p. 29).

³⁴ Anson, Peter F., Fashions in Church Furnishings 1840-1940, London: Studio Vista, 1960, last 1965, p. 46.

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The Society believed that traditional worship could only be properly celebrated in churches that were liturgically arranged with the correct symbolism. As a result, their publications provided specific details regarding typical layout, ornamentation, and furnishings of Medieval churches. Throughout its existence, the Society struggled to reverse all of the Church of England's modifications to Medieval churches over the past three centuries. In bringing back the Medieval parish church, the Society's primary architectural goal was to return the focus of worship to the deep chancel. Although chancels were admired by the Society for their beauty, more important was their almost universal use and symbolic value in Medieval times. The restoration of the chancel, with its ancient distinction between clergy and laity, represented a vitally important rejection of the Protestant view of the "priesthood of all believers" implied by worship together in a common nave. In the third issue of the Ecclesiologist, the Society provided its description of a chancel: "Every church of whatever kind, size, or shape, should have a distinct Chancel at least one-third of the length of the Nave, and separated from the latter, internally at least, if not externally, by a well-defined mark, a chancel-arch if possible, or at least by a screen and raised floor."³⁵

The greatest problem in reintroducing chancels in the 1830s was finding a use for them, since few small English churches had resident clergy. For these parishes, the Society's desire for large and expensive chancels with rows of stalls solely for the use of clergy did not seem a sensible option. The problem was solved by placing a lay choir in the chancel, a practice that quickly caught on and won the Society's battle for deep chancels by giving them a practical purpose.³⁶ The altar, preferably one of stone, was to be located within the sanctuary, forming the focal point for the chancel. Standard Medieval features, such as a piscina and sedilia, were again considered essential features of worship within the sanctuary.

Opinion was divided over whether the sanctuary was to be enclosed with rails, which was a rare feature in Medieval churches. However, it was agreed that an altar rail was necessary only in the absence of a rood screen.³⁷ The rood screen was considered by the Society to a critically important element for separating the chancel from the nave, and was constantly advocated in their publications. However, the Society's campaign for rood screens was generally unsuccessful. Evidently, nineteenth century congregations thought that if their priest was removed from his spot in the nave, at least he ought to be visible. In the nave, the Society waged a war against both pews and galleries, as they were not typical features of Medieval churches and had disfigured their appearance. Three-decker pulpits and reading desks in the nave were also forbidden for the same reason. Baptismal fonts were again used, provided with a proper cover and padlock, and placed in their traditional location in the southwestern area of the nave.

Besides these liturgical concerns, the Society devoted its attention to many details of no theological significance whatsoever, and these choices seemed to be based on arbitrary taste. For example, one

³⁵ Ecclesiologist, Vol. I, p. 45. (White, James F., p. 94).

³⁶ White, James F., p. 96.

³⁷ White, James F., p. 100.

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of the Society's leading principles of church design was the prohibition of any imitation materials: "The first great canon to be observed in Church-building is this: LET EVERY MATERIAL EMPLOYED BE REAL."³⁸ The use of deceitful materials, such as cement, or brick dressed to look like stone, was strictly prohibited. Inside, churches with concealed rafters were highly criticized, and plaster ceilings were to be removed. As was typical in Medieval churches, asymmetrical massing was advocated. This was achieved by placement of a bell cote or tower at the western end, a porch enclosing the main entrance to the south side, and a vestry projecting from the north wall of the chancel.

The Society also used their publications as vehicles to highlight the neglected state of the Medieval parish church, and to direct church restorations throughout England. Individual members of the Society often provided examples of "correct" church restoration in the Ecclesiologist. Their idea of restoration was "to recover the original appearance, which has been lost by decay or ill judged alteration."³⁹ This was a difficult task, since almost all Medieval churches contained features of several periods, representing a number of rebuildings. It is ironic that the Ecclesiologists' good intentions regarding church restorations often added to the destruction of the previous centuries. Often in churches undergoing restoration, everything that was not "correct" in accordance with the restorers conception of Gothic was swept away. For example, Perpendicular windows from thirteenth century walls were torn out and replaced by replicas of more "compatible" windows in the Early English style. In this way, a great deal of original Medieval fabric was destroyed in the nineteenth century.

In their reviews of new churches being built in England and later in America, the Ecclesiologists were ruthless and intolerant. Architects only received their approval if they strictly followed the symbols and church design approved by the Society. Anyone who dared to show individuality was denounced. The Society quickly became highly influential throughout England, as both rural clergymen and prosperous architects sought their advice on the correct way to build. Other than its battle for rood screens, the Society was extremely successful, and for the next 50 years almost every new Anglican church was built and furnished according to its instructions. Today, it is doubtful whether there is a Gothic church in England, new or old, which does not show the Ecclesiological Society's influence.⁴⁰

In addition to the growing popularity of Ecclesiology, the Gothic Revival achieved a simultaneous boost from two other critical factors. Augustus Welby Pugin served as one of the most aggressive and influential proponents of bringing back the Medieval style of buildings. Pugin believed that Gothic was the only true Christian style, and devoted his career to its revival. As a result of Pugin's brilliant writings, drawings, and actual structures, Gothic began to be viewed as a utilitarian mode of building, rather than its previous use as pure ornamentation. Pugin's highly influential Contrasts

³⁸ Few Words to Churchbuilders, third edition, p. 5. (White, James F., p. 98).

³⁹ Ecclesiologist, Vol. I, p. 70. (White, James F., p. 159).

⁴⁰ Clarke, Kenneth. The Gothic Revival, An Essay in the History of Taste. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, first published 1928, last 1962, p. 174.

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(1836) satirically compared the ugliness and confusion of modern cities with a romantic vision of the simple unified beauty of Medieval towns.⁴¹ In The True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture (1841), Pugin attempted to demonstrate the logic upon which the whole Gothic system of design is based. In this publication he insisted that "there should be no features about a building which are not necessary for convenience, construction, or propriety."⁴²

Great similarities existed between the ideas of Pugin and the Ecclesiologists. Pugin also advocated the traditional type of Medieval church with chancel. In fact, one of Pugin's earliest churches, St. Oswald's, Liverpool (1839-42), was exactly the kind of small parish church advocated by the Society, demonstrating the change from his early emphasis of Perpendicular late Gothic.⁴³ However, when Pugin converted to Roman Catholicism, he was rejected by the Ecclesiologists, who were anti-Catholic and feared any association with Romanism.

Another simultaneous boost to the Revival was an increasing number of more scholarly publications, resulting in deepened knowledge about the Gothic style and method of construction. These books did not have the elaborate illustrations of earlier publications, but included speculations about the origins of Gothic, attempts to date and define the periods of its development, and created dictionaries of terminology as well as accounts and measured drawings of particular buildings.⁴⁴ The Ecclesiologist and handbooks published by the Society belonged to this category, as well as the works of Pugin. Other important publications included George A. Poole's Appropriate Character of Church Architecture (1841), and J.L. Petit's Remarks on Church Architecture. Ruskin's influential Seven Lamps of Architecture and Stones of Venice, focusing on the Italian Gothic, was also published at this time. However, partly due to the nationalistic views of Ecclesiologists, Ruskin's work would have greater influence on the century's later, Victorian Gothic phase.

Toward a More Authentic Gothic Style in America

As a result of the three factors--the works of the Ecclesiological (late Cambridge Camden) Society, Pugin, and increasingly scholarly literature--a handful of significant Gothic Revival churches emerged in America during the 1840s. Built shortly before and during construction of St. James the Less (1846-1848), these churches displayed a purer phase of the Gothic Revival than previous structures.

⁴¹ Collins, Peter, Changing Ideals in Modern Architecture, 1750-1950, London: Faber and Faber, 1965, p. 108.

⁴² Pugin, A.W.N. The True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture. London: Weale, 1841, p. 1.

⁴³ Pierson, p. 154.

⁴⁴ Stanton, Phoebe, The Gothic Revival and American Church Architecture, Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1968, p. 42.

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One of the first American architects to build churches in anything approaching a liturgically correct style, as viewed by the Ecclesiologists, was Richard Upjohn. Upjohn was one of the leading Gothic Revival church architects of nineteenth century America. Born in England and trained as a cabinetmaker, Upjohn came to America in 1829, settling in New Bedford, Massachusetts, where he found work as an architectural draftsman. He moved to Boston in 1833, and after working for a time in the office of the noted architect Alexander Parris, set up his own practice.⁴⁵

Upjohn was greatly influenced by the burgeoning English writings on Gothic architecture, and was inspired by some well-known sources. In 1836, Upjohn purchased the fifth volume of Britton's Architectural Antiquities, completing his set. His collection also included, Views of the Most Interesting Collegiate and Parochial Churches in Great Britain, by John Mason Neale and John Le Keux.⁴⁶ According to Everard Upjohn, his famous relative also owned the first volume of the Ecclesiologist; Pugin's True Principles of Pointed Architecture; and The Symbolism of Churches, by Neale and Benjamin Webb.

In one of his first important commissions, St. John's Church in Bangor, Maine (1837-39), Upjohn strove for the archaeological accuracy of form and detail advocated by these English authors. It was partly due to the recognition he received from St. John's that Upjohn received the important commission for Trinity Church in New York (1841-46), which was to replace the second Trinity Church on the same site. In appearance at least, Upjohn's Trinity was the first church in America to demonstrate an understanding of both the architectural and the ecclesiastical characteristics of the Gothic style, while exhibiting no traces of the classical tradition.⁴⁷

Trinity introduced to America an authentic example of the Gothic style, which was functionally designed around liturgical principles. With its high vaults, pinnacled buttresses, soaring spire and traceried windows, Trinity bears striking resemblance to Pugin's illustration of "An Ideal Church," in The True Principles. However, the basic form of Trinity, with its clerestory nave, side aisles, and articulated chancel was determined before Pugin had published his ideal church, demonstrating that it was an idea that Upjohn conceived on his own.⁴⁸ As he was becoming more aware of "truthfulness" in materials, Upjohn was uncomfortable with Trinity's plaster vaulting, which was a necessary compromise with the vestry. Although Trinity secured Upjohn's reputation, it did not receive the whole-hearted endorsement of the Ecclesiologist. It was in the "debased" Perpendicular style; it was oriented in the wrong direction; the chancel was too short in relation to the nave; and the ceiling was a lath and plaster vault instead of the preferred open timber truss.⁴⁹

⁴⁵ Loth, p. 59.

⁴⁶ Upjohn, Everard M., Richard Upjohn, Architect and Churchman, New York: Columbia University Press, 1939, p. 36.

⁴⁷ Pierson, p. 168.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 165.

⁴⁹ Pierson, p. 172.

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Although James Renwick, Jr. seems for the most part to have distanced himself from the Ecclesiological movement, he did design Grace Church (1843-46) for one of the wealthiest Episcopal parishes in New York. When completed it stood with Upjohn's Trinity as an outstanding example of the early Gothic Revival in the city.⁵⁰ The style of Grace Church is also Perpendicular, and it was erected with the same frontal tower forms as Upjohn's church. However, it differs from Trinity by its prominent transepts and more extensive array of highly authentic Gothic ornament. Although there are similarities with Pugin's drawing in True Principles, they are not as obvious as in the case of Trinity.⁵¹ Grace church is too brilliant and too free to derive its character from one Pugin illustration. With Grace Church, Renwick demonstrated that he was well educated in Gothic design.

Although significant, Trinity and Grace Church were large city churches, and not appropriate for the numerous, struggling parishes emerging throughout the country to emulate. America's small churches with meager funds were in need of a distinct style of their own. The Ecclesiological Society was aware of this need, and eager to extend its influence and the design of the Medieval parish church to the "Colonies". Toward this end, they hired architects to make measured drawings of small country churches considered most suitable for export to America. These churches were chosen due to their relatively simple designs and included: St. Michael's, Longstanton in Cambridgeshire; All Saints', Teversham in Cambridgeshire; and St. Mary's, Arnold in Nottinghamshire.⁵² By publishing these measured drawings in their journal, the Society was influential in bringing the Medieval Parish Church design to America. Three churches built in the early to mid-1840s began to take on the form and essence of the Medieval parish church, laying the foundation for a mature American Parish Church Revival that would be perfected by St. James the Less.

In 1843, the Reverend William Augustus Muhlenberg visited England and made contact with leaders of the Oxford Movement. Upon returning, he wanted to build a church conforming to what he had learned, and hired Richard Upjohn to design Church of the Holy Communion in New York (1844-45). In this church, Upjohn replaced the Perpendicular magnificence of Trinity by the simple, asymmetrical design of the Medieval parish church advocated by Ecclesiology. The church is cruciform, with the main entrance placed in a prominent south transept, and the crenelated tower located beside rather than in front of the nave. The chancel was treated as separate chamber, though it was same height of nave. Inside, the church displayed a true Gothic ceiling, with an open wooden frame supported by curved struts.

The Right Reverend George Washington Doane, Bishop of New Jersey, a major figure among the High Church leaders of the American Episcopal Church, and ardent Gothic Revivalist, had been elected patron member of Cambridge Camden Society in 1841. The architectural interests of Bishop Doane led him to promote the first church buildings in America that attempted to conform to

⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 215.

⁵¹ Stanton, p. 65.

⁵² Stanton, p. 93.

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ecclesiological standards.⁵³ Due to his recent visit to England and contacts with English Ecclesiologists, when Doane hired John Notman to design Chapel of the Holy Innocents (1845-46), it was not surprising that Gothic would be the chosen style. Located in Burlington, New Jersey, this simple stone structure was inspired by illustrations in the voluminous English literature on Medieval architecture. It has external buttresses and single lancet windows on the east and west walls. The interior woodwork is painted dark brown, the open timbered and arch-braced roof is stained, and there are three triplet windows. However, the orientation of the chapel, with its altar at the north end, violated a basic rule of Ecclesiology. Also, other than its elevation by two steps, the sanctuary is not clearly distinguished from the nave.

For Bishop Doane's second church in Burlington, he selected Richard Upjohn as his architect. St. Mary's Church (1846-48) was erected during the same years as St. James the Less, and was designed in a liturgically correct manner. Although St. Mary's is not an exact reproduction of a Medieval parish church, as was St. James the Less, Upjohn was inspired by drawings of an English model, the Church of St. John the Baptist at Shottesbrooke, Berkshire. These drawings had been executed by English architect William Butterfield and published by the Oxford Architectural Society in 1846. This asymmetrical church is cruciform in plan, with an elegant central tower and spire, and a south porch. Correctly oriented at the east end, the chancel is fully expressed externally and is same height and width as the nave. Inside, St. Mary's high pitched roof was supported by open wooden trussing, and the chancel ceiling was richly decorated. However, St. Mary's was not completely pure, as Upjohn made changes on the English model, such as lengthening the nave, adding galleries and an atypical door on the south transept, designing his own spire, and simplifying the ornamentation.⁵⁴

Ironically, both Doane and Upjohn were criticized by the Ecclesiologists for their choice of St. John the Baptist as a model, probably because it was begun without consulting them, and used drawings from a rival architectural society at Oxford. It also included elements which the Society had denounced, such as interior galleries and plaster walls. Although St. Mary's, Burlington became an important milestone in the development of American church architecture, it was not widely emulated by small parishes due to its large size and cruciform shape with central tower and spire. The simple nave plan of St. James the Less was much less complicated and expensive, which would prove critical to its influence on rural churches throughout the country.

Liturgical, Stylistic and Structural Authenticity of St. James the Less

Built between 1846 and 1848, St. James the Less is the first pure example of a Medieval parish church in America. It is also the first American church to be inspired by, and constructed under the direct supervision of, the Ecclesiological (late Cambridge Camden) Society. By providing measured drawings of St. Michael's in Longstanton, Cambridgeshire, as well as technical assistance regarding furnishings and ornamentation, the Ecclesiological Society was highly instrumental in the erection of St. James the Less in its present form.

⁵³ Pierson, p. 177.

⁵⁴ Stanton, p. 83.

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The Congregation of St. James the Less obtained the Ecclesiological Society's drawings of St. Michael's Church via Samuel Farmar Jarvis, a leader in the American Episcopal Church. Son of the second Bishop of Connecticut, Jarvis had assisted in the founding of the General Theological Seminary in New York and travelled throughout Europe in pursuit of his religious studies. Jarvis became familiar with the Cambridge Camden Society during an 1844 visit to England. During this trip, Jarvis asked Benjamin Webb and John Mason Neale for measured drawings of a simple church in the correct ecclesiological taste, which could be emulated by small parishes springing up throughout the United States. In October 1844, Jarvis received drawings labeled only as plans for "the exact copy of a church of early English architecture...for a small parish."⁵⁵ Jarvis kept the drawings until March 1846, when he visited his friend Robert Ralston at his estate Mount Peace, on the outskirts of Philadelphia. The two men discussed Jarvis' contact with the Society and the plans he had obtained while in England. Ralston was familiar with ecclesiology, and immediately wrote to the Ecclesiological Society's President, the Reverend Thomas Thorp, requesting measured drawings of a church that had been approved. Rather than sending new plans, the Society suggested that Jarvis send the English drawings already in his possession to Ralston.

It is clear from this March meeting and his subsequent correspondence with the Reverend Thorpe, that Ralston had examined the drawings supplied by Jarvis prior to inviting a group of men to Mount Peace on April 30, 1846, to consider establishing a new Episcopal church in the area of North Penn Township. The purpose of the meeting, as stated in a nineteenth century church history, was "to build a church which should be a country house of worship, as similar as possible to the best type of such a church that England could furnish, a home of retirement and meditation, a quiet house of prayer."⁵⁶ During this productive meeting, a new congregation called "The Church of Saint James the Less" was organized. The participants chose twelve vestrymen and adopted a form of incorporation. Committees on "By-Laws" and "Site and Plans" were also appointed at this time.

Ralston and his guests were members of St. James Church, located in downtown Philadelphia (original location, unknown; later located at 22nd and Walnut Streets). The rector of St. James Church, the Reverend Dr. Henry J. Morton, was elected temporary rector of the newly established congregation.⁵⁷ This close relationship explains the origins of the name, Church of St. James the Less, as well as the desire of its founders for a "country house of worship" in the Falls of Schuylkill, which was located outside the city.

On May 10, 1846, another meeting was convened to hear the Committee on Site and Plans' reasons for selecting the present location of the church, which included:

1. Proximity to the Falls Village and to the population on the opposite side of the River;

⁵⁵ Jarvis to the Reverend Robert A. Hallam from Middletown, Conn., November 12, 1846, Yale University Collection, New Haven, Conn. (Stanton, p. 100).

⁵⁶ Perot, Reverend Elliston J. The Church Standard. October 7, 1899.

⁵⁷ Perot, Reverend Elliston J., The Church Standard, October 7, 1899.

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2. A central position in the triangle formed by the Churches of St. Luke's, Germantown; St. Matthew's, Francisville; and St. David's, Manayunk, each two and a half miles distant;
3. A sufficient distance from the Philadelphia and Reading, and Philadelphia and Norristown Rail Roads, to avoid the noise of engines, which would disturb public worship and frighten the horses of those who come from some distance;
4. Proximity to the Ridge Road, so that the Church would always be acceptable by at least one good road, but sufficiently removed therefrom to avoid its dust and noise in summer;
5. The ground if possible should be given or had on very moderate terms.

The Committee also reported that the site was located "on the property of the Laurel Hill Cemetery Company to the east of the Ridge Road, distant therefrom about 250 yards, on an eminence with a dry soil, well suited for the internment of the dead, with beautiful views in several directions and from which a church would be visible for a considerable distance around." The site was approved, and in June the Committee was authorized to accept it if it should be offered to them by the Laurel Hill Cemetery Company.

Also in June, the Ecclesiological Society's drawings were formally accepted by the vestry, as reported in the June 20, 1846 minutes: "The plan and elevations of a church now exhibited to Vestry, said to be taken from the Parish Church of Roehampton Eng. with such modifications as shall not particularly depart from the original, and as may appear necessary to the committee, be now adopted, provided it is found that the same will not exceed in cost \$3,000." This entry reflects Jarvis' belief that he had received drawings of Holy Trinity Church in Roehampton.

At a meeting on July 27, 1846, the Committee on Site and Plans reported that after a long negotiation, Laurel Hill Cemetery Company agreed to donate a lot comprised of "something over an acre," located 350 feet on Lamb Tavern road (now Clearfield Street), 400 feet on Nicetown Lane (Hunting Park Avenue) and about 250 feet at the base of the triangle. The lot was accepted with thanks, and on September 26, 1846, a corporation entitled "The Rector, Church Wardens and Vestrymen of the Church of St. James the Less, located at Falls of Schuylkill, formerly North Penn Township" was registered under the laws of Pennsylvania.⁵⁸

At the time the site was chosen, Falls of Schuylkill presented a rural appearance, composed of mostly large country estates, fields and woods. Laurel Hill Cemetery was still in its infancy. Ridge Road ran below the newly chosen site, and had long been a main avenue of travel. The early congregation of St. James the Less was composed of families from the area, from the small village across the river, and residents of the city who came to the country during the summer. Parishioners often took day-long excursions, consisting of a steamboat cruise up the Schuylkill River to the foot of Nicetown

⁵⁸ Berghaus, Millicent E. Norcross, The Church of St. James the Less, 1847-1971, St. James the Less, 1971, p. 7.

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Lane, a hike up the steep hill from the river to attend services, followed by a picnic in the open country. (See Figures #8 & #9.) *in field notes.*

From the start of the construction process, Robert Ralston's leadership, vision and financial backing would prove invaluable to building St. James the Less strictly according to the English drawings. Ralston immersed himself in the study of Ecclesiology and maintained an ongoing correspondence with the Reverend Benjamin Webb, one of the leaders of the Society, and William Butterfield, the Society's favorite architect. As costs rapidly increased from the original estimate of \$3,000, it was Ralston who provided much of the funds. Born on March 9, 1795, Ralston was one of the fourteen children of Robert Ralston, noted merchant and philanthropist, and Sarah Clarkston. His grandfather was Matthew Clarkston, mayor of Philadelphia from 1792 to 1794.⁵⁹ A prominent tea merchant in the China trade, Ralston operated a family business that had been founded in the eighteenth century.

As one of three members of the Building Committee, Ralston wasted no time in moving the construction process forward during the summer of 1846. On July 27, 1846, the Building Committee reported that they "had many interviews with Mr. Carver the architect, and others on the subject of erecting the church according to the plan provisionally adopted." From the start, the vestry was shocked at the plans' extensive stonework, and believed that either reducing the thickness of the walls or executing the detail work in wood was necessary to help curtail expenses. These fears were recorded in the July 27, 1846 minutes: "To carry out the plan exactly which would require considerable chisel work that is supposing all the window frames, door ways etc. are to be made of stone would exceed the estimate of \$3,000 considerably." However, Ralston insisted on accurate rendition of the English plans, and a compromise was reached due to architect John Carver's suggestion, "to maintain the walls of the thickness in the plan, by leaving all the stone for the moldings inside, and out left plain, which could be finished off at any future day if it was ever thought desirable to do so. This at the outset would look better than having any wood work in the places alluded to and would be no more expensive than wood, or at farthest very little more so." It was hoped that this economy would at least in part defray the heavy masonry's added expense.

In response to his request for design assistance, in August 1846 Ralston received a letter from Benjamin Webb, which stated that the plans given to Jarvis were not those of Holy Trinity, Roehampton, but were designs for a church adapted from St. Mary's, Arnold.⁶⁰ On October 10, 1846, a conditional contract with Carver and Hall for building the church was adopted, along with their detailed specifications for the structure. The partnership of John E. Carver and John G. Hall had been formed earlier that year, and the firm maintained offices in both Philadelphia and New York City. In December 1846, Webb informed Ralston that the plans had been mixed up and the model for St. James the Less was St. Michael's Church, Longstanton in Cambridgeshire, built ca. 1225.⁶¹

⁵⁹ Ibid, p. 4.

⁶⁰ Stanton, p. 102.

⁶¹ Quoted in Ralston to Jarvis, December 18-19, 1846, from microfilm, property of the Diocese of Connecticut, in Trinity College Collection, Hartford, Conn. (Stanton, p. 104).

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Despite the earlier decision to leave the stone moldings uncarved, costs rapidly increased from the original estimate of \$3,000 as soon as construction began. The heavy masonry required, as well as the dressed stonework desired by the vestry, was highly expensive. The April 8, 1847 minutes report that the contract price of the church had risen to \$5,100, noting, "It has also been proposed to finish the interior walls of the chancel with ashlar work. This would require about 800 feet more of dressed stone, all of the jambs of windows and doors, the arch and some other parts, being already of cut stone by contract. This alteration would require an increased expenditure of \$250."

At the April 8 meeting, the Building Committee also expressed confidence that "the church may be finished by the first of July next..." However, it soon became apparent that the July 1847 completion date was overly optimistic. Stone was hard to obtain, and the complexities of the project increased each day. A report by the Building Committee on August 26, 1847 reported that "the Contractors for building the church are a considerable time beyond that contracted from finishing the church...." It was also recognized at this meeting that the slow-down of work was due to lack of funds. "The committee having been satisfied from accounts rendered to them that all the monies paid to Carver and Hall had been expended on the church and finding that the difficulty was the want of funds, thought it best to supply the contractors from week to week with the means necessary to prevent the work from being brought to a stand." The minutes of April 6, 1848 noted the need to persevere "in getting up the walls as long as the weather would permit...the work has been carried on almost daily without interruption from the weather, although there have been other drawbacks, such as a want of stone, which have prolonged the finishing of the church and increased the expenditures."

Throughout the building process, Ralston continued to correspond with the Ecclesiologists, seeking design assistance. After 1846, Benjamin Webb referred Ralston's letters to architect William Butterfield, who became intimately involved with the layout, furniture and ornamentation of St. James the Less. No one delighted the Ecclesiologists more than William Butterfield. Due to his strong principles, Butterfield built little else but churches, and refused to build any for Roman Catholics. Butterfield was allowed to experiment rather than slavishly following the Society's dictates, a privilege denied other architects.⁶² Several times Butterfield was called upon to prepare actual designs for St. James the Less. Ralston discovered that Jarvis had lost or never had been given the sheet of drawings which included the east and west windows and the external details for the aisle windows. Butterfield made and sent the drawings for the chancel and recommended, Ralston said, that "instead of the steps being placed together to the platform on which stands the altar that they should be spread out more...."⁶³

The design of St. James the Less is an exact reproduction of St. Michael's, Longstanton in Cambridgeshire, with a few minor differences. In his measured drawings of St. Michael's, architect G.G. Place designed a smaller south porch, altered the bell cote from two openings to three, and added windows of Early English design, which were copied from the single original window that was

⁶² White, James F., p. 195.

⁶³ Ralston to Jarvis, December 18-19, 1846, from microfilm, property of the Diocese of Connecticut, preserved in Trinity College Collection, Hartford, Conn. (Stanton, p. 105).

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still in the church in the mid-nineteenth century.⁶⁴ In Philadelphia, supervising architect John Carver added a bay to the nave and a vestry to the north side of the chancel.

St. James the Less is highly significant as the first church to combine correct liturgical design as advocated by the Ecclesiological Society with authenticity of structure and materials. The structure's massing and layout were inspired by church codes with regard to the execution of the service to make rather than to merely achieve a picturesque effect. St. James the Less' asymmetrical design also served as a radical departure from the prevailing rationalism of Gothic Revival churches. The chancel is correctly oriented at the east end of the church and, of equal if not greater importance, it is distinguished from the nave as a clearly articulated mass on the outside. Ensuring that the chancel was seen as a separate space from the nave was essential to identifying it as the most sacred part of the edifice. The structure also included a south porch, vestry and bell cote at the west end.

The purity of the structure's undisguised materials and structure surpassed previous Gothic churches in America, while displaying the "honesty" so admired by the Ecclesiologists. St. James the Less was the first American church to exhibit a true Gothic structural system. Load bearing walls 30" thick, consisting of massive stones layed in irregular courses, are supported by buttresses. Single lancet windows are an integral part of the structure, rather than just cut into the wall. Inside, a five-part arcade runs down each side of the nave. Alternating round and octagonal stone piers support Gothic ribbed arches, which in turn carry random ashlar walls of rock-faced granite. These walls rise to a level just below the roof, where they form the imposts for the five-part open scissored truss of the nave ceiling. To either side of the nave, in the area over the aisles, the roof is carried on simple exposed rafters which run from the nave to the outside walls. The roof of the chancel is supported by rafters that are tied slightly above center by horizontal collar beams.⁶⁵ This was a great advance over the plaster and wood vaults of previous decades.

The nave and chancel are placed end to end along a single axis, an arrangement that characterized churches of the Middle Ages, essential to a liturgically correct design. The revival of Medieval liturgy required that attention be focused on the chancel, for it was here that the drama of the service unfolded. This is accomplished at St. James the Less by three architectural features: the chancel arch, the rood screen, and by the slightly raised chancel. As appropriate, the choir and sanctuary are separated within the chancel by raising the sanctuary one step above the chancel. The altar itself is liturgically correct, made of stone and placed on a footpace, which raises it above the sanctuary.

The influence of the Ecclesiological Society was also seen in the design and placement of the church furniture and symbolic ornamentation. One of William Butterfield's most significant contributions was to provide Ralston with a copy of the Instrumenta Ecclesiastica, A Series of Working Designs for the Furniture Fittings, and Decorations of Churches and their Precincts, which he had prepared for the Society. The Instrumenta was highly influential on St. James the Less, as much of its furniture and ornamentation was either taken directly or adapted from illustrations on various plates of this publication. The "Prefatory Notice" in the first volume of the Instrumenta describes its intentions:

⁶⁴ Stanton, p. 112.

⁶⁵ Pierson, p. 189.

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"The Instrumenta Ecclesiastica will be found to contain a variety of working drawings of details and fittings, appertaining to churches and their precincts. The principle of their selection has been to supply in a cheap and convenient form, some of those designs which experience has shown the conductors of the Ecclesiological late Cambridge Camden Society to be most generally wanted. Some of the drawings are taken from ancient examples, some are original designs, generally framed in accordance with the suggestions of the Society."⁶⁶

All of the church's narrow, double-lancet aisle windows were originally glazed with diamond-shaped clear glass panes, cast in a simple floral pattern, and set in lead. The original glass of the aisle windows was produced by Powell's Whitefriars Glass works in London, as noted in the New York Ecclesiologist, "windows are filled with flowered quarries of fourteen patterns of Powell's White Friars Glassworks, London." (Vol. I, 1848.) Also Powell's was the firm recommended on Plate 41 of the Instrumenta Ecclesiastica: "The Messrs. Powell, of the Whitefriars Glass Works, London, have manufactured many of these quarries, by a patent process, which enables them to supply them at a very cheap rate of five shillings a foot, leaded in extra thick lead. Any persons who may be induced to procure quarries by the advice of the Society, are particularly requested to confine themselves to the patterns which it has supplied and sanctioned."

Other interior elements of St. James the Less were taken from the Instrumenta. The shape of the piscina is identical to an illustration for a credence niche on plate 10. The sedilia is similar to an illustration on plate 25, except that it has two seats instead of three. The sedilia is described as a "plain but elegant example of three stone seats for clergy ministering at the stone altar. They are to be made in the thickness of the wall, at the southeast portion of the chancel." The curved arm rests of the choir stalls are identical to an illustration on plate 43. The ends of the pews along the north and south aisles are topped with poppy head carvings, which are similar to those shown on plate 47. The poppy head was described on plate 17 as the simplest carved design. "Where expert carvers cannot be had, the plain poppy head ought to be chosen." The baptismal font's octagonal design was taken directly from plate 44. The design of its ornamental cover, made of wrought iron, brass and oak is a simplified version of the font cover illustrated on plate 13. The font cover also follows the dictates of the Instrumenta that "every Font ought to be provided with a cover and padlock. This cover need not be more than a mere framing of board to fit the top, but it may receive any extent of additional decoration." The handles on the north and south nave doors are identical to one illustrated as figure 2 on plate 14. The hardware on the north nave door is similar in design, though slightly more elaborate, than the hardware illustrated on the bottom-left of plate 29. Even later in the nineteenth century, the Instrumenta continued to be used as a source of design. Numerous gravestones have been modelled after illustrations on plates 5 and 28, while the 1885 lych gate emulates the design on plate 49.

The presence of a wood rood screen was certainly advocated by the Ecclesiologists, although it prompted the comment in the Ecclesiologist in May 1847, "There is to be a well-intentioned though

⁶⁶ Butterfield, William, (Cambridge Camden Society, Ed.). Instrumenta Ecclesiastica. London: Van Voorst, 1847. (pages unnumbered)

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unsuccessful Rood Screen; but the error will, we trust, be rectified."⁶⁷ Although an essential feature in all Medieval churches, the Rood Screen was not popular in the nineteenth century, as it inhibited the ability of parishioners to follow the service.

After making payments totalling nearly \$18,000 to Carver & Hall beginning in December 1846, the vestry's last payment to the firm was on November 11, 1848.⁶⁸ The vestry was evidently pleased with the completed structure, described on October 31, 1848 as,

"...the erection of a house something worthy of Him who is worshipped there - at the least a comely thank-offering for manifold and great mercies, and which if not a model of economy is certainly one of beauty and durability."

By the time of its consecration on May 26, 1850, not \$3,000, but approximately \$30,000 had been spent. In addition to the expense of heavy masonry construction and the use of dressed stone, St. James the Less' magnificent design and the influence of the Ecclesiological Society encouraged the vestry to add a variety of costly details, which may not have been foreseen in 1846. These elements included richly carved oak furniture, such as the pews, choir stalls, Bishop's chair, sedilia, and rood screen. In addition, encaustic tiles and elegant stained glass were brought from England. The influence of the Ecclesiological Society was officially acknowledged in the June 1, 1850 vestry minutes, when it was

"Resolved, that the thanks of the Rector, church wardens, and vestry of the Church of St. James the Less near the Falls of Schuylkill, be tendered to the Rev. Benjamin Webb Hon. Secretary of the Ecclesiological (late Cambridge Camden) Society for the advice so freely and frequently given towards the erection of the Church of St. James the Less according to the very beautiful and appropriate plans, elevations, and designs originally furnished by the said Society."

The Influence of Saint James the Less on the Parish Church Revival

Universally admired upon its completion, St. James the Less quickly became a prototype for America's rapidly emerging suburban and rural Episcopal parishes, and stimulated a parish church revival throughout the country. This was mainly due to its simple nave plan, which proved easy to emulate and adapt to other materials. After the erection of St. James the Less, many small churches took on its asymmetrical design with south porch, articulated chancel and bell cote. Prominent architects Richard Upjohn and Frank Wills produced numerous churches based on St. James the Less, often transferring the bell-cote type to brick and wood. The parish church revival was also stimulated by the New York Ecclesiological Society, as well as continuing growth in the Protestant Episcopal denomination.

⁶⁷ Ecclesiologist, Vol. VII, p. 195. (Stanton, p. 106).

⁶⁸ Accounting Warden's Book, 1846-1867, St. James the Less.

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During the 1840s and continuing through the 1850s, Richard Upjohn became the American Episcopal community's most popular architect, due in large part to his numerous churches in the correct ecclesiological taste. In recognition of his growing reputation, the New York Ecclesiological Society invited Upjohn to become an honorary member in 1849, and included his name on their first list of approved architects in 1852. By patterning numerous churches after St. James the Less, Upjohn played a major role in spreading ecclesiology beyond the east coast. There are convincing reasons to believe that Upjohn knew about, and may have visited, St. James the Less. As demonstrated by his previous churches, by 1848 Upjohn was well versed in Ecclesiology, had contacts with both the English and New York Societies, and most certainly would have read their journals, as they often reviewed his work. Combined with his numerous contacts within the American Episcopal community, it is unthinkable that he would not have known about the country's first church to be directly supervised by the English Ecclesiologists. Moreover, at the time St. James the Less was being erected, Upjohn was working a mere twenty miles away, at St. Mary's, in Burlington, New Jersey.

Rather than slavishly imitating St. James the Less, each of Upjohn's small churches with bell-cote vary in some way from the prototype, while showcasing his unique sense of style. Upjohn improvised on St. James the Less, often reshaping architectural elements such as the bell-cote, while continuing its forms and honesty of materials. Upjohn also experimented with different materials, such as brick and wood, making the appropriate choice for each unique parish and its setting. Upjohn's small churches, particularly those in wood, were inexpensive to build, and beautiful in their simplicity of design and materials. The influence of St. James the Less upon Upjohn first appeared at Calvary Church in Stonington, Connecticut (1847-49), with its simple plan of nave, chancel and bell cote. The Early English design of this stone church includes lancet windows in the nave and paired lancets for the chancel window.

At St. Thomas Church in Amenia Union, New York (1849-51), and the Chapel of St. Mary the Virgin at Nashotah House (Episcopal) Theological Seminary in Wisconsin (1859-60), Upjohn displayed his skill at altering the prototype while retaining its overall forms. At St. James the Less, the bell cote was continuous with the west facade. However, in these two churches, Upjohn projects the bell cote in front of the plane of the western wall, creating a slender tower that emphasizes the verticality of true Gothic style. St. Thomas Church reflects the liturgical correctness and design of St. James the Less, with its tall bell cote, high pitched roof, articulated chancel, and south porch. *In field notes* (See Figure #10.) However, the surfaces of this brick structure are plainer than the hammer-cut granite walls of St. James the Less, and have been stripped of all non-essential elements. Although based on St. James the Less, the Chapel of St. Mary the Virgin is larger and more complex (containing a clerestory) than the prototype. Upjohn emphasized its arrangement of nave and aisles in the exterior massing of the church by shifting the frontal buttresses from beneath the bell cote, as at St. James the Less, to a position coinciding with the projecting corners of the nave wall. The church includes a south porch and a short but less conventional octagonal chancel.⁶⁹

⁶⁹ Pierson, p. 194.

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Not until the 1850s did Gothic architecture in wood attain the originality and understatement of which it was capable, and then it was largely due to Upjohn's experimentation with its possibilities.⁷⁰ Upjohn's solution for a style appropriate for rural parishes with meager resources was to transfer St. James the Less to wood construction. In these designs, all features necessary in stone but not in wood are omitted, such as buttresses along both aisles and the prominent west facade.

Two excellent examples of the bell-cote type transferred to wood are Hillsboro Church, Maryland (1851), and St. Michael's Chapel at the Hannah More Academy in Maryland (1853). Both emulate St. James the Less, with a small bell cote, steeply pitched roof, articulated chancel and south porch. However, St. Michael's Chapel is slightly more elaborate than Hillsboro Church, with a triple lancet window at the east end and single lancets lining the north and south facades. St. John Chrysostom's in Delafield, Wisconsin (1851-53), is among the best surviving examples of the American parish church in wood. Although lacking a bell cote, features such as the size of the nave in proportion to its chancel, the triplet window in the east, placement of liturgical elements, and rood screen all follow the dictates of Ecclesiology demonstrated so well at St. James the Less.⁷¹ However, the board and batten exterior and the acute angle of the roofs are an American innovation. The continuous demand for these simple wood structures spurred him to produce Upjohn's Rural Architecture in 1852, which illustrates small, wood churches that Upjohn designed and could recommend as correct but inexpensive models.

Upjohn used the bell cote form and other motifs from St. James the Less so frequently for small and medium sized churches that it became one of the two church styles in which he worked.⁷² However, he also designed small churches based on the Church of the Holy Communion, New York, with its asymmetrical tower scheme. The asymmetrical tower church was to become immensely important in the later development of the American Gothic Revival. A few of Upjohn's later and larger works were central tower churches similar to Trinity, New York, although in most of these the chancel was more clearly articulated than it had been at Trinity.

The New York Ecclesiological Society was organized in 1848 and provided additional momentum to the parish church revival through the writings in its influential, though short-lived journal, the Ecclesiologist. This journal was meant to educate the Episcopal clergy in matters relating to church architecture, its history and proper role in the church. Both Frank Wills, the Society's official architect, and John Priest, one of the Society's five approved architects, were major figures in articulating the architectural policy of the New York Ecclesiological Society and asserting its independence from England. Wills and Priest believed that Ecclesiological Gothic, when properly suited to the American scene (as in Upjohn's work) would produce a new form of the style, uniquely expressive of this country.⁷³ Many articles in the Ecclesiologist also stressed the honest use of

⁷⁰ Stanton, p. 259.

⁷¹ Ibid, p. 268.

⁷² Ibid, p. 280.

⁷³ Pierson, p. 202.

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materials, simplicity, economy, and the need to create designs within the limits of local capacity--all elements embodied in St. James the Less.

The New York Ecclesiological Society also influenced the parish church revival by providing church designs to small parishes throughout the country. Most of these requests for church designs were answered by Frank Wills. Born in England, Wills obtained a specialized knowledge of church architecture through his association with the English Diocesan Architecture Society and its founder, the Reverend John Medley, whose notions of Gothic Revival conformed to the those of the Cambridge Camden Society. In 1845, when Medley became the first Bishop of New Brunswick, Canada, Wills followed him and supervised the construction of the new cathedral. Wills designed and saw to the erection of St. Anne's Chapel (1847) for use during the construction of the larger building.⁷⁴ St. Anne's demonstrated Wills' knowledge of English Gothic and, among his works, is that most comparable to the design of St. James the Less. Wills left New Brunswick in 1848, founded an architectural practice in New York and began to design ecclesiologically correct churches.

Some of Wills' parish church designs were based on his drawing of a Model Church, which was published in the October 1849 Ecclesiologist and recommended by the Society. This illustration displayed the influence of St. James the Less, with bell cote and buttresses featured on the west front, the size of the chancel in relation to the nave (half as long), and the presence of a south porch. Upon the recommendation of the Society, many parishes accepted this model and its architect.⁷⁵ Wills surely knew of and may have visited St. James the Less through his close association with Robert Ralston, as they worked together in organizing the New York Ecclesiological Society. It is possible that Wills' Model Church was based upon actual drawings of St. James the Less supplied by Ralston. In the 1850s, Wills went on to design a number of small parish churches in the style of St. James the Less, including Christ Church in Oberlin, Ohio; Chapel of the Cross in Annandale, Mississippi; and Christ Episcopal Church in Napoleonville, Louisiana. (See Figure #11.) For the career of Wills, they are the equivalents of Upjohn's small churches and chapels, and like them they exhibit, in an understated way, the preferences of their designer.⁷⁶ *in field notes*

John Notman designed St. Mark's Church in Philadelphia (1847-49), one of the finest and earliest examples of the ecclesiological Gothic in America. St. Mark's is as successful a "town-church" as St. James the Less was a "rural parish church."⁷⁷ Notman was not a stranger to the Gothic style, as he had designed a chapel for Philadelphia's Laurel Hill Cemetery in the late 1830s, as well as the previously mentioned Chapel of the Holy Innocents (1845-46) in Burlington, New Jersey. St. Mark's illustrate the general spread of ecclesiological design by architects other than Upjohn and Wills. Inspired by St. Stephen's, Westminster, London (1847), St. Mark's features an asymmetrical scheme with a side tower and broached spire. Notman modified and simplified the design of St. Stephen's,

⁷⁴ Loth, p. 62.

⁷⁵ Stanton, p. 289.

⁷⁶ Stanton, p. 296.

⁷⁷ Stanton, p. 125.

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but retained its bold dynamic massing. Beneath the dark, open timber roof of St. Mark's is a beautiful interior of liturgically correct design. As at St. James the Less, Notman provided St. Mark's with unplastered walls of hammer-dressed stone. He used only those details of the Decorated Style that could be executed properly in the materials he was using, and avoided excessive ornament. Following the completion of St. Mark's, Notman became well known as an accomplished architect of churches, and was endorsed by the New York Ecclesiological Society in 1853.

As the American frontier expanded, the design inspired by St. James the Less travelled farther west and became modified in its passage. However, many of its essential elements were retained, such as its asymmetrical design, articulated chancel, bell cote, south porch, and purity of structure and materials. The transformation of the Medieval Parish Church into a uniquely American style, one that was better suited to the country's rugged landscape than the classical churches that preceded it, is a fascinating story. The beautiful simplicity and adaptability of St. James the Less has ensured the parish church design's lasting popularity, as it continues to influence small church design today.

PART II. ARCHITECTURAL INFORMATION

A. General Statement:

1. Architectural Character: St. James the Less is a simple, yet exquisitely beautiful church, and exemplifies Gothic architecture at its best. Made of massive, undisguised stone, this asymmetrical structure consists of a nave, clearly articulated chancel, projecting south porch and two-story sacristy. The nave, chancel and south porch are each covered by steeply pitched slate roofs. The west facade features angled buttresses at the corners, two massive buttresses flanking a two-light lancet window, and culminates in a two-tiered bell cote and cross. The east facade is pierced by a three-light lancet window and topped by a stone cross. The north and south facades consist of alternating double lancet windows and buttresses, with entrances to the nave arranged opposite each other near the western ends. There is a tall stone chimney located just east of the south porch.

Inside, the worship space consists of a nave with side aisles and a clearly articulated chancel, placed end to end along a single axis. The tripartite division of nave and side aisles is accomplished by a massive five-bay arcade running down each side of the nave. Alternating round and octagonal stone columns support heavy Gothic ribbed arches, which in turn carry random ashlar walls supporting the exposed oak trussed ceiling. The capitals and bases of these columns are also alternately round and octagonal.

The floors are covered by red and black Minton tiles. The nave is enriched by carved oak pews, while spectacular stained glass windows provide a jewel-like atmosphere. The chancel is raised one step above the nave, and its sacred character is further distinguished by a chancel arch and a metal rood screen. The chancel is separated into sanctuary and choir. The choir has two rows of richly carved oak stalls. The sanctuary is raised three steps above the chancel, and contains the High Altar, which is raised one step by a footpace. Other liturgical furniture within the sanctuary include the piscina, sedilia and bishop's chair. The chancel ceiling is decorated by a choir of angels over the altar, while plant and abstract ornament is painted over the choir.

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2. Condition of fabric: The fabric of the church remains essentially unchanged from the original church as consecrated in 1850.

B. Description of Exterior:

1. Overall dimensions: Together, the nave and aisles are 30'6" wide and 61'2" long. Each aisle is 7'2" wide and 61'2" long. The chancel is 12'8" wide and 22'9" long. The sacristy is 9'3" wide and 22'10" long. The south porch is 9'2" wide and 9'4" long.

2. Foundations: The church was built on a rubble stone foundation.

3. Walls: The exterior walls of the church are constructed of hammer-faced Granite ashlar and laid in an irregular pattern. The nave walls are 31 inches thick, while the chancel walls are 30 inches thick. This gray stone was quarried in the Philadelphia area, and is probably Wissahickon schist. Over the years, the walls have been repointed with cement. Capstones made of limestone help the east and west walls from becoming eroded.

The west wall features angled buttresses at the corners, two massive buttresses flanking a double lancet window, and culminates in a two-tiered bell cote and stone cross. The east wall is pierced by a three-light lancet window and topped by a stone cross.

Both the north and south walls of the nave have doors on their western ends and feature an alternating rhythm of four buttresses and four sets of double lancet windows. The south wall of the chancel has a door and three single-lancet windows. The north wall of the chancel has a single lancet window. The north wall of the sacristy has a door and three single lancet windows on the first level, and three narrow, rectangular windows on the second level. The east wall of the sacristy has a narrow, rectangular window on the first level and a single lancet window on the second level.

4. Structural system, framing: The 30 inch exterior walls are load-bearing masonry construction and supported by stone buttresses. Inside, a five-part arcade runs down each side of the nave. Alternating round and octagonal stone piers support Gothic ribbed arches, which in turn carry random ashlar walls of rock faced granite. These walls rise to a level just below the roof, where they form the imposts for the five-part open scissored truss of the nave ceiling. To the left and right of the nave, in the area over the aisles, the roof is carried on simple exposed rafters which run from the nave to the outside walls. The roof of the chancel is supported by rafters that are tied slightly above their center by horizontal collar beams. Although these rafters have the appearance of massive oak beams, they are actually flat beams that form a T shape. The interior walls and columns are spalling due to rising damp.

5. Porches, stoops, balconies, bulkheads: The porch located on the southwest side of the church serves as the main entrance. The south porch was part of the church's original design, and was constructed with random granite ashlar, laid in an irregular

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pattern. The porch is covered with a steeply pitched slate roof. The original stylized coping along the ridge beam has been replaced with copper coping. The roof is topped by a stone cross, located directly above the doorway.

6. Chimneys: The church has a tall stone chimney, located just east of the south porch. A buttress rests against the square chimney, which is octagonal at the top. Added in 1887, the chimney blend so well into the structure that it appears to be original. The minutes from Sept. 13, 1887, state that "In view of the extreme necessity for immediate action in the matter, it was decided to build a new chimney near the porch of the church, to be constructed of stone as near as possible of the same sort as that of which the church is built, and dressed to match, and to be built with an offset sufficient to insure its strength." It is likely that the chimney was constructed under the supervision of Charles M. Burns, an architect and vestryman of the church. Mr. Burns was actively involved in the church during this time, having designed the rood screen in 1878, stone pulpit in 1895, and supervised the rebuilding of the bell cote in 1896.

7. Openings:

a. Doorways and doors: The church has four exterior doorways. All wooden doors are pointed in shape, painted red, and composed of several vertical panels. Smooth, dressed stone comprises the doorway arches and jambs. The door on the northwest facade has no porch and opens directly into the nave. The double door on the southwest facade of the church opens into the vestibule of the south porch and serves as the principal entry. There is a door in the north wall of the Sacristy, and one on the south side of the Chancel that is narrower than the rest. The hardware is of Early English design. The handles on the north and south nave doors are identical to one illustrated as figure 2 on plate 14 of the *Instrumenta Ecclesiastica*. The hardware on the north nave door is similar in design, though slightly more elaborate, than the hardware illustrated on the bottom-left of plate 29 in the *Instrumenta*.

b. Windows and shutters: The typical aisle windows, as well as the west window, consist of narrow, two-light lancets. The window on the east facade consists of three narrow lancets. The chancel fenestration consists of single lancet windows. The sacristy fenestration combines single lancet windows, and narrow rectangular windows. Smooth, dressed stone comprises the window arches and jambs. All windows are surrounded with hood molds of dressed stone.

8. Roof:

a. Shape, covering: The nave, chancel, south porch and sacristy are covered by steeply pitched gable roofs. The original roofing material was slate, as is the current roof, which was placed in the 1960s. The ridge beams were originally capped with stylized coping, now covered with copper coping.

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b. Dormers, cupolas, towers: The west elevation culminates in a two-tiered bell cote (open stone belfry) with four bells hanging in three separate arches--two on the first tier, and a larger arch on the second. The bell cote is topped by a stone cross. On May 11, 1896, the rector reported that the belfry had become so insecure that he had stopped ringing the bells, and that the matter needed urgent attention. As a result, the vestry provided Charles Burns, architect and vestryman, with full powers to supervise the rebuilding of the bell cote. On December 14, 1896, Mr. Burns reported that, "the belfry tower was finished and in a very satisfactory manner." The stone of the bell cote matches the original. At that time, the bells were re-cast by McShane & Co. of Baltimore and the original cross was replaced, probably for structural reasons. After the second, 1896 cross fell through the church roof in the 1960s, several capstones along the gable as well as the roof were replaced. The third and current cross is an exact copy of the original cross, which has remained since 1896 next to the lych gate in the church yard.

C. Description of Interior

1. Floor plans: The asymmetrical layout of the church consists of a rectangular nave attached to a smaller rectangular chancel, placed end to end along a single axis. A south porch projects from the southwest wall of the nave, while a rectangular sacristy is attached to the north side of the chancel. The main worship space of the nave is divided from the side aisles by an arcade. The chancel is elevated one step above the nave and is divided into a choir and sanctuary. The sanctuary is elevated three steps above the choir, and the altar is set on a footpace, which elevates it one step above the sanctuary.

2. Stairways: There is a concrete stairway in the Sacristy with an iron rail.

3. Flooring: The floors of the church are covered with red and black clay tiles, laid in alternating rows of a diamond shaped pattern. The tiles were supplied Minton & Co., Stoke-Upon-Trent, England. On June 1, 1850 the vestry issued formal thanks to Mr. James Minton for his firm's "liberal and careful execution of the flooring tiles which have been universally admired." The floor tiles originally rested directly upon the ground. In 1913 all of the floor tiles were replaced with a damp-proofed concrete slab. Great care was used in removing them, and they were replaced as nearly as possible to the original pattern.⁷⁸

4. Wall and ceiling finish: The interior walls of the nave and south porch were constructed with rough-faced ashlar laid in an irregular pattern. Portland cement mortar and rising damp have contributed to the spalling that has occurred throughout these walls. The stones of the arcade and chancel walls are smoother, laid in a more regular pattern, and pointed with a lime based mortar. The chancel arch is of smooth stone, as is the arch on the east wall of the south aisle. In the chancel, a string course runs around the chancel beneath the windows and over the doors.

⁷⁸ Wagner, Samuel T. A Brief History of the Church of St. James the Less. St. James the Less, 1923, p. 12.

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Oak trussing covers the nave, chancel and south porch ceilings. In 1878, the chancel roof was decorated: a choir of angels was painted above the altar, and plant and abstract ornament was painted over the choir. Although the artist who executed this work has not been identified with certainty, it may have been Charles M. Burns, Philadelphia architect and a vestryman at St. James the Less. Burns was actively involved in the 1878-1880 chancel redecoration, as he designed the rood screen, as was respected for his work as an artist. In addition, he would design the stone pulpit in 1895 and supervise the rebuilding of the bell cote in 1896.

Charles Burns' first city directory listing as an architect occurred in 1863. His practice focused on ecclesiastical design, especially Protestant Episcopal Churches. After 1875, Burns engaged in educational activities in addition to maintaining a steadily growing practice. In 1876 he enrolled as a student at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, and in 1879 was a member of the faculty of the Pennsylvania Museum and School of Industrial Art. His course was titled, "Theory and Practice in Freehand Drawing and Design." By 1881 Burns was an instructor in drawing at Haverford College, where he continued through 1885. Burns enjoyed a reputation as a portrait painter as well, and exhibited a watercolor at the Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia in 1876. He also exhibited architectural drawings at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts in 1887, 1888, 1890, 1892 and 1894.⁷⁹ However, the Academy has no record that Burns exhibited drawings of St. James the Less or the chancel ceiling during those years. Burns continued in the Philadelphia city directories until his retirement in 1907.

5. Openings:

a. Doorways and doors: There are two doors in the nave, located opposite each other on the northwest and southwest ends of each wall. There are also two doors in the chancel, located opposite each other between the choir and sanctuary. All four of the wooden doors are pointed in design and composed of several vertical panels. They are set inside recessed pointed niches, and smooth, dressed stone comprises the doorway arches and jambs.

b. Windows:⁸⁰ All of the church's narrow, double-lancet aisle windows were originally glazed with diamond-shaped clear glass panes, cast in a simple floral pattern, and set in lead. The original glass of the aisle windows was produced by Powell's Whitefriars Glass works in London, as noted in the New York Ecclesiologist, "windows are filled with flowered quarries of fourteen patterns of Powell's White Friars Glassworks, London." (Vol. I, 1848.) Also Powell's was the firm recommended on Plate 41 of the Instrumenta Ecclesiastica. The only remaining

⁷⁹ Tatman, p. 119.

⁸⁰ All of the information regarding the stained glass windows was taken from the following sources: Philadelphia Historic Preservation Corporation, "Stained Glass Window Survey," January 13, 1995; Willet Stained Glass Studios, "Appraisal of Stained Glass for the Church of St. James the Less," January 31, 1967; and the Vestry Minutes of 1846-1918, Church of St. James the Less.

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original window is located west of the north door, hidden behind the ranks of organ pipes, and only visible from outside the church. Through the years, the original windows have been replaced with stained glass of various designs. All windows are set in pointed arched openings that are deeply recessed. Smooth, dressed stone comprises the window arches and jambs. The windows in the chancel are surmounted by hood moldings.

Chancel--East Window

The east window consists of three narrow lancets. The side lancets measure 1' x 8', and the center lancet is 1-1/2' x 10'. This is an excellent example of French Gothic Revival stained glass that was made in the mid-nineteenth century under the influence of Viollet-le-Duc. Left, bottom to top: Four seated figures; Isaiah holding stylized branch in left hand with alpha and omega and small child's head on top; Jeremiah holds a saw in left hand; Ezekiel holds a closed architectural gate in left hand; Daniel holds a plate in left hand. Central lancet, bottom to top: Jesse reclining; David with harp; Solomon(?) with fleur-de-lys scepter; Mary and infant Jesus; Christ the King. At the top of the central lancet, the Holy Ghost in the form of the Dove is shown descending. Right lancet, bottom to top: All figures seated under architectural canopies, and facing left to a writing stand; Matthew, Mark, Luke and John, each with their traditional symbols. The inscription reads: ISAIAS//IEREMIAS/EZECHIEL/DANIEL//MARCUS/LIBER GENESIS/LUKAS, IOHAS (Johannas, with I for J after the medieval fashion).

Commissioned by the vestry and installed in 1849, the window was designed by Henri Gerente, probably the foremost stained glass artist of his day. This window is believed to be the only example of Gerente's work in the United States. Gerente had gained his reputation from his work restoring windows at Sainte Chapelle and Sainte Denise in France, as well as the Canterbury and Ely Cathedrals in England. Henri Gerente died before the window was completed, and it was finished by the studio of his brother Alfred Gerente. The signature, ALFRd GERENTE PARIS 1849, along with the monogram AG, can be seen on the window. On September 19, 1849, the vestry officially thanked the donor "for his very beautiful and appropriate present of an East window."

There is an interesting account of this window, written by Ellis Yarnall, vestryman of St. James the Less. The author was in Paris during the summer of 1849, "and was asked by an American friend to go with him to meet M. Henri Gerente, the leading maker of stained glass in Paris. My friend wished to give him an order for a window for the church of St. James the Less, Philadelphia. Mr. Gerente was of high reputation. He had just done important work at Ely Cathedral, and the government of Louis Philippe had given over to him the restoration of Sainte Chapelle, especially the renewal of the great windows of that glorious gem of thirteenth century Gothic. It was at the Sainte Chapelle we were to meet him. We found him there. He drew rapidly for us the design he proposed for the St. James the Less window--a series of medallions in which the figures would be very small, and thus a jewel-like radiance secured. We instantly approved. The east window at St. James the Less--as glorious

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a piece of color as there is in America--stands, I trust, for all time, to sustain our judgement."⁸¹

Chancel--Sanctuary

The stained glass window in the south wall of the Sanctuary above the Credence Table measures 11" x 60". The window depicts three female figures: bottom- Hope, seated with open book in right hand and anchor in left; middle- Charity, seated and holding two children and two at her feet; and top- Faith, holding a cloth between hand and cross in right hand and oil lamp in left. Above is depicted a Descending dove; the inscription reads: FAITH HOPE CHARITY//1853 in memory of 1918/Katherine Harrison. Placed in 1920, this is a fairly early (Nicola) D'Ascenzo window and a good example of his work during this period.⁸²

The stained glass window in the north wall of the Sanctuary above the Bishop's chair measures 11" x 60", and its three medallions depict: Self-control (Abraham and Isaac); Loyalty (David and Jonathan); and Courage (Daniel in the Lion's Den). The inscription reads: In memory of/1875 Alfred E. Harrison Jr. 1925. Placed in 1926, this is a D'Ascenzo window of excellent quality.

Chancel--Choir

The two single lancet windows in the north wall of the choir measure 11" x 60". They were placed ca. 1874. The January 8, 1874 vestry minutes note that, "The Rector asked the consent of the vestry for him to present Munich stained glass in the four single lancets of the choir and submitted the designs. The designs were approved and permission granted." The western window of the pair portrays the boy Christ with young John the Baptist. There is an inscription, "SANCTIFICA MIHI OMNE/PRIMOGENITUM". The eastern window depicts a standing figure of St. Agnes holding a lamb on left arm and martyr's palm in right hand. The Saint is placed under a simple Gothic arch. There is an inscription, "BEATI MUNDO CORDE". These windows, along with the easternmost window along the south aisle, appear to be from the same studio. During a 1995 visit to the church, Ulrika Brinkman from Cologne Cathedral and Peter Cormack from the William Morris Gallery, London, attributed the windows to Mayer, Franz & Co. or a Munich studio. After the 1929 Sacristy addition, these windows became internal to the building and have been artificially lighted.

The two single lancet windows in the south side of the choir measure 11" x 60". The easternmost window depicts Christ healing the blind man. The inscription reads: M.S. Edwardus Shippen Watson/Sacerdos . Obit . Feb 28th 1920./ Act: 94 Annos . R.I.P. The window may have been executed by the studio of Heaton, Butler & Bayne. However, on a 1995 visit to the church, Peter Cormack from William Morris

⁸¹ Yarnall, Ellis, Wordsworth and the Coleridges, New York: MacMillan, 1899, p. 108.

⁸² D'Ascenzo Records are located at the Athenaeum, Philadelphia.

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Gallery, London, attributes the design to George Daniels⁸³ without making a definite studio attribution. The window was placed ca. 1920.

The westernmost window has three medallions which depict: The Walk to Emmaus, the Resurrection, and Christ Enthroned. The inscription reads: PRAISE YE/THE LORD//IN CHRIST SHALL ALL/BE MADE ALIVE//ABIDE WITH US// IN HAPPY MEMORY OF/1857 FRANCIS A LEWIS 1927/43 YEARS WARDEN OF This CHURCH. An excellent D'Ascenzo window of the Sharkey (head designer) era, this extremely rich and jewel-like window was placed in 1928. It was also the last window in the church to be filled with stained glass.

Nave--west window

The double-lancet west window is the work of Alfred Gerente from France, Henri Gerente's brother, and was placed ca. 1857. The dimensions of the lancets are 10 x 3'6". The minutes of November 26, 1857 record that "Ellis Yarnall presented the west window on behalf of the friends of Robert Ralston Cox, who had contributed toward its acquisition." There are four medallions in each lancet, placed in quatrefoils. Left lancet, bottom to top: Christ handing keys to St. Peter while two disciples look on; Crucifixion, Mary Magdalene and Virgin look on; Resurrection, Christ surrounded by two angels; and the Ascension, with Virgin, St. Peter, and two other disciples standing below (only Christ's feet and bottom of his robe appear in the scene). Right lancet, bottom to top: Annunciation, Angel with banner inscribed "Ave Maria" appears; Nativity, reclining Mary, Joseph, Christ Child, with animals in background; Annunciation to two shepherds with their flock and banner inscribed with "Gloria In Excelsis Deo;" Three Kings bearing gifts, Mary holds Christ as he reaches for gifts. Tracery: Dove appears above four seated, haloed figures (Pentecost).

Nave--east end of north aisle

East end of north aisle. This single lancet window measures 15" x 72". It depicts Christ the Good Shepherd holding a lamb, and two sheep are at his feet. Two angels hold banner with inscription that reads, "Ego Sum Bonus/Pastor." The window was executed by John Hardman & Co. of Birmingham, England. There was no opening at this location in the original church. The single lancet opening was built specifically for this memorial in 1907. (Documented in the October 14, 1907 vestry minutes.) When the window was installed it was lighted naturally since it faced on a small open court formed by the east wall of the north aisle, the north wall of the choir, and the

⁸³ From approximately 1885 to 1920, George Daniels served as principal figure draftsman for the stained glass manufacturer, Clayton & Bell, England. His style can be characterized as scholarly and elegant, leaning heavily on late Medieval/early (Northern) Renaissance sources for both figures and ornament. His designs for Clayton and Bell can be seen in hundreds of churches throughout England and elsewhere. From about 1920, the majority of Daniel's work was as designer/cartoonist for Horace Wilkinson and F.C. Eden. (Information on George Daniels compiled by Peter Cormack, William Morris Gallery, London in 1994, and included with the Philadelphia Historic Preservation Corporation's 1995 Stained Glass Window Survey.)

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west wall of the vestry. When the present sacristy was erected in 1929, this window became internal to the building.

The following north and south aisle windows described are all double-lancet Gothic headed windows, with each lancet measuring 11" x 60".

Nave--north aisle

Easternmost window along the north wall. The left lancet, bottom, depicts Abraham and the Three Strangers. The left lancet, top, depicts Isaac and Rebecca at the well with camel driver and palm tree. The right lancet, bottom, depicts Christ before kneeling Mary Magdalene (Noli Me Tangere). The right lancet, top, depicts the Presentation in the Temple, with Mary and Joseph kneeling before priest and holding the infant Jesus. In both right and left panels, figures are set within architectural frame, with cupola at top and inscriptions at bottom. The inscription reads, "TO THE GLORY OF GOD AND IN MEMORY//THOMAS HANSON BELT DIED JULY 21ST 1874//AGED 87 YEARS AND ELIZA KEY BELT HIS WIFE//DIED MARCH 4TH 1874 AGED 79 YEARS. The December 14, 1874 minutes refer to the window. Manufactured in England, this was executed by Lavers, Barraud & Westlake, and was placed in 1876.

Middle window of the north aisle. The left lancet, bottom, depicts the Nativity, with Mary and Joseph kneeling before the infant Jesus. The left lancet, top, depicts Annunciation, with an Angel and dove appearing to the kneeling Virgin. The right lancet, bottom depicts the Ascension, Christ appears with clouds and four disciples below. The right lancet, top, depicts the Resurrection, Christ with banner. Top left light: Alpha. Top left light: Omega. This window was executed by the studio of Mayer, Franz & Co., Munich. It was placed in 1874, and is referred to in the June 8, 1874 minutes. It is the second oldest stained-glass aisle window in the church.

First window east of the north door. The left lancet depicts the Virgin Mary seated with foot on stool. There is a book to the right and a lily vase to the left. The right lancet depicts a standing Christ in surplice and stole holding chalice and host. Both scenes in architectural frames with inscription at bottom. The inscription reads, "TO THE GLORY OF GOD//AND IN LOVING MEMORY OF//MARIA CONARROE VINTON//SEPTEMBER 20 1906". The style suggests that this may be an American window by a Munich-trained artist. The window was placed ca. 1909.

First window west of the north door. Each pane has a stylized lily which is acid etched on the outside and painted with vitreous paint within the etched lines. Window can be viewed only from the outside of the building. According to the New York Ecclesiologist, "windows are filled with flowered quarries of fourteen patterns from Powell's White Friars Glassworks, London." (Vol. I, 1848). This original window was placed ca. 1848.

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Nave--south aisle

Easternmost window of the South Aisle. Left lancet, bottom, depicts Christ with children, one child on his lap, two kneeling at his feet, as two mothers stand behind. Left lancet, top, depicts Christ as shepherd with staff in hand leaning over lamb entangled in thorny thicket. Right lancet, bottom, depicts Raising of Lazarus. Lazarus emerges from open tomb looking up at Christ, whose right hand is raised in blessing. Mary and Martha look on. Right lancet, top, depicts woman kneeling with hands raised upward towards Christ, pleading for her sons James and John. Two haloed men (James and John) stand behind looking down at the woman. Placed ca. 1874, the window has been attributed to Clayton and Bell. This attribution is based on the November 30, 1885 Philadelphia Inquirer, which noted that the church has a Clayton and Bell window. The attribution is also based on stylistic grounds. The window is referred to in the vestry minutes dated June 8, 1874 and December 13, 1875.

Middle window of the South Aisle. The left lancet depicts St. John, and the right lancet depicts St. James the Less. Both figures are within a Gothic niche and against a diapered blue ground. The inscription reads: SAINT JOHN//ST JAMES YE LESS. Placed ca. 1871, this is the first of the aisle windows to be filled with stained glass. The April 28, 1871 minutes note that "...placed before the vestry the design of a stained glass window which Mr. Thomas....Adams desires to have places in the south aisle...as a memorial to his son." One can still discern the sill below the window the remnants of the original attribution for the window "...les Thomas Ad..." (much of the stone is crumbling). This clearly matches the carving, Charles Thomas Adams, on the monument directly below the window in the Adams burial lot.⁸⁴ The window has been attributed to Heaton, Butler and Bayne, by Peter Cormack from the William Morris Gallery, London.

Window just east of the south door. The left lancet depicts St. Michael, and the right lancet depicts St. Gabriel. The Inscription reads: Michael//Gabriel/Ave gratia plena//In loving memory//of George M. Conarroe. The donor request and location of window are noted in the April 23, 1908 minutes. This window was placed ca. 1914. According to Peter Cormack, William Morris Studio, London, the design was "definitely from George Daniel's cartoons, and most probably by Clayton and Bell."

Window to the west of the south door. The left lancet depicts the Blessed Virgin and the right lancet depicts St. Joseph. The window was placed ca. 1915, and may have been executed by the studio of Mayer, Franz & Co., Munich. This window appears to be from the same studio as the two single lancet windows on the north wall of the choir. The edging base of column is the same in all four windows, as is edging under figure.

⁸⁴ Kayser, Paul W. A Brief History and Guide to the Church of St. James the Less. St. James the Less, 1983, p. 13.

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Sacristy

Attributed to Valentine D'Ogries, the sacristy windows were placed ca. 1929 and are in the Henry Wynn Young and Lakeman school of design and execution. On the first floor are three single-lancet windows, each measuring 8" x 42", depicting Archbishop Wareham, St. Hilda and St. Dunstan. There is also a square-topped window, measuring 8" x 46", depicting St. Gregory the Great. On the second floor are three square-topped windows, measuring 8" x 34", and one single-lancet window, measuring 8" x 36". Each window includes three shields of saints on a grisaille background.

6. Decorative features and trim: The east wall behind the High Altar is enriched by a reredos, made of red and black Minton tiles of various designs. On June 1, 1850, the vestry passed a resolution thanking Mr. James Minton of Stoke upon Trent, England, "for his beautiful and acceptable present of a reredos." Also, a row of black and cream colored patterned Minton tiles are placed on the wall directly above each choir stall.

7. Architectural Furniture:

a. Altar: The original brownstone altar was replaced in 1858 by a stone super altar, as noted in the April 6, 1858 minutes. In 1880, the second altar was surrounded by an enlarged altar, consisting of a massive marble slab or mensa supported on columns of black marble with carved capitals.⁸⁵ Each of these capitals is slightly different. The 1858 altar can be seen through the arches of the new altar. The altar is placed upon a stone foot pace, which is enriched with Minton tiles.

The six brass candlesticks on the altar, called office lights, were given in December 1896. They are lit during Offices: MATINS (Morning Prayers), Evensong, Weddings and Burial, and for High Mass. On December 14, 1896, the vestry adopted a motion that, "There shall always be two real candles with their candlesticks to stand on the Re-Table or Super-Altar as in former times. And that however many more lights or candles be used at any time, that these two shall continue as distinctive or Altar lights as in the primitive usage of the Church." It was the understanding of the vestry that the candlesticks presented in 1896 were the ones to be used.

b. Piscina: Located in the east end of the north wall of the sanctuary, the piscina is set within a rounded niche, which is topped with a small arch and has a projecting stone sill. The shape of the piscina is identical to an illustration for a credence niche on Plate 10 of the Instrumenta. The April 12, 1887 minutes note that the piscina was installed that year. After a new piscina was constructed within the 1929 sacristy, the 1887 piscina in the sanctuary was covered and used as a second credence table.

⁸⁵ Perot, Reverend Elliston J. The Church Standard. October 7, 1899.

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c. Sedilia: The sedilia consists of two seats cut out of the east end of the south wall of the sanctuary, located directly adjacent to the main altar and across from the Bishop's chair. It is original to the church. Oak arches and columns enrich the sedilia and serve to separate the two seats. Sedilias normally have three seats for use by the deacon, sub-deacon and celebrant. According to Plate 25 of the Instrumenta, the sedilia at St. James the Less has been correctly positioned and designed. This plate illustrates a sedilia similar to the one at St. James the Less, except that it has three seats instead of two. It is described as a "plain but elegant example of three stone seats for clergy ministering at the stone altar. They are to be made in the thickness of the wall, at the southeast portion of the chancel."

d. Stone Bishop's Chair: Located directly west of the piscina and across from the sedilia, the Bishop's chair was part of the original design of the church. The chair is cut out of the north wall of the Sanctuary. The chair was originally enriched with oak carving, which can be seen in a ca. 1896 photo. This carving appeared to match the carving of the sedilia. Although the date that this carving was removed is unknown, it may have been in 1927 when the stained glass was inserted in the window above the chair. Today, the oak remains only along the back, sides, seat and base of chair.

e. Communion Rail: In 1921 the communion rail of bronze and wood was installed, replacing the moveable wood rails that had been in use.⁸⁶

f. Credence Table: The stone credence table is on the south wall of the sanctuary. The April 12, 1887 minutes note that the credence table was installed in 1887. It holds the sacred vessels used during the worship service.

g. Choir Stalls: The oak choir stalls, located in the western part of the chancel, are original to the church. The design of the curved arm rests of the stalls is identical to an illustration on Plate 43 of the Instrumenta. The two rows of five seats runs lengthwise, leaving a space between for the passage of worshippers as they proceed to the High Altar during the celebration of Communion. The westernmost seat on the south choir stall and the matching seat on the north side were added when the original lectern was removed (date unknown).

h. Rood Screen: The April 22, 1878 minutes noted that "A design for a metal rood screen prepared by Mr. (Charles) Burns was submitted for the approval of the Vestry. The design was approved and permission granted." Made of copper, brass and iron, the rood screen is set with semi-precious stones and its design includes several pointed arches. It has a gate and is set upon a smooth stone base. This rood screen replaced the original wooden screen. Rood Screens distinguish the chancel as the holiest space in the church, by separating it from the nave.

⁸⁶ Book of Memorials, Church of St. James the Less.

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i. Pulpit: The present semi-circular pulpit was completed in 1895, and was designed by architect and vestryman Charles M. Burns. It is located on the east end of the north side of the nave, directly beside and in front of the rood screen. Made of Indiana limestone, the pulpit is carved with a simple design of pointed arches and has three steps. This design is similar to an illustration on Plate 10 of the Instrumenta for a credence table. The original inscription at the base is unreadable due to spalling caused by rising damp. On October 14, 1895, the Rector of St. James the Less reported the completion of the stone pulpit in the minutes, noting that "the pulpit adds much to the beauty of the edifice...."

j. Lady Altar: The Lady Altar of Botticino marble is located in the eastern end of the south aisle. It was dedicated on October 28, 1931. The altar was designed by Wilfrid Edwards Anthony, Architect, in consultation Mr. Francis Taylor, son of the donor and curator of the art museum in Worcester, Massachusetts. The work was executed in Italy and erected by the Joseph Sibbel studios. According to early letters, the "foot pace" was shipped as one extremely large stone and was broken into 15 or 20 pieces. Despite this breakage, it was immediately agreed by the vestry and representatives from Sibbel Studios that if the large stone had not broken in shipment it might have cracked in use, and that the way it was laid was preferable and would prevent possible breakage in the future.⁸⁷

A contemporary newspaper account described the altar: "The front of the new altar has in the center a cross, from whose arms depend small characters, Alpha and Omega, and which divides it into two panels, each showing a lamb. This design is taken from an ancient tomb in Ravenna, and represents the faithful who are fed by the Good Shepherd."⁸⁸ The words, "In loving memory of six generations of one family who rest here in Christ," are incised in the face of the mensa and refer to the Newbold family, long identified with the parish. Since its erection, weekday Mass has been celebrated at the Lady Altar.

k. Organ: The first organ, the work of a Mr. Corrie, was installed at the eastern end of the south aisle where the Lady Altar now stands. On June 14, 1858, the vestry was authorized, "to make a contract with Mr. W(illiam) A. Corrie to remove the organ built by Mr. Corrie from the east to the west end of the south aisle and to make certain alterations in and additions to the said organ." At the same meeting, the church warden was also authorized to "prepare the said west end of the south aisle for the reception of the organ and to have the wall cut through to the nave to receive the keyboard and case." The enlarging of the organ necessitated breaking through the internal buttress to link the console to the ranks of pipes. This opening, later dressed

⁸⁷ Letter from Samuel T. Wagner to Reverend Harriman, Rector of St. James the Less, dated July 5, 1931.

⁸⁸ The Church News of the Diocese of Pennsylvania, December 1931.

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off, now provides the priest's entry to the confessional.⁸⁹ In 1876 a new organ was acquired from Messrs. Odell of New York. It occupied the same site as the current organ, with the ranks of pipes positioned in the westernmost bay of the north aisle. In 1927 the present organ was given. It was built by Hillgreen, Lane and Co. of Alliance, Ohio, under the direction of Gustav Doring, former Director of Gifts for the Carnegie Foundation. The case of oak surmounted by two polychrome angels was designed by Wildred E. Anthony, and was built by William F. Ross & Co. of Boston.⁹⁰ Although the case remains, the pipes were replaced after extensive damage occurred in 1960, when the bellcote cross fell through the roof of the church.

l. Confessional: The confessional located at the western end of the south aisle was placed ca. 1936.⁹¹ The 1983 history of St. James the Less, written by Paul Kayser, states that the enclosure of oak was designed by architect Wilfrid Edwards Anthony. However, a document in the church archives provides the above detailed description of the confessional, along with the following attributions: Designed by Harold Thorp Carswell, AIA; Cabinet Work by Erik Jansson, Inc.; Carving by Keyser Brothers; Polychrome by Louis Ewald (no date or source cited).

The cresting of large medallions symbolizes the seven virtues: prudence, temperance, hope, faith, charity, justice, and fortitude. The symbols on the shields are respectively: padlock, bridle, anchor, cross, heart, scales, column. The cresting of small medallions are the symbols of sin: ape, apple, bat, dragon, scorpion and snake. An inscription on the confessional reads, "Purge me with Hyssop and I shall be Clean" (Psalm 51:7). There are two figures carved on the side posts. The figure on the left represents the penitent in grief, St. Mary Magdend. The figure on the right depicts St. James the Less with his right hand raised in absolution, upper left arm, book, bell and candle indicating power of excommunication. There are also carvings of shields on the door and panel. The penitents' door depicts a scourge, symbolical of penance, and a beaver, a symbol of the Christian who purges spiritual life. On the right hand panel shield, there is a wreathed cross with monogram. IC XC NIKA, which expresses Jesus Christ the Conqueror.

m. Pews: The richly carved oak pews are original to the church. There are nine rows of pews, two across on either side of the center aisle, and a single pew across on each of the side aisles. Originally, the middle rows consisted of ten pews; the two eastern pews were removed, possibly to make room for the new pulpit in 1895. The last pew of middle row on the north side was added sometime after the baptismal font was moved to the south door. The sides of the middle rows of pews are carved with designs featuring columns surmounted by a pointed arch. The ends of the pews along

⁸⁹ Kayser, p. 14.

⁹⁰ Wagner, Samuel T., Continuation of the History of St. James the Less, January 31, 1967.

⁹¹ Book of Memorials, Church of St. James the Less.

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the north and south aisles are topped with poppyhead carvings, which are similar to those shown on Plate 47 of the Instrumenta Ecclesiastica. The drawings are described as, "designs for moveable benches with plain, or poppy-head ends." The poppy head was described on Plate 17 of the Instrumenta as the simplest carved design. "Where expert carvers cannot be had, the plain poppy head ought to be chosen."

n. Baptismal Font: The stone Baptismal Font is original to the church and is located adjacent to the south door of the nave. Its octagonal design was taken directly from Plate 44 of the Instrumenta Ecclesiastica. The ornamental font cover of wrought iron, brass and oak is ca. 1894. Its design is a simplified version of the font cover illustrated on Plate 13 of the Instrumenta. The font cover also follows the dictates of the Instrumenta that "every Font ought to be provided with a cover and padlock. This cover need not be more than a mere framing of board to fit the top, but it may receive any extent of additional decoration." Early photographs show the font located in the cross aisle connecting the north and south doors next to the column on the north side of the nave. The October 7, 1899 Church Standard refers to the font located, "at the intersection of the main and cross aisles." The font stood at this site until at least 1913, as it can be seen in photos from this date. However, the current location was more common to the Medieval church.

8. Mechanical Equipment:

a. Heating, air conditioning, ventilation: Heating was planned for the church from the time of its completion, as a notation in the December 11, 1848 minutes list a \$200 payment for a furnace. Another early reference to heating was in the September 13, 1858 minutes, which record a motion, "that the furnaces of the church be put in complete repair and that additional registers be opened." There were apparently at least two furnaces, as the minutes from April 22, 1860 note that a new furnace was obtained, and the "old one at the other end of the church is to be repaired." The December 13, 1863 minutes confirm that there was a furnace in the chancel, noting that it needed to be replaced.

The church as originally planned was not fully excavated. Minutes from the 1860s confirm that the original floor furnaces were relocated to the shallow spaces beneath the chancel and the north and south doors of the nave. On December 12, 1864, "Mr. Ritter reported progress in putting the furnace under the nave of the church in order, with promise of increasing efficiency." Beneath the west wall is an opening to the space below the church, where it was likely that coal was shovelled. And on December 9, 1867, the Committee on Heating the Church reported that, "the only way the church can be made comfortable is by moving the east furnace from its present position and placing it under the chancel." These early furnaces were not completely successful in keeping the church warm, as the rector stated on April 2, 1872 that the church has been very insufficiently warmed during the winter. There are constant references in the minutes of the nineteenth century to furnaces being repaired and replaced. The minutes and accounting books also show numerous entries of payments for coal. This is one instance where the Instrumenta were not followed;

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plate 30 dictates that coke is the only proper fuel for heating a church and that, "charcoal may not be used." Although there was a reference on September 19, 1866 that, "the flues required extensive repairs," there are no signs of chimneys in photographs of the exterior prior to 1887.

As the floor tiles originally rested directly on the floor, it was consequently cold and damp. On December 22, 1912, the St. James Quarterly noted changes to the heating system at the church, "The improvements in the church which the vestry have made and are making, viz.: the new heating plant and the electric lighting, will be much and thankfully appreciated by the parishioners and those who from time to time attend the services. From the 6th of August to the 23rd of October, during the repairs and improvements in the church, it was necessary to hold the services in the Parish House, where they were regularly maintained." (Vol. 1, No. 9). In 1913 the entire floor of the church and chancel were removed, and a concrete sub-basement constructed under the church for installation of a complete vapor system of heating. The cellar was covered with a damp-proofed concrete slab over the entire floor on which the original tiles were relaid.

b. Lighting: As seen in early photographs, the nave was originally lit by one or two Gothic style chandeliers, each of which held twelve candles. Although consisting of one tier, rather than two, the original chandeliers at St. James the Less were similar in style to those illustrated on Plate 60 of the Instrumenta.

In 1869 it was suggested that gas illumination be installed. The December 13, 1860 minutes note that, "Mr. Dobson from the Committee on Introducing Gas into the Church reported progress." However, there is no indication that the church was ever lighted by gas. Perhaps this was due to the dictates of the Instrumenta, which denounced the introduction of gas and recommended chandeliers as the best form of lighting. "Assuming that every one will grant that gas is not to be introduced for lighting churches, it remains to show the best way of arranging candles. Crowns, so called from their resemblance, or chandeliers, are most to be recommended: they can give a body of light where most wanted, and are in themselves beautiful objects. They may be designed to hold fewer or more candles, and are generally made of iron or of brass. Of course more costly metals may be used, and an unlimited extent of ornament, enamelling, etc. is admissible." Chandeliers were still being used in 1874, as there is the April 7 minutes list a payment for "repair to chandelier."

In 1885, oil lamps were installed, hung on brackets and placed in the same position as the electric fixtures of today. According to the December 13, 1885 minutes, "The Rector reported that lamps had been bought for the church and had proved very satisfactory." The red streaking above the column capitals has been attributed to the routine striking of the sulfur matches used in lighting them. However, these hatched markings were more likely created by the evergreen boughs that were placed around the columns each year at Christmas in the exact area where the markings occur.

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The present two brass chandeliers in the chancel were installed in 1887 and flank the Tabernacle Lamp, which was placed ca. 1899. It signals the presence of Christ in the sacrament, and is lit as long as the sacrament is in the tabernacle. Since the tabernacle for reserving the sacrament has existed since 1880, one can only speculate that this tabernacle light replaced one of an earlier date.⁹² Also in 1899, the iron lamp in the south porch was installed. Electric lighting was introduced into the church in 1913, when Art Nouveau fixtures were installed in the nave. There is a blue Vigil Lamp before the Lady Altar, within which a candle is lit at all times.

c. Plumbing: There is a toilet located in the basement of the Sacristy, and a sink in the first floor of the Sacristy.

D. Site:

1. Historic landscape design (including outbuildings)

In 1846, St. James the Less was built on a triangular plot of land approximately one acre in size. The original lot was acquired from the Laurel Hill Cemetery Company, and was located 350 feet on Lamb Tavern road (now Clearfield Street), 400 feet on Nicetown Lane (Hunting Park Avenue) and about 250 feet at the base of the triangle. The church was situated close to the south side of the property and well back from the eastern tip of the lot.⁹³ In 1851, the vestry purchased the balance of the church yard from the Laurel Hill Cemetery Company, thereby extending the original lot westward to the line of 33rd Street (never extend).⁹⁴

The original sexton's house, rectory, parish house and horse sheds were all positioned along the western end of the property.

The first rectory was built in 1852 at the southeast corner of 33rd and Clearfield Streets, and was enlarged in 1853 to accommodate a boys' school. The original parish house, the gift of John Dobson⁹⁵, was erected in 1872 and may have been adjoined to the rectory. However,

⁹² Kayser, p. 12.

⁹³ Philadelphia Deeds, dated October 17, 1846, Awn No. 13, p. 670.

⁹⁴ Philadelphia Deeds, dated May 23, 1851, JWC No. 97, p. 197.

⁹⁵ John Dobson established "The Falls of Schuylkill Woolen Mills" in 1855, which stimulated industry and greater settlement in the area surrounding St. James the Less. He subsequently purchased adjoining properties and was joined by his brother James in 1861. Extensive additions were made throughout the 1860s and 1870s, so that by 1873, the establishment was considered "the largest individual enterprise in the U.S., employing 1,400 hands," A contemporary publication described the Dobsons' success as unprecedented, noting that from 1855 to 1873 their business grew to an annual production of \$4 million worth of goods. (The Manufactories and Manufacturers of Pennsylvania of the Nineteenth Century. Philadelphia: Galaxy Publishing Co., 1875, pp. 52-53.) As

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if the hall existed as a separate building, it was probably situated between the rectory and the horse sheds, which were located on the southwest angle of the grounds. The sexton's house on the northwest angle of the grounds was built in 1874 and lengthened by the addition of two rooms, in 1902. It was also a gift of John Dobson. Of the group of buildings, only the sexton's house remains. The original rectory and parish house were demolished in 1918.

On December 11, 1848 the vestry entered into discussion regarding the construction of a wall to enclosed the church ground. On June 11, 1849 the Committee on Wall reported that "they had been advised not to use the Wissahickon stone, and that they have engaged Messrs. Byne & Monaghan to build a wall of Falls Stone similar to the pattern furnished by the vestry." On August 27, 1851 the committee on burial ground presented a contract made with Mark Clifford for building the wall around the eastern end of church ground, stating that, "It should agree with the wall already built on the church lot." Stereoscopic views from 1860s show low walls surrounding the church ground on Hunting Park and Clearfield Streets. On Oct 12, 1885, it was reported that a contract had been entered into for rebuilding and extending the wall on Clearfield Street. Also at this time, the section of wall from the gateway toward Hunting Park Avenue had been almost completed. The April 15, 1886 minutes reported that, "the old wall on Clearfield Street was in very bad condition and likely to fall at almost any moment." Later that month, it was reported a new wall had been built at Clearfield Street, about 250 feet long. As some of the work was done carelessly a portion had to be rebuilt. In 1897, masonry retaining walls were constructed along Hunting Park Avenue and the drive at the southwestern corner of the yard, and the low lying space at southwestern corner of the churchyard was filled in further, which improved the churchyard's appearance while providing many more burial lots.⁹⁶

The cemetery surrounding the church greatly enhances the tranquility of the site. At a meeting on April 13, 1848, the vestry, "Resolved, that a lot in the burial ground be tendered to the Bishop for his acceptance." This practice has continued through history and Bishops interred at St. James the Less are: Henry U. Onderdonk, Second Bishop of Pennsylvania; William Bacon Stevens, Fourth Bishop of Pennsylvania; Ozi William Whitaker, Fifth Bishop of Pennsylvania; William Stevens Perry, Bishop of Iowa and W. Walter Webb, Bishop of Milwaukee. On Nov 24, 1857, Bishop Onderdonk consecrated the older section of the burying ground, which comprises the original lot surrounding the church. The newer part of the burial ground comprises the western portion of the present lot, surrounding the Wanamaker Memorial Tower. It was consecrated on October 21, 1883 by the Bishop Welles

the Dobson Mills expanded, former large estates were converted to industrial or cemetery use, or subdivided into smaller residential units. Both John and James Dobson and their wives were extremely involved with the affairs of St. James the Less. Although the Dobson Mills closed in 1927, the neighborhood surrounding St. James the Less remains largely industrial.

⁹⁶ Wagner, Samuel T. A Brief History of the Church of St. James the Less. Church of St. James the Less, 1923, p. 11.

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of Wisconsin, acting for the Bishop Stevens, and on November 1, 1897 by Bishop Whitaker.⁹⁷ The April 27, 1886 minutes report that "When Clearfield Street was paved the earth taken up was used to fill the low ground in the southwest corner of the churchyard."

Throughout the nineteenth century, trees were continually planted on bare spots in the churchyard and various paths were opened, making the lots more accessible. The vestry had strict regulations concerning the appearance of the churchyard. A resolution was passed on September 14, 1863, "that hereafter it shall not be permitted to any lot holder to plant any tree in any part of the churchyard." Also, one of the lot owners was to be informed that "the hedge of evergreens surrounding her lot is considered a contravention of the By-laws and to request that it be removed." On April 3, 1866 a proposition to "define more strictly the By-laws prohibiting the enclosing of lots by fences, and also to prohibit the planting of trees, placing of seats etc. in the churchyard" was discussed. On April 14, 1866 it was resolved that, "No one shall enclose such plot of ground with a separate fence or dividing wall of iron, stone or other material of any height whatever, or hedge or border of evergreens or shrubbery of any kind. And no one shall plant any tree in such lot, or place therein any arbor or trellis, or chair, or seat of any description whatever, or erect thereon anything moveable or otherwise." In 1887, fifty-two hemlocks were planted. On February 12, 1894, "An interchange of opinions as to the planting in the church yard taking place, it was considered advisable to have more trees planted." On March 29, 1894 it was reported that "ten trees had been planted in the church yard; and the willow tree trimmed." In addition to the landscape design, there were strict regulations regarding the type of headstones that could be used. The designs for many of the gravestones were taken directly from plates 5 and 28 of the Instrumenta Ecclesiastica. An extract from the November 1885, Philadelphia Inquirer described the church yard of St. James the Less:

No unduly obtrusive railings, or hedges, or walls are allowed between the lots. Small white corner stones serve to indicate the boundaries of the grassy plots. An original By-Law of the Corporation requires that all designs for tombs or monuments must be approved by the Rector and Wardens. The whole idea seems to be to keep the grounds as unostentatious, yet as beautiful as possible.

The April 27, 1886 minutes report that the entrance to the churchyard from Lamb Road (Clearfield Street) had been paved with Belgian blocks. It was paved with brick in 1897. The original foot walks in the church yard were made of clay, and on rainy days, unless boards were laid, the parishioners were in danger of sinking deep into the mud. This situation was described in the April 7, 1863 minutes: "The condition of the footway on the Lamb Road, leading from the Ridge road to the church, was brought before the vestry, as being in wet weather especially in winter and spring, almost impassable for pedestrians, and seriously affecting at such times, the attendance at church of those obliged to use it-the practicality of improving it, and the means of doing so." To alleviate this situation, photos from as early as the 1860s show the walkways covered with wood planks. The plank boards

⁹⁷ Ibid., p. 8.

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were still being used in 1885, as the December 14 minutes report that wardens had been authorized "to procure suitable plank walks for the present winters use." However, the September 21, 1892 minutes report that the vestry resolved to rebuild the walks with flag stone, using a foundation of broken stone 22" deep at a cost of \$2,360.

The design for the proposed lych gate at the entrance to the church yard was approved by the vestry on May 11, 1885 and completed in November 1885. The April 27, 1886 minutes note that, "The beautiful lych gate and wall inside the church ground erected by women interested in the parish are deserving of high praise." On June 3, 1886, permission was granted to place a suitable floor in the Lych Gate, and in October 11, 1886, authority was given to place chains on Lych Gate to prevent carriages entering the burial ground. The design of the lych gate is similar to the one illustrated on plate 49 of the Instrumenta.

2. Outbuildings

a. Wanamaker Memorial Tower: Commissioned by Rodman Wanamaker in 1908 as a memorial to his late brother Thomas, the Wanamaker Memorial Tower is situated near the southwest cemetery entrance. It was designed by Philadelphia architect John Windrim. The location and plans were approved by Mr. Henry Vaughan, architect, who was consulted as to the effect on the church and church-yard. Rising over 50', the tower consists of small chapels and mausoleums on the ground floor, a crypt beneath, and a tower above with a 15-bell McShane manual chime weighing about 26,000 pounds, and a 19-bell automatic peal chime, operated by electricity. In 1922, Mr. Wanamaker had the chimes upgraded to ring the hour and quarter hours; the clock is not visible from the outside. The tower was completed in April 1909, and the bells were shipped from McShane & Co. in Baltimore on November 10. The tower was dedicated by the Rt. Rev. Thomas J. Jaggar, acting for the Bishop of Pennsylvania, on February 5, 1910.⁹⁸ John Wanamaker--famous Philadelphia merchant and most notable family member--is not interred here, but in the family plot near the lych gate.

b. Parish House and Rectory: In December 1914, the vestry made overtures to the estate of the late John Dobson for the purchase of a lot on the north side of Clearfield Street at the corner of 32nd Street to prevent the erection of buildings which might be objectionable. This lot was subsequently donated to the church, and a new sexton's house and parish hall were built in 1916 on the north side of Clearfield Street. Designed by the Philadelphia architects Stewardson and Page, they were constructed of local grey stone with slate roofs and Indiana limestone trimmings.⁹⁹ Stewardson and Page also designed a rectory to be erected directly east of the parish house as soon as funds could be obtained. However, this rectory was never built. Instead, it was decided to reconstruct and enlarge the 1916 sexton's house, directly west of the parish hall, for use as the new rectory. Plans to enlarge the sexton's house were prepared by architect Wilfrid Edwards Anthony of New York. On June 27, 1927 the vestry authorized the work at an estimated cost of \$32,500. The contract was awarded to Irvin S.

⁹⁸ Ibid, p. 11.

⁹⁹ Ibid, p. 12.

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Grindrod and the building was completed early in 1928 at a final cost of \$39,183.¹⁰⁰

The remainder of the block between Clearfield and Lippincott Streets, and between 33rd and 32nd Streets was acquired on February 25, 1926 for \$30,000. The lowering of street grades has left the property of the church on a much higher plane, requiring the construction of new retaining walls on Clearfield and 33rd Streets, together with the grading of the whole tract and the sloping of the banks on Lippincott and 32nd Streets.¹⁰¹

PART III. SOURCES OF INFORMATION

A. Architectural drawings: The original drawings of St. Michael's Longstanton in Cambridgeshire have not been located. The National Monuments Record in Swindown, England, was contacted in July 1996 regarding the location of these drawings. They did not know the location of the drawings, nor did anyone at the five additional repositories they suggested by contacted, which included: The Drawings Collection, British Architectural Library, Royal Institute of British Architects, 21 Portman Square, London W1H 9HF; The Cambridgeshire Collection, Cambridge City Central Library, 7 Lion Yard, Cambridge CB2 3QD; Cambridgeshire Record Office, Shire Hall, Cambridge CB3 OAP; Churches Conservation Trust, 89 Fleet Street, London EC4Y 1DH; and Ecclesiological Society, 33 Pollards Hill North, Norbury, London, SW16 4NJ.

In addition, the original John Carver drawings for St. James the Less have not been located. Although there are extant drawings by Carver at the Athenaeum in Philadelphia, they do not include drawings of St. James the Less. Research at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania and American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia for these drawings was unsuccessful.

Plans from Church of St. James the Less

- * Blueprint plans of Sacristy addition, sheet II, scale 1/2 inch to 1 ft; April 1929; shows basement, first & second floors and roof.
- * Blueprint drawing of side altar tabernacle; office of Wilfrid Edwards Anthony, architect; drawn by Denton; 7/29/31; drawing #119.
- * Plans for the improvement of Hunting Park Avenue from Ridge Avenue to Clearfield Street, 38th ward, Philadelphia; authorized by ordinance of council, approved 12/30/1927; (shows grading and drainage).
- * Blueprint plan for retaining wall along north house line of Hunting Park Avenue west of Clearfield St; City of Philadelphia; Department of Public Works; Bureau of Engineering & Surveys Bridge

¹⁰⁰ Wagner, Samuel T., Continuation of the History of St. James the Less, June 11, 1929.

¹⁰¹ Lewis, Francis A., "A Letter to the Rector and Vestry of The Church of St. James the Less," February 1, 1926.

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Division; drawing by H.P. Ellis; Feb. 1928; drawing No. 12396.

* Sketch drawing of church nave; office of Richard Gilpin, consulting engineer; June 29, 1912; traced by Cram and Ferguson, Architects, 238 Boylston St., Boston, Massachusetts; September 24, 1925.

* Sections of sacristy addition; April 1929; sheet 3. Includes: section through sacristy, looking toward entrance; cross section, looking towards west end; section through sacristy, looking toward chancel.

* Elevations and section of sacristy addition; April 1929; sheet 2; includes: end elevation of sacristy (east); side elevation of sacristy (north); cross section (looking to east end).

* Elevations of rectory, rectory addition; Wilfrid Edwards Anthony, architect; drawing 4; ca. 1926.

* Plans for rectory; 5/25/16; Stewardson & Page, architects, Philadelphia; sheet 1; (proposed, but not built).

* Elevations for proposed rectory; Stewardson & Page, Architects; 5/25/1916; sheet 2; (proposed, but not built).

* Plans, elevations and sections for sacristy addition; Wilfrid Edwards Anthony, Architect; date unreadable--9/26/1928 has been chalked in. Note: these are Anthony's original plans which differ somewhat from executed plans; east elevation shows a tower with spire.

* First floor plan for rectory; Wilfrid Edwards Anthony, Architect; date unknown; drawing 2.

* Second floor plan for rectory; Wilfrid Edwards Anthony; date unknown; drawing 3.

* Plan of proposed lighting for rectory and parish house; lighting applications section, Philadelphia Electric Company; 11/19/65.

* Proposed alterations to Lady Alter (never undertaken); Wilfrid E. Anthony, Architect; 131 E. 47th Street, New York; no date.

* North elevation of chancel showing pulpit, rood screen & entrance to boys' choir room, stalls, reredos; Wilfrid E. Anthony, no date.

* Elevation drawing of Lady Altar; Wilfrid E. Anthony; no date.

* Elevation of rood screen, rood beam, pulpit, lectern & Lady Altar Rail; Wilfrid E. Anthony, Architect; no date.

* Plan of Chancel; Wilfrid E. Anthony (on back it says "chancel plans showing proposed changes); no date; choir stalls are crossed out.

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B. Early Views

Prints and Photos from Library Company of Philadelphia

- * Wood engraving, ca. 1858, unidentified delineator and engraver; (4)1322.f.86b; view of north and west elevations.
- * Stereoscopic view; yellow paper mount; albumen print; ca 1863; (4)1322.f.84b; view of south porch from the east.
- * Stereoscopic view; yellow paper mount; albumen print; ca 1863; (4)1322.f.85c; view of west facade with clay walkways.
- * Stereoscopic view; yellow paper mount; albumen print; ca 1863; (4)1322.f.83e; view of north elevation--shows wood planking along walkways.
- * Stereoscopic view; yellow paper mount; albumen print; ca 1863; (4)1322.f.85d; view of east facade with original vestry and clay walkways.
- * Stereoscopic view; yellow paper mount; albumen print; (4)1322.f.83a; ca 1863; view of south porch from the west.
- * Stereoscopic view; yellow paper mount; albumen print; ca 1863; (4)1322.f.84; detail of south porch doorway--shows poor box affixed to door.
- * Stereoscopic view; yellow paper mount; albumen print; ca 1863; (4)1322.f.85b; view of east and south elevations--shows clay walkways.
- * Stereoscopic view; buff paper mount; Cambridge Camden Society; F. & W. Langenheim, photographers; ca. 1856; 1322.f.85e; view of east end from Hunting Park Avenue.
- * Stereoscopic view; orange paper mount; Cambridge Camden society; M.P. Simmns, Landscape and Portrait Photographer; printed on mount; p.9047.114 (Vogel); ca. 1866; Interior view of east end--shows original chandelier and rood screen.
- * Stereoscopic view; coral cardboard mount; M.P. Simons, Landscape and Portrait Photographer; printed on mount; Cambridge Camden Society; ca. 1866; 1322.f.84f; exterior view of east end showing original vestry.
- * Stereoscopic view; coral cardboard mount; M.P. Simons, Landscape and Portrait Photographer; printed on mount; ca. 1866; p.9047.115 (Vogel) - not catalogued; exterior view of east and south ends.
- * Stereoscopic view; coral cardboard mount; M.P. Simons, Landscape and Portrait Photographer; printed on mount; ca. 1866; p.9134 (Vogel) - not catalogued; exterior view of east and north ends--shows original vestry.

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- * Stereoscopic view; yellow paper mount; albumen print; ca 1863; (4)1322.f.84a; view of north elevation.
- * Print of The Church of St. James the Less in A Century After...1875; 3456.Q.142; shows southwest facade.
- * Albumen print; olive toned mount; ca. 1864; John Moran, photographer; 1322.f.86a; exterior view of south porch from east.
- * Pagliograph; trimmed; James E. McClees, photographer; ca. 1855; (5)2526.f.10b; exterior view of east end with shed vestry.
- * Albumen print by Robert Newell; ca. 1870; p.9061.12; exterior view of southeast end.
- * Albumen print by Robert Newell; ca. 1870; p.9060.30b (Brenner); exterior view of west end in the snow.

Church of St. James the Less

The Church of St. James the Less has an album with interior and exterior views of the church that were taken ca. 1890. The church also has a variety of historic photographs that have not been organized or catalogued in any way.

Historical Society of Pennsylvania

- * Sketch of south porch of St. James the Less by Joseph Pennell, dated October 20, 1878; Bd61 p. 382 plate 20.

Free Library of Philadelphia

- * Print Department, Philadelphiana collection, Mills Collection scrapbook, Vol. II, 1912, p. 183, photo #1; Interior view of St. James the Less, shows oil lamps and font located at the northwest crossing of the church.
- * Print Department, Philadelphia collection, Mills Collection scrapbook, Vol. II, 1912, p. 181, photo #1; Exterior view of southwest facade.
- * Print Department, Philadelphiana collection; Scharf & Westcott, Vol. 2, p. 1354; lithograph of south and west ends.
- * Print Department, Philadelphiana collection; Scharf & Westcott, Vol. 2, p. 1354; lithograph of original rectory building with steeply pitched roof and pointed windows, in keeping with the Gothic architecture of the church.

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E. Likely Sources Not Yet Investigated

* East Falls Public Library regarding the early history of Falls of Schuylkill and the changing cultural landscape surrounding St. James the Less.

* General Theological Seminary, Ninth Street, New York. Samuel Jarvis helped to found this organization. They may know where the New York Ecclesiological Society deposited the measured drawings that they received from the English Society.

* Yellin Metalworks in Philadelphia, regarding whether they may have designed the iron gates on the Wanamaker Memorial Tower. A letter was sent to Clare Yellin on July 30, 1996 regarding this matter.

* University of Pennsylvania Archives regarding Charles Burns' original drawings and letters. As discussed in this report, there is a possibility that he may have designed the chancel ceiling. More research needs to be done to determine whether any original drawings of his work at St. James the Less are extant.

* According to the Accounting Warden's Book 1846-1867, in December 1849 the vestry made payments to both the Evening Bulletin and the Public Ledger for advertisements. It would be interesting to determine what these advertisements said.

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PART IV. PROJECT INFORMATION

This project was sponsored by the William Penn Foundation, Philadelphia, and the Historic American Building Survey/Historic American Engineering Record (HABS/HAER), E. Blaine Cliver, Chief. The documentation was undertaken under the direction of Paul Dolinsky, Chief of HABS; with assistance by HABS architect Robert Arzola and HABS Historian Catherine C. Lavoie. The project was completed during the summer of 1996 at the Church of Saint James the Less, Philadelphia, by project supervisor Elizabeth Loudon, Assistant Professor, Texas Tech University; project foreman Mary Ellen Strain; with architecture technicians Clifford J. Laube (Roger Williams University); and Daniel R. Valenzuela (Texas Tech University). The project historian was Jean Louise Guarino (University of Illinois), recipient of the Sally Kress Tompkins Fellowship, sponsored by the Society of Architectural Historians. The photography was produced by Jack E. Boucher, HABS photographer.