AN AMERICAN UNITARIAN ARCHITECTURAL AESTHETIC

by

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ABSTRACT

This thesis in concerned with American Unitarianism, its ideological origins and development, as expressed in the architectural styles of its churches. The thesis is structured upon the premise that architecture creates images of conviction and persuasion; that is, architectural style represents in concrete, visual form the ideas a people have of themselves: when those ideas change, there is a corresponding change in architectural style.

Out of a conflict between Anglicanism and Puritanism, the two Established Churches of Massachusetts Bay, Unitarianism emerged in the eighteenth century as the liberal wing of Puritanism and represented theologically the same ideology as American republicanism. As a result, when the Republic was born after the American Revolution, American Unitarianism saw itself as the National Church of the Republic. It expected that all other Protestant denominations would join with it in a catholic Protestantism, structure upon a rational approach to Christianity and a belief in the essential goodness of man. Its expectations were never realized, and it became another demonination in 1825, losing all claim as a National Church.

This failure to establish a catholic Protestantism as the National Church, as well as the failure to formulate a permanent

creed, can be seen in the succession of architectural styles in Unitarian churches. For, unlike the Republic which traditionally has built in the Roman Revival, Unitarianism has never created a permanent style for its churches, but, rather, has utilized the style in fashion for the day.

In the early years of the Republic, Unitarianism, as the National Church, did use the American National Style, the Roman Revival. It rebuilt the older Puritan meeting houses in the traditional form of a church by removing the main entrance and the pulpit, opposite, from the long sides of the rectangular plan of the meeting house, and placing them opposite each other on the short sides of the rectangle. The main entrance was through a towered gateway with temple-front facade, a form which symbolized these churches as the National Church of the Republic. The churches newly built followed the same style, which lasted until about 1825, the date of the formation of the American Unitarian Association by which Unitarianism became a denomination.

Then followed the succession of current styles. With the Greek Revival (1825-1845), Unitarianism followed the Republic into the Jacksonian democracy, and with the Classical Eclectic (1845-1860), Unitariamism followed the attempt to establish an American Architecture. The Gothic or Medieval Revival (1840-1900) was used by both sides of the Transcendentalist dispute which tore Unitarianism apart beginning about 1835. The orthodox Unitarian rationalists used it to symbolize their essential Christianity; the Transcen-

dentalists, to symbolize man's mystical communion with nature. These two opposing factions were reunited under the Revival of the Classical Revival (1893-1930), which symbolized the principle of personal freedom in religious matters. Beginning in 1905, Unitarians began to adopt the Modern style, which to them represented, and still represents, an egalitarian humanism which hopes to make a heaven of this earth.

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Introduction

This thesis is about American Unitarianism, its origins and development, and, especially, its architecture. It tries to establish the origins of the movement in the conflict between the two Established Churches of the royal province of Massachusets Bay, Puritanism and Anglicanism. This conflict caused a liberal wing of Puritanism to emerge in the eighteenth century, espousing a contemporary interpretation of Arminian doctrines which drastically reshaped Calvinist theology by denying the total depravity of man and affirming his essential goodness. This liberalizing movement in Puritan theology paralleled the development of the American republican political theory, so that, when the New Republic was born after the American Revolution, this wing emerged as the National Church of the Revolutionary Age. This National Church called itself Liberal Christianity because it envisioned a catholic Protestantism in which all the Protestant denominations would leave aside all their own unique doctrines and espouse a creed based upon the simple truths found in the Bible. However, the other denominations could not accept the basic premise of this movement, that man is essentially good, and the Liberal Christians were forced into becoming a denomination by taking the name 'Unitarian', and by forming the American Unitarian Association in 1825.

The early phase of Unitarianism exalted man's reason: by the exercise of reason, man could uncover the true meaning of God's revelation in the Scriptures and discover new truths for contemporary man. About 1835, a reaction to this rational approach to religion set in, known as Transcendentalism, which tore apart the American Unitarian Association. The Transcendentalists exalted intuition: man could realize his 'godness' by intuitive or mystical experience. They denied the essential Christianity of the Unitarian movement, and saw Jesus as merely the first man who discovered that man is God. After a bitter dispute which lasted half a century, the two factions were reconciled by the end of the nineteenth century. Today, Unitarians espouse an egalitarian humanism which literally tries to make a heaven of this earth.

These changes in American Unitarian ideology correspond to the changes in the style of Unitarian churches. This thesis is structured upon the premise that archiecture serves as an image of conviction and persuasion; architectural style represents in visual form the concept a people have of themselves. When that concept changes, the style of the architecture correspondingly changes. Consequently, this thesis is the first attempt to categorize the different historical styles of American Unitarian churches and to interpret the succeeding changes in style as the expression of the succeeding changes in the religious

ideology of the movement. These changes in ideology and the corresponding changes in style indicate the failure of American Unitarianism to remain the National church in any decisive manner in that it never created a permanent creed that could be given a definite architectural style, as, for instance, the Roman Revival has been the traditional style of the government of the United States. The Unitarian Church, rather than creating its own image, has borrowed the architectural styles in fashion at the time. The styles adopted by the Unitarian Church fall into four broad phases: The Classical Revival, The Gothic or Medieval Revival, the Revival of the Classical Revival, and the Modern.

The first stylistic phase is the Classical Revival which extends from the birth of the Republic to about the Civil War. This stylistic phase is further divided into three periods: the Classical Revival as the New Rome (1790-1825), when the Unitarian Church as the National Church clad itself in the national style of the Republic which saw itself as the successor of the Roman Republic; the Classical Revival as the New Athens (1825-1845); when both Church and State saw themselves as the successor of the Athenian democracy; and the Classical Eclectic (1845-1860), when American architects started to try to create an American Architecture by borrowing eclectically from various classically oriented periods. This first stylistic phase corresponds to the period in which American Unitarianism saw itself as the National Church and in which the exercise of reason was exalted in uncovering the wisdom from the Scriptures.

The next stylistic phase is the Gothic or Medieval Revival which extends from about 1840 to the end of the nineteenth century, and is the style used by both factions in the Transcendentalist dispute but for different ideological reasons. The orthodox or rationalist Unitarians used Gothic forms because they stood for their essential 'Christianity' which they saw being denied by the Transcendentalist Unitarians. The Transcendentalists, on the other hand, used Gothic forms because the rough stonework, pictureque massing of architectural elements, and picturesque landscaping corresponded to their ideas about man as being part of a pantheistic universe.

When the two factions were re-united in 1894, the style chosen to represent their position of the right of personal freedom in religious belief was the revival of the Classical Revival. This stylistic phase lasted from 1893 to 1930.

The last stylistic phase is the Modern. It ranges from 1905 to the present, and is divided in two: the one which does not use the literal symbolism of ecclesiastical architecture, and the other which does. This phase corresponds to the egalitarian humanism of contemporary Unitarianism.

A large portion of the chapters dealing with the architectural styles is given over to an analysis of how the elements of the architectural vocabulary are used to create the different styles. This analysis is informative in itself, in that it establishes patterns and variations within a given style, and presents a fair sampling of the buildings from each of the stylistic periods.

The information upon the churches was gathered by means of a questionnaire sent to all the churches of the American Unitarian Association. About three-quarters of them responded to it, sending back specific information regarding architect, dimension and construction of the building, alterations to the building, as well as sending photographs and guide books. From this response - about three hundred in number - a selection was made for use in this thesis.

In 1961, the American Unitarian Association joined with the American Universalist Association to form the American Unitarian-Universalist Association. The Universalists, like the Unitarians in the eighteenth centry, espoused liberal doctrines structured upon the concept of the essential goodness of man, but split with them upon the Unitarian denial of the divinity of Christ. By 1961, the Universalists were in agreement with the position of the Unitarians so that a union of the two took place. No mention is given to the Universalists in this thesis, or to the American Unitarian-Universalist Association.

Chapter I

The Puritans in the New World and the Ensuing conflict with the English as Expressed in Architecture

Carl Bridenbaugh comments that the Puritans brought with them to New England a well-developed theory of history:

> They looked upon their enterprise as the culmination of a long, historical process, evolving according to divine ordinance. In other words, their legend had already crystallized before they landed on the western shore to perform the final act of the Christian drama of salvation in "the good land". 1

Buried there is the seed that the Puritans are God's Chosen People who are entering into the Promised Land to rebuild Zion. Winthrop, on board the Arabella, foresaw that

> the Lord will be our God and delight to dwell among us, as his own people and will command a blessing upon us in all our ways, so that we shall see much more of his wisdom, power, goodness, and truth than formerly we have been acquainted with, we shall find that the God of Israel is among us, when he shall make us a praise and glory, that men shall say of succeeding plantations: the Lord make it like that of New England: for we must consider that we shall be as a city upon a hill, the eyes of all people are upon us. 2

All that was needed was a shift in tenses, from future to present, to make that messianic purpose a reality. It was not long in coming. One New England assembly passed these three resolutions in the 1640's:

1. The earth is the Lord's and the fullness thereof. Voted.
2. The Lord may give the earth or any part of it to His chosen people. Voted.
3. We are his chosen people. Voted. 3

The sentiment is reiterated in William Stoughton's election sermon of 1668:

> For many a day and year, even from our first beginnings hath this word of the Lord been verified concerning us in the wilderness; the Lord hath said of New England,

> Surely they are my People, Children that will not lie, so hath he been our Savior. Upon this basis have all the Saviorly undertakings of the Lord been founded in the midst of us, and upon this bottom do we unto this day abide. 4

According to this theory, the Puritan state was the very climax of man's long history upon the earth: a chosen people, sacred to God, were building a state where God would dwell with them. It was John's vision in the Apocalypse:

> Then I heard a loud voice call from the throne, "You see this city? Here God lives among men. He will make him home among them; they shall be his people, and he will be their God; his name is God-with-them. He will wipe away all tears from their eyes; there will be no more death, and no more mourning or sadness. The world of the past has gone." 5

It was a very religious view of history and society, but it was a view which placed man's final end, i.e., heaven within his grasp on earth.

Calvin saw the regeneration of God's predestined elect as a life-long process:

> Through continual and sometimes even slow advances God wipes out in his elect the corruptions of the flesh, cleanses them of guilt, consecrates them to himself as temples, renewing all their minds to true purity that they may practice repentance throughout their lives and know that this warfare will end only at death. 6

It is only after death that the soul knows whether it is predestined to heaven or hell. The New England assembly, on the other hand, could vote that, "We are his chosen people". This view of history and society, however religious, was, in short, making an other-wordly religion this-wordly. Such was the criticism leveled in the latter part of the seventeenth century on measures to increase the number of the 'saints' or the regenerated,[7] who constituted membership in the church and who only were given the franchise.

As a result of the messianic view of themselves, together with the formula, no regeneration, no franchise, the Puritans had created a sacred élite who, as the sacred people, ruled in the name of God. They had, in effect, created an Established Church.

When Massachusetts Bay became a royal province, partly as a consequence of the limited franchise,[8] the Church of England was "as by law established" on June 15, 1686, according to the earliest recordbook of King's Chapel.[9] Two Established Churches faced each other: the one, the Established Church of the sacred people; (see Appendix I) the other, the Established Church of the sacred king. The New Englanders, according to Henry Wilder Foote, looked upon the Church of England as "a part of the tyranny of the Stuarts",[10] and saw "that the Church was pushed her ... in no small degree as a political engine, rather than for religious and devote ends."[11]

The English point of view was that the new province was a part of England,[12] which necessarily meant the existence there of the national church, even if it had 'to muscle in'. The verb from gangster's slang is not inappropriate, because the actions of the first royal governor, Sir Edmund Andros, concerning the organization of the Church of England in Boston, have a gangster-like quality about them. Having been told shortly after his arrival, on 20 December, 1686, by the Puritan ministers that they could not consent to this proposal that a meeting house "should be made use of for ye Common-prayer worship",[13] Andros occupied the South Meeting House on March 23, 1686/7, in order to celebrate New Year's Day on March 25.[14] Until the end of Andros' administration - a little over two years - Anglicans and Puritans shared joint occupancy of the

South Meeting House,[15] which would seem calculated to inconvenience the Puritans. For instance, on Easter Sunday, 1687, the Anglicans met at eleven in the morning to worship; the Puritans were to meet at half-past one in the afternoon. "But it was not until after two that the Church service was over," wrote Sewall; "so 'twas a sad sight to see how full the street was with people gazing and moving to and fro, because they had not entrance into the house."[16]

The joint occupancy of the South Meeting House was only an interim measure; a proper edifice was needed, not only for Anglican worship, but also to signify architecturally the royal presence in the province. Andros had first tried to buy land on Cotton Hill, but Judge Sewall refused, because "it would be a desecration of the ground on which Sir Henry Vane had built a house, and which on leaving the country he had given to John Cotton," wrote Foote. When repeatedly asked, Sewall "constantly replied that he 'could not; first, because he would not set up that which the people of New England came over to avoid, and second, because the land was entailed.'"[17] In other words, the Established Church of the sacred King was not welcomed in New England, and the New Englanders, in as many words, informed the governor of that fact. Finally, the governor and council used their authority to appropriate part of the corner from the old burial ground. Wrote Edwin L. Bynner: " 'Gleaner' calls this occupation of the land ' a bare-faced squat'. And the Rev. Increase Mather, speaking of the Episcopalians in 1688, said: 'Thus at their own charge they built an house; but can the townsmen of Boston tell at whose charge the land was purchased?'"[18]

The foundations of the first King's Chapel were laid before the middle of October, 1688,[19] and the first worship was held in the new church on Sunday, 8 June, 1689[20] (fig. 1). The building was frame construction; the most imposing exterior feature of which was the tower and steeple "surmounted by a huge 'cockerel'," wrote Bynner, "which in the well-known cut of the old chapel, soars into the clouds to a height almost rivalling the Beacon. Just under' this ambitious bird, according to Greenwood, there was 'a large and quite observable crown.'"[21]

Those last words of Greenwood bear repeating, "a large and quite observable crown." That is the point: the church, especially the tower and steeple, which harken back to the towered 'royal' west ends of medieval cathedrals, whose royal symbolism Earl Baldwin Smith has traced to the symbolic towered gates of Rome and Levant,[22] was intended to establish in Boston a very visually clear and concrete symbol of the King's presence, through his viceroy, that could be seen from a great distance, and which could be used as a focal point in orientation. The tower-steeple symbolism was, in fact, the utilization of the Sun-King imagery of the Royal Court,[23] where the loyal servant moved in an orbit around the Sun-King, bathing in the royal light, and receiving his favour gratia regis.[24]

The Puritans retaliated, not only in breaking, during the Glorious Revolution, the windows of King's Chapel and "the doors and walls daubed and defiled with dung and other filth in the rudest and basest manner imaginable,"[25] but also, and more importantly, in building the Brattle Street Church in 1699 (fig. 2).

The Burgis 'View of Boston' of 1722,[26] shows the church - it was the first New England meeting house to be called a 'church' - to have been a two-storied rectangular building with a gabled roof and balustrade at the roof line. At the one end was a square tower with belfry windows, surmounted by a balustrade and spire with weathervane which, too, looks as if it soared into the clouds. As Marian Card Donnelly has indicated,[28] there was nothing new in the rectangular gabled roofed form of this meeting house. The balustrade at the roof line was new, and could be considered a vain affectation for a Puritan meeting house, which were usually void of all internal and external ornamentation, on the grounds that unnecessary decoration detracted from the Calvinist form of worship. Before the Brattle Street Church, meeting houses did have belfries, either placed upon the roof or detached from the building; it was the end-tower with spire that was the innovation; or, rather, the rectangular two-storied building with gabled roof and balustrade and end-tower and spire. The composite of these features could be described as a crude imitation of the London churches of Wren. That was the point: the Brattle Street Church was obfuscating the sun imagery of the 'King's' Chapel, as well as denying its claim to have been sanctified by the ceremonies of its priests. The text for the first sermon preached on 24 December, 1699,[29] came from II Chronicles 6:18:

> But will God in very deed dwell with men on the earth? behold, heaven and the heavens cannot contain thee; how much less this house which I have built!

Man cannot contain God: the text for the sermon and the building were a calculated denial of what King's Chapel symbolized. The King could not claim that his will as expressed in law was God's will; nor could the

King's clergy claim to sanctify in the name of God. Only God sanctifies; the clergy only instructs in order to prepare for God's sanctification. Brattle Street Church was not sanctified; neither was the King's Chapel. Both 'churches' were simply meeting houses.

Since there has been no comprehensive study of Puritan meeting houses for the eighteenth century, one can only speculate on the use of the end-tower on meeting houses. However, one finds its use in several that eventually become Unitarian churches. For instance, in 1755, the First Parish of Groton, Massachusetts, erected a meeting house with bell tower on the north side, the short side of the rectangular building; the main entrance was on the west side, the long side, opposite the pulpit.[30]

Similar arrangements were found in Dedham and Hingham, both in Massachusetts.[31] The end-tower was not over the main entrance which remained on the long side of the rectangular floor plan, opposite the pulpit. Apparently, the placing of the end-tower literally on the end of the building was a kind of challenge to the Anglican claim to be the Established Church in the Royal Province by deadening the potency of the towered entrance symbolism. However, by the end of the century, that is, after the American Revolution, the meeting house had been re-arranged so that the pulpit was in the centre of the short end of the rectangular floor plan, opposite the main entrance under the tower, thus signifying that Puritanism had once again become the Established Church of New England. Or, rather, one wing of it, the Liberal Christians, later to be known as the Unitarians. Nothing points out this change in Established Churches more than the case of King's Chapel, Boston.

Although William and Mary had generously endowed the chapel with a costly Communion service, chancel furnishings, and prayer books and Bible, from its opening the church had gone without pews until, in 1693, naval officers from the English fleet, then in Boston harbour, had presented the church with a donation to cover the cost of having them made.[32] In 1710, the congregation had increased to such an extent that the chapel was rebuilt to twice its original size.[33] By the middle of the eighteenth century, "this building, in turn, was found to be in a ruinous and delapidated condition, and measures to rebuild were taken, which resulted in the well-known stone chapel now standing upon the spot. The erection of this building is largely due to the energetic efforts of Dr. (Henry) Caner, the rector of the period."[34] This Dr. Caner worked strenously for the establishment of the episcopacy in the Royal Province, an establishment the Puritans equally strenuously resisted. The Puritans could tolerate the rule of temporal lords, but the introduction of spiritual lords into their midst would not be tolerated.

Peter Harrison was chosen, in 1749, as the architect of the new church. "Any master-builder", writes Carl Bridenbaugh, "could lay out a plain frame Congregational meeting house, but no 'architect' in New England except Harrison possessed the learning and the talent necessary for planning an elaborate Episcopal church of the kind specified by the building committee for King's Chapel. He was being asked to design the first large cut-stone structure in the colonies."[35] And the most elegant, for King's Chapel was to be the First Church of British North America.

Like the earlier chapel, this new church was to have an elaborate tower and steeple. The tower was to be enclosed in a porch of twelve Ionic columns tall enough to bring the entablature of the porch to the roof-line of the main body of the church. This entablature was to be carried across the front of the church and supported by Ionic pilasters.[36]

Harrison's design called for:

> an elegant and lofty steeple to two square stories and an octagonal spire. The first story is to be of the Ionick order, with 16 fluted coupled columns and pilasters, 19 inches in diameter. The second story, of the Corinthian order, formed of 8 fluted single columns, 14 inches in diameter. The Spire rising above, to be finished in the richest manner. The columns with their entablature, which projects from the body of the steeple, to support highly finished and ornamental urns. 'King's Chapel tower and spire as their designed conceived them were to be as elaborate and imposing as those of any church then existing in London itself. 37

Unfortunately, the steeple was never built. By 1758, over 7405 pounds sterling had been spent on the building, and no money was left to erect either the steeple or the porch.[38] This inability to complete the most ambitious design for an Anglican church in North America indicated the crisis facing the English in Massachusetts Province. Architecture, writes Norris Kelley Smith, "has generally exhibited its greatest power and originality at times when (successful, prosperous, property-owning) institutions (with a stake in the preservation of the status quo) have been threatened and in need of support."[39] One thinks of the work done in the fourteenth century on the great Gothic cathedrals at a time when the society for which they stood was crumbling about them.

In a sense, the unfinished King's Chapel symbolizes in its incompleteness the British lost cause in the American colonies.

> When the rector of King's Chapel, Henry Caner, left with General Howe for Halifax in March, 1776, accompanied by some of the leading members of the congregation, the Chapel carried on under a lay reader, who, before the end of the war had led the congregation into Unitarianism, King's Chapel becoming the first openly avowed Unitarian Church in America. 40

The foremost Established Church of British North America had become the first new Established Church of the New Republic. Let us follow the development of this new Established Church through the eighteenth century to see how its development parallels the political ideals of the New Republic.

Notes to Chapter I

1. Carl Bridenbaugh, Mitre and Sceptre, New York, 1962, p. 172.

2. John Winthrop, 'A Model of Christian Charity', cited in Perry Miller and Thomas H. Johnson, The Puritans, New York, 1963, vol. I, pp. 198-99.

3. Lewis Hanke, Aristotle and the American Indians, Chicago, 1959, p. 107.

4. Miller and Johnson, The Puritans, p. 243.

5. Revelation 21: 3-4.

6. Jehan Calvin, Institutes of the Christian Religion, edited by John T. McNeill, translated by Ford Lewis Battles, 2 vols., (The Library of Christian Classics, Vols. XX-XXI), Philadelphia, 1960, II, iii, 9: vol. I, p. 601.

7. C.C. Goen, Revivalism and Separatism in New England, 1740-1800, New Haven, 1962, p. 38.

8. "Lechford, in 1644 says that one-sixth of the population were church-members; Randolph, in 1686, states the number at one-tenth." Henry W. Foote, 'The Rise of Dissenting Faiths and the Establishment of the Episcopal Church', The Memorial History of Boston, ed., Justin Winsor, vol. I, p. 196, n. i. How reliable the statements of these two men are is uncertain, since they both are depicted as being anti-Puritan. For Edward Randolph, CF Foote, Op Cit., pp. 195-203. For Thomas Lechford, CF Daniel Boorstin, The Colonial Experience, New York, 1958, pp. 24-25.

9. Henry W. Foote, Annals of King's Chapel, Boston, 1882, vol. I, p.44.

10. Foote, 'The Rise of Dissenting Faiths', p. 196.

11. Ibid., p. 203.

12. John A. Woodburn, 'The Causes of the American Revolution', Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, XII of 10th Series, Baltimore, 1892, pp. 564-67.

13. Foote, Annals of King's Chapel, vol. I, p. 64. The passage id from Samuel Sewall's diary. One of the ministers who considered Andros' proposal was James Allen of the First Church. John Dunton says of him: "He was willing to render to Caesar all proper tribute; but he was unwilling that Caesar, in the capacity of civil magistrate, should interfere in holy things." Ibid., p. 65.

14. It would seem obvious that Andros wished to celebrate Christmas Day in a Meeting house, but the ministers would not consent to his proposal and told him so on 22 December. It is tempting to read Sewall's entry for 24 December, "About 60 Red-coats are brought to town," (Ibid., p. 64) as an effect caused by the ministers' denial of consent: Andros would use force if necessary to have his own way. In any event, he got his way for New Year's Day, which is 25 March, according to the Julian Calendar. Christmas Day was not celebrated by the Puritans.

15. Foote, 'The Rise of Dissenting Faiths', p. 211.

16. Foote, Annals of King's Chapel, pp. 70-71

17. Foote, 'The Rise of Dissenting Faiths', p. 214.

18. Edwin L. Bynner, 'The Topography of Boston', Memorial History of Boston, vol. II, p. 496. 'Gleaner' refers to articles by N.I. Bowditch published in the Boston Transcript in 1855-56. Ibid., vol. II, p. ii.

19. Foote, 'The Rise of Dissenting Faiths', p. 213.

20. Ibid., p. 214. Andros was not there to worship; his downfall came in April, 1689, with the ascension of William and Mary.

21. Bynner, 'Topography', p. 497. The Greenwood referred to is the author of King's Chapel.

22. Earl Baldwin Smith, Architectural Symbolism in Imperial Rome and the Middle Ages, Princeton, 1955. For the applicability to American colonial architecture, CF Alan Gowans, King Carter's Church, Victoria, 1969, especially pp. 32-41.

23. CF Appendix II, and Werner Stark, The Sociology of Religion, London, 1966, vol. I, especially pp. 45-60. If one considers the opening lines of Shakespeare's Richard III,

> Now is the winter of our discontent
> Made glorious summer by this Sun of York;

then the Sun-King imagery is not exclusively the property of the Court of Versailles, although the Stuart refugees during the Commonwealth could have picked up some 'new ideas'.

24. Earl Baldwin Cmith. The Dome, Princeton. 1950, pp. 3-6.

25. Foote, 'The Rise of Dissenting Faiths', p. 215.

26. Marian Card Donnelly, The New England Meeting Houses of the Seventeenth Century, Middletown, Conn., 1968.

27. Ibid., p. 81.

28. Ibid., p. 81.

29. Ibid., p. 79.

30. Virginia A. May, The First Parish Church, Groton, Massachusetts. mimeographed notes, n.d., pp. 2-3.

31. First Church in Dedham: Historical Notes, n.p., n.d., pp. 2-3, Questionnaire from Second Parish, Hingham.

32. John Greenwood, 'King's Chapel', Memorial History of Boston, vol. II, p. 497.

33. Ibid., p. 497.

34. Ibid., pp. 497-98..

35. Carl Bridenbaugh, Peter Harrison, First American Architect, Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 1949, p. 56.

36. Ibid., p. 58.

37. Ibid., p. 59.

38. Ibid., p. 61

39. Norris Kelly Smith. Frank Lloyd Wright, Englewood Cliffs, N.J., p. 9.

40. William Warren Sweet, Religion in the Development of American Culture, Gloucester, Massachusetts 1963, p. 16.

Chapter II

The Beginnings of Unitarianism: Toward a Theology of Revolution

The opposition between English and Calvinist social structures which first caused the Puritans to come to the New World and which was first given visual form in the first King's Chapel, Boston, and the pursuant challenge of the Brattle Street Church can now be restated with greater emphasis. The king, sacred by virtue of his blood, make law as God's representative on earth; law as the expression of the king's well manifested the Cosmic Will (See Appendix I). Contrarily, the Puritans saw themselves as the sacred people in the sacred land bringing to a climax the reason for man's long history upon the earth, the building of the New Jerusalem. For them, law among men was not man-made, but was in accordance with the law of nature. Alice Baldwin writes:

> By this is meant the general principles of justice and equity under which men were conceived to have lived before the founding of any society or civil state and which gave men therefore their so-called "natural rights". This law had been planted by God deep in the hearts of men, "written as with a pen of iron and the point of a diamond", before the fuller revelation of the written law, and was still to be found there. There seems little evidence that the clergy at least, thought of it as distinct from the law of God. Rather it gained greater force as a part of God's law. Again and again the clergy made this assertion and clearly regarded the laws of nature as sacredly and legally binding as any other part of the divine law. Samuel Hall in his Connecticut Election Sermon of 1746 put it thus: "I think there can be no doubt about it; but that in all cases where the matter under Determination appertains to natural Right, the Cause is God's Cause." John Barnard in his Massachusetts Election Sermon of 1734 phrased it somewhat differently but with equal assurance: This Voice of Nature is the Voice of God. Thus 'tis that vox populi est vox Dei.". 1

This manifestation of God's law in nature's law impressed upon the Puritans the righteousness of their concept of law and society: it was in accordance with nature, and therefore, with God's plan for mankind. And it indicated the artificiality of the English position: it was man-made. The king's will did not manifest the Cosmic Will; it was man-made. John Barnard's statement that the voice of the people is the voice of God was to be echoed in the trumpet blasts of the Declaration of Independence which heralded the birth of the New Republic in which the people would be keepers of their own house and elect guardians to preserve and protect the body of laws arising from their social interaction.

Corresponding to this polity of the sacred people in the sacred land, there was, among the liberalizing Puritans of the eighteenth century, a new vision of man in his relationship to God, which accompanied the development of this new vision of 'a due form of government'. These liberal Puritans were beginning to discover that God was not the awesome majestic sovereign of the Institutes, as Calvin described, but, rather, a benevolent Deity who sought man's happiness.

Between 1735 and 1745, the Great Awakening came to New England, dividing the Puritans into New and Old Lights. The New Lights under Jonathan Edwards sought a revival of Calvin's concept of salvation through the conversion of the sinner, and were criticized by the Old Lights for 'enthusiasm', the eighteenth century word for religious fanaticism and hysteria. The Old Lights maintained the established Puritan traditions of New England, and represented the Puritan

establishment of the seaport towns of Massachusetts.[2] The New Lights were mostly in Connecticut, and their revival bore elements of sectarianism aimed at the upper classes of Puritanism, resulting in a conflict between the two branches of Puritanism - including both branches - and Anglicanism.

The Old Lights came out of the Great Awakening more liberal in their theological views than ten years previously, and professing Arminian doctrines, as indicated by their stand on Original Sin. Orthodox Calvinism maintained that Adam was the natural and moral head of mankind and that through his sin his posterity fell in him, inheriting his guilt and entering this world in a depraved state, their wills bent on doing only evil. The Arminian accepted the fact that all men are sinners, even Adam, but rejected the doctrine of imputed guilt of Adam and total depravity. They argued that guilt is a personal matter, and no one could be blamed for the fault of another or for circumstances over which he has no control. Samuel Webster, in A Winter Evening's Conversation upon the Doctrine of Original Sin, published in 1757, put it this way:

> Sin and guilt ... are personal things, as much as knowledge. And I can as easily conceive of one man's knowledge being imputed to another, as of his sins being so... [3]

He went on to argue that, if the imputation of Adam's guilt is based upon natural generation, we are guilty not only of Adam's original sin but of all his others as well as all the sins of our ancestors.[4]

Conrad Wright writes:

> The opponents of imputed guilt were able to place the Calvinist doctrine in such an unfavourable light that even some of the orthodox were forced into damaging concessions. Is it fair, the Arminians asked, that children who die in infancy should go to Hell, when they had never reached an age of moral responsibility? Can it be reconciled with the goodness of God? ... Can it be supposed that a just God "should send millions that die before they come to a capacity of moral agency. As is the case of all infants, the moment they leave the world, to the place of "weeping, and wailing, and gnashing of teeth for ever,: merely because their first father ate of a tree thousands of years before they were born? 5

The Arminians, however, did see a connection between the sin of Adam and the moral state of his descendants, but the connection revolved around their physical inheritance. Charles Chauncy, in 1756, argues that the curse laid upon Adam by God brought about a physical change in the earth itself, "changing it from its paradisaick state, to one that was adapted to be an occasion of toil, and sorrow, and death". 6 Continues Wright:

> On Adam God passed the sentence of death, by which is meant not damnation, or the second death, but the dissolution of the link between the body and the soul. Adam's posterity are included in this sentence, not because of their guilt but because they must necessarily inherit his physical characteristics. 7

Concomitant with this denial of Adam's guilt imputed to his descendants was the denial that man's will is wholly bent upon evil. Writes Conrad Wright:

> When we are born, said John Tucker, we are "neither Righteous nor Wicked but capable of being either". God has implanted in us "certain Appetites and Passions", which are innocent of themselves, but capable of leading us astray unless they are kept under proper restraint. But he has given us "an intelligent Nature: He has bless'd us with the Power of Reason, and implanted in us that moral Sense which we call Conscience". These are given us as a balance to the appetites and passions, to keep them under control. 8

The implication of this position is that man's moral character

is developed from birth and is the product of training and experience. "The bias with which the mature man approaches choices between good and evil has been created in his lifetime, and he can be held very largely responsible for it," writes Wright, and continues quoting James Dana: "' our estimating the moral character from internal dispositions is on a supposition that these are within the power of the agent'."[9]

One means, in fact, the only means of estimating moral character is by the acts a man performs. However, the Arminians did not accept justification by works alone, because to accept that position a man must not have a misdeed upon his record, 'for one bad one only, tho' it should be attended with a great many good ones, would as certainly, if not in so high a degree, expose him to sentence of condemnation, as if his works were all bad, with the exception of one only that was good', argues Chauncy.[10] Man was a sinner and must be justified by faith in God. But justification was not reserved only for the predestined elect as orthodox Calvinism maintained; all men had an equal opportunity of accepting or rejecting it.

Gradually the concept developed that justification was a kind of standard to be attained instead of a fiat from God. According to Wright, Jonathan Mayhew presented this position the most clearly:

> The terms of acceptance, he wrote, are laid down in the Scriptures, "so that those who comply therewith, are justified of course, upon such compliance". These terms are stable and fixed, so that every one who meets them is automatically pardoned. We do not suppose "that there is any sentence of absolution, or justification, formally pronounced in heaven, when a man is justified..... There is no Act of justification to be conceived of, either as prior, or subsequent to, or different from, the gospel-declarations of mercy. [11]

This whole Arminian scheme implied that man's salvation was within his own control because it depended upon what uses he made of his opportunities. But this dynamic was Janus-faced; it extended to include not only man's relation with his God, but also his relation with his physical world. The Puritans of the seventeenth century had begun the movement to make their other-wordly religion this-worldly; the Arminians of the eighteenth century continued this movement to turn "the world into the church, and the church into the world, in such a manner as to leave very little difference between them".[12] Man saves himself by taking advantage of the opportunities afforded him; this religious ethic is a religious pragmatism that can be turned upon the world: man saves himself from the perils imposed by the world by taking advantage of the opportunities this world affords him. The pages of Max Weber's celebrated thesis, The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism, read as a profile of the eighteenth century New England Arminian Puritan, whose affluence in business is the result of the same pragmatic expertise he applies to problems religious.

Man saves himself through his own efforts: to a people who believe that they have been chosen by God to come to a land destined for them since the beginning of human history in order to bring to fruition the very purpose of man's existence upon this earth, such a proposition is a political declaration of independence from an authority which at best has no basis in natural law but is only man-made, and at worse is despotic and tyrannical.

When the Puritans asserted that the voice of the people was the voice of God, they claimed to be fulfilling the law of God, which Baldwin states, "was not only moral but also rational, and God expected obedience not so much because of His Authority as because of its reasonableness and the benefits to be derived therefrom."[13] The people formulated the law, not the king: he was bound by law. As the century moved toward the American Revolution, the Arminian theology reflected even more the American colonial political theory. Jonathan Mayhew went so far as to assert that even God was bound by law:

> God himself does not govern in an absolute arbitrary and despotic manner. The Power of his almighty King is limited by law - by the eternal laws of truth, wisdom, and equity, and the everlasting tables of right reason. 14

Not only was God a Constitutional Monarch, but He ruled with benevolence which Chauncy defined as "a principle disposing and prompting to the communication of happiness."[15] Writes Wright:

> And in saying that God is benevolent, he (Chauncy) meant above all that he is benevolent towards men and seeks their happiness. Samuel Osborn told his congregation in 1743 that "God did not create or give Men Being for his own Sake, but for their Sakes, that he might communicate Happiness to them". God is already infinitely happy; his creation of men could not increase his own happiness, and so it must have their happiness as its end. Mayhew argued that by promoting the happiness of the creature, God was promoting his own glory. But, he added, if any prefer to say that "God's view is, to promote his own glory by doing good, making the latter the means, and the former the end; I have no objection, except that it may, perhaps, seem to represent him rather as an ambitious Being, who desires the praise and homage of his creatures, than an infinite good One, who aims at making them happy without any selfish end." 16

Now, if the benevolence of God expressed itself in seeking the happiness of man, then God could not wish the damnation of the sinner. All men are saved from the wages of sin, which is death. Such was the conclusion reached by Charles Chauncy in The Mystery Hid from Ages and Generations, Made Manifest by the Gospel-Revelation; or, the Salvation of All Men the Grand Thing Aimed at in the Scheme of God, published in 1784, within the first year of Britain's recognition of the New Republic. Chauncy reached his conclusion through a careful analysis of the Scriptures and Arminian doctrines. God seeks man's happiness. Man not only has virtuous tendencies but also sinful ones which can be brought under control by the proper attitude of heart and by trial and discipline throughout his life. If in death the individual has not been totally reconciled to God, then he will pass "by the Lord Jesus Christ, in execution of his mediating trust, to the place of weeping, and wailing, and gnashing of teeth" where he will suffer "in proportion to the number and greatness of their vices" until he is reformed in righteousness when he will be "fixed in the possession of compleat and everlasting happiness".[17] Consequently, all men, according to this Universalist doctrine, are guaranteed the pursuit of happiness, which the writer of the Delcaration of Independence considered the inalienable right of all men.

The impact of this doctrine, indeed, implicit since the denial of the imputation of original sin, is that man is essentially good. In this life he moves towards a reconciliation with God, and whatever sins remain, in death, are cleansed by God in order that he may enjoy everlasting

happiness. God has become a Constitutional Monarch bound by law, who serves man, now at the centre of things. Man's collective voice now is the voice of God. He now saves himself by his own efforts. With the spread of Arianism after the War of Independence, Christ lost his place in the cosmic drama of history; his death now became, not the infinite atonement of the infinite offence against the Almighty God, but merely an example of perfect obedience. And the Almighty God retreats to abstract infinity, to the realm of vague metaphysical causality.

According to George Bancroft the Unitarian historian of the mid-ninettenth century, history itself was vanquished in the War of Independence, which began the fourth and final act of human history. The first act of the human drama ranged from the beginning of the world to the Athens of Socrates; the second, from Socrates to the birth of Christ; and

> the third extends from the promulgation of the glad tidings of the Gospel by the Saviour to the American Revolution which events may be deemed the two most important in the history of mankind. With the latter commences a new and more glorious era, of which the one immediately preceding it may be considered as little more than formative. 18

According to Bancroft, the world began anew with the American Revolution. He was presenting the same vision his forefathers had as they sailed to the New World, the vision of the New Jerusalem, the vision of the end of things when all begins anew. And it is the vision the liberal Puritans implied in their developing theology. They closed their eyes upon their past heritage and pragmatically restructured their beliefs for the new age, an age centred upon man in his physical environment. In so doing, they

laid the groundwork for the American myth, the myth of what R.W.B. Lewis calls the American Adam,[19] the man, the good man, the innocent man in so far as he is freed from the debris of historical accumulation, who ventures into the wilderness, into the virginity of a New World, into the new Eden, to begin anew.

> The new habits to be engendered on the new American scene were suggested by the image of a radically new personality, the hero of the new adventure: an individual emancipated from history, happily bereft of ancestry, untouched and undefiled by the usual inheritances of family and race; an individual standing alone, self-reliant and self-propelling, already to confront whatever awaited him with the aid of his own unique and inherent resources. It was not surprising, in a Bible-reading generation, that the new hero ... was most easily identified with Adam before the Fall. Adam was the first, the archetypical man. His moral position was prior to experience, and in his very newness he was fundamentally innocent. The world and history lay all before him. And he was the type of creator, the poet par excellence, creating language itself by naming the elements of the scene about him. All this and more were contained in the American as Adam. 20

If the American Adam comes into this world in a less than perfect state, then human potentiality will envision and bring about 'better life for the human race than any human beings now enjoy', and will over-come "those negative forces which always threaten to emesh us in lives of meaninglessness, loneliness, anxiety, and vicious selfishness", to quote from the Fort Wayne Manifesto.[21] If the American Adam comes into a less than perfect world, then his pragmatic turn of mind will create the technology to perfect it.

The analysis of American literature Lewis presents in The American Adam is an analysis of the literary expression of this liberal theology which developed in the eighteenth century and which later formed the basis of American Unitarianism in the nineteenth century. For all the

giants of American literature about whom Lewis writes were in one way or another associated with the American Unitarian Church.[22] Such is not surprising, because American Unitarianism is the 'National Church' of the New Republic, in that its theology manifests the religious facet of the national experience which American men of letters gave literary form as the New Adam.

The Unitarians did not at first take the name 'Unitarian', which they associated,as any name does, with compartmentalization. As the 'National Church', they did not wish to be thought of as just another denomination. They preferred to call themselves 'Liberal Christians' or 'Catholic Christians' to designate their liberal approach to orthodox doctrines and their idea of forming a catholic Protestantism which would discard the theological baggage of history and concentrate upon the essentials of primitive Christianity - the moral strictures of the Bible.[23] Ezra Stiles was an early prophet of this catholicism; in 1761, he published A Discourse on the Christian Union in which he foresaw the harmony that would result.

> Providence has planted the British America with a variety of sects, which will unavoidably become a mutual balance upon one another. Their temporary collisions, like the action of acids, and alcalies after a short ebullition, will subside in harmony and union, not by the destruction of either, but in the friendly cohabitation of all. An antecedent fermentation may take place, as it has done in the philosophic world, but generous inquiry and liberal disquisition will issue all in this. Respendent and all-pervading Truth will terminate the whole in universal harmony. 24

During the first two decades of the nineteenth century, the Liberal Christians published several periodicals - the Monthly Anthology, and the North American Review, to name two of some note -- expressing not only their liberal theology but also their interest in literature and general culture.[25] In a word, they presented themselves as the intellectual and cultural elite of the New Republic. However, their attempts to retain a catholic approach to Protestantism were obstructed when the more conservative ministers of orthodox Calvinism refused to exchange pulpits with them.[26]

By 1820, "It was thought by some of us", William Ellery Channing said at the Berry Street Conference, "that the ministers of this commonwealth who are known to agree in what are called liberal and catholic views of Christianity needed a bond of union, a means of intercourse, and an opportunity of conference not as yet enjoyed".[27] Their attempts at remaining non-denominational were failing. In 1825, the American Unitarian Association was founded, and another denomination was born. But a denomination focused upon the American Dream.

Notes to Chapter II

1. Alice Baldwin, The New England Clergy and the American Revolution, New York, 1958, p. 15

2. Conrad Wright, The Beginnings of Unitarianism in America, Boston, 1955, pp. 30-33.

3. Cited in Ibid., p. 84

4. Ibid., p. 84.

5. Ibid., pp. 85-86

6. Ibid., p. 87.

7. Ibid., p. 87.

8. Ibid., pp. 88-89.

9. Ibid., p. 113.

10. Ibid., p. 119.

11. Ibid., pp. 122-23.

12. C.C. Goen, Revivalism and Separatism in New England, 1740-1800, New Haven, 1962, p. 38.

13. Baldwin, Op. cit., p. 16.

14. Ibid., p. 18.

15. Wright, Op. cit., p. 172

16. Ibid., pp. 172-73.

17. Ibid., pp. 194-95

18. R.W.B. Lewis, The American Adam, Chicago, 1955, p. 164.

19. Ibid., pp. 1-5.

20. Ibid., p. 4.

21. Richard Langhinrichs, Unitarian Manifesto, pamphlet of Unitarian Congregation of Fort Wayne, n.p., n.d., p.3.

22. Robert Montgomery Bird and Charles Brockden Brown are the only two who seem to have no association that is immediately evident.

23. George Willis Cooke, Unitarianism in America, Boston, 1902, p. 104.

24. Bridenbaugh, Mitre and Sceptre, p. 10.

25. Cooke, Op.cit. pp. 92-117.

26. Ibid., p. 101.

27. Ibid., p. 106.

Chapter III

The Classical Image, the New Rome

One hundred and twenty-five churches formed the American Unitarian Association in 1825, among them some of the oldest parishes organized in Massachusetts, including Plymouth, Salem, Boston, Hingham, Concord, and Quincy. Nine of the Puritan churches became Unitarian in Boston, which, with Harvard College across the Charles River, became the centre of the movement. The Liberal Christian, Henry Ware Sr., had become the Hollis Professor of Divinity at Harvard in 1805, and a year later Samuel Webber, another Liberal Christian, became president of the College. By 1825, the whole school had become Unitarian, a fact Harriet Beecher Stowe bitterly recalled in describing the Boston her orthodox preacher father encountered in that year:

> All the literary mean of Massachusetts were Unitarian. All the trustees and professors of Harvard College were Unitarians. All the elite of wealth and fashion crowded Unitarian churches. The judges on the bench were Unitarian, giving decisions by which the peculiar features of church organization, so carefully ordained by the Pilgrim fathers, had been nullified (in favour of Unitarianism).[1]

This last point mentioned by Stowe hints at one of the incidents of early Unitarian history which indicates the establishment nature of the movement. In the New England states, Puritanism was supported by taxes. Ezra Stiles described the Standing Order thus: "For by acts of legislature in these provinces parochial contracts for the support of the congregational clergy are enforceable by law. And these acts having received the royal sanction constitute congregationalism a legal estab-

lishment."[2] In 1818, the town of Dedham voted for a new minister, and a Liberal Christian was elected by a majority of the parish, although the majority of the congregation was orthodox. As a result, the orthodox members would have nothing to do with the new minister and left the church, taking with them some of the church furnishings. The case was finally decided in 1820 by the Supreme Court of Massachusetts which passed the judgement that the property of the local church belonged to the taxpaying parish as a whole, rather than only to the members of the church itself. As a result of the Dedham decision, more than one hundred churches in Massachusetts became Unitarian, legally the establishment church in those parishes. The orthodox members were forced to form new churches and, like the dissenting faiths, these churches had to be supported by voluntary contributions.[3] Needless to say, the Unitarians were staunch supporters of the Standing Order in the Massachusetts Constitutional Convention of 1820-21, which was considering repealing it. It was repealed at a similar convention twelve years later.

Not only was Unitarianism constituted as the established church legally by the Dedham decision and theologically as we have seen, but also visually by its adoption of the National Style, the Classical Revival.

We shall look briefly at the older churches which were 'renewed' in the classical idiom, before going on to the churches specifically built in the National style.

The first church to declare itself Unitarian was, as has already been noted, King's Chapel, Boston, which took the step in 1785. In the same year, Peter Harrison's plan for the portico was carried out in wood, and a wooden balustrade was placed around the roof (Fig. 3).[4] The spire was never built. About the same time the original plans of the church disappeared, as if they were a reminder of a past that was to be forgotten.[5] The effect produced by the classical portico established the church as belonging to the New Republic, which, like the earlier Roman, had thrown off the foreign king. Its Ionian columns, according to the prevalent Masonic ideas of the day,[6] established the church as a Hall of Wisdom, for it was wisdom, derived from revelation - 'a gift of light' - from the Scriptures by the exercise of reason, that the early Unitarians celebrated. For example, William Ellery Channing in his Baltimore sermon of 1819, entitled 'Unitarian Christianity', given at the ordination of Jared Sparks (who later became president of Harvard), stated that "God, when He speaks to the human race, conforms, if we may so say, to the established rules of speaking and writing."[7] Statements written or spoken are open to various interpretations, so, too, the word of God which "bears the stamp of the same hand which we see in his works. It has infinite connections and dependencies ... Nothing stands alone."[6] Moreover, the writers of the various books have left their own personal imprint upon their works, and their works are speaking to a particular time in history.

> With these views of the Bible, we feel it our bounden duty to exercise our reason upon it perpetually, to compare, to infer, to look beyond the letter to the spirit, to seek in the nature of the subject and the aim in the nature his true meaning; and, in general, to make use of what is known for explaining what is difficult, and for discovering new truths.[9]

The classical ordering and the Ionic capitals of the portico gave expression to this exercise of reason in quest of wisdom.

There were no further alterations to King's Chapel, now called 'the Stone Church' for obvious reasons, until 1826, when the canopied governor's pew was removed because it was "an undemocratic reminder of another era" (Fig. 5), although it did serve republican purposes when President Washington used it in 1789.[10] Its removal the year after Unitarianism was forced into the denominational position of forming the Association would seem to indicate the real reason: Unitarianism could not claim to be the established church in any official sense, and its presence was a reminder of dashed hopes, both republican and royalist.

Without its classical portico and governor's pew, the Stone Church served as a model for the wood-framed Unitarian Church of Barneveld, New York, built by its resident minister, Isaac Pierce, in 1816 (Fig. 6). Its interior is a faithful copy of the Stone Church.[11] Like the Stone Church, its entrance is through a square tower on the end opposite the pulpit. This business of the main entrance being through the steeple tower becomes important to the Unitarians in these early years. By taking this 'church' form, the Unitarians were proclaiming themselves as the National Church.

The 'Historical Notes' for the First Church in Dedham states that the third meeting house built in 1762, placed the steeple on the north side, the narrow side, with the main entrance on the east side opposite the pulpit. 'Following the court decision of 1818. the building was extensively remodelled. The steeple was removed from the north end, the roof was turned around to run east and west, the east side was extended and the present steeple built facing the east' (Fig. 7). The pulpit remained on the west end where it had been since the first meeting house of 1638. The resultant classical temple-front facade encompassing the tower bears a marked resemblance to the plans for churches found in the pattern books of Asher Benjamin, and was undoubtedly the source. A similar re-orientation occurred with the meeting house of the Second Parish, Hingham, Massachusetts (Fig. 8). Originally built as a rectangular meeting house in 1742, a bell tower was added to the east end in 1792. In 1829, the pulpit was moved from the north wall to the west end, the main entrance on the south wall was closed, and a new main entrance of the Benjamin temple-front type was built around the tower on the east end. More dramatic still were the renovations to the meeting house of the First Parish of Groton, Massachusetts (Fig. 9). The meeting house had been completed in 1755, with pulpit on the east wall and main entrance opposite, with a bell tower on the north end. In 1839, the meeting house was dismembered except for the bell tower and turned ninety degrees so that the main entrance under a deep, temple-front portico enclosing the bell tower is still at the west, with the pulpit still at the east. In 1842, similar changes were made in the meeting house of the First Parish of Hubbardston, Massachusetts, built in 1772, by Isaac Bellows.

In 1804, the square meeting house in Kennebunk, Maine, was cut in two, and the rear half moved back twenty-eight feet, and a new mid-section was built by ships' carpenters, who also built over the entrance a bell tower and spire patterned after those of Christopher Wren to house one of the forty-three bells cast by Paul Revere and Son, many of which are found in these early Unitarian churches.[17] Although no classical temple-front was added to the church, the interior exhibits classical decoration and proportions of the Benjamin type (Figs. 10 & 11). In 1838, the galleries were removed and the floor raised to accommodate a hall below the church auditorium. Also without a temple-front facade is the Unitarian Church of Dighton, Massachusetts, built in 1770 (Figs. 12 & 13). In 1824, the main entrance was moved from the east side to the base of the bell tower on the south end built in that year to house a bell cast by Paul Revere's son, Joseph, in 1821, and, which, from that year, had hung in a shed on the northwest corner of the church yard until the tower was built three years later. The interior of the church was not re-oriented until 1861, when "the old galleries were torn down, the east entrance was boarded up; the high pulpit removed; the old square pews were taken out; the double row of windows was replaced at the north side of the church instead of the west."[13] The result of this transformation was a modified Benjamin interior, which apparently disappointed the congregation. For at a meeting in December of that same year, "Cyrus Talbot, Clerk, made record that they 'Voted unanimously that they were dissatisfied with the work done on the Meeting House.'"[14]

No reason was given for their dissatisfaction, but one reason could have been accoustical. Their Puritan forefathers had placed the pulpit in the centre of the long side so that the preacher would be equidistant from the back rows on the other three sides. It was a pragmatic solution to an accoustical problem. The new re-orientation of the interior, by placing the pulpit on the short side of a rectangular space with the preacher's audience facing him, would increase the problems of accoustics, for the preacher's voice must reach the whole length of the church if he is to perform effectively his function in the community. Since there was no great change in the format of Unitarian from their Puritan origins - it is reported that the Baltimore sermon of Channing from which extracts were quoted above lasted an hour and a half,[15] one must look to reasons for these changes in orientation other than as pragmatic solutions to accoustical problems.

Moreover, the old meeting houses had usually three entrances, the main entrance opposite the pulpit, and two side entrances on the short sides of the rectangular space. Now, with the new re-orientation there was only one entrance on the short side opposite the pulpit. The entrance-exit system of their forefathers, too, was a pragmatic solution to the problems of filling and emptying the meeting house. New England winters are severe, and no one wishes to stand in line waiting to enter in the bitter cold. Fire was always a hazard in a wooden building, especially if every family brought a bucket of live coals for their

foot-warmer. The three exits on the three sides offered an efficient means of emptying the building in an emergency.

But pragmatism rarely enters into the design of historic architecture. As we have indicated, architecture creates the image the people have of themselves. In the present case, the image was that of the New Republic which looked upon itself as the successor of the democracies of Athens and Rome. Having cast off politically its allegiance to the Old World, the New Republic cast off its architectural skin of the recent past to emerge like its citizen, the new Adam, at the dawn of time when democracy first began.

The citizens of the New Republic could see in their government the realization of the political theory of a Cicero. He had stated in the Laws that men and divinity are linked in their participation in reason, that is, in the Law, the Logos, the order of the universe.[16] This Logos was found in nature, and man's Law was founded on Nature.[17] The Romans had laid down the Law in their six books to be administered by the magistrates; it was the duty of the citizen to obey them.[18] In his treatise On the Commonwealth, Cicero stated that it is the wise and virtuous man who enters politics, because wisdom and virtue are not enough in themselves; they must be actualized for the common good.[19] It is the wise and virtuous man who enters politics lest the reins of state fell into unworthy and unscrupulous hands.[20] Cicero saw the

statesman as the steward of the community, a man who knows law and justice, a man who knows how to rule.[21] He is the man who never abandons the study and contemplation of himself, and challenges others to imitate him; he is the model for his fellow citizens to emulate by the nobility of his mind and conduct.[22] Happiness of his fellow man is the goal of the statesman; he strives to make them secure in their resources, rich in wealth, great in renown, and distinguished in virture.[23]

All this and more the citizens of the New Republic held to be true, their collective voice was the voice of God, in that the laws they formulated were in accord with the Law of Nature; their elected magistrates protected the law and sought the common good. As part of the grand scheme for a new world, the ministers of the Standing Order were called by the drafters of the Massachusetts Constitution of 1870, "public... teachers of piety, religion and morality."[24] It was their duty to clarify and sustain the moral tone of the community. As such, theirs was an integral part of civic life. Doubly so for the Unitarian ministers, for their church, in casting off the past had brought light to "the darkness which hung over the gospel for ages." and scattered "the earth-bound fogs which have long shrouded (Christianity)."[25]

In like manner, the old meeting houses cast off their associations with their Puritan past and were renewed as temples of woship for the New Republic. By re-orienting the interior, and adding a temple-front

facade, and dedicating it to "the great work of perfecting the human soul,"[26] the Unitarians made their churches an integral part of the Republic where its citizens could learn the simple virtues, devoid of the theological rubble of the centuries, upon which their country was founded.

By entering under the towered entrance, the symbol of sovereignty now resided in their own collective voice. As Earl Baldwin Smith has pointed out, the towered gateway was a shorthand version of the dome, the perpetualization of the primeval hut, as the symbol of authority.[27] (Which probably explains why both Charles Bulfinch and Asher Benjamin terminated some of their spires, their towered entrances, in cupolas, after the fashion of James Gibbs.) Since the authority had passed to the people in the New Republic, the domed Unitarian Church in Baltimore, Maryland, built by Maximillian Godefroy, in 1818, was more than a mere exercise in the use of a sphere and a cube, according to the latest theories of French architectural rationalism (Figs. 14 & 15). As such, it presented Vitruvian architecture stripped of all Renaissance and Baroque associations, as pure geometry, as the abstract essence of the classical workd seen through the light of reason. But as a domed building, it represented the authority of the people who, by the use of reason, could determine their own destinies and uncover new truths from the Bible.

The interior of the church is a square 53½ feet on a side, with extensions to form a semi-circular chancel at the front, a choir and slave gallery at the rear, and aisles on both sides. The corners of the building are hollow square buttresses to support the four arches 53½ feet in diameter which in turn support the coffered dome 53½ feet in diameter and 25 3/4 feet high.[28]

The exterior is brickcovered with cement once scored to look like masonry blocks.[29] The front facade has a deep, arcuated temple-front in whose pediment is a terra cotta 'Angel of Truth' (designed by Godefroy and executed by Antonio Canpellano, and erected in 1819)[30] bearing a scroll on which is inscribed in Greek the words, 'To the One God'.

Another Unitarian church featuring a dome is the Second Congregational Meeting House of Nantucket, Massachusetts (Figs. 16 &17). In 1809, it was built by the local builder Elisha Ramsdell, after a design by Asher Benjamin, like the First Parish in Bedford, Massachusetts, built in 1817 (Fig. 18). However, in 1844, seven years after the Nantucket church became Unitarian, the local builder, F.B. Coleman, was engaged to renovate the interior. He removed the side galleries, and replaced the two-tiered windows with tall, full-length side windows, and raised the building in order to place a vestry and kitchen under the auditorium. In the ceiling, Coleman built a shallow 'golden dome'.[31]

Asher Benjamin patterns served as the basis of design for several other Unitarian churches, creating a uniform style in the land. Benjamin pattern books and others like them indicated to the local builder the spirit of the classical style, but allowed for a range of choices in individual elements within the classical vocabulary, so that, fundamentally alike in spirit, the churches are visually unique individuals. For example, the plain front of the First Parish of Westwood, Massachusetts, built in 1809, merely hints at being a temple-front by the indication of pilasters on the corners of the facade, and by the indication of a classical pediment which is achieved by dividing the gable from the rest of the facade by means of a simple cornice at the height of the roof line (Fig. 19). The elliptical fan windows in the pediment and over the doors, and the Venetian window in the middle of the second story are all elements of the architectural vocabulary of the Classical Revival. The First Parish of Norwell, Massachusetts, built in 1830, by the local builder, William Sparrel, shows a certain resemblance to the Westwood church (Fig. 20). However, the Norwell church does not have a gallery, and the side windows are tall, full length round-headed ones as opposed to the two-tiered rectangular windows at Westwood. At Norwell four pilasters 'support' the gable pediment, and the upper story windows of the facade are all round-headed; there is no Venetian window in the centre. The three doors all carry simple cornices.

The First Parish of Wayland, Massachusetts, built in 1814, is a more elaborate Benjamin design (Fig. 21). A temple-front entrance encompassing the tower projects from the facade of the building. The

spire consists of two octagonal drums with arcuated openings surmounted by a cupola. The temple-front entrance is a combination of elements from Westwood and Norwell. Four pilasters support the pediment with its fan window. In the upper story, two tall round-headed windows flank a Venetian window in the centre. The three doorways are topped by fan windows, and the centre door is flanked by pilasters which support an entablature.

A more delicate and earlier variant of this basic design (and possibly the source of Benjamin's pattern) is the First Church, Unitarian, of Newburyport, Massachusetts, built in 1801, by the Salem builder and carver, Samuel McIntyre (Fig. 22). Like the Wayland church, the temple-front entrance projects from the front of the building and encompasses the tower with its elaborately worked spire in the Gibbsian fashion. Four pilasters set on plinths support an entablature with modillions, above which is the pediment, the eaves of which are decorated with the butt ends of the roof purlins. The upper story windows are in the same arrangement as the windows at Wayland but the doorways are not. The two flanking doors are framed by pilasters supporting entablatures; the centre doorway is also flanked by pilasters which support its own pediment whose entablature is broken, in the late Roman manner, by the semi-circular window above the door.

This church in Newburyport was copied in 1804, for the First Church in Roxbury, Massachusetts (Fig. 23), and must have also served as the model for the First Congregational Unitarian Church of Northborough, Massachusetts, built in 1808 (Fig. 24). In fact, the Northborough church differs only in that the pilasters do not rise from plinths, the second

story flanking windows are square-topped rather than round-headed, and the spire is more simplified. The spire of the Roxbury church is a fair copy of the Newburyport church, except that it terminates in a cupola rather than a tall cone. The plinths on the temple-front rise to the full height of the flanking doorways and their fan windows, and at this level support entablatures which span these doorways. From this height, the pilasters rise from these entablatures to support the pediment. The centre doorway is wider than the other two, and is surmounted by an elliptical fan window. Classical quoining marks the corners of the main building.

The first stone Unitarian church since King's Chapel, the First Unitarian Church of Providence, Rhode Island, begun in 1814, was finished two years later, by John Holden Greene, uses part of the vocabulary of the McIntyre church in Newburyport (Fig. 25). Its temple-front entrance projects from the building to encompass a tower and spire even more elaborate than McIntyre's, but also based Gibbsian designs. Four tall plinths half the height of the doorways support four free-standing Doric columns, with bases, which support the pediment whose entablature is broken in the centre by a tall round-headed window above the central doorway. Two smaller round-headed windows flank this central window. The two flanking doorways carry their own pediments, while the central door is framed by pilasters which carry a massive entablature.

In the same year that Greene finished his Providence church, 1816, the First Church of Burlington, Vermont, was built according to the designs of Peter Banner, from the Boston office of Charles Bulfinch, who probably reviewed the plans and gave his approval, since the church holds a receipt for plans from Bulfinch as well as

from Banner (Figs. 26 & 27).[32] The main body of this brick building is treated like a classical temple with an entablature running around the building below the roof line supported by pilasters at the corners of the building. The entablature forms the gable into a classical pediment which is broken by the entrance tower projecting from the main body of the building. The entablature forms the gable into a classical pediment which is broken by the entrance tower projecting from the main body of the building. Flanking the tower are two projecting entrance-ways which almost extend to the full width of the building; their roofs are lower than the entablature of the main building, and below these roofs there is a smaller version of the main entablature supported by pilasters at the outermost corners of these projecting elements. The two flanking entrances, like so many already discussed, are framed by pilasters and entablature and topped by fan windows. The central door likewise is framed by pilasters which support an entablature which extends upward to support the round-headed window above. The spire is in the Bulfinch manner: two octagonal drums with arcuated openings surmounted by a tall octagonal cone.

A similar design worked in undressed granite by John Mussey served the First Parish of Portland, Maine, built between 1825 and 1826 (Fig. 28). Two vestibule bays, originally topped with a balustrade, flank the tower which projects from the body of the church. The three doorways are round-headed in dressed stone -- line the windows -- with fan-lights within the spring of the arches. The tower supports an octagonal drum with arcuated openings; above is a spire composed of

octagonal elements and topped by the weather vane from 'Old Jerusalem', the wooden meeting house built in 1740, on the site of the present church.

The gentleman-architect whose influence has been felt throughout this whole period, Charles Bulfinch, was not only a Unitarian himself (as a member of King's Chapel, he became Unitarian in 1785, when the Chapel adopted the belief in the oneness of God), but also designed eight Unitarian churches: the Hollis Street Church, Boston (1788); the First Congregational Church, Providence, Rhode Island (1795); New North Meeting House, Boston (1804); the Federal Street Church, Boston (1809);[33] New South Meeting House, Boston (1814);[34] the First Church of Christ, Lancaster, Massachusetts (1816); the Unitarian Church, Washington, D.C. (1822); and the First Church, Peterborough, New Hampshire (1826).

The Hollis Street Church was Bulfinch's first executed design, a design that was re-used for the First Congregational Church in Providence, seven years later (Fig. 29). The Providence church was call a "beautiful copy of one of the most beautiful houses of worship in Boston,"[35] and described by an Englishman in his Travels through the Northern Parts of the United States (1807-08) thus:

> The west end of the cathedral church of Saint Paul, in the city of London, is the model on which it is formed, and from which as much of the pomp and architecture has been imitated, as the small dimensions of the copy may have justified. 36

Charles A. Place considers that the interior of these two churches were inspired by Wren's Saint Stephen's Church, Walbrook, London,[39] Both are destroyed; the Boston church was moved to East Braintree, in

1810, and destroyed by fire in 1897;[38] the Providence church was destroyed by fire in 1814, and replaced by the Greene church already discussed.[39]

The New North Church was dedicated in 1804 (Fig. 30). A tall rectangular porch projects from the body of the church, surmounted by a square tower and cupola. The facade windows are placed within arcuated recesses in the brick wall, a feature Bulfinch will use again in the Peterborough church. Thin pilasters decorate the facade, and a Venetian window is featured over the central door. Because the street was widened, the flanking doors have been bricked up and steps run through the central door; two new doorways were cut into the sides of the porch.

This church has been bought by the Catholics of Boston, and is now called Saint Stephen's Church. It is the only church by Bulfinch to remain in Boston. Place, after looking at the sketches and memoranda of the interior, considers that it looks to-day much as when it was built: "A gallery, supported on Doric columns with dentiled entablature, and the gallery breast three and a half feet high, carrying Corinthian columns from which a curved ceiling spring..."[40] The pulpit arrangements of the Unitarians, of course, have been replaced by the altar of Saint Stephen's.

Considered Bulfinch's ecclesiastical masterpiece, the First Church of Christ, Lancaster, built in 157 days in 1816, is a refinement of some of the ideas worked out in the New North Church (Fig. 31). A tall rectangular porch projects from the front of the main body of the church and supports a square tower. The spire above it consists of a cylindrical drum with

twelve Roman Ionic columns supporting an entablature and dome. The Massing of these elements is more balanced in this Lancaster work than in the Boston church. In front of the porch Bulfinch has placed a temple-front portico with arcuated openings, looking not unlike a Roman triumphal arch. Thin Roman Doric pilasters upport the Doric entablature and modillioned cornice which runs around the church.

The Unitarian Church, Washington, D.C., like many of the others, exists now only in plans and a photograph taken before its demolition in 1900 (Fig. 32)[42] Constructed in brick and plastered, it consisted of a porch slightly less wide than the main body of the church. Projecting from this porch was a square tower with hexagonal belfry and cupola. Encompassing the tower was a temple-front portico in the Doric order; the entablature and modillioned cornice was carried around the building. According to Place, the same treatment of tower and portico can be found in churches built prior to this one - in Newark, New Jersey; Savannah and Augusta, Georgia; and New Haven, Connecticut. He also mentions that the buttresses shown in the photograph are not indicated in the design for the side elevation.[43]

The last Unitarian church Bulfinch built is, in fact, based upon plans drawn up before the Lancaster church. For the First Church of Peterborough is based upon plans that the Lancaster congregation rejected in favour of a larger church (Fig. 33). So the story goes. In 1826, when the church was built, Bulfinch was in Washington, working on the Capitol. His records, in general scanty, do not always show commissions

for churches, because he did not charge for church plans. Since there is no record of a transaction with the Peterborough congregation, the possibility that his Boston office gave Peterborough plans previously designed for another congregation cannot be excluded. In Lancaster there is the tradition that the congregation did reject a previous Bulfinch design in favour of a larger church, and that rejected design was executed in Peterborough.[44]

In any event, the exterior of the church does show the arcuated recessed niches in the brick wall for the windows and doors which Bulfinch used for some of the windows of the New North Church, Boston. If this is the rejected design for Lancaster, Bulfinch, with this design before him, removed the outer plane of this facade to create the fine arcuated portico at Lancaster. In this Peterborough facade, the niches are separated by brick pilasters with brick caps from which the arch of the niche springs. Above a modillioned cornice, the wooden pediment features a semi-elliptical fan in the centre. The three doorways have side lights and a semi-circular window above each. The Gibbsian spire, complete with urn finials, rises from the roof and is terminated with a golden cupola and golden weather vane.

All the above churches cover the period when Unitarianism was making some effort to become the National Church. It was also the formative period for the New Republic, when it was making its presence known to the world, when it was flexing its youthful muscles at the Old World, as evidenced by its attempted invasion

of British North America in the War of 1812.

It was becoming increasingly apparent, however, that the New Republic was not the New Rome. The Roman Republic was followed by the Roman Empire, and in France, too, Republic was followed by Empire. Moreover, when the Revolutionary generation was growing up, it had been thought that Rome was the Mother of Democracies, and Athens an offshoot. Now it was clear that the reverse was true; democracy and the classical spirit originated in Athens. Surely, then, the New Republic was not the successor of Rome, but, rather, the spiritual heir of the Athenian democracy of Pericles. Consequently, the Roman phase of the Classical Revival gave way to the Greek Revival; the New Republic now became the New Athens.

Notes to Chapter III

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2. Ezra Stiles, Discourse on Christian Union, Boston, 1761. p. 65

3. Evarts B. Greane, Religion and the State: The Making and Testing of an American Tradition, Ithica, New York, 1959 pp. 91-92.

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15. Rebecca Funk, A Heritage to Hold in Fee, 1817-1917, Baltimore, 1962. p. 14.

16. Cicero, Traite des Lois, translated by G. de Plinval, Paris, 1959, Book I, chapter VII, # 23. For the influence of Cicero on American political thought, C.F. Bernard Bailyn, The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution, Cambridge Mass., 1967, pp. 26.

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18. Ibid., Book III, chapter I, # 4-5.

19. Cicero, On the Commonwealth, Book I, chapter II

20. Ibid., Book I, chapter V.

21. Ibid., Book V, chapter III

22. Ibid., Book II, chapter XLII.

23. Ibid., Book V, chapter VI.

24. Conrad Wright, The Liberal Christians, Boston, 1970, p. 111.

25. William Ellery Channing, Works. New York, 1970, reprint of of 1882 edition, p. 383.

26. Ibid., p. 401.

27. Earl Baldwin Smith, The Dome. Princeton, 1950. p. 6.

28. Funk, Op. cit., p. 30.

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30. Ibid., p. 12.

31. personal letter from Rev. Ted Anderson dated 24 November, 1972.

32. The Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of the Dedication of the Meeting House of the First Unitarian Church, Burlington, Vermont, n.p. 1967, p. 7.

33. dealt with in Chapter VII.

34. dealt with in Chapter IX.

35. Charles A. Place, Charles Bulfinch, New York, 1968, reprint of 1925 edition, p. 23.

36. cited in Ibid., p. 23.

37. Ibid., p. 23

38. Ibid., p. 24

39. The Story of the First Unitarian Church of Providence, Providence, 1962. pamphlet.

40. Place. Op. cit., p. 131.

41. Alexander St.-Ivanyi. The Bulfinch Church in Lancaster, Massachusetts, Lancaster, 1972, p. 14.

42. Place, Op. cit., p. 265.

43. Ibid., p. 266

44. Copy of National Register of Historic Places Inventory - Nomination Form, dated May, 1971, p. 8.

Chapter IV

The Classical Image: the New Athens

The year after the last Bulfinch church was built in Peterborough, another new Hampshire city, Nashua, was building a modified Doric temple as the Unitarian Church of Nashua (Fig. 34). In the portico six symmetrically but unevenly spaced Doric columns - correctly without bases - support an Ionic entablature under a classical pediment containing a round headed window in the centre. Two large doorways flank a stylized Venetian window. For the first time in this study, a Unitarian church does not have a spire.

The First Parish of Sherborn, Massachusetts, was built in 1834, with a spire made up from the elements borrowed from Gibbs (Figs. 35 & 36). The design of the church could be based upon Asher Benjamin's Practice of Architecture. published in 1826, or even his An American Companion, published in 1827, and represent the 'latest thing; from Boston. Four fluted Doric columns support a temple-front portico not quite the width of the main body of the church. Like the previous example. the entablature is Ionic. Three large doors with molded frames reflecting the fluting of the columns stand under three rectangular windows with similar frames. Full-length round-headed side windows light the interior of the church which has a choir loft across the rear carried on Doric columns.

Two other candidates for local variants of the Benjamin designs are the First Parish, Lincoln (Fig. 37), and the Unitarian Church, Sheron (Fig. 38). both in Massachusetts, and both built in 1842. The Sheron church has a completely open colonnade across the front of its Roman Doric portico; the Lincoln church is half open and half boxed in, a kind of American version of a temple in antis. The two freestanding columns in the centre of the open space are Ionic without bases; across the front of the closed-in sections of the facade are four Doric pilasters at the corners. Both churches have Ionic entablatures with a triangular window in the centre of each pediment. Both have simple spires, and both have two doors flanking a tall rectangular window placed halfway up the wall in the middle. The Lincoln church also has two rectangular windows over the doors at the height of the choir loft.

A most correct use of the Doric order is the portico of the Unitarian Church. Meadville Pennsylvania, built in 1836, by Captain (later General) George W. Cullen, a member of the congregation at the time (Fig. 39). Four fluted columns across the front and two at the inner corners of the portico support the entablature. A large frame approximates and simulates the doorway in the correct proportion to the columns; the actual doorway is incorporated within the simulated one. The rest of the back wall of the portico is severely treated in plain brick.

The Greek Revival is the period the Jacksonian democracy, the period of the rise of the new middle class power west of Appalachia. The whole nation accepted the Greek as it had never accepted the Roman. For instance, in speaking of the Ohio Valley, James Fitch says:

> These towns had Greek architecture as well as Greek names. Ohio knew no other idiom - she leaped from log cabins to the polished severity of the Grecian idiom. The Ohio River was one long line of Revival towns. [1]

The Unitarian churches forming in this frontier territory presented themselves in the Doric order. In fact, the Unitarian publication, The Christian Register, in the 15 November, 1845, edition, saw a theological propriety in the style:

> Gothic architecture belongs to the Trinitarian Church, while the severe majesty of the Doric would be better suit the simplicity of the Unitarian faith. [2]

Cincinnati, Ohio, built a Doric church in 1830;[3] the First Unitarian Congregational Church in Buffalo, New York, dedicated one in 1833;[4] the first Congregational Society Unitarian of St. Louis, Missouri, built a Doric church of stone in 1836, which had to be enlarged in 1840;[5] the First Christian Congregation of Geneva, Illinois, also built a stone Doric church in 1843; [6] in 1851, the Congregational Unitarian Church of Detroit, Michigan, built a church in the Ionic order.[7] By that date, however, the Greek revival was almost dead.

> Captivated by the classical symmetry of the Athenian models, we have sought to bring the Parthenon into our streets, to make the temple of Theseus work in our towns. We have shorn them of their lateral colonnades, let them down from their dignified platforms, pierced their walls for light, and, instead of the storied relief and the eloquent statue which enriched the frieze, and graced the pediment, we have made our chimney tops to peer over the broken profile, and tell by their rising smoke of the traffic and desecration of the interior. Still the model may be recognized, some of the architectural features are entire: like the captive king stripped alike of arms and purple, and drudging amid the Helots of a capital, the Greek temple as seem among us claims pity for its degraded majesty, and attests the barbarian force which has abused its nature, and been blind to its qualities. .....
>
> It is a make-believe! It is not the real thing! We see the marble capitals: we trace the acanthus leaves of a celebrated model - incredulous odi! It is not a temple.[8]

So Horatio Greenough commented in 1843. He went on to argue for a functional architecture that would 'work' as beautifully as the design of an American clipper ship.[9] His ideas would find expression a century later, but they did not at the time offer a viable substitute for the revival of antique forms. Arthur Gilman offered that, and his answer was eclecticism.

Notes to Chapter IV

1. James Marston Fitch, American Building, Boston, 1972. p. 84

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3. Charles H. Lyttle, Freedom Moves West, Boston, 1952. p. 30.

4. Ibid., p. 45.

5. Ibid., p. 37.

6. Ibid., pp. 50-51.

7. Ibid., p. 53

8. Horatio Greenough, 'American Architecture', The United States Democratic Review, August, 1843. pp. 206-07.

9. Ibid., p. 208.

Chapter V

The Classical Image: Victorian Eclecticism

Arthur Gilman shared Greenough's opinion of the inappropriateness and absurdity of basing an American Architecture upon ancient models. Writes Talbot Hamlin:

> Gilman's answer is simple - were were to examine other, later styles, whose creators were men more like ourselves, with needs more like ours, and go to them for inspiration - to the Renaissance, in other words. And we should go not with any idea of copying, but with that of picking and choosing that which is fitting, and discarding the rest; we could mix what we found as we pleased. Among the styles to which the attention of America was called was to its own pre-Revolutionary Colonial; this is the earliest expression I know of that admiration which, fifty years later, was to become the rage. Thus in 1844, the basic tenets of American eclecticism were clearly and systematically set down. on a basis of logic it was difficult to controvert. [1]

Gilman put his theories to practice in the construction, in 1859, of the Arlington Street Unitarian Church. just west of the Public Gardens in Boston (Fig. 40). The stone exterior was based upon elements borrowed from the churches of James Gibbs; the interior he took from Santa Annunziata in Genoa. According to Hamlin. "No clearer example of eclecticism could be wanted."[2]

These classical eclectic churches evoke a sophistication which renders the earlier churches youthfully naive in comparison. For instance, in Sandwich Massachusetts, built in 1847, is locally known in Cape Cod as the 'Christopher Wren Church' (Fig. 41).[3] Patterned after Wren's

London churches, especially Saint Mary-le-Bow. its massing of Ionic columns under an elaborately carved entablature creates an elegance in wood that is missing from the stark simplicity of its Roman and Greek predecessors.

The brick Unitarian Church in Bangor, Maine, built in 1853, by the Boston firm of Towle and Foster, is distinctive for its use of extremely tall Romanized lancet windows in pairs, and as a variation of the Venetian window over the central doorway, breaking the cornice of the pediment over the central bay of the facade (Fig. 42). This central bay projects from the porch proper with its own pediment through which the tower rises to a tall spire in a simplified version of Gibbs. The cornice running around the building is supported, not by columns or pilasters, but by paired brackets.

Another church to use paired Romanized lancet windows is the Unitarian Church of Marlborough and Hudson, in Hudson, Massachusetts, built in wood in 1861 by local builders (Fig. 43). However, it is not the paired windows which are the distinctive feature of this church, but, rather, the mansard roof, pierced by dormers, indicating a third story at the roof level. This roof, together with the thin pilasters at the corners of the building and the classical doorway, mark the style of this building as Second Empire, which was just beginning to take form in France. The style was associated with bourgeois prosperity in France, and later in the United States, as the U.S. Grant Style. it became the

National Style presenting the same image of prosperity after the Civil War. Its early use here at Hudson could be interpreted, like the other classical eclectic examples, as the image of a wealthy, industrialized, mercantile society which, as the Hudson church was being built, was in conflict with the agrarian South.

The First Parish, Unitarian, of Arlington, Massachusetts, built in 1856, by local builders, possesses one of the tallest spires in New England (Fig. 44). Its attenuated Gibbsian form, rising to a height of 181 feet, is echoed in the windows of the church below. These windows could be called Romanized plate tracery, which differs from the plate tracery of Early Gothic in that the lancets are round-headed, but similar to the early windows in that two lancets are placed within an arcuated opening with a circular window in the intervening space above.

But as sophisticated and beautiful as these classical eclectic churches are, they did not represent the major image of Unitarianism in the United State in the latter part of the nineteenth century. The Gothic Revival did.

Notes to Chapter V

1. Talbot Hamlin, Greek Revival Architecture in America, New York, 1964, p.336.

2. Ibid. p. 336.

3. Questionnaire from the First Church of Christ, Sandwich, Massachusetts.

Chapter VI

The New-Gothic Image

Charles Bulfinch's Federal Street Church, Boston, built in 1809, was a relatively early Unitarian church - and Bulfinch's first and only attempt - in Gothic (Fig. 45). However, the only thing Gothic about it was the lines of the spire and the use of pointed arched windows throughout the brick building. According to Place, the building was close to the proportions of the New England church of the day with the addition of Gothic decoration.[1]

Place's description could equally be applied to three wood-framed churches erected in Massachusetts in the 1830's and 1840's done in 'Carpenter Gothic': First Parish, Cambridge, by Isaiah Rogers of Boston, (1833) (Fig. 46); First Parish, Uxbridge. (1835) (Fig. 47); and First Parish, Watertown (1842) (Fig. 48). They are all rectangular buildings with pitched roofs and tall pointed arched windows featuring Perpendicular-looking tracery. A large square tower projects from the front of these buildings; in the Cambridge and Uxbridge churches, the tower terminates in a simple spire. The Watertown church is interesting because it has wooden blind tracery and quatrefoils decorating the exterior of the tower which used to terminate in four corner pinnacles (they are shown as additions in the photo). The interior, in contrast to the Gothic look of the exterior, differs little from its classical cousins (Fig. 49).

Having quoted The Christian Register on the appropriateness of Gothic for the Trinitarian faiths and the appropriateness of the Doric order for the simplicity of the Unitarian faith,[2] one finds it difficult at first to explain the Gothic image in Unitarian churches in the early decades of the nineteenth century. However, Gothic did symbolize 'Christian', and the Unitarians in their theological revolution were constantly attacked by the orthodox Calvinists for being infidels, which the Unitarians rejected as being untrue. Their position was that God was a loving Deity who had created man as essentially good with a reasoning faculty that could carry out his own salvation by the continued examination of the Scriptures, unhampered by antiquated and man-made doctrines. They believed that Christ, although not God was more than human, and that they should follow his moral teachings. Therefore, Gothic symbolized in these early churches their essential 'Christianity', however liberal it may have been. It is interesting to note that William Ellery Channing was the pastor of the Federal Street Church when Bulfinch was contracted to build the Gothic-looking building. Channing was the leading exponent of Unitarianism during this early phase, and placed the emphasis upon the 'liberal' of Liberal Christianity.[3]

However, after the 1840's, Gothic became the predominant style for the American Unitarian Church, symbolizing two different ideas. First, the old guard Unitarian used it to symbolize their 'Christianity' which they saw disappearing among the radical Trancendentalist ministers.

Secondly, the Transcendentalists used Gothic to symbolize man's mystical communion with nature.

The Transcendentalist Movement as a literary movement lasted from 1835 to 1860, but produced a lasting effect upon Unitarianism, wherein most of its members were found. It was, in fact, the continuation of the theological revolution of the eighteenth century. Theodore Parker pointed out in his sermon, 'The Transient and the Permanent in Christianity', that there were two elements in Christianity: "the thought, the folly, the uncertain wisdom, the theological notions, the impiety of man" - the transient; and "the eternal truth of God" - the permanent.[4] He pointed out how the permanent was always veiled in the transient: different theological doctrines at different times throughout history; conflicting statements, each claiming to be the Word of God in the Bible. Once the transient is stripped away, he says, what one is left with is

> absolute. pure morality; absolute pure religion; the love of man; the love of God acting without let or hindrance. The only creed it lays down is the great truth which springs up spontaneous in the holy heart there is a God. Its watchword is, Be perfect as your Father in heaven. The only form it demands is a divine life; doing the best thing in the best way, from the highest motives; perfect obedience to the great law of God. Its sanction is the voice of God in your heart; the perpetual presence of him who made us and the stars over our head; Christ and the Father abiding within us. [5]

Parker noted that one of the transient aspects of Christianity was to bend the knee to Christ, as if he were more than human. Who was he, then? Ralph Waldo Emerson, in his Address to the Divinity School at Harvard in 1838, gave the answer.

> Jesus Christ belonged to the true race of prophets. He saw with open eye the mystery of the soul. Drawn by its severe harmony, ravished with its beauty, he lived in it, and had his being there. Alone in all history, he estimated the greatness of man. One man was true to what is in you and me. He saw that God incarnates himself in man, and evermore goes forth anew to take possession of his world. He said, in this jubilee of sublime emotion, "I am divine. Through me, God acts; through me, speaks. Would you see God, see me; or, see thee, when thou also thinkest, as I now think." 6

God is in all men. Which meant that there was no need for the rationalist approach of the old guard Unitarians to the revealed word of God to men; God spoke directly to man through his intuition. Moreover, there was no need for a formalized ethical system: love was the answer, love of God and love of man.

To the orthodox Unitarians, all this sounded like religious anarchy and a total rejection of Christianity. They were Liberal Christians, that was true; but they emphasized 'Christians'. Nevertheless, Transcendentalism was the logical working out of the Calvinist dynamic carried forward by Unitarianism. As Louis Bouyer pointed out, Calvinism was structured upon a mystical intuition. Since Calvin grew out of a society that accepted the doctrine of Original Sin, his mystical experience emphasized the total Otherness of God, and saw the total depravity of man, as a result of the Fall. For Sin, according to the Church Fathers, and especially St. Augustine,[7] was deemed the alienation of man from God. The regenerated, the Saints, were those whom God had taken unto himself by bringing them to salvation. Once man's sinfulness was removed, once man

saw himself as essentially good, once man's voice became the voice of God, once man believed that a benevolent God sought his happiness and salvation - in a word, once man no longer saw himself alienated from God, then an Emerson's mystical intuition revealed man as God.

The orthodox Unitarians recoiled in horror at this deification of man and this exaltation of individualism. They could not accept the complete removal of all supernatural elements from Christianity; they were still 'Christian'. And "Christian' was the image presented by Gothic architecture; so Gothic architecture became the prevailing style for orthodox Unitarianism for the rest of the nineteenth century.

But Gothic also evoked a relationship between man and nature different from that of the Classical Revival. A severe, white Doric temple stood apart from its natural surroundings; and the natural surroundings were shaped to conform to the order embodied in its classical forms. Man controlled nature. Gothic on the other hand, established a communion between man and nature, as exemplified in the writings of A.J. Downing, who urged that 'natural' colours be used in decorating Gothic houses in order that the building should blend with nature.[8] Moreover, in landscaping one should work with nature rather than against it: use the elements of nature placed at on's disposal - the tree, the brook- and plant around them.

These ideas the Transcendentalists could share. Emerson did not go as far as Thoreau, who could love his Walden Pond for its own sake alone, but he could go into the fields and the woods and there discover the

immanence of God, and himself a part of mankind.[9] Therefore, the Gothic church covered with its creeping vines was an image the Transcendentalist Unitarians could accept.

Since both sides of the Transcendentalist dispute could ideologically present themselves as 'Gothic', the Gothic Revival style was the predominant style in the last half of the nineteenth century. The Perpendicular tower with its corner buttresses placed at the one corner of the facade gives picturesque asymmetry to the First Unitarian Church of Marietta, Ohio, built in 1857 (Figs. 50 & 51). The verticality of the tower is repeated in the buttresses dividing the exterior of this brick building into bays, and repeated also in the tall plate tracery windows. Gothic cusping decorates the exposed wooden beams of the ceiling inside the church, and pendant bosses mark the intersection of the main beams of the ceiling. The gallery breast of the choir loft is decorated in blind tracery and cusping and the loft is supported on wooden brackets.

All these churches prior to about 1890, are eclectically Gothic. That is, architectural elements from various periods of the Middle Ages, both Gothic and Romanesque, would be randomly used in the same building. After about 1890, a more archeologically correct building would be built; the elements composing it would come from the same period.

The Medieval 'look' could be achieved in various ways. The standard elements of the vocabulary were the steeply pitched roof; massive stone wall surfaces, preferably rough-faced, and with or without buttressing; the use of pointed or Romanesque arches; the use of exposed wooden truss supports; and picturesque massing. Two churches without spires are the First Unitarian Church of Philadelphia. Pennsylvania, built in 1885, by Frank Furness, the son of the minister (Fig. 52), and the Richardsonian Romanesque First Unitarian Church of Cincinnati, Ohio, built in 1889, by James McLaughlin (Fig. 53). Both, like most of the neo-medieval churches, are cross-planned. In the Cincinnati church, McLaughlin has placed the porch with a large, low-springing Romanesque arched doorway on the side of the short nave, causing the porch to project to the frontal plane of the transept with its large, Romanesque arched window. The effect when standing before the entrance is picturesque asymmetry: the low doorway under an expanse of sloping roof placed next to the transept window under the expanse of stonework of the transept gable. Furness has placed a low porch, penetrated by Tudor arches for doorways and windows, under a rose window in the centre of a dormer gable which projects from the hipped roof of the nave end. Again the effect is picturesque when one stands in front of the porch: the low porch stretches across the facade; the gable rises from the centre of it; on either side stretch out the transepts whose roofs do not quite reach the height of the nave roof.

The simplest means to achieve picturesque asymmetry with a church featuring a tower is to place the tower at the one corner of the nave facade, as in the Marietta church already examined. This formula was used in the granite block Church of the Unity, Winchedon, Massachusetts, built in 1866-67, by S.S. Woodcock (Fig. 54), and the First Unitarian Church of Stoneham, Massachusetts, built in 1869. in the Stick-Style (Fig. 55). Both these churches, like the Marietta church, do not use the cross plan.

An elaboration of this basic formula - placing the tower on the corner of the nave facade - was used in the following churches: the First Church, Boston, built by the Boston firm of Ware and Van Brunt, (1867) (Fig. 56); Henry Hobson Richardson's two early churches: Unity Church, Springfield, Massachusetts, (1866-69) (Figs. 57 & 58), and the Brattle Square Church, Boston, (1870-72) (Fig. 59); the Channing Memorial Church, Newport, Rhode Island, built by the Worcester firm of Bovden and Souts, (1880-81) (Figs. 60 & 61); and the First Unitarian Church, San Francisco, California (1889) (Fig. 62).

The Ware and Van Brunt church and the two Richardson churches all have the corner tower placed dramatically at the corner of the building nearest the street, since all three are on corner lots; the towers project out towards the street intersection. Placed across the facades are low, arcuated porches. The tower of the Brattle Square church is especially noteworthy. Done in the Italian Romanesque style, it has below the belfry a frieze of the four sacraments - Baptism, Eucharist, Marriage, Extreme Unction - with angels at the corners blowing golden

horns, the sculpture all modelled by Bartholdi from a sketch by Richardson and carved in place by Italian craftsmen. The Newport church lacks an arcuated porch across the facade; the covered main entrance projects from the other side of the nave from the tower, and is joined to a porch placed at right angles to the nave. A turret rises where the porch joins the nave as counterpoint to the high tower on the other side. The whole effect created is the picturesque asymmetry one associates with medieval architecture. This same asymmetry was created with two towers in the Unity Church, Chicago, Illinois, built in 1869, by making one of the towers, which were placed on either side of the nave facade, slightly smaller than the other (Fig. 63).

Picturesque massing could be achieved by placing the tower at the corner of the intersection of nave and transept. H.P. Bradshaw used this method in the First Unitarian Church of Louisville, Kentucky, (1871) (Fig. 64), as did John Ames Mitchell in his Unity Church, North Easton, Massachusetts, (1873-75) (Fig. 65). The tower is not at the corner of the intersecting nave and transept, but over it, in the First Unitarian Church of Ithica, New York, built in 1893, by William Henry Miller, a member of the congregation (Fig. 66).

In the same year that Miller built his Ithica church in a most ecletic manner - for instance, Doric order columns support the entrance portico - the successors of the H.H. Richardson firm, Shepley, Rutan, and Coolidge, were completing a more academically correct medieval First Church at Brookline, Massachusetts, begun two years earlier

(Fig. 67). Their style was Catalan Romanesque, with a large square tower at corner of the facade of a cross-planned church; a low Romanesque arched porch stretched across the nave facade. Romanesque was also used in the First Parish, Plymouth, Massachusetts, built by the Boston firm of Hartwell, Richardson and Driver, between 1896 and 1899 (Fig. 68). However, in this case it was supposedly English Romanesque. One of the members of the firm went to England to study the churches of the area from which the Pilgrims came particularly St. Helen's in Austerfield, Yorkshire, near Scrooby.[10] An Italianate tower is placed over the entrance, in the centre of the facade, (which is unlike Austerfield - which has no tower), as it is in the Perpendicular style Unitarian Church of Buffalo, New York, built in 1904 by Edward Austin Kent (Figs. 69 & 70). The same period style is used by Ralph Adams Cram in the First Unitarian Church of West Newton, Massachusetts, built in 1906 (Fig. 71). Cram's plan is interesting because the tall square tower straddles the church on the one side and the social centre on the other, which is done in the Tudor Revival. The image it presents is the medieval additive: buildings added onto in succeeding styles over the centuries.

Gothic served both sides of the Transcendentalist dispute which tore apart American Unitarians during the last half of the nineteenth century. It served both sides, yet for different ideological reasons. Before the end of the century, however, the two factions were united in their belief in personal religious freedom, and the style they adopted was the style most closely associated with their liberal ideology - the classical.

Notes to Chapter VI

1. Place, Charles Bulfinch, pp. 141-42.

2. cited in The Meadville Unitarian Church Building. see Chapter V, n. 2.

3. Conrad Wright, The Liberal Christians, Boston 1970, p. ix. Later distinctions between 'Liberal' and 'Christian' in this chapter are indebted to Wright.

4. Theodore Parker: An Anthology, edited by Henry Steele Commager, Boston, 1960, p. 41.

5. Ibid., p. 56.

6. Ralph Waldo Emerson. Works, New York, n.d., vol. IV, pp. 90-91

7. for instance, St. Augustine, The City of God: 'For, it is our sins which separate us from God.' Book X, Chap. 22.

8. A.J. Downing, Cottage Residences, first published 1842, reprint, Watkins Glen, New York, 1967, pp. 13-15; -- A Treatise on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening, first published 1841, 1967, reprint of sixth edition, 1859, for instance, pp. 288-91.

9. Vernon L. Parrington, Main Currents in American Thought, New York, 1954, vol. 2, p. 382.

10. Notes supplied from the church records, First Parish, Plymouth, Massachusetts.

Chapter VII

The Classical Image Revived

Both factions of Unitarianism were unified in their acceptance of the right of private judgement and their belief in the dignity of man. After a long struggle, both factions were formally reconciled under the banner 'Freedom, Fellowship, and Character in Religion', in 1894 at a National Conference held at Saratoga, New York, although the reconciliation had virtually been completed two years earlier.[1]

The timing of the reconciliation was most auspicious, since Richard Morris Hunt had declared that the style for the Columbian Exhibition in Chicago in 1893, should be the revival of the classical forms. American Unitarianism could present to the work the image of religious freedom in the garb most closely associated with political freedom, whether Roman, Greek, or American - the classical. In the Liberal Arts Palace situated in Jackson Park, the Unitarians had a small Greek temple in which they exhibited busts of famous Unitarians and Unitarian publciations.[2] The revival of the Classical Image had begun.

The architecture of the revival of the Classical Revival shows the same academic correctness indicated in the last phase of the Gothic revival. A good example is the Unitarian Church in Summit, New Jersey, built in 1913, by Joy Wheeler Dow, who left an account of what she did in the Baedeker of the New Meeting House (Fig. 72).[3]

The best features of perhaps fifty Colonial meeting houses and Renaissance churches in England have served for inspiration. The Springfield Avenue portico is a free adaptation of the portico of Saint Paul's Chapel on Broadway, New York City, built in 1766. The windows have the antique moulded sash bars and small panes of glass, while those in Saint Paul's, unfortunately, have been vandalized by the substitution of a cheap class of leaded work. The moulded window sills and beaded weather boards ... are a development from those used in 'Old Trinity Church' at Newport, and in the earlier dwelling houses of the Jacobean period in the colonies.

The Atlas window over the portico is from that in the North facade of the ancient 'Middle Church' in New Haven common, typifying the idea of universal brotherhood.

. . . . . .

The steeple of the Summit Meeting House has several prototypes. Its belfry is a free adaptation of the one in Belfast, Maine, and the clocktower traces its ancestors to Kennebunkport. The Weathervane is a replica of the one which crowns the spire of the Marble Collegiate Church at the corner of Fifth Avenue and Twenty Ninth Street, New York City.

. . . . . .

Particular attention should be paid to the carefully studied proportions of the Meeting House both exterior and interior, to the wide casings of the Atlas window-frame, and the frames of the circular windows of the clock tower, the wealth of detail of the cornices, and the panelling of the great portico, for these are the points that distinguish the blue-blooded Brahmin in Colonial architecture from the commonplace design which, like some people, is never quite sure of its grammatical cases.

Six churches from this period, which lasts until about 1930, bear a marked resemblance to one another, differing on only minor architectural details: the Unitarian Church of Barnstable, Massachusetts, built by Guy Lowell in 1907 (Fig. 73); the First Unitarian Church of Omaha, Nebraska, built by John and Alan McDonald in 1918 (Fig. 74); the First Unitarian Church of Toledo, Ohio, built by Edwin Lewis of Boston in 1923 (Fig. 75); the First Parish of Framingham, Massachusetts, built by Charles Baker of Boston in 1924 (Fig. 76); the First Unitarian Church of Salt Lake City, Utah, built by Slack W. Winburn in 1928, with Smtih and Walker of Boston as consultants (Fig. 77); and the First Unitarian Church of Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, built by Smith and Walker of Boston in 1928 (Fig. 78). The overall effect of these churches is the Neo-classical Style of Charles Bulfinch: a rectangular meeting house of brick.[4] with a temple-front facade and tower.[5] The orders may differ: the churches in Salt Lake City and Oklahoma City are Doric, and the Framingham church is Corinthian, while the rest are Ionic. The spires are all individuals in their own right, although each could be traced back to the earlier Classical Revival. But the image they all project is the same: the Republic in its springtime proclaiming the inalienable right of Liberty to the world.

Two churches went further back into the eighteenth century to present a more sophisticated appearance: All Souls Church, Washington, D.C., built by the Boston firm of Coolidge, Shepley, Bulfinch and Abbott between 1921 and 1924 (Fig. 79); and the Unitarian Church of Germantown,

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, built by Edmund Gilchrist between 1926 and 1928 (Figs. 80 & 81). The design of the Washington church was mostly the work of Henry Shepley who chose to model it after Saint Martin-in-the-Fields, London, by James Gibbs.[6] The facade is identical except for the lack of Baroque urns along the balustrade and the Coat of Arms of the United Kingdom in the centre of the pediment. The Germantown church is less modelled upon a specific Georgian building. A booklet entitled A New Centre for Liberal Religion in Germantown, published in the fall of 1925, stated that the church "is Georgian in its general character and shows strongly the influence of the eighteenth century, in which period liberalism in religion had its inception. It is therefore appropriate both to the Unitarian idea and the tradition of our colonial architecture in Philadelphia."[7]

Also appropriate to the tradition of colonial architecture in its surroundings is the Unitarian Church of Santa Barbara, California, built by a local architect by the name of Lockard in 1930 (Figs. 82 & 83). Its style is Spanish Colonial, the style associated with the Spanish Catholic Missions in that State, consisting of large expanses of bare, whitewashed stucco wall surfaces, round-headed arches, and red tiled roof. The belfry is one of its most interesting features. A chamfered square with arcuated openings which feature large key stones in their apexes, and Baroque scrolls buttress the lower portion of the chamfers. Above a corbel-table cornice rises the hemispherical cupola with lantern,

A reconciliation between the two factions of the dispute could not bring back the early form of Unitarianism which was centred in Boston and Harvard and which represented an early concept of democracy - a wealthy, intellectual elite ruling the masses. Such a democracy was swept away when Andrew Jackson became President. Transcendentalism represented the same principle of Jacksonian Democracy within the Unitarian Church. Of course, the 'proper Bostonians' would continue, as Cleveland Amory has so charmingly described,[8] but they could not dictate their aristocratic pretension to the rest of the nation. The majority of the Unitarians believed in an egalitarian humanism, whether one called it 'Christian' or not.[9]

But if Unitarianism was structured upon egalitarian humanism and only incidentally 'Christian', why use the literalness of the Christian symbol in architecture? Upon this premise Frank Lloyd Wright helped bring Unitarianism into the Modern Era.

Notes to Chapter VII

1. Cooke, Unitarianism in America, p. 229.

2. Lyttle, Freedom Moves West, pp. 205-07.

3. Joy Wheeler Dow, Baedeker of the New Meeting House, from the Summit Herald, 22 August, 1913, reprinted by the Windhover Press, Short Hills, N.J., July, 1956.

4. except for the Barnstable church which is wood framed.

5. The Toledo church is slightly different in this respect in that the tower rises through the hipped roof which covers the portico. The tower thus divides the portico into two sections on either side of the tower, and a smaller than usual pediment is fixed to the front of the tower and supported by two columns at the corners of the tower.

6. Laurence C. Staples, Washington Unitarianism, Washington, D.C., 1970, pp. 74-77.

7. A New Centre for Liberal Religion in Germantown, n.p., n.d.,; Clarence C. Brown and Pearl Boring Mitchell, History of the Unitarian Society of Germantown, n.p., n.d.,

8. Cleveland Amory, The Proper Bostonians, New York, 1947.

9. A report commissioned by the American Unitarian Association in 1936 stated that American Unitarians strongly disagreed 'as to the wisdom of maintaining the definitely Christian tradition, and the traditional forms of Christian worship.' The Commission of Appraisal of the American Unitarian Association, Unitarians Face a New Age, Boston, 1936, p. 33.

Chapter VIII

The Modern Image

When the building committee of the Unitarian congregation of Oak Park, Illinois, came to Frank Lloyd Wright in 1905 for the design of a new church, he argued that the styles of the nineteenth century were literal symbols which stood for the ideas represented by Unitarianism. The early Classical Revival had stood for the establishment nature of the early Church as the National Church of the New Republic dedicated to freedom. The Gothic represented, for some an established Christianity, and for others the integration of man with nature. And finally, the revival of the Classical Revival represented the Church dedicated to freedom of individual thought. "The symbol is too literal. It is become a form of Literature in the Arts," argued Wright. "Let us abolish, in the art and craft of architecture, literature in any 'symbolic' form whatsoever. The sense of inner rhythm, deep planted in human sensibility, lives far above other considerations in Art."[1]

Why use a steeple, "why point to heaven?" continued Wright, who then told the story of the man who sought to see God by climbing a high mountain only to be told to return to the valley, for only there could man look upon the face of God.

> Was not that 'finger' the church steeple, pointing on high like the man who climbed on high to see Him? A misleading symbol perhaps. A perversion of sentiment - sentimentality. Was not the time come now to be more simple, to have more faith in man on his Earth and less anxiety concerning his Heaven about which he could know nothing. Concerning this heaven he had never received any testimony from his own senses.
>
> Why not, then, build a temple, not to God in that way - more sentimental than sense - but build a temple to man, appropriate to his uses as a meeting place, in which to study man himself for his God's sake?
>
> Build a beautiful Room proportioned to this purpose. Make it beautiful in this simple sense. A natural building for natural Man. 2

With this argument Wright helped to bring American Unitarian architecture into the Modern Era.

Wright began his plans for Unity Temple, Oak Park (1905-06). by letting the Room inside determine the architecture outside. He chose the cube, since it had acquired human significance as integrity, which under the more general term, 'character', had become one of the triad in the banner under which the Unitarians had united in 1894. (Figs. 84-86).

Integrity characterized his use of cast concrete as the shell for the Room. He had chosen concrete because it was the only material he could use within the $45,000 budget the building committee had given him to produce a church to accommodate four hundred. As Wright relates in his Autobiography, the practice of the period was to cover the concrete in another material - stone, brick, or plaster.

> Why not make the wooden boxes or forms so the concrete could be cast in them as separate blocks and masses, these separate blocks and masses grouped about an interior space in the appearance of the whole building. And the block-masses be left as themselves with no 'facing' 4

According to the principles of the Arts and Crafts Movement, Unity Temple would express the nature of the material used, concrete, and whatever decoration would be a function of the massing of the concrete and of the shapes of the wooden forms into which the concrete would be poured.

Since the lot faced onto a busy street, Wright decided to keep the Room closed on the three front sides and to have the entrance on the back side, which would also be the side featuring the pulpit and choir. By this arrangement, the congregation would come forward to greet the pastor as it left the church after the service, rather than turn its collective back to him, as in the conventional church plan.

The entrance to the church was by means of a lobby which connected the Temple to Unity House behind, where the social functions of the congregation took place. Rectangular in plan, its facade seen in the elevation drawing does not approach the noble proportions of the Temple itself (Fig. 84).

The idea of creating a space outside the Room for various social and educational purposes was by no means new. Throughout the nineteenth century, church basements had been put to such purposes. Nor was it entirely new to build such space when building the Room: the Abraham -

Lincoln Centre in Chicago was dedicated in 1905, as the new home of the All Souls congregation (Fig. 87). Built as a six story functional office block, it contained from top to bottom, gymnasium, domestic-science classrooms, residents' apartments, the Emerson and Browning study and lecture halls, large and small dining room, picture gallery, music room, minister's study, offices, public reading room, editorial offices for Unity, manual training shops, games rooms, and a dark room for the Camera Club.[5] What Wright achieved in Unity Temple was to create a religious image, devoid of 'sentimentality', whose geometric form and noble proportions represented the ideal community bound together by many interests - by a complete world-view - whose aim matched in nobility the proportions of the Temple itself. It was an image that the Abraham Lincoln Centre could not project, because its form was that of just another office block. Wright had created the image of a people who not only worshipped together, but also worked and played together, whose religious ideas carried over into other areas of activity.

Since Unity Temple, the Unitarian congregation, when building a new home. have built, besides their sanctuary, additional spaces to house the various other activities, creating the image of the community which "needs to meet the restless challenge of the young; help the forgotten ghetto and rural dweller, guide adults seeking meaning in the spiritual vacuum of suburban living, and give substance to people in

their older years,"[6] all in the spirit of love. In fact, the First Unitarian Church of San Antonio, Texas, built in 1961, by Wynne Brown of the local firm of Brown and Cowan and a member of the church, creates the image of a small village with its four buildings looking not unlike modern versions of the domestic long house, a village increased by another building in 1966, and which will again increase in size as the community increases (Fig. 88). Much the same could be said about the image created by the projected model for the completed 'community' of Mt. Diablo Unitarian Church of Walnut Creek, California, by Frank Ehrenthal (Fig. 89). Two of the square houses were built in 1968; the church and the other two buildings have yet to be built.

Moreover, Wright's presentation of Unity Temple as a non-literal image of what one expects a church to look like has been followed by several other architects in building later Unitarian churches. In fact, one suspects that Unity Temple, in part, inspired the plan of the Unitarian Church of Rockford, Illinois, built in 1965, by Pietro Belluschi in association with C. Edward Ware (Figs. 90-92). The one elevation looks very similar to Unity: a multi-purpose block of concrete supports with redwood board and batten panel is linked by a narthex to the sanctuary block of grander proportions. Even Belluschi's own description of his accomplishment echoes Wright's passage in his Autobiography in dealing with Unity.

> The beautiful site called for more than the usual effort; it needed a strong symbolic expression, a form removed from the old uninspired ecclesiastical tradition, yet possessing convincing qualities particularly relevant to the special Unitarian commitments. To this end, we endeavoured to give the building structural integrity and to fulfill the program given us with maximum economy, yet without cheapness. We strove to give clarity to the plan, while providing a sequence of visual experiences - relying on good proportions, effective lighting and honest materials.[7]

Like Wright, Louis I. Kahn began with the Room in his First Unitarian Church of Rochester, New York, built in 1963-64, and let it determine the exterior shape of the complex (Figs. 93-95). Kahn's solution was to place the square Room in the centre and group the other spaces around it, using towering clerestory windows to light the Room's interior. Reverence has been attained in this Room by severely cladding it with unadorned cinder-block walls and a wood-panelled ceiling. The same severity characterizes the exterior of the building, lightened only by the sculptural framing around the windows. Kahn says his original plan called for a more elaborate building, but he was restricted by economic considerations, as Wright and Belluschi before him. His final plan, he says, owes much in its simplicity to the Shaker Style.[8]

Three other sanctuary interiors, in their attempts to appear religious without reference to the literature of ecclesiastical architecture, share a certain resemblance to one another and to the simplicity of the Kahn church.

They are the North Shore Unitarian Church of Plandome, New York, built by Charles H. Warner in 1955 (Fig. 96); the University Unitarian Church of Seattle, Washington, built by Paul Hayden Kirk between 1958 and 1959 (Figs. 97 & 98); and the River Road Unitarian Church of Bethesda, Maryland, built by Keyes, Lethbridge, and Condon, in 1965 (Figs. 99 & 100). All three have a lean-to roof over the sanctuary space with exposed wooden rafters and supports, and with a clerestory window strip running the length of the Room just under the higher level of the roof slope. Rev. James H. Curtis, the minister of the Bethesda church described the space of his church thus:

> It is, as I like to say, a very humane and permissive structure, its great white walls, warm wood and access to the changing wooded views surrounding it are pleasing and impressive without being overwhelming. It can be a festive and casual space, or exultant and brilliant, by turns. At times I'm reminded of the contemplative atmosphere of various monasteries I have visited in Europe. And yet one can also hang a bright 'mod' banner on its walls, turn the lights down for an intimate party or wedding celebration, or clear the deck for a young peoples' rock concert. 9

Yet most people - even the majority of Unitarians - do not look upon architecture as a 'permissive' space which can function as a severe, unadorned area for contemplation one moment and a 'mod' theatre for rock concerts the next. Moreover, talk of the nobility of proportions and the sculptural qualities of massing leaves them coldly uninterested.

To them architecture should 'be about something'; a church in their minds should somehow look like a church. Frank Lloyd Wright came around to this common man's view of architecture in his late buildings, one of which was the First Unitarian Church of Madison, Wisconsin, built between 1947 and 1951 (Figs 101 & 102).

The 1953 photograph shows Wright with outstretched hands pressed together explaining the form of the Madison church whose dramatically soaring pitched roof expresses 'reverence and aspiration' (Fig. 103).[10] It looks like a church, even without the 'finger' pointing heavenward. Unlike Unity Temple, where the people entered and exited from the pulpit side of the Room, the Madison church has the entrance opposite the pulpit whose importance as the focal point of the church is enhanced by being the only area of the church lighted by natural light.

The soaring roof line of the Unitarian Church of Davenport, Iowa, built in 1958 by Thomas C. Lundeen, owes much to the Madison church (Figs. 104 & 105). The earth-tone green of the painted wood exterior surfaces relate the structure to its surroundings, and the glass walls relate the out-of-doors to the interior.

The interior of the Unitarian Church of Wellesley Hills, Massachusetts, designed by Henry Galesian, between 1959 and 1960, creates a simple yet dignified church interior in the traditional sense, with its laminated wooden supports for the pitched roofed ceiling. The focus of the chancel area is centred upon the rose window, a very 'churchy' motif. (Fig. 106).

Probably the most novel Unitarian church in the traditional church style is that of North Hills, Pennsylvania, which is an old dairy barn remodelled into the congregation's meeting house by John Schurko in 1960 (Figs. 107 & 108). Two silo-like towers stand on either side of the main entrance, creating a bucolic image of the towered gateway which had symbolized the point of which Unitarianism had emerged. But here in the rural landscape of Pennsylvania the towered gateway no longer symbolizes the 'Established Church' of America. Or does it?

Certainly the church front of the North Hills building lacks the Baroque grandeur of a King's Chapel, Boston, but, then, it does not represent the authority of a Baroque king. The centrality of social and political existence has passed from the king to the common people, in this case, to the common people of a rural community. In a large sense, this congregation, composed of rural, common people still does represent the established church of America.

Lincoln had described the nature of American democracy as "a government of the people, by the people, for the people."[11] It is a democracy structured upon the belief in the goodness of man, and upon the belief that good men working together could achieve a life for mankind better than any so far experienced in human history.

Unitarianism was the religious facet of the political theory of the American democracy as it emerged during the eighteenth century. As social

and political centrality had passed from the Baroque king to the people, so religious centrality had passed from the transcendental God to the people.

Christ said, "The Kingdom of God is within you." [12] While some Unitarians are agnostic, others interpret the concept of God as

> creative process, as emergent purpose, as life force, as the organizing principle of the universe, as the ideal of love and justice or of goodness and perfection, and, perhaps most often, as ultimate reality; these are the meaningful ways by which many religious liberals define God. To them the word God is a poetic symbol which expresses the deepest and dearest values of life. [13]

In their dedication to developing human potentiality, as Richard Langhinrichs put it, "to envision and to bring about a better life for the human race, ... to over-come those negative forces which always threaten to emesh us, ... (to) seek justice now for all men,"[14] the Unitarians are trying to realize that Kingdom of God that realm of "the deepest and dearest values of life" within man. This is essentially the same image upon which the American democracy is structured: the good man, the American Adam, working with his kind in the New Republic, the New Jerusalem, for a better world for man.

Both images - the American democratic and the Unitarian - are structured upon a nominalist-pragmatic logic which only recognizes the reality of this world and the reality of man to be able to

determine his own destiny. The architectural form which expresses this image most completely is the centrally planned or domical space. The dome, as Earl Baldwin Smith has pointed out,[15] is a representation of the dome of heaven, and symbolizes man's control over the forces surrounding him. Both the American democracy and the American Unitarian Church have used it: the great dome of the Capitol is a visual symbol for the Republic and its ideals, and the 'National Church' was symbolically born by the placing of the towered gateway, the shorthand version of the dome, over the main entrance of its churches. It seems no accident, therefore, that several Unitarian congregations in recent years have erected domical churches to express their Unitarian beliefs, and, by extension, their Americanness.

The building committee for the Unitarian Church of Concord, New Hampshire, gave the following demands to the Cambridge, Massachusetts, firm of Hugh Stubbins and Associates:

> We feel strongly that we want a church that is appropriate to our times and truly beautiful. We want one that is sympathetic to our form of Unitarian worship and to our educational and social activities. We want a church, furthermore, that is compatible with our New Hampshire landscape and in particular with the beautiful site we have. There should be an expression of freedom, both freedom in relation to belief and freedom within the democratic congregation. There should be an expression of simplicity and of light. Somehow the search for truth should be felt, perhaps in simple unconcealed building construction methods and honest direct use of materials. There should be a feeling of warmth and stillness and aspiration. 16

The church they received in 1960, is a red brick octagonal structure with a white, wooden, folded roof (Figs. 109 & 110). An

open work spire has been placed over the entrance. The architectural form of the Concord church is as old as Unitarianism itself. For this same form was used by Robert Mills in his First Unitarian Church of Philadelphia in 1813, by Charles Bulfinch in the New South Meeting House of Boston, built in 1814 (Fig. 111), and by Charles Follen in 1839, when he built the Follen Community Church of Lexington, Massachusetts, of which Follen was the minister, and who most likely was copying Bulfinch in the plan of his church (Fig. 112).

Now the octagon, like the circle, is a complex form in architecture, and the one is equated with the other. Both are symbols of renewal; both forms were used in early Christian baptistries to symbolize the renewal or rebirth of the initiate into the life of grace of the Church. The Mills, Bulfinch, and Follen churches are giving expression of this renewal in early Unitarianism, which saw itself giving new life to Christianity by freeing it of the historical baggage that it had gathered over the years. The Concord church is again evoking that same symbol of renewal for the twentieth century while at the same time establishing a continuity in architectural forms.

The domical octagonal or circular building ultimately derives, as Baldwin Smith pointed out, from the primeval hut.[17] This is the image that immediately comes to mind when looking at the Unitarian

Church of Little Rock, Arkansas, built by the local firm of Farrell and Bobinson in 1964 (Fig. 113), and especially the Sepulveda Unitarian Church of Sepulveda, California, built by Frank Ehrenthal in 1963 (Fig. 114). These two churches express the ultimate end of this nominalist-pragmatic ideology of the American Adam: man completely stripped of history and society and living outside time in the spirit of love. The laminated wood and cedar shingle Sepulveda 'hut' is a kind of visual period mark which rounds out this study of the movement to make a heaven of this earth, which began when the Puritans tried to live according to the principles of Calvin.

Notes to Chapter VIII

1. Frank Lloyd Wright: Writings and Buildings, edited Edgar Kaufmann and Ben Raeburn, Cleveland, 1960, p. 75.

2. Ibid., p. 75

3. Ibid., p. 77

4. Ibid., p. 76

5. Lyttle, Freedom Moves West, pp. 223-4.

6. Edwin Charles Lynn, Tired Dragons, Boston, 1972, p. 9.

7. 'Tradition Free Architecture for a "Free Church", a Unitarian Centre by Pietro Belluschi', Architectural Record, March, 1967, p. 135

8. John W. Cook and Henrich Klotz, Conversations with Architects, New York, 1973, p. 189

9. from a personal letter by James H. Curtis, dated 21 November, 1972.

10. Frank Lloyd Wright, Writings and Buildings, p. 168. For the change in Wright's later work CF Alan Gowans, King Carters Church, pp. 45-52.

11. Abraham Lincoln, Address Delivered at the Dedication of the Cemetery at Gettysburg, 19 November, 1863, Collected Works, edited by Roy P. Basler, New Brunswick, N.J., 1953, vol. 7, p. 19.

12. Luke, 17:21.

13. 'What Unitarians Believe', Richmond Times-Dispatch, Saturday, 2 December, 1972, p. C-2.

14. Pamphlet of Fort Wayne Unitarian Congregation, Fort Wayne, n.d., n.p., p. 3.

15. Earl Baldwin Smith, The Dome, pp. 5-6.

16. 'Hugh Stubbins: 3. A Church', Architectural Record, October, 1959, p. 174.

17. Earl Baldwin Smith, The Dome, p. 6.

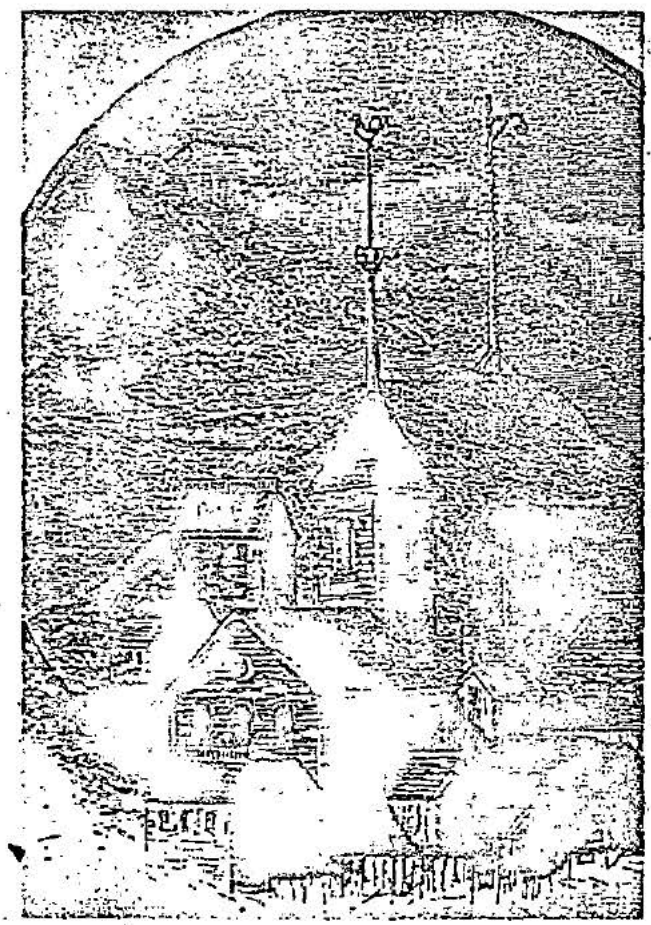


Fig. 1 The First King's Chapel, Boston, 1689.

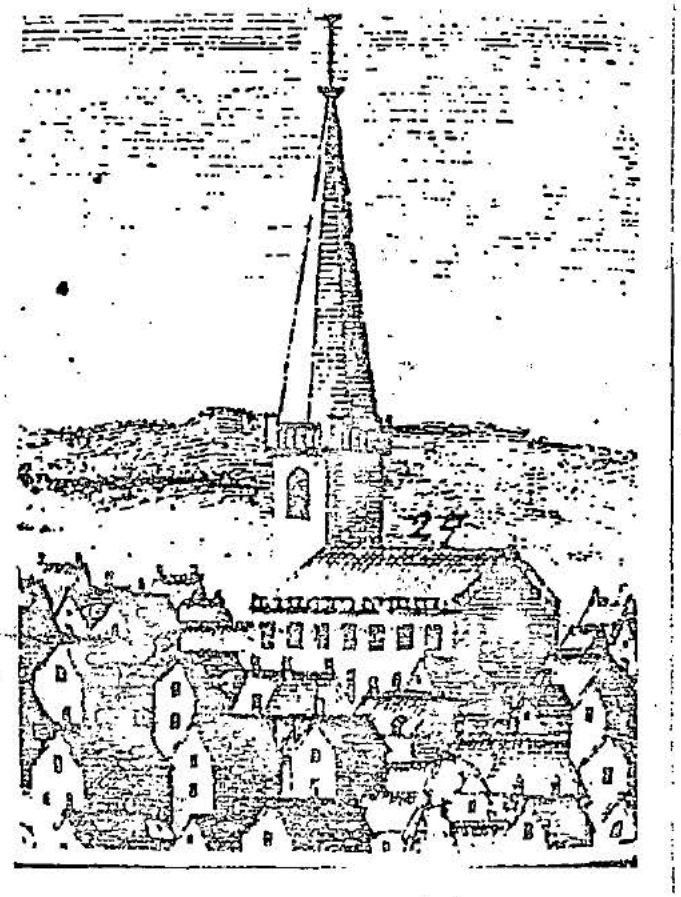


Fig. 2 Brattle Street Church, Boston, 1699.

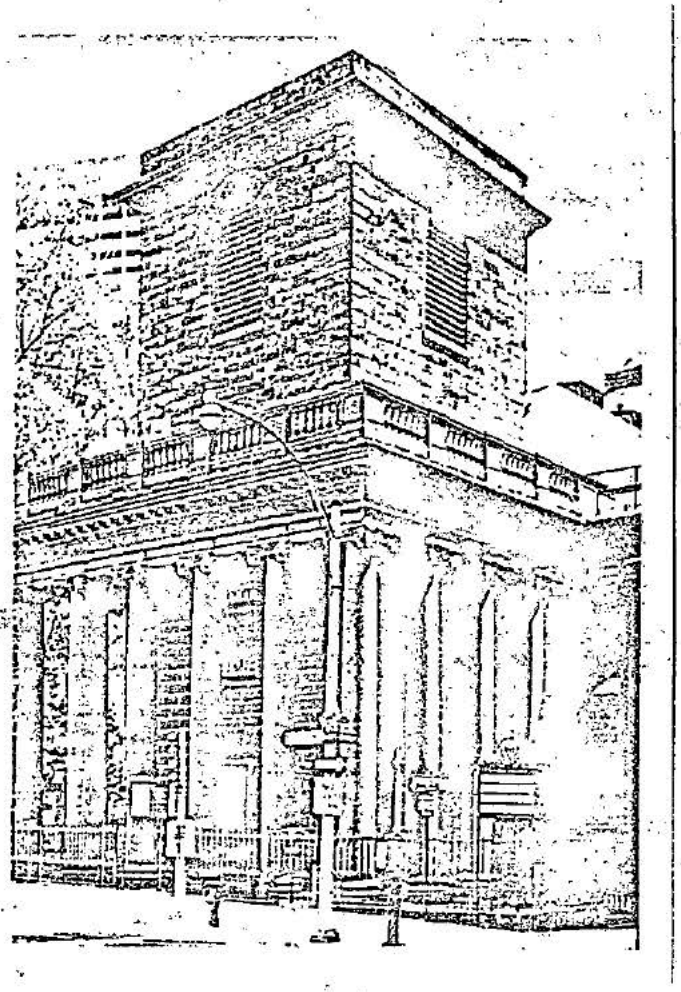
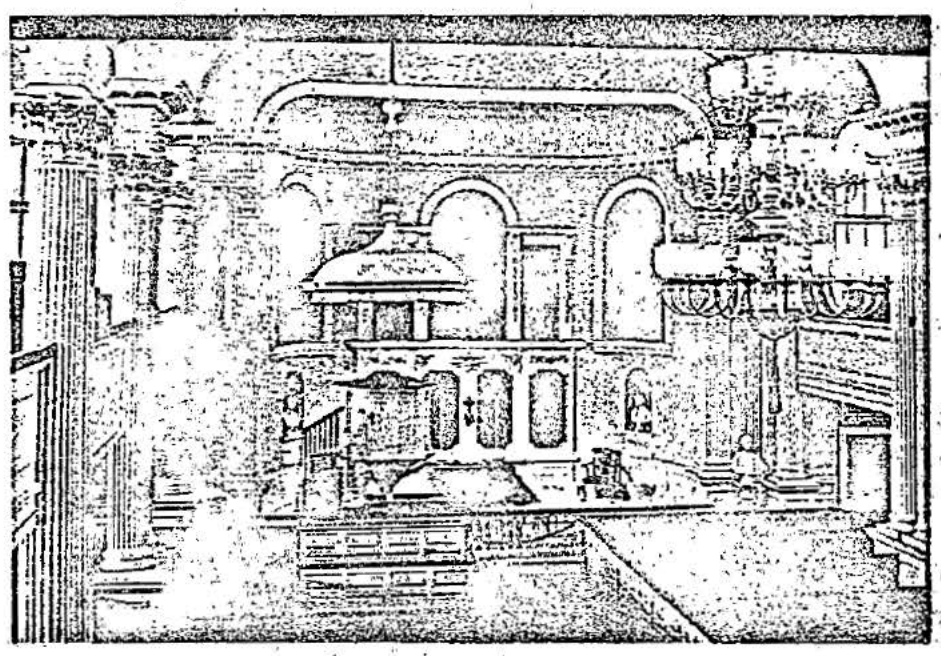
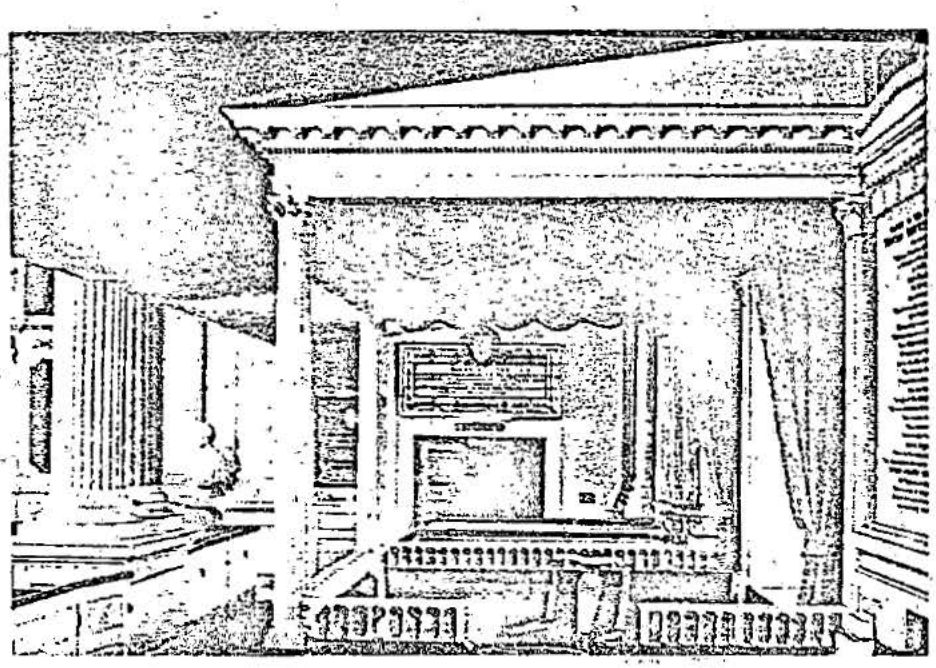


Fig. 3 King's Chapel, Boston, 1749-58.





Figs 4 & 5 : Interior of King's Chapel. Above, view towards chancel; below, the governor's pew.

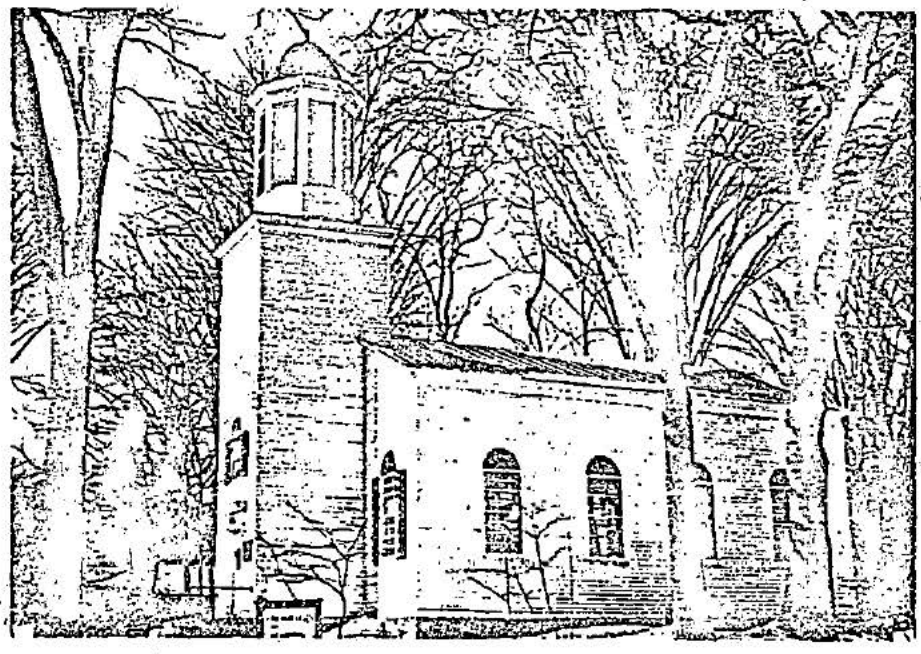


Fig. 6 The Unitarian Church of Barnevald, New York, 1816.

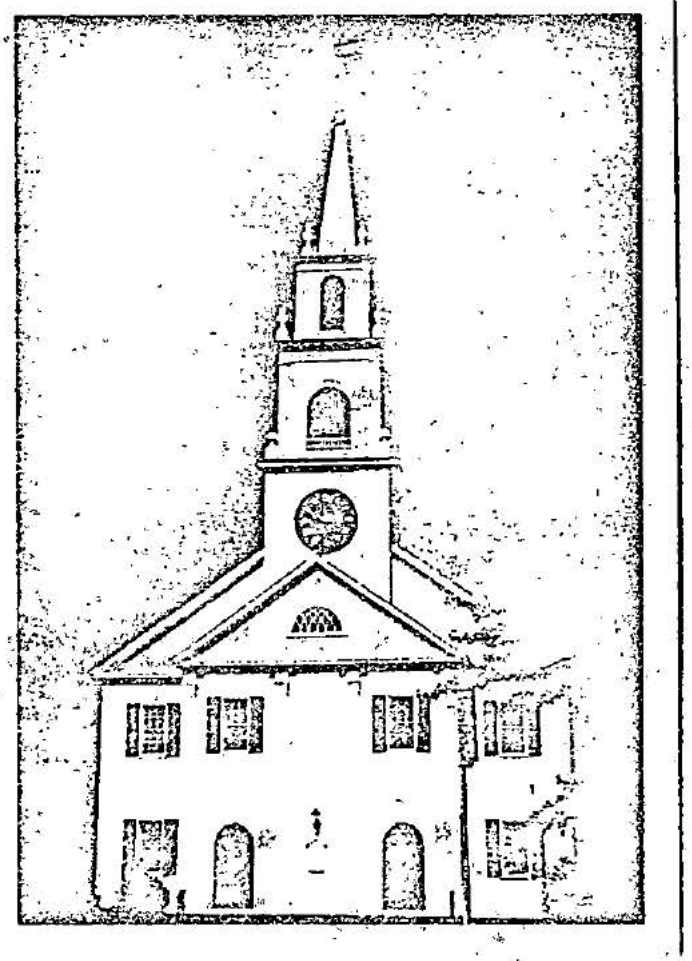


Fig. 7 First Church of Dedham, Mass., originally built in 1762, and remodelled after 1818.

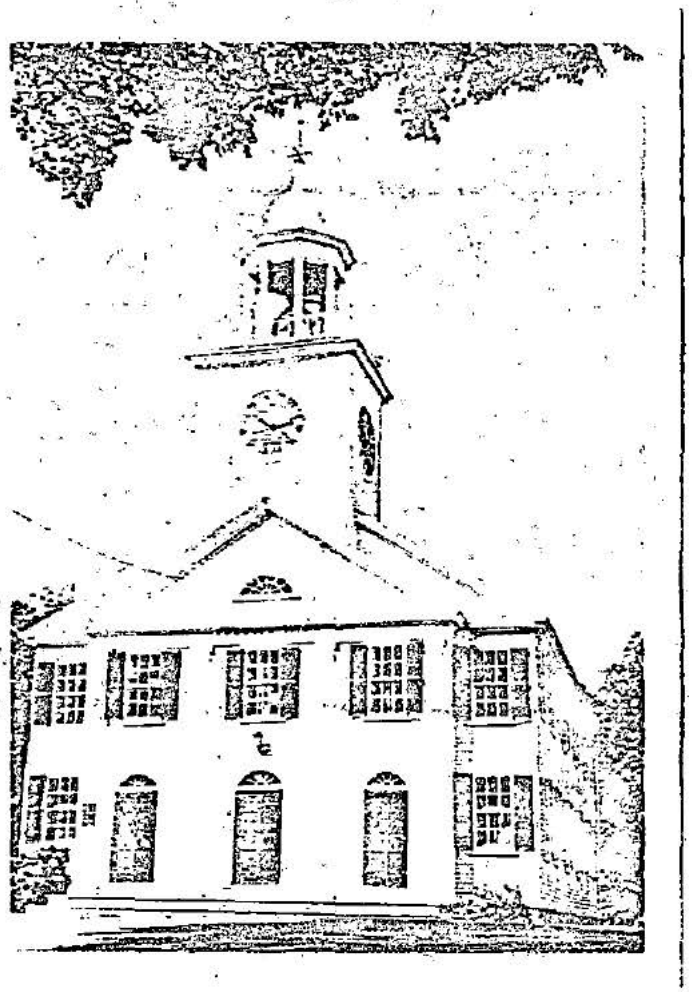


Fig. 8 Second Parish, Hingham, Mass., originally built in 1742, and remodelled in 1829.

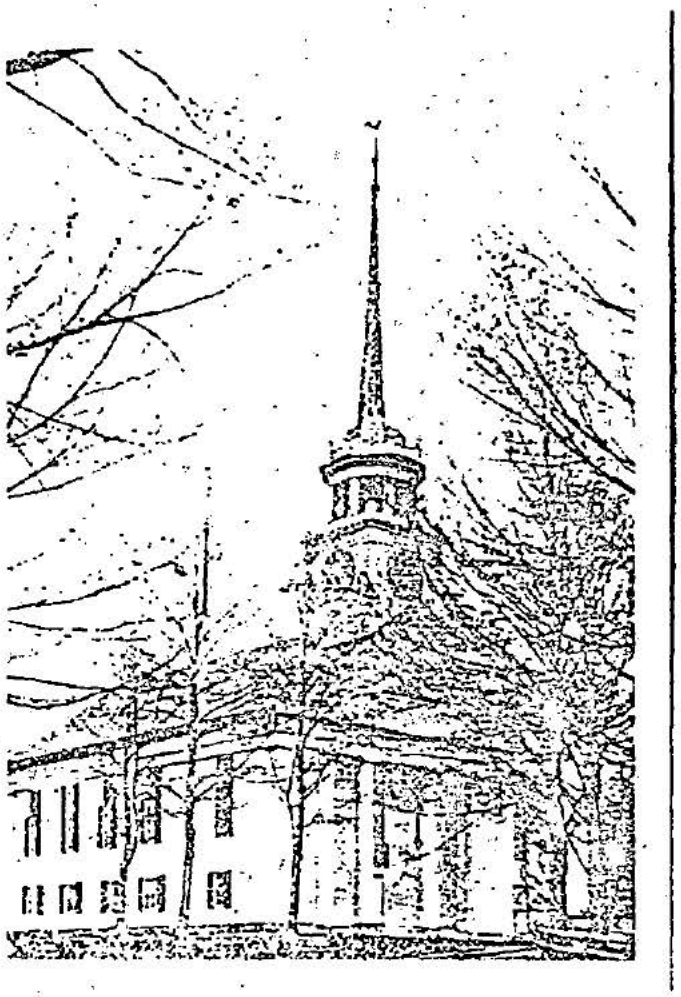
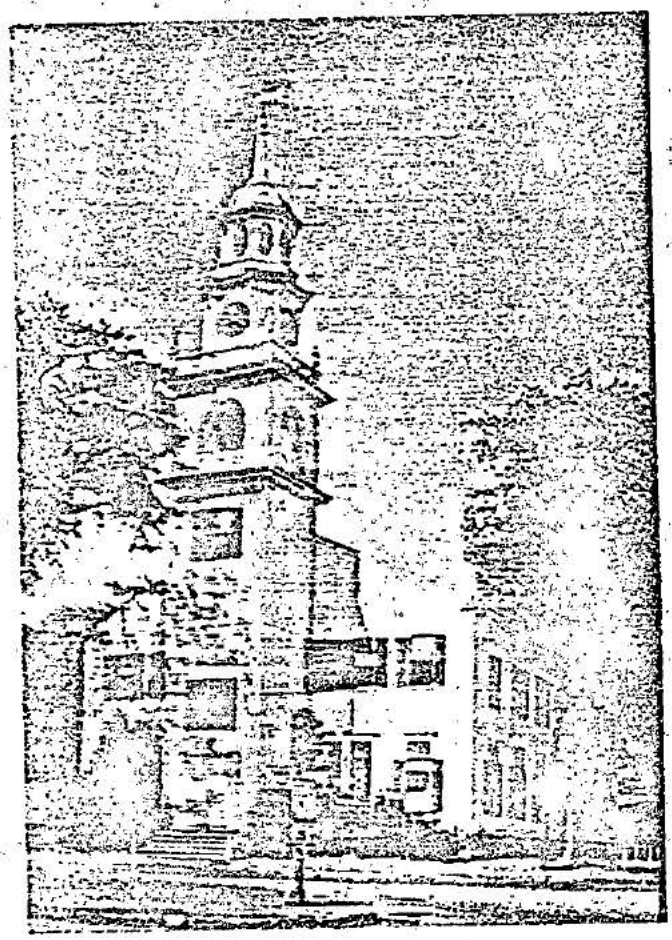
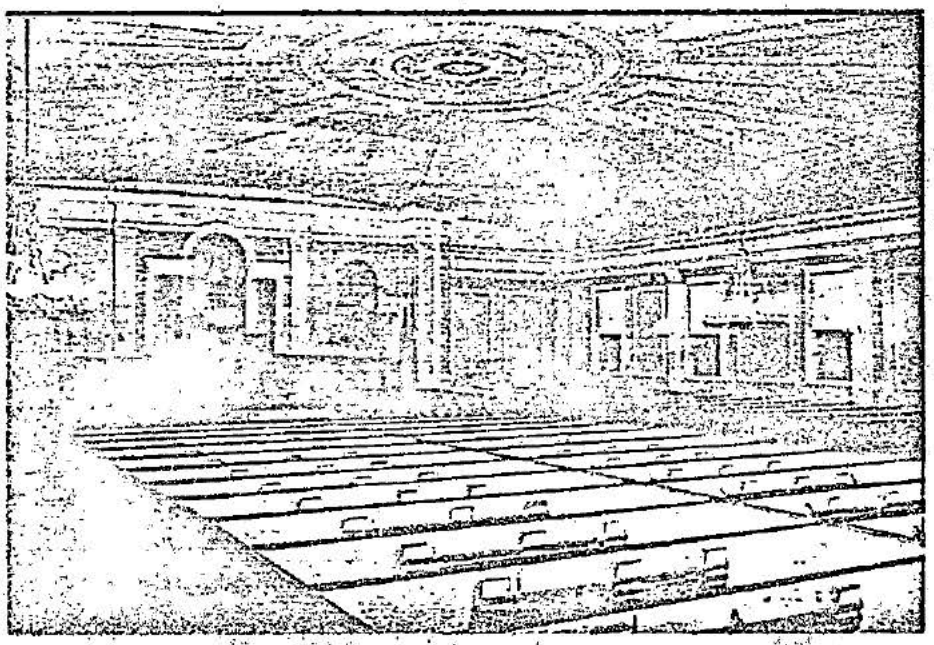
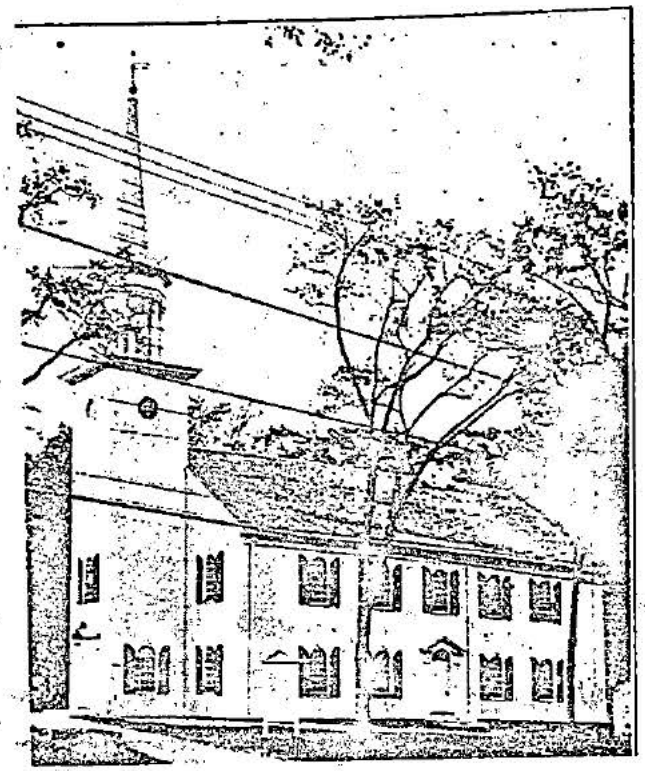


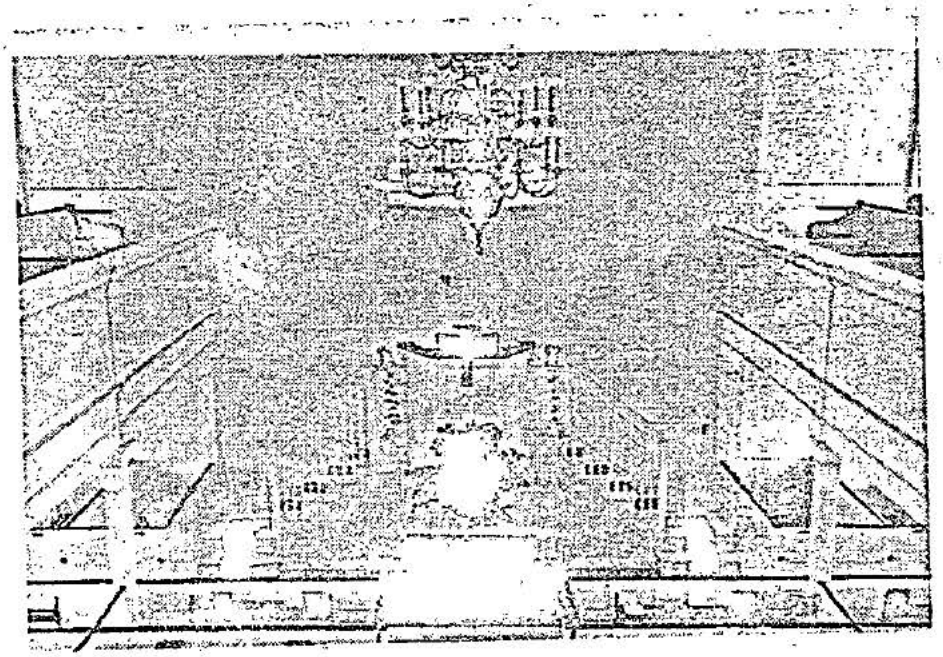
Fig. 9 First Parish, Groton, Mass., originally built in 1755, and remodelled in 1839.



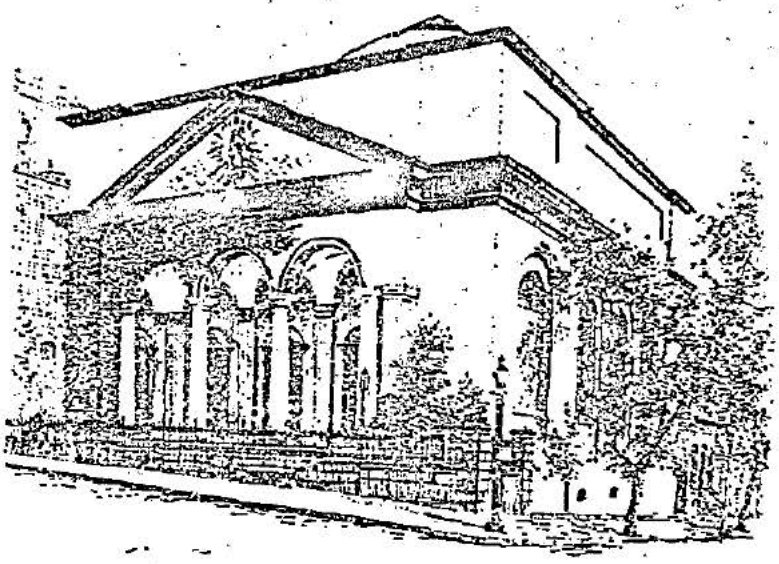
Figs. 10 & 11
First Parish,
Kennebunk, Maine,
remodelled in 1804.

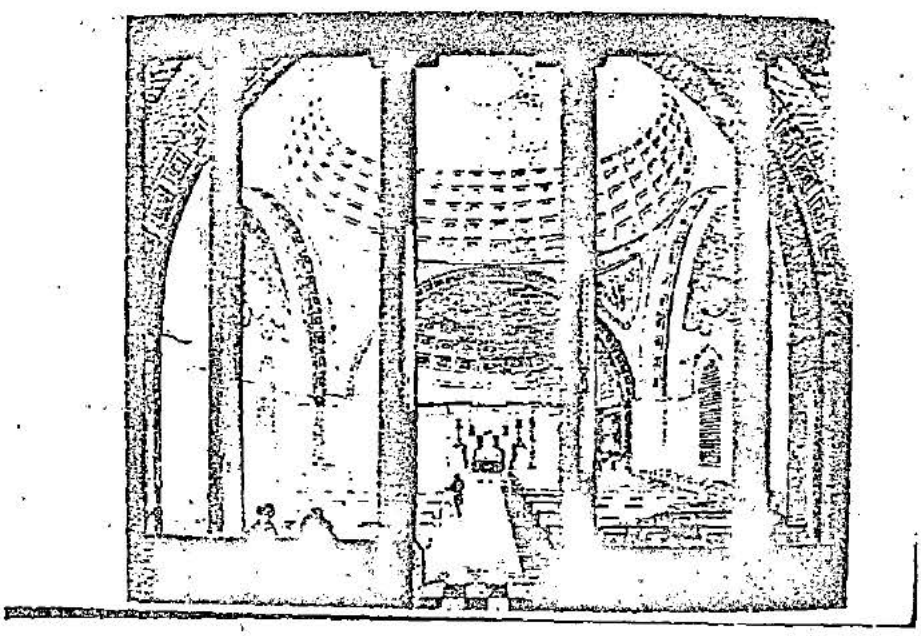




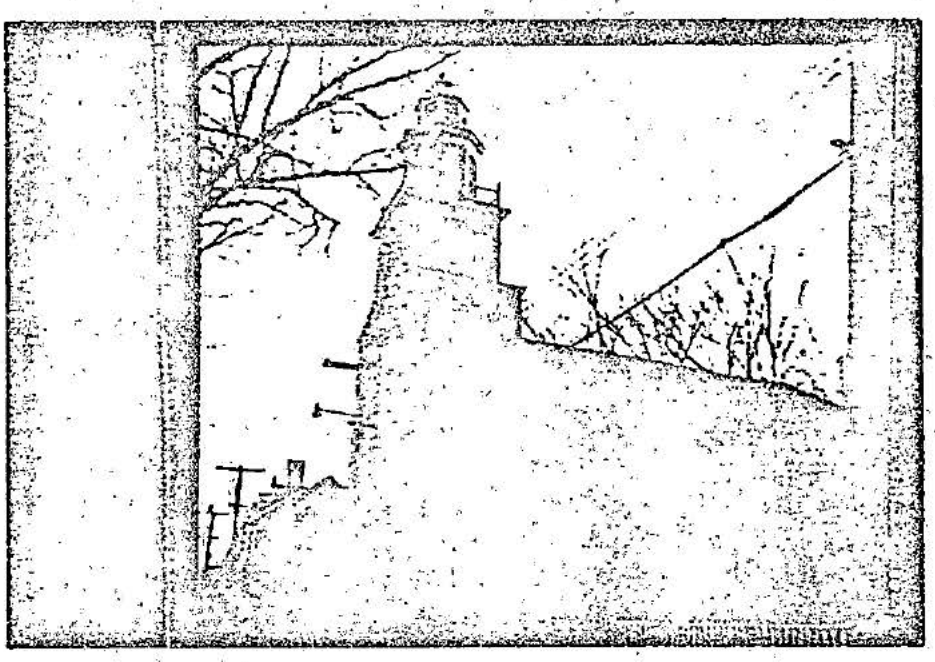


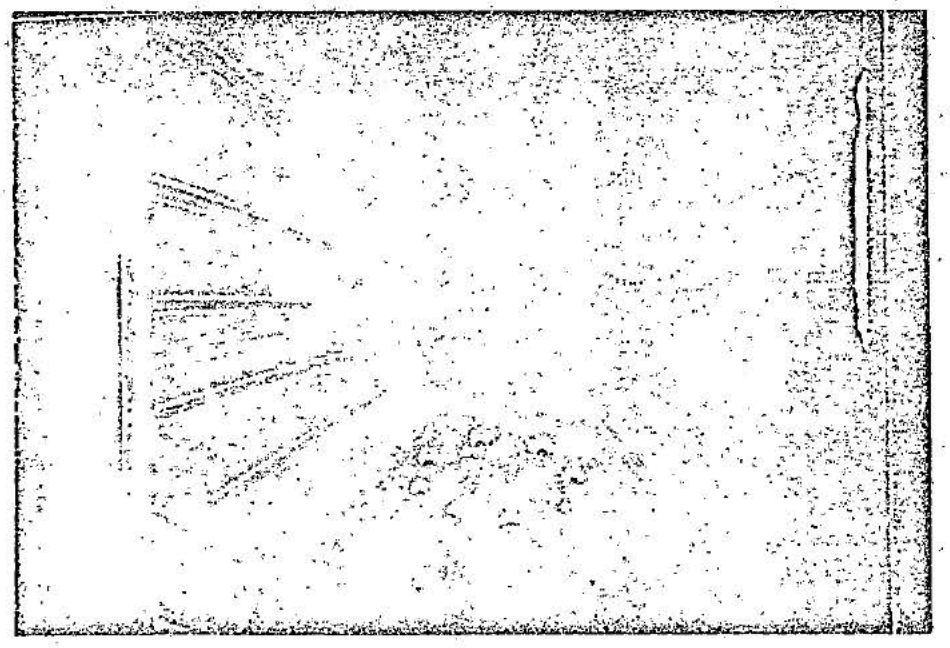
Figs. 12 & 13
Unitarian Church,
Dighton, Mass.,
exterior remodelled
in 1824; interior
remodelled in 1861.





Figs. 14 & 15 Unitarian Church, Baltimore, Maryland, 1818.





Figs. 16 & 17 Second Congregational Meeting House of Nantucket, Mass., built in 1809; interior remodelled in 1844.

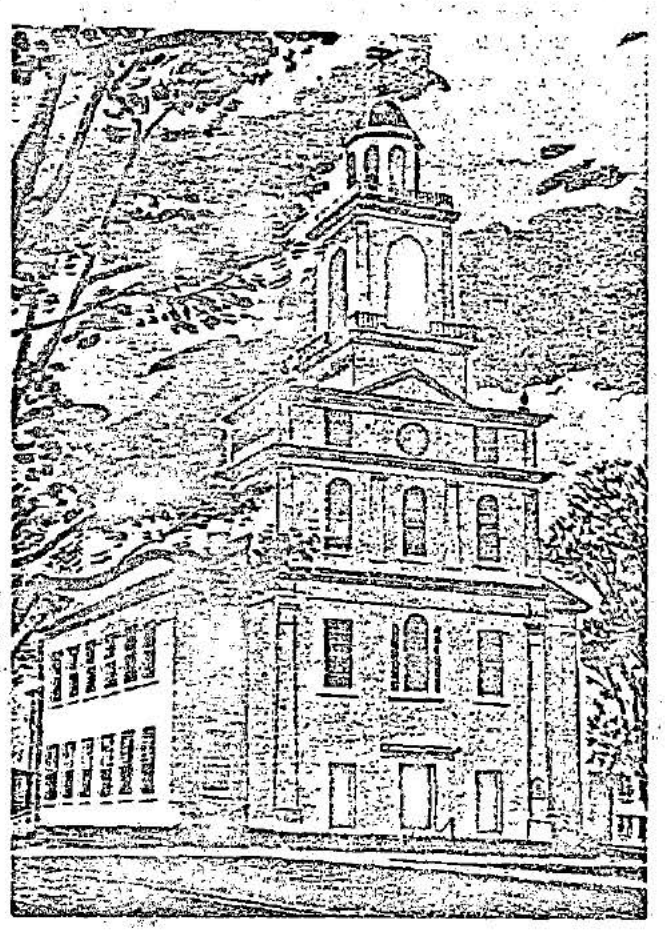


Fig. 18 First Parish, Bedford, Mass., 1817.

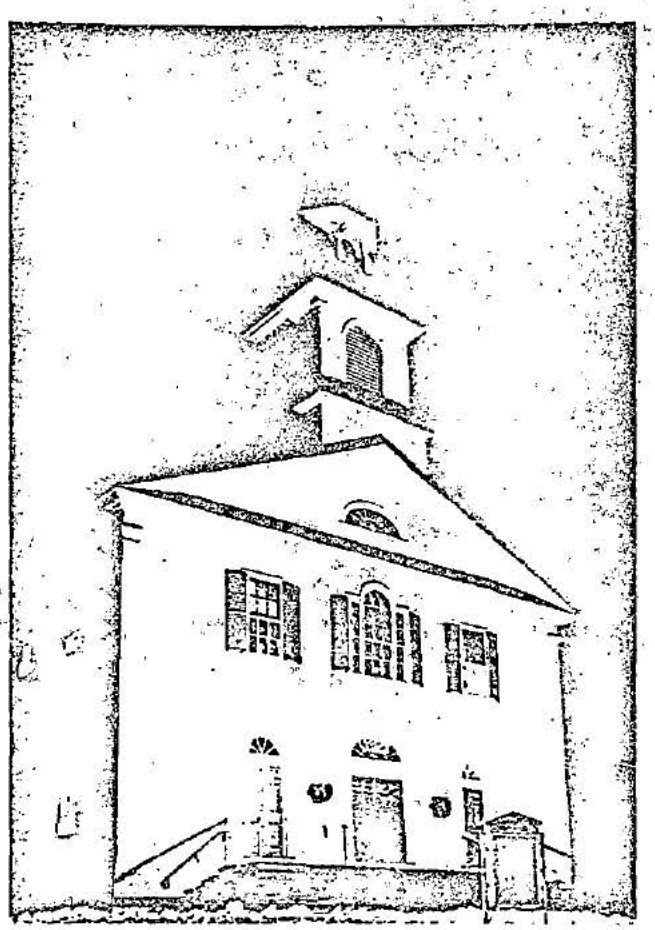


Fig. 19 First Parish, Westwood, Mass., 1809.

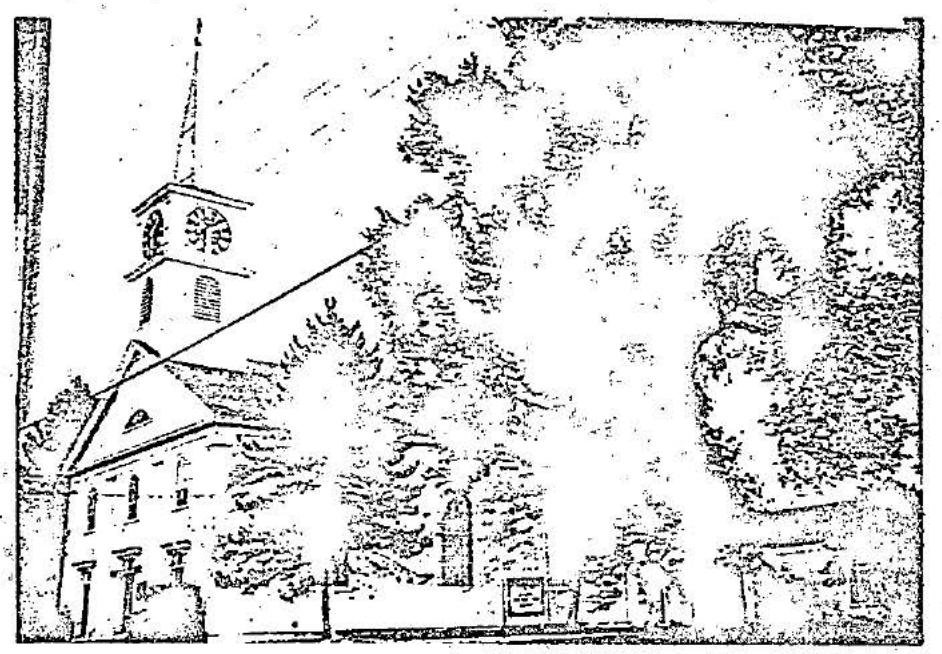


Fig. 20 First Parish, Norwell, Mass., 1830

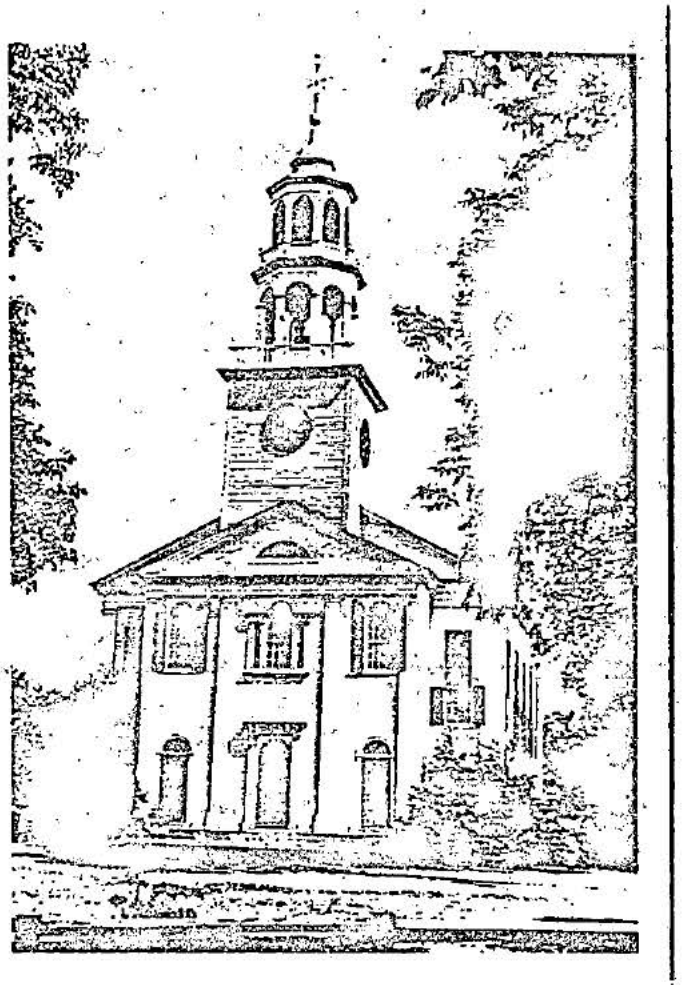


Fig. 21 First Parish, Wayland, Mass., 1814

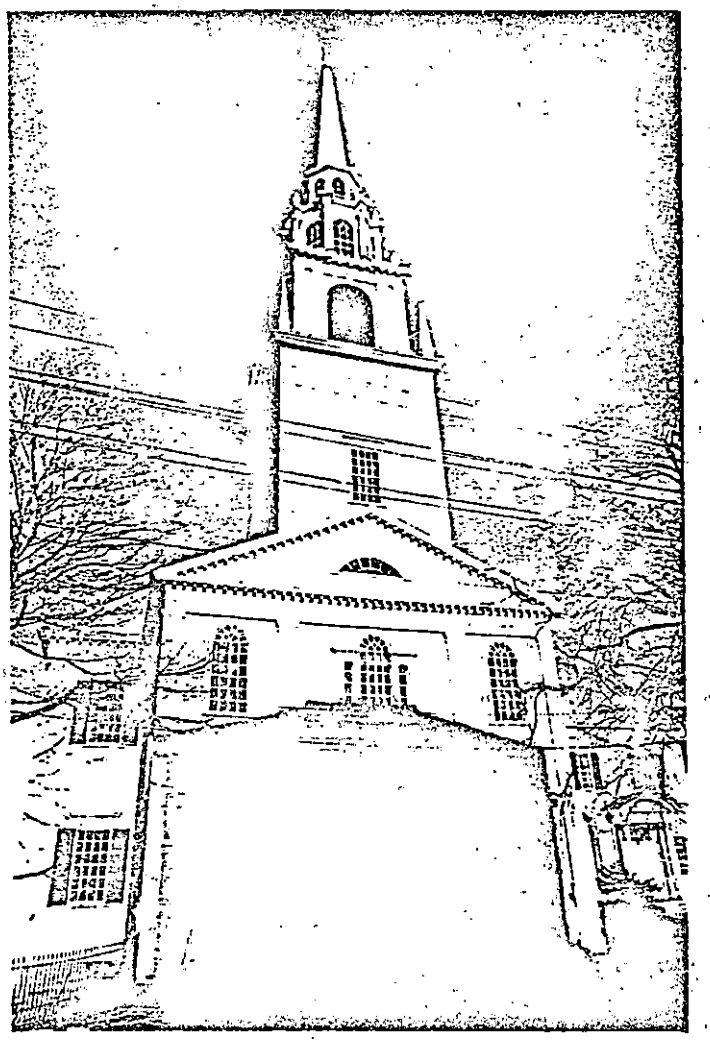


Fig. 22 First Unitarian Church, Newburyport, Mass., 1801

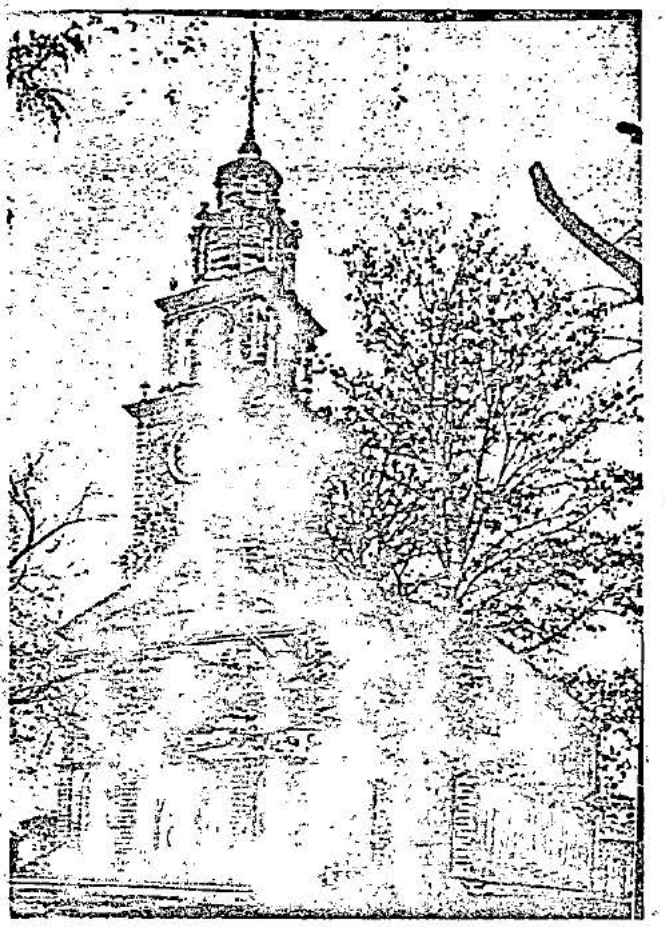


Fig. 23 First Church, Roxbury, Mass., 1804

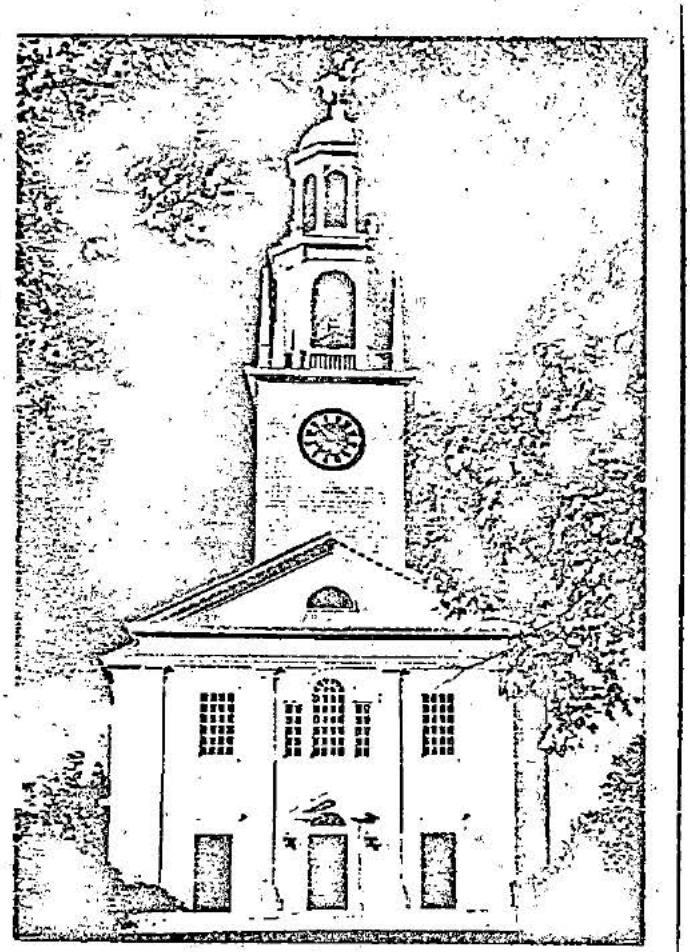


Fig. 24 First Congregational Unitarian Church, Northborough, Mass., 1808.

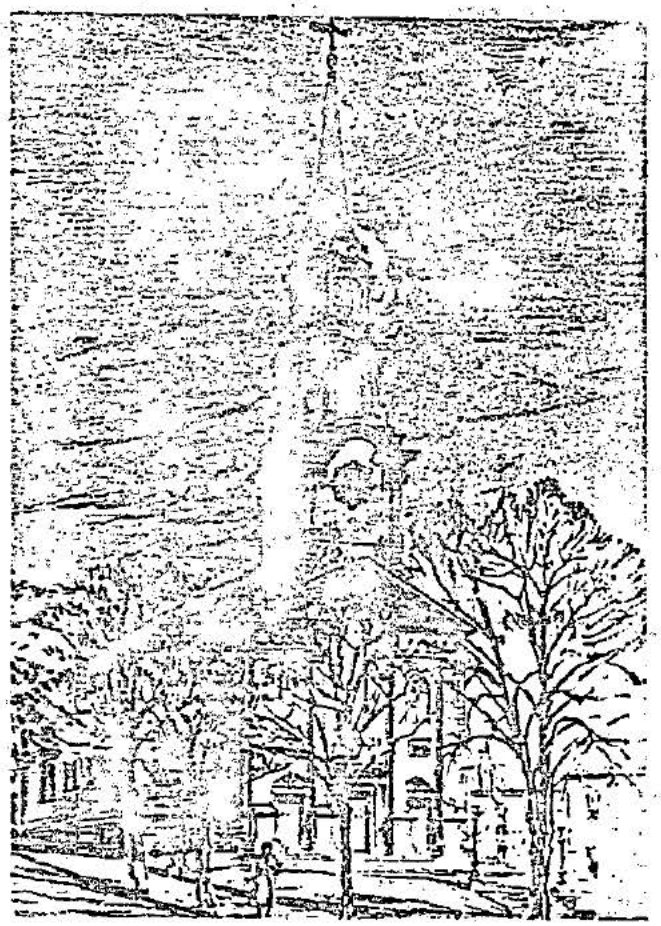
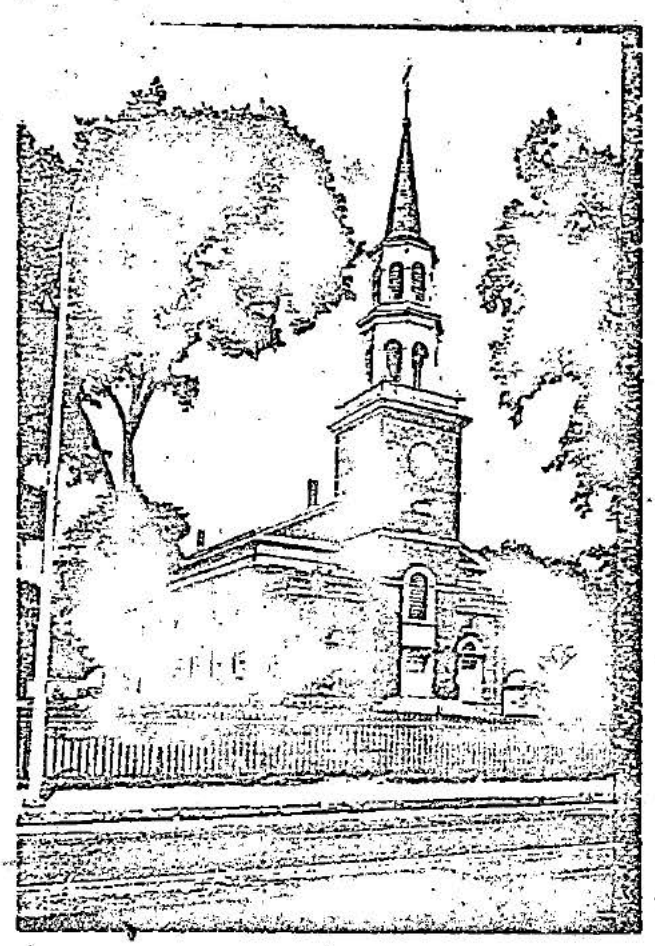
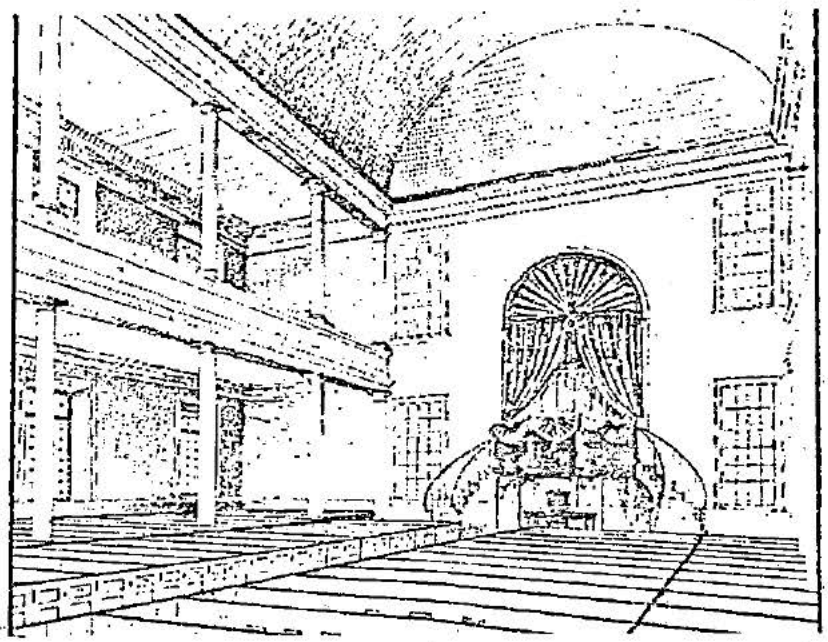


Fig. 25 First Unitarian Church, Providence, R.I., 1814-16.



Figs 26 & 27
First Church, Burlington, Vermont, 1816. The drawing below is a reconstruction of the original interior.



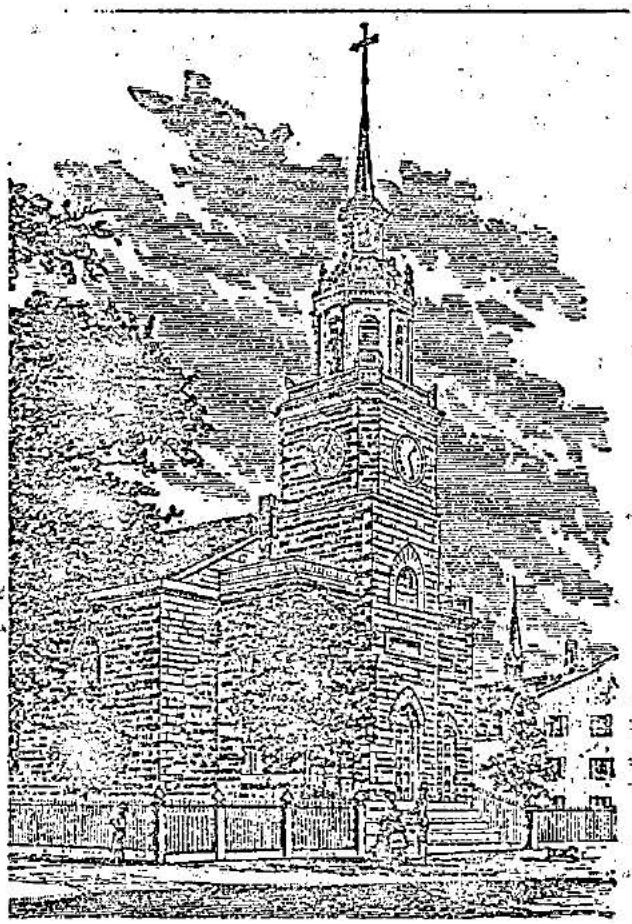


Fig. 28 First Parish, Portland, Maine 1825-26.

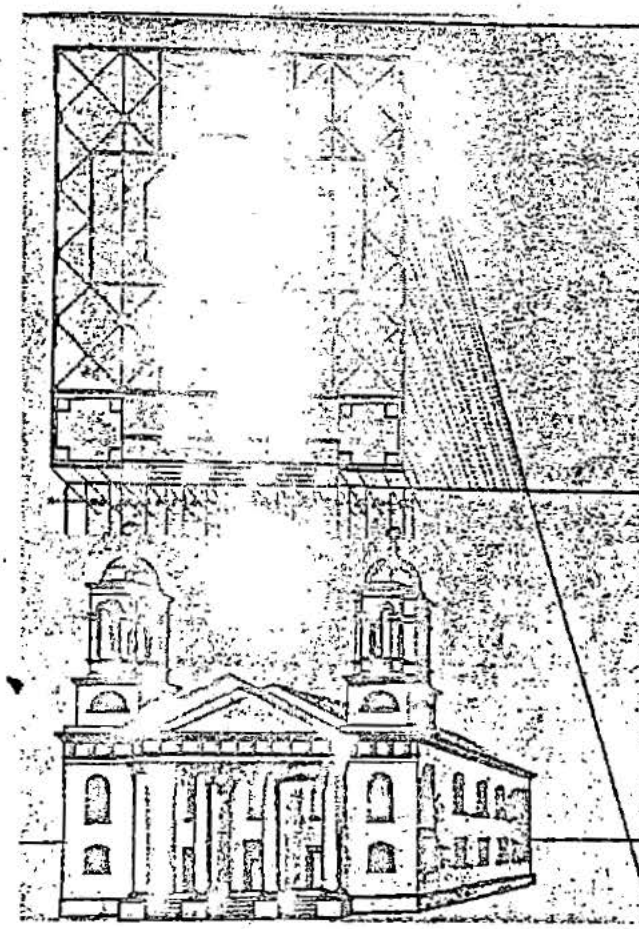


Fig. 29 Bulfinch's sketch for the Hollis Street Church, Boston, 1788, and for the First Congregational Church, Providence, R.I., 1795.

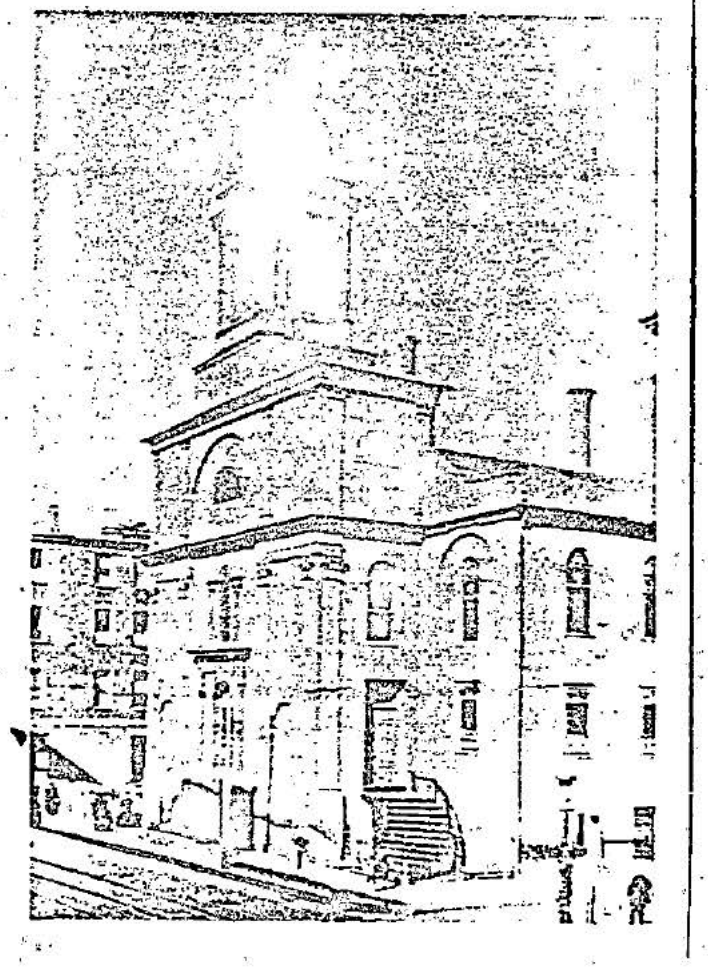


Fig. 30 New North Meeting House, Boston, 1804.
Now St. Stephen's Catholic Church.

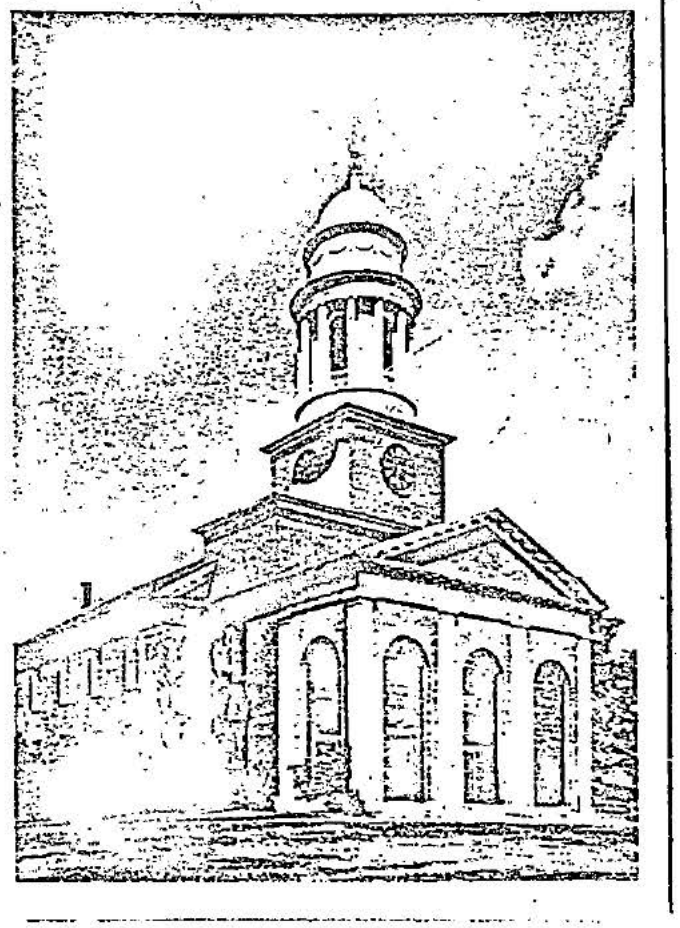


Fig. 31 First Church of Christ, Lancaster, Mass., 1816.

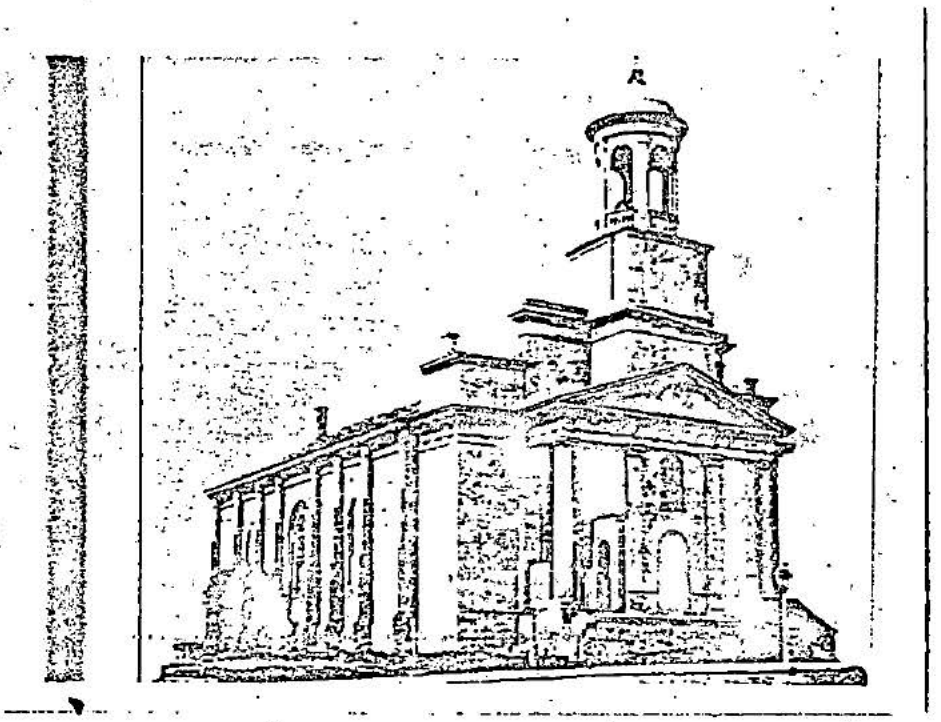


Fig. 32 Unitarian Church, Washington, D.C., 1822.

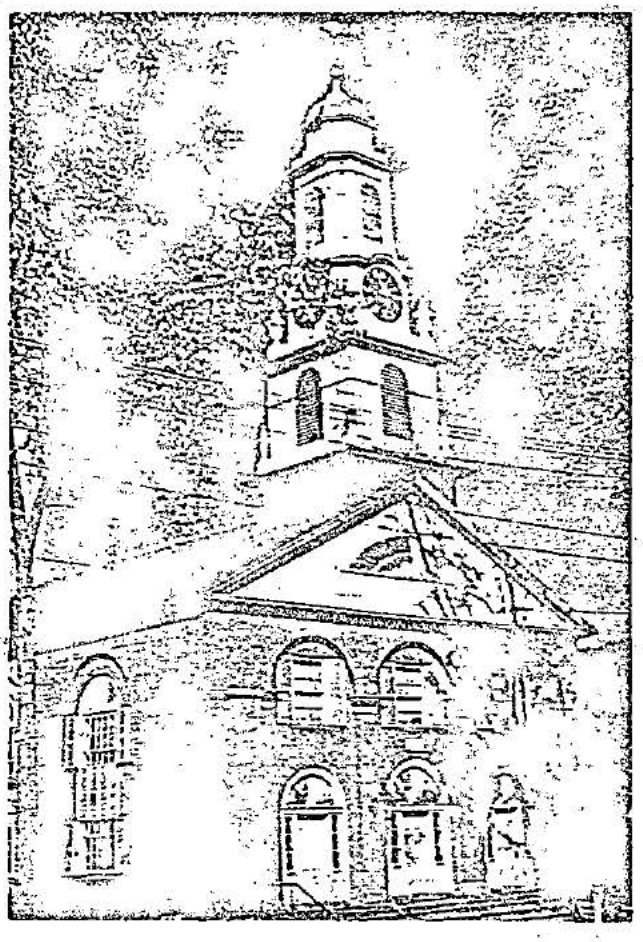
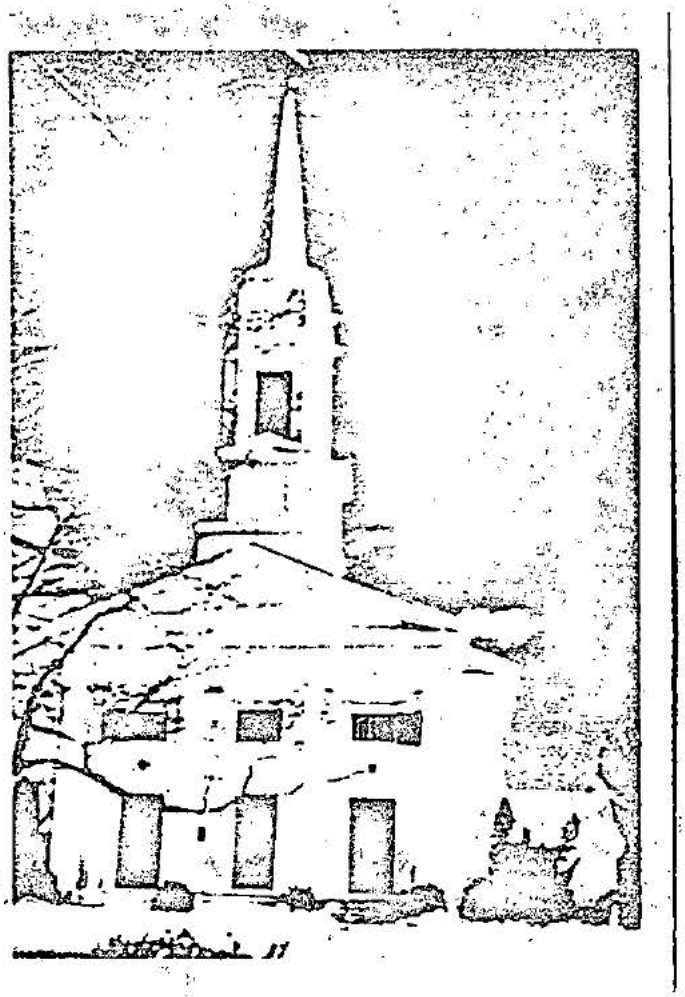
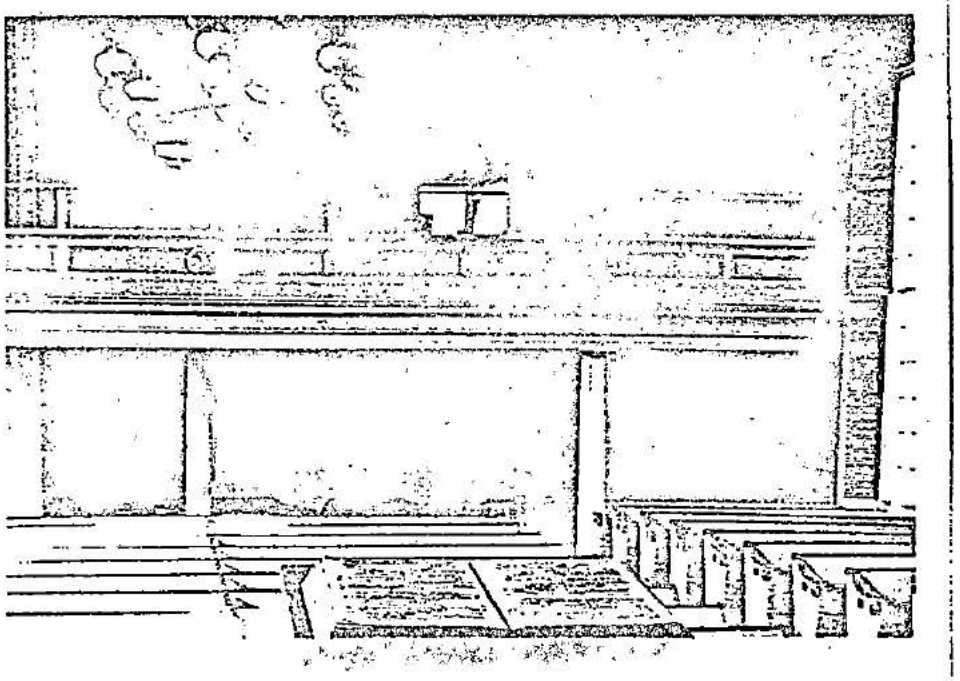


Fig. 33 First Church, Peterborough, N.H., 1826

Fig. 34 Unitarian Church, Nashua, N.H., 1826.



Figs. 35 & 36
First Parish, Sherborn, Mass., 1834.



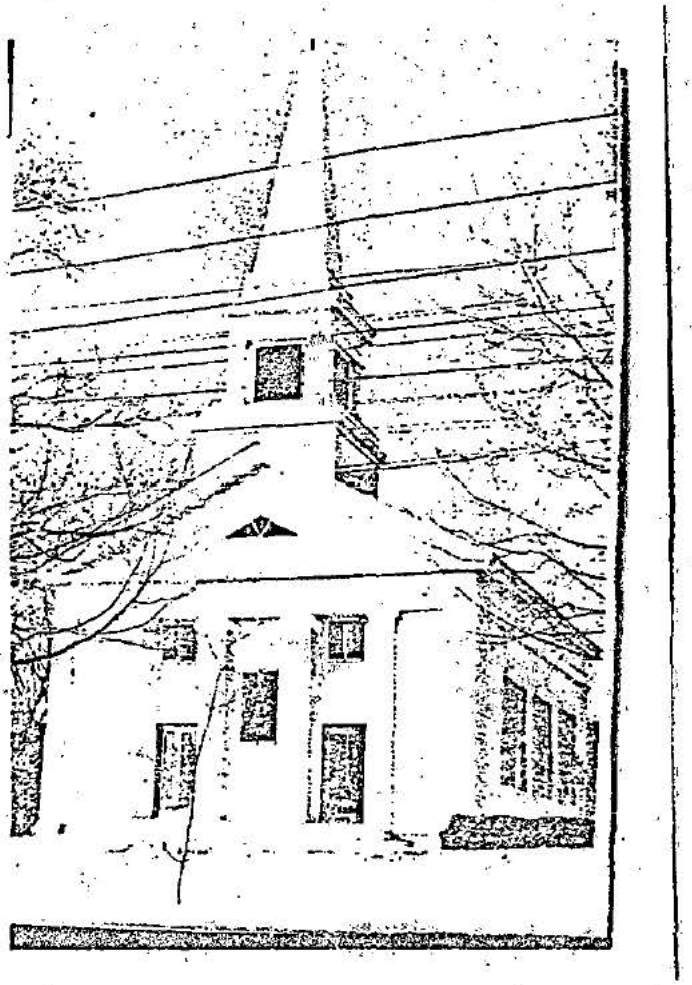


Fig. 37 First Parish, Lincoln, Mass., 1842

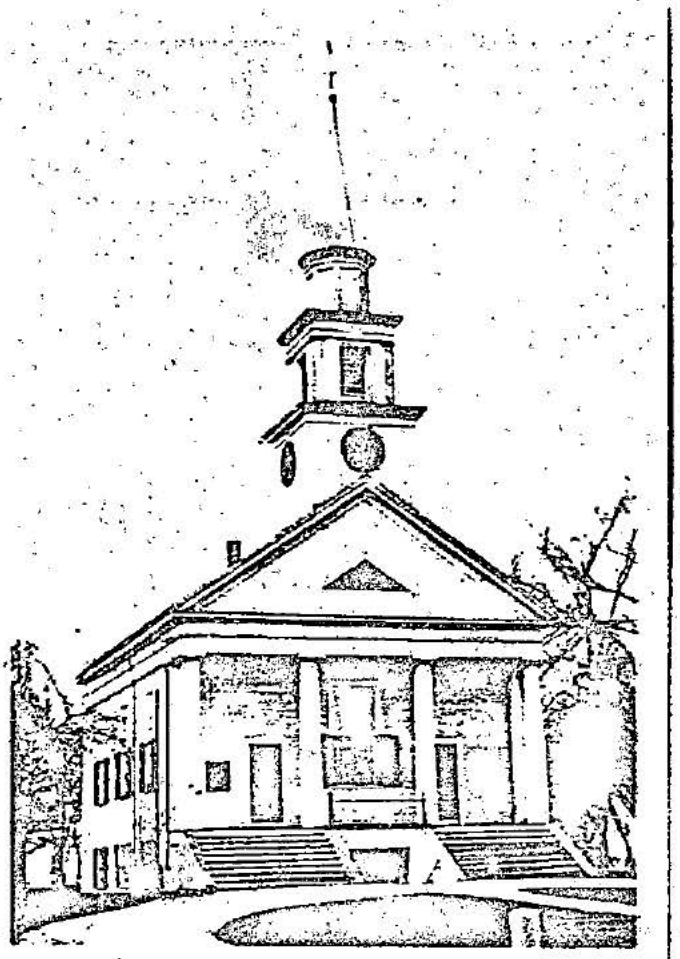


Fig. 38 Unitarian Church, Sheron, Mass., 1842.

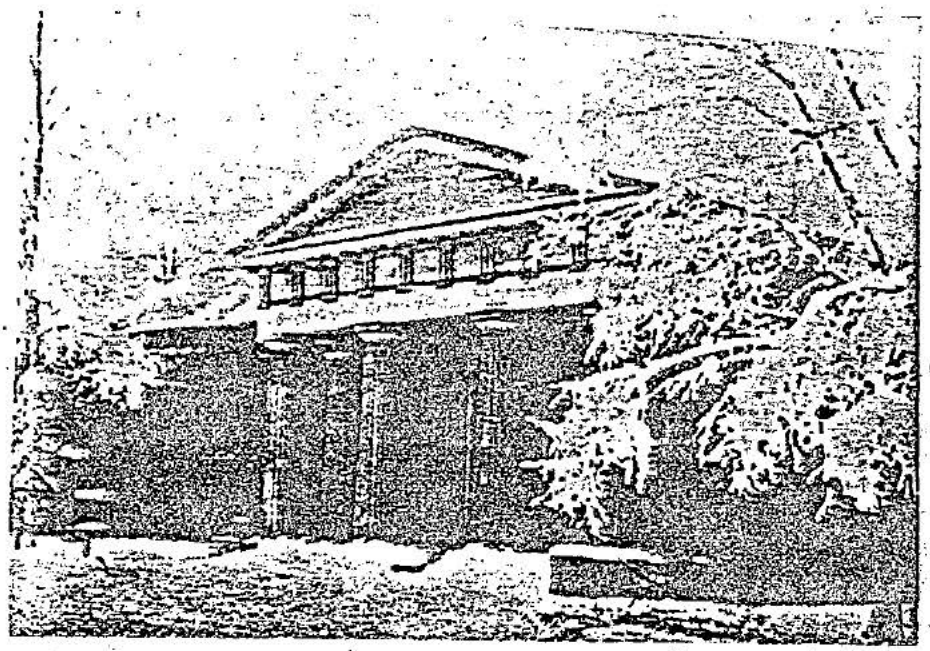


Fig. 39 Unitarian Church, Meadville, Penn., 1836

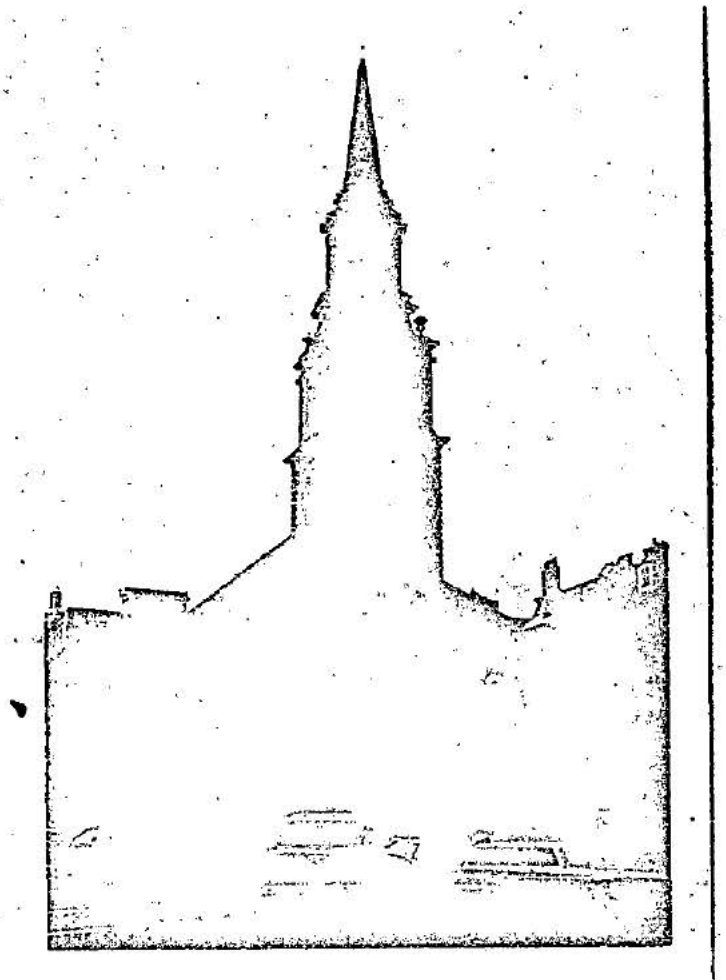


Fig. 40 Arlington Street Church, Boston, 1859.

Fig. 41 First Church of Christ, Sandwich, Mass., 1847.

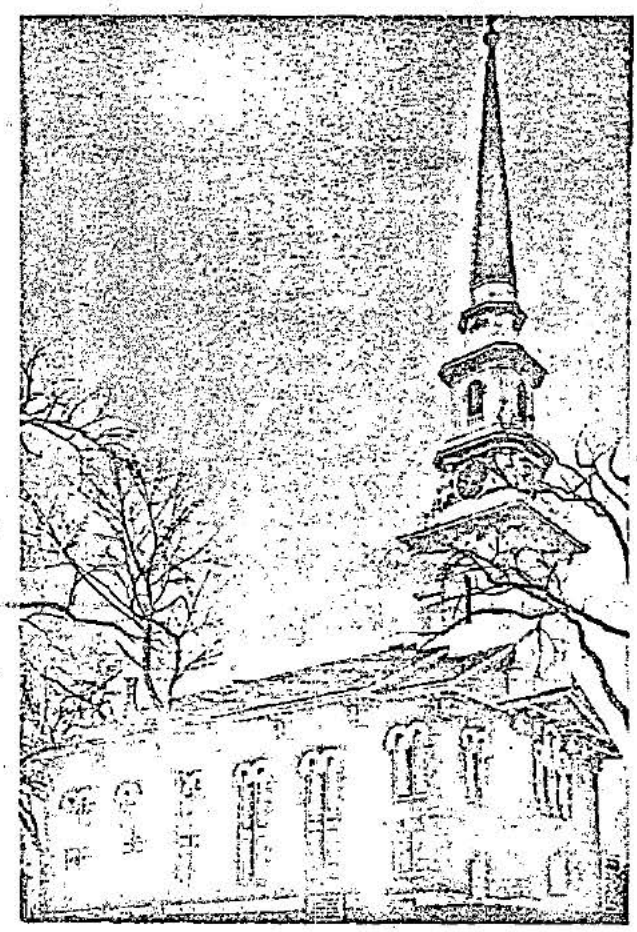


Fig. 42 Unitarian Church, Bangor, Maine, 1853

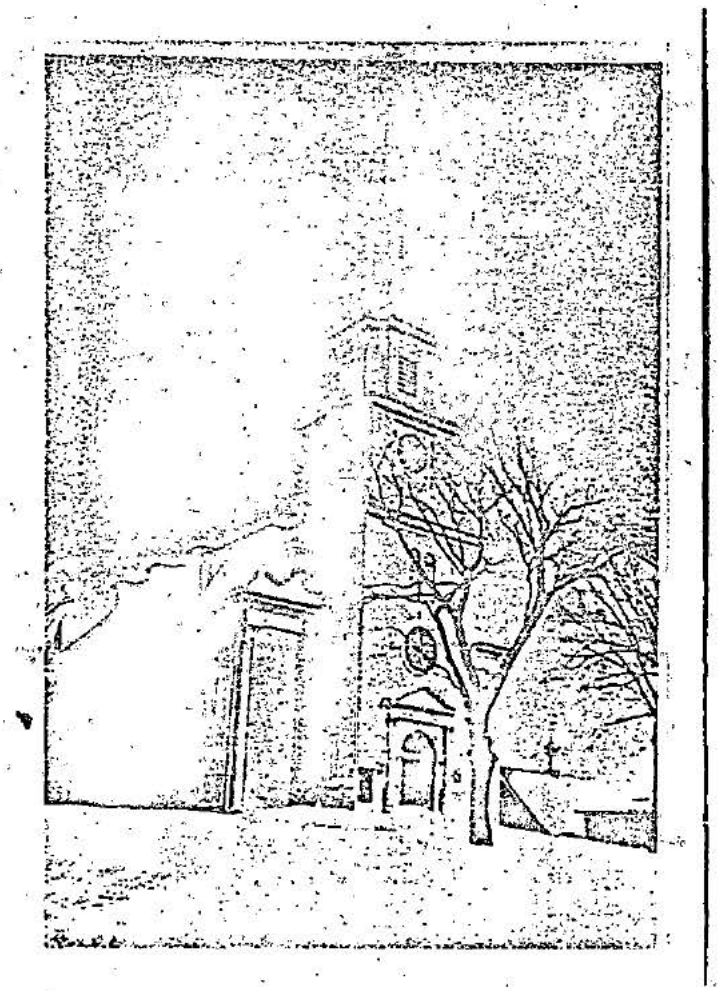


Fig. 43 Unitarian Church, Hudson, Mass., 1861.

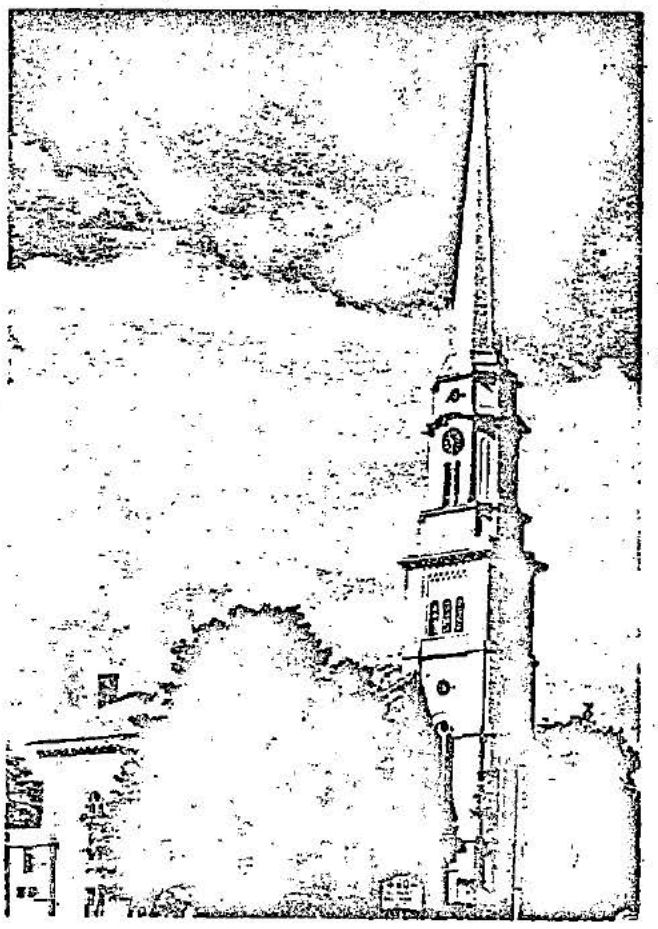


Fig. 44 First Parish, Unitarian, Arlington, Mass., 1856.

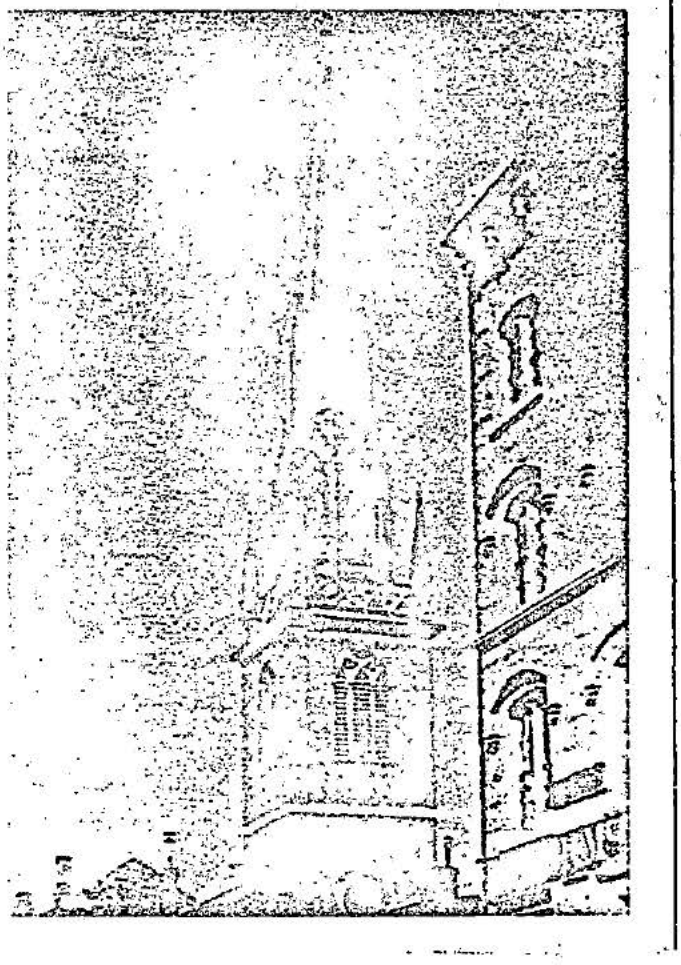


Fig. 45 Federal Street Church, Boston, 1809.

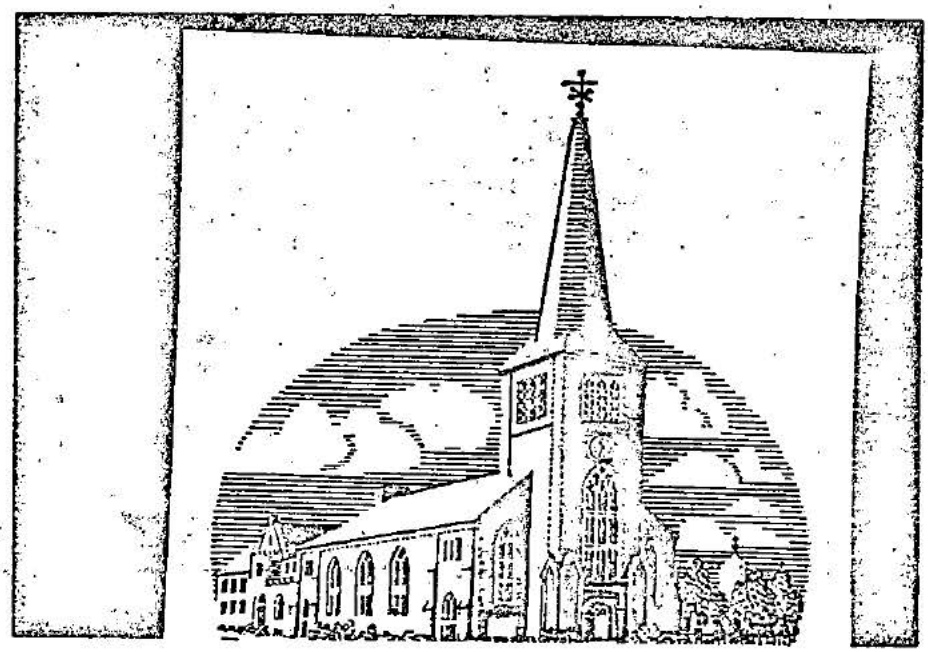


Fig. 46 First Parish, Cambridge, Mass., 1833.

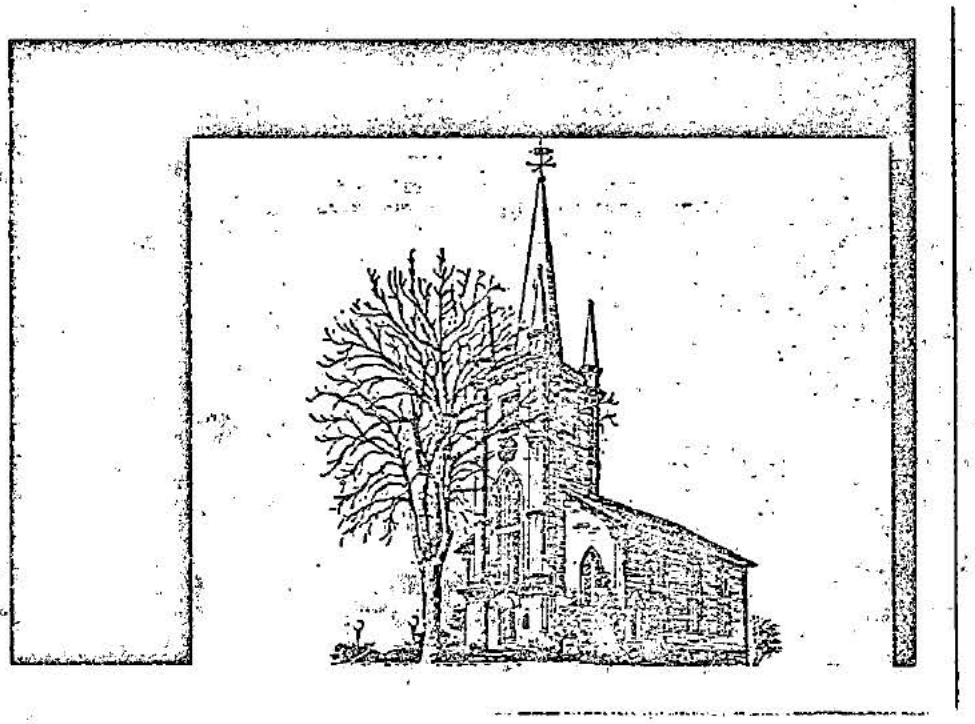
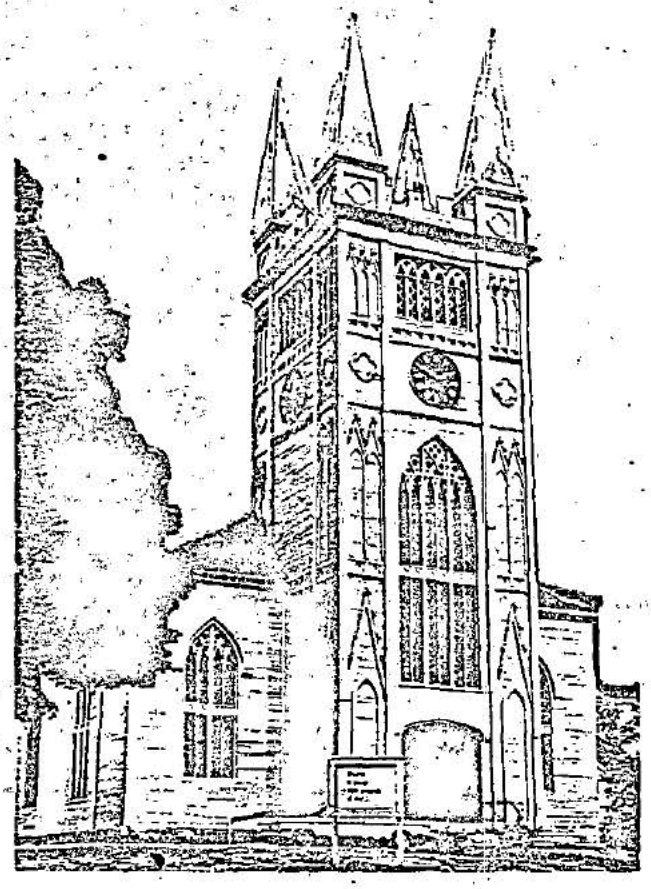
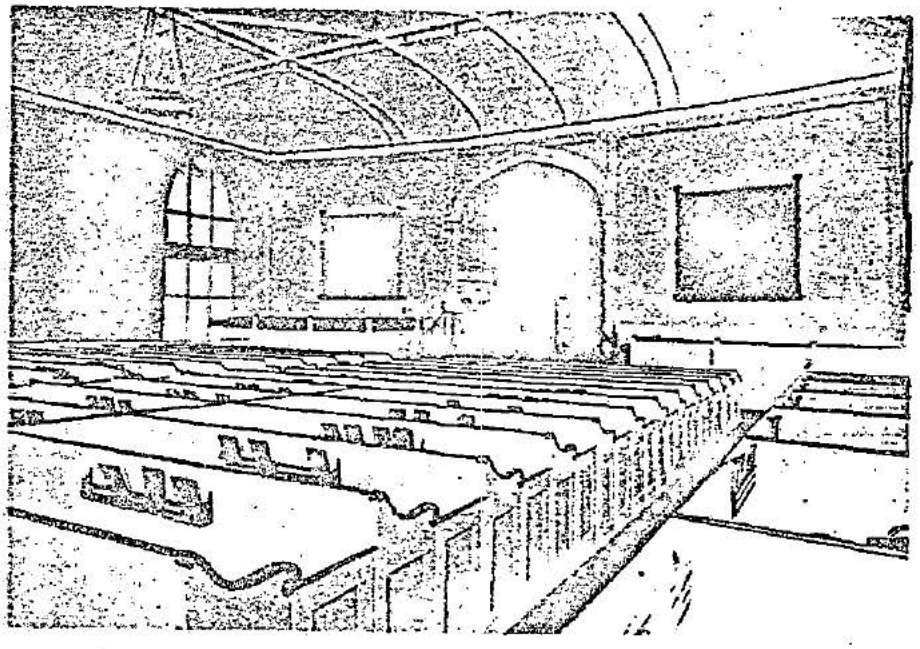
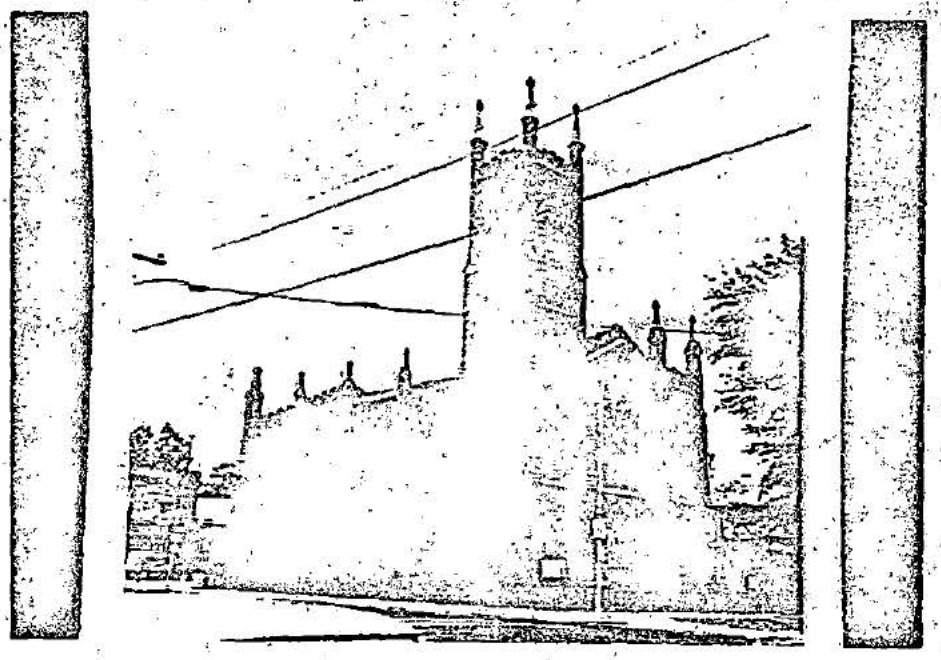


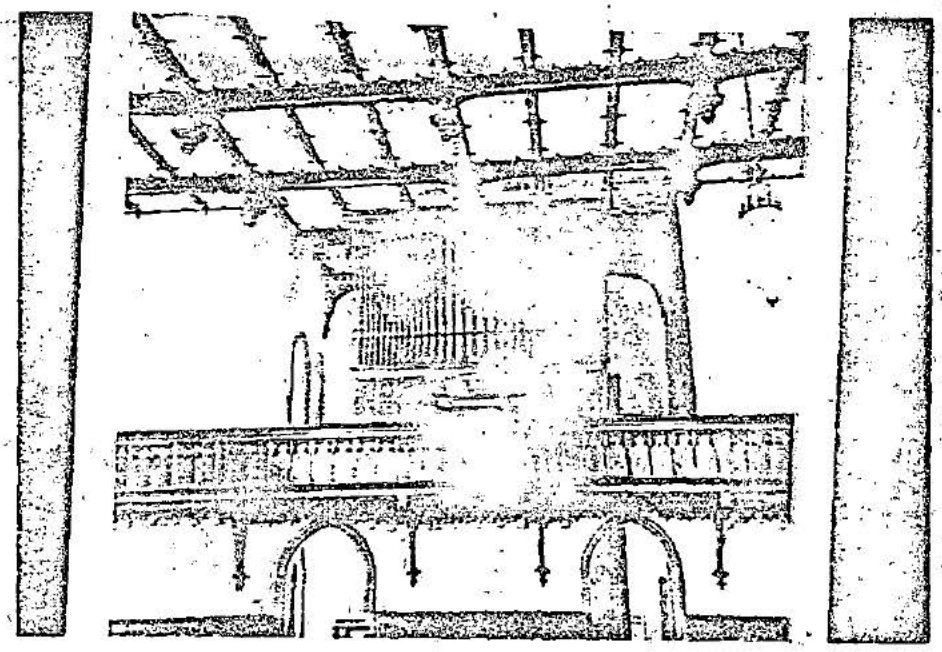
Fig. 47 First Parish, Uxbridge, Mass., 1835.





Figs. 48 & 49
First Parish, Watertown, Mass., 1842





Figs. 50 & 51 First Unitarian Church, Marietta, Ohio, 1857

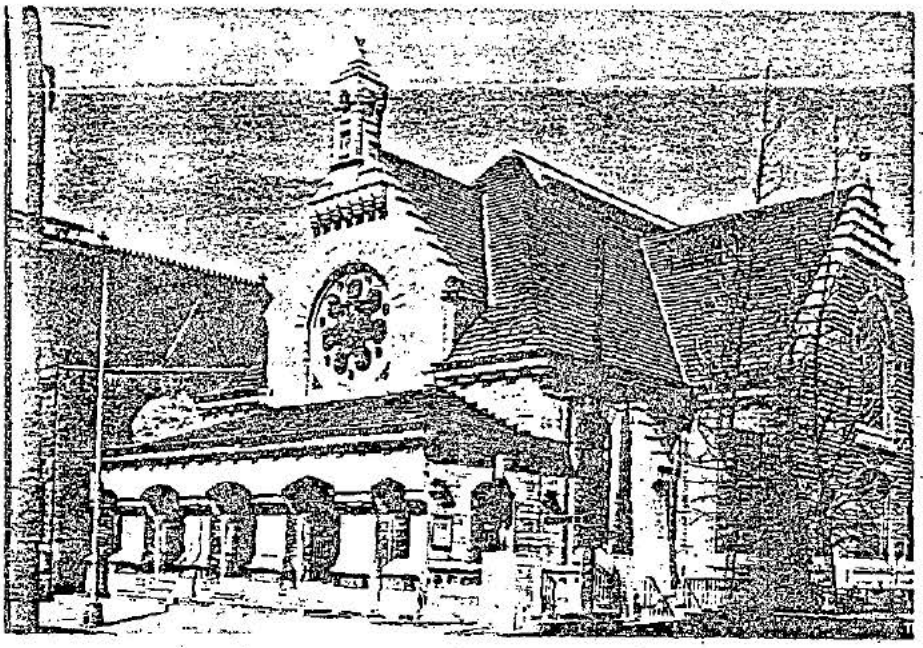


Fig. 52 First Unitarian Church, Philadelphia, Penn., 1885

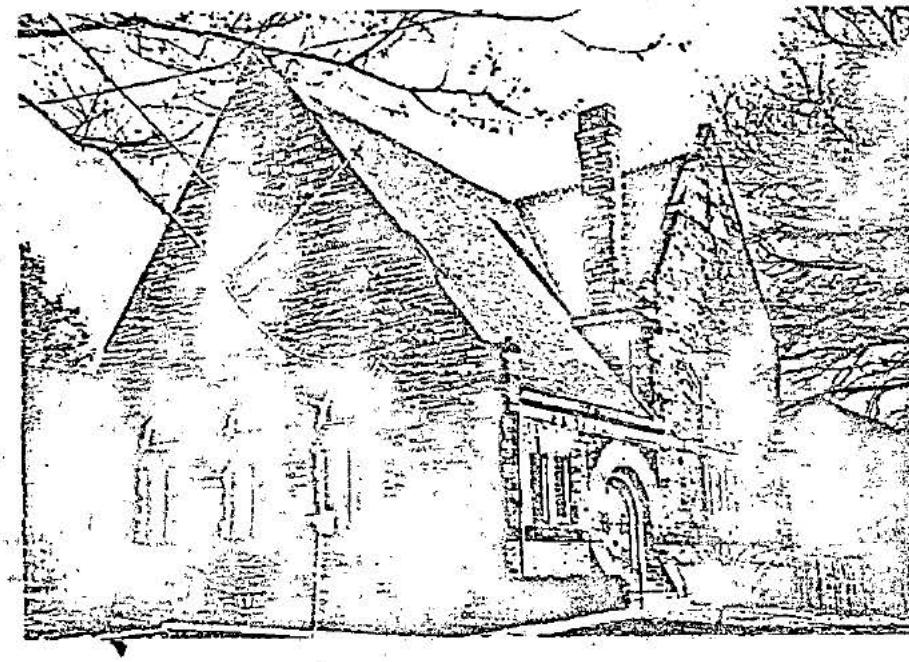


Fig. 53 First Unitarian Church, Cincinnati, Ohio, 1889.

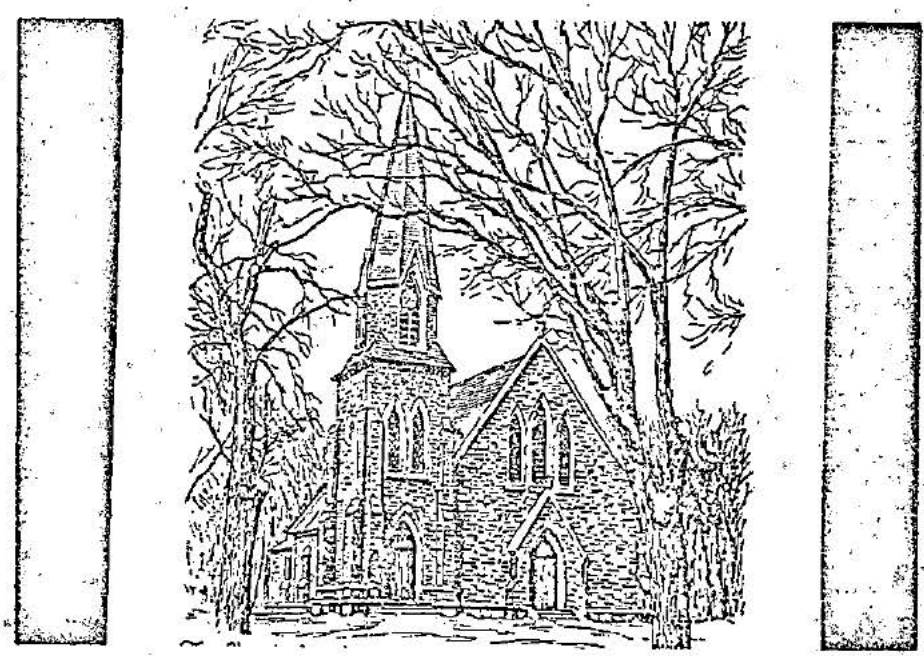


Fig. 54 Church of the Unity, Winchendon, Mass., 1866-67.

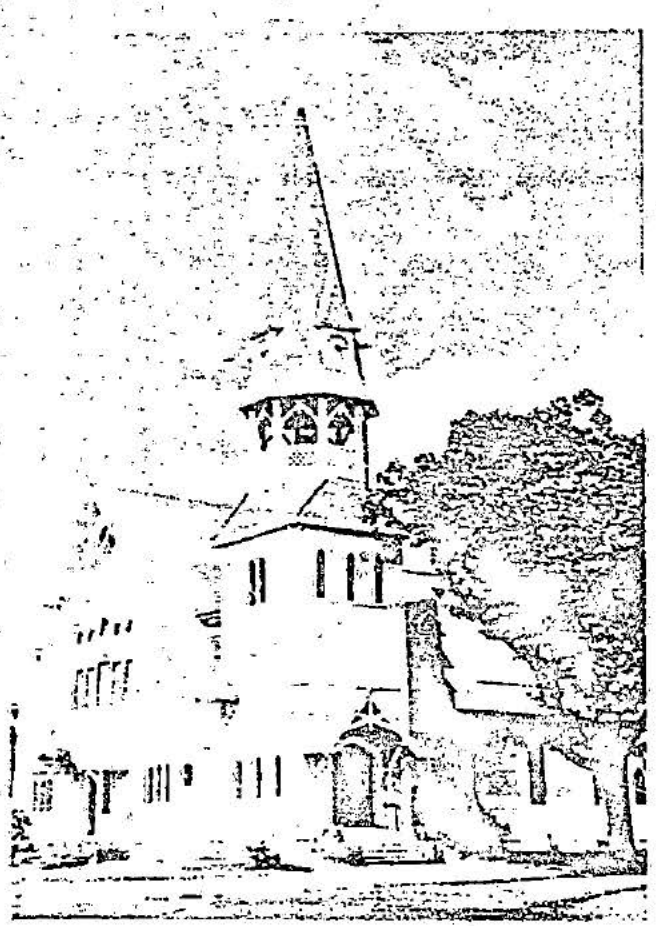


Fig. 55 First Unitarian Church, Stoneham, Mass., 1869.

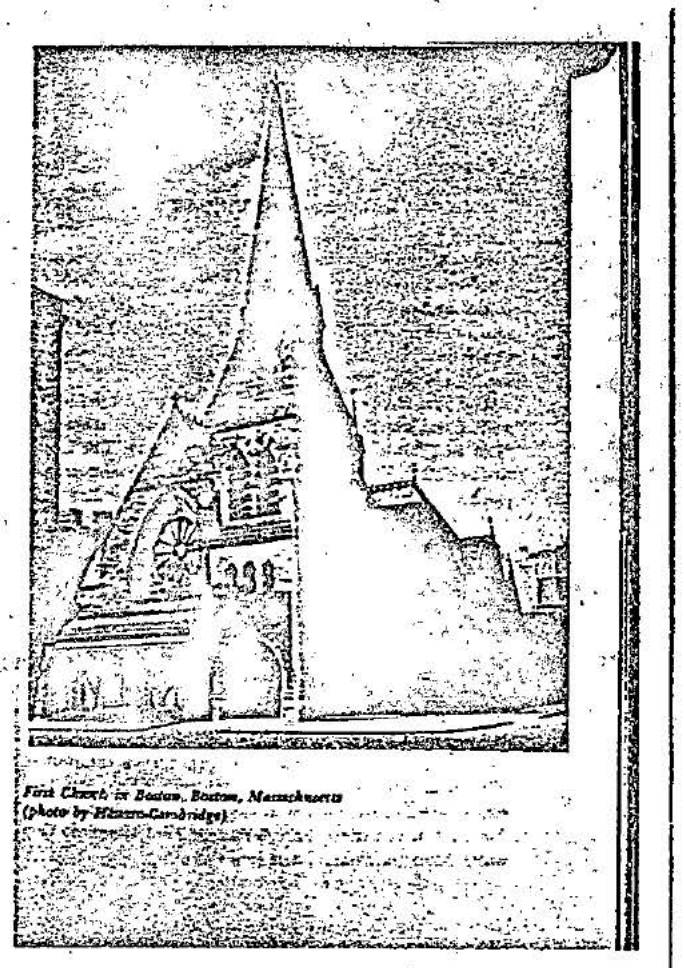


Fig. 56 First Church, Boston, 1867

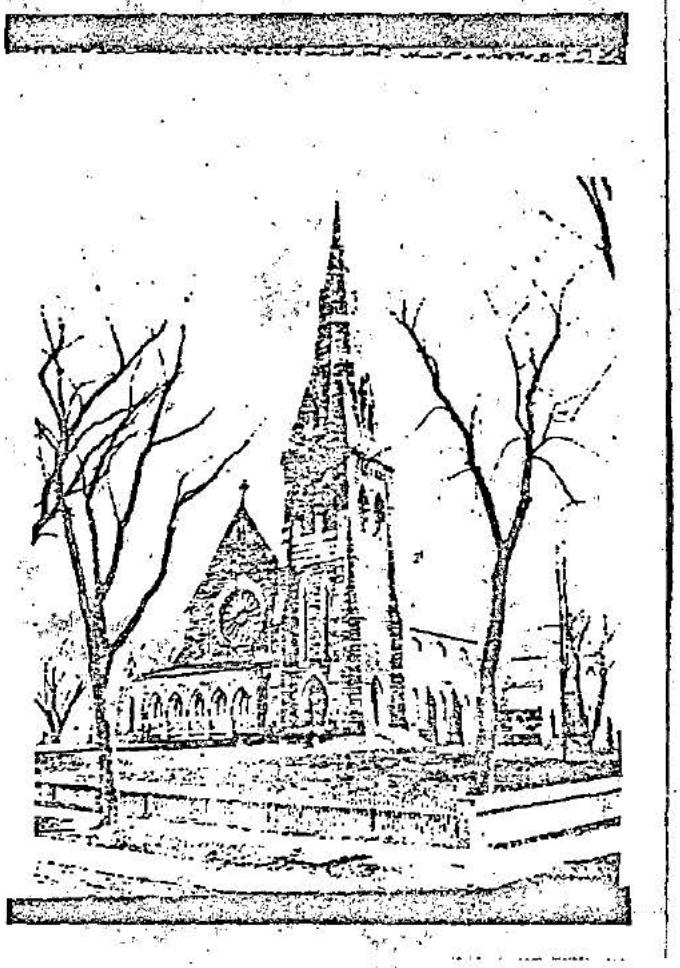


Fig. 57 Unity Church, Springfield, Mass., 1866-69

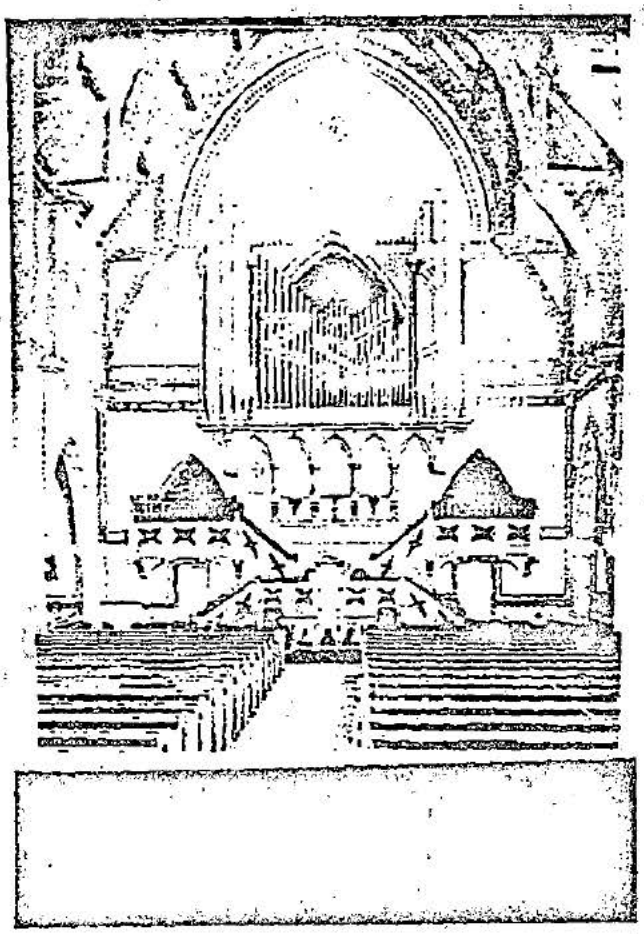


Fig. 58 Interior of Unity Church, Springfield, Mass.,

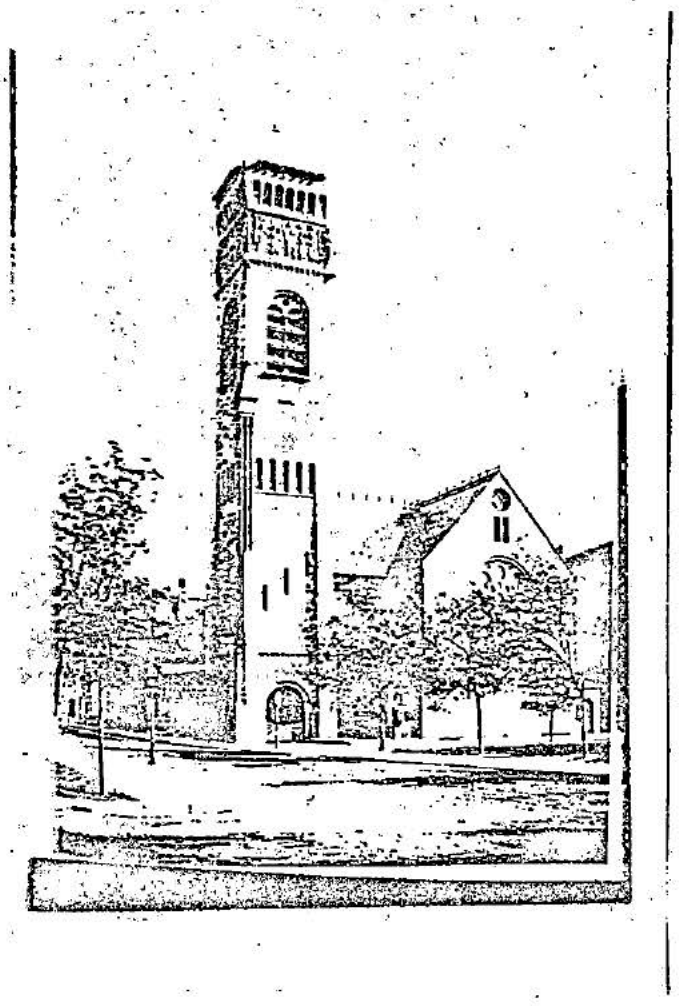
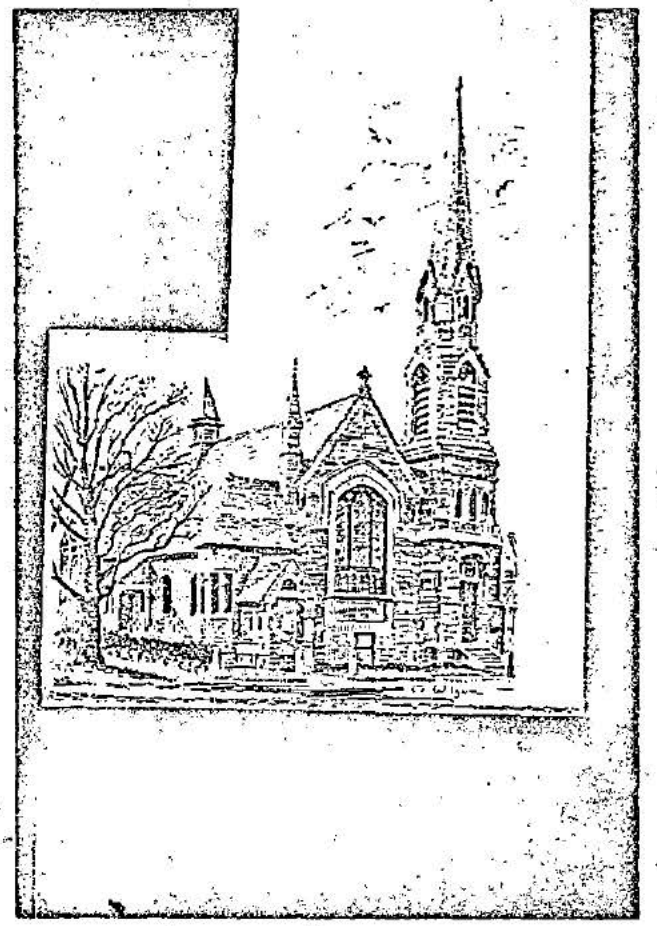
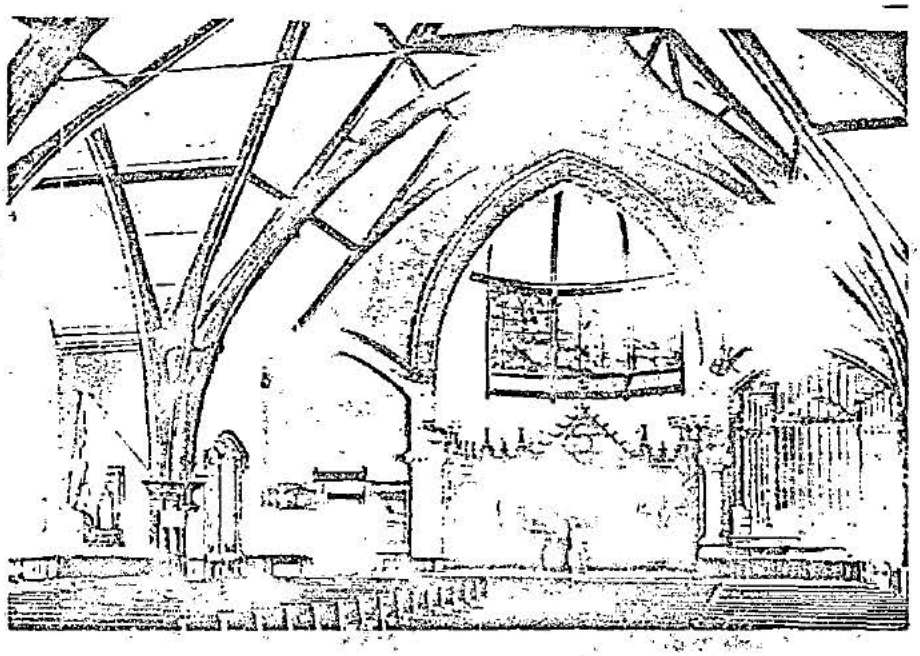


Fig. 59 Brattle Square Church, Boston, 1870-72



Figs. 60 & 61
Channing Memorial
Church, Newport, R.I.
1880-81



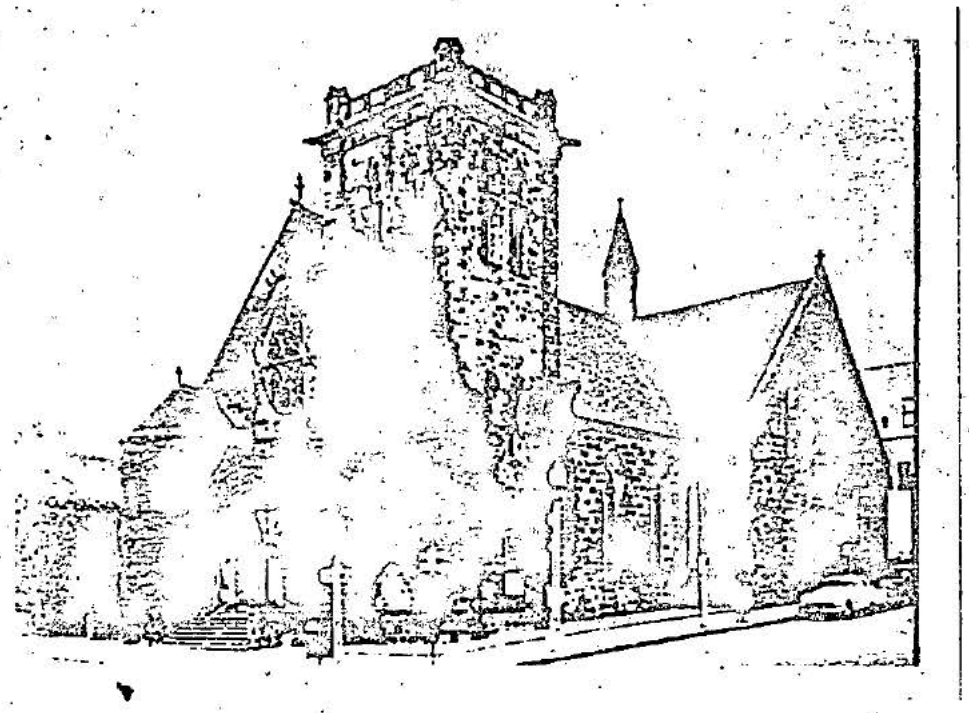


Fig. 62 First Unitarian Church, San Francisco, 1889.

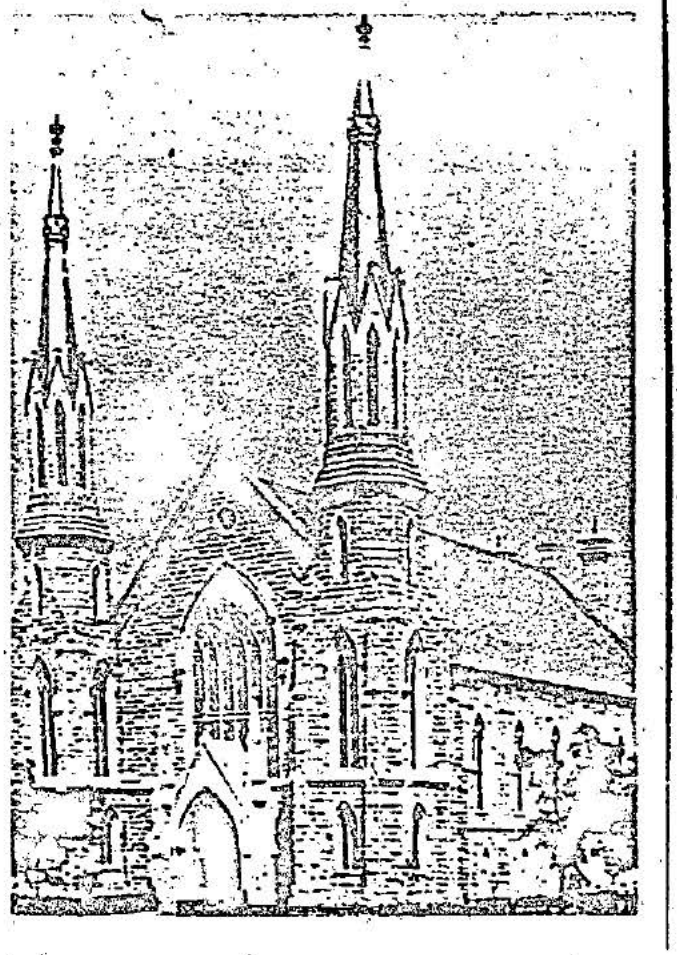


Fig. 63 Unity Church, Chicago, 1869.

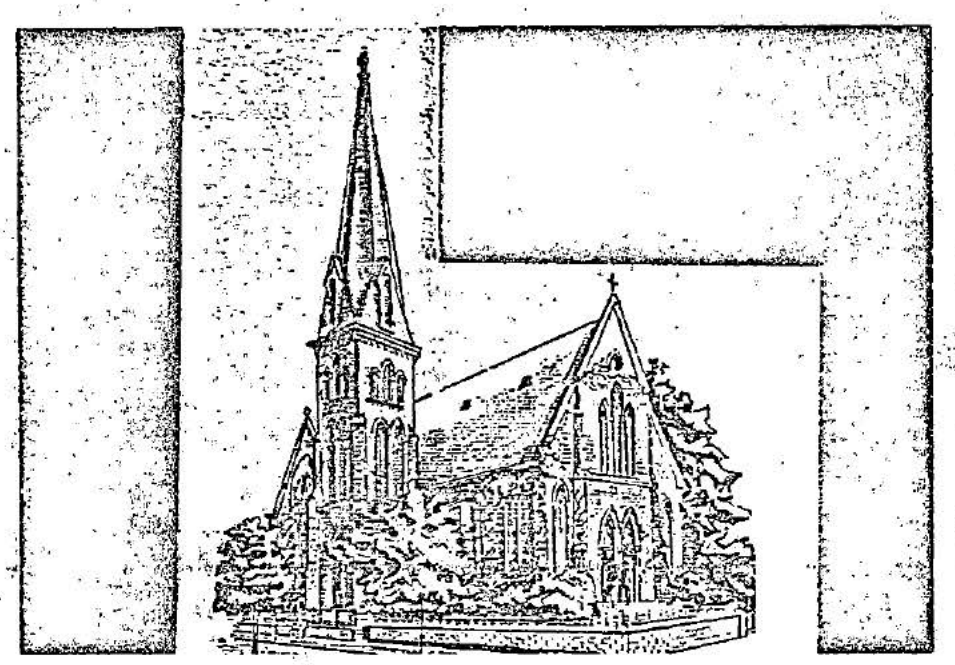


Fig. 64 First Unitarian Church, Louisville, Kentucky, 1871.

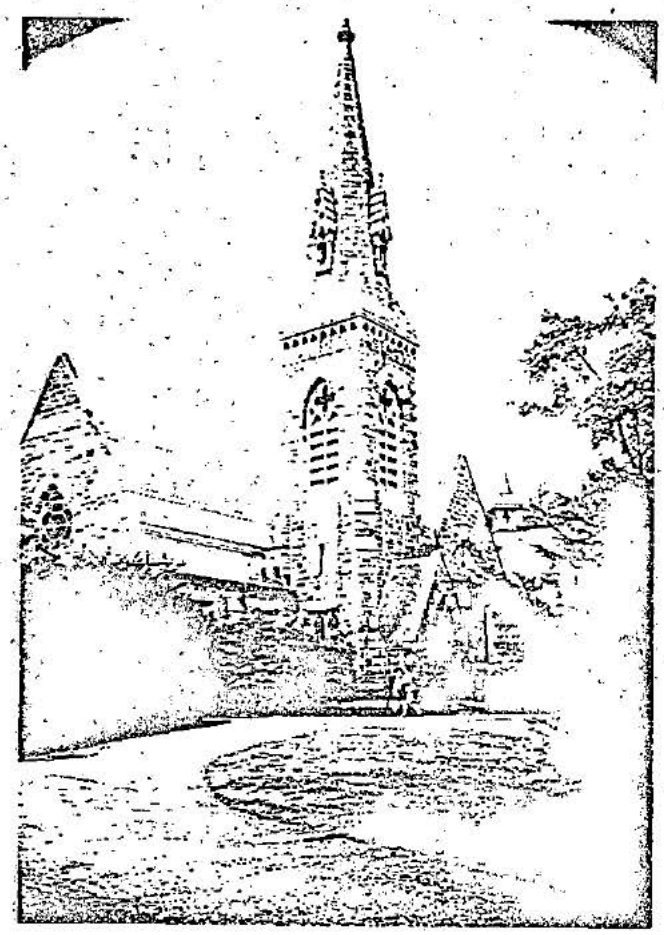


Fig. 65 Unity Church, North Easton, Mass., 1873-75

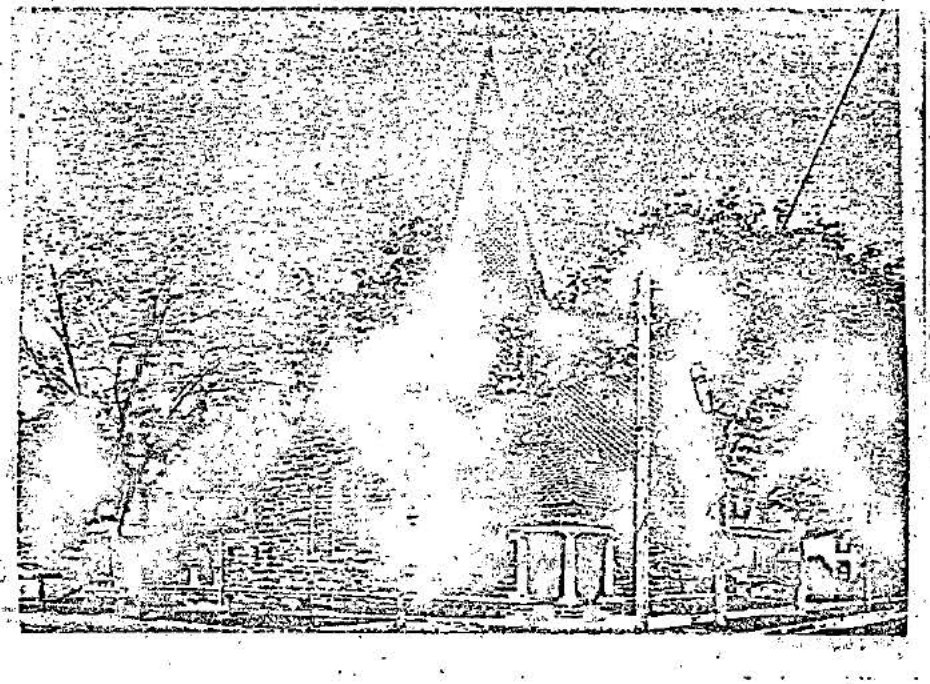


Fig. 66 First Unitarian Church, Ithica, N.Y., 1893.

Fig. 67 First Church, Brookline, Mass., 1891-93

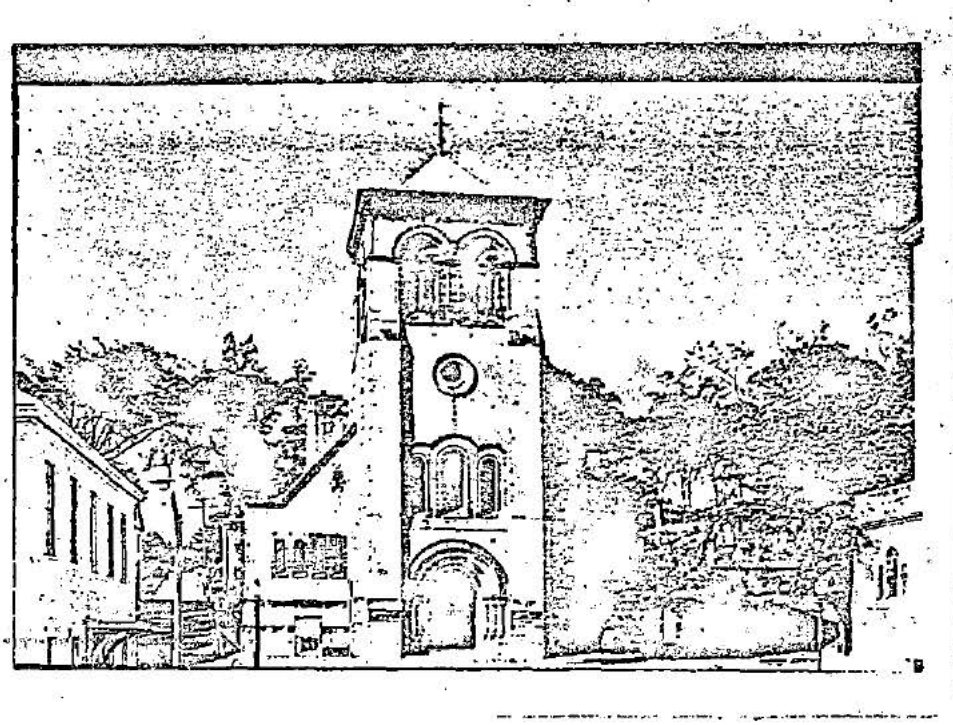
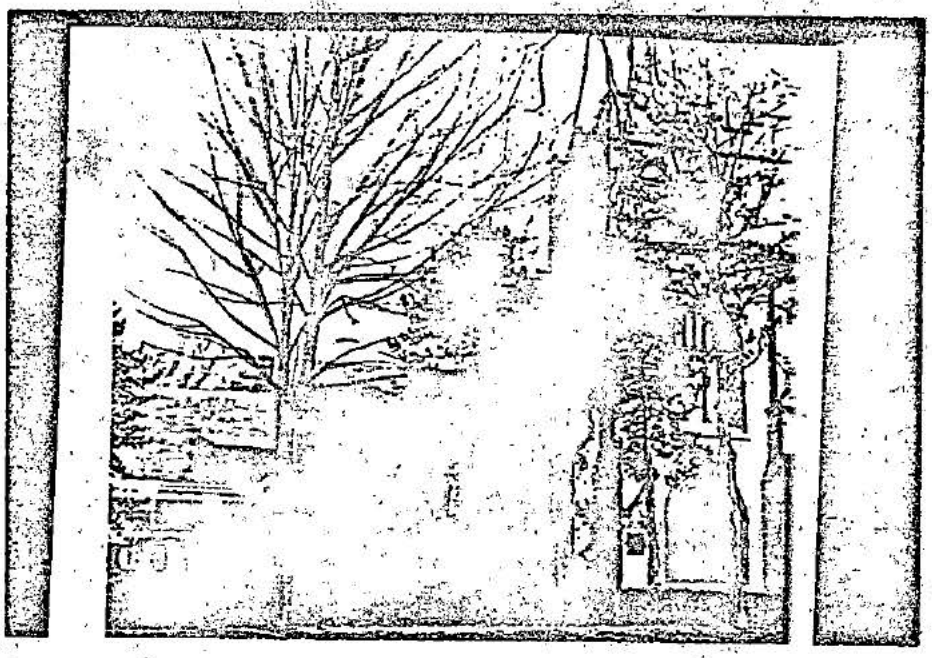
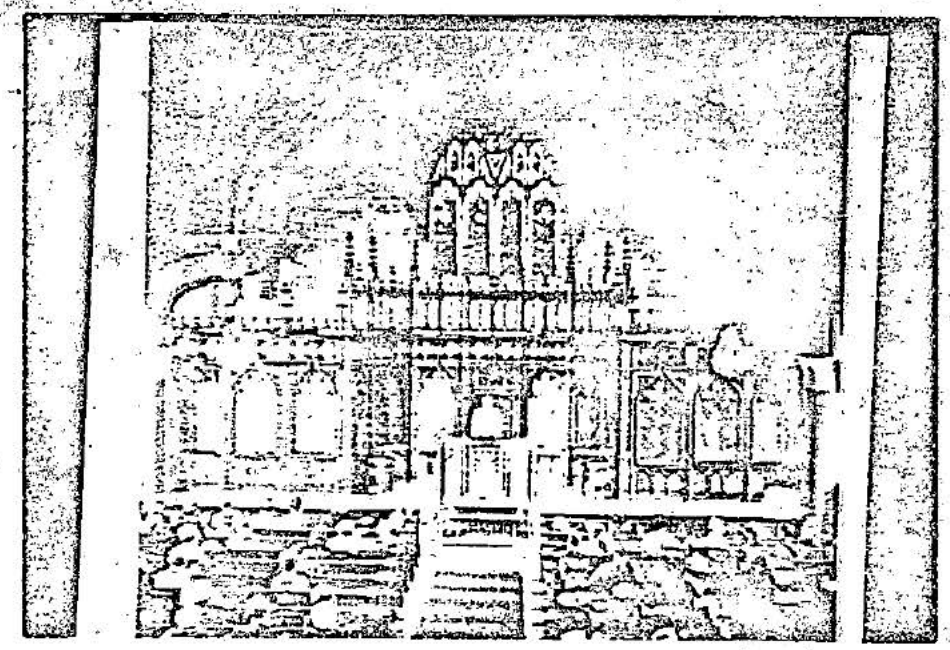


Fig. 68 First Parish, Plymouth, Mass., 1896-99





Figs. 69 & 70 Unitarian Church, Buffalo, N.Y., 1904.

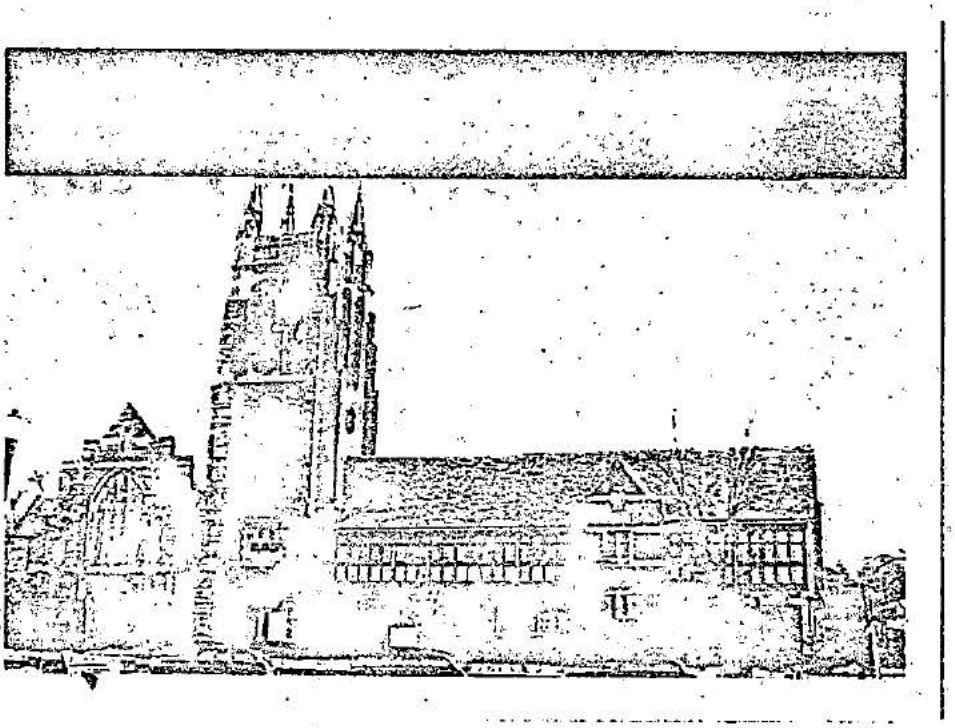


Fig. 71 First Unitarian Church, West Newton, Mass., 1906.

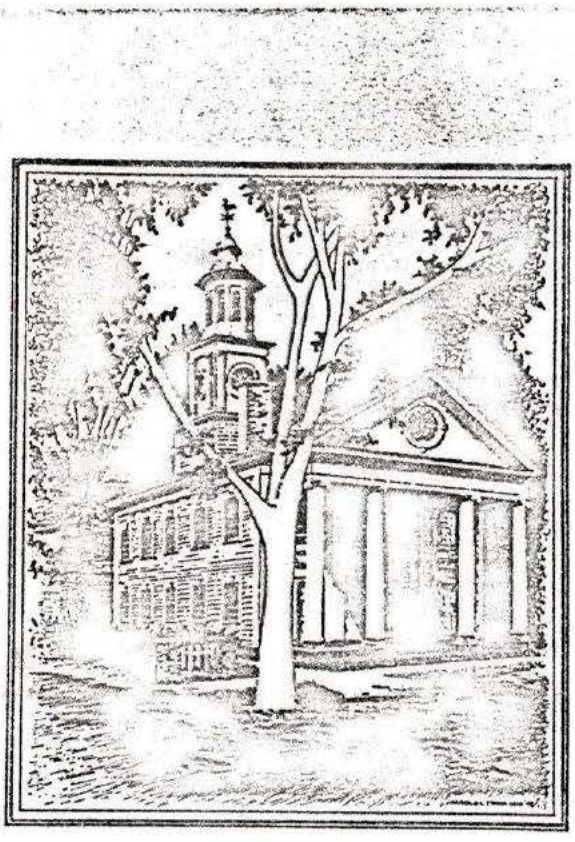


Fig. 72 Unitarian Church, Summit, N.J., 1913.

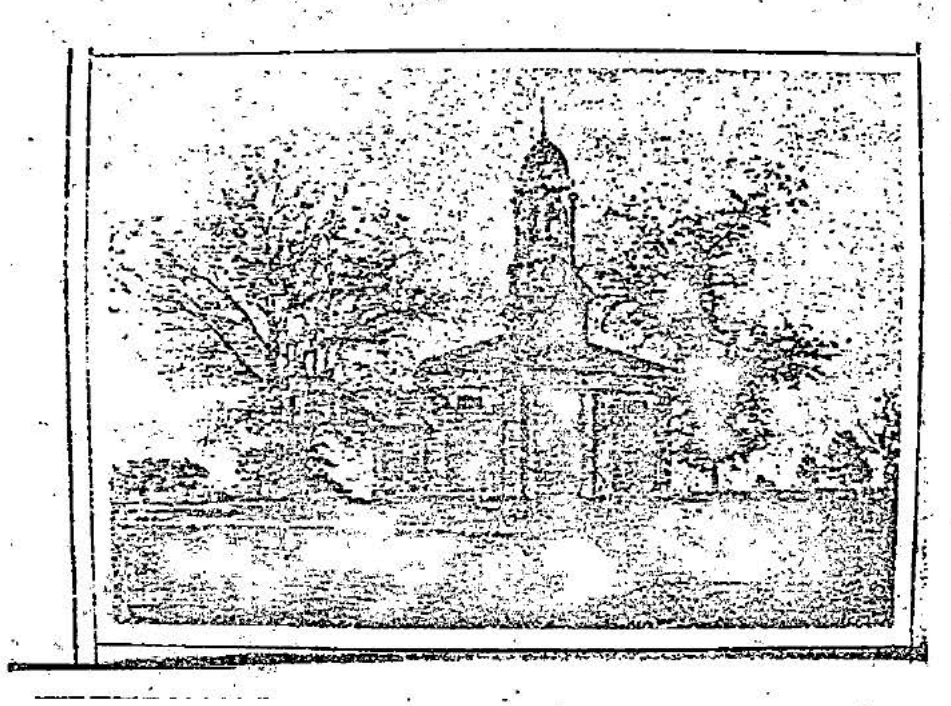


Fig. 73 Unitarian Church, Barnstable, Mass., 1907

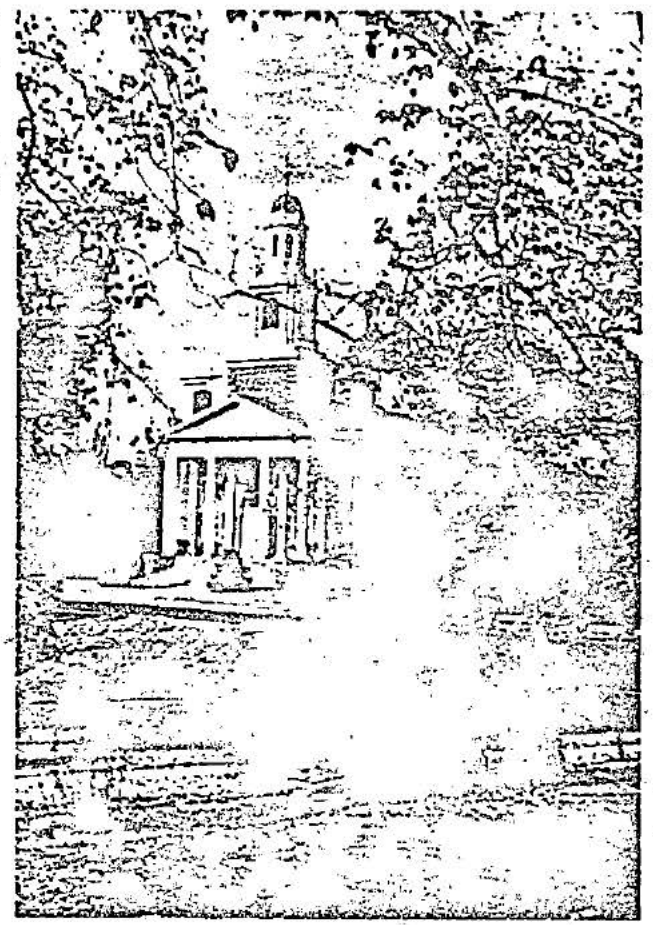


Fig. 74 First Unitarian Church, Omaha, Nebraska, 1918.

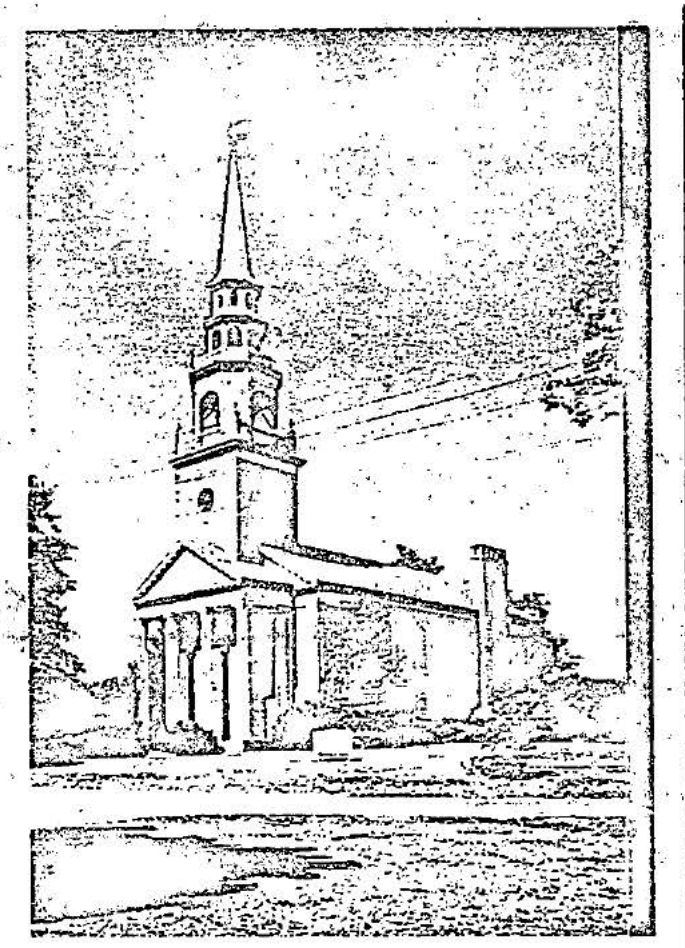


Fig. 75 First Parish, Framingham, Mass., 1924.

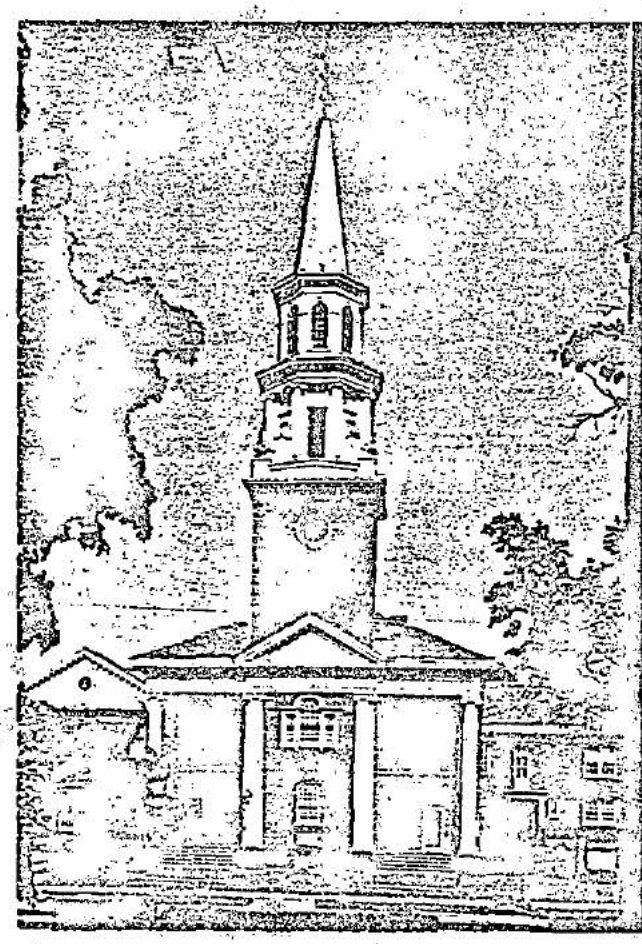


Fig. 76 First Unitarian Church, Toledo, Ohio, 1923.

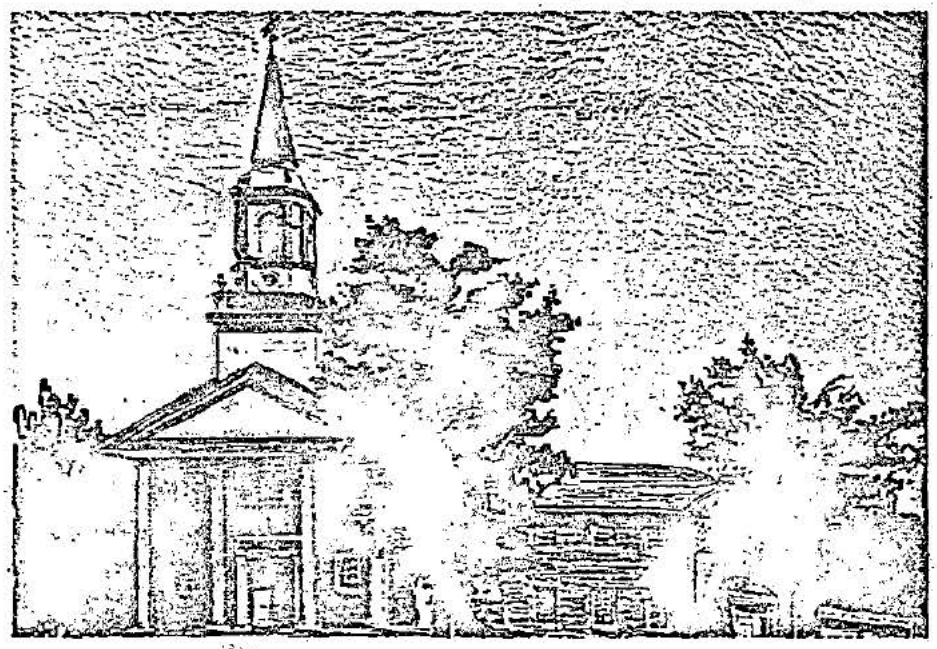


Fig. 77 First Unitarian Church, Salt Lake City, Utah, 1927.

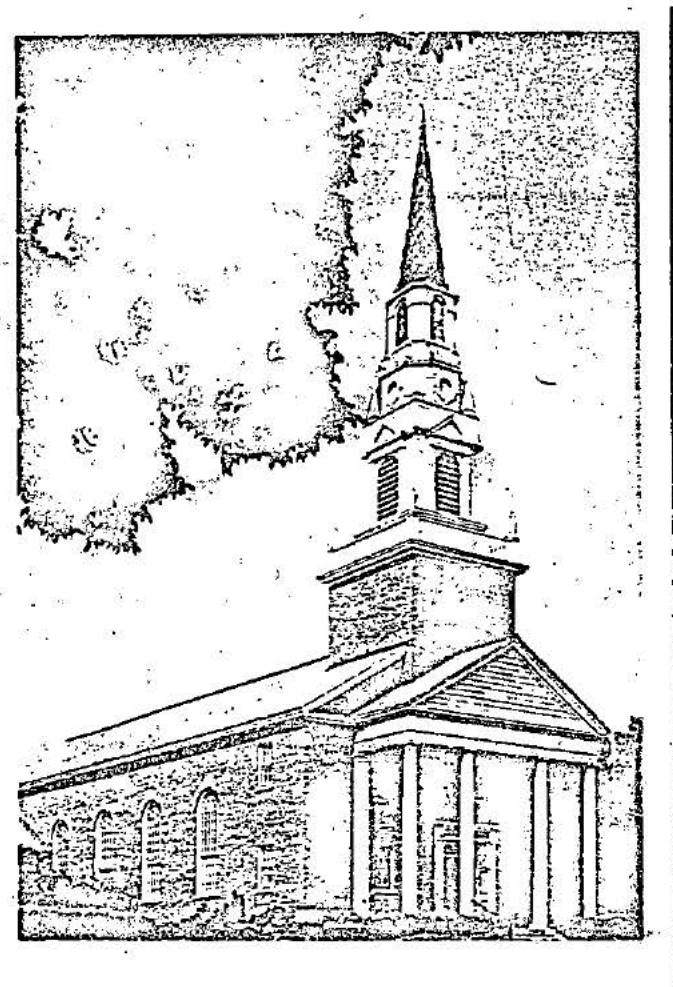


Fig. 78 First Unitarian Church, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, 1928.

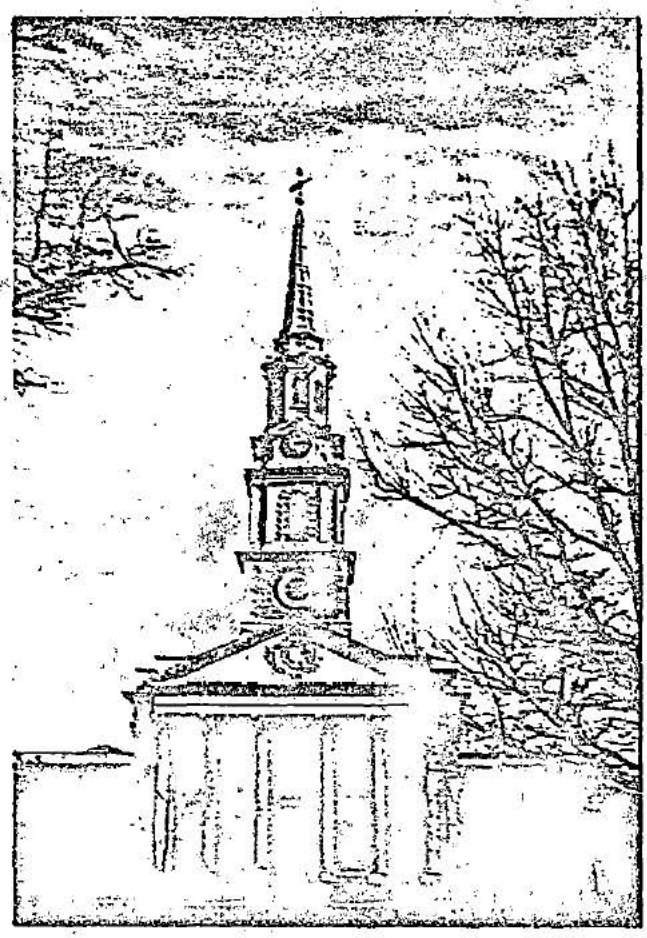


Fig. 79 All Souls Church, Washington, D.C., 1921-24.

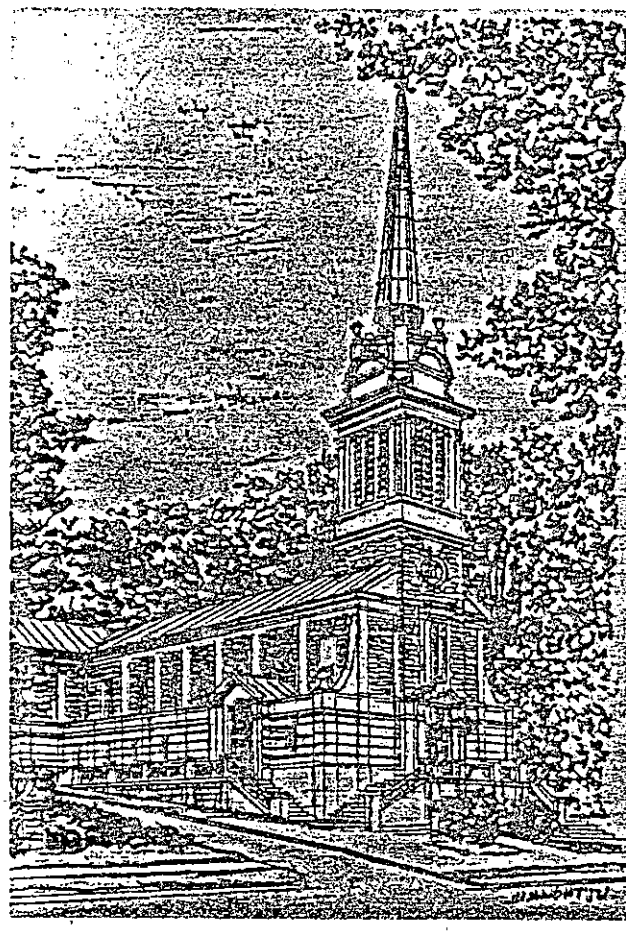


Fig. 80 Unitarian Church of Germantown, Philadelphia, Penn., 1926-28

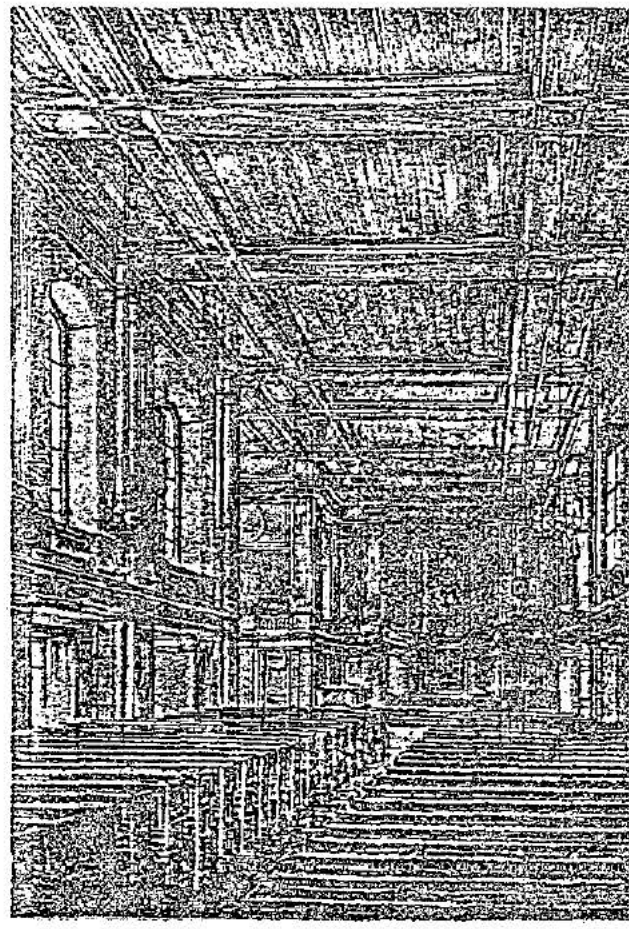
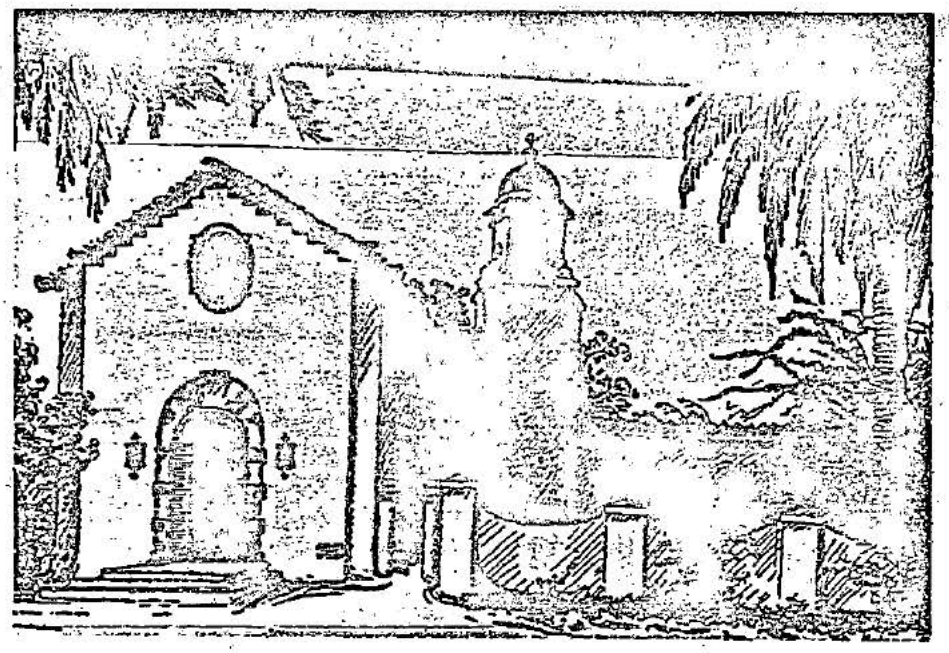
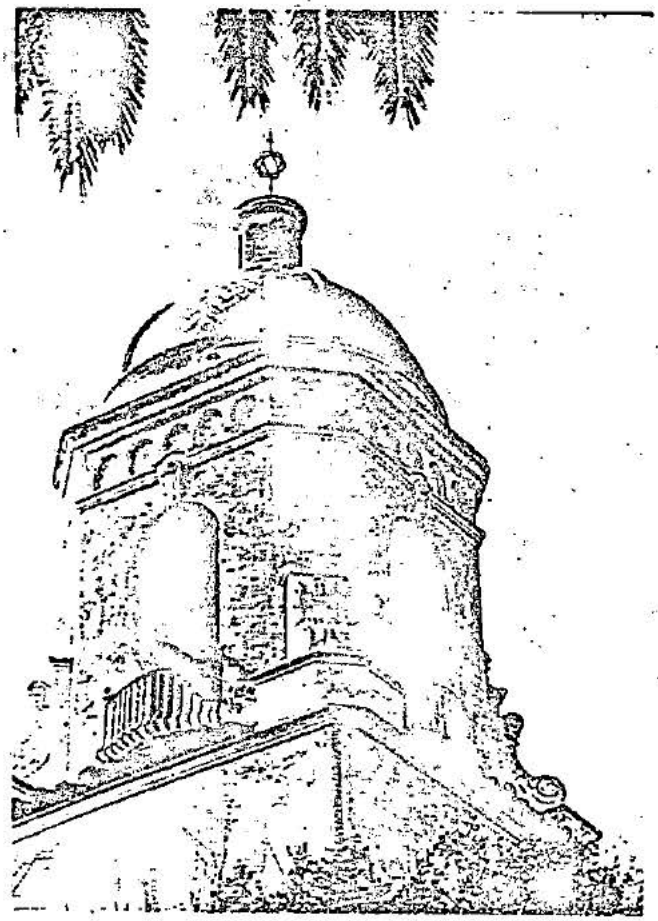
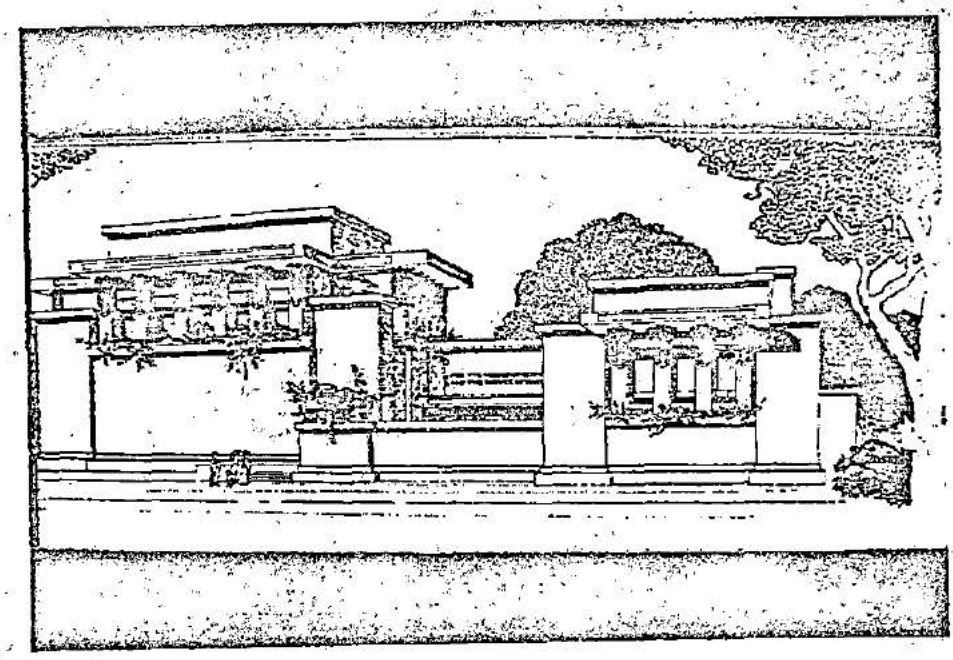


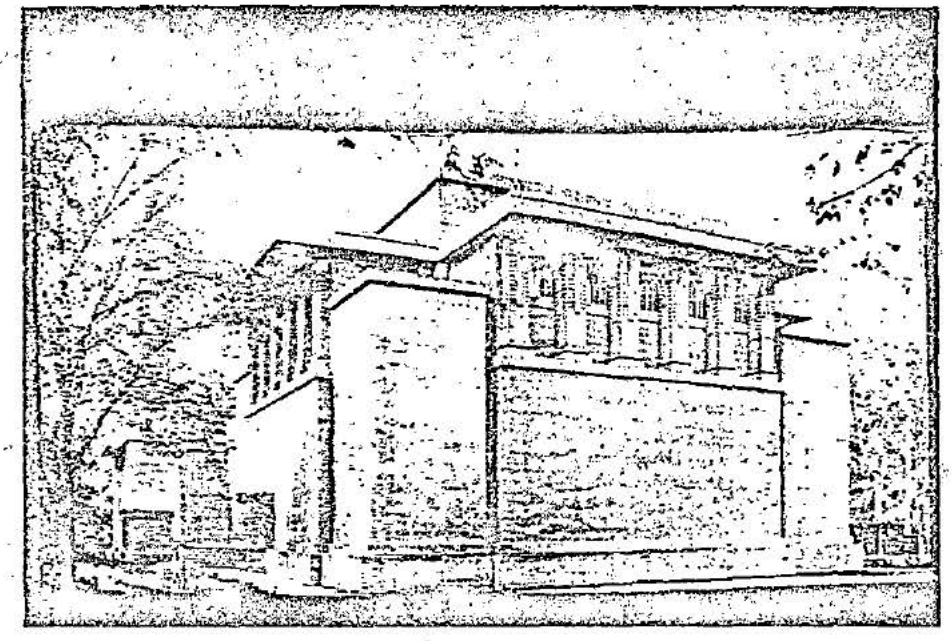
Fig. 81 Interior, Unitarian Church of Germantown, Philadelphia, Penn.





Figs.82 & 83
Unitarian Church,
Santa Barbara, Calif.,
1930





Figs. 84 & 85 Unity Temple, Oak Park, Ill., 1905-06.

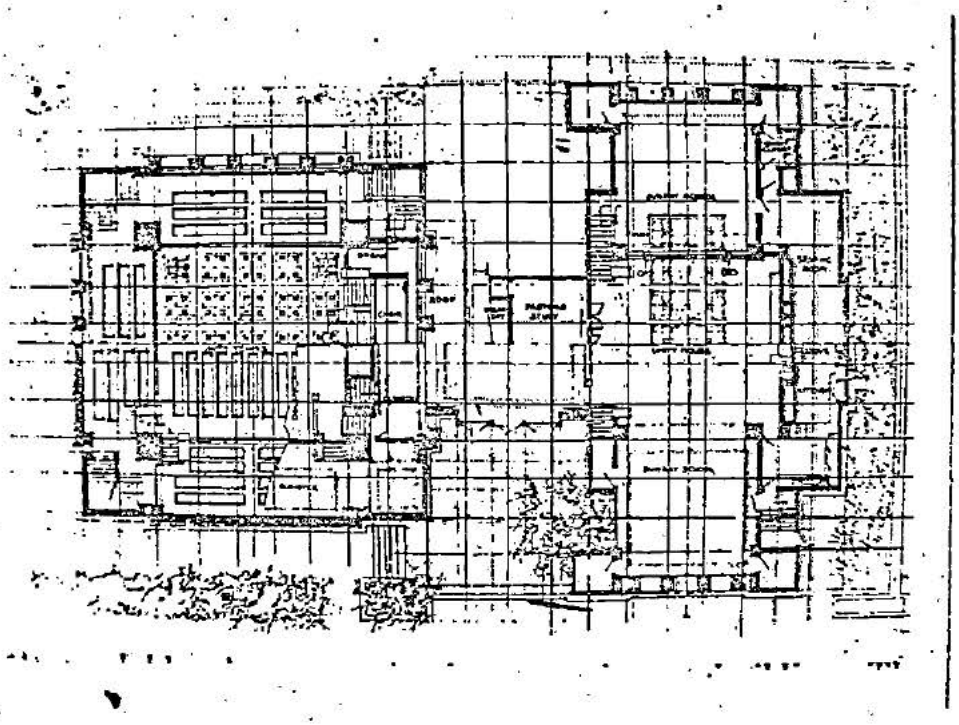


Fig. 86 Plan of Unity Temple, Oak Park, Ill.

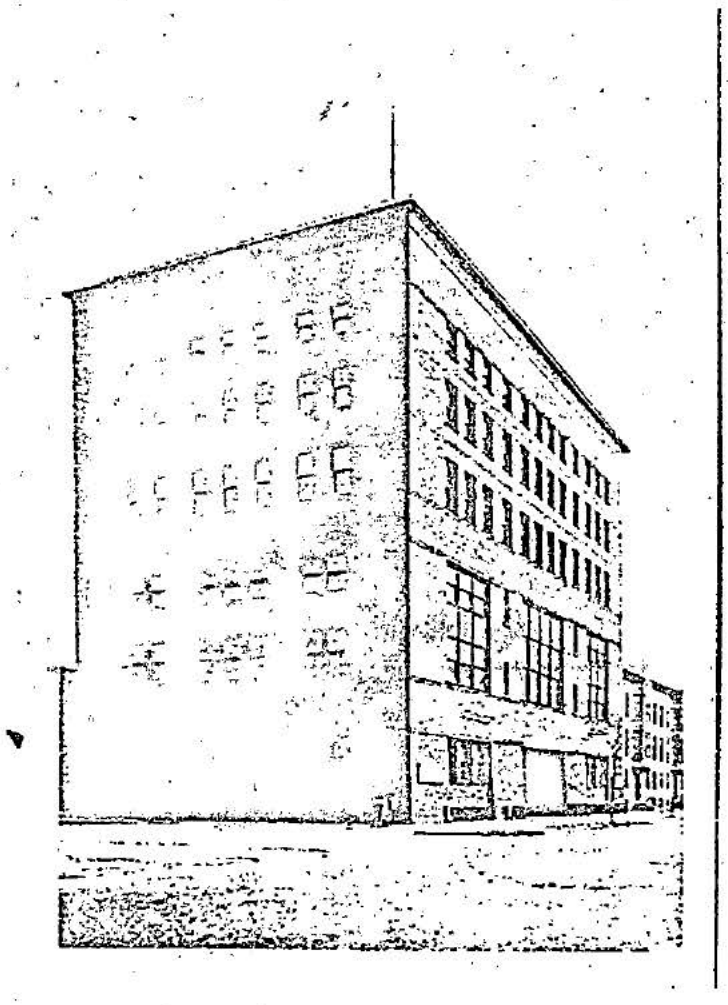


Fig. 87 Abraham Lincoln Centre, Chicago, 1905.

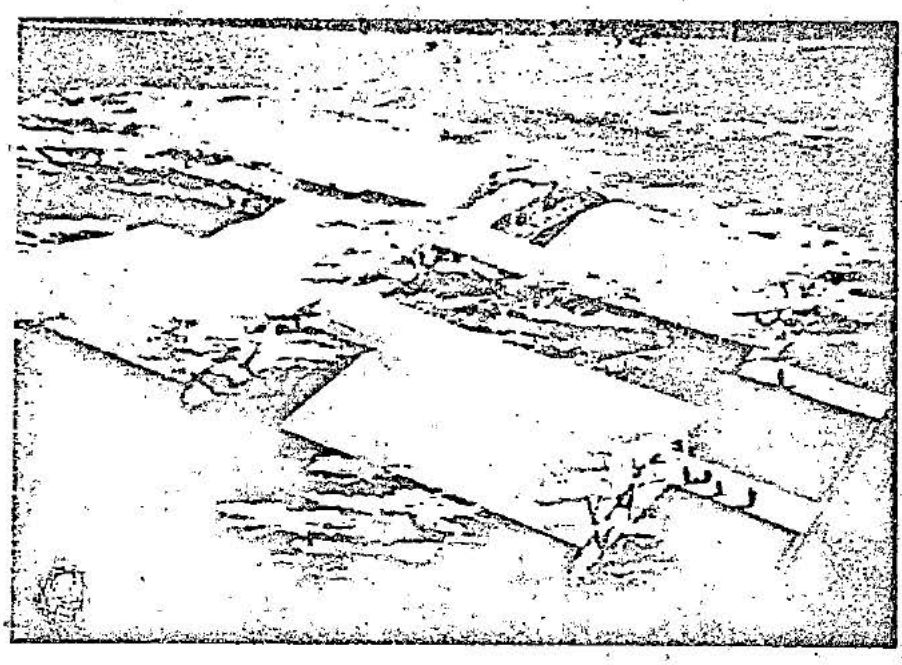


Fig. 88 First Unitarian Church, San Antonio, Texas, 1961.

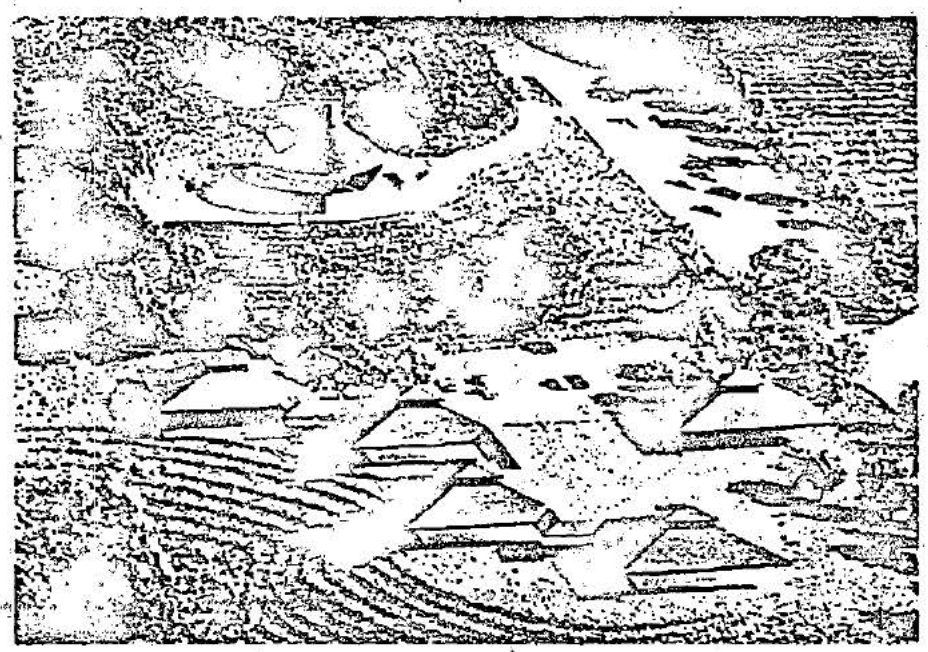
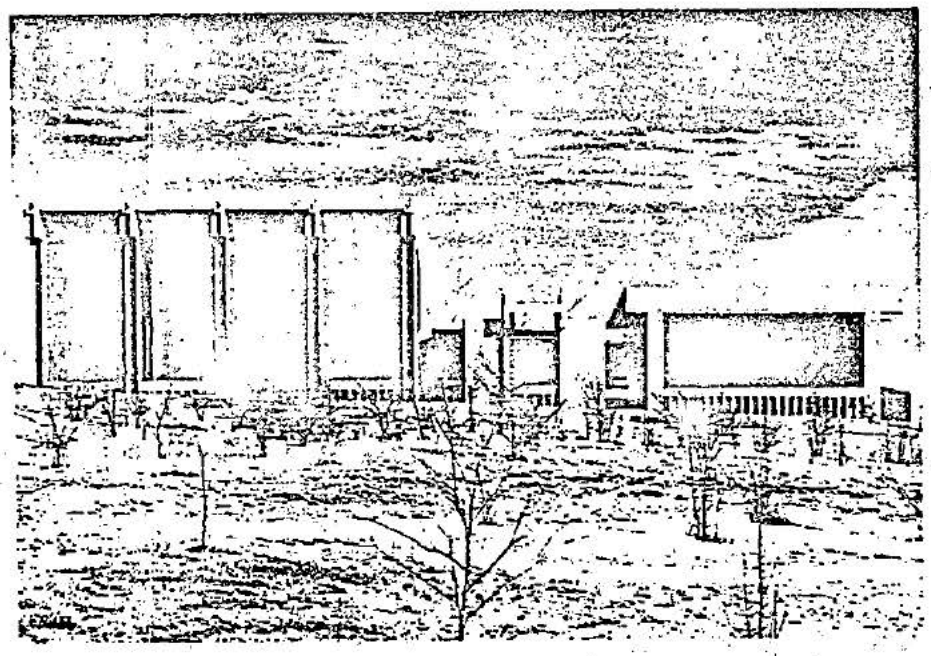
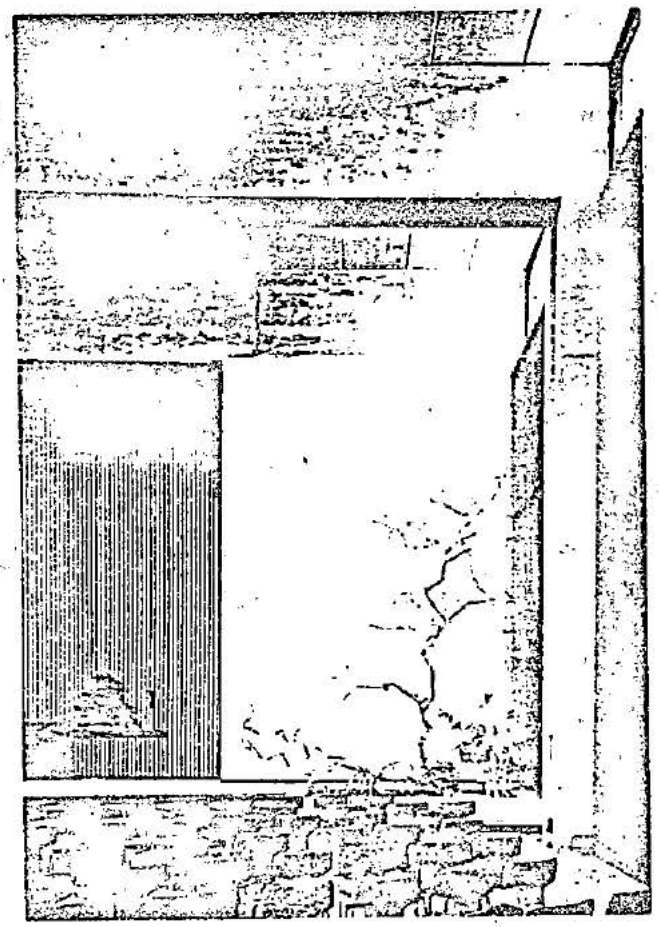


Fig. 89 Mt. Diablo Unitarian Church, Walnut Creek, Calif., 1968.





Figs. 90 & 91
Unitarian Church,
Rockford, Ill., 1965

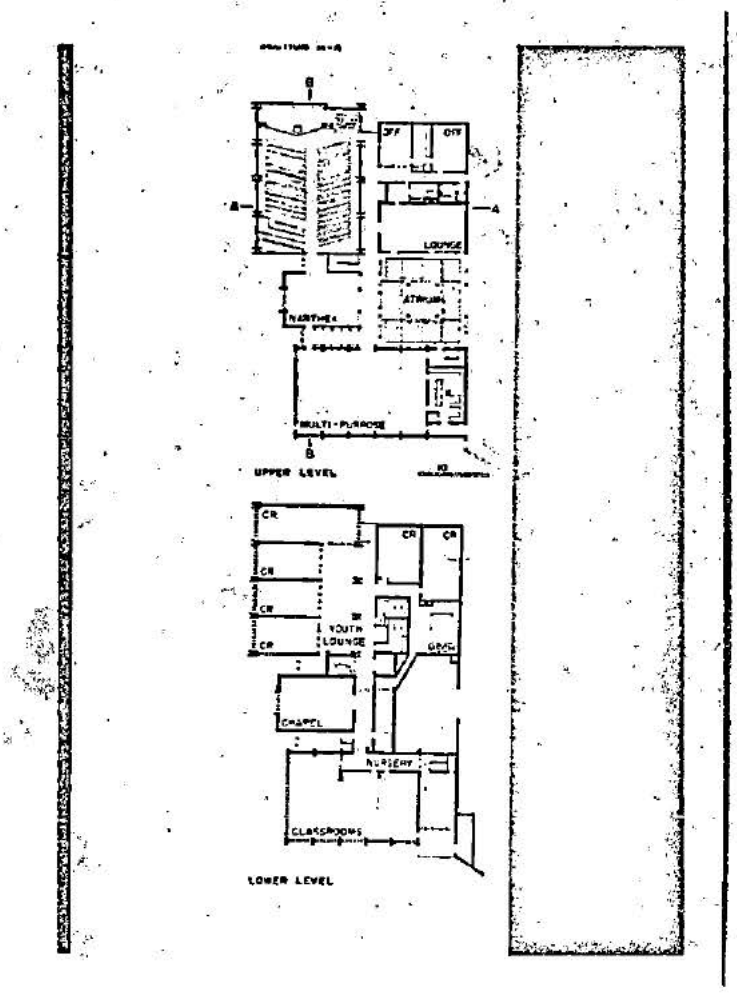
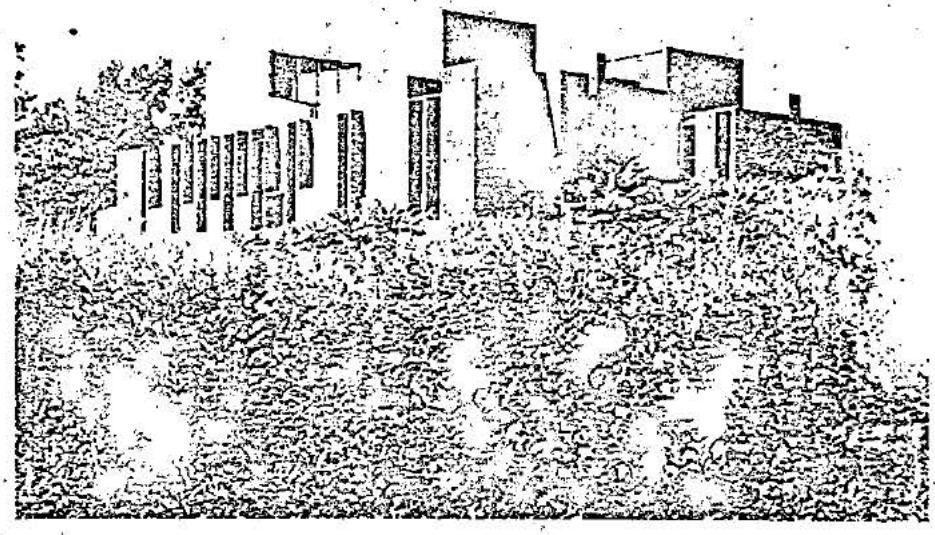
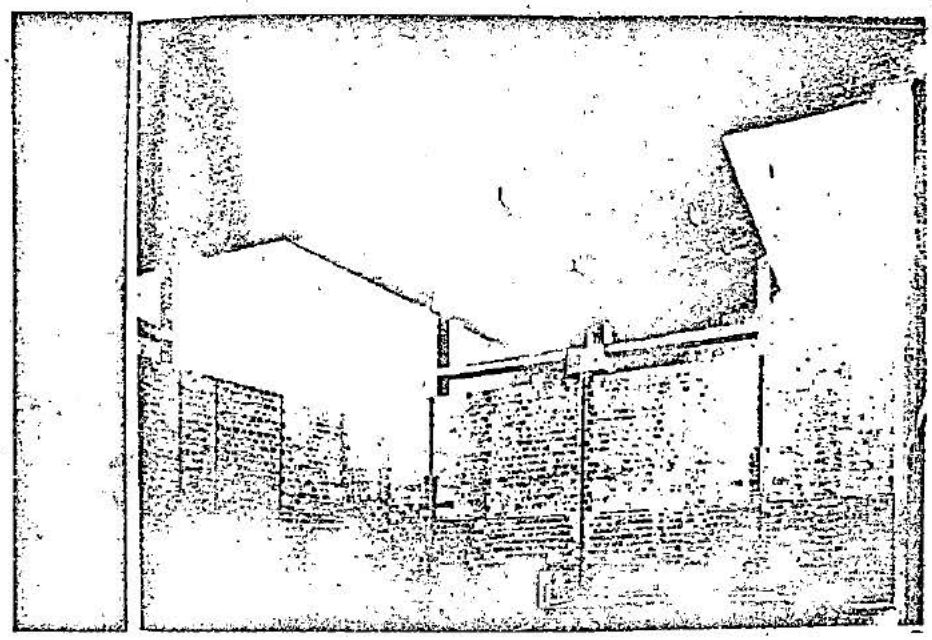


Fig. 92 Plan of Unitarian Church, Rockford, Ill.





Figs. 93 & 94 First Unitarian Church, Rochester, N.Y., 1963-64

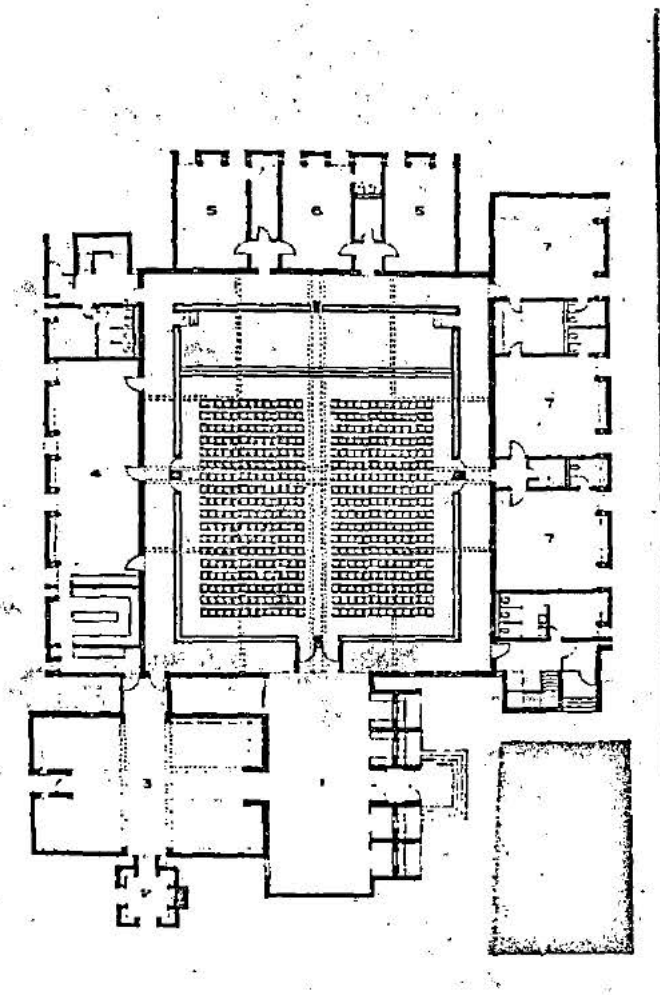


Fig. 95 Plan of First Unitarian Church, Rochester, N.Y.

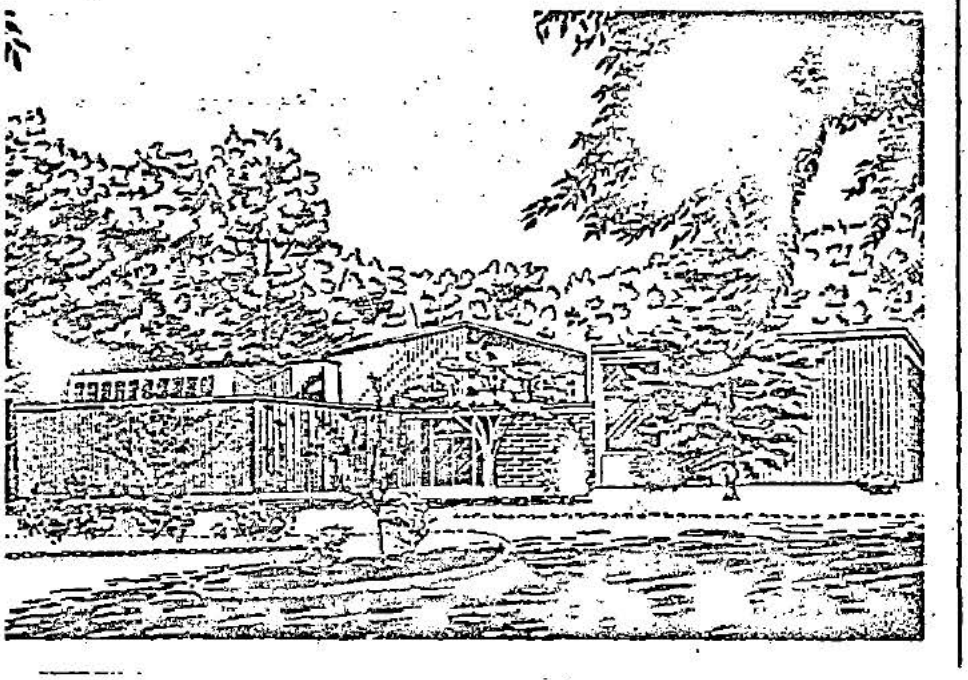
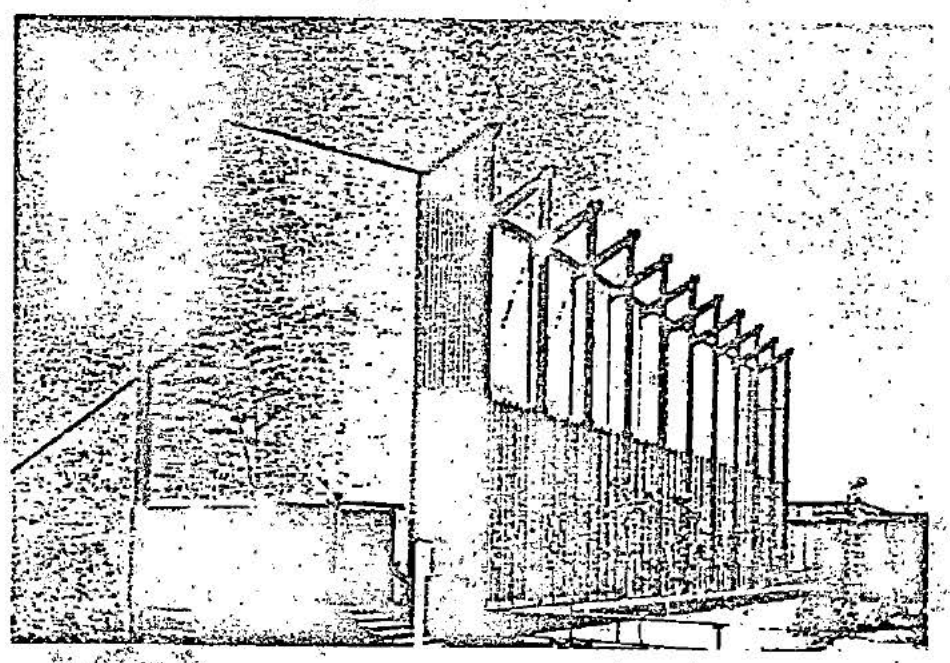
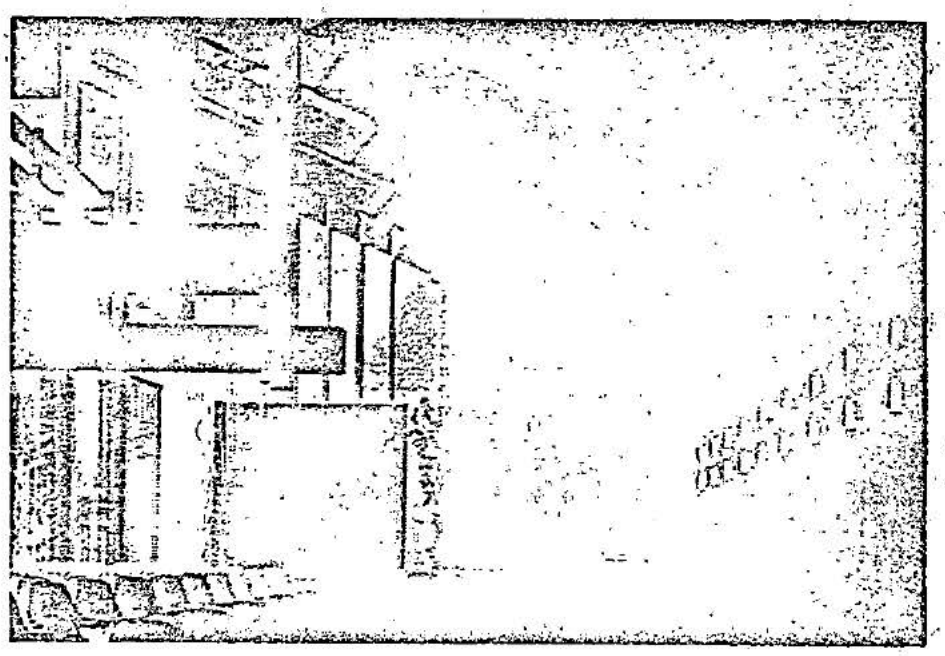
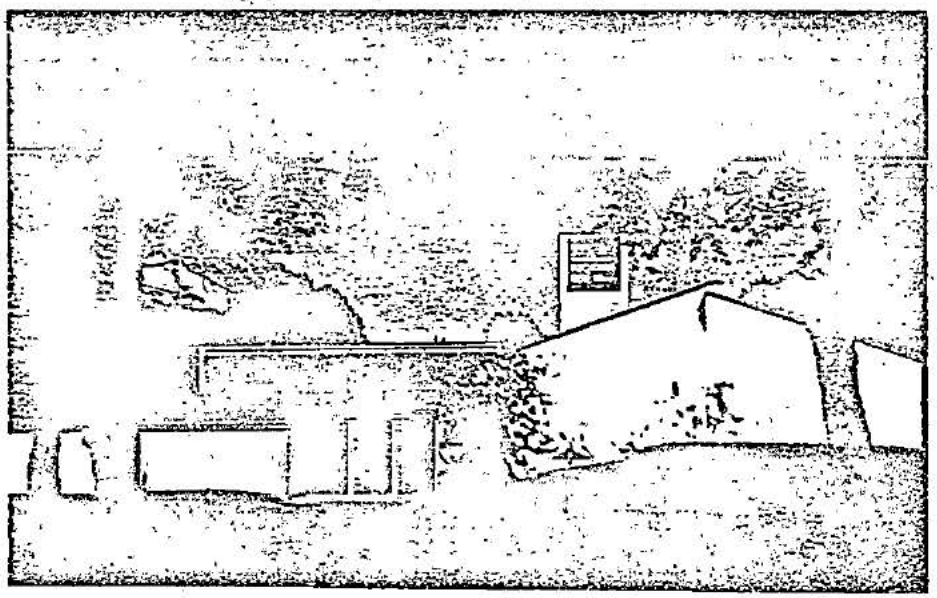


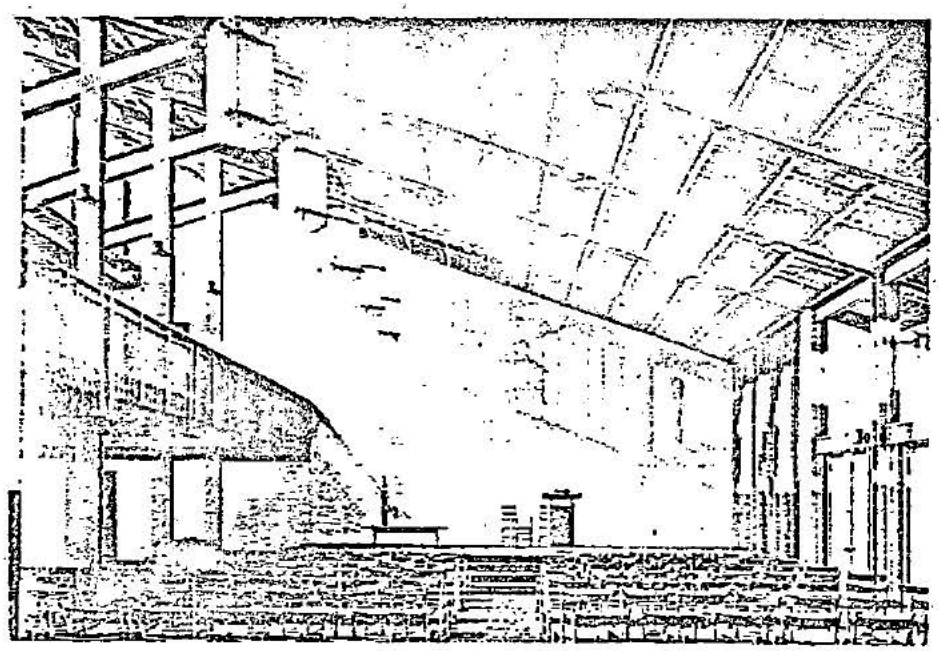
Fig. 96 North Shore Unitarian Church, Plandome, N.Y., 1955.



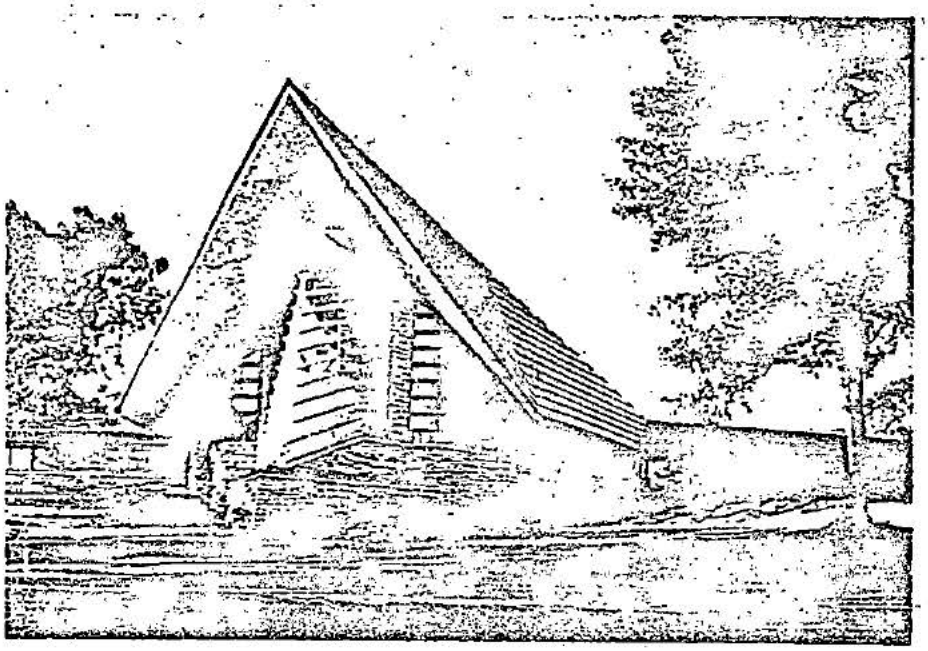


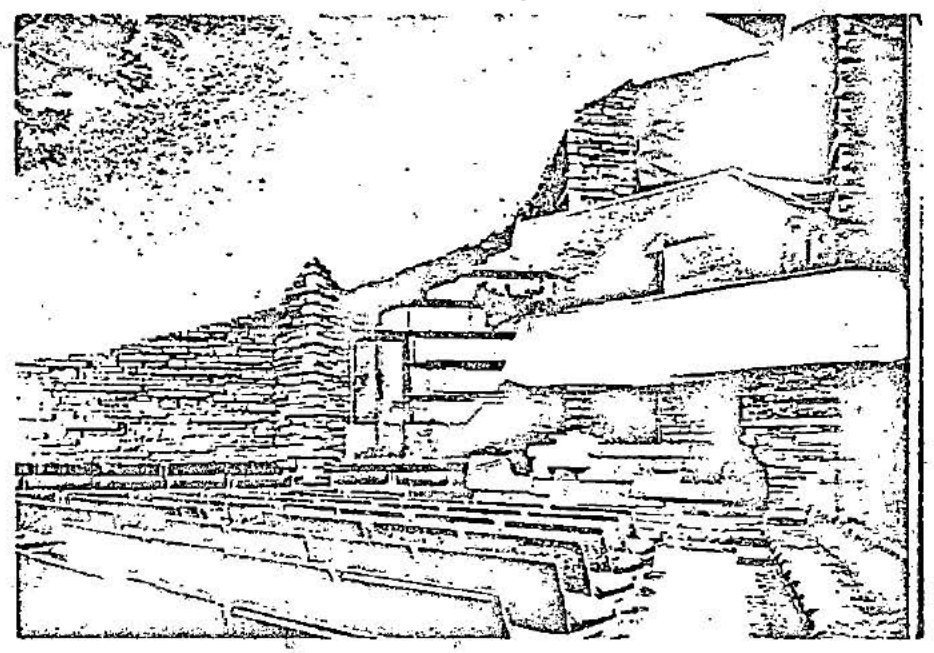
Figs. 97 & 98 University Unitarian Church, Seattle, Wash., 1958-59.





Figs. 99 & 100 River Road Unitarian Church, Bethesda, Maryland, 1965.





Figs. 101 & 102 Unitarian Church, Madison, Wisconsin, 1947-51.

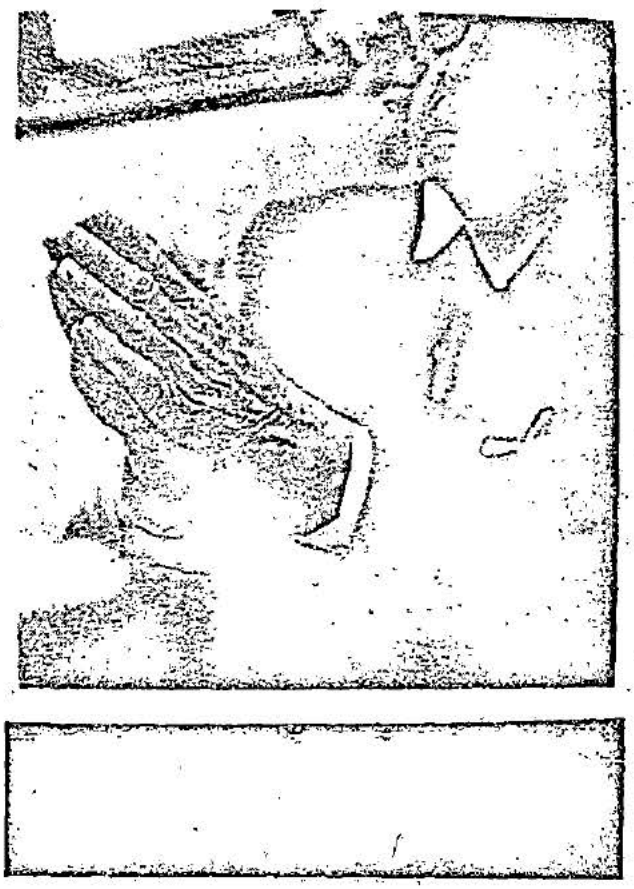
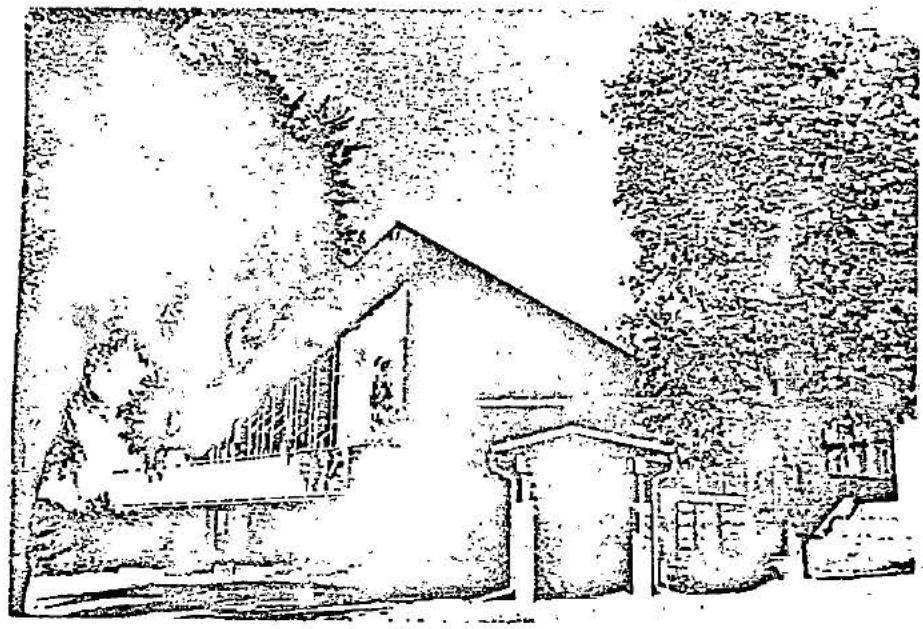
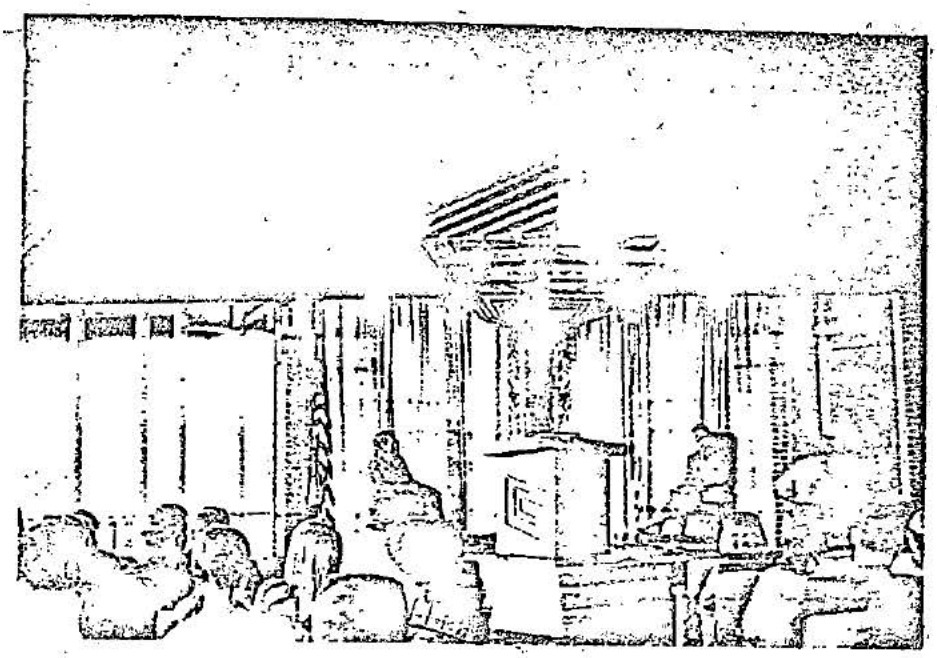


Fig. 103 Frank Lloyd Wright explaining the form of the Madison church.





Figs. 104 & 105 Unitarian Church, Davenport, Iowa, 1958.

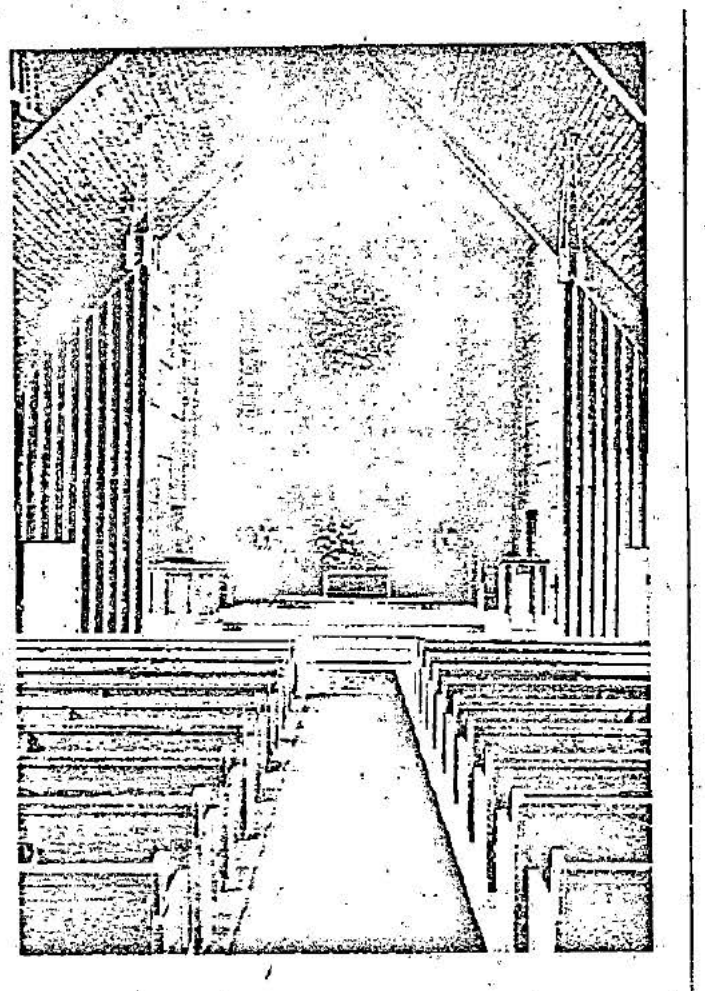
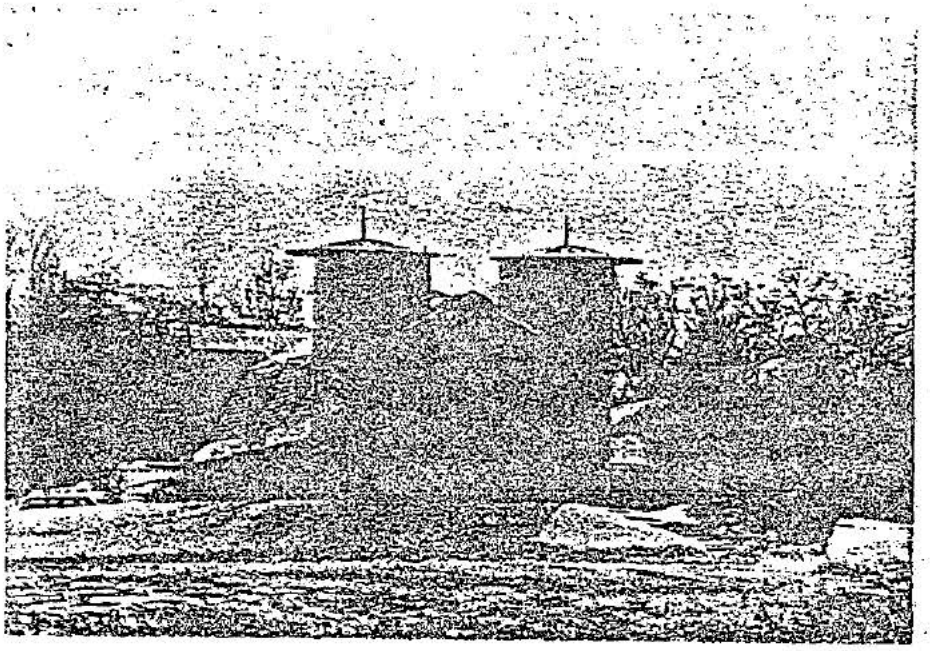
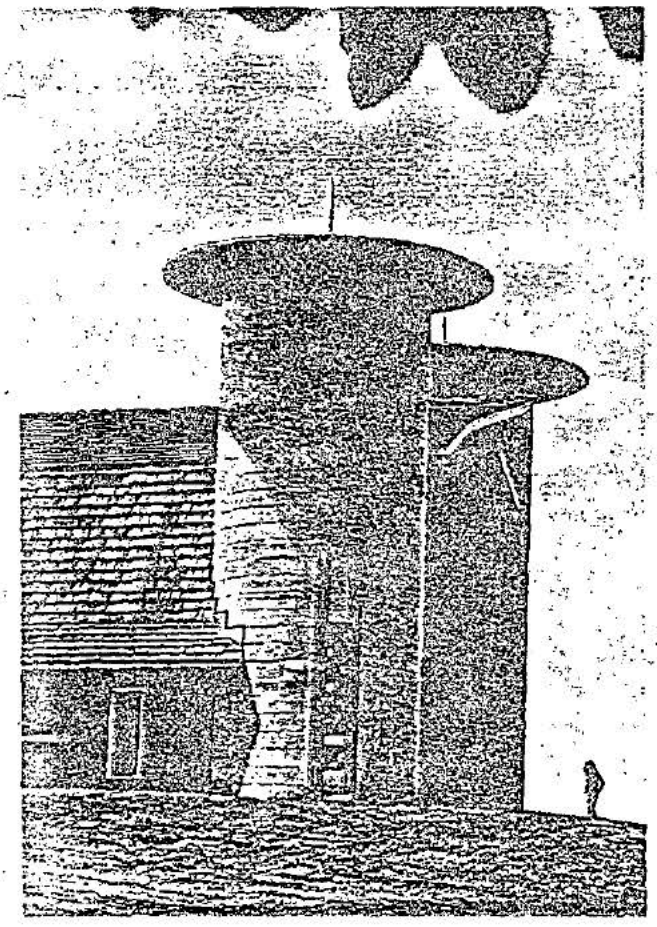
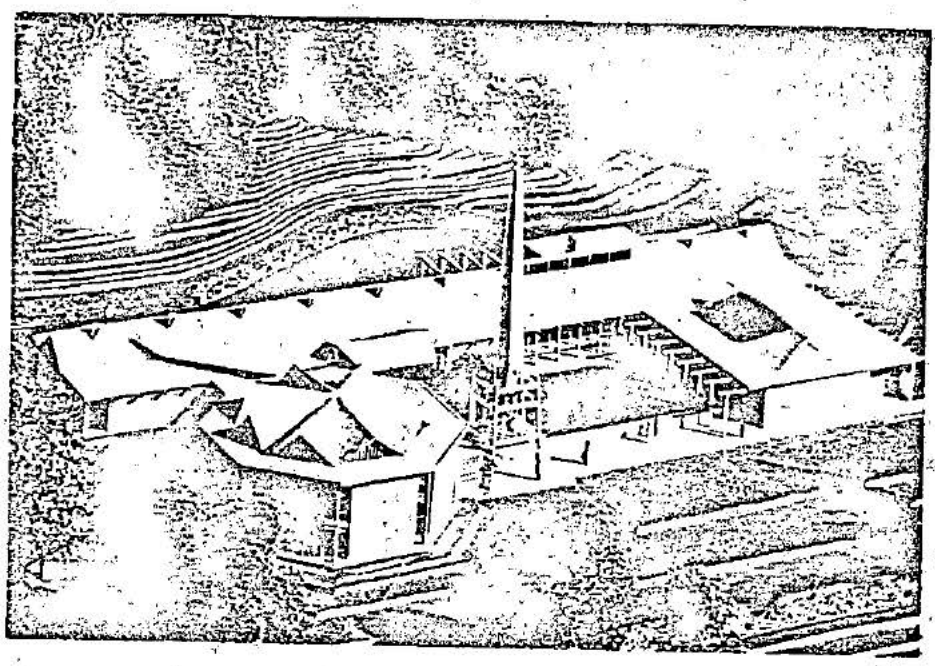


Fig. 106 Unitarian Church, Wellesley Hills, Mass., 1959-60.





Figs. 107 & 108
Unitarian Church,
North Hills, Penn.,
1960



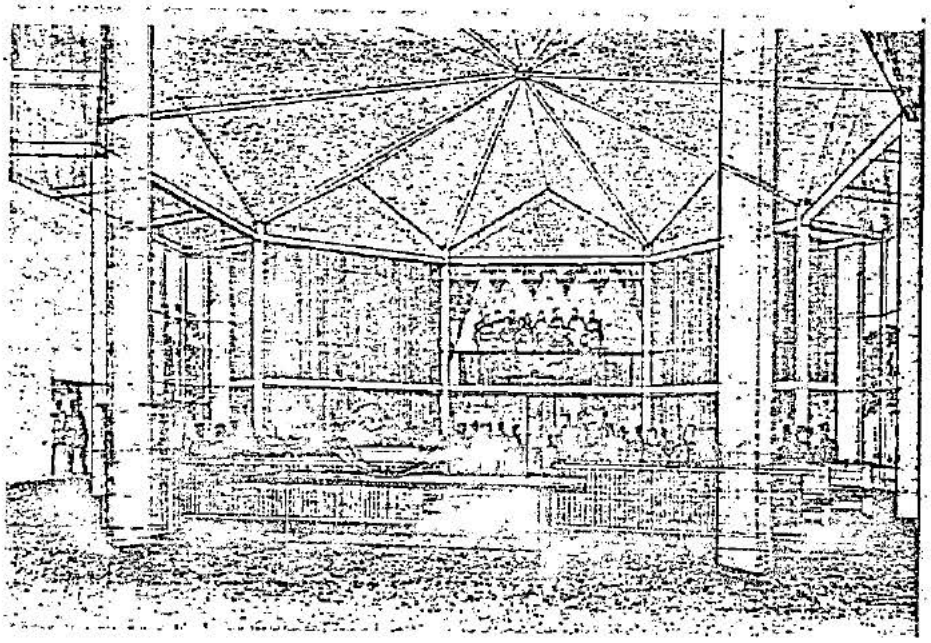


Fig. 109 & 110 Unitarian Church, Concord, Mass., 1960.

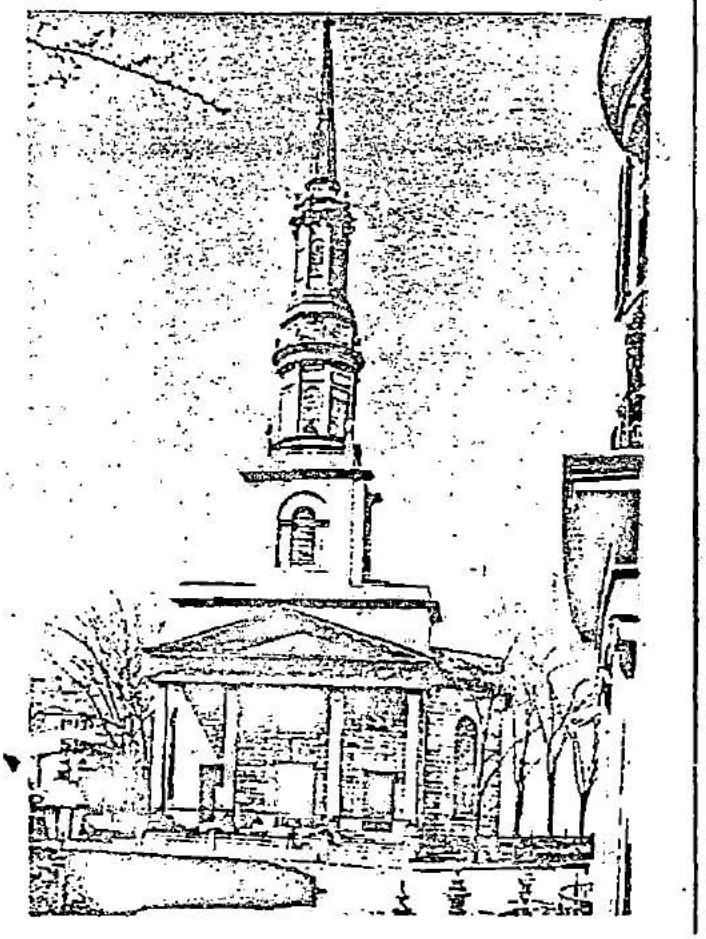


Fig. 111 New South Meeting House, Boston, 1814.

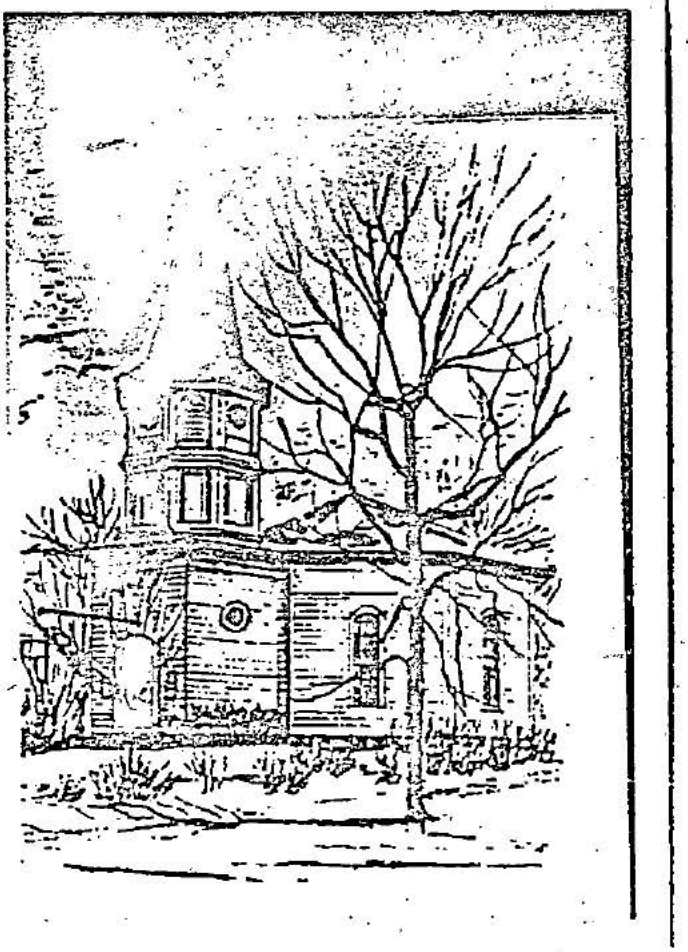


Fig. 112 Follen Community Church, Lexington, Mass., 1839.

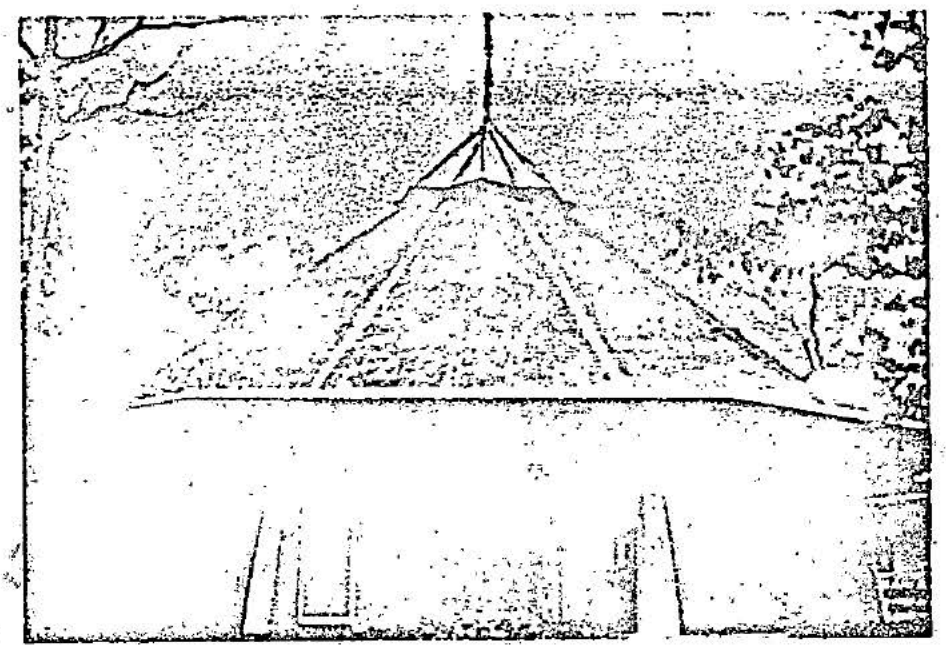


Fig. 113 Unitarian Church, Little Rock, Arkansas, 1964.

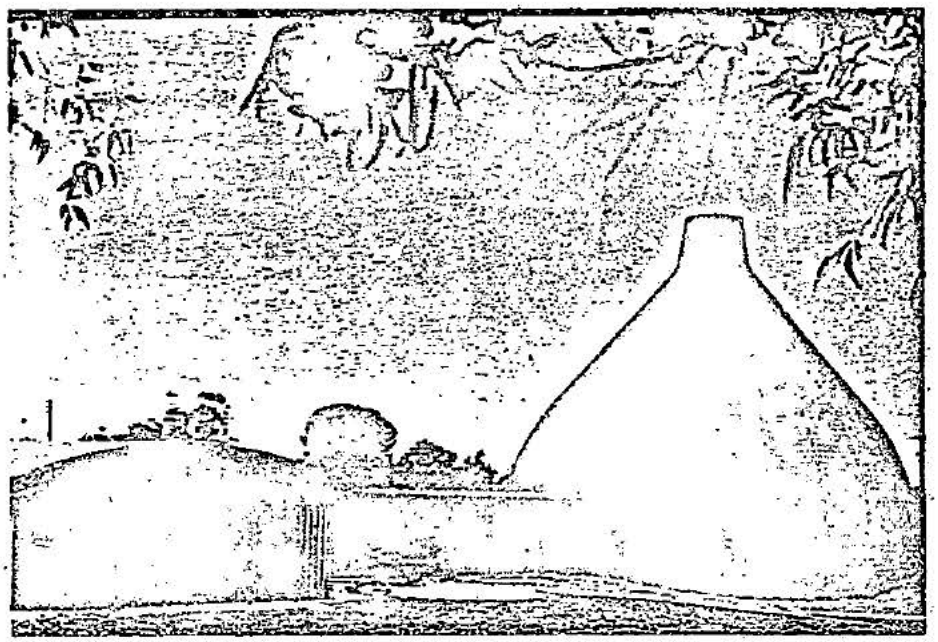


Fig. 114 Sepulveda Unitarian Church, Sepulveda, Calif., 1963.

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Arizona

Flagstaff
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Paradise Valley
First Unitarian Universalist Church of Phoenix

Arkansas

Fayetteville
Unitarian Fellowship of Fayetteville

Little Rock
Unitarian Church of Little Rock

California

Bayside
Humboldt Unitarian Fellowship

Davis
Unitarian Church of Davis

Pacoima
Valley Unitarian Universalist Church

Palos Verdes Peninsula
Pacific Unitarian Church

Pasadena
Neighbourhood Church of Pasadena

Throop Memorial Church

Riverside
Unitarian-Universalist Church of Riverside

San Francisco
First Unitarian Society of San Francisco

San Rafael
Marin Fellowship of Unitarians

Santa Barbara
Unitarian Society of Santa Barbara

Sepulveda
Unitarian Universalist Society

Stockton
First Unitarian Society

Ventura
Unitarian Church of Ventura

Walnut Creek
Mt. Diablo Unitarian Church

Colorado

Fort Collins
Foothills Unitarian Church

Connecticut

New Haven
Unitarian Society of New Haven

Storrs
Unitarian Fellowship of Storrs

Westport
Unitarian Church in Westport

District of Columbia

All Souls Church Unitarian

Florida

Boca Raton
Unitarian Universalist Fellowship of Boca Raton

Fort Myers
Unitarian Universalist Church of Fort Myers

Jacksonville
Unitarian Universalist Church of Jacksonville

Tallahassee
Unitarian Church of Tallahassee

Georgia

Savannah
Unitarian Universalist Fellowship of Savannah

Valdosta
Unitarian Fellowship of Valdosta

Illinois

Chicago
Beverly Unitarian Church

[illegible]
Third Unitarian Church

Decatur
Unitarian Fellowship

Deerfield
North Shore Unitarian Church

Evanston
Unitarian Church of Evanston

Geneva
Unitarian Society of Geneva

Hoopeston
Church of the Redeemer

Quincy
Unitarian Church of Quincy

Rockford
Unitarian Church

Stockston
Unitarian Universalist Church

Indiana

Columbus
Unitarian Universalist Fellowship of Bartholomew County

Evansville
Unitarian Fellowship of Evansville

Fort Wayne
Unitarian Congregation of Fort Wayne

Hobart
First Unitarian Church of Hobart

Iowa

Ames
Unitarian Fellowship of Ames

Davenport
Unitarian Church

Iowa City
Unitarian Universalist Society

Kentucky

Louisville
First Unitarian Church

Louisiana

New Orleans
The Community Church

Maine

Augusta
All Souls Church

Bangor
Independent Congregational Society

Belfast
First Church in Belfast

Castine
First Congregational Society, Unitarian

Kennebunk
First Parish Unitarian

Portland
First Parish Society

Preble Chapel

Maryland

Baltimore
First Unitarian Church of Baltimore

Bethesda
Cedar Lane Unitarian Church

River Road Unitarian Church

Massachusetts

Arlington
First Parish Unitarian Universalist

Barnstable
Unitarian Church

Bedford
First Parish in Bedford

Bridgewater
First Parish, Unitarian

Brockton
Universalist Unitarian Church of Brockton

Canton
First Parish - Unitarian

Cohasset
First Parish Church in Cohasset

Concord
First Parish in Concord

Danvers
Northshore Unitarian Universalist Church

Dedham
First Church in Dedham

Deerfield
First Church of Deerfield, Inter-Denominational

Dighton
Pedo Baptist Congregational Society Unitarian

East Bridgewater
First Parish Unitarian Church

Framingham
First Parish in Framingham

Groton
First Parish of Groton, Unitarian

Hingham
Second Parish in Hingham

Hubbardston
First Parish, Unitarian

Hudson
First Unitarian Society

Ipswich
Unitarian Universalist Fellowship of Ipswich

Lancaster
First Church of Christ in Lancaster

Lexington
Follen Church Society

Lincoln
First Parish in Lincoln

Melrose
Melrose Unitarian Church

Mendon
First Parish, Unitarian

Nantucket Island
Second Congregational Meeting House Society

New Bedford
First Unitarian Church

Newburyport
First Religious Society (Unitarian)

Northborough
First Congregational Unitarian Church

Norton
First Congregational Parish (Unitarian)

Norwell
First Parish Church

Plymouth
First Parish

Roxbury
First Church

Sandwich
First Church of Christ

Scituate
First Parish Church

Sharon
Unitarian Church of Sharon

Sherborn
First Parish

Stoneham
First Unitarian Church

Taunton
First Parish Church (Unitarian Universalist)

Uxbridge
First Congregational Society, Unitarian

Watertown
First Parish

Wayland
First Parish, Unitarian

Wellesley Hills
Unitarian Society of Wellesley Hills

West Newton
First Unitarian Society in Newton

Westwood
First Parish of Westwood, United Church

Winchendon
Society and Church of the Unity

Worcester
Second Parish

Michigan

Battle Creek
Unitarian Universalist Fellowship

Bloomfield Hills
Birmingham Unitarian Church

Detroit
First Unitarian Universalist Church

Flint
Unitarian Church

Lansing
Unitarian Universalist Church of Greater Lansing

Midland
Unitarian Universalist Fellowship

Minnesota

Grand Rapids
Unitarian Fellowship

Hanska
Nora Church, Unitarian Universalist

St. Paul
Unity Church

Missouri

Columbia
Unitarian Universalist Church

Kirkwood
Eliot Unitarian Chapel

Montana

Billings
Billings Unitarian Universalist Fellowship

Bozeman
Unitarian Universalist Fellowship

Missoula
Unitarian Universalist Fellowship

Nebraska

Lincoln
Unitarian Church

Omaha
First Unitarian Church

New Hampshire

Concord
Second Congregational Society

Durham
Unitarian Universalist Fellowship

Manchester
Unitarian Universalist Church

Nashua
Unitarian Universalist Church

Peterborough
Unitarian Church

Wilton Centre
First Unitarian Congregational Society

New Jersey

Morristown
Morristown Unitarian Fellowship

Orange
First Unitarian Universalist Church of Essex

Summit
Unitarian Church

New York

Barneveld
Unitarian Church

Buffalo
Unitarian Universalist Church

Flushing
Unitarian Universalist Church

Garden City
Unitarian Universalist Church of Central Nassau

Hollis
Hollis Unitarian Church

Huntingdon
Unitarian-Universalist Fellowship

Ithica
First Unitarian Society

New York
Community Church

Plandome
North Shore Unitarian Society

Rochester
First Unitarian Church

Schenectady
First Unitarian Society

Syracuse
May Memorial Unitarian Society

White Plains
White Plains Community Church, Unitarian

Ohio

Akron
Unitarian Universalist Church

Bowling Green
Unitarian Universalist Fellowship

Cincinnati
First Unitarian Church

Northern Hills Unitarian Universalist Fellowship

St. John's Unitarian Church

Cleveland
West Shore Unitarian Church

Dayton
First Unitarian Church

Hamilton
Unitarian Fellowship

Marietta
First Unitarian Universalist Society

Toledo
First Unitarian Church

Oklahoma

Oklahoma City
First Unitarian Church

Tulsa
All Souls Unitarian Church

Oregon

Eugene
Unitarian Church of Eugene and Lane County

Portland
First Unitarian Society

Pennsylvania

Bethlehem
Unitarian Church of the Lehigh Valley

Devon
Main Line Unitarian Church

Erie
First Unitarian Society

Meadville
Independent Congregational Church

Philadelphia
First Unitarian Church

Unitarian Society of Germantown

Pittsburgh
Allegheny Centre Unitarian Church

Unitarian Universalist Church of the North Hills

State College
Unitarian Fellowship of Centre County

Rhode Island

Newport
Channing Memorial Church

Providence
First Unitarian Church

Tennessee

Memphis
First Unitarian Church

Nashville
First Unitarian Universalist Church

Oak Ridge
Oak Rdige Unitarian Church

Texas

Beaumont
Spindletop Unitarian Church

Brownsville
All Souls Unitarian Church

Houston
Emerson Unitarian Church

San Antonio
First Unitarian Church

Utah

Salt Lake City
First Unitarian Church

Vermont

Burlington
First Unitarian Universalist Church

Virginia

Oakton
Fairfax Unitarian Church

Richmond
First Unitarian Church

Roanoake
Roanoke Valley Unitarian Church

Washington

Seattle
University Unitarian Church

Wisconsin

Brookfield
Unitarian Church West

Mukwonago
United Unitarian and Universalist Church

Appendix I

Calvinist and English Concepts of Church and State

Etienne Gilson, in considering the theological aspects of William of Ockham's nominalism, states that

> this doctrine is dominated by the first words of the Christian Creed: "I believe in one God, the Father Almighty."... The God in whom Ockham believes is Yahweh, who obeys nothing, not even Ideas.... It is because there are no universal Ideas in God that there is no universality in things. The so-called Ideas are nothing but the very things producible by God. God needs no Ideas in order to know; by the very fact that God is God, he knows all. [1]

It is this concept of God, couched in Ockham's nominalism, that Calvin presents in The Institutes of the Christian Religion. The God of Calvin, writes Louis Bouyer, is the figure of the Old Testament God, the God of the Prophets:

> he is clearly shown to be, not just the first among beings, but the sovereign, in a sense the only Being. Consequently, all reality, seen from the specifically religious standpoint, can come only from him, just as, in the final analysis, it can have no other end than Him. [2]

In the opening chapter of Book One of the Institutes, Calvin states that there can be no knowledge of God wihout knowledge of the self:

> For, quite clearly, the mighty gifts with which we are endowed are hardly from ourselves; indeed, our very being is nothing but subsistence in the one God ... Indeed, our very poverty better discloses the infinitude of benefits reposing in God ... Thus, from the feeling of our own ignorance, vanity, poverty, infirmity, and - what is more - depravity and corruption, we recognize that the true light of wisdom, sound virtue, full abundance of every good, and purity of righteousness rest in the Lord Alone. [3]

Likewise, Calvin argues, there can be no knowledge of the self without knowledge of God:

> As long as we do not look beyond the earth, being quite content with our own righteousness, wisdom, and virtue, we flatter ourselves most sweetly, and fancy ourselves all but demigods. Suppose we but once begin to raise our thoughts to God, and to ponder his nature, and how completely perfect are his righteousness, wisdom, and power - the straight edge to which we must be shaped. Then, what masquerading earlier as righteousness was pleasing in us will soon grow filthy in its consummate wickedness. What wonderfully impressed us under the name of wisdom will stink in its very foolishness. What wore the face of power will prove itself the most miserable weakness. That is, what in us seems perfection itself corresponds ill to the purity of God. [4]

This concept of the sovereign majesty of the Creator, and, in comparison, the nothingness of the creature, Bouyer argues, derives from the Bible and from the purest Christian tradition, but reached Calvin through the medium of Martin Luther:

> His idea of the sovereign greatness of God is closely allied to Luther's strong feeling for the element of mystery ... In this connection, Luther's idea, that gratuitous salvation involves something which surpasses human reason and imagination, plays a conspicuous part. To put it more exactly, the idea that there is not merely the revealed God and the hidden God, but that God reveals himself precisely as a hidden God,[5] is the germ, and more than the germ, of Calvin's idea of God, acknowledged, before and above all, as the Sovereign Being. [6]

And it is this 'existential apprehension'[7] of God who reveals himself as the hidden God, that Bouyer sees grounded in 'a mystical logic; that is, the strict application of a profundly religious insight.'[8]

> Provided the words are taken in their proper sense, it is absolutely certain that none of the historic forms of Christianity is, in fact, more radically mystical than Calvinism; for it is not governed by abstract ideas, whether one or many, but by a genuine intuition, utterly religious in nature, of God as Sovereign, Holy absolutely Other, who "inhabits light inaccessible." Now this intuition is, in the strictest sense, mystical. whatever our opinions about Calvin's temperament, and in spite of the prejudice against the word of the reality which makes Calvinists distrust the expression. There, in this intuition, is to be found the source of Calvin's thought and, likewise, of the historical religion which proceeded from it. [9]

In making central this mystical insight - Lucien Goldmann would say, tragic vision[10] - of God who reveals himself as the hidden God. Calvin rooted his theology in nominalist soil.[11] Now nominalism, to use Aristotelian terms, places the parts prior to the whole: the parts are more important than the whole which is a collection of parts and has no existence in itself. Nominalism's opposite, realism, on the other hand, places the whole prior to the parts: the whole is more important than the parts which are organic cell-like members of the whole body whose existences are predicated on their participation in the whole. Realism has always been the framework of the Universal Church, which is the Mystical Body of Christ as the head and individual men are cell-like members. By entering into the Church, one enters into the Mystical Body and participates in Christ's Redeeming Graces. According to this realist framework of the Church, the community of Christ-followers, present and past, in time and in eternity, is primary; the individual Christ-follower is secondary. no man is alone.[12]

But according to Calvin and his nominalist framework, the inheritance of Abélard and Ockham, man is alone:[13] from his apprehension of the absolute majesty of God and his conviction of his enslavement to sin by the Fall of Adam, through his repentance, to his justification by faith, man is alone before God.[14] It is upon the isolated individual whom God bestows his Redeeming Graces.

The Calvinist Church is, consquently, the association of individuals justified by faith. Stark writes:

> In building his specific religious sociology, Calvin then uses the thought-form which, above all others, is characteristic of individualism and nominalism - the figure of a social contract. Reviving in this area, as he does in all others, characteristic Old Testament conceptions, he teaches that God invites those whom he has predestined to blessed association with Himself into a covental relationship. "I will take you to myself for my people," YHWH said to the Israelites in the desert (Exodus VI, 7). "I will be your God." But what He said once He says for evermore, for He is not caught in the coils of time and space. The Church that arises from this call to a covenant and the acceptance of it, is clearly the result of a meeting of will. It is therefore contractual in nature. The primacy is with the contracting parties; the emergent society is merely secondary. 15

Calvin himself says, "The Church universal is a multitude gathered from all nations; it is divided and dispersed in separate places, but agrees on the one truth of divine doctrine, and is bound by the bond of the same religion."[16] F.W. Dillistone comments that Calvin gradually concentrated "his whole attention upon the Church as a school of doctrine, a place where men may learn true knowledge and be instructed in the way

of the Lord,"[17] Stark adds: "For such a way of thinking, the Church is essentially a tool in the service of the individual: the individual occupies the centre of the picture."[18]

According to this concept of the Church, all men are sinners until God's Redeeming Graces act upon them to justify them by faith. The Church is the association of justified men; there is no room in such a Church for the individual who claims a semi-divine status, who claims to be unable to do wrong, or even to think wrong. by virtue of his family blood alone. Such a blasphemous claim is to deny the sovereign majesty of God and the sinful nothingness of man who stands alone before his God.

The civil government, as outlined by Calvin, exists for the individual in mutual relationship with others:

> Its function among men is no less than that of bread, water, sun, and air; indeed, its place of honor is far more excellent. For it does not merely see to it, as all these serve to do, that men breathe, eat, drink, and are kept warm, even though it surely embraces all these activities when it provides for their living together. It does not, I repeat, look to this only, but also prevents idolatry, sacrilege against God's name, blasphemies against his truth, and other public offences against religion from arising and spreading among the people; it prevents the public peace from being disturbed; it provides that each man may keep his property safe and sound; that men may carry on blameless intercourse among themselves· that honesty and modesty may be preserved among men. In short, it provides that a public manifestation of religion may exist among Christians, and that Humanity be maintained among men. [19]

According to this theory, the magistrates, says Calvin, are the guardians or protectors of the law[20] which comes from the people; law arises from interaction among individuals; it is the formulation of custom.[21] This concept is well illustrated in a passage from John Winthrop's Journal, dated September 4, 1639:

"The people had long desired a body of laws and thought their condition very unsafe while so much power rested in the discretion of magistrates." Attempts had been made previously, Winthrop relates, but produced poor results, one of the 'great reasons' being

> want of sufficient experience of the nature and the disposition of the people, considered with the condition of the country and other circumstances, which made them conceive, that such laws would be fittest for us. which should arise pro re nata upon occasions, etc,. and so the laws of England and other states grew, and therefore the fundamental laws of England are called customs, consuetudines.[22]

The thinking behind this passage is that the magistrates rule according to a body of customs arising from the people themselves. The magistrates have no power to make law by virtue of their office. To give the magistrates power to decide legal issues without a body of customs by which to guide them is to give them power which they should not possess. For magistrates guard the law, not make it. To give them that power is to create a dangerous situation whereby the law could become the expression of the arbitrary will of the law-maker, and would, consequently, place the law-maker above the law.

Such a law-maker is an absolute monarch as found in Tudor and Stuart England in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The nation was ruled by a sovereign who ruled by virtue of the charisma of his sacred familial blood, an inheritance of the Teutonic tribes who had settled the land. William Blackstone in his Commentaries on the Laws of England in a lengthy account in Book One traces the descent of kings from Egbert in 800 AD to the date of writing (1765), and the attempts to maintain the blood of the Saxon kings in the various dynasties. The king must be "lineally descended from the blood royal, that is, from that royal stock which originally acquired the crown."[23] What is the nature of this sacral blood of kings?

> The law .... ascribes to the king, in his high political character, not only large powers and emoluments which form his perogative and revenue, but likewise certain attributes of a great and transcendent nature: by which the people are led to consider him in the light of a superior being, and to pay him that awful respect, which may enable him with greater ease to carry on the business of government.[24] .... The law ascribes to the king the attributes of sovereignty or pre-eminence. "Rex est vicarius," says Bracton, "et minister Dei in terra: omnis quidem sub eo est, et ipse sub nullo, nisi tantum sub Deo,"[25] ... By law the person of the king is sacred, even though the measures pursued in his reign be completely tyrannical and arbitrary: for no jurisdiction upon earth has power to try him in a criminal way; much less to condemn him to punishment.[26] ... The law also ascribes to the king, in his political capacity, absolute perfection. The king can do no wrong.[27] ... The king, moreover, is not only incapable of doing wrong, but even of thinking wrong: he can never mean to do an improper thing: in him is no folly or weakness.[28] .... The law ascribes to him, in his political capacity, an absolute immortality. The king never dies. Henry, Edward,

> or George may die, but the king survives them all. For immediately upon the decease of the reigning prince in his natural capacity, his kingship or imperial dignity, by act of law, without any interregnum or interval, is vested at once in his heir; who is eo instanti king to all intents and purposes. [29]

During the Middle Ages, the king ruled Dei Gratia, by the grace of God, removing himself from a dependence upon his people and taking himself into the proximity of divinity,[30] since he held his office by the working of divine grace.[31] Just as the king received his power from God, his subjects received their rights as concessions from the king, gratia regis: an officer in the service of his king, for instance received his position by the grace of his king.[32]

This concept of kingship made the king independent of both the laity and the clergy,[33] and raised the king high above the clergy. Wycliffe stated in his De Officia Regis:

> The king is God's vicar in things temporal, as is the priest in things spiritual. But the dignity of the king is superior to that of the priest, for the king reflects the godhead of Christ, the priest only His manhood. Thus the spiritual power is inferior to the temporal in earthly dignity and authority, although in true dignity the priest excels the king. [34]

It was the king who presided over clerical councils dealing with purely ecclesiastical matters.[35]

Walter Ullmann points out that, along with the theocratic nature of the king, from which emerged the notion that the king's voluntas constituted the law; there existed in England the feudal function of the king as feudal overlord, primus inter pares, the first among the feudal barons, who conceived law as a contract between king and barons.[36] The king in his person represented two opposing concepts: rex legibus solutus, the king is above the law, the law is an expression of the king's will; and the concept rex legibus alligatus, the king is subject to the law, the law is a contract between king and barons. During the 13th and 14th centuries, there was a marked emphasis upon the feudal function of the king; his theocratic nature was limited by the contracts made by the barons and himself.[37] The barons even won the right to elect the fittest person within the royal family to inherit the crown;[38] the nobles elected Henry Bolingbroke king over his uncle Lionel, Duke of Clarence, after the abdication of Richard II.[39]

When, in 1485, Henry Tudor ascended the throne as Henry VII, he inherited a country torn apart by civil war. Strong measures were needed to restore the public order. Consequently, he resurrected the older medieval concept of kingship, rex legibus solutus, the king is above the law. His son, Henry VIII, went further by his Act of Supremacy which made him head of the Church of England.

Henry VII created the Star Chamber, whose function was "to enforce vigorously criminal responsibility for attempts to commit crime."[40] He used Parliament as the foundation of his legisative policy and the cloak of his absolutism. Kiralfy writes:

> So successful were they (the Tudors) in disguising their absolutism under the parliamentary cloak that in the reign of Elizabeth I, the astute statesman and scholar, Sir Thomas Smith, could ascribe absolute sovereignty to Parliament. [41]

The Council under Henry VII and his heirs became the real organ of government. Its work was under the supervision of the king, who had thus freed himself from the limitations set upon him by the barons and the growing independence of Parliament.[42] Kiralfy writes that the Tudors were concerned with creating and maintaining a stable government conformable with their will.[43]

> The Tudor and the Stuart kings had in common the strong desire that at all times their personal will should prevail. So long as their aim was to ensure and preserve peace and good government the country was on their side... However, when that end was reached and the wheels of government ran smoothly, the extraordinary procedure of the Council and the Star Chamber ceased to be necessary so far as their daily task was concerned... in their more political causes the conciliar courts became capable of being merely engines of tyranny in the hands of a monarch who was not willing that they should pass with the years of necessity that gave them birth or power. During the latter part of this period they were used in such an arbitrary manner that instead of supporting order and good government, they acted as a check upon the proper enforcement of the law where it opposed the king's will. [44]

The Calvinist concept of Church and State was diametrically opposed to the English. To place over the Church a man who claimed to be a semi-divine being by right of blood was to the Calvinist a blasphemy: all men are sinners until justified by faith which comes from God. To consider law the expressed will of such a semi-divine being who was himself above law was to think contrary to Nature: law was not made but existed in the matrix of social being.

Moreover, the jurisdictions of Church and State, the Calvinists claimed, are separate; Calvin says at one point

> the church does not assume what is proper to the magistrate; nor can the magistrate execute what is carried out by the church, for the church does not have the right of the sword to punish or compel, nor the authority to force, not imprisonment, nor the other punishments which the magistrate commonly inflicts. [45]

At another point he says

> Let no man be disturbed that I now commit to civil government the duty or rightly establishing religion ... For, when I approve of a civil administration that aims to prevent the true religion which is contained in God's laws from being openly and with public sacrilege violated and defiled with impunity, I do not here ... allow men to make laws according to their own decision concerning religion and the worship of God. [46]

Henry VIII's Act of Supremacy had joined Church and State together: the jurisdiction was one. The St. James Chronicle, for instance, in discussing the imposition of the Stamp Act and the episcopacy upon the American colonies could say: "The stamping and episcopizing our colonies were understood to be only different branches of the same plan of power." [47]

John Winthrop, in his A Model of Christian Charity, written on board the Arabella as the Puritans made their way to North America, stated that the mission of the Massachusetts Bay Company was "to seek out a place of cohabitation and consortship under a due form of government both civil and ecclesiastical."[48] That 'due form of government' was based upon Calvin's concepts of Church and State, and of the separation of Church and State.

Notes to Appendix 1

1. Etienne Gilson, History of Christian Philosophy in Middle Ages, New York, 1955, p. 498

2. Louis Bouyer, The Spirit and Forms of Protestantism, London, 1963. pp. 82-83.

3. Jehan Calvin, Institutes of the Christian Religion, (The Library of World Classics, vol XX), translated by Ford Lewis Battles, edited by John T. McNeill, Philadelphia, 1960, vol. I, pp. 35-36, (I,i i).

4. Ibid., p. 38 (I i,2).

5. CF Ibid., pp. 38-39, (I,i,3): pp. 41-42, (I,ii,2); pp. 44-45, (I,iii,2); for the concept in Luther's theology, CF Rudolph Otto, Das Heilige, translated by J.W. Harvey, The Idea of the Holy, London, 1923

6. Bouyer, Op. cit., p. 83

7. Institutes, p. 36, n.i. continued from p. 35.

8. Bouyer Op. cit., pp. 84-85

9. Ibid., p. 85; and continues, "it is absolutely certain, as as matter of history, that the intuition of Luther, which we find to lie at the root of that of Calvin, takes us back directly to the Rhenish school of mysticism originated by Eckhart and Tauler. If Luther had no hesitation in acknowledging his debt to the Theologica Germanica ... if he went so far as to translate it into German to popularize it, that shows that he recognized it as one of the sources of his conception. The God whose very light is a 'superessential darkness' is the Deus revelatus, but revelatus as absconitus. That is, too, the reason why Luther was so strongly drawn to St. John Chrysostum, particulary to his treatise, On the incomprehensibility of God. All this indicates Luther's settled conviction that these mystical subjects, far from being due, as so many modern Protestant historians so easily conclude, to a neo-Platonic infection of Christianity, are the expression, albeit in the language of neo-Platonism. of that element beyond reason that inscrutable mystery of the God of Love, which is the basis of the Gospel revelation.

"The effects produced by Calvinism lead us to the same conclusion as to the study of its origins. The bareness, the rigorous austerity, of the forms of Calvinistic worship, in France, Holland, Scotland, and New England, can be taken as a sign of religious aridity only by the uncomprehending or prejudiced. Calvinism as a living force, as seen working in these various countries, is clearly actuated by an admirable insistence on genuineness, on sincerity with regard to God, the true, living God who has nothing in common with dumb idols. If we seek anywhere in Protestantism for a parallel to the most rigorous elements in the mysticism of the Cistercians or Carmelites, we can assert, without the least error or exaggeration, that it is to be found in Calvinism itself, or in the deepest and most lasting traces made by Calvin's great intuition even outside strict Canvinism." Ibid., pp. 85-86.

10. Lucien Goldman, The Hidden God, London, 1964, pp. 36-39.

11. For nominalism in Calvin and Luther, CF Bouyer, Op. cit., pp. 186-200.

12. The extent of this realist framework can be seen when we consider what Etienne Gilson says about Nature in the Middle Ages: "The very physical world, created as it is for God's glory, tends with a kind of blind love towards its Author." Etienne Gilson, The Spirit of Medieval Philosophy, New York, 1940, p. 364.

13. "Only one vehicle," writes Stark, "can be mentioned which helped to transport the Reformation outlook, and especially the Calvinistic version to the masses: John Bunyan's The Pilgrim's Progress, one of the greatest best-sellers of all time. Roger Sharrock, the leading expert on this important, if naive, literary figure, calls the classic a 'drama of the individual soul' and remarks: 'The first poignant words of (the hero) Christian, "What shall I do to be saved", set the tone for the work.' ... Perhaps the most characteristic (incident in the narrative) is Christian's encounter with Faithful beyond the Valley of the Shadow of Death, when he is already rather close to his destination. Both regret that they have not been able to share more of the journey; but they agree that this could not be. For each must set out for the celestial city by himself." Werner Stark, The Sociology of Religion, London, 1966-72, vol. 5, pp. 305-06.

14. Institutes, pp. 295-96. (II,iii.5); p. 294, (II,iii,5); p. 300, (II,iii,8); p. 551, (III.ii,7): p. 593, (III,iii,i); p. 601, (II,iii,9); p. 751, (III.xi,21).

15. Stark, Op. cit., vol. 5, p. 25; and continues: "As can be seen, it was not so far as one might assume from Calvin to feelow-citizen Rousseau. If the latter is famous because he upheld the doctrine of a social contract, so ought to be the former. They were brothers under the skin." Ibid., pp. 25 26.

16. Institutes, vol. II, p. 1023. (IV,i.9).

17. F.W. Dillistone, The Structure of the Divine Society, London, 1951, p. 117

18. Stark, Op. cit., vol. 5 p. 259; and continues: "Calvin's thought is at this point very close to that of Locke and other sociological nominalists: the state is a public utility created by the people to make their life better than it otherwise would be, and justified, if an in so far as it fulfills that subservient function." Ibid., p. 259.

19. Institutes, vol.II, p. 1488, (IV,xx,3).

20. Ibid., vol. II, p. 1488, (IV,xx,3).

21. Stark, Op. cit., vol. 3, p. 91

22. Cited in Perry Miller and Thomas H. Johnson, The Puritans, New York, 1963, vol. I, p. 204.

23. William Blackstone, Commentaries on the Laws of England. Oxford, 1765, vol. I, p. 187.

24. Ibid., I, p. 234.

25. Ibid., I pp. 234-5.

26. Ibid., I, p. 235.

27. Ibid., I, p. 238.

28. Ibid., I, p. 239.

29. Ibid., I, p. 242

30. Walter Ullmann, Principles of Government and Politics in the Middle Ages, New York, 1966, p. 23.

31. Ibid., p. 119.

32. Ibid., p. 121.

33. Ibid., pp. 127-28

34. Cited in J. N. Figgis, The Divine Right of Kings, New York, 1965, pp. 67-68.

35. Ullmann, Op. cit., p. 128.

36. Ibid., pp. 150-51

37. Ibid., p. 189

38. Figgis, Op. cit., p. 81

39. Blackstone, Op. cit., I, p. 195

40. A.K.R. Kiralfy, Potter's Historical Introduction to English Law and Its Institutions, fourth edition, London, 1962, p. 371.

41. Ibid., p. 39.

42. Ibid., p. 40.

43. Ibid., p. 40

44. Ibid., p. 41.

45. Institutes, vol. II, p. 1215, (IV,xi,3).

46. Ibid., vol. II, p. 1488, (IV,xx.3).

47. Cited in Carl Bridenbaugh, Mitre and Sceptre, New York, 1962, p. 269.

48. Miller and Johnson, Op. cit., I, p. 197.

Appendix II

Unitarian Churches by Place

Alabama

Birmingham
Unitarian Church
1958 John M. Fuller

Arizona

Paradise Valley
First Unitarian Universalist Church of Phoenix
1960-61 Blaine Drake

California

Bayside
Humboldt Unitarian Fellowship
1960 unknown builder

Davis
Unitarian Church
1967-68 Walter Brooks of Berkeley

Palos Verdes Peninsula
Pacific Unitarian Church
1965 Carlton Winslow and Warren Waltz

Pasadena
Neighbourhood Church of Pasadena
1972 Smith and Williams

San Francisco
First Unitarian Church
1853 unknown builder
1864 unknown builder
1889 unknown builder

San Rafael
Marin Fellowship
1964 Steve Heller of San Francisco

Santa Barbara
Unitarian Church
1930 Lockard

Sepulveda
Unitarian Universalist Church
1963 Frank Ehrenthal

Stockton
First Unitarian Church
1930 Jack Whipple

Walnut Creek
Mt. Diablo Unitarian Church
1968 Frank Ehrenthal

Colorado

Fort Collins
Foothills Unitarian Church
1969-70 Ronald Rinker of Denver

Connecticut

Danbury W. Redding
Unitarian Universalist Church of Northern Fairfield County
1970 barn remodelled by George E. Shear

Hamden
Unitarian Church of New Haven
1962-63 Ronald K. Noe

Stoors
Unitarian Fellowship
1967-68 Edward Trepal

Westport
Unitarian Church
1961-63 Victor Lundy

District of Columbia

Washington
All Souls Church Unitarian
1924 Coolidge and Shattuck of Boston (largely the work of Henry R. Shepley)

[illegible]
Unitarian Church
1822 Charles Bulfinch

Florida

Jacksonville
Unitarian Universalist Church
1966 Robert C. Broward.

Tallahassee
Unitarian Church
1966 Charles Benda

Illinois

Chicago
Third Unitarian Church
1937 Paul Schweikher

Deerfield
North Shore Unitarian Church
1961 John Holland
1968 Ron Dirsmith (additions)

Evanston
Unitarian Church
1957-58 Paul Schweikher

Geneva
Unitarian Church
1843 unknown builder

Oak Park
Unity Temple
1905-06 Frank Lloyd Wright

Quincy
Unitarian Church
1914 unknown builder

Rockford
Unitarian Church
1965 Pietro Belluschi and C. Edward Ware

Indiana

Fort Wayne
Unitarian Congregation
1959 Kenneth Cole

Hobart
First Unitarian Church
1876 unknown builder

Iowa

Ames
Unitarian Fellowship
1969-70 T. Bjornstad and Paul Lilly

Davenport
Unitarian Church
1958 Thomas C. Lundeen

Iowa City
Unitarian Universalist Church
1908 Robert Loring (minister)

Kentucky

Louisville
First Unitarian Church
1871 H.P. Bradshaw

Louisiana

New Orleans
Community Church
1972 George Leake

Maine

Augusta
All Souls Church, Unitarian
1879 unknown builder

Bangor
Independent Congregational Church
1853 Towle and Foster of Boston

Castine
First Congregational Church, Unitarian
1793 unknown builder

Kennebunk
First Parish Unitarian
1773 ships' carpenters

Portland
First Parish
1825-26 John Mussey

Preble Chapel
1851 James Kirby, carpenter

Maryland

Baltimore
First Unitarian Church
1818 Maximillian Godefroy

Bethesda
Cedar Lane Unitarian Church
1957 Keyes. Lethbridge, and Condon of Washington
Petro Belluschi, consulting architect

River Road Unitarian Church
1965 Keyes. Lethbridge, and Condon of Washington

Lutherville
Towson Unitarian Universalist Church
1972 Mark Beck and Associates

Massachusetts

Arlington
First Parish Unitarian Universalist
1856 unknown builder

Barnstable
Unitarian Church
1907 Guy Lowell

Bedford
First Parish, Unitarian Universalist
1817 unknown builder after design by Benjamin

Belmont
Unitarian Church
1888-89 Hartwell and Richardson

Boston
Arlington Street Church
1859 Arthur Gilman

Brattle Square Church
1870 Gambrill and Richardson

Federal Street Church
1809 Charles Bulfinch

First and Second Church
1856 Ware and Van Brunt
destroyed by fire in 1968; facade of this church incorporated in 1968-72 Paul Rudolph

Hollis Street Church
1788 Charles Bulfinch

King's Chapel
1749-58 Peter Harrison

New North Meeting House
1804 Charles Bulfinch

New South Meeting House
1814 Charles Bulfinch

Brockton
Unitarian Universalist Church
1955-56 Haldeman and Jacoby

Brookline
First Parish
1891-93 Shepley, Rutan, and Coolidge

Cambridge
First Parish
1833 Isaiah Rogers

Canton
First Parish Unitarian
1825 unknown builder

Cohasset
First Parish
1747 unknown builder

Dedham
First Church
1762 unknown builder

Dighton
Pedo Baptist Congregational Church Unitarian
1770 unknown builder
1930 restored by William T. Aldrich of Boston

East Bridgewater
1723 (?) unknown builder

Framingham
First Parish
1924 Charles Baker of Boston

Groton
First Parish
1755 unknown builder

Hingham
Second Parish
1742 unknown builder

Hubbardston
First Parish Unitarian
1773 Isaac Bellows

Hudson
First Unitarian Church
1861 unknown builder

Lexington
Follen Church
1839 Charles Follen (minister)

Lincoln
First Parish
1842 Rueben Smith of Stow, Mass., after Benjamin design

Mendon
First Parish Unitarian
1819 Carter

Nantucket Island
Second Congregational Meeting House
1809 Elisha Ramsdell

New Bedford
First Unitarian Church
1839 Alexander Jackson Davis

Newburyport
First Religious Society Unitarian
1801 Samuel McIntyre of Salem

Northborough
First Congregational Unitarian Church
1809 unknown builder after Benjamin design

North Easton
Unity Church
1873-75 John Ames Mitchell

Norton
First Congregational Parish Unitarian
1835 unknown builder

Norwell
First Parish
1830 William Sparrel

Plymouth
First Parish
1896-99 Hartwell, Richardson, and Driver

Roxbury
First Church
1804 unknown builder who copied Newburyport church

Sandwich
First Church of Christ
1847 unknown builder

Sharon
Unitarian Church
1842 unknown builder

Sherborn
First Parish
1834 unknown builder after Benjamin design

Springfield
Unity Church
1866-69 H.H. Richardson

Stoneham
First Unitarian Church
1869 unknown builder

Taunton
First Parish
1830 unknown

Uxbridge
First Congregational Church Unitarian
1835 unknown builder

Watertown
First Parish
1842 unknown builder

Wayland
First Parish
1815 Asher Benjamin

Wellesley Hills
Unitarian Church
1960 Harry Gulesian of Boston

West Newton
First Unitarian Church
1906 Ralph Adams Cram

Weston
First Parish
1886-88 Peabody and Stearns

Westwood
First Parish
1809 unknown builder

Winchendon
Church of the Unity
1866-68 S.S Woodcock

Worcester
Second Parish
1851 unknown builder
1938-39 rebuilt by G. Adolph Johnson

Michigan

Bloomfield
Birmingham Unitarian Church
1958-59 Minoru Yamasaki

Detroit
Congregational Church
1851 unknown builder

Flint
Unitarian Church
1960 Nelson, Nurmi, and Associates

Midland
Unitarian Universalist Fellowship
1962-63 Jackson B. Hallet

Minnesota

Grand Rapids
Unitarian Fellowship
1960 Robert Sandburg

Hanska
Nora Church
1881 unknown builder

St. Paul
Unity Church
1905 Thomas Gannett Holyoke

Missouri

St. Louis
First Congregational Church Unitarian
1836 unknown builder

Nebraska

Lincoln
Unitarian Church
1961 Dale Gibbs

Omaha
First Unitarian Church
1918 John and Alan McDonald

New Hampshire

Concord
Second Congregational Church
1960 Hugh Stubbins and Associates

Nashua
Unitarian Universalist Church
1827 unknown builder after Benjamin design

Peterborough
Unitarian Church
1826 Charles Bulfinch (?)

Wilton Centre
First Unitarian Congregational Church
1859-60 unknown builder

New Jersey

Orange
First Unitarian Universalist Church of Essex County
1892 unknown builder

Summit
Unitarian Church
1913 Joy Wheeler Dow

New York

Barneveld
Unitarian Church
1816 Isaac Peirce (minister)

Buffalo
First Unitarian Congregational Church
1833 unknown builder

Unitarian Universalist Church
1904 Edward Austin Kent

Flushing
Unitarian Universalist Church
1914-16 William A. Bates

Garden City
Unitarian Universalist Church of Central Nassau
1964-65 Percival Goodman of New York

Hollis
Hollis Unitarian Church
1960 Blake and Nesky

Ithica
First Unitarian Church
1893 William Henry Miller

New York
Community Church
1940-48 Maurice Salo

Plandome
North Shore Unitarian Church
1955 Charles H. Warner

Schenectady
First Unitarian Church
1961 Edward Durrell Stone

Syracuse

May Memorial Unitarian Church
1963-64 Belluschi and Pedersen, Hueber and Hares

White Plains
White Plains Community Church Unitarian
1959 Jules Gregory

North Carolina

Asheville
Unitarian-Universalist Church
1971-72 William Moore

Ohio

Cincinnati
First Unitarian Church
1830 unknown builder
1889 James W. McLaughlin

Northern Hills Unitarian Universalist Fellowship
1967 Pistler and Brwon

St. John's Unitarian Church
1960-61 John Garber

Dayton
First Unitarian Church
1914 E.P. Homer of Providence, R.I.

Marietta
First Unitarian Universalist Church
1856-57 unknown builder

Rocky River
West Shore Unitarian Church
1960 Wallace Teare

Toledo
First Unitarian Church
1923 Edwin J. Lewis Jr. of Boston

Oklahoma

Oklahoma City
First Unitarian Church
1928 Smith and Walker of Boston

Tulsa
All Souls Unitarian Church
1956-57 John Duncan Forsyth

Oregon

Eugene
Unitarian Church of Eugene and Lane County
1962-63 Balzhiser, Seder, and Rhodes

Portland
First Unitarian Church
1924 James B. Parker

Pennsylvania

Brien
First Unitarian Church
1967 Goldberg and Heidt

Meadville
Independent Congregational Church
1835-36 George W. Cullum

Philadelphia
First Unitarian Church
1813 Robert Mills
1828 William Strickland
1885 Frank Furness

Unitarian Church of Germantown
1926-28 Edmund Gilchrist

Pittsburgh
Allegheny Centre Unitarian Church
1909 unknown builder

State College
Unitarian Fellowship of Centre County
1960 & 1966 Philip F. Hallock

Rhode Island

Newport
Channing Memorial Church
1880-81 Bovden and Souts

Providence
First Unitarian Church
1795 Charles Bulfinch
1814-16 John Holden Greene

Tennessee

Memphis
First Unitarian Church
1965 Roy P. Harrover Associates

Nashville
First Unitarian Universalist Church
n.d. Bruce Draper

Oak Ridge
Oak Ridge Unitarian Church
1956 Joseph Goodstein

Texas

Beaumont
Spindletop Unitarian Church
1967 Moore and Stansbury

Houston
Emerson Unitarian Church
1960 Caudill, Rowlett, and Scott

San Antonio
First Unitarian Church
1961 Brown and Cowan

Utah

Salt Lake City
First Unitarian Church
1926-27 Slack W. Winburn
Smith and Walker of Boston, consulting architects

Vermont

Burlington
First Unitarian Universalist Church
Peter Banner of Boston

Virginia

Oakton
Fairfax Unitarian Church
1963 Ansi and Auer of San Francisco

Richmond
First Unitarian Church
1972 Urlich Franzen of New York

Roanoke
Roanoke Valley Unitarian Church
1854 Benjamin Deyerle

Washington
Seattle
University Unitarian Church
1958-59 Paul Kirk

Wisconsin

Brookfield
Unitarian Church West
1965 Kurtz Architects Inc.

Madison
Unitarian Church
1947-51 Frank Lloyd Wright

Mukwonago
United Unitarian and Universalist Church
1878 unknown builder

APPENDIX III

Unitarian Churches by Date

1723 ? (remodelled 1794 - 1850)
First Parish Unitarian Church
East Bridgewater, Mass.
unknown builder

1742
Second Parish in Hingham
Hingham Mass.
unknown builder

1747
First Parish Church in Cohasset
Cohasset, Mass.
unknown builder

1755
First Parish of Groton, Unitarian
Groton, Mass.
unknown architect
1839-40 extensively remodelled

1762
First Church in Dedham
Dedham, Mass.
remodelled after 1818

1770
Pedo Baptist Congregational Society - Unitarian
Dighton. Mass.
unknown architect
1930 restored by William T. Aldrich of Boston

1773
First Parish, Unitarian
Hubbarston, Mass.
Isaac Bellows, builder

1773
First Parish Unitarian
Kennebunk, Me.
ships carpenters

1788
Hollis Street Church
Boston, Mass.
Charles Bulfinch

1793
First Congregational Society. Unitarian
Castine, Me.
unknown builder
tower attributed to Bulfinch

1795
First Congregational Church
Providence, R.I.
Charles Bulfinch

1801
First Religious Society
Newburyport, Mass.
unknown builder
Samuel McIntype of Salem

1804
First Church in Roxburg
Roxburg, Mass.
unknown builder
Asher Benjamin design
Copied Newburyport, Mass.

1804
New North Meeting House
Boston. Mass.
Charles Bulfinch

1809 (1844 renovation)
Second Congregational Meeting House Society
Nantucket Island, Mass.
1809 Elisha Ramsdell, builder
1844 F.B. Coleman, renovation

1809
First Congregational Unitarian Church of Northborough
Northborough, Mass.
1809 unknown builder
1848-50 Perry, Shaw and Helpburn of Boston rebuilt church
after fire according to original design

1809
First Parish of Westwood, United Church
Westwood, Mass.
unknown builder

1809
Federal Street Church
Boston, Mass.
Charles Bulfinch

1813

First Unitarian Church of Philadelphia
Philadelphia, Penn.
1813 Robert Mills
replaced 1828 William Strickland
1885 Frank Furness

1814

New South Meeting House
Boston, Mass.
Charles Bulfinch

1814-16

First Unitarian Church of Providence
Providence, R.I.
John Holden Greene of Providence

1815

First Parish of Wayland, Unitarian
Wayland, Mass.
Asher Benjamin of Boston

1816

Unitarian Church of Barneveld
Barneveld, N.Y.
Isaac Pierce

1816

First Unitarian Universalist Church (First Congreational Church)
Burlington, Ut.
Peter Banner from Boston office of Charles Bulfinch

1817

First Parish in Bedford
Bedford, Mass.
after design of Asher Benjamin

1818

First Unitarian Church of Baltimore
Baltimore, Md.
Maximillian Godefroy

1819

First Parish Unitarian
Mendon, Mass.
-- Carter, who did First Parishes in Mulford, Bellingham and Templeton

1822

Unitarian Church
Washington, D.C.
Charles Bulfinch

1825

First Parish -- Unitarian
Canton, Mass.
unknown builder

1825-26

First Parish Society
Portland, Me.
John Mussey

1826

Unitarian Church (Congregational Society, Unitarian in Peterborough)
Peterborough, N.H.
Bulfinch or Benjamin

1827

Unitarian Universalist Church
Nashua, N.H.
Asher Benjamin design ?

1828

First Unitarian Church of Philadelphia
Philadelphia, Penn.
1828 William Strickland
replaced 1813 Robert Mills
replaced 1885 by Frank Furness

1830

First Parish Church in Norwell
Norwell, Mass.
William Sparrel of Norwell
after Benjamin design ?

1830

First Parish Church in Taunton (Unitarian Universalist)
Taunton, Mass.
unknown builder

1830

First Unitarian Church
Cincinnati, O.
unknown builder

1833

First Unitarian Congregational Church
Buffalo, N.Y.
unknown builder

1834

First Parish in Sherborn
Sherborn, Mass.
Asher Benjamin design ?

1835
First Congregational Society, Unitarian
Uxbridge, Mass.
unknown builder

c1835
First Congregational Parish (Unitarian)
Norton, Mass.
unknown builder

1835-36
Independent Congregational Church (Unitarian Universalist of Meadville)
Meadville, Penn.
George W. Cullum

1836
First Congregational Church (Unitarian)
St. Louis, Mo.
unknown builder

1839
Follen Church Society
Lexington, Mass.
Charles Follen, first minister, builder

1839
First Unitarian Society
New Bedford, Mass.
Alexander Jackson Davis

1839-40
First Parish of Groton, Unitarian
Groton, Mass.
1755 unknown builder
1839-40 extensively remodelled

1842
First Parish in Lincoln
Lincoln, Mass.
Asher Benjamin design
Reuben Smith of Stow, Mass., builder

1842
Unitarian Church of Sharon
Sharon, Mass.
unknown builder

1843
Unitarian Society of Geneva
Geneva, Ill.
unknown builder

1847
First Church of Christ in Sandwish
Sandwich, Mass.
unknown builder

1851
Preble Chapel
Portland, Me.
James Kirby, carpenter

1851
First Unitarian Church of Worcester
Worcester, Mass.
1851 unknown architect
1938-39 rebuilt G. Adolph Johnson

1851
Congregational Unitarian Church
Detroit, Mich.
unknown builder

1853
Independent Congregational Society
Bangor, Me.
Towle and Foster of Boston

1853
First Unitarian Society of San Francisco
San Francisco, Calif.
unknown builder

1856
First Parish Unitarian Universalist
Arlington, Mass.
unknown builder

1856-60
First Unitarian Universalist Society
Marietta, O.
unknown builder

1859-60
First Unitarian Congregational Society
Wilton Centre, N.H.
unknown builder

1861
First Unitarian Society
Hudson, Mass.
unknown builder

1864
First Unitarian Society of San Francisco
San Francisco, Calif.
1864 unknown

1865
First and Second Church in Boston
Boston, Mass.
Ware and Van Brunt

1866-67
Society and Church of the Unity
Winchendon, Mass.
S.S. Woodcock

1866-69
Unity Church
Springfield, Mass.
Gambrill and Richardson

1869
First Unitarian Church
Stoneham, Mass.
unknown builder

1870
Bratlle Square Church
Boston, Mass.
Gambrill and Richardson

1871
First Unitarian Church
Louisville, Ky.
H.P. Bradshaw

1873
First Unitarian Society of Ithica
Ithica, N.Y.
William Henry Miller who did 1893 church as well

1873-75
Unity Church
North Easton, Mass.
John Ames Mitchell

1876
First Unitarian Church of Hobart
Hobart, Ind.
unknown builder

1878
United Universalist and Unitarian Church
Mukwonago, Wis.
unknown builder

1879
All Souls Church, Unitarian
Augusta, Me.
unknown builder

1880
Channing Memorial Church
Newport, R.I.
Bouden and Souts

1881
Nora Church, Unitarian Universalist
Hanska, Minn.
unknown builder

1885
First Unitarian Church of Philadelphia
Philadelphia, Penn.
1885 Frank Furness

1886-88
First Parish Church (Unitarian)
Weston, Mass.
Peabody and Stearns

1888-89
Unitarian Church
Belmost, Mass.
Hartwell and Richardson

1889
First Unitarian Church of Cincinnati
Cincinnati, O.
James W. McLaughlin

1889
First Unitarian Society of San Francisco
San Francisco, Calif.
unknown architect

1891-93
First Parish Church
Brookline, Mass.
Shepley, Ruton and Coolidge

1892
First Unitarian Universalist Church of Essex County
Orange, N.J.
unknown architect

1893
First Unitarian Society of Ithica
Ithica, N.Y.
William Henry Miller

1896-99
First Parish in Plymouth
Plymouth, Mass.
Hartwell, Richardson and Driver

1904
Unitarian Universalist Church of Buffalo
Buffalo, N.Y.
Edward Austin Kent

1905
Unity Church of St. Paul
St. Paul, Minn.
Thomas Gannett Holyoke

1905-06
Unity Temple
Oak Park, Ill.
Frank Lloyd Wright

1906
First Unitarian Society in Newton
West Newton, Mass.
Ralph Adams Cram

1907
Unitarian Church
Barnstable, Mass.
Guy Lowell

1908
Unitarian Universalist Society
Iowa City, Ia.
Robert Loring, Minister

1909
Allegheny Center Unitarian Church
Pittsburg, Penn.
unknown architect

1913
Unitarian Church in Summit
Summit, N.J.
Joy Wheeler Dow

1914
First Unitarian Church of Dayton
Dayton, O.
E.P. Homer of Providence R.I.

1914
Unitarian Church of Quincey
Quincy, Ill.
unknown architect

1914-16
Unitarian Universalist Church of Flushing
Flushing, N.Y.
William A. Bates

1918
First Unitarian Church of Omaha
Omaha, Neb.
John and Alan McDonald

1923
First Unitarian Church
Toledo, I.
Edwin J. Lewis Jr. of Boston

1924
First Parish in Framingham
Framingham, Mass.
Charles Baker of Boston

1924
All Souls Church Unitarian
Washington, D.C.
Coolidge and Shattuck of Boston
largely work of Henry R. Shepley

1926-27
First Unitarian Church of Salt Lake City
Salt Lake City, Ut.
Slack W. Winburn
Smith and Walker of Boston (consulting architects)

1928
Firts Unitarian Church of Oklahoma City
Oklahoma City, Okla.
Smith and Walker of Boston

1930
Unitarian Society of Santa Barbara
Santa Barbara, Calif.
Lockard

1930
First Unitarian Society of Stockton
Stockton, Calif.
Jack Whipple

1937
Third Unitarian Church of Chicago
Chicago, Ill.
Paul Schweikher

1938-39
First Unitarian Church of Worcester
Worcester, Mass.
1851 unknown architect
1938-39 rebuilt G. Adolph Johnson

1940-48
Community Church of New York
New York, N.Y.
Maurice Salo

1947-51
Unitarian Church
Madison, Wis.
Frank Lloyd Wright

1948-50
First Congregational Unitarian Church of Northborough
Northborough, Mass.
1809 unknown builder
1848-50 Perry, Shaw and Hepburn of Boston rebuilt church after fire according to original design

1955
North Shore Unitarian Society
Plandome, N.Y.
Charles H. Warner of Warner-Leeds

1955-56
Universalist Unitarian Church of Brockton
Brockton, Mass.
Haldeman and Jacoby

1956
Oakridge Unitarian Church
Oakridge, Tenn.
Joseph Goodstein

1956-57
All Souls Unitarian Church
Tulsa, Okla.
John Duncan Forsyth

1957
Cedar Lane Unitarian Church
Bethesda, Md.
Keyes, Lethbridge and Condon of Washington, D.C.
Pietro Belluschi (consulting architect)

1957-58
Unitarian Church of Evanston
Evanston, Ill.
Paul Schweikher

1958
Unitarian Church
Birmingham, Ala.
John M. Fuller

1958
Unitarian Church
Davenport, Ia.
Thomas C. Lundeen

1958-59
Birmingham Unitarian Church
Bloomfield, Mich.
Minoru Yamasaki

1958-59
University Unitarian Church
Seattle, Wash.
Paul Hayden Kirk

1959
Unitarian Congregation of Fort Wayne
Fort Wayne, Ind.
Kenneth Cole

1959
White Plains Community Church, Unitarian
White Plains, N.Y.
Jules Gregory of Lombertville, N.J.

1960
Humboldt Unitarian Fellowship
Bayside, Calif.
unknown architect

1960
Second Congregational Society in Concord
Concord, N.H.
Hugh Stubbins and Associates

1960
Unitarian Church of Flint
Flint, Mich.
Nelson Nurmi and Associates

1960
Unitarian Fellowship of Grand Rapids
Grand Rapids, Minn.
Robert Sandburg

1960
Hollis Unitarian Church
Hollis, N.Y.
Blake and Nesky

1960
Emerson Unitarian Church of Houston
Houston, Tex.
Candill, Rowlett and Scott

1960
West Shore Unitarian Church
Rocky River, O.
Wallace Teare

1960
Unitarian Fellowship of Centre County
State College, Penn.
Philip F. Hallock
enlarged in 1966

1960
Unitarian Society of Wellesley Hills
Wellesley Hills, Mass.
Harry Gulesian of Boston

1960-61
St. John's Unitarian Church
Cincinnati, O.
John Garber

1960-61
First Unitarian Universalist Church of Phoenix
Paradise Valley, Ariz.
Blaine Drake

1961
North Shore Unitarian Church
Deerfield, Ill.
1961 John Holland
1968 Ron Dirsmith

1961
Unitarian Church of Lincoln
Lincoln, Neb.
Dale Gibbs

1961
First Unitarian Church
San Antonio, Tex.
Brown and Cowan

1961
First Unitarian Society of Schenectady
Schenectady, N.Y.
Edward Durrell Stone

1961-63
Unitarian Church in Westport
Westport, Conn.
Victor Lundy

1962-63
Unitarian Church of Eugene and Love County
Eugene, Ore.
Balzhier, Seder, and Rhodes

1962-63
Unitarian Society of New Haven
Hamden, Conn.
Ronald K. Noe

1962-63
Unitarian Universalist Fellowship of Midland
Midland, Mich.
Jackson B. Hallet

1963
Unitarian Fellowship of Morgantown
Morgantown, W. Va.
unknown builder

1963
Fairfax Unitarian Church
Oakton, Va.
Ansi and Auer of San Francisco

1963
Unitarian Universalist Society
Sepalveda, Calif.
Frank Ehrenthal

1963-64
May Memorial Unitarian Society
Syracuse, N.Y.
Belluschi and Pedersen, Hueber and Hares

1964
Marin Fellowship of Unitarians
San Raphael, Calif.
Steve Heller of San Francisco

1964-65
Unitarian Universalist Church of Centra Nassau
Garden City, N.Y.
Percival Goodman of New York

1965
River Road Unitarian Church
Bethesda, Md.
Keyes, Lethbridge and Condon
(Lethbridge chief designer)

1965
Unitarian Church West
Brookfield, Wis.
Kurtz Architects Inc.

1965
First Unitarian Church of Memphis
Memphis, Tenn.
Roy P. Harrover Associates

1965
Pacific Unitarian Church
Palos Verdes Penninsula, Calif.
Carlton Winslow and Warren Waltz

1965
Unitarian Church
Rockford, Ill.
Pietre Belluschi and C. Edward Ware

1966
Unitarian Universalist Church of Jacksonville
Jacksonville, Fla.
Robert C. Broward

1966
Unitarian Church of Tallahasse
Tallahasse, Fla.
Charles Benda

1967
Spindletop Unitarian Church
Beaumont, Tex.
Moore and Stansburg

1967
North Hills Fellowship
Cincinnati, O.
Pistler and Brown

1967
Main Line Unitarian Church
Devon, Penn.
Chappelle and Crothers

1967
First Unitarian Society
Erie, Penn.
Goldberg and Heidt

1967-68
Unitarian Church of Davis
Davis, Calif.
Walter Brooks of Berkeley

1967-68
Unitarian Fellowship of Storrs
Storrs, Conn.
Edward Trepal

1968
North Shore Unitarian Church
Deerfield, Ill.
1961 John Holland
1968 Ron Dirsmith

1968
Mt. Diablo Unitarian Church
Walnut Creek, Calif.
Frank Ehrenthal

1968-72
First Church
Boston, Mass.
Paul Rudolph

1969
Gulf Coast Unitarian Universalist Fellowship
Gulfport, Miss.
-- mobile classroom

1969-70
Unitarian Fellowship of Anes
Anes, Ia.
T. Bjornstad general concept
Paul Lilly architectural engineering

1969-70
Foothills Unitarian Church
Fort Collins, Colo.
Ronald Rinker of Anderson, Barker and Rinker of Denver

1970
Unitarian Universalist Society of Northern Fairfield County
Danburg -- W. Redding, Conn.
barn remodelled by George E. Shear

1971-72
Unitarian - Universalist Church of Asheville
Asheville, N.C.
William Moore of Moore-Robinson Associates

1972
Towson Unitarian Universalist Church
Lutherville, Md.
Mark Beck and Associates

1972
Neighborhood Church of Pasadena
Pasadena, Calif.
Smith and Williams

1972
First Unitarian Church of Richmond
Richmond, Va.
Urlich Franzen

1972-73
Community Church (Unitarian-Universalist)
New Orleans, La.
George Leake

APPENDIX IV

Unitarian Churches by Architect or Builder

Aldrich, William T.
Pedo Baptist Congregational Society Unitarian
Dighton, Mass.
1770 - unknown builder
1930 - restored by Aldrich

Ansi and Auer of San Francisco
Fairfax Unitarian Church
Oakton, Va.
1963

Baker, Charles of Boston
First Parish in Framingham
Framingham, Mass.
1924

Balzhier, Seder and Rhodes
Unitarian Church of Eugene and Love County
Eugene, Ore.
1962-3

Banner, Peter
First Unitarian Universalist Church
(First Congregational Church)
Burlington, Vt.
1816

Bates, William A.
Unitarian Universalist Church of Flushing
Flushing, N.Y.
1914-16

Beck, Mark and Associates
Towson Unitarian Universalist Church
Lutherville, Md.
1972

Bellows, Isaac, Builder
First Parish, Unitarian
Hubbardston, Mass.
1773

Belluschi, Pietro
Cedar Lane Unitarian Church
Bethesda, Md.
1957 Keyes, Lethbridge and Condon of Washington D.C.
Belluschi - consulting architect

Belluschi and Pedersen, Hueber and Hares
May Memorial Unitarian Society
Syracuse, N.Y.
1963-4

Belluschi, Pietro and C. Edward Ware
Unitarian Church
Rockford, Ill.
1965

Benda, Charles
Unitarian Church of Tallahasse
Tallahasse, Fla.
1966

Benjamin, Asher (design)
First Parish in Bedford
Bedford, Mass.

Benjamin, Asher (design)
First Parish of Wayland Unitarian
Wayland, Mass.
1815

Benjamin, Asher (design)
First Parish Church in Norwell
Norwell, Mass.
1830 By William Sparrel of Norwell

Benjamin, Asher (design)
Unitarian Church
Peterborough, N.H.
1826 (possibly Bulfinch ?)

Benjamin, Asher (design)
First Parish in Sherborn
Sherborn, Mass.
1834

Benjamin, Asher (design)
Unitarian Universalist Church
Nashua, N.H.
1827

Benjamin, Asher (design)
First Parish in Lincoln
Lincoln, Mass.
1842 builder Reuben Smith of Stow, Mass.

Bjornstad, T.
Unitarian Fellowship of Anes
Anes, Ia.
1969-70 Bjornstad (general concept)
Paul Lilly (architectural engineering)

Blake and Nesky
Hollis Unitarian Church
Hollis, N.Y.
1960

Bouden and Souts, Worcester
Chauning Memorial Church
Newport, R.I.
1880

Bradshaw, H.P.
First Unitarian Church
Louisville, Ky.
1871

Brooks, Walter of Berkeley
Unitarian Church of Davis
Davis, Calif.
1967-8

Broward, Robert C.
Unitarian Universalist Church of Jacksonville
Jacksonville, Fla.
1966

Brown and Cowan
First Unitarian Church
San Antonio, Tex.
1961 - Wynne Brown church member

Bulfinch, Charles
Hollis Street Church
Boston, Mass.
1788

Bulfinch, Charles
First Congregational Church
Providence, R.I.
1795

Bulfinch, Charles
New North Meeting House
Boston, Mass.
1804

Bulfinch, Charles
Federal Street Church
Boston, Mass.
1809

Bulfinch, Charles
New South Meeting House
Boston, Mass.
1814

Bulfinch, Charles
Unitarian Church
Washington, D.C.
1822

Bulfinch, Charles ?
Unitarian Church
Peterborough, N.H.
1826 (possibly Benjamin ?)

Bulfinch, Charles
First Unitarian Universalist Church
(First Congregational Church)
Burlington, Vt.
1816 - largely work of Peter Banner

Caudell, Rowlett and Scott
Emerson Unitarian Church of Houston
Houston, Tex.
1960

Chappelle and Crothers
Main Line Unitarian Church
Devon, Penn.
1967 (additions by Sam Crothers)

Cole, Kenneth
Unitarian Congregation of Fort Wayne
Fort Wayne, Ind.
1959

Coleman, F.B.
Second Congregational Meeting House Society
Nantucket Island, Mass.
1809 Elisha Ramsdell erected building
1844 Coleman renovated

Coolidge and Shattuck of Boston
All Souls Church Unitarian
Washington, D.C.
1924
Largely the work of Henry R. Shepley

Cram, Ralph Adams
First Unitarian Society in Newton
West Newton, Mass.
1906

Cullum, George W.
Independent Congregational Church (Unitarian Universalist of Meadville)
Meadville, Penn.
1835-36

Davis, Alexander Jackson
First Unitarian Society
New Bedford, Mass.
1839

Dirsmith, Ron
North Shore Unitarian Church
Deerfield, Ill.
1961 John Holland
1968 Ron Dirsmith

Dow, Joy Wheeler
Unitarian Church in Summit
Summit, N.J.
1913

Drake, Blaine
First Unitarian Universalist Church of Phoenix
Paradise Valley, Ariz.
1960-1

Draper, Bruce
First Unitarian Universalist Church of Nashville
Nashville, Tenn.
n.d.

Ehrenthal, Frank
Unitarian Universalist Society
Sepalveda, Calif.
1963

Ehrenthal, Frank
Mt. Diablo Unitarian Church
Walnut Creek, Calif.
1968

Follen, Charles
Follen Church Society
Lexington, Mass.
1839
Follen - first minister

Forsyth, John Duncan
All Souls Unitarian Church
Tulsa, Okla.
1956-7

Franzen, Urlich of New York
First Unitarian Church of Richmond
Richmond, Va.
1972

Fuller, John M.
Unitarian Church
Birmingham, Ala.
1958
Fuller - church member

Furness, Frank
First Unitarian Church of Philadelphia
Philadelphia, Penn.
1885 Frank Furness

Gambrill and Richardson
Unity Church
Springfield, Mass.
1866-69

Gambrill and Richardson
Brattle Square Church
Boston, Mass.
1870

Garber, John
St. John's Unitarian Church
Cincinnati, O.
1960-1

Gibbs, Dale
Unitarian Church of Lincoln
Lincoln, Neb.
1961

Godefroy, Maximillian
First Unitarian Church of Baltimore
Baltimore, Md.
1820

Goldberg and Heidt
First Unitarian Society
Erie, Penn.
1967

Goodman, Percival of New York
Unitarian Universalist Church of Central Nassau
Garden City N.Y.
1964-5

Goodstein, Joseph
Oakridge Unitarian Church
Oakridge, Tenn.
1956

Greene, Joseph Holden of Providence
First Unitarian Church of Providence
Providence, R.I.
1814-16

Gregory, Jules
White Plains Community Church, Unitarian
White Plains, N.Y.
1959

Gulesian, Harry of Boston
Unitarian Society of Wellesley Hills
Wellesley Hills, Mass.
1960

Haldeman and Jacoby
Universalist Unitarian Church of Brockton
Brockton, Mass.
1955-6

Hallet, Jackson B.
Unitarian Universalist Fellowship of Midland
Midland, Mich.
1962-3

Hallock, Philip F.
Unitarian Fellowship of Centre County
State College, Penn.
1960 and 1966

Harrover, Roy P. Associates
First Unitarian Church of Memphis
Memphis, Tenn.
1965

Hartwell and Richardson
Unitarian Church
Belmont, Mass.
1888-9

Hartwell, Richardson and Driver
First Parish in Plymouth
Plymouth, Mass.
1896-99

Heller, Steve of San Francisco
Marin Fellowship of Unitarians
San Rafael, Calif.
1964
Heller Fellowship member

Holland, John
North Shore Unitarian Church
Deerfield, Ill.
1961 John Holland
1968 Ron Dirsmith

Holyoke, Thomas Gannett
Unity Church of St. Paul
St. Paul, Minn.
1905

Homer, E.P. of Providence, R.I.
First Unitarian Church of Dayton
Dayton, O.
1914

Johnston, G. Adolph
First Unitarian Church of Worcester
Worcester, Mass.
1851 - unknown architect
1938-9 rebuilt by Johnson

Kent, Edward Austin
Unitarian Universalist Church of Buffalo
Buffalo, N.Y.
1904

Keyes, Lethbridge, and Condon of Washington, D.C.
Cedar Lane Unitarian Church
Bethesda, Md.
1957 - Pietro Belluschi consulting architect

Keyes, Lethbridge and Condon
River Road Unitarian Church
Bethesda, Md.
1965
Lethbridge - chief designer

Kirk, Paul Hayden
University Unitarian Church
Seattle, Wash.
1958-59

Kirby, James (carpenter)
Preble Chapel
Portland, Me.
1851

Kurtz Architects Inc.
Unitarian Church West
Brookfield, Wis.
1965

Leake, George
Community Church (Unitarian-Universalist)
New Orleans, La.
1972-73

Lewis, Edwin J. Jr. of Boston
First Unitarian Church
Toledo, O.
1923

Loring, Robert
Unitarian Universalist Society
Iowa City, Ia.
1908

Lockard
Unitarian Society of Santa Barbara
Santa Barbara, Calif.
1930

Lowell, Guy
Unitarian Church
Barnstable, Mass.
1907

Lundeen, Thomas C.
Unitarian Church
Davenport, Ia.
1958

Lundy, Victor
Unitarian Church in Westport
Westport, Conn.
1961-63

McLaughlin, James W.
First Unitarian Church of Cincinnati
Cincinnati, O.
1889

McDonald, John and Alan
First Unitarian Church of Omaha
Omaha, Neb.
1918

Miller, William Henry
First Unitarian Society of Ithica
Ithica, N.Y.
1893 and 1873

Mills, Robert
First Unitarian Church of Philadelphia
Philadelphia, Penn.
1813 Robert Mills

Mitchell, John Ames
Unity Church
North Easton, Mass.
1873-75

Moore and Stansburg
Spindletop Unitarian Church
Beaumont, Tex.
1967

Moore, William
Unitarian - Universalist Church of Asheville
Asheville, N.C.
1971-72
of Moore - Robinson Assoc.

Mussy, John
First Parish Society
Portland, Me.
1825-26

Nelson, Nurmi and Associates
Unitarian Church of Flint
Flint, Mich.
1960

Noe, Ronald K.
Unitarian Society of New Haven
New Haven, Conn.
1962-63

Peabody and Stearns
First Parish Church (Unitarian)
Weston, Mass.
1886-88

Pierce, Isaac
Unitarian Church of Barneveld
Barneveld, N.Y.
1816

Pistler and Brown
Northern Hills Fellowship
Cincinnati, O.
1967

Ramsdell, Elisha (Builder)
Second Congregational Meeting House Society
Nantucket Island, Mass.
1809
1844 R.B. Coleman, renovation

Richardson, Henry Hobson
Unity Church
Springfield, Mass.
1866-69

Richardson, Henry Hobson
Brattle Square Church
Boston, Mass.
1870

Rinker, Ronald
Foothills Unitarian Church
Fort Collins, Colo.
1969-70
of Anderson, Barker and Rinker of Denver

Salo, Maurice
Community Church of New York
New York, N.Y.
1940-48

Sandburg, Robert
Unitarian Fellowship of Grand Rapids
Grand Rapids, Minn.
1960

Schweikher, Paul
Third Unitarian Church of Chicago
Chicago, Ill.
1937

Schweikher, Paul
Unitarian Church of Evaston
Evaston, Ill.
1957-58

Shear, George E.
Unitarian Universalist Society of Northern Fairfield County
Danburg - W. Redding, Conn.
1970 - remodelled barn

Shepley, Ruton and Coolidge
First Parish Church
Brookline, Mass.
1891-93

Shepley, Henry R. (Coolidge and Shattuck of Boston)
All Souls Church Unitarian
Washington, D.C.
1924

Smith and Walker of Boston
First Unitarian Church of Oklahoma City
Oklahoma City, Okla.
1928

Smith and Walker of Boston
First Unitarian Church of Salt Lake City
Salt Lake City, Ut.
1926-27
Slack W. Windburn (Architect)
Smith and Walker (Consulting Architects)

Smith and Williams
Neighborhood Church of Pasadena
Pasadena, Calif.
1972

Sparrel, William of Norwell
First Parish Church in Norwell
Norwell, Mass.
1830 - after Benjamin design (?)

Stone, Edward Durrell
First Unitarian Society of Schenectady
Schenectady, N.Y.
1961

Strickland, William
First Unitarian Church of Philadelphia
Philadelphia, Penn.
1828 William Strickland

Stubbins, Hugh and Associates
Second Congreational Society in Concord
Concord, N.H.
1960

Teare, Wallace
West Shore Unitarian Church
Rocky River, O.
1960

Towle and Foster of Boston
Independent Congregational Society
Bangor, Me.
1853

Trepal, Edward
Unitarian Fellowship of Storrs
Storrs, Conn.
1967-68

Ware, C. Edward
Unitarian Church
Rockford, Ill.
1965
(in association with Pietro Belluschi)

Ware and Van Brunt
First and Second Church in Boston
Boston, Mass.
1865

Warner, Charles H.
North Shore Unitarian Society
Plandome, N.Y.
1955

Winburn, Slack W.
First Unitarian Church of Salt Lake City
Salt Lake City, Ut.
1926-27
Smith and Walker of Boston (Consulting Architects)

Winslow, Carlton and Warren Waltz
Pacific Unitarian Church
Palos Verdes Penninsula, Calif.
1965

Whipple, Jack
First Unitarian Society of Stockton
Stockton, Calif.
1930

Woodcock, S.S.
Society of Church of the Unity
Winchendon, Mass.
1866-67

Wright, Frank Lloyd
Unity Temple
Oak Park, Ill.
1905-06

Wright, Frank Lloyd
Unitarian Church
Madison, Wis.
1947-51

Yamasaki, Minoru
Birmingham Unitarian Church
Bloomfield, Mich.
1958-59

VITA

Surname: Netherton Given Names: Frederick John

Place of Birth: St. Thomas, Ont., Date of Birth: 2 September, 1941

Educational Institutions Attended, with Dates of Entering and Leaving:

UNIVERSITY OF VICTORIA	1963 to	1971

Degrees. Diplomas, Etc., Awarded, with Dates and Names of Institutions:

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Honors and Awards:

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Frederick John Netherton

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