

**HAUNTED BY THE GOTHICK:
DECONSTRUCTING THE NEW ST. MARY'S ANGLICAN CHURCH,
WALKERVILLE, ONTARIO**

Cameron Macdonell

**School of Architecture
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—*To my missing A. R. M.*

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	
RÉSUMÉ	
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS	
PRE-FACE	1
THE GOTHICK	12
RALPH ADAMS CRAM	23
1. THE ANSWERING OF BLOOD:	
RALPH ADAMS CRAM, THE ANGLOPHILE	35
THE ANGLE OF CRAM'S ANGLOPHILIA	39
THE AMERICAN RUSKIN	54
THE AMERICAN PUGIN	64
HAUNTING THE HOUSE OF GOD	73
DECONSTRUCTING THE [HAUNTED] HOUSE OF GOD	80
ENTR'ACTE	91
2. EDWARD CHANDLER WALKER:	
ENCRYPTING THE GOTHICK BODY	97
PATRONYMY	107
THE EDWARDIAN ERA	116
A BODY OF FLESH AND STONE	127
WALKER'S I'LL	137
ENTR'ACTE	162
3. WITHOUT THE PALE OF THE CHURCH:	
SITING THE GOTHICK STORIES OF RALPH ADAMS CRAM	165
EPIGRAPHY	172
NO. 252 RUE M. LE PRINCE	178
IN KROPFSBERG KEEP	191
THE WHITE VILLA	198
SISTER MADDELENA	204
NOTRE DAME DES EAUX	210
THE DEAD VALLEY	216
ENTR'ACTE	223
4. THE CASTLE PERILOUS, WALKERVILLE	233
THE TOWER OF THE FOUR WINDS	243
WAGNERIAN GOTHIC	254
THE KNIGHT ERRANT	266
AMFORTUS! DIE WUNDE! DIE WUNDE	277
POST ^{CRYPT} : THE CEREMONIAL GOTHIC	288
APPENDIX A	300
REFERENCES	312
PLATES	331

ABSTRACT

Ralph Adams Cram (1863–1942) was among the rare Gothicists who practiced both Gothic architecture and literature. He designed several Gothic-Revival churches and campuses across North America, and he wrote a book of Gothic ghost stories in 1895, calling the collection *Black Spirits and White*.

Traditionally, scholars have assumed that the discourses of modern, Anglo-Gothic architecture and literature parted company after the 1830s. Scholars have based that assumption on two interrelated arguments. First, the Victorian Gothic novel evolved beyond the distinctly medieval; whereas, Victorian Gothic architects became rigorously attentive to structural and cultural principles of the Middle Ages. Second, and more importantly, even though architecture has been thematic for Gothic literature, scholars of the genre have concentrated on the domesticity of haunted houses. This has not been as problematic for scholars of Georgian Gothic architecture, where Gothic details plastered over domestic architecture; Victorian Gothic architects, however, expressed their principles most effectively through church building. The modern Gothic church, as the true house of God, is supposed to have exorcized any confusion with the domestic architecture of man, providing sanctuary from the haunting conditions of a secular, urban-industrial, modern world.

Ralph Adams Cram complicates that assumption. In the darkest moments of his despair, Cram designed churches that were not resurrected Gothic beauties, but spectral remnants of a murdered past beyond his powers to avenge. His Gothic literature expressed that impotent horror, addressing several houses that modernity, having murdered the medieval past, haunted. So did the

new St. Mary's Anglican Church of Walkerville, Ontario. Using the hauntological strategies of Jacques Derrida, this project deconstructs the Walkerville church to solicit the withered horror of a spectral hand haunting the Anglican house of God. Cram designed the Walkerville church for Edward Chandler Walker, *de facto* king of Walkerville, who was secretly dying of syphilis. Cram encrypted Edward's illness in the Walkerville church through the withered limb of a biblical leper. Edward's withered "hand" was then visualized through the spreading fingers of the letter "k," its grammatological mark silently concealed and revealed in the Gothick moniker that its structural, spatial, social, and semiotic languages declare to the modern world. Ultimately, the Walkerville church calls for a Grail Knight's arrival, one whose holy hand can end the suffering of the Fisher King, Edward Walker—and, by extension, a knight who might end the dark night of decadent modernity. Yet will the Grail Knight ever arrive?

RÉSUMÉ

Ralph Adams Cram (1863–1942) a été un des rares adeptes du gothique à s'adonner à la fois à l'architecture et à la littérature. Surtout connu comme concepteur de plusieurs églises et campus universitaires en Amérique du Nord, il a aussi publié en 1895 un recueil de contes gothiques qu'il intitula *Black Spirits and White*.

Il est pourtant généralement convenu, qu'après 1830, l'architecture néo-gothique et le roman gothique ont suivi des routes divergentes, opinion fondée sur deux arguments interdépendants: 1- les romanciers gothiques de l'époque victorienne ont généralement cessé de cadrer leur récit dans un contexte historique strictement médiéval alors qu'au contraire les architectes néo-gothiques de la même période se sont attachés à faire revivre le moyen âge le plus scrupuleusement possible; 2- quand les romanciers gothiques victoriens mettent en scène un cadre architectural, il se concentre généralement sur l'espace domestique, telle la maison hantée, alors que chez les architectes, ce sera l'église qui sera l'objet principal de la passion gothique. Envisagée comme la « maison » de Dieu, l'église était conçue en opposition au monde domestique, offrant ainsi un refuge contre les hantises d'un monde séculier, urbain et industriel.

Le cas de Ralph Adams Cram remet en question cette idée d'une étanchéité entre littérature et architecture gothique après 1830. À l'instar de ses contes gothiques où il met en scène de vieilles maisons assaillies par une modernité destructrice du passé, Cram conçoit ses églises non pas comme une résurrection mais comme le retour spectral d'un passé à jamais disparu et qu'il

n'a pas le pouvoir de faire revivre. C'est le cas, en particulier, de l'église anglicane de Ste. Marie de Walkerville en Ontario construite entre 1902 et 1904 sur les dessins de Cram. Ayant recours aux stratégies hantologiques élaborées par le philosophe français Jacques Derrida, la thèse tente une déconstruction de l'église anglicane de Walkerville en faisant ressortir l'horreur de ce spectre qui hante la maison de Dieu telle que conçue par Cram. L'église de Walkerville était une commande de Edward Chandler Walker, puissant chef d'entreprise qui contrôlait comme un monarque la ville de Walkerville. Cet homme de pouvoir était atteint d'une maladie honteuse et fatale: la syphilis. Le programme iconographique de l'église de Walkerville encode cette maladie dégénérative sous la figure biblique d'un lépreux au membre atrophié apparaissant dans un des vitraux du bas-côté. C'est cette figure qui permet d'initier une analyse « déconstructive », la « main » rognée du lépreux étant lu comme les doigts écartés de la lettre « k », marque grammatologique dissimulée dans le terme anglais « gothic » mais révélée dans sa forme archaïque « gothick ». La thèse démontre comment, de par sa configuration structurale, spatiale, sociale et iconographique, l'église St-Mary de Walkerville propose une sémiotique de l'abjection face au monde moderne. Elle prépare ainsi l'arrivée du Chevalier du Saint-Graal, dont seule la main sainte peut mettre fin aux souffrances du Roi Pêcheur, Edward Walker, et, par extension, terminer la nuit sombre de notre modernité décadente. Mais le Chevalier du Saint-Graal arrivera-t-il jamais?

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LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

- [Plate 0.1] Exterior of the new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON
- [Plate 0.2] Exterior of All Saints' Episcopal Church, Ashmont, MA
- [Plate 1.1] Exterior of St. Stephen's Episcopal Church, Cohasset, MA
- [Plate 1.2] Presentation drawing of the new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON
- [Plate 1.3] Exterior of the new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON, as seen from Devonshire Road
- [Plate 1.4] Interior of the new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON
- [Plate 1.5] Presentation painting of the prospective St. John's Episcopal Church, Williamstown, MA
- [Plate 1.6] Presentation image of All Saints' Episcopal Church, Ashmont, MA
- [Plate 1.7] Exterior of Trinity Episcopal Church, Boston, MA
- [Plate 1.8] Presentation drawing of St. Peter's Episcopal Church, Morristown, NJ
- [Plate 1.9] Exterior of St. Michael's Anglican Church, Bray, Berkshire County, England
- [Plate 1.10] Presentation drawing of St. Margaret's Episcopal Chapel, Boston, MA
- [Plate 1.11] Exterior of the Episcopal Chapel of SS. Peter & Paul, Concord, NH
- [Plate 1.12] Exterior of the Anglican Church of St. Michael & All Angels, Hoar Cross, Staffordshire, England
- [Plate 1.13] Exterior of Holy Trinity Anglican Church, Sloane Square, London, England
- [Plate 1.14] "Types of Towers" from John Ruskin's *Stones of Venice*
- [Plate 1.15] "Four Statues" by Johannes Kirchmayer.
- [Plate 1.16] Exterior of St. Marie's Roman Catholic Church, Derbyshire, England

- [Plate 1.17] Exterior of St. Alban's Roman Catholic Church, Macclesfield, England
- [Plate 1.18] Exterior of the ruins of Whitby Abbey, Whitby, England
- [Plate 1.19] Over-mantel of the boardroom fireplace, Administrative Building, West Point Military Academy, West Point, NY
- [Plate 1.20] Vestibule floor tiles, interior of the new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON
- [Plate 1.21] Detail of the Little Castle tile, interior of the new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON
- [Plate 1.22] Sanctuary floor tiles, interior of the new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON
- [Plate 1.23] High altar reredos screen, interior of the new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON
- [Plate 1.24] Patristic saint windows, interior of the new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON
- [Plate 1.25] Detail of the SS. Augustine & Gregory window, interior of the new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON
- [Plate 1.26] Front cover of Emily Delafield's *Alice in Wonderland: A Play*
- [Plate 1.27] Untitled illustration from Lewis Carroll's *The Annotated Alice*
- [Plate 1.28] Back cover of Emily Delafield's *Alice in Wonderland: A Play*
- [Plate 2.1] Exterior of the old St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON
- [Plate 2.2] Exterior of the "Cottage," Walkerville, ON
- [Plate 2.3] Exterior of the Mettawas Hotel & Casino, Kingsville, ON
- [Plate 2.4] Map of Walkerville, ON (c. 1890)
- [Plate 2.5] Exterior of a duplex residence, Walkerville, ON
- [Plate 2.6] Exterior of a duplex residence, Walkerville, ON
- [Plate 2.7] Exterior of the Crown Inn, Walkerville, ON
- [Plate 2.8] Exterior of the Lake Erie, Essex & Detroit River Railway Station, Walkerville, ON

- [Plate 2.9] Exterior of the offices of Hiram Walker & Sons, Ltd., Walkerville, ON
- [Plate 2.10] Exterior of the Palazzo Pandolfini, Florence, Italy
- [Plate 2.11] Letterhead of Hiram Walker & Sons, Ltd. (c. 1903)
- [Plate 2.12] Interior of Christ Episcopal Church, Detroit, MI
- [Plate 2.13] Reredos screen, interior of Christ Episcopal Church, Detroit, MI
- [Plate 2.14] Detail of the sedilia canopy, interior of the new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON
- [Plate 2.15] Detail of eagle protome, interior of Christ Episcopal Church, Detroit, MI
- [Plate 2.16] Tabernacle door, interior of Christ Episcopal Church, Detroit, MI
- [Plate 2.17] Nave clerestory windows, interior of the new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON
- [Plate 2.18] Tombstone of Edward Chandler Walker, Walkerville, ON
- [Plate 2.19] Map of Walkerville, ON (c. 1997)
- [Plate 2.20] Exterior of Willistead Manor, Walkerville, ON
- [Plate 2.21] Presentation drawing of Leys Wood Manor, Sussex, England
- [Plate 2.22] Presentation image of the Eugene Fellner House, Brookline, MA
- [Plate 2.23] Exterior of King Edward's School, Walkerville, ON
- [Plate 2.24] Detail of King Edward the Confessor, interior of the new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON
- [Plate 2.25] Crucifixion window, interior of the new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON
- [Plate 2.26] Ground floor plan of the new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON
- [Plate 2.27] Pulpit, interior of the new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON
- [Plate 2.28] Over-mantel, interior of the Hamlin House, Brookline, MA
- [Plate 2.29] Over-mantel, interior of the Merriam House, Brookline, MA

- [Plate 2.30] Nave arcade column, interior of Calvary Episcopal Church, Americus, GA
- [Plate 2.31] Nave arcade, interior of the new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON
- [Plate 2.32] Detail of Christ from the Crucifixion window, interior of the new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON
- [Plate 2.33] The southern aisle, interior of the new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON
- [Plate 2.34] An ideal church plan from Ralph Adams Cram's *Church Building*
- [Plate 2.35] An ideal church plan from Ralph Adams Cram's *Church Building*
- [Plate 2.36] Ground floor plan of St. Stephen's Episcopal Church, Cohasset, MA
- [Plate 2.37] The southern aisle, interior of St. Stephen's Episcopal Church, Cohasset, MA
- [Plate 2.38] Baptismal font & Adoration of the Magi window, interior of the new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON
- [Plate 2.39] Stringcourse alignments of the new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON
- [Plate 2.40] Exterior of All Saints' Episcopal Church, Ashmont, MA
- [Plate 2.41] Sermon on the Mount window, interior of the new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON
- [Plate 2.42] Sermon on the Mount window, interior of St. Stephen's Episcopal Church, Cohasset, MA
- [Plate 2.43] Detail of St. Mary and the infant Christ, interior of the new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON
- [Plate 2.44] The Griffin tile, interior of the new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON
- [Plate 2.45] Nave arcade, interior of St. Stephen's Episcopal Church, Cohasset, MA
- [Plate 2.46] Nave arcade, interior of the new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON

- [Plate 2.47] Nave arcade, interior of the new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON
- [Plate 2.48] Detail of a Patristic Saint window, interior of the new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON
- [Plate 2.49] Transfiguration window, interior of the new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON
- [Plate 2.50] Adoration of the Magi window, interior of the new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON
- [Plate 2.51] The Adoration of the Magi, Edward Burne-Jones
- [Plate 2.52] The Adoration of the Magi, William Morris
- [Plate 2.53] Detail of the adoring magi from Morris's Adoration of the Magi
- [Plate 2.54] Detail of the third magus from the Adoration of the Magi window, interior of the new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON
- [Plate 2.55] Baptismal font, interior of the new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON
- [Plate 2.56] Baptismal font, interior of the First Congregationalist Church, Montclair, NJ
- [Plate 2.57] Detail of the second magus from the Adoration of the Magi window, interior of the new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON
- [Plate 2.58] Detail of Joseph from the Adoration of the Magi window, interior of the new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON
- [Plate 2.59] Comparative details of the leper from the Sermon on the Mount window and Joseph from the Adoration of the Magi window, interior of the new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON
- [Plate 2.60] Maltese cross tiles, interior of the new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON
- [Plate 4.1] Interior of All Saints' Episcopal Church, Ashmont, MA
- [Plate 4.2] High altar tabernacle door, interior of All Saints' Episcopal Church, Ashmont, MA
- [Plate 4.3] The Grail window, interior of Procter Hall, Princeton University, Princeton, NJ

- [Plate 4.4] Detail of Joseph from the Grail window, interior of Procter Hall, Princeton University, Princeton, NJ
- [Plate 4.5] Detail of the Feast of Pentecost, Camelot, from the Grail window, interior of Procter Hall, Princeton University, Princeton, NJ
- [Plate 4.6] Detail of the mass at Castle Carbonek from the Grail window, interior of Procter Hall, Princeton University, Princeton, NJ
- [Plate 4.7] Detail of the Grail Quest achieved from the Grail window, interior of Procter Hall, Princeton University, Princeton, NJ
- [Plate 4.8] High altar tabernacle door, interior of St. Paul's Episcopal Church, Brockton, MA
- [Plate 4.9] Detail of St. George from the high altarpiece, interior of All Saints' Episcopal Church, Ashmont, MA
- [Plate 4.10] Detail of the riding knights from the high altarpiece, interior of All Saints' Episcopal Church, Ashmont, MA
- [Plate 4.11] Exterior of the new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON
- [Plate 4.12] Exterior of St. Michael's Tower-on-the-Tor, Glastonbury, England
- [Plate 4.13] Detail of the tower cornice plaques, exterior of the new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON
- [Plate 4.14] Detail of the tower cornice plaques, exterior of the Episcopal Chapel of SS. Peter & Paul, Concord, NH
- [Plate 4.15] Detail of the four wind cornice plaques, exterior of the new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON
- [Plate 4.16] The gargoyle, exterior of the new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON
- [Plate 4.17] Historiated initial from Bertram Goodhue's *Book Decorations*
- [Plate 4.18] Sketch of the four evangelist finials for the interior of the new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON
- [Plate 4.19] Sketch of the high altar reredos for the interior of the new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON
- [Plate 4.20] Detail of choir-stall finials, interior of the new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON

- [Plate 4.21] High altar, interior of the new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON
- [Plate 4.22] Detail of St. Mark's choir-stall finial, interior of the new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON
- [Plate 4.23] The Visitation window, interior of the new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON
- [Plate 4.24] Interior of the new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON
- [Plate 4.25] Frontispiece of *The Knight Errant*
- [Plate 4.26] The knight's move through the ground floor plan of the new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON
- [Plate 4.27] The Maltese cross
- [Plate 4.28] The nave alley Maltese cross tile, interior of the new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON
- [Plate 4.29] The southern aisle Maltese cross tiles, interior of the new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON
- [Plate 4.30] The Presentation of Jesus window, interior of the new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON
- [Plate 4.31] The Chapel Perilous, interior of the new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON
- [Plate 4.32] Moravian tiles on the step before the mo[u]rning chapel, interior of the new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON
- [Plate 4.33] The Knight and Centaur tiles from the chapel step, interior of the new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON
- [Plate 4.34] The Knight, Dog, and Demon tiles from the chapel step, interior of the new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON
- [Plate 4.35] The Etin tile, interior of the new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON
- [Plate 4.36] Detail of Lancelot passing the lions from the Grail window, interior of Procter Hall, Princeton University, Princeton, NJ
- [Plate 4.37] The fish cross, interior of the new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON

- [Plate 4.38] The high altar window, interior of the Emmanuel Episcopal Church, Newport, RI
- [Plate 4.39] Detail of the Crucifixion from the high altar window, interior of the Emmanuel Episcopal Church, Newport, RI
- [Plate 4.40] Detail of the praying angels from the Crucifixion window, interior of the new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON
- [Plate 4.41] Detail of the censer-swinging angels from the Crucifixion window, interior of the new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON
- [Plate 4.42] Detail of the chalice-holding angels from the Crucifixion window, interior of the new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON
- [Plate 4.43] Detail of Galahad healing the Fisher King from the Grail window, interior of Procter Hall, Princeton University, Princeton, NJ
- [Plate 4.44] Detail of St. George, interior of the new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON
- [Plate 4.45] Detail of St. Mary's face from the reredos screen, interior of the new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON
- [Plate 4.46] Detail of St. John the Baptist, interior of the new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON
- [Plate 4.47] Detail of St. Stephen, interior of the new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON
- [Plate 4.48] Detail of St. George's face, interior of the new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON
- [Plate 4.49] Detail of Marian hearts, interior of the new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON
- [Plate 4.50] The credence shelf, interior of the new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON
- [Plate 4.51] The bishop's throne, interior of the new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON
- [Plate 4.52] Detail of the angel & Christ's loincloth from the Crucifixion window, interior of the new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON
- [Plate 4.53] "How King Marke Found Sir Tristram," Aubrey Beardsley

- [Plate 4.54] Grotesque faces from the bishop's mitre & organ casing, interior of the new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON
- [Plate 4.55] Detail of the Grail healing the cripple of Sarras from the Grail window, interior of Procter Hall, Princeton University, Princeton, NJ
- [Plate 4.56] The "leper's squint," interior of the new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON
- [Plate 4.57] Detail of the closet leading to the "leper's squint" from the rector's master bedroom, interior of the rectory of the new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON

PRE-FACE

Like a flash of lightning came a jagged line of fire down the blank wall ... and, in the very middle, black against the curious brightness, the armoured man, or ghost, or devil, standing ... beneath the rusty hook. (Cram 1895a, 47)

This Thing meanwhile looks at us and sees us not see it even when it is there. A spectral asymmetry interrupts here all specularity. It de-synchronizes, it recalls us to anachrony. We will call this the *visor effect*: we do not see who looks at us. (Derrida 1994, 6–7; emphasis original)

On Sunday morning, July 24, 1904, Henry Wood Booth, a laic visitor reporting for the *Detroit News*, boarded a ferry on the Michigan side of the Detroit River. He crossed the border for a small Canadian company town called Walkerville, Ontario, to write an article on the town's recent Gothic-Revival edifice—the new St. Mary's Anglican Church [Plate 0.1].¹ During his visit, Booth recorded several features of the architecture and its service that “puzzled” him. He noted, for example, that the “main altar and the altar in the lady chapel” are made of “unmistakable stone—Bedford limestone, I believe—there is no communion ‘table’ here.” Yet he also noted that “there are no candles” on either of the altars. In essence, the puzzled reporter could not understand the religious politics

¹ Plans for the new St. Mary's Anglican Church were initiated at least as early as April 1902. The congregation laid the cornerstone on May 25, 1903, and the Anglican bishop consecrated the church on April 10, 1904, a few months before Booth's visit.

The Booth family of Detroit would continually take an interest in the architecture of Ralph Adams Cram and Bertram Goodhue, whose firm designed the new St. Mary's Anglican Church. Henry Booth's brother, George Gough Booth, was director of *The Detroit News*, sending Henry to Walkerville to report on the architectural commission. George Booth then became the first president of the Detroit Society of Arts and Crafts in 1906, inviting Cram to lecture at the Detroit Society. George Booth would later purchase the model for Bertram Goodhue's reredos design for St. Thomas's Episcopal Church, New York City, and, in the 1920s, commissioned Goodhue to design Christ Episcopal Church, Cranbrook, Michigan (begun 1924).

of the building. Was the new St. Mary's a site of "Low-Church evangelical Protestantism, or of High-Church sacerdotal sacramentalism, or of Broad-Church rationalistic latitudinarianism?" The stone altars suggested a High-Church affiliation; the lack of candles suggested evangelism. So, after the service, and after a tea-time interview with William H. Battersby, the rector, Booth broached the topic with a paradoxical statement:

As I was coming away, I remarked [to Battersby]: "Well, I should set you down for an evangelical high-churchman." "Why?" he asked. "Because" I said, "first, you were educated at Durham, an evangelical stronghold.... On the other hand, however, I do not see how you could advise, or consent to, the erection of a church on this plan unless you have some kind of High-Church, ritualistic aspirations." At which he laughed as we shook hands, but said nothing. (Booth 1904, n.p.)

In the wake of that sudden burst of laughter, the reporter's query faded into silence, and he left the building without an answer. He assumed, logically enough, that the plan of a church must materialize through the Church's institutional agents, and thus the new St. Mary's was subject to its Anglican rector. Yet planning and building the Walkerville church was not really under the rector's control. To be sure, Battersby was the local incumbent and was to perform the Anglican liturgy from within that building. Nevertheless, in the abyssal "nothing" of his silence, the question of the plan remains open. Who authorized the construct?

In 1979, Cyril Hallam, a Walkerville historian, tried to fill the opening of the rector's silence: "it had been the architect and not the rector who had insisted that the church be built on this plan" (1979b, 31). Hallam was referring to the American architect Ralph Adams Cram (1863–1942). Cram, indeed, was an Anglo-Catholic High-Churchman, and his Boston firm sent the plans for the

church to Walkerville, along with a letter dating July 29, 1902, in which Cram wrote: "we have tried to make this an absolutely perfect piece of ecclesiastical design" (St. Mary's Church Papers, file 278). For Cram, perfect design was High-Church and ritualistic Gothic, like the Walkerville edifice was to be. Yet neither the plans for the building nor the aforementioned letter were sent to Battersby, the rector; they were sent to the eponymous Walker brothers of Walkerville: Edward Chandler (1851–1915), Franklin Hiram (1853–1916), and James Harrington (1859–1919) Walker. The Walker brothers were the ones who commissioned the building. More precisely, among the Walker brothers, it was the eldest, Edward, who had the most invested: "The church itself Mr. Ed[ward Walker] is very anxious to have pretty nearly as designed by Mr. Cram" (St. Mary's Church Papers, file 248).² Thus, the new St. Mary's Anglican Church was not simply the rector's building, as the reporter thought. Nor was it simply something that Cram "insisted" on building, as Hallam would have us believe. Edward Chandler Walker anxiously accepted Cram's design, but why was he so anxious?

During the design and construction phases of 1902 to 1904, Edward Walker and Ralph Adams Cram erected the Walkerville church on a secret contract between them. This text speculates on the secrecy encrypted in the architecture. Yet this act of specular reflection will not fulfil the question of the church's plan. In the end, it will only demonstrate that beneath the rector's laughter the building "itself" partakes of another sense of (the word) humour, a sick sense of humour, a sort of comedy of heirs that might occur to us only through a sudden burst of deconstructive laughter. It is a laughter that "literally

² The one change Edward requested was a reduction in seating from 300 to 250.

never *appears*, because it exceeds phenomenality in general" (Derrida 1978, 256; emphasis original). In a word, deconstruction is a laughter that *haunts*, soliciting a spectral force that shakes to uncover the "limit of discourse and the beyond of absolute knowledge" (Derrida 1978, 261). On that condition, we cannot absolutely know what is haunting Walkerville from beyond the point of its interment—no more than we can absolutely know what deconstruction is. Yet we can still trace its spectral effects from within the church. As Jacques Derrida stated, "haunting implies places, habitation, and always a haunted house" (1996, 96).³ Thus, we can explore the Walkerville church as a spectral edifice, as a house haunted by the Gothick. This text inaugurates a deconstruction of the Gothick at the discursive limits of Gothic architecture, where Cram played with the discourse of Gothic literature on Edward's behalf. Cram published a book of supernatural horrors in 1895, and the *Black Spirits and White* of Cram's Gothic ghost stories continue to haunt the storeys of his Gothic architecture.

This text does not simply speculate on the *presence* of Gothic literature in Cram's Walkerville church. It does not speculate in the sense that we invest ourselves (tacitly or otherwise) in something that will return to us in the form of absolute knowledge. Such would be the Holy Grail of interdisciplinary Gothic studies. Instead, I am reminded that "speculation always speculates on some spectre; it speculates in the mirror [*speculum*] of what it produces, on the spectacle that it gives itself ... to see" (Derrida 1994, 146; emphasis original). What I see written on the pages of the best Gothic ghost stories is something

³ This point is especially valid in the English language, where "the word 'haunting' is etymologically bound to that of 'house'" (Wigley 1993, 163). In other words, the word "haunt" derives from the Old English *hāmettan*, and the Old English *hām* means *home*.

paradoxically impossible to see. It is a literature of unspeakable horror—a horror that, once again, “literally never *appears* because it exceeds phenomenality in general.”⁴ Gothic literature does justice to the word “Gothic” only when it refuses to present its subject fully in the presence of black ink on white paper. The best of Cram’s *Black Spirits and White* frequently play upon that textual effect. This essay consequently explores the Walkerville church as the work of Gothic *arche-text*, as a site in which the unspeakable is haunting the Gothic conventions of its structural, spatial, social, and semiotic languages. Architectural historians have much to learn from the new St. Mary’s Anglican Church, but only if we are willing to deconstruct the speculative process that generates what we know (or presume to know) about Gothic architecture.

On that condition, I pursue Derrida’s engagement with the great dialectical speculator, G. W. F. Hegel. Derrida stated that “We will never be finished with the reading or rereading of Hegel, and, in a certain way, I do nothing other than attempt to explain myself on this point” (1981b, 77).⁵ Derrida’s engagement with Hegel “will never be finished” because he endlessly undermined Hegel’s systematization of knowledge and the teleological structure of Hegel’s speculation. Knowledge, for Hegel, was the culmination of dialectical

⁴ Nor am I unique in this capacity. When Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick (1986) wrote of the conventions that bind Gothic literature as a genre, the foremost convention was the experience of the unspeakable. Furthermore, when Jodey Castricano (2001) explored the intersections of Gothic literature and deconstruction, she pursued Sedgwick’s point, citing the deconstructive *topoi* of the unspeakable.

⁵ In his annotations to another Derrida text, Alan Bass elaborated the argument: “For Derrida, the deconstruction of metaphysics implies an endless confrontation with Hegelian concepts, and the move from a restrictive, ‘speculative’ philosophical economy—in which there is nothing which cannot be made to make sense, in which there is nothing *other* than meaning—to a ‘general’ economy—which affirms that which exceeds meaning, the excess of meaning from which there can be no speculative profit—involves a reinterpretation of the central Hegelian concept: the *Aufhebung*” (Derrida 1982, 19n23; emphasis original).

oppositions—one theory contradicting another, and so on. Hegel speculated that contradictions resolve, not simply in the sense that one contradictory concept abrogates another but rather in the sense that all concepts are syllogistically assimilated into a hierarchical unity of truth. The contradictions are positive and negative values (thesis and antithesis) of the same currency or synthesis of information. In short, there is nothing meaningless, nothing outside knowledge for the inevitability of Hegel's speculation.

This is why the German word *Aufhebung* was so important to Hegel's dialectics. It complexly translates as an act of *lifting up*, elevating contradictions in a teleological process that conserves their contradictory complexities while negating their un-assimilative oppositions. Both conservation and negation are contradictory meanings of the word *aufheben*, which then lifts into the privileged strategy of *Aufhebung*. Derrida summarized Hegel's position thusly: "Hegel, in the greater *Logic*, determines difference as contradiction only in order to resolve it, to lift it up (according to the syllogistic process of speculative dialectics) into the self-presence of an onto-theological or onto-teleological synthesis" (1981b, 44; emphasis original). What is at stake, then, for deconstruction is the spectralization of Hegel's speculative process, a disturbance that dislocates the assimilation of contradictions within the Hegelian *Aufhebung*.

The spectral effect of a deconstructive text is precisely its refusal to resolve. It disrupts the proof of knowledge built into Hegel's speculation. Not fortuitously, then, when Derrida hailed *différance* as a deconstructive trope, he stated that, "if there were a definition of *différance*, it would be precisely the limit, the interruption, the destruction of the Hegelian *relève* wherever it

operates" (1981b, 40–1; emphasis original).⁶ Thus, when my epigraph rehearses deconstruction as a "spectral asymmetry that interrupts here all specularity," I am reading "specularity" as an allusion to Hegel's dialectics—that of Hegel *qui genuit* Marx. Hence, the "spectral asymmetry" of what Derrida called the *visor effect* is deconstruction's denial of the possibility that we can lift up (*relève*, *Aufhebung*) the spectre's visor to know, with absolute certainty, the identity of its face. Accordingly, this "Pre-Face" does not speculate on the true face of Gothic interdisciplinarity. It would rather consider a spectre haunting the discursive limits of the Gothic, be they architectural or literary.

What is a spectre? A spectre cannot be present and accounted for. It has no proper self to be known: "not out of ignorance, but because this non-object, this non-present present, this being-there of an absent or departed one no longer belongs to knowledge" (Derrida 1994, 6). It can never *be* known precisely because it disturbs the ontological categories of self and other, presence and absence, life and death, body and spirit, visibility and invisibility. The spectre is neither the former nor the latter value of any dialectical binary, nor can it be assimilated as a syllogistic *B* value between them—due to the disruptive visor effect. For Derrida, to *be* or not to *B* is an impossible question.

This is why his interest in the spectre's visor and the impossible lifting thereof was an allusion to William Shakespeare's play *Hamlet*, in which the ghost haunting the battlements of Elsinore is dressed, from top to toe, in armour. And, even though the armour looks like that of Hamlet's father, and even though the spectre wears its visor up (thus allowing Hamlet and others to see the "face" of

⁶ The word *relève* is Derrida's French translation of Hegel's *Aufhebung*.

his father), it does not mean that the spectre is, in fact, the father's spirit. One of the irresistible tensions of the play is Hamlet's doubt that he had met the ghost of his father and not something else altogether, which he cannot know for sure: "The one who says 'I am thy Fathers [sic] Spirit' can only be taken at his word" (Derrida 1994, 7). Thus, the inaugural question of the play "Who's there?" can never be answered because we cannot lift the visor's limitations on identity (*Hamlet* 1.1.1).⁷ Moreover, the spectre's demand for justice, to "revenge his foul and most unnatural murder" (*Hamlet* 1.5.25), can never be resolved because we can neither know the veracity of that injunction, nor what it entails, nor even who it is finally that demands it of us. To do justice to the spectre and the effect of its visor, we have to consider that it does not look at us with the ontological eyes of some future-present that we will eventually know. According to Derrida, its vision is *hauntological*. The spectre disrupts all certainty of ontological closure.

This "Pre-Face" consequently marks the site of the *hauntological* spectre. Derrida was suspicious of the ontological role traditionally assigned to a book's preface because the "*pre* of the preface makes the future present.... The *pre* reduces the future to the form of manifest presence" (1981a, 7; emphasis original).⁸ In other words, the traditional promise of a preface is to tell us what we are going to read after we *lift up* the final page of the prefatory exterior, to tell us

⁷ All in-text references from Shakespeare's *Hamlet* are courtesy of Greenblatt, gen. ed. (1997), and they refer to the act, scene, and line(s) of this edition.

⁸ Derrida's deconstruction of the preface was a response to Hegel's *Phenomenology of Spirit*, in which Hegel spoke of the preface in negative terms. According to Derrida, the Hegelian preface "appears to be external to philosophy since it takes place rather in a didactic setting than within the self-presentation of a concept. But it is internal to the extent that ... the exteriority of the negative ... still belongs to the process of truth and must leave its trace upon it" (1981a, 11–12). Hence, Hegel sought to lift up (*relève*, *Aufhebung*) the preface into a higher unity of truth by virtue of the dialectical relativity of positive and negative values: "In discourse ... negativity is always the underside and accomplice of positivity" (Derrida 1978, 259).

what is present in our future reading of the proper text that it pre-faces. Thus, I am forging the status of the preface into the spectre's visor. In writing the preface to this text, the "Pre-Face," I am concerned with how the spectre's visor effect disrupts the dialectical relationship of a preface to the writing of a text. The deconstructive strategy of writing a "Pre-Face" is to deny the possibility of getting beyond the preface. Effectively, then, the chapters that follow this "Pre-Face" are still a preface by another name or names, none of which are proper names that ultimately reveal the self-fulfillment of a conclusive text.⁹ The text "itself" is haunted by the Gothick.¹⁰

Moreover, since this is an English text that plays with the English structure of the word "preface," I call attention to an English translation of the Latin *præfatio*, which is "to say beforehand."¹¹ That translation can be deconstructed in terms of the spectre's visor effect, suggesting that the armour of a gauntlet appears *before* the *hand* and disrupts any conclusive knowledge of an internal self inside the gauntlet's shell. For the metaphysics of presence, the hand (fingerprinted, for

⁹ Alan Bass further articulated the point: "The question [of the preface traditionally] hinges upon the classical difference between a philosophical text and its preface, the preface usually being a recapitulation of the truth presented by the text. Since Derrida challenges the notion that a *text* can *present* a *truth*, his prefaces—in which this challenge is anticipated—must especially mark that which makes the text explode the classical ideas of truth and presence" (Derrida 1978, 301–2n3; emphasis original).

¹⁰ I implicate this point in the textual effects of this essay. For one, the "Pre-Face" font is the same as the "proper" text to follow. Not only have I denied the italicization of the prefatory text to set it apart from the subsequent chapters, but I also printed the entire project in a "Gothic" font rather than the "Roman" default of my word-processing programme. Furthermore, my "Pre-Face" does not use Roman numerals. Traditionally, Roman numerals help differentiate the preface from the proper text to follow. Consequently, I am deconstructing the "Roman" default position of modern font formation and numerical divisions between a text and its preface—an act of violence that is rather Gothic in its deconstruction of classical knowledge production.

¹¹ The subject of this text is Anglo-centric, as well. I focus on English examples of the modern Gothic (including Anglo-North American), be they architectural or literary. I do so partly to accentuate the parasitic effects of deconstruction, as if deconstruction's continental "origin" renders Anglo-Gothic discourse vulnerable to the uneasy effects of a French dis-ease.

example) can be just as identifiable as the face. The hand is supposed to be another “face,” another signifier of the self; and such a *gauntlet effect*, as I call it, before the hand is an image of the preface’s beforehand that spectralizes the Gothic as much as the visor of *Hamlet*’s ghost.

On the one hand, Shakespeare’s *Hamlet* was crucial to the inauguration of Gothic literature. The “first” Gothic novelist (and dilettante architect), Horace Walpole, acknowledged his debt to Shakespeare as an inspiration for his ghost story, *The Castle of Otranto* (1764). In his “Preface to the Second Edition,” Walpole wrote, “That great master of nature, Shakespeare, was the model I copied” (1764/1996, 10–11).¹² On the other hand, Shakespeare’s ghost suffered a prestidigitation to inhabit *The Castle of Otranto*. Walpole apparently had a dream prior to the composition of his Gothic novel: “I had thought myself in an ancient castle (a very natural dream for a head filled like mine with Gothic story), and that on the uppermost banister of a great staircase I saw a gigantic hand in armour” (Walpole, qtd. in W. Lewis 1934, 88–9). The Gothic gauntlet is interchangeable with the visor, and Walpole (his head filled with Gothic stories and storeys) handed the gauntlet to the haunted architecture of his book. The servant Bianca reported: “I looked up, and, if your greatness will believe me, I saw upon the uppermost banister of the great stairs a hand in armour as big, as big—I thought I should have swooned—I never stopped until I came hither—

¹² The association of Shakespeare’s drama with the Gothic signifier goes back at least to the early eighteenth century. In 1725, when Alexander Pope defended Shakespeare’s resurgent reputation, he did so through a Gothic architectural analogy: “I will conclude by saying of Shakespeare, that with all his faults, and with the irregularity of his drama, one may look upon his work, in comparison with those that are more finished and regular, as upon an ancient majestic piece of Gothic architecture compared with a neat modern building; the latter is more elegant and glaring, but the former is more strong and more solemn” (Pope, qtd. in Lovejoy 1932, 441–2).

Would I were well out of this castle" (Walpole 1764/1996, 104). More than once, I shall return to the question of the hand.

For now, it is enough to note that Walpole placed the severed gauntlet within the Castle of Otranto because a broken legacy haunted the house, a legacy whose brokenness Walpole literalized as a spectral series of armoured bits.¹³ Manfred, the villain of the novel, inherited the principality of Otranto through an ancestral usurpation, and the castle remained haunted until rightful ownership was ostensibly restored.¹⁴ Like Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, *The Castle of Otranto* is anachronistically set in a time of usurpation, in a time that is "out of joint" (*Hamlet* 1.5.189); and, like Shakespeare's drama, Walpole's novel called for someone who might be "born to set it right" (*Hamlet* 1.5.190).

So too are Cram's Gothic ghost stories. Not only does the title, *Black Spirits and White*, come from *Macbeth*, another Shakespeare play of usurpation and spectral consequences, Cram's narrator also admitted: "I had a strong predisposition to believe some things that I could not explain, wherein I was out of sympathy with the age" (1895a, 12). The inexplicable horror of living in a time that is out of joint frightened Cram because modernity had usurped the Church of its Catholic rites and its Gothic architectural supremacy. Cram is of interest, then, to deconstruction because of the broken Gothic legacy that he saw as haunting the modern world both textually and architecturally.

¹³ As E. J. Clery noted, "fragmentation is the order of the day, and the stage properties are vital" (1996, xvi). Hence, early imitators of *Otranto* were John Aikin and Anna Laetitia Barbauld, who wrote "Sir Bertrand: A Fragment" (1773). Aikin and Barbauld not only employed Walpole's severed hand, they also extended the corporeal fragmentation to the very body of the text—abandoning "narrative coherence altogether in favour of a kaleidoscopic succession of Gothic effects ... after which the text breaks off abruptly" (Clery 1996, xvi).

¹⁴ Christine Berthin (2010) recently challenged the rightfulness of ownership in Otranto.

As Jodey Castricano argued, "Derrida's concerns intersect or fold into those of the Gothic at the point where each approaches the issue of inheritance, legacy, and haunting precisely through the figure of a ghost, phantom, or revenant who, having returned from the dead, haunts the living with unspeakable secrets" (2001, 21). Castricano's text may only have been referring to the literary Gothic, but because both literary and architectural discourses converge on the Gothic adjective, Castricano's argument has an uncanny way of inhabiting the history of Gothic architecture. After all, an anonymous critic of Cram's architectural theory once opined, "either the time or Mr. Cram is very much out of joint" (Cram 1893a, 357). The broken legacy of the Gothic simultaneously underwrites Cram's Gothic architecture *and* literature, and neither his Walkerville church nor his collected ghost stories could put to rest the horror of inheriting that broken heritage. Thus, before the remains of this text can disturb Cram's work with the Walker family, the "Pre-Face" must deconstruct the Gothic legacy to which Cram was heir. How does the spectre of deconstruction demonstrate the Gothic as something out of joint?

THE GOTHICK

Gothic architecture is an anachronism. The earliest surviving criticisms of the Gothic come from Italian Renaissance art theorists who treated the Gothic as a retrospective comparison to their own Roman-inspired designs for building. Giorgio Vasari, in particular, wrote that

there is another sort of architectural work called German, which is very different in its proportions and its decorations from both the antique [Roman] and the modern [Renaissance]. Its characteristics are not adopted these days by any of the leading architects, who consider

them monstrous and barbaric, wholly ignorant of any accepted ideas of sense and order.... This manner of building was invented by the Goths, who put up structures in this way after all the ancient [Roman] buildings had been destroyed and all the architects killed in the wars. It was they who made vaults with pointed arches ... and then filled the whole of Italy with their accursed buildings.¹⁵ (Vasari, qtd. in Brooks 1999, 10)

The wars that Vasari lamented were the ancient Gothic invasions of the Italian peninsula, a clash of European north and south culminating in the sack of ancient Rome, 410 AD, and the beginning of the Middle Ages. Yet, because we have long since discredited the Goths with inventing “vaults with pointed arches,” the later medieval architecture that we still call Gothic is rendered twice anachronistic by the word. First, it situates the architecture of “vaults with pointed arches” in a cultural context that is too early—namely, the fifth-century Goths; second, it is applied only after the fact, from a “modern” (i.e., Renaissance) critical perspective that presumes to come after the medieval past. In the strictest sense, the Gothic adjective is both too early and too late to represent the architectural presence of later medieval Europe.

Because I am interested in deconstructing the modern Gothic Revival and not the medieval “Gothic,” I am not suggesting that we abandon the Gothic adjective in favour of a word specific to the Middle Ages—if such a word exists. Rather, the “pre-originary anteriority” of the Gothic (its mythically pre-destined

¹⁵ The criticism of medieval “Gothic” literature was soon to follow. In *The Schoolmaster* (1570), the Englishman Robert Ascham wrote that “our beggarly rhyming, brought first into Italy by Goths and Huns when all good verses and all good learning too were destroyed by them ... [was] at last received into England by men of ... small learning and less judgement in that behalf” (Ascham, qtd. in Sowerby 2000, 16).

The Renaissance criticism of Gothic architecture soon also appeared among the humanists of England. In *Elements of Architecture* (1624), Sir Henry Wotton wrote that lancet arches, “both for the natural imbecility of the sharp angle itself, and likewise for their un-comeliness, ought to be exiled from judicious eyes and left to their first inventors, *the Goths*, or Lombards, amongst other relics of that barbarous age” (Wotton, qtd. in K. Clark 1962, 3–4; emphasis original).

condition, assigned only after the fact) is precisely what calls attention to its modern spectrality (Derrida 1994, 21; Parkin-Gounelas 1999, 128). I insist upon the Gothic adjective precisely because it was not *present* in the “original” late medieval architecture that we continue, anachronistically, to call Gothic. It inhabits that architecture in a way that accentuates the modern Gothic Revival as the disjointed simulacrum of an “original” that, in the strictest sense, never happened. Even though volumes have been written on the Gothic Revival’s quest for architectural precedence, that semiotic procedure of matching modern signifier with medieval signified is not exactly a question of Gothic architecture. The Gothic-ness of medieval construction does not haunt us (for good or for ill or for both or for neither) until after the Renaissance declaration of its death. At the same time though, no matter how successful the modern revival of medieval forms may have been, modern Gothic architects could not avoid the Gothic precisely because they organized their buildings into a collection of meanings that intersected with the inheritance of their mythic Gothic “origin.”

What is there about Gothic origins that disrupt the possibility of presence? One might argue that, even though the “Gothic” does not strictly address itself to the past-presence of later medieval Europe, it does address itself to the past-presence of the fifth-century Goths. As a result, the Gothic adjective of modern Gothic architecture should properly represent the revived presence of the ancient Goths. Yet even that admission would lead us to an impossible question: who were the ancient Goths? What did their invasion mean, and on whom are we to project that meaning as to understand the invasion as a matter of ancient

Gothic presence?¹⁶ Do we have to speak of the ancient Goths in terms of unanimous identity? Was the Gothic invasion of ancient Rome an act of total barbarity, as Vasari would have us believe? Not necessarily, for there was also a group of sixteenth-century scholars at the University of Uppsala who had researched the then newly unearthed *De Origine Actibusque Getarum*, better known as the *Getica*. The *Getica* is a sixth-century text on the origins of a Gothic tribe called the Getes, and its author represented the Goths "not as barbarians, but as a young and vigorous people opposing an empire which was moribund and corrupt" (Brooks 1999, 39).¹⁷ Perhaps, then, the Gothic invasion was also an act of liberation from imperial Roman decadence and tyranny, and could there not have been *at least* as many other motivations to invade Rome as there were ancient Goths to raise an armoured fist, or two, against it? This last question is the crux of the matter. Just because terrifying barbarity and enlightened liberation are the most readily accountable meanings for the Gothic invasions, we cannot

¹⁶ We might take these questions further by noting that the ancient Goths were not the first to act violently against Rome, nor was Rome the first city in which violence was posthumously interpreted by those looking to identify with either the defenders or invaders. Rather, what marks the sack of Rome as an event whose singularity can be traced to the date 410 AD is the fact that the Gothic adjective was then attached to an interminable legacy of violence in ways that shaped the cultural legacy of Europe and its North American legates.

¹⁷ Chris Brooks further noted "writers outside Sweden, particularly in England, expanded on the story on the basis, ironically, of the first-century work *Germania* by the Roman historian Tacitus.... Like the Goths in the *Getica*, Tacitus's Germans were ... distinguished by an intense love of liberty, preferred death to the possibility of enslavement, living in open countryside on their own land, choosing their own kings, and making major decisions through tribal assemblies" (1999, 39; emphasis original). In other words, what the British gained in combining the *Getica* with *Germania* was a historical precedence for the parliamentary structure of their political culture, conflating the Germanic Getes with one of their own ancestral peoples, the Jutes. British Parliament was an ancient Gothic tradition, according to that combinatory process. Furthermore, as Samuel Kliger noted (1952), the *Translatio Imperii ad Teutonicos* strengthened that combination, emphasizing the Carolingian translation of power from the Roman Pope to the Germanic Holy Roman Emperor, which then legitimized the German-based Protestant Reformation as the overruling of a corrupt and tyrannous papal Rome. Thus, England, as a land both Protestant and Parliamentary, could ultimately see itself as Gothic.

conclude that they are definitive. Thus, we have *at least* two possibilities about the ancient Goths, neither of which can finally (or originally) define the Gothic.

This is why the question of Gothic meaning is impossible and why fifth-century Gothic "origins" cannot be fully present for modern Gothicists to represent. The ancient Goths were *neither* terrifying barbarians *nor* enlightened liberators; *nor* can those dialectical meanings add up to the sum total of true Gothic culture. They remain an anachronistic legacy superimposed onto a later medieval culture of presumed Gothic barbarity or civility. Thus, the spectral conditions of inheritance are crucial to the Gothic:

If the readability of a legacy were given, natural, transparent, univocal, if it did not call for and at the same time defy interpretation, we would never have anything to inherit from it.... One always inherits from a secret—which says "read me, will you ever be able to do so?" ... The injunction itself ... can only be one by dividing itself ... differing/deferring itself, by speaking at the same time several times—and in several voices. (Derrida 1994, 16)

Gothic heritage is a secret, a spectral uncertainty that calls for and yet defies interpretation. It is an army of inscrutable ghosts haunting the battlements of ancient Roman ruin. They may gesture at us with their gauntlets, and we may think we know what they signify, but we cannot lift their spectral armour to see the truth of who they were. Hence, with so many inheritors speaking simultaneously in so many voices from within so many discourses (architecture and literature, especially), the Gothic is an undecidable that I contribute to Derrida's perpetual chain. It is never truly one with itself.¹⁸

¹⁸ Such a declaration is not to be confused with the "facile relativism" (Mitchell 1986, 38) that W. J. T. Mitchell aptly described as a "nihilistic abandonment to free play and arbitrary will" (1986, 29). Instead, I call for Mitchell's "hard, rigorous relativism that regards knowledge as a social product" (1986, 38), where "our modes of knowledge and representation may be 'arbitrary' and conventional,' [but] they are [still] the constituents of the forms of life, the practices and traditions within which we must make epistemological, ethical, and political choices" (1986, 29). That,

The implications of this spectral Gothicism are myriad and worth exploring in several contexts. This "Pre-Face" deconstructs the Gothic legacy at a pivotal moment in the history of the Gothic Revival. Michael Hall paraphrased John Summerson thusly: "British architecture in the 1830s and 1840s encouraged an intellectual *cordon sanitaire* between eighteenth- and nineteenth-century studies.... The 1830s have become a moat which surprisingly few scholars cross with ease, perpetuating a gulf evident in such divisions in architectural history and conservation as that between the Georgian Group and the Victorian Society" (M. Hall 2002, 14–15; emphasis original).¹⁹ Deconstruction constantly undermines the prophylaxis of a *cordon sanitaire*, and my reading of the Gothic shall spectralize scholars who have reassured themselves that the moat between Georgian (1740–1830) and Victorian (1837–1901) England is sanitary [*sanitaire*].²⁰

More to the point, I shall pray upon scholars who have emphasized the sacred space of Victorian-cum-Edwardian Gothic churches. Scholars too often study (or dismiss) the post-Georgian eras on behalf of an architectural discourse that sought to cleanse the Gothic of all that was unworthy of the house of God, a discourse that sought sanctuary in the Church as their highest architectural

ultimately, was Derrida's point about the readability of a legacy: "an inheritance is never gathered together, it is never one with itself. Its presumed unity, if there is one, can consist only in the *injunction to reaffirm by choosing*" (1994, 16; emphasis original). Engaging with the legacies of historical modes of representation, such as the Gothic, requires an acknowledgment of the choices made (by Cram, for example, and ourselves) in relation to the undecidability that overflows the limits of any given choice. Haunting, therefore, is the persistent lingering of all that is not "present" in any chosen mode of representation.

¹⁹ Hall called attention to Summerson's observation only to undercut it. Hall was interested in how ideas assumed to be turning points in Victorian architectural discourse were actually rooted in select examples of eighteenth-century Gothic.

²⁰ King William IV ruled the British Empire from 1830–37. Although not a Georgian monarch in name, William IV has often been gathered with his four Georgian predecessors as a constituent of the Georgian era. Thus, it has been argued that the Georgian era extended to 1837.

calling. Consequently, scholars treat the post-Georgian Gothicists as if the metaphorical waters of their moat were more than sanitary; they were holy. Starting with the trenchant writings of A. W. N. Pugin (1812–52), the 1840s cleaved the discourse of architectural history in such a way that Victorian architects could cast aspersions on their Georgian predecessors. According to Neil Levine, Pugin introduced a new standard of realism in the 1840s, one that exorcized the Georgian “fictions of ‘verisimilitude’” (2009, 116). Pugin’s declaration of *True Principles* meant that post-Georgian Gothicists frequently saw Georgian Gothic as mere “fictitious effect” (Pugin 1841b, 39). Consequently, when architectural historians turn to the post-Georgian eras of the Gothic Revival, they presume to exorcize the fictions of Gothic literature alongside the fictions of Georgian Gothic architecture. The 1840s have become a *cordon sanitaire* not only between architectural subject positions but also between the disciplinary spaces of Gothic architecture and Gothic literature.²¹

To date, Chris Brooks’s study of *The Gothic Revival* (1999) remains the most sophisticated interdisciplinary reading of the Gothic. Yet even he consolidated the disciplinary moat. Brooks argued that, in the Georgian era, the word Gothic occupied a “kind of ideological armoury,” one that was “charged with a formidable complex of meanings and associations” (1999, 130). Thus, prior to the 1840s, Georgian gentlemen like Horace Walpole could, on the one hand, build modern Gothic mansions like Strawberry Hill (begun 1752). Armed with a copy of the Magna Carta and the order to execute Charles I on either side of his master bed, Walpole inhabited his *papier-mâché* castle as a British parliamentarian

²¹ See my brief historiography of the discourses (Appendix A).

stronghold. On the other hand, Walpole's dream of the spectral gauntlet haunted him from that same master bedroom. It prompted his writing of the "first" Gothic novel, where the fictional architecture of Otranto, having many features in common with Strawberry Hill, transformed the stronghold of British liberty into a dungeon of barbaric, foreign tyranny. In short, Brooks argued that Gothic ideology was implicitly dichotomous; it "might connote political freedom, but Gothic castles housed feudal tyrants" (1999, 122). Consequently, by projecting the liberty and tyranny of the ancient Goths onto Walpole's dichotomous projects and the eighteenth century at large, Brooks wished to resolve the contradictions: "the discourses of literary and architectural Gothic were complementary" (1999, 130). Walpole's building and book were thus the twinned gauntlets of a Georgian Gothic semantic, the dextrous and sinister hands of an armoured Goth.

Brooks then argued that the "complementary" gestures of Georgian Gothic architecture and literature parted company in the 1840s. Contradictory Gothic meanings could reside in a Georgian gentleman, but the dextrous and sinister hands of Walpole's projects reached farther and farther into opposite directions until architects no longer wrote Gothic fiction and Gothic fiction no longer concerned itself with the medieval, *per se*. Victorian Gothic literature was set in the modern world because, "for all its apparent stability, the mid-Victorian world frequently seemed to writers ominous and estranging" (Brooks 1999, 305). The invisible hand of the capitalist marketplace, for example, crept into every aspect of Brooks's Victorian world. Thus, "the literary Gothic that re-emerged in the mid-nineteenth century internalized terror and fear, made them less

escapable, more commonplace. Nightmares no longer inhabited medieval piles in far-off locations, but smart, suburban villas here and now" (Brooks 1999, 307). By contrast, Victorian Gothic architecture became rigorously attentive to structural and cultural principles of the Middle Ages. Victorian architects sought an ethically wholesome and authentically handcrafted revival of medieval Gothic construction, what they called "reality" in architecture. Hence, "Gothic [architectural] 'reality' was a talisman to ward off a world many felt to be increasingly unreal" (Brooks 1999, 305). Victorian Gothic literature expressed the unreality of modern life; Victorian Gothic churches were a talisman against it, but why are we to assume that the talisman of Victorian "reality" successfully exorcized the unrealities that disturbed Victorian Gothic literature?

The problem is the dialectical nature of Brooks's argument. No matter how formidable and complex the "ideological armoury" of Gothic meaning might have been Brooks accounted for that armoury as a dialectical system in which all meanings could be reduced to the positive and negative sides of the Gothic. He traced the positive and negative values back to the liberty and tyranny of the ancient Gothic invasion, and he assigned those values to either side of the disciplinary moat, between modern Gothic architecture and literature. Yet neither side of the disciplinary moat was entirely comfortable with all their affiliated associations. After all, John Ruskin's discourse on Gothic architecture was successful in Victorian England because it strove to mitigate the lingering fear of Gothic Catholicism, and as Tom Duggett recently argued (2010), English Romantic authors embraced the Gothic not just for the titillating sensation of associative fears but also for the liberating power of England's native language.

Ultimately, we cannot reduce Gothic contradictions to any dialectical binary within or across the discourses. Walpole may have intended for his house to be a stronghold of parliamentary liberty, but the dream of the ghostly gauntlet haunted him from within that stronghold. And, just because Walpole subsequently wrote a Gothic novel, it does not mean that he successfully exorcized the ghostly gauntlet from his dream-house to the fictional terrain of Otranto. Likewise, architects of the post-Georgian eras may have built their Gothic churches to be sanctuaries of “reality” in an unreal world, but they could not simply exorcize the unreality of modernity.²² Pugin himself lamented that his churches were mostly “ghosts of what they were designed [to be]” (1850, 13). Why has no one taken that lament seriously?²³ Pugin, like Cram, believed in ghosts, and he believed that they permeate the walls of any modern sanctum built in the “Gothic” name, including the house of God.

The talisman of post-Georgian “reality” proved ineffective at sustaining the *cordon sanitaire*. Consequently, my pursuit of spectres that permeate the


²² Brooks hinted at the problem when he noted that, “medievalist as Pugin as his collaborators were, however, their production processes and organization of labour, means of distribution and supply, and—witness the Medieval Court [at the Crystal Palace Exhibition of 1851]—their eagerness to advertise, were not medieval at all but modern. Inevitably, they were capitalist, and largely based in places not unlike the hated industrial city of [Pugin’s drawing of] ‘Contrasted Towns.’ It was an ironic contradiction at the heart of Pugin’s Gothic vision and he could not escape it—but then, neither could anybody else” (1999, 244–6). Yet Brooks’s focus on the economic circumstances of the Gothic Revival lost sight of the larger ideological contradictions that were just as inescapable to anybody trying to revive the Gothic.

²³ In her massive biography of Pugin, Rosemary Hill acknowledged that Pugin was terrified of ghosts and that his personal life was haunted. She also noted that his “fortified house [St. Marie’s Grange] expressed his subjective dread, and also his strong streak of self-dramatization. The thickness of the walls, three feet, he told Willson, the moat, the lookout, were more necessary for his peace of mind than physical safety” (2007, 134). Hill, however, did not extend the haunting logic to Pugin’s churches, nor did she question the effectiveness of his fortifications against his spectral persecution. Conversely, Ron Jelaco (2010) explored Pugin’s fear of the supernatural and his use of chancel screens in churches. Yet Jelaco was interested in the holy terror of the *mysterium tremendum* more than the idea that the sickness of modernity haunted Pugin’s churches.

walls of a modern Gothic church operates in the name of the Gothick. This is because the word *Gothic* endured a grammatological transformation in the eighteenth century, one that ostensibly sanctified the *cordon sanitaire* of Victorian “reality.” During the eighteenth century, it was not uncommon to spell the word Gothic with a “k”—such as the derogatory example: “Ah, rustic, ruder than Gothick” (William Congreve, qtd. in Brooks 1999, 52), and the celebratory example: “no Nation has preserv’d their Gothick Constitution better than the English” (John Oldmixen, qtd. in Brooks 1999, 44). In the nineteenth century, however, “‘Gothick’ came to stand for any Gothic-Revival building that was particularly naïve, flimsy, or historically incorrect” (M. J. Lewis 2002, 15). Post-Georgian architects condemned the houses of Georgian England for the naïve reduction of Gothic structure to a series of decorative appliquéés, for the flimsy construction of *papier-mâché* decorations, and for the incorrect application of religious details to domestic environments (or *vice versa*). The archaic and extraneous letter “k” came to represent the fictitiousness or unreality of Georgian Gothic architecture and, by extension, all Gothic fictions.

Yet we cannot simply exorcize the Gothic “k” from the spaces of a modern Gothic church—as if silently signing the cross could somehow make the letter disappear. The spectral fingers of its sigil still reach into the corners of a modern Gothic church. Stemming from the Hebraic *kaph*, meaning *the palm of the hand*, the English letter “k” is a severed hand haunting the post-Georgian Gothic Revival.²⁴ My project explores the gauntlet effect of this letter because

²⁴ The Hebraic letter “k” developed from the Egyptian letter “d.” Because the ancient Egyptian word for hand started with a “d” sound, their hieroglyph for the letter “d” was an open hand. Thus,

the grammatological mark of the Gothic "k" (a mark that is written but can never be heard) is the unspeakable horror of a Gothic legacy haunting the architecture of Walkerville's new St. Mary's Anglican Church.²⁵ Thus, rather than joining my fellow scholars in trying to erase the Gothic "k" from post-Georgian architecture, I shall put it under erasure (*sous rature*) as a sign that is neither present nor absent.²⁶ Signing the cross on the letter "k" does not save the Church from Gothic  fiction; it merely marks the grave of a spectre that dwells within the house of God.

RALPH ADAMS CRAM

Cram was well aware of the ambiguous and highly problematic nature of the word "Gothic." He stated that architects and scholars have a "nebulous idea of what it means" (1917d, xii). Consequently, he would occasionally embrace the

because the Hebraic word for the palm of one's (implicitly open) hand starts with a "k" sound, they developed the pictograph for the letter "k" to represent an open hand.

²⁵ Derrida's notorious example of the grammatological mark is the substitution of "a" for "e" in the French *différance* as opposed to *différence*: "this marked difference between two apparently vocal notations, between two vowels, remains purely graphic: it is read, or it is written, but it cannot be heard.... It is offered by a mute mark, by a tacit monument, I would even say by a *pyramid*, thinking not only of the letter when it is printed as a capital, but also of the text in Hegel's *Encyclopedia* in which the body of the sign is compared to the Egyptian Pyramid. The a of *différance*, thus, is not heard; it remains silent, secret, and discreet as a tomb" (1982, 3–4; emphasis original). The silent letter "A" not only replicates the graphic sign of a pyramid, but the silent monument of its graphic signifier also undermines Hegel's dialectical semiotics. Because Hegel speculated that the body of a signifier and the spirit of its signification evolve to the point where the former might perfectly speak the latter, Derrida was interested in silent letters because they undermine the apprehension of meaning in speech and the privileging of speech over writing.

²⁶ Gayatri Spivak explained the act of erasure thusly: "The sign cannot be taken as a homogenous unit bridging an origin (referent) and an end (meaning), as 'semiology,' the study of signs, would have it. The sign must be studied 'under erasure,' always already inhabited by the trace of another sign which never appears as such" (1976, xxxix). We have already considered the semiological unit of traditional Gothic-Revival historians (modern signifier equalling medieval signified) as something haunted by an undecidable Gothic origin, a Gothic legacy that is never inherited as a unity or unit because every differential inheritance of the Gothic always already carries within it the trace of at least one other contradictory inheritance.

Gothic as a posthumous title for later medieval architecture: “first given in scorn by the Pharisees of the so-called Renaissance ... [Gothic], like so many epithets applied first in contempt ... has gradually become a synonym of honour” (1907, 61). Cram would thus use the word as a means to distinguish himself and his fellow Gothic Revivalists from the “Parisian Renaissance” of the modern École des Beaux-Arts (1896; 1899b). In that sense, he was proud to be a modern Goth.

More often, though, Cram wished to save later medieval architecture from the scornful prejudice of the label. For Cram, the style of later medieval architecture was “misrepresented by the most undescriptive and misleading epithet imaginable. ‘Gothic’ as a title is perfectly and exquisitely meaningless. The last of the Goths had been in his unquiet grave centuries before the style that bears his name was even thought of” (1907, 59). He continued:

It seems to me rather curious to adopt as a title for the most delicate, scientific, beautiful, even metaphysical product of the mind of man, the name of a tribe of savages [i.e., the Goths], a name still linked with that of the Vandals as representing the quintessence of raw, sodden barbarism.... For my own part, I wish the term “Gothic”—i.e., savage—might be forever discarded, or applied exclusively to the architecture of the nineteenth century, where it belongs, and that we could all agree to call the style we are considering the Christian style.²⁷ (1907, 63)

However, he subsequently admitted that the word “Christian” was also insufficient for the architectural style that he loved, ultimately longing for “some title the discovery of which is beyond my powers” (1907, 64). Thus, he resigned himself to the twice-anachronistic “Gothic.”

²⁷ Cram’s choice of the “Christian style” is interesting inasmuch as Pugin, who also struggled with the connotations of the word *Gothic*, used “Christian” as a possible alternative, such as the title of Pugin’s book: *The True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture* (1841).

Cram's attempt to grapple with the Gothic is important for three reasons. First, he identified the architecture of the nineteenth century as being Gothic in the pejorative sense of barbarism. More precisely, Cram believed that the barbarism of nineteenth-century architecture was the culmination of "four centuries of barbarism" (1907, 164), starting at the end of the Middle Ages and all the consequent losses in Catholic unity. With the Renaissance introduction of pagan cultural values, the Protestant Reformation's introduction of destructive schisms, and the French Revolution's declaration against God and king, the modern world became as barbarous as the ancient Goths were accused of being.²⁸ Second, Cram identified the ancient Goths as a collectively exquisite corpse, as a people who remain un-quietly interred. As pagan barbarians, the ancient Goths are not at peace in the afterlife—instead, they linger in a modern world that was, for Cram, as barbaric as them. Third, he acknowledged his inability to offer the true name of later medieval architecture. In that sense, Cram felt the impotence of being born in a world of hauntingly barbaric modernity, unable to fully comprehend the medieval architecture that he loved and lost; hence, his inability to name it truly. Cram's Gothic literature expressed the horror of being subject to the world's barbarity and the impotence to stop it, as did his design for the new St. Mary's Anglican Church, each calling for the deconstruction of the *cordon sanitaire* of Post-Georgian Gothicism.

By this, I am not suggesting that Cram was a consciously deconstructive architect (let alone a Deconstructivist). Not only did Cram distrust the more

²⁸ Starting in 1893, Cram frequently lamented the evil consequences of what he called the three R's of the modern world—the Renaissance, Reformation, and (American, Cromwellian, French, Garibaldian, and Industrial) Revolution.

radical thinkers of the modern world (he hated Nietzsche), he dreaded the prospect of a "post-modern destruction of all values" (1919d, 24).²⁹ Cram was no post-modern thinker (whatever that means). Instead, I shall deconstruct Cram's buildings and books in the same spirit that Derrida deconstructed the philosophy of Karl Marx. For, despite their obvious differences, Marx and Cram were both nineteenth-century thinkers haunted by the spectral condition of modernity.³⁰ Hence, in *Spectres of Marx*, Derrida chose to inherit Marx's engagement with the spectre because it calls for "questions more radical than the critique itself and ... the ontology that grounds the critique" (1994, 170). Thus, when Derrida argued that Marx was indispensable to the deconstruction of philosophy, he also insisted that Marx's thinking was still "pre-deconstructive" precisely because Marx wanted to "ground his critique or his exorcism of the spectral simulacrum in an ontology" (1994, 170). Marx, as the good Hegelian son, wanted nothing more than to develop an onto-dialectical system by which the spectral conditions of the present would be put to rest at some desired future-present; so too with Cram.

When Cram wrote his book of Gothic ghost stories, he organized the fiction to reveal a system of meaning that articulated the book's haunted condition in terms of modernity, in terms of a time that is "out of joint." Likewise,

²⁹ During World War I, Cram blamed the German invasion of France and the consequent bombing of Reims Cathedral on "Bismarckian force and Nietzschean antichrist philosophy" (1915c, 5).

³⁰ Cram, who was often interested in socialism, stated in his retrospective autobiography, "I doubt if any one of us [in late-nineteenth-century Boston] had ever read a line of Karl Marx, and the most of us had not even heard his name. We were socialists because we were young enough to have generous impulses" (1936, 20). Cram, however, did read Marx, "to quote Karl Marx, 'destroy the idea of God which is the keystone of a perverted civilization'" (1914b, 171). Granted, Cram quoted Marx to refute him. For Cram, God was the keystone of a *healthy* civilization. Thus, Cram's socialism ran contrary to Marxism, at least in terms of religion. Hence, he would later accuse Marx of being the "*reductio ad absurdum*" of barbaric nineteenth-century thinking (1935, 183; emphasis original).

when Cram designed the Walkerville church, he organized it in terms of the same system of meaning. Yet, as with the best of his Gothic ghost stories, in Walkerville, Cram acknowledged that he built that system of meaning around a limit that he himself could not traverse. He could not lift the spectre's visor to know its face, in that he could not claim the hand necessary to put the spectral conditions of the modern world to rest. In Lacanian terms, the Walkerville church is a site of transcendental signification, but the purloined letter of the Gothic *k* has yet to arrive. As Derrida stated, "a letter does *not always* arrive at its destination, and from the moment that this possibility belongs to [the destination's] structure one can say that [the letter] never truly arrives, that when it does arrive its capacity not to arrive torments [the structure] with an internal drift" (1987a, 489; emphasis original).³¹ I shall study the Walkerville church as just such a tormented structure.

Ultimately, if Derrida was critical of the dialectical method of Hegel *qui genuit* Marx because it repressed the "blind spot of Hegelianism, *around* which can be organized the representation of meaning" (1978, 259; emphasis original), then Cram acknowledged that "blind spot" in Walkerville and a spectre lingering in its shadows. Cram's stories and storeys are not simply a dialectical binary of complementary Gothic meanings. He organized them both around the "blind spot" of the spectre's gauntlet effect, an effect that operates in the name of an unspeakable and ostensibly invisible Gothic *k*. Thus, the deconstruction of that "blind spot," what Derrida elsewhere designated as the crypt, "involves a double

³¹ Significantly, Derrida's deconstruction of Lacanian psychoanalysis turned on Jacques Lacan's Hegelian inheritance: "The systematic and historical link between idealization, the *relève* (*Aufhebung*), and the voice" (1987a, 479).

play that patiently locates the cracks through which the crypt is already leaking [its secret] and then forces entry" (Wigley 1993, 146). I shall patiently locate the cracks in Cram's system of meaning, watching them spread across the discourses of his Gothic stories and storeys, like the fractious fingers of the letter "k." Then, having located the point(s) at which the cracks converge, I shall force entry into the crypt of its spectral armour, confirming that thus it is impossible to know.

Having said that, I confess I am not the first to note Cram as the builder of modern Gothic churches and the writer of Gothic fiction. Edward Wagenknecht included one of Cram's black spirits and white in his anthology of ghost stories, stating that the tale would "reveal the great American architect to many of his admirers in a new and unfamiliar light" (1947, 17–18).³² More recently, Douglass Shand-Tucci tried to assimilate Cram's architecture with that "new and unfamiliar light." In his two-volume biography of Cram (1995; 2005), Shand-Tucci turned, and returned, our attention to Cram, the author-architect, but he ignored the possibility of exploring the Walkerville church in those terms. Instead, having established All Saints' Episcopal Church in Ashmont, Massachusetts [Plate 0.2], as his favourite, Shand-Tucci provided only one paragraph on Walkerville:

Cram designed in the 1900s a number of parish churches directly inspired by All Saints [Ashmont]. And at least one, St. Mary's Church in Walkerville, Ontario—the centerpiece of the development of the Hiram Walker estate jointly planned by Cram, Albert Kahn, and the Boston landscape architects Kelsey and Guild—was something of an advance on All Saints' in that his Ashmont-like tower [at Walkerville] was much more sharply profiled and more modern in feeling. But the Ashmont church was unusual in that the parish, at the behest of its controlling and generous patrons, Oliver and Mary Peabody, heeded

³² Other anthologies in which Cram's ghost stories appear include Wolf and Wolf (1974); Dalby (1990); Cox and Gilbert (1991); and Blair (2002).

Cram's oft-repeated advice to build a little but build well, and over a period of some fifty years it always went back to him as designer. Hence Cram's magnificent series of additions to All Saints'—which cost overall more than the original building. (2005, 150)

Shand-Tucci complimented the Walkerville tower only to undermine its relationship to the rest of the church. He implied that Cram built All Saints', Ashmont, better, referring to Cram's advice to “build a little now, and build it right, instead of trying to build a great deal, and as a result building it meanly” (Cram 1901, 43).³³ Because Cram worked with the Walker brothers for only two years, Shand-Tucci assumed that the Walkerville church must have been “meanly” built and thus unworthy of further exploration.

On the contrary, in 1901, Cram suggested that the base cost for a small church of 100 to 200 congregants would be \$5,000 to \$10,000.³⁴ By comparison, the Walkerville church seats 250 people at an original budget of \$50,000 and a final cost of nearly \$64,000.³⁵ The Walkerville church provided Cram with nearly

³³ Shand-Tucci's comparison is dubious. Cram considered wooden tracery as the quintessence of architectural meanness, and wooden lattices, painted white, subdivide the great western window of the Ashmont church and all the clerestory windows. These features are hardly superior to the stone traceries of Walkerville. If the “generous” and “controlling” Peabody patrons could not afford stone tracery in their original Ashmont budget, why settle for a wooden substitute? Better yet, if Ashmont is superior to Walkerville because the funding was continuous across a fifty-year span, why did the budgets of later years not include donations to replace the wooden tracery with stone?

³⁴ Alternately, in 1901, Cram lamented building committees that wanted a complete church to house 300 congregants at a final cost of \$30,000. Even so, the Walkerville budget was more than doubled that cost.

³⁵ Shand-Tucci (1975a) noted that All Saints' in Ashmont, a parish church designed to hold well over 500 congregants in the nave alone, was originally tendered at \$70,000, with an additional \$30,000 for the erection of its tower. Shand-Tucci (1975a) also noted that the congregation and the Peabody family, in particular, commissioned additional constructions and embellishments to the chancel and parish between 1897 and 1929, all of which combined for more than another \$100,000. Thus, the Ashmont church is indeed more extravagant than Walkerville, but it is also more than twice the size.

Furthermore, Cram's firm had opportunities to work on additions to the Walkerville church. In 1916, when a child of James Harrington Walker wished to build a new parish hall for the Walkerville church, he asked Cram to consult on a local architect's design. Cram replied, “We should, of course, have liked to design the building *de novo*, largely because we have always been and still are so interested in everything connected with St. Mary's Church” (St. Mary's Church

seven times the budget of his ideal 200-seater. In Walkerville, the Walkers did not rush Cram into building their church meanly. They gave him a reasonable budget to complete the requisite features, and although the result was not, like Ashmont, a lavish aggregation of nearly fifty years' work, the new St. Mary's Anglican Church was a masterpiece of concentrated design.³⁶ The brief amount of time, under the right circumstances, with sufficient resources, allowed Cram to orchestrate a church that is haunting in its profundity. Ultimately, if Shand-Tucci's volumes (including 1973; 1974; 1975a; and 1975b) constitute the "definitive study of Ralph Adams Cram" (Cormack 2006, 264), then this project deconstructs the defining aspects of Shand-Tucci's argument and, in the process, opens Gothic interdisciplinarity to a more sophisticated reading of its architectural and literary discourses. The chapters of this text are thus an extended series of gauntlets thrown in the face of Shand-Tucci's biographical construct.

Chapter 1 begins with the Walkerville tower. Shand-Tucci applauded its erection in terms of modernity, and although I too am interested in the modernity of the Walkerville tower, I do not conflate its modernity with American modernism. Shand-Tucci, writing a belated response to mid-twentieth-century modernists like Henry Russell Hitchcock, constantly diminished Cram's inheritance of the English Gothic Revival for the sake of salvaging Cram's career in the context of a burgeoning American modernist movement. Shand-Tucci

Papers, file 278; emphasis original). Nevertheless, Cram accepted the prospect of consulting on the project.

³⁶ Even as late as 1929, having already designed dozens and dozens of churches, Cram reflected on the Walkerville project: "Personally, I like St. Mary's as well as anything we have done and I particularly call your attention to the stained glass and perhaps above all the [liturgically eastern] window, which seems to me in many respects the finest piece of glass yet made in [America]" (St. Mary's Church Papers, file 284).

peppered the biography with favourable comparisons of Cram with Henry Hobson Richardson, Louis Sullivan, and Frank Lloyd Wright. Consequently, he declared that Boston, at the end of the nineteenth century, saw the “dawn of modernism in New England, while the emerging gay subculture of the era Cram led was its herald” (1995, 457). Yet Cram’s attitudes toward modernity and modernism were ambivalent or conditionally affirmative, at best, and American modernism is the least effective aspect of Cram’s thinking to explore his architectural correlations with Gothic literature.

Furthermore, among the British Gothicists that Shand-Tucci tried to suppress for the sake of American modernism, he was especially dismissive of Pugin. Shand-Tucci rightly noted that Cram is sometimes called the American Pugin and the American Ruskin (1974, 49; 2005, 340), but Cram did not simply “ignore” either of the great Gothic theorists of England (1995, 117). On the contrary, I contend that Pugin’s Victorian attitude toward the Perpendicular Gothic haunted Cram’s design for the Walkerville tower because Pugin came to feel that the square-topped towers of the Perpendicular period corrupted the house of God with domestic architecture. In Walkerville, perhaps unlike any other church Cram designed, the Perpendicular tower is intentionally corrupt, a modern malady afflicting the church with the decayed form of its presently absent spire.

Chapter 2 explores the entire Walkerville church as a structural body. When Shand-Tucci declared the new St. Mary’s as the “centerpiece of the development of the Hiram Walker estate,” he called attention to Hiram Walker, the father, to the exclusion of Hiram’s sons, the Walker brothers. The Walker

brothers commissioned the church so that the communal body of Walkerville could mourn the loss of Hiram Walker and his wife, Mary. More importantly, Edward Walker, eldest of the Walker brothers and *de facto* king of the town, commissioned the church because he was secretly dying of a degenerative illness that I speculate to have been syphilis. Edward sought a miraculous cure, and Cram encrypted Edward's unspeakable trauma as a confessional within the communal space of parental mourning and sacramental commemoration.

Working, therefore, within the secrecy of Edward's illness, Cram juxtaposed Edward's ailing body with the body of Christ, and the ailment of Edward's body corrupted the cruciform structure of the Walkerville church. Not only does the spire-less tower demonstrate the malady of the modern world, the condition spreads to a leper in an aisle window, his one arm shortened to a stump without a hand. Likewise, Cram shortened the single aisle of the Walkerville church, in which that window stands, by the length of a bay. The aisle, in other words, is the leprous arm of Edward's church, powerless to heal the house of God of the haunted house of Walker. Thus, the missing space of the bay is the spectral hand of the presently absent Gothic k.

Chapter 3 explores the horror of Cram's Gothic literature as reflecting Cram's belief in the supernatural sickness of modernity. Shand-Tucci focused on only three of the six ghost stories in *Black Spirits and White* because he emphasized the homoeroticism of Cram's Gothic literature. Inasmuch as Shand-Tucci interpreted Cram's sexuality as intrinsic to an essentialist "gay subculture" of late-nineteen-century Boston, he read Cram's Gothic literature as an essay in "homosexual panic" (1995, 66). I do not contest the possibility of a homoerotic

reading for Cram's Gothic literature or Gothic-Revival architecture, though I do argue that such a reading is rather limited. Sexuality in *Black Spirits and White* was much more polymorphous in its perversity and was only part of the uncanny queerness that haunted Cram's vision of the modern world. Cram specifically blamed the great upheavals of the Renaissance, Reformation, and (primarily French) Revolution, as a disease festering in the body politic of modernity. The ghosts of his stories are thus symptomatic of that body, and the horror of Cram's Gothic literature was not the presence of the supernatural, *per se*, but the paralytic horror of Cram's frequent impotence to save himself or the modern world. Yet, in the midst of that horror, Cram conjured a simile of the Quest for the Holy Grail and the possibility of healing the sickly Fisher King. Cram tinged his Gothic literature with a ray of hope.

Chapter 4 consequently explores the Grail narrative within the Walkerville church. Shand-Tucci argued that All Saints' Church in Ashmont was Cram's great Grail architecture because Mary Peabody, patron of the church, "lay dying" in 1910, when she commissioned a new tabernacle door for the main altar (1995, 452). The door depicts a Eucharistic chalice in glory, and Shand-Tucci claimed that chalice as a depiction of the Holy Grail. Yet, inasmuch as all Eucharistic chalices are simulacra of the Holy Grail, a "depiction" is not what the Grail Knight seeks. Furthermore, inasmuch as the Fisher King of Grail mythology, keeper of the Holy Grail, is sick with a sinful ailment, there is nothing about Mary Peabody's dying days to suggest that her decline was the result of sin. Thus, I contend that Edward Walker, sick with syphilis, was Cram's Fisher King, and the Walkerville church was Cram's Grail Castle. Yet, even in Walkerville, the Holy Grail is

hauntingly present as an absence. Only the chalice is there that might become the Holy Grail, healing Edward Walker of his sinful illness (and, by extension, the illness of the modern world)—if only the Grail Knight would arrive and pierce the side of Christ in such a way that divine light would flow from the coloured glass.

This, ultimately, is the paralytic horror of the Walkerville church. Having entered the crypt of Edward's illness, and having discovered therein the prospect of a healing Grail, we are powerless to save him from his suffering because our human frailty precludes us from taking the lance in hand and piercing the side of Christ. Our hand is as useless as the leper's stump in the Walkerville window, and we are caught in Derrida's diabolical *pas*, waiting for the Grail Knight's arrival. And, even though Cram anticipated the Grail Knight of a distinctly messianic Christianity, what makes his Walkerville church of interest to deconstruction is that he built it on the admission that his architecture might not lead to that conclusion—the knight might never come. The new St. Mary's Anglican Church is haunted thus by the abyssal opening of a wound that might never heal.³⁷

³⁷ I look forward to feminist scholarship that might further deconstruct the Walkerville church in terms of the "wound that might never heal," and I acknowledge the "male Gothic" perspective from which I wrote this project.

1. THE ANSWERING OF BLOOD: RALPH ADAMS CRAM, THE ANGLOPHILE

Englishmen and Americans are simply like two brothers, sojourning in different lands, but tied together by all the heritage of family, the indestructible chain of an infinite sequence of common ancestors. (Cram 1907, 122)

Through this sequence of supplements, a necessity is announced ... an infinite chain, ineluctably multiplying the supplementary mediations that produce the sense of the very thing they defer. (Derrida 1976, 157)

Let it be said at once that Ralph Adams Cram remains a complicated man. Bertram Goodhue (1869–1924), Cram's one-time architectural partner, described Cram as a modern-day "Proteus" because of his "many-sidedness" (1896, 458). Historians like Richard Guy Wilson have consequently argued that there is not one but many Ralph Adams Crams because the "public persona of Cram could frequently appear at odds" (1989, 196). Yet Wilson also argued that the surface appearances of Cram's public personae "hid the real Ralph Adams Cram" (1989, 196). For Wilson, an authentic Cram needed to be revealed from behind his myriad personae. The same can be said of Douglass Shand-Tucci, Cram's leading biographer. In the thousand-plus pages of his biographical volumes, Shand-Tucci presented Cram as a man of many, at times contradictory quests. Shand-Tucci complained: "Alas, historians more often read Cram's dramatic scene painting in his *Walled Towns* than his clearly modernist pleadings in *Low Cost Suburban Homes*, not his best-known work today but key to understanding

his life and work (2005, 135). Beyond the contradictions, Shand-Tucci claimed to have the key to Ralph Adams Cram.³⁸

For the moment, it is of little consequence what Wilson or Shand-Tucci thought the truth of Ralph Adams Cram was. What matters is their mutually biographical assumption that there is a fundamental truth to someone's life, and that the truth can and must be discovered to authenticate the subject's life and work. Shand-Tucci, in particular, sought to organize Cram's disparate quests in such a way that Cram's architectural reputation could be saved from oblivion in the decades immediately following Cram's death in 1942. In other words, Shand-Tucci offered himself as the ideal mourner of Ralph Adams Cram. He sought to provide Cram with an appropriate eulogy, as opposed to Cram's contemporary eulogists who lacked the "longer perspective" needed to assess Cram's life and work (1975b, 1). Biography is seen as a work of mourning in which the biographical subject is made knowable to the reader through the words of someone who has so completely assimilated the corpus of the subject's life and work that biography and autobiography become one. After all, Shand-Tucci claimed to be writing about Cram in the style of an "intellectual autobiography" because they supposedly shared so much in common (1995, ix).³⁹

³⁸ Shand-Tucci, it seems, was something of a contradiction himself. In the preface to the first biographical volume, he wrote that the task of the historical biographer is to "tell the truth as he or she sees it" (1995, xviii). In the second volume, however, he openly criticized scholars who "colonize [Cram] at will, recruiting him as friend or foe—whichever was most wanted—of the commentator's own cause" (2005, 327; emphasis original). How exactly was Shand-Tucci's biography any different or better? At best, his biography is rich in the amount of material it tried to "colonize."

³⁹ Jill Lepore (2001) has touched upon this subject position in her witty article, "Historians Who Love Too Much: Reflections on Microhistory and Biography." Lepore noted that "many practitioners and critics alike argue that a biographer's affection for her subject is essential" (2001, 134). Lepore consequently distinguished the affections of a microhistorian from those of a biographer because the biographer assumes the identity of their subject (Shand-Tucci as Cram) whereas the microhistorian typically takes the position of an investigatory third party. In a sense, this project

Deconstruction renders that mourning process problematic. It does not presume to offer the “master key” (Derrida 1987b, 12) to unlock the “borderline between the ‘work’ and the ‘life’” of a biographical subject (Derrida 1985, 5). Derrida insisted that the “names of authors or of doctrines have here no substantial value” (1976, 99). Julian Wolfreys further articulated the point, explaining that biographical readers of a work of art typically presume to “substitute the author's proper name in rhetorical formulae ... as though the [work of art] were merely a conduit ... by which the author communicates” (2002, xii). The moment a biographer presumes to have the authority of the master key, of unlocking *the* conduit that leads from the work to the life, the biographical product runs the risk of burying the complexities of the subject, as if we could put a life to rest when we close the biographical text: “So, that's who Cram really was.”

Deconstruction is rather interested in sustaining the contradictions of a life by choosing among the many and disparate voices of a biographical subject the one(s) that continue to “act,” even from beyond the grave (Derrida 1991, 91). Derrida argued that every work lives on [*sur-vivre*] like the living dead, “even if what is called the author of the writing no longer answers for what he has

comes closer to microhistory than biography because I am still, like Henry Booth, the *Detroit News* reporter of 1904, an investigatory third party visiting the Walkerville church. The difference is that, unlike Booth, I am knowledgeable of and sympathetic to Ralph Adams Cram, even if I will ultimately betray Cram to the “violent fidelity” of deconstruction and, of course, betray deconstruction to the violent fidelity of my Derridean readings—in translation, no less (see Wigley 1993, 206, for more on the theme of violent fidelity). Furthermore, even though this project privileges the name of Ralph Adams Cram, it accepts the possibilities of other readings concerning other parties invested in the Walkerville church—Edward's brothers, for example. My reading is not *the* reading. In that sense, I am only interested in using Cram's name (and Edward Walker's) as leverage to deconstruct the disciplinary positions of post-Georgian Gothic architecture and literature. In the end, this project comes closer to microhistory because I use the “small mysteries” of the Walkerville church as a synecdoche for larger concerns over Gothic interdisciplinarity (Lepore 2001, 141).

written, for what he seems to have signed, whether he is provisionally absent, or he is dead, or if in general he does not support, with his absolute current and present intention or attention, the plenitude of his meaning, of that very thing which seems to be written 'in his name'" (1991, 91). I do not posit the name of Ralph Adams Cram, therefore, as if it were the essential presence of a life to be seen in "his" work, through and through. Such a claim is impossible because Cram's buildings were, at the very least, the work of an architectural firm with other architectural partners and several draughtsmen, not to mention the patrons and the many artisans who participated in the projects.

I am reminded, here, of Derrida's subtle, at times parenthetical warning not to read Karl Marx as one homogeneous voice because, at the very least, the voice of Frederick Engels is so thoroughly implicated in the texts.⁴⁰ The name "Marx" was, for Derrida, the mark of a signature that always already compromises the identity of the signer; Marx's hand could never be his own authorial gesture. Consequently, I use Cram's name as a signature on a series of buildings and books that can never be authentically his own, and I shall treat those buildings and books signed "Ralph Adams Cram" as a legacy that continues to haunt us because they continue to act, disparately, from beyond his grave. To reiterate Derrida's point from the *Specters of Marx*, an "inheritance is never gathered together, it is never one with itself. Its presumed unity, if there is one, can consist only in the *injunction to reaffirm by choosing*" (1994, 16;

⁴⁰ Derrida wrote, for example, "In the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, let us recall, a first noun returned three times on the same first page, the noun 'spectre'.... Marx, unless it is the other one, Engels, then puts on stage ... the terror that this spectre inspires in all the powers of old Europe" (1994, 99). Willy Maley (1999) subsequently explored Engels' contributions in "Spectres of Engels."

emphasis original). I choose, therefore, the Anglophile inheritance of Ralph Adams Cram as the first flange of the ghostly gauntlet, the first angle among the spreading fingers of the Gothic “k.” I do this not because Cram’s Anglophilia was *the* truth of him, but because it is a heritage that still haunts his Anglican architecture. In Walkerville, Cram’s Anglophilia continues to act from beyond his grave and in such a way that it permeates the discursive boundaries of modern Gothic architecture and literature.

THE ANGLE OF CRAM’S ANGLOPHILIA

Cram’s texts were often preoccupied with the issue of inheritance. At one point, he could only explain his love of Richard Wagner’s music in terms of his familial lineage: “Just why Wagner ... should have made—and still makes—a more personal and poignant appeal than even Bach or Brahms or Beethoven, I do not know, unless it is because, from the time of Louis le Débonnaire to that of Henry VIII, my forebears in direct line were Teutonic *Freiherren* in the Grand Duchy of Brunswick, and some inherited racial inclination persisted in my subconscious personality” (1936, 8–9; emphasis original). On occasion, Cram would give himself the Germanic cognomen of von Kramm. Much more than his Teutonic heritage, however, Cram invested his lineal preoccupation with his Englishness. Even when describing his Teutonic forebears, Cram included an English reference to King Henry VIII, implying the Protestant Reformation that would disturb the social contexts of England and the Grand Duchy of Brunswick. Furthermore, when Cram published *Excalibur*, the first play in his prospective Arthurian trilogy, he included an apologetic advertisement: “The attempt is again made—however

inadequately—to do for the [Arthurian] epic of our own race, and in a form adapted to dramatic presentation, a small measure of that which Richard Wagner achieved in an allied art [i.e., opera] for the Teutonic legends" (1908b, front matter). In that context, Cram's "own race" was Anglo-Saxon, distinct from the Teutonic Wagner.

Cram's father tied his family to the Anglo-Saxon race. Cram noted that his paternal lineage descended from "farming stock," emerging in colonial America when the "first of the line came over from England in 1634, becoming one of the founders of Exeter [New Hampshire] by charter from King Charles I" (1935, 95). Cram likewise wrote of his maternal grandfather, Squire Ira Blake of Kensington, and the familial house located on a plot of colonial New Hampshire land. His maternal ancestors acquired the house during the reign of King Charles II, when New England was, indeed, a new England. And, what mattered most to Cram about Squire Blake (and the "Old Place" from which the squire municipally governed) was the localized continuity of English feudal nobility, the singing of old English folk songs, and the brewing of a honeyed brandy called metheglyn. Cram noted that metheglyn was a beverage presently extinct, only to be found in the texts of "Chaucer and in pretty much all 'Middle English' literature, but though I remember it in Kensington [New Hampshire] as late as 1878, I have found no trace of it in England, Scotland, Wales, or the Southern American states" (1935, 86). Thus, through paternity and especially the distaff, Cram claimed to inherit a direct, familial link with the feudal-agrarian culture of the

British Middle Ages—a culture that once tied together England and the New England of America, and might tie them together again.⁴¹

By this, I am not suggesting that Cram constructed an Anglo-American identity to the exclusion of America. Without question, Cram was interested in the American trajectory of that heritage. Nevertheless, in all ways save religion, he longed for the pre-Revolutionary America of his ancestors, and he attacked the nation's subsequent acceptance of Jacksonian democracy. His ancestors were genteel agrarians, and he embraced post-Revolutionary Americans who continued that tradition.⁴² In his list of knights worthy of the chivalric ideal (see Cram 1922b, 175), he included not only St. George of England but also George Washington, the first American president, precisely because the “aristocracy of Washington was better than the [Jacksonian] democracy of this year of grace” (1922b, 127). Architecturally, therefore, Cram admired the American Colonial style for its “frank simplicity and unquestioned good taste in detail” (1907, 142), up to and including the aristocratic Federalism of Boston's Charles Bulfinch (1763–1844). However, once Andrew Jackson ascended to the presidency

⁴¹ Cram made this point clearest in his treatise on *Walled Towns*. *Walled Towns* was an argument for the return to small subsistence communes on the model of various medieval communities. Cram referred to his maternal grandfather's household and the aggregate community as a prototypical place where “to a great extent life was still communal” (1919d, 54). The main criticism Cram had of the squire's community was the “hard and unlovely religion” of its Protestantism and the consequent circumstance that the “arts had wholly disappeared” (1919d, 56). In the walled towns of his prospective future, Cram separated entire communities along denominational lines because “denominationalism [within a community] is inconsistent with unity of action, cooperation, and true democracy” (1919d, 73). Thus, one walled town would be Methodist, another Episcopalian, etc. Of course, the walled town Cram detailed in his text was Catholic. Furthermore, because the Catholic town fully embodied the ideal of Cram's communal living, the implication is that the Catholic town was the only one that could ultimately thrive in Cram's vision of a wholesome future.

⁴² Cram developed a political theory whereby the people elected a king and his aristocratic peers on the belief that the “[monarchical] franchise should be a privilege, not a right, and while the people should choose, only their leaders should govern” (1893c, 21). For more on Cram's political thought, see especially Muccigrosso (1980) and M. Clark (2005).

(1829–37) on the egalitarian principle of indifference to the “selection of the best,” American architecture had fallen to a “lower level than history had ever before recorded” (Cram 1936, 29–30).

Emerging, then, from the depth of that mire, were admirable architects that Cram called the “Philadelphia group” (1904a, 413). Citing Philadelphia as the “purest in [Anglo-Saxon] blood of all the greater American cities” (1904b, 397), Cram celebrated the firms of Frank Miles Day and Cope and Stewardson. Of the collegiate and domestic houses Cope and Stewardson designed, Cram isolated three examples for direct correlation, “two of them showing the masterly development of local [Pennsylvanian Colonial] types, the third the lawful adaptation to American conditions of the ancestral style in England, a patrimony that none can take away” (1904a, 414). Likewise, concerning Frank Miles Day (and his brother), Cram detailed a Tudorbethan residence (with Jacobean flourishes) on Philadelphia's Locust Street:

This house is personal, individual, and marked by just the right ethnic suggestion: not the only ethnic suggestion, but one of them. Messrs. Cope & Stewardson, in their more recent work have taken over the Colonial of Pennsylvania and, glorifying it, have made it living, local, and logical. Mr. Day and his brother have harked back to the preceding English work and with this as a basis have produced something that is quite equally justifiable though its origins are so far removed in space and time. (1904b, 408)

Once again, Cram preferred America as the transatlantic kith and kin of aristocratic England and its architectural traditions from both before and during the colonization of North America.

On that familial basis, Cram also believed that English Gothic architecture was the “inalienable heritage” of America (1901, 224), by which he meant Anglo-Saxon America. Even though Cram was life-long friends with individuals

like the art historian Bernard Berenson, a Lithuanian Jew who immigrated to Boston in the 1870s, Cram's architectural practice thrived on the taste of Anglo-America. That Anglo-American taste was a response to the same demographic changes that led to Berenson's Boston immigration. As Walter Muir Whitehall once noted, the New England capital of Boston was, in 1800, "a homogenous English seaport with 25,000 inhabitants; in 1900 it was a polyglot city of over half a million, nine tenths of whom were immigrants or the children of immigrants" (1977, 389). Cram himself acknowledged the change in a paper he presented at the Royal Institute of British Architecture (1912). In describing relations between England and New England, Cram stated that "we [Americans] were all English,—or rather British,—in bone and blood and tradition, down to half a century ago" (1914b, 176). Likewise, in his preface to *American Churches*, Cram acknowledged that America "is no longer even predominantly Anglo-Saxon" (1915a, n.p.). At times, he presented that fact as a lament, at times an opportunity, depending on his audience.

During the early years of his architectural practice (c. 1888–1904), Cram's presumed audience was primarily Anglo-American because his firm developed a niche market for Episcopalian architecture with a strongly Anglo-Catholic bent. Therefore, in 1901, when Cram published his most influential treatise on architecture, his first rule of church building was to build in the English Gothic style because it was the only style worthy of the "American branch of the Anglican communion of the Catholic Church" (1901, 43). Because Cram saw little difference in the Anglo-Catholic rituals of modern England and America, and because those rituals sought to recuperate aspects of English medieval

Catholicism, he encouraged American architects and congregations “to build village churches that shall be worthy to stand with those our forefathers built in the old home four centuries ago” (1901, 41). English Gothic builders were the architectural “forefathers” of Anglo-Catholicism in modern England and New England.

Because Canada was, and still is, part of the British Commonwealth, Cram’s lineal argument echoed across the Canadian-American border. Mathilde Brosseau’s survey of the Canadian Gothic Revival hailed Cram’s firm as “one of the most influential” on Canadian collegiate and religious architecture of the early twentieth century (1890, 27). Cram, however, had very little to say about Canada during his long and prolific career—despite the fact that Bliss Carman, the Canadian-born poet, was a dear Bostonian friend, Father Charles Brent, the Canadian-born Anglo-Catholic, was his godfather, and an unnamed French-Canadian architect was his “inveterate enemy” while training in the Boston architectural offices of Rotch and Tilden, 1881–85 (Cram 1936, 48). Apparently, that rivalry festered in Cram’s memory because his memoirs of 1936 recalled their altercations in detail. The rivalry may also have affected a rare published comment on Canadian architecture from his essay *The Catholic Church and Art*. Concerning the Roman Catholic Church, at least, Cram insisted that “in Canada the worst traditions and practices still largely obtain, partly because of the French affiliation with the Church,” and “no French architect for three centuries has had the faintest idea what constitutes the art of Christianity” (1930b, 110). Here was a bit of revenge that Cram could dish coldly to his French-Canadian nemesis.

Cram did not have the same enmity for the Anglican Church of Canada. In January of 1903, the Eighteen Club (an architectural society of Toronto, Ontario) displayed images from an Architectural League of America exhibition. The exhibition included images of churches that Cram and his firm designed. On January 16, 1903, the Eighteen Club invited Cram to lecture at the exhibition gallery, and Cram's presentation concentrated on his design for St. Stephen's Episcopal Church in Cohasset, Massachusetts [Plate 1.1]. As one reviewer put it, Cram's Toronto lecture and his "perpendicular church at Cohasset" simultaneously argued "in favour of the same church design for the same form of worship," i.e., Anglicanism in England and the American Episcopal Church (Anonymous 1903a, 2). Furthermore, because of England's "sovereignty over Canada" (Cram 1919c, 36), Cram's argument extended to Canadian Anglicanism. In other words, Cram emphasized his Cohasset design in his Toronto lecture as a means to connect the entire north of Anglo-Saxon North America. At that moment, Cram was building the new St. Mary's Anglican Church in Walkerville, Ontario. Hence, when Cram published a drawing of the new Walkerville church in the May 1903 issue of the *Canadian Architect and Builder*, the connection with Cohasset could not have been clearer [Plate 1.2].⁴³ With their monumental stone towers and their flanking, half-timbered parish halls, St. Stephen's, Cohasset, and the new St. Mary's, Walkerville, were part of the same

⁴³ Significantly, having established and edited an American journal on *Christian Art* in 1907, Cram wrote an editorial on country church building (January 1908). The editorial included a series of photographs, and Cram selected St. Stephen's, Cohasset, and the new St. Mary's, Walkerville, as side-by-side images, further strengthening their obvious structural resemblances (1908a, 203–4).

structural lineage. For Cram, the American Episcopal Church and the Church of England in Canada stood to inherit mutually from their English Gothic ancestors.

In both cases, the bell tower dominates the exterior. It functions as a vestibule and is thus the foremost feature of the churches' western front. Yet the most appreciable difference between them is a matter of scale and situation. The Cohasset tower dominates the town through the elevation of its granite outcropping and the exaggeration of its belfry level. Montgomery Schuyler described that particular combination of living rock and piled stone as a "sprightlier and more self-conscious picturesqueness" than most parish churches assigned to Cram's firm (1911, 46). Typically, said Schuyler, Cram designed in the style of a "drowsy village church which seems to assure you that nothing 'sensational' has happened in its neighborhood for immemorial time, nor is likely to happen in the time to come" (1911, 46). As we shall see in the next chapter, the Walkerville church creates that "drowsy" effect with reason, but the Walkerville tower still achieves dominance through an accentuation of its liturgical position. Unlike the approach to the Cohasset tower, which is an arc of winding stairs starting on an oblique angle from Cohasset's Main Street, Cram aligned the Walkerville tower with the progress of Walkerville's Devonshire Road. Situated on an island of earth that bifurcates the traffic of Walkerville's once wealthiest street, the limestone tower serves as an exclamation mark, punctuating the importance of the Anglican religion to Walkerville's social elite [Plate 1.3]. It also extends the trajectory of Devonshire Road down the nave alley of the church, all the way to the sacrificial high altar: Cram aligned the tower door with the street, and he aligned the tower with the nave, and the nave alley

with the church's high altar [Plate 1.4]. We experience the Eucharistic sacrifice of body and blood as the inevitable conclusion of Walkerville's major thoroughfare. Thus, the Cohasset tower may be a culminating point in the rocky landscape, but the Walkerville tower guides us to the Anglo-Catholic conclusion of an Anglophile street—Devonshire Road.

Even more than the “sprightly” tower at Cohasset, the Walkerville construct is an example of what the *Detroit News* reporter described as “massive simplicity. The monumental tower will perhaps stand till the end of time” (Booth 1904, n.p.). Towers erected in massive simplicity were a hallmark of Cram's architectural firm, starting with the first church Cram proposed in partnership with Charles Wentworth [Plate 1.5] and the first church he realized in partnership with Wentworth and Goodhue [Plate 1.6]. Cram's admiration for Henry Hobson Richardson in the early 1880s stimulated his love for massive towers [Plate 1.7].⁴⁴ However, with Richardson's early death (1886), Cram saw the Romanesque Revival fall into the inadequate hands of Richardson's disciples.⁴⁵ The

⁴⁴ Cram described the experience of seeing Richardson's newly erected Trinity Church, Boston: “There was something about those massive walls ... the masculine scale and powerful composition ... that gave one the sort of thrill experienced on a first seeing of any of the great churches of Europe” (1936, 33). As early as 1899, though, Cram was calling Richardson's Trinity the “fictitious vitality of the alien style he [Richardson] had tried to make living” (1901, 10). Richardson's work was “alien” to Cram's Anglo-America during the beginning of the twentieth century, when only the English Gothic could be national. Furthermore, we cannot overlook the influence of McKim, Mead, and White. Toward the end of his life, Cram regarded their design for the central pavilion of the Boston Public Library (across the way from Richardson's Trinity Church) as a pivotal monument in American architecture. Yet, during the early years of his career, it was McKim, Mead, and White's design for St. Peter's Episcopal Church in Morristown, New Jersey (c. 1887), that mattered most to Cram [Plate 1.8]. With its monumental stone tower and its Anglo-Perpendicular idiom, the Morristown church was, unlike Trinity Church, Boston, worthy of illustration in Cram's book of *Church Building* (1901).

⁴⁵ For a time, Cram counted himself among those disciples. When the competition to design the Cathedral-Church of St. John the Divine, New York City, commenced in the 1880s, one of Cram's submissions was Richardsonian Romanesque. Subsequently, in 1900, Cram wrote that “for Richardson's genius I have unbounded admiration; for the style he brought into vogue I have little liking; while for the nameless horror that it has engendered, I have only feelings of mortal dismay....

Richardsonian inheritance became a mere tangent to the Anglo-centric history of Cram's North America.

Thus, when Cram opened an architectural firm in 1888, he favoured English Gothic architecture instead, finding many massive towers worthy of modern adaptation, especially towers from the fifteenth century. He declared as much in an 1893 article: "When the House of Tudor succeeded to the throne there was scarcely a town in England where a new parish church, fresh from the hands of loving workmen, could not be found, or at least where was not some tower ... newly added to the parish church.... It was the flowering of Christian civilization" (1893a, 353–4). His model for the Walkerville tower (and thus loosely for the Cohasset tower) was St. Michael's Anglican Church in Bray, Berkshire County, England [Plate 1.9]. More precisely, with its squared top, angled stepped buttressing, and quintet of tiers, the bell tower at Bray was the only part of St. Michael's Church to inspire the Walkerville design. According to Nikolaus Pevsner (1975), the rest of the Bray church is an early fourteenth-century, triple-gabled construct, a type of church that Cram would never build. The Bray tower was a later addition, though, dating from the Perpendicular period of English Gothic—Cram's "flowering of Christian civilization." Essentially, Cram's attachment to the Bray tower, as opposed to the Bray church, was its massive form and Perpendicular status.

In the early years of his career, during the Walkerville (and Cohasset) designs, Cram argued that "One style, and one only, is for us; and that is the

Only a giant can handle Romanesque.... His imitators were dwarfs, and in their hands the materials the master wielded with vast and wonderful power became the very millstones that drag them down into the sea of contempt" (1907, 193–4).

English Perpendicular" (1901, 224).⁴⁶ Architects might integrate "what we will, of course ... from earlier periods, even from as far back as the Norman. But the root must be the English Perpendicular Gothic of the early sixteenth century" (Cram 1901, 45). The complexities stemming from Cram's English Perpendicular "root" are too complicated to discuss at this juncture. In the simplest sense, Cram believed that English Perpendicular held the promise of a "purely national and uniquely beautiful style" (1901, 218). Consequently, if Englishmen and Americans (and Canadians) were all "one people, with one history and one blood" (Cram 1901, 190), then the Perpendicular was the (inter)national style of their North American territories—the north of North America, where Cram built churches like St. Stephen's in Cohasset and the new St. Mary's in Walkerville.

Cram was not unique in that matter. His pursuit of the Perpendicular Gothic was part of a wider Anglo-cultural pattern among the late Gothic Revivalists. The use of continental Gothic models had been dominant during the so-called High Victorian period of the 1850s and 1860s. This was largely due to John Ruskin's influential books, like *The Stones of Venice* (1851–53). Many Gothic Revivalists of the Late Victorian period, however, rejected the continental vogue

⁴⁶ I emphasize the time-specificity of that declaration. Having extensively studied English monastic Gothic in preparation for his *Ruined Abbeys of Great Britain* (1905), Cram would experiment more with other phases of English Gothic (and, eventually continental Gothic) after 1905. On viewing Tintern Abbey, Cram wrote of thirteenth-century English monasteries as the "noblest and most perfect examples of this first and purest form of English Gothic" (1905, 109). Likewise, concerning the choir at Rievaulx Abbey, "purely English, it contains no trace of French influence whatever and marks our own thirteenth-century Gothic at the highest point of its development" (1905, 160). Thus, as Shand-Tucci rightly noted, Cram developed a series of churches (starting in 1905) that explored the monastic Gothic of the English thirteenth century. Furthermore, from the retrospective of his third edition of *Church Building* (1924), Cram noted that he would change little about the earlier editions of *Church Building*, "unless perhaps it were the rather narrow enthusiasm for the latest phase of English Gothic as the sole basis for the new fabric of religious architecture so much desired at the time. Apparently, one becomes less the purist, or rather stylist, with advancing years, finding beauty in unexpected places and significance in things once disregarded. It may be ... vital ... now to draw from many sources rather than one alone, so relating ... more closely to life rather than to an empirical theory. Perhaps also religion in its formal aspects seems less national, less racial than once it did, and so essentially more catholic as well as Catholic" (1924, 276–7).

and embraced the possibilities of the Perpendicular. Michael Hall (1993) has articulated the point: In January of 1865, A. Warrington Taylor, an advocate for the burgeoning English Arts and Crafts movement, published a long letter condemning the use of French Gothic models for modern English architecture. George Edmund Street, an architect of the continental vogue, retorted that most Early English Gothic architects based their work on the French models that Taylor condemned. Taylor conceded the point about the Early English Gothic; the French, indeed, were the inspiration. Yet, for that very reason, Taylor argued that Englishmen should abandon the Early Gothic altogether in favour of the later, Perpendicular style. The Perpendicular was a Gothic architecture of truly English character: "At last, then, we attained a decided national architecture" (Taylor, qtd. in M. Hall 1993, 119).⁴⁷ Thus, English Gothic architects of the late 1860s onward regularly returned to the Perpendicular. These included George Frederick Bodley (1827–1907), Bodley's sometime partner, Thomas Garner (1839–1906), his friend, George Gilbert Scott Jr. (1839–97), his contemporary, John Dando Sedding (1838–91), and numerous students trained in their respective offices.⁴⁸

Henry Vaughan (1846–1917) was one of Bodley's students and, for a time, would become the head draughtsman for Bodley's firm (see Morgan 1983). In 1881, Vaughan received the commission to design a chapel for an Anglo-

⁴⁷ Of course, Michael Hall (1993) and others (Brandwood 1997; Stamp 2002) have rightly noted that, beneath the discourse of pure English Perpendicular, the Late Victorian Gothicists used several features from continental churches, from Germany especially.

⁴⁸ For example, at about the same time that Taylor was publicly condemning the French-based Early English Gothic in favour of the English Perpendicular, G. G. Scott Jr. was writing a letter to J. T. Irvine: "Do you know I have become a great admirer of late work, and Perpendicular.... I believe intensely in English of all sorts and let French go to the dogs" (Scott Jr., qtd. in Stamp 2002, 48).

Catholic convent in Boston, Massachusetts [Plate 1.10]. With that commission, Vaughan immigrated to America, practicing a revived Perpendicular style from his Boston office. Henry Vaughan was also Boston neighbours with Ralph Adams Cram, the latter becoming a fellow congregant of the same Anglo-Catholic parish. Cram also considered Vaughan to be his "local mentor" (1936, 39) and the "apostle of the new dispensation" (1901, 220). Thus, Vaughan surpassed Richardson as Cram's Bostonian hero, and thus, through Vaughan, Cram garnered a greater appreciation of the Perpendicular style revived in Late Victorian England.

When Cram wrote his article on "Good and Bad Modern Gothic" in 1899, all of his examples of good design were the work of English or Anglo-American Perpendicular architects. He praised Henry Vaughan's school chapel in Concord, New Hampshire, for its adherence to the work of Bodley and Garner (1899a, 117–18) [Plate 1.11]. He praised Bodley and Garner's Hoar Cross church for its "infinite sweetness and poetry" (1899a, 115) [Plate 1.12], and he praised Sedding's Holy Trinity Church, London, for its "poetic fire, the religious devotion, and the intense nationality of one man" (1899a, 117) [Plate 1.13]. Thus, Cram summarized his article with a statement that Gothic architecture is a matter of "proportion, combination, poetic feeling, imagination, and Christian dogma" (1899a, 118). His chosen examples all touched upon the features of proportion, combination, poetic feeling, and imagination, but how are we to interpret Christian dogma? Vaughan, Bodley, Garner, and Sedding were all Anglo-Catholics. Thus, Cram was implicitly referring to Anglo-Catholicism because the Perpendicular style was, for him, appropriate to the Anglo-Catholic faith.

Even though, from the beginning of his career, Cram had designed several churches for Protestant denominations, he assured his critics that it was not by choice. In those cases, he held that “there was something incongruous in using Catholic Gothic to express the ethos of that Protestantism which had revolted against all things Catholic and had done its best to destroy its architectural and other artistic manifestations” (1936, 96). He continued, “we did our best to convince our ‘Non-conformist’ clients to let us do Colonial [Revival] structures for them [instead]” (1936, 96). When nonconformist clients insisted on Gothic architecture, Cram justified his concession thusly:

In my own practice of architecture, I am constantly providing Presbyterian, Congregational, and even Unitarian churches, by request, with chancels containing altars properly vested and ornamented with crosses and candles, while the almost universal demand is for church edifices that shall approach as nearly as possible in appearance to the typical Catholic church of the Middle Ages. Of course, some of this is due to a revived instinct for beauty, that almost sacramental quality of life which was ruthlessly destroyed by Protestantism, and also to a renewed sense of the value of symbol and ritual; but back of it all is the growing consciousness that ... Protestantism has definitely failed, or at least become superannuated.⁴⁹ (1922b, 206)

According to Cram, Protestantism had “ruthlessly destroyed” the Catholic Middle Ages, murdering the latest expression of its English beauty—the Perpendicular. When Cram traced his architectural lineage back to the Gothic “forefathers” of the fifteenth century, he did so in terms of a renewed English Catholicism. Furthermore, the Catholic Revival in the modern world extended back, beyond

⁴⁹ In a later essay, Cram put the two aspects together. Having applauded the use of the Colonial Revival for Protestant religions, Cram commented on the religious condition of America: “the tendency is altogether away from Puritanism and intellectualism, back toward more spiritual, devotional, and liturgical standards, and correspondingly comes a hunger for the same qualities in architecture, hence we find a pronounced drift toward Gothic and a demand for churches that in their assemblage of all the arts, including liturgics, would have been considered rather extreme [to the nonconformists who now embrace the Gothic]” (1924, 312).

his Late Victorians peers, to the Oxford movement of 1833, "which aimed at the restoration to Ecclesia Anglicana of her Catholic heritage" (Cram 1914a, 239). Thus, Cram believed that the Gothic Revival found its first real champions during the 1830s, when the "Oxford movement found the Pugins ready to serve the Church with perfect service" (1901, 225). Consequently, when the "steady and noble work of Bodley and Garner and Sedding had borne fruit in England ... continuity was restored with the original movement begun by Pugin" (1901, 220).⁵⁰ Pugin was the name that linked Bodley, Garner, and Sedding to their Perpendicular Gothic "forefathers."

Likewise, in America, Cram placed himself in a local architectural tradition that responded to the English Gothic Revival. Just as England had Pugin and the Ecclesiological Gothic of the Early Victorian era, so too did America have builders like Richard Upjohn: "From the moment [Upjohn's] Trinity [Episcopal Church, New York City] was built [starting in 1839], the reign of paganism [in American Episcopalian architecture] was at an end" (Cram 1907, 147).⁵¹ Thus, just as Bodley, Garner, and Sedding restored Pugin's Perpendicular continuity, so too did Cram (through Vaughan) restore Perpendicular continuity with the American branch of that lineage.⁵² Yet their combined aim, British and (North)

⁵⁰ Significantly, when the *Toronto Mail and Empire* reviewed Cram's Toronto lecture, the reviewer noted that "Mr. Cram traced the history of modern English church architecture from the labour of the elder Pugin, to the work of Bodley, Garner, and Sedding" (Anonymous 1903b, n.p.).

⁵¹ Yet Upjohn still worked in the "deplorable" architectural context of Jacksonian America. Cram contextualized his admiration for Upjohn thusly: "the Church was quite as likely to accept a perfectly awful piece of work, so long as it called itself 'Gothic,' as it was to employ Upjohn" (1907, 148). In other words, Upjohn succeeded in America despite working in the era of Jacksonian democracy.

⁵² Nor was he entirely alone in that restorative effort in America. In his article praising the Philadelphia firm of Cope and Stewardson (1904a), Cram savoured the few Perpendicular details

American, at restoring the Catholic heritage to the Anglican Church was never simply and completely successful.⁵³ After all, Cram's Walkerville church was a place in which the Detroit reporter found evidence of Anglo-Catholic and Anglo-Protestant contradictions. Cram may have invested his buildings with an Anglo-Catholic emphasis, but he opened those buildings to a world still tainted with the murder of the Catholic Middle Ages. To design an Anglican church in the modern world was to subject the house of God to contradictions that left the rubrics of the global Church of England out of joint. The impurities of English Canon law haunt Cram's Walkerville church, and, as we shall see, Cram's Puginian inheritance helped shape his spectral perception of that contradictory condition.

THE AMERICAN RUSKIN

Cram's Puginian heritage was inextricably bound to his problematic inheritance from the Protestant John Ruskin. Without question, Cram appreciated Ruskin's rhetorical power: "Here is a man of stupefying ability ... gifted with a facility in the use of perfectly convincing language such as is granted to few men in any given thousand years" (1907, 150). Consequently, Cram would rehearse several Ruskin aphorisms in his own architectural discourse. For instance, Ruskin wrote, "It seems a fantastic paradox, but it is nevertheless a most important truth, that no

of church architecture that Cope and Stewardson produced, and he lamented the fact that they were allowed to produce so few.

⁵³ There is, for instance, the legend of Upjohn's work at the Episcopal Church of the Ascension, New York City (c. 1840). The rector of the church, knowing Upjohn to be a High-Churchman, purchased the back half of the church lot from the diocese to ensure that Upjohn did not have the space to include the deep chancel of High-Church worship (see Upjohn 1939, 69).

architecture can be truly noble which is *not* imperfect" (1853, 155; emphasis original). Cram echoed: "we must remember that, though it seems a paradox, the passion for perfection that fails is sometimes more noble than the passion for perfection that achieves" (1907, 65). Thus, toward the end of his life, Cram concluded that Ruskin's influence "for good or ill, has lasted longest" (1935, 101). Yet that was hardly a ringing endorsement.

As a boy growing up in Hampton Falls, New Hampshire, Cram enjoyed his father's prized possession, an extensive library that included Ruskin's *Modern Painters*, *The Seven Lamps of Architecture*, and *The Stones of Venice*. Cram read those books "with avidity" (1936, 26). Furthermore, as a young apprentice in the Boston architectural offices of Rotch and Tilden, Cram lost the first annual Arthur Rotch traveling scholarship (1884) on a technicality. As a result, he lost the opportunity to "see the old work Ruskin had taught me was so supremely good" (Cram 1936, 47). Disappointed, Cram turned to journalism as an outlet, becoming the arts critic for *The Boston Evening Transcript* late in 1884. His foray into journalism began with a vitriolic letter to the *Transcript* in October of that year because a land speculator planned to build an apartment tower at Boston's Copley Square, obscuring the view of Richardson's famous Trinity Church. In his letter, Cram declared that he longed for the "powerful king John Ruskin loves—a king to come with a word and stop forever the horror that is being perpetrated" (Cram, qtd. in Daniel 1978, 27). The editor captioned Cram's tirade: "Have We a Ruskin Among Us?" (E. H. Clement, qtd. in Cram 1936, 10), and soon thereafter Cram got the job as the paper's arts critic.

Bertram Goodhue summarized Cram's critical voice for the *Transcript* thusly: "Ruskinism is their dominant note, but a Ruskinism so turgid, and with such a barbaric wealth of adjective, as might cause even that much discussed master to lift his lids" (1896, 458). Finally, having won a consolation prize for his design of the Suffolk County Court House in 1886, Cram had enough money to visit Europe, and he wrote several letters to his *Transcript* readers, describing his journey. One letter in particular detailed his crossing from New York City to Liverpool, where he spent much of the voyage studying Ruskin's *Modern Painters* "for the fiftieth time" (Cram, qtd. in Daniel 1978, 31). Thus, Cram took his first European voyage from a decidedly Ruskinian perspective, and Venice was the penultimate destination precisely because it was the culmination of his Ruskin readings.

Ruskin was indeed a "dominant note" in Cram's aesthetic thinking during the 1880s, but not for long. In 1887, having returned to Boston, Cram quit his *Transcript* job, citing his distaste for the diplomacy needed to review bad exhibitions from galleries that were generous advertisers in the *Transcript*. Cram then returned to Europe in the fall of 1887 as the tutor of a friend's son. Apparently, Cram did not travel well with the family, and he broke ties to explore Europe with a fellow American architect, T. Henry Randall. Randall revitalized Cram's love of architecture, and Cram accompanied Randall to midnight mass, Christmas Eve, at the Roman Church of San Luigi dei Francesi. Cram claimed never to have liked "Rococo" architecture (1936, 59), and San Luigi was no exception. Yet, once inside the church,

that night it was blazing with hundreds of candles, crowded with worshippers, and instinct with a certain atmosphere of devotion and of

ardent waiting. For the half-hour after we arrived, it was quite still except for the subdued rustle of men and women on their knees and the delicate click of rosaries. Then, in their white and gold vestments, the sacred ministers came silently to the high altar, attended by crucifers, thurifers, and acolytes, and stood silently waiting. Suddenly came the bells striking the hour of midnight, and with the last clang the great organs and choir burst into a melodious thunder of sound; the incense rose in clouds, filling the church with a veil of pale smoke; and the Mass proceeded to its climax with the offering of the Holy Sacrifice of the Body and Blood of Christ. I did not understand all of this with my mind, but *I understood*. (1936, 59; emphasis original)

Before that moment, Cram was the religiously ambivalent son of a Unitarian minister; Randall was a High-Church Episcopalian. Consequently, when Randall went to mass at the English church in Rome, Christmas morning, Cram was already there. That was the beginning of Cram's conversion to Anglo-Catholicism and his first point of divergence with Ruskin. Thus, when Cram and Randall traveled north to Venice in the spring of 1888, Cram stated that in "light of the recent Roman happenings, both personal and ecclesiastical, Venice worked its will with redoubled vigour" (1936, 63). Cram's love of Venice may have begun with Ruskin's *Stones of Venice*, but his religious conversion made the Protestant bias of Ruskin's architectural conclusions much less logical in 1888.

When Ruskin rhapsodized about St. Mark's Cathedral in Venice, he did so precisely to diminish the Catholic resonance of the building. Ruskin claimed that, even though the "devotees ... of Romanism may be seen murmuring their appointed prayers with wandering eyes and unengaged gestures" (1853, 65), his Protestant eyes would not be distracted from the truth, as he saw it; he concentrated instead on the "impressiveness of the Scripture histories embodied in [the cathedral's] mosaics" (1853, 66). Scripture was more important to Ruskin

than the murmuring rituals of Catholicism. Hence, in a longer passage about the Venetian cathedral:

Darkness and mystery; confused recesses of building; artificial light employed in small quantity, but maintained with a constancy which seems to give it a kind of sacredness; preciousness of material easily comprehended by the vulgar eye; close air loaded with a sweet and peculiar odour associated only with religious services, solemn music, and tangible idols or images have popular legends attached to them,—these, the stage props of superstition ... are assembled in St. Mark's.... Indeed, these inferior means of exciting religious emotion were employed in the ancient church as they are at this day, but not employed alone. Torchlight there was, as there is now; but the torchlight illumined Scripture histories on the walls, which every eye traced and every heart comprehended, but which, during my whole residence in Venice, I never saw one Venetian [i.e., Catholic] regard for an instant. (1853, 66–7)

With every torch-lit step around the kneeling Catholics, Ruskin discovered walls glittering with the lessons of little sermonizing stones. Yet the “stage props of superstition” were precisely what converted Cram to Anglo-Catholicism. Cram needed no enlightened torchlight to comprehend the Catholic mysteries, and he would come to love St. Mark's Venetian Cathedral for the “darkness and mystery” of its “air loaded with a sweet and peculiar odour”—all the things that Ruskin held as “inferior” to Protestant scripture. Thus, in an 1894 article on “The Contemporary Architecture of the Roman Catholic Church,” Cram would mock the Protestant label of “Romanism” and would specifically venerate the “vision of Mass or vespers in Saint Mark's at Venice” (1907, 243).” Ruskin's influence was waning.

Back in Boston, 1888, Cram completed his Anglo-Catholic conversion under the instruction of Father Arthur Hall and received the sacrament of baptism under the god-fatherhood of Charles Brent. That year, having won second place in the competition to remodel the Massachusetts State House,

Cram also opened his own architectural firm in partnership with Charles Wentworth. That marked the beginning of Cram's rise to architectural prominence, primarily as an Anglo-Catholic architect of churches. Consequently, Ruskin's name all but disappeared from Cram's architectural writings of the 1890s. By the end of the decade Cram was condemning Ruskin as a "bigot" who "made himself absurd by his fanatic advocacy of certain forms of architecture" (1899b, 66). Much worse, in 1905, Cram called Ruskin "quite the most unreliable critic and exponent of architecture that ever lived" because Ruskin was as dogmatically "narrow as Geneva" (1907, 149). By the time Cram had designed the Walkerville church, he found Ruskin's criticisms dangerously unreliable, which is still not to say completely ignorable.

Ruskin's unreliability meant that Cram's attitude toward High Victorian Gothic was highly ambivalent. On the one hand, Cram wrote an essay on "The Development of Ecclesiastical Architecture in England," claiming that, even though High Victorian Gothic architecture was not really Gothic at all, "it was ... earnest, enthusiastic, and possessed of no small degree of fine proportion and noble and original composition" (1907, 131).⁵⁴ On the other hand, Cram wrote another essay on "The Development of Ecclesiastical Architecture in America," observing the consequences of Ruskin's influence on British and American architects: "Fired by his inflammatory rhetoric, Blomfield, Butterfield, and others in England, and a particular group in America, turned to detail and decoration, the

⁵⁴ Concerning High Victorian Gothic, Cram also wrote that the "Ruskinian leaven was working, and a group of men did attempt to produce something that at least had some vestige of thought behind it. It is generally considered very awful indeed—and so it is, but it was the first sincere and enthusiastic work for generations, and demands a word of recognition" (1913, 235).

use of coloured brick and terra cotta, stone inlay, naturalistic carving, and metal work, as the essentials in constructive art, abandoning the quest for effective composition, thoughtful proportion, and established precedents" (1907, 149). In the former passage, Cram claimed that High Victorian architecture, under the influence of Ruskin's Protestantism, could not really be Gothic (in the honourable sense) because Gothic architecture was a Catholic architecture. Nevertheless, the resultant buildings were admirable, if misguided. In the latter passage, Cram was nothing but critical of High Victorian architecture; just as Ruskin wandered the floors of St. Mark's Venetian Cathedral, detail by detail, so too were Victorian architects concentrating on the details of Gothic ornament at the peril of ignoring the Catholic totality of spatial composition. Cram wrote, "first let us consider the plan, for all hangs on this: if the plan is not right, and if the whole structure does not follow inevitably from it, then the whole thing is wrong" (1899a, 115). Thus, for Cram, the ritual purpose of any Catholic space (be it Anglo or Roman) was the celebration of mass at an altar: "the altar is ... from an architectural standpoint the center, the climax of the structural church. To it all things are tributary" (1901, 151). He would have taken umbrage, therefore, with Ruskin's claim that Catholic ritual was filled with "wandering eyes and unengaged gestures" in the "confused recesses" of a "Romanist" church. For Cram, there was nothing arbitrary, unengaged, or confusing about Catholic ritual and space, only the narrowly Protestant perception of a man who would rather wander a Catholic church by torchlight, noting an aggregation of scriptural details.

Finally, as Shand-Tucci rightly noted, Cram parted company with Ruskin's architectural thinking because Ruskin hated the English Perpendicular style. Ruskin used Protestantism to defend his hatred of the Perpendicular. He argued that Perpendicular architecture was part of the fifteenth-century "corruption" that "marked the state of religion over all Europe,—the peculiar degradation of the Romanist superstition, and of public morality in consequence, which brought about the Reformation" (1851, 21). For Ruskin, Perpendicular architecture reflected the corrupt state of Catholicism, which required a Reformation to save the Christian faith. Furthermore, Ruskin used the details of Perpendicular Gothic as proof of Catholic architectural degradation, especially the period-defining detail of window tracery. Having ridiculed the Perpendicular west window of Winchester Cathedral, Ruskin stated with mock enthusiasm that one cannot "better the [Winchester] arrangement, unless, perhaps, by adding buttresses to some of the bars, as is done in the cathedral of Gloucester; these buttresses having the double advantage of darkening the window when seen from within, and suggesting, when it is seen from without, the idea of its being divided by two stout party walls, with a heavy thrust against the glass" (1851, 171). Cram specifically celebrated William of Wykeham's work at Winchester as the genesis of a truly English Perpendicular style, and Cram and his partner, Bertram Goodhue, both used buttressing super-mullions in numerous church windows throughout their careers.⁵⁵

⁵⁵ For examples of their use of super-mullions together and, later, individually, see St. Paul's Episcopal Church, Brockton, Massachusetts (c. 1892), St. Stephen's Episcopal Church, Fall River, Massachusetts (c. 1897), the cadet chapel at West Point, New York (c. 1905), First Methodist-Episcopal Church, Evanston, Illinois (c. 1929), and East Liberty Presbyterian Church, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania (c. 1930).

Ruskin also denigrated Perpendicular tower formations because they included “paltry four or eight pinnacled” terminations (1851, 182). Yet Cram’s firm frequently designed such “paltry” pinnacled towers.⁵⁶ Hence, Ruskin’s illustration of two contrasting tower types clearly demonstrates what Cram found problematic with Ruskin’s thinking [Plate 1.14]. Ruskin contrasted a looming Venetian tower with an English Perpendicular tower, the latter made “paltry” in the skewed proportions between them. Consequently, when Cram traced Ruskin’s influence on English and American architecture, he wrote that the consequent buildings “resulted in strange forms and modes imported from North Italy, and somewhat mishandled in transit” (1936, 30). This was the aspect of Ruskin’s influence that was most threatening to Cram at the turn of the century; Ruskin was encouraging strange forms imported from North Italy, things that were not really part of Cram’s English Middle Ages and thus not the real inheritance of Cram’s Anglo-centric North America. Cram may have loved Venice, but Venetian architecture was out of place in the Anglican North. In other words, it was inappropriate for the churches of and for Anglo-Saxon blood. Thus, not only did Cram reject Ruskin’s notion that detail mattered more than spatial composition, he also rejected Ruskin’s criticisms of Perpendicular detail, as well as the Protestant basis for those criticisms, and the continental quest for would-be Protestant “Gothic” solutions.

⁵⁶ For examples of their Perpendicularly styled towers with pinnacles, see the First Unitarian Church, West Newton, Massachusetts (c. 1905), St. Thomas’s Episcopal Church, New York City, New York (c. 1906), House of Hope Presbyterian Church, St. Paul, Minnesota (c. 1912), Cathedral of the New Jerusalem, Bryn Athyn, Pennsylvania (c. 1913), Cleveland Tower, Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey (c. 1920), and St. George’s School Chapel, Providence, Rhode Island (c. 1920).

Ultimately, the only Ruskinian criticism Cram kept throughout his career was one that Ruskin indirectly turned upon himself. Ruskin regretted every “cheap villa-builder” and every “public house” that “sells its gin and bitter under pseudo-Venetian capitals copied from the Church of the Madonna of Health or of Miracles” (1881, 155–6). These were, according to Ruskin, the “accursed Frankenstein monsters of, indirectly, my own making” (1881, 156). Thus, Cram would also curse the cheap architecture of the modern world as the “monster of Frankenstein, a dead horror ... without a soul” (1914b, 132). Yet, inasmuch as Cram contextualized that “dead horror” with his criticism of modern architecture as the “paraphernalia of an aesthetic curiosity shop” (1914b, 131), it was the incongruous stitching together of details in the name of “aesthetic curiosity” that so disturbed Cram. Cram admitted that he had “neither the power nor the patience to work out any sort of decorative detail” (1936, 78)—that was Bertram Goodhue’s and, later, Frank Cleveland’s genius. Such an admission did not, however, preclude Cram’s interest in the coordination of ecclesiastical details with the totality of Catholic ritual space, especially in relation to a church’s altar, the “soul” of the building (Cram 1901, 151). He once wrote a lengthy letter describing his iconographic program for the stained glass in the Cathedral-Church of St. John the Divine, New York City (Shand-Tucci 2005, 301). Thus, when Cram had the opportunity to coordinate the details of a church—as he did in Walkerville—the Gothic frightfulness of his architecture was not the soulless horror of Frankenstein’s monster. Rather, the Walkerville church is the tormented ghost of a murdered medieval past, an idea Cram got from Pugin, not Ruskin.

THE AMERICAN PUGIN

When exactly Cram started reading Pugin is unclear. A second-edition copy of Pugin's *Contrasts* and his *Apology for the Revival of Christian Architecture* survived a fire that ravaged Cram's private library. Yet those books were neither autographed nor dated—so when (or even if) Cram acquired them cannot be determined. We do know that, when Bertram Goodhue recounted his own apprenticeship in the New York offices of James Renwick Jr., he stated that “in those days the gospel [was] ... Pugin's various books, with a sort of thoroughly credible Apocrypha, the works of Viollet-le-Duc” (Goodhue, qtd. in C. Smith 1988, 31–2).⁵⁷ Perhaps, when Goodhue joined Cram's firm in 1891, the former introduced Cram to Pugin's thinking.⁵⁸ More likely, Cram first learned the Pugin name through Ruskin. In *The Stones of Venice*, Ruskin not only tried to strip the Venetian cathedral of its Catholicity, he also attacked Pugin for using the same Catholic “stage props of superstition” (1851, 339–42). If the newly converted Cram, 1888, found Ruskin's approach to St. Mark's Cathedral suspect, perhaps he found Ruskin's condemnation of Pugin equally questionable, exploring Pugin's texts for a kindred Catholic spirit. Regardless, Cram declared his affiliation with

⁵⁷ Cram had little interest in the French Gothic of Eugène-Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc, once claiming that Viollet-le-Duc's restorations left Reims Cathedral with a certain “coldness and impersonality” (1936, 137). We also recall Cram's statement that “no French architect for three centuries has had the faintest idea what constitutes the art of Christianity,” a condemnation that included Viollet-le-Duc.

⁵⁸ Cram certainly associated the Pugin name with Goodhue. Cram used the Pugins to praise Goodhue's work as a decorative designer: “Historic data, as, for example, various books of the Pugins' treasured drawings, might serve as a basis, but what in the end issued from his fertile imagination and deft fingers had suffered a sea-change into something rich and strange” (1936, 78). This Shakespearean paraphrase of the “sea-change” from *The Tempest* is also evidence of how Cram constructed his identity within the firm. If Goodhue was Ariel, the deft spirit of Gothic magic, then Cram was the controlling magician, the “Prosperoic” mastermind of the firm. Once again, Cram liked to control the details that he himself could not design.

the Pugin name in 1893: "The work of the Pugins was the beginning of the new architecture. In quick succession came the great Gothicists, Street, Scott, and Sedding. It is significant that of the leaders in this architectural revival, the Pugins, Street, and Sedding were all ardent and zealous Catholics" (1893a, 354–5). So too was Cram an ardent and zealous Catholic in the 1890s, situating himself as an American heir of the Pugins.

Crucially, Cram wrote of the Pugins (plural), and his 1893 article was not an isolated incident. In a later book, he noted that, "in England, the reform [of modern Gothic architecture] had begun with the Pugins" (1901, 11), who had a "sensitive appreciation of architecture as a living thing" (1901, 219). Elsewhere, he wrote of the new life of modern Gothic architecture, starting with the "early nineteenth-century Pugins" (1914b, 21). And he asked his readers: "Do you think the Pugins of England in the early part of the nineteenth century chose to build Gothic churches because they liked the forms better than those of the current Classic then in its last estate? Not at all, or in all events, not primarily; but rather because they passionately loved the old Catholic religion that voiced itself in these same churches they took as their models" (1914b, 46–7). Nevertheless, Cram also wrote of the "immortal Pugin" (singular), whose Gothic Revival was "instantly and astoundingly victorious in England. Ten years sufficed to see the last shards of the classical fashion relegated to the dust heap" (1907, 119). More explicitly, "the rise and progress of modern religious architecture in England ... began with the labour of the elder Pugin, the prophet of the new life, and developed through the cautious and scholastic work of such men as Pugin the younger" (1907, 171). In other words, when Cram wrote of the Pugins, he referred

to Auguste Charles Pugin (1769–1832), the father, and Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin, the son; and, when he wrote of the “immortal Pugin,” he referred to the elder of the two. Thus, he primarily affiliated himself with Auguste Charles Pugin, the father.

Cram’s assumptions about the elder Pugin were slightly eccentric. He believed that the father was a “Catholic royalist refugee from the [French] Revolution.... He was the first of a long and brilliant line of competent architects who in two generations have not only transformed church building in England, raising it to a higher point than it had known in three centuries, but their influence has extended far beyond the Anglican Communion where it originated” (1930b, 103–4). The elder Pugin was indeed a refugee in England, having escaped the continental conflicts of the French Revolution; and perhaps he was a royalist, given the aristocratic pretensions that flourished in the Pugin household (Hill 2007, 9–10), but why did Cram think that the elder Pugin was a Catholic?

Had he read Benjamin Ferrey’s 1861 biography, *Recollections of A.N. Welby Pugin and his Father, Augustus Pugin*, Cram would have read a first-hand account of how the “elder Pugin had never been very strict in his religious observances; occasionally he attended the services of the English Church, which he preferred to those of any other communion” (1861, 48). Instead, Cram apparently based his assumptions about the elder Pugin’s Catholicism on the various books of Gothic architectural specimens the latter illustrated. After all, when Cram’s favourite woodcarver, Johannes Kirchmayer, sculpted a quartet of figures from the history of English Gothic architecture [Plate 1.15], the only figure not from the Middle Ages was Pugin the Elder, and Auguste Pugin was the only

figure holding a book instead of a church model. For Cram, the elder Pugin's value to English Gothic architecture was in the realm of education not practice.

Cram apparently assumed that the elder Pugin, who illustrated the books, was sympathetic to Edward James Willson, who wrote the accompanying descriptions and introductory essays. Willson was a Roman Catholic, and his Catholic purview coloured his writings. In the first instalment of Willson's "Remarks on Gothic Architecture," the Catholic author noted that "the changes in religious opinions, which took place in the sixteenth century [were] ... everywhere ushered in by the demolition of monasteries ... whilst even cathedral and parochial churches were rudely despoiled of the statues of saints, and of their most valuable ornaments" (1821, x). Likewise, in the second instalment, Willson lamented that, "whilst we see the interior of grand ancient churches blocked up with partitions and galleries, enclosing a few snug warm seats, and the rest abandoned as useless, no more space can be allowed to a modern one than is absolutely wanted to contain the people" (1822, xxii). These were indictments of Protestantism, and Cram may have concluded that the elder Pugin only collaborated with Willson because he was sympathetically Catholic. Besides, the younger Pugin, who also collaborated on the volumes, became a zealous Roman Catholic. Thus, for Cram, both of the Pugins were Catholic advocates of the Gothic Revival. They started from within the Anglican Church, with the younger Pugin eventually converting to Roman Catholicism; hence, Cram's misconception that the "Oxford movement found the Pugins ready to serve the Church with perfect service." The elder Pugin was dead before the

Oxford movement had begun, and the younger Pugin's Roman Catholicism left him somewhat at odds with the movement's Anglo-Catholicity.

Regardless, Cram valued the elder Pugin's books because they were among the first to provide measured elevations and cross-sections of medieval English buildings and their details. Several previous volumes had picturesque drawings, to be sure, but these were of less value to an architect like Cram, who wanted "effective composition, thoughtful proportion, and established precedents." Hence, in 1899, Cram advised a young architect concerning the proportions and construction of a church: "Why don't you go back to the same things we have based our work on, namely the various books of Pugin. Some of these have fine measured sections that I should think, would be exactly what you want" (Cram, qtd. in Daniel 1978, 220). Cram also attributed the elder Pugin with discovering and publishing the "interesting fact that England had once had a national Christian architecture [i.e., the Perpendicular]" (1907, 129). Certainly, the many volumes Auguste Pugin illustrated favoured the Perpendicular, but it is unclear what exactly Cram thought Pugin the Elder had discovered among his specimens of English Gothic architecture. Perhaps it was because Willson's introductory essay stated that: "In the selection of the subjects [for illustration], a preference has been given to such as appeared most likely to afford useful lessons to the modern artist; and, with this view, the early varieties of style which distinguish the works of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries have been passed over [in favour of the Perpendicular]" (1831, v). Furthermore, Willson argued that, outside England, "very few instances of the *Perpendicular* style appear; and nothing in the style of Henry VII.'s chapel, and other such buildings in England,

beyond small details" (1822, xvii; emphasis original). Ultimately, Willson claimed that the Perpendicular was distinctly English and suitable for modern design, and Cram, we recall, thought that the Perpendicular held the promise of Anglo-(inter)nationalizing the Gothic style in the modern world. Thus, Cram placed the statue of Pugin the Elder among the images of medieval builders (William Bolton, William of Sens, and William of Wykeham, most of all) because the elder Pugin was the legitimate heir of medieval English Gothic and of Wykeham's latest and greatest expression thereof—the Perpendicular. As Cram once declared, "when we turn to the last great Gothic of all, the Gothic of William of Wykeham, we turn to the work of our own race, to our own inalienable heritage" (1901, 224). So too was Augustus Welby Pugin the legitimate heir of that Anglo-Gothic heritage, as long as he remained his father's son.

In the first edition of *Contrasts*, 1836, the younger Pugin argued that medieval Gothic architecture continued to develop in England up to the advent of the Protestant Reformation, whereby Protestant fervour destroyed the perfect relationship between Gothic architecture and Catholic faith. As a result, the younger Pugin of 1836 celebrated Perpendicular architecture and designed several Catholic churches with Perpendicular features—most notably St. Marie's, Derbyshire (1837–38) [Plate 1.16] and St. Alban's, Macclesfield (1838–39) [Plate 1.17]. Cram had no problem with this version of Welby Pugin.⁵⁹ Thus, when Cram designed the vast majority of his Perpendicular churches, he did so to revive a style that expressed the same belief in Perpendicular as the apex of English Gothic: "With the close of the great fifteenth century in England, architecture

⁵⁹ From this point forward, A. W. N Pugin will be called Welby Pugin to distinguish him from A. C. Pugin, his father.

reached the climax of its progress, which had been glorious without pause from the days of Edward the Confessor" (1893a, 353).

However, in the second edition of *Contrasts*, 1841, Welby Pugin clearly changed his mind:

The author gladly avails himself ... to enlarge the [original] text, and correct some important errors which appeared in the original publication.... He was perfectly correct in the abstract facts, that *pointed architecture was produced by the Catholic faith*, and that it was destroyed in England by the ascendancy of Protestantism; but he was wrong in treating Protestantism as a *primary cause*, instead of being the *effect* of some other more powerful agency, and in ascribing the highest state of architectural excellence to the ecclesiastical buildings erected immediately previous to the change in religion ... [these late medieval buildings] still exhibited various symptoms of the decay of the true Christian principle.

The real origin of both the revived Pagan and Protestant principles is to be traced to the decayed state of faith throughout Europe in the fifteenth century, which led men to dislike, and ultimately forsake, the principles and architecture which originated in the *self-denying Catholic principle*, and *admire and adopt the luxurious styles of ancient Paganism*. Religion must have been in a most diseased state. (1841a, iii; emphasis original)

As of 1841, Welby Pugin was no longer his father's son. The Protestant Reformation, according to the Victorian Welby Pugin, was not directly responsible for the destruction of medieval art; it was merely consequential to a society that already turned away from the "self-denying Catholic principle" in pursuit of luxurious Renaissance paganism. The self-indulgence of human frailty thus infected the Church. The house of man tainted the house of God, where the carbuncles of Perpendicular pendants, for example, hanging from the ceiling, were nothing more than an "ingenious trick" (1841b, 7) to distract men from the true purpose of a church—honouring God with a place worthy of His presence. Consequently, the Victorian Welby Pugin quarantined the "diseased state" of English architecture from the fifteenth century to the 1840s, evoking the *cordon*

sanitaire that my “Pre-Face” deconstructed, and he condemned Georgian Gothic architects and theorists (including his father and himself) for their advocacy of a degenerate style—the Perpendicular.

Between the first edition of *Contrasts* and the second, Welby Pugin reflected on John Milner’s 1811 *Treatise on the Ecclesiastical Architecture of England, during the Middle Ages*, and the argument that Perpendicular Gothic was the “undue depression” of the lancet arch into the four-centered and ogee variations (Milner, qtd. in Brooks 1999, 135). Because of Milner, Welby Pugin came to see medieval architecture as a completed lifeline, starting with the aspirations of the Early English Gothic (c. 1180–1275), reaching the zenith of the Decorated period (c. 1275–1380) before declining into death with the Perpendicular (c. 1380–1535). In other words, the life of medieval Gothic architecture followed the rise and fall of the lancet arch, from the first reaches of the Early English to the mature grandeur of the Decorated period to the faltering “depression” of the four-centered and ogee arches of the Perpendicular. Thus, the Victorian Welby Pugin argued that Gothic Revivalists had to choose between the various stages of the completed Gothic trajectory, and the only logical choice, he thought, was the Decorated zenith.⁶⁰

Such was the Welby Pugin that Shand-Tucci called upon to represent the entirety of a career that Cram could then “ignore.” Yet Welby Pugin’s claim that “Christian architecture had gone its length” by the Reformation (Welby Pugin, qtd. in Shand-Tucci 1974, 54; 1995, 117) did not mean that he blindly sought to

⁶⁰ His one common exception to that rule was the use of Early English Gothic (even Norman Romanesque) in remote and rugged corners of the empire, Ireland especially.

imitate the past. On the contrary, Welby Pugin argued that *"we do not wish to produce mere servile imitators of former excellence of any kind, but men imbued with the consistent spirit of the ancient architects, who would work on their principles, and carry them out as the old men would have done, had they been placed in similar circumstances, and similar wants to ourselves"* (1943a, 22; emphasis original). In that context, Welby Pugin wanted a Gothic Revival that addressed the "circumstances" and the "wants" of his fellow Victorians.

What separated him from Cram was not a fundamental difference in the purpose of the Gothic Revival but the drawing of a line in England between the *"consistent spirit of the ancient architects"* and the inconsistencies of modern architects. The Victorian Welby Pugin argued that the inconsistencies began with the Perpendicular; Cram (and the Georgian Welby Pugin) argued that they began with the Protestant Reformation. Consequently, Shand-Tucci went too far when he argued: *"Cram never subscribed to such 'Puginisms' as that height was of the essence in Christian art because emblematic of the resurrection"* (1974, 101; emphasis original). Cram loved the image of Gothic churches that *"rise from the midst of clustering cottages or village shops"* (1901, 181), and as we shall see, Cram did believe in the emblematic relationship between true Christian architecture and the Catholic resurrection. At Walkerville, Welby Pugin's equation of the resurrection with the vertical principle is precisely what haunted Cram.

HAUNTING THE HOUSE OF GOD

Welby Pugin's interest in Catholic architecture and the resurrection exposes a contradiction in his thinking. On the one hand, in his *Apology for the Revival of Christian Architecture*, Welby Pugin argued that his Victorian churches were a true Catholic Revival in comparison to his earlier production, up to and including his work prior to 1841:

In my own case I can truly state, that in buildings which I erected but a short time since, I can perceive numerous defects and errors, which I should not now commit; and, but a few years ago, I perpetuated abominations. Indeed, till I discovered those laws of pointed design, which I set forth in my "True Principles," I had no fixed rules to work upon, and frequently fell into error and extravagance.... But, from the moment I understood that the beauty of architectural design depended on its being the expression of what a building required, and that for Christians that expression could only be correctly given by the medium of pointed architecture, all difficulty vanished. (1843a, 15–16n11)

That was Welby Pugin at his most optimistic, believing that he had finally exorcized the Perpendicular "abominations" perpetuating from the fifteenth century to the Georgian era. In his essay on *True Principles*, he claimed to have discovered the essential Christian principle—verticality: the "vertical principle, emblematical of the resurrection, is the very essence of Christian architecture" (1841b, 7n1; emphasis original). Hence, from the second edition of *Contrasts*: "According to ancient tradition, the faithful prayed in a standing position" as an allusion to the resurrection (1841b, 3). For the Welby Pugin of 1841, Gothic architecture was a vertical construct, and ancient Christians worshipped on their feet because their faith held the promise of a corporeal resurrection, whereby their bodies would one-day rise from the grave to stand in the glory of Christian paradise. True Christian architecture, according to Welby Pugin, stands in (for)

the future-present of that perfect day—hence, the frontispiece to his *Apology*, where his various Gothic-Revival churches stand with the sun rising in the eschatological east. If Christ is the resurrection and the life, and if Welby Pugin believed that medieval Catholics truly communed with the sacramental presence of God, then medieval architecture, immediately prior to the “undue depression” of the Perpendicular period, was the perfect realization of that vertical communion. For the optimistic Welby Pugin, the Gothic Revival was not just a revival; it was the vertical stance of a resurrection.

On the other hand, Welby Pugin was not always so optimistic. He confessed: “I can truly say that I have been compelled to commit absolute suicide with every building in which I have been engaged, and I have good proof that they are little better than ghosts of what they were designed [to be]” (1850, 13). That was Welby Pugin at his melancholic nadir. He still believed in the possibility of a true architectural resurrection, but the economic conditions of the modern world and the narrow-mindedness of self-indulgent building committees made that revival practically impossible. His Gothic architecture, therefore, had not been the “*restoration of the real thing*” (Welby Pugin, qtd. in Belcher 2001, 187; emphasis original) but a haunting simulacrum thereof. The “diseased state” of a modern world still at odds with the “self-denying Catholic principle” made a ghost of the Gothic Revival, whereby sickness and the supernatural were coterminous conditions. Nor was Welby Pugin himself safe from the diseased state of modernity. As Rosemary Hill suggested in her recent biography (2007), Welby Pugin contracted syphilis in his youth; and, as Martin Bressani and I have subsequently argued (2010), the taint of that disease shaped Welby Pugin's

tirades against the sickness of the modern world, as it did his dire bouts of depression in failing to save England or even himself. From that perspective, Welby Pugin saw the vast majority of his buildings as a suicidal throng incapable of the corporeal resurrection that their vertical principle held in trust because they could not escape the sickening conditions of the modern world.

As the American Pugin, Cram inherited that Puginian contradiction—on the one hand, the optimistic faith in the revival; on the other, the melancholic dread of a syphilitic society and the sickening ghosts it produced. At times, Cram would optimistically defend the Gothic Revival as a work in progress: “Of course, in some measure the new work must be halting and uncertain; an art that has been dead three centuries is not easily to be revived. But from the days of the elder Pugin there has been a steady advance” (1893a, 355). More precisely, Cram would optimistically argue that true Christian architecture returned for good when Pugin the Elder became the “prophet of the new life,” declaring: “‘Strawberry Hill Gothic’ would no longer do, for the consciousness had grown up that ... shams and lies and affectations and stage scenery were the final negation of the spirit of life that had made mediaeval architecture possible, and that had come again into the world, not as a *revenant*, but as the product of a resurrection” (1907, 132; emphasis original). The use of Christian eschatology was no accidental metaphor for Cram. Medieval Gothic architecture was once “the trumpet blast of an awakening world, a proclamation to the four winds of heaven that man has found himself, that the years of probation are accomplished, the dark ages extinguished in the glory of self-knowledge” (Cram 1907, 56). Thus, the Gothic Revival (the new life that the elder Pugin prophesied)

was the renewed trumpeting of that eschatological morning glory: the “light of the wonderful dawn ... has risen over this fortunate country” (Cram 1907, 28). At his most optimistic, Cram believed that his Perpendicular churches stood in the first light of that glorious dawn.

Cram often played with diurnal imagery. Yet, as with the Victorian Welby Pugin, he did not always feel that the modern world truly rose to a Gothic resurrection. In his first novel, *The Decadent* (1893), Cram pitted his glorious optimism against an intractable scepticism. He divided the contradiction between two characters, whose argument, significantly, received no resolution by the end of the narrative. He expressed his optimistic faith in present change through the character of Malcolm McCann, a socialist revolutionary who came to New England to stir the revolutionary fervour of his favourite former pupil—Aurelian Blake. McCann discovered, however, that Blake no longer fought to change the world. On the contrary, Blake sought refuge in a country villa called Vita Nuova, arguing:

“Malcolm, dear boy ... the battle is already lost even before it is fought. I thought once when you filled me with ardour of war that we could win. I see further now. Dear Malcolm, you are waging war against the gods; you have mistaken the light that is on the horizon; you have waked from sleep, but the flush of light that is in your eyes is not the dawn,—it is sunset. You taught me that we lived in another Renaissance; I know it now to be another decadence, inevitable, implacable.... There is other work before me. Even as in the monasteries of the sixth century the wise monks treasured their priceless records of a dead life until the night had passed and the white day of medievalism dawned on the world, so suffer me to dream in my cloister through evil days; for the night has come when man may no longer work.” (Cram 1893c, 31 & 41)

The “new life” of Blake’s refuge, Vita Nuova, was not in the present but the dream of some unknown future-present.

Not surprisingly, Malcolm McCann accused Blake of being the "'worst pessimist I ever saw!'" to which Blake replied: "'Of course, for I am an optimist; and one can't be an optimist touching the future without being a pessimist touching the present'" (Cram 1893c, 30). For Cram, the present pessimist, the modern world was mired in the dark ages of "another decadence." Night is upon us. Consequently, when Cram wrote his treatise on *Church Building*, he acknowledged, "we do not possess a genuine, vital civilization.... There have always been dazzling personalities that flash out of the surrounding gloom like the writing on the wall at the great king's feast; but they are not manifestations of healthy art" (1901, 1). The ostensibly resurrected purity of the Gothic Revival had not simply surpassed the diseased state that Welby Pugin projected onto the modern world. Just as Welby Pugin occasionally felt that his buildings were little better than "ghosts of what they were designed" to be, so too did Cram pessimistically feel the melancholia of a Gothic Revival that conjured mere "revenants," not the bodies of a resurrection. Thus, if Cram pessimistically argued that the post-Georgian Gothic was still an undead *revenant*, like the "Strawberry Hill Gothic" of the eighteenth century, then Cram's Walkerville church is a grammatologically Gothick haunt.

Gavin Stamp touched upon this spectral condition in his biography of George Gilbert Scott, Jr., another architect of the Late Victorian Gothic Revival. According to Stamp, the Perpendicular architecture of G. G. Scott Jr.

had articulated that compelling dream of Pre-Reformation England which became so important to the sensibilities of many Edwardians: a dream of a nation that was English and yet Catholic. This was the historical vision, *haunted by consciousness of broken continuity*, which, earlier, had initially inspired [Welby] Pugin, yet there was a crucial difference. [Welby] Pugin really believed that England could be made

Gothic and Catholic again; Scott's generation knew at heart that this was impossible. In consequence, their vision was tinged with melancholy. (2002, 10; emphasis added)

Stamp's "crucial difference" is faulty, of course. Welby Pugin's architecture calls for someone willing to do justice to its tinged melancholia, and Scott's generation, which overlapped Cram's, was never so wholly reconciled to the impossibility of that Pre-Reformation dream. Nevertheless, at Walkerville, Cram did create a melancholic architecture that was (and still is) "haunted by consciousness of broken continuity." Cram argued that the Perpendicular, at the end of the Middle Ages, "had died a violent death, not a death by exhaustion" (1893a, 354). The style and the society that produced it "were done to death in most untimely fashion and in the strength of their mature manhood" (1907, 133). In short, "Henry VIII killed all art of any kind whatsoever in England" when his mind, poisoned with secular dreams of absolute power, decided to usurp the English Church, opening the way for Protestantism (1907, 101). Killing the Gothic style in the prime of its Perpendicular life, however, did not put it to rest. Cram envisioned the modern world as a place haunted by the murder of the Catholic Middle Ages.

Shortly after building the Walkerville church, Cram published a treatise on *The Ruined Abbeys of Great Britain* (1905). *The Ruined Abbeys* was a protracted dirge over the destruction Protestant Reformers had visited upon England and the consequent haunting of the modern industrial society that followed in its wake; hence, his evocative photograph of "Whitby—The Ghost of Greatness"

[Plate 1.18].⁶¹ More importantly, he lamented the destruction of St. Mary's Yorkshire Abbey in the fires of modern industrial lime-kilns: "[the] sculpted stones [of the abbey] worthy to stand in the British Museum by the Elgin Marbles were given to the fire that they might acquire a commercial value when transmuted into quick-lime" (1905, 212). Modern society (in a transmutation Marx had known too well) had reduced the aesthetic value of medieval sculpture to the exchange value of industrial commodities. Cram consequently described his horror in spectral terminology: "It is with feelings of horror and unutterable dismay that, as we stand beside the few existing fragments, realizing the irreparable loss they make so clear, we call into mind ... the mercenary savagery of the nineteenth century when from smoking lime-kilns rose into the air the vanishing ghosts of the noblest creations that owe their existence to the hands of man"

⁶¹ Cram reiterated the point in his text, describing Whitby Abbey as the "very haunt of terror and dismay" (1905, 54). Likewise, he told a pair of ghost stories in the context of his treatise, punctuating his argument that haunting is consequential to destruction. For instance, a man named Walter Taylor took ownership of Netley Abbey after the Protestant seizure of the monastery. Taylor, a nonconformist who wished to turn a profit on the resale of the abbey's building materials, had a dream that he would die if he touched the sacred stones of Netley Abbey. And, despite having the ghost of a "gaunt old monk" subsequently warn him of the same danger (1905, 89), Taylor pulled down the roof of the venerable abbey and was promptly crushed in the collapse of the tracery from the great western window.

At Jedburgh Abbey, Cram noted that a ghost appeared at the medieval wedding feast of King Alexander III. King Alexander (a faithful Catholic who rightly feared the spectre's ill omen) abruptly ended the wedding feast to avoid the spectre's presage of disaster. Alexander died, however, without issue; and Cram wondered if the spectral omen extended beyond the medieval feast. Centuries later, the Protestant usurpers of Jedburgh Abbey held a "sacrilegious ceremony [that] took place within its walls 'with great triumph and banquetting'" (1905, 139). Cram would elsewhere note that the "curse of failure of male issue" was endemic to the secular families who took hold of suppressed monastic estates, including Jedburgh: "In 1846 of the six hundred and thirty families to which monastic estates had been granted, only fourteen had not been extinguished through failure of male issue. Since then several more have come to an end, and whether we attribute the fact to judgment or coincidence, it is certainly notable that shame, disgrace, violent deaths, and total extinction have followed the names of all those who took part in the Suppression" (1905, 248). Thus, according to Cram, the ghost of Jedburgh Abbey was an omen of familial extinction that haunted not only the isolated incident of King Alexander's feast but also the entire monastic suppression of the modern English world.

(1905, 227). The ghosts linger, however, even as they vanish, in the haunting evocation of Cram's lament.

Thus, with only the ruined abbey foundations to see, Cram imagined St. Mary's in its original glory, where "above all, crowning the composition and tying it all into an aspiring pyramid, lifts a single lofty tower with its lance-like spire flashing in the sky" (1905, 219). In other words, Cram was perfectly willing to appreciate Gothic architecture as an essay in steeply pyramidal verticality, where "lance-like" spires flashed in the light of Catholic England's eschatological daylight (verticality and the resurrection). The destruction, therefore, of that aspiring verticality made a ghost of the Middle Ages, reducing the modern world to the spectral experience of living in a time "out of joint." In his pessimistic moments, Cram felt that he was not "born to set it right," meaning that he designed buildings that were nothing more than *revenants* of true Catholic architecture. Pessimistically speaking, Cram's architecture was as incomplete as the Reformation-born ruins of a medieval abbey. St. Mary's Anglican Church in Walkerville is a haunted house, like St. Mary's Catholic Abbey in Yorkshire, because it is missing the "lance-like" spire at the termination of its tower. The open hand of the grammatological *k* reaches silently for the absent lance.

DECONSTRUCTING THE [HAUNTED] HOUSE OF GOD

Deconstruction inhabits Cram's architecture on the pessimistic angle of his Puginian inheritance. As Mark Wigley demonstrated in *The Architecture of Deconstruction* (1993), Derrida was interested in architecture because the entire tradition of western philosophy depends on a paradoxically spatial image, one

that is both central and peripheral to philosophical discourse. Wigley called relentless attention to the fact that western philosophy is built on a spatial metaphor that has always been implicit to the argument that truth belongs *inside* philosophy's discourse. The metaphor of a philosophical interior became architecturally explicit with René Descartes' "construction of an edifice" (Descartes, qtd. in Wigley 1993, 7), and Immanuel Kant's edifice of metaphysics, "erected on secure 'foundations' laid on the most stable 'ground'" (Kant, qtd. in Wigley 1993, 7), and Martin Heidegger's transformation of the grounded edifice into a house that grounds: "Language is the house of Being" (Heidegger, qtd. in Wigley 1993, 97). Western philosophy is consequently built on a tripartite system of ground-structure-ornament, presence-presentation-representation, where the structural edifice that builds an interior for philosophical discourse can stand on its own only because it is supposedly grounded in the metaphysical presence of truth. Philosophy is said to present the truth of metaphysical presence; and that structural presentation is then properly represented through the metaphor of architecture, the grounded edifice or the house that grounds. Architecture, as a metaphorical ornament, has been indispensable to western philosophy.

Conversely, western philosophers have traditionally sought to subordinate the aesthetic materiality of architecture. Even though philosophy relies on a certain image of architecture to explain and sustain itself (its interior space), that explanation is supposed to come directly from the philosopher's mouth. "Language," once again, is said to be the "house of Being." Philosophers have privileged speech as the only way in which philosophy can truly present itself because speech is supposed to be the immediate and immaterial expression of

thought: “the [linguistic] figure of the house is that of the privileged interior, the space of unmediated presence, or, more precisely, the site of the exclusion of space by presence” (Wigley 1993, 125–6). Thus, ever since philosophers have made their architectural metaphor explicit, and because actual architecture is both spatial and material, philosophy has deemed an architect's work to be furthest from the metaphysical truth that the philosopher's voice alone can present: “[architecture's] form is not nature but an arbitrary end” (Kant, qtd. in Wigley 1993, 125). As a metaphor, architecture is central to philosophy, as a material construct, it is peripheral, and deconstruction is everywhere concerned with the impossibility of exorcizing the materiality of architecture from its metaphorical usage.

In 1841, Welby Pugin published a theory of architecture that renegotiated the traditional contract between metaphysical truth and the material construct of a building. Because the Victorian Welby Pugin was a Roman Catholic, and because the gospel according to John declared Christ as “The Word ... made flesh” (Jn. 1:14), Welby Pugin sought to build material churches that embody the metaphysical truth of the incarnation. The Catholic faithful discover the truth of metaphysical presence not simply through the spoken word of the gospel but through the invocation of the material reality of transubstantiation: “our blessed Lord truly present and abiding in the temple in the holy sacrament of the altar” (Pugin 1851, 7). Welby Pugin was obsessed, therefore, with designing Catholic churches worthy of housing the material reality of that metaphysical presence. He sought to control ornament so that his churches could be the structural

presentation of God's metaphysical presence.⁶² And he wrote *The True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture* so that the truth of his principles would not be limited to architectural issues but an aesthetic grounded in the metaphysical truth that Catholic architecture is supposed to reveal to the faithful—hence, his argument that the truest principle of Catholic architecture is verticality, the emblem of resurrection. The ground on which a Catholic church stands is the hallowed ground of dead generations who are waiting to stand in the glorious light of resurrection. The church, at present, may only be emblematic of that future-present (it stands inasmuch as it stands in for the promised land of Christianity), but in the moment of transubstantiated glory the church inhabits that future-present. As Cram would put it, “the awful presence of God enters into His holy temple ... foreshadowing the unspeakable glory of the Kingdom of God” (1907, 111–13). Christ's body is thus momentarily resurrected and presented in the sacramental bread and wine. The Word is made flesh.

Cram's suppressed Ruskinism also re-emerged within his Puginian heritage through the becoming-flesh of the Word. Cram may have dismissed Ruskin's reduction of St. Mark's Venetian Cathedral to an aggregation of scriptural details, but Cram still gravitated toward Ruskin's argument for architectural legibility. When Ruskin named his three virtues of architecture, the foremost in his discussion (though second on his list) was that architecture should “speak well, and say the things it was intended to say in the best words” (1851, 33). Famous for declaring a church to be a great “Book of Common Prayer” (1853, 85 and

⁶² Hence, Welby Pugin offered his famous principle: “all ornament should consist of enrichment of the essential construction of the building” (1841b, 1; emphasis original).

98), Ruskin sought buildings “adorned with intelligible and vivid sculpture,” whose variety excited emotion in those “capable of being touched by every association which its builders employed as letters of their language” (1851, 34). Likewise, Welby Pugin sought architectural legibility, claiming that the medieval architecture of each English county “should be indeed a school,—for each is a school,—where [students of architecture] ... may read, and where volumes of ancient art lie open for all inquirers” (1843a, 20; emphasis original).⁶³ Hence, Cram’s churches read as the “incarnate Word” (Cram 1892, 44). Cram believed that “No matter how small they may be, how inexpensive, how simple in design, they are yet churches; and in the least of them one should be able to read as clearly the nature of the power that brought it into existence as in the greatest of cathedrals” (Cram 1901, 14). Yet, even more than Welby Pugin, and certainly more than the Protestant Ruskin, Cram argued that the Catholic “power” of Gothic architecture was the organization of liturgical space (and the details gathered therein) into a plan of legible ritual function. Cram stated that “in all true Gothic there exists so intimate a relationship between the interior

⁶³ Anthony Vidler has explored this aspect of Romantic historiography, where the question of architectural history “was not so much about the ways by which one culture had sustained a particular line of development ... but concerned the special genius of each culture, its type. The question would have to be answered by meticulous deciphering of the signs of architecture in every age, a close reading of monuments like that conducted for the hieroglyphic inscriptions of Egypt and the runic patterns of the Celts. The writing of the walls was as much a part of historical inquiry as was the writing on the walls” (1986, 137; emphasis original). Certainly, Welby Pugin declared that the “history of architecture is the history of the world: as we inspect the edifices of antiquity, its nations, its dynasties, its religions, are all brought before us” (1843a, 4). Thus, concerning the faith of England’s Gothic ancestors, “it is written on the wall, on the window, on the pavement, by the highway. Let him but look on the tombs of those who occupy the most honourable position in the history of his country—the devout, the noble, the valiant, and the wise,—and he will behold them with clasped hands invoking the saints of Holy Church, whilst the legend round the slabs begs the prayers of the passers-by for their souls’ repose” (Pugin 1843a, 49). Welby Pugin folded the literal texts of Gothic churches (inscribed on the walls, windows, walkways, and tombs) with the ability to read Catholic faith into the structural elements of the building and the gesturing stones of the funereal effigies couched therein.

arrangement and the exterior appearance—between the plan and the elevation—that from a study of the latter the former may with fair accuracy be read" (1917a, 131). For example, Cram noted that the Catholic baptistery takes its place "either before the church or at its very entrance, so symbolizing its function as the point of the beginning of the Christian life" (Cram 1901, 114). Thus, the "baptistery was a building apart ... and its lesson was clearly read" (Cram 1901, 112). Ultimately, for Cram, Catholic ritual is a narrative that unfolds architecturally, from baptism to communion, and Cram was interested in using the structural, spatial, social, and semiotic languages of a church to communicate the ritual narratives that only a Catholic church could tell through the Word made flesh.

The privileged status of the incarnation also explains why Welby Pugin insisted that a Catholic church, as the house of God, is a unique architecture among all building types, the only site worthy of God's presence: "There is a vast difference between a building raised to God and one for temporal purposes" (1841b, 36). The house of God is supposed to be unlike any other kind of house, which is precisely where we might give form to our deconstruction of Cram's Puginian inheritance. Inasmuch as deconstruction is concerned with how architecture is used to control distinctions between the material and the metaphorical, Welby Pugin's argument that church architecture is a material truth (simultaneously aesthetic and metaphysical) is dependent on his control over the word "house." According to Welby Pugin, if we understand a Catholic church purely as the unique site that houses the "abiding" presence of God through the sacramental miracle of transubstantiation, then church architecture

is, indeed, the house of God. If, however, we consider the church house as something that opens the house of God to the temporal matters of man (including the features of domestic architecture), then the phrase “house of God” can only be metaphorical. It can only be a figure of speech used to explain the idea of God’s presence in an architecture that cannot be a house in the traditional sense of domestic architecture. Consequently, the Victorian Welby Pugin was concerned with the potential confusion of church architecture with the temporal houses of man, and he predicated his melancholic lament of the diseased modern world on his inability to keep his churches free from the taint of man’s temporal self-indulgence. His churches are haunted houses inasmuch as they cannot exorcize the ambiguities of the word “house.”

Welby Pugin’s concern became explicit with the question of designing a church tower. Inasmuch as a “church tower is a beacon to direct the faithful to the house of God” (Pugin 1843b, 17), it cannot confuse the faithful as to its purpose as part of God’s household. In short, Welby Pugin argued that a “tower naturally suggests a spire as its termination”—and not just because the vertical accent of a spire punctuates the emblematic resurrection of the building (1843a, 26). If we were to exclude the spire, we would run the risk of confusing the house of God with mere domestic architecture:

There is no instance before the year 1400 of a church tower being erected without the *intention at least* of being covered or surmounted by a spire.... In fine, when towers were erected with flat embattled tops, *Christian architecture was on the decline*.... Towers surmounting gate-houses were never terminated by spires, for, being originally built for defence, the space at top was required for that purpose. This is the real reason why square-topped and embattled towers are said to be of a domestic character. (Pugin 1841b, 9–10; emphasis original)

When the Welby Pugin of 1836 designed Perpendicular “abominations,” he indiscriminately included the flat roof of a square-topped tower. When the Welby Pugin of 1841 and beyond designed churches, he always included (or intended to include) a spire because to do otherwise was to compromise the vertical structure of the house of God. The square-topped tower was a perfectly logical aspect of medieval domestic architecture, the castle to be exact, which is why he felt that it had no place on a church.⁶⁴ Therefore, the introduction of domestic features into the sacred structure of a church demonstrated Welby Pugin’s “diseased state” of Perpendicular Gothic.

To an extent, Cram agreed. He certainly argued that the material construct of a church is supposed to be the “most delicate, scientific, beautiful, even metaphysical product of the mind of man” (1907, 63). Church architecture is metaphysical. He also argued, “first of all, a church is a house of God, a place of His earthly habitation” (1901, 6). Yet he blamed the Reformation, not the medieval builders of the Perpendicular, for the modern world’s failure to achieve that metaphysical point: “As the house of God became the [Protestant] house of man, there was born the bare and ugly meeting-houses, the parsimony and grudging doles of money, wrung from greedy purses, where once had been eager generosity and noble emulation in doing honour to the incarnate Lord” (1907, 247). He even condemned architects who made churches look like domestic households: “Recently a fashion has developed of treating a small

⁶⁴ Welby Pugin also felt that the castellated Gothic had no place in the “domestic” architecture of priests’ residences. When Lord Shrewsbury asked Welby Pugin to design a castle for retired priests, the latter retorted, “you call on me to violate every principle and build a *Castle for Priests*” (Pugin, qtd. in Wedgwood 1994, 56; emphasis original).

church like a cottage, of trying to obtain an effect of 'cosiness,' which is quite the most wrong-headed scheme that has [been] offered. A church is a church, not a sitting room; and, even if it seats only a hundred people, it must be a church in every detail" (1901, 29). Cram, however, also argued that all architects in the modern world are fundamentally incapable of building churches that are simply and completely the house of God.

Cram's role as architect was proof of this point:

We ought to be able to build a church without the intervention of an architect, but we can't. He is a product of the new conditions of life wherein art is an exotic, no longer the inalienable right of the people; and, so long as these conditions continue, he is a necessary evil. No single architect can build as perfectly as the old priests and abbots and stone masons; but he can build better than anybody else in this day and generation, and so he must be accepted and his authority recognized. (1901, 48–9)

Cram considered himself to be a "necessary evil" in an unhealthy world, whereby his Perpendicular architecture could not simply ignore the Puginian accusation of being a measure of its "diseased state." The difference, once again, is that Cram believed medieval Perpendicular was a healthy architecture and only the melancholia of modernity tainted its revival. Thus, he might have praised Bodley and Garner for the "infinite sweetness and poetry" of their Hoar Cross church (with its square-topped tower), but he also situated their church in the modern context of its construction: "as seems to be inevitable in all contemporary work, there is something of self-consciousness, of the striving for perfection; but attribute no blame for this to the architects. The cause lies in the spirit of the epoch, and no man shall escape it" (1901, 66–7). To build a church like the new St. Mary's in Walkerville, Cram was acknowledging the limitations of building in the epoch of an unhealthy world—a world where, even in the best of

works, we are still building the house of God in a way that is tainted with the house of man and an Anglo-cultural context that was far from Catholic in unity.

On that condition, the Anglican tower of Walkerville marks the house of God tainted with a domestic detail that Welby Pugin abhorred. The square-topped tower of its castellated design demonstrates its failed resurrection. That Cram understood the square-topped tower as castle architecture is evident, for example, in an over-mantel at the administrative building of the West Point Military Academy [Plate 1.19]. Cram had his draughtsmen design an embattled trim at the top of the over-mantel, replicating the defensive cover of sculpted archers firing from between the merlons. Thus, when stepping inside the Walkerville church, the first detail seen in the tower vestibule is a cluster of diamond-shaped Moravian tiles with several foot-worn castles in sunken relief [Plate 1.20]. These castle tiles have crenelated, square-topped towers [Plate 1.21]. Furthermore, because the Walkerville vestibule is the first ritual step in an internal narrative leading to the church's high altar, the "vertical" thrust of the tiles' towers (pressed into diamond quarries that contrast with the square pavers of the alley) guides the eye (and foot) toward the ritual altar. They literally point the way to salvation [Plate 1.4].

That way, when we approach the Walkerville high altar, we see the castle tile repeated in the diamond quarries of the sanctuary floor [Plate 1.22]. Only now, the castle's shape echoes the structure of the wooden reredos screen standing above the altar [Plate 1.23]. The tiles' castle motif has a tall, centralized tower bifurcating its horizontal body, with minor vertical accents on the terminal ends. The reredos also has a tall, centralized tower bifurcating its horizontal body,

with minor vertical accents on its terminal ends. And, even though the terminal accents of the reredos are canopies that project only slightly above its horizontal parapet, there are several crenelated finials that clearly project above the parapet to ensure the castellated equivalency. From the moment we set foot within the tower door to the moment we ascend to the sacrificial altar, we are reminded that this church is also a castle, the house of God tainted with the house of Walker.

Just as the tall, centralized towers of the castle tiles point the way to the sacrificial high altar, so too does the tall, centralized tower of the reredos screen lead the eye up the altar wall of the Walkerville church. What exactly the reredos tower points to, and why, are questions that will have to wait for the next and the final chapters. For now, it is enough to note that Cram predicated the conflated condition of church and castle on the idea that modern Gothic architecture is inescapably part of a sick modern world, a world that is haunted by the perfect Gothic architecture of a murdered medieval faith. In Walkerville, Cram was a melancholic architect; and, although he believed that the Perpendicular style held the promise of a revival that was perfectly medieval and yet perfectly resurrected to redeem the modern world, Cram articulated the Walkerville church as an architecture situated in the melancholic interval between a past- and future-perfect. In the next chapter, I shall explore the part Edward Walker played in the haunted condition of the church. As we shall see, the ailing body of Edward Walker was intrinsic to the church's tainted structure.

ENTR'ACTE

Cram inherited another aspect from Welby Pugin—his enmity toward the Protestant Reformation. Granted, the Victorian Welby Pugin declared that the Reformation was only an “effect” of the disease that destroyed the medieval Gothic. Nevertheless, he still derided the Reformation as a damnable offence to Christianity. In *The True Principles*, for example, Welby Pugin wrote that “all the large churches of [England] ... fell a prey to the rapacious tyrant Henry [VIII] and his abettors, in the general wreck of faith and art at the period of his lamentable schism” (1841b, 29). Protestantism and Henry's tyranny were coterminous effects of the same “decayed state of faith.” Likewise, Cram provided several passages in which Henry VIII was condemned as a tyrant of the Protestant era: “during the last days of Henry VIII., and through his deliberate action, architecture ... was utterly stamped out of England as it was also stamped out in the other nations that accepted the reformed faith” (1893a, 353). However, in the second edition of *Contrasts*, Welby Pugin also emphasized that Henry VIII was not a true Protestant (1841a, 25); Henry was a tyrant who took advantage of Protestantism to suit his will and increase his coffers with ecclesiastical treasures, but he did not truly believe in Protestant dogma. Cram argued the same: “As for Henry VIII., to do him justice, we must admit that he hated theological innovations.... He had exterminated monasticism for reasons the most base and scandalous, but ... bad as Henry was, it can never be said of him that he aimed in the least at a substitution of Protestantism for Catholicism in England” (1905, 289 & 291).

Instead, both Welby Pugin and Cram turned greater rancour on Henry's son, King Edward VI. Welby Pugin argued that it was not until Henry's “infant son,

Edward VI, ascended to the throne, that the real feelings produced by the new opinions were displayed, or the work of robbery and destruction fully commenced" (1841a, 26). For Cram, the problem began with the Wars of the Roses and became catastrophic in Edward's subsequent reign. The Wars of the Roses had "practically exterminated the families ancient in honour, and Henry was surrounded by a throng of new creations without blood and without traditions" (1905, 11). This was how Henry VIII's tyranny was allowed to thrive, and consequently, the "false reformation began in England when with Henry's death a child came technically to the throne, while the actual power passed into the hands of a junta of unprincipled conspirators" (1905, 291). In other words, according to Cram, the disastrous Protestant Reformation had truly begun in England when the sickly child-king came to the throne, allowing England to fester under the "utter moral obliquity of the race during the malignant epoch of Edward VI" (1905, 279). Because the modern malignancy of the Protestant Reformation fully emerged with King Edward VI, and because the head of the Walker family was the ailing Edward Walker, dying of a degenerative illness, Cram played upon the Edwardian appellation in his Anglophile church at Walkerville.

The Wars of the Roses were crucial to that name-play. When approaching the high altar of Walkerville, we pass a quartet of windows in the nave [Plate 1.24]. These windows, subdivided into twinned lights, follow a set pattern. The subject matter is a collection of eight early Church Fathers, eastern and western, and the patristic saints each stand in their separate lights, two per window, each with a vegetal motif decorating the space between their figuration and their

identifying label. Each window also has a flourish of tracery above the figures, with an open book and a scroll unravelling to reveal a cardinal virtue in Latin. Yet, among the four windows, the one depicting SS. Augustine and Gregory the Great is a subtle variation on the theme [Plate 1.25]. Unlike the other three windows, where the vegetal motifs repeat in the twinned lights, the motifs for SS. Augustine and Gregory are different. Beneath St. Augustine is the image of a lily; beneath St. Gregory is the image of an English rose. The latter is appropriate inasmuch as Gregory was the pope who sent a Christian mission to England, but the colour of the rose indicates more than a generic signifier of Englishness. Cram contextualized that detail in the English Wars of the Roses, and thence the malignancy of the Edwardian Reformation. Cram was deeply concerned with the politics of the conflict.

The Wars of the Roses were a power struggle between the two branches of Plantagenet England—the house of Lancaster, with its red rose insignia, and the house of York, with its white rose. The wars concluded when the throne went to the Lancastrian Henry Tudor, who married Elizabeth of York. Hence, the Tudor rose became a hybrid of red and white petals, with the white rose of York set within the Lancastrian red. After the Tudors passed out of English succession, the Catholic house of Stuart reigned in waves until the Glorious Revolution of 1688, when the Stuart King, James II, fled England to the succession of his son-in-law, the Protestant William III of the house of Orange. James II was the last Catholic monarch of England, and English-Catholic monarchists believed that his son, James III, was the rightful heir to the English throne. So began the English Jacobite societies, the members of which used the white rose of York as a

nostalgic symbol of England's Catholic purity prior to the house of Tudor and the advent of the Protestant Reformation.

Cram was a Jacobite royalist, believing in the rightful English succession of the house of Stuart. He even corresponded with Queen Mary of Bavaria, the “‘legitimist’ English Sovereign” of the time (1936, 20). He was also a leader of the American Jacobite society called the Order of the White Rose, holding the charter rank of “Prior” to all American territories “between the Canadian border and the Rio Grande” (1936, 20). Consequently, when Cram wrote his treatise on *The Ruined Abbeys of Great Britain*, an English rose marks the border between his introductory title and the rest of his text. In a treatise where Cram made occasional use of red ink, it is telling that the rose relies on the negative space of the white paper to “colour” its form. Simply put, the insignia is a ghostly variation on the white rose to remind us of the Catholic purity of England prior to the Protestant Reformation that destroyed its monastic glories. Furthermore, Cram’s architectural partner, Bertram Goodhue, illustrated an American playwright’s adaptation of Lewis Carroll’s Wonderland stories [Plate 1.26]. In Carroll’s Wonderland, the Queen of Hearts has a rose garden in which the gardeners accidentally planted a white rose-tree. Red is the colour of the Queen of Hearts, so the gardeners busily painted the white roses red to conceal their error and avoid the queen’s anger. Yet John Tenniel’s illustration in Carroll’s *Alice in Wonderland* does not seem to have a political significance beyond the red paint as a symbol for the queen’s anger and the bloodiness of her tyrannous reign [Plate 1.27]. In Goodhue’s flat, graphic drawings, however, the roses are charged with a political agenda. Goodhue’s white roses are from the house of

York and the red-rose bloodiness of the queen's reign washes over the purity of their white colour [Plate 1.28]. Goodhue equated the tyranny of the Lancastrian line and its consequent house of Tudor with the morbid monarchy of Wonderland.

When we look to the red rose in the Walkerville window, we consequently note that its red colour is the product of a distinct glazier's process called flashed glass, whereby the glazier fuses grisailles glass with a thin veneer of red. The roses in Walkerville are white blossoms painted in a flash of bloody red and are thus charged with the same politicality. The purity of the white rose is tainted with the sinful blood of a malignant English world that broke faith with Catholicism—a world that, according to Cram, did not fully begin until the reign of Edward VI. Thus, Edward Chandler Walker was heir to the tainted Edwardian name, and his church bears the mark of that sin.

This leads to the lily in the neighbouring light. St. Augustine is not typically associated with that floral symbol. On the contrary, because Augustine wasted his youth in sinful dalliance, the purity of the lily (like the white Jacobite rose) seems incongruent with his history. The lily becomes comprehensible, however, when looking into the tracery above, where the cardinal virtue is "Veritas," Latin for "Truth." St. Augustine may have wasted his youth, but his earnest confession to the truth of his sinfulness meant that his sainted soul became as pure as the lily. The lily marks a miraculous cleansing of the tainted soul through the truth of confession, and the Walkerville church has much to confess, not the least of which being Edward Walker's confession that he, too, wasted his youth in sin. He commissioned the church in the hope of cleansing his soul and, perhaps, of

saving his life. Yet, as with the sacramental chambers of the confessional, the space of Edward's confession is paradoxically public and private, a sequestered public kept private within the public space of the Anglican community—a cryptic space within a space. The Walkerville church is Edward's confessional, a circum-fession that cryptically organizes the church's body and its representational imagery. As we shall see, the body of Edward Chandler Walker still disturbs the Walkerville church from within its crypt.

2. EDWARD CHANDLER WALKER: ENCRYPTING THE GOTHICK BODY

No crypt presents itself. The grounds [*lieux*] are so disposed as to disguise and to hide: something, always a body in some way. (Derrida 1986, xiv; emphasis original)

Christ's life of ministry, of good works [was] ... full of injunctions to those who were with him to "tell no man": therefore the good works which are done "in His likeness" must not be done in public. (Cram 1922b, 235)

Why did Cram build the new St. Mary's Anglican Church as a Walkervillean haunted house? If the tower of the Walkerville church was unusual, if not unique, to Cram's architecture because it secretly expressed Welby Pugin's accusation of corruption, tainting the house of God with the domesticity of man, then it was the unusual, if not unique, circumstances of Edward Walker's patronage that made it so. Cram built the Walkerville church on a secret, and Derrida's theory of the crypt allows for a unique reading of its convoluted concealment.

What is a crypt? The crypt is not simply a receptacle for the dead. It is an architecture of concealment. It hides, and it hides the act of hiding. The crypt always conceals a body, but not just one: "The crypt must always incorporate *more than one* and behave toward it in *more than one way*" (Derrida 1986, xviii; emphasis original). The bodies buried therein, encrypted in the crypt, are hidden precisely because they are not dead; they survive [*sur-vivre*] as a sort of living dead, inhabiting the crypt of their encryption. This chapter is concerned thus with the question of exhumation. Whose bodies did Cram bury at the site of the new St. Mary's Anglican Church, and who is buried at the sight of it? Has history lost sight of one body buried in the shadow of another? How many bodies are there?

How are they organized? How do they sanctify and how are they sanctified in the sacredness of the church's space? By what strategies might we open the crypt of their concealment? And how might we account for their bodies as the cryptic "gauntlet effect" of a ghost whose spectrality cannot be present or presently accounted for?

Derrida argued that the spectre and the crypt are strategically interrelated for deconstruction: "I say a ghost *and* a crypt: actually the theory of the 'ghost' is not exactly the theory of the 'crypt.' It's even more complicated. Although it is also connected to the crypt, the ghost is more precisely the effect of another's crypt in my unconscious" (1985, 59).⁶⁵ As Derrida's reference to the unconscious signifies, the deconstructive spectre and the crypt respond to the discursive strategies of psychoanalysis, but they do not "abide by the common order of psychoanalysis" (1986, xiii). They parasitically respond to the semiotic mechanisms of Freudian mourning. Freud's dialectical approach to the semiotic binary (signifier and signified) stretched across the border of the conscious mind, where trauma is commonly repressed into the unconscious only to return, for instance, in the form of puzzling dream signifiers. The purpose of psychoanalyzing one's dreams is to bring repressed trauma to light by matching conscious signifiers with their unconscious significance, giving voice to one's trauma so that the subject can grieve and heal. Conversely, the deconstructive phantom and the crypt are uncommon because they disrupt that dialectical binary.

⁶⁵ Derrida also articulated the point in his foreword to Abraham and Torok's *The Wolf Man's Magic Word*: "No ghost effect is pointed out in *The Magic Word*. It nevertheless remains that in spite of their strict difference, *ghost* effects and *crypt* effects (of incorporation) were discovered nearly simultaneously, in the same problematic space and the same conceptual articulations: What is in question in both is a secret, a tomb, and a burial, but the crypt from which the ghost comes back belongs to someone else" (1986, 119n21; emphasis original).

Derrida, following on the psychoanalytic works of Nicolas Abraham and Maria Torok, wondered what would happen to that semiotic procedure if the trauma were not, strictly speaking, one's own. What would happen if the trauma that the subject is trying to conceal were actually that of someone else with whom the subject identifies? Such a question requires the re-transcription of identity through the psychoanalytic mechanisms of mourning. Abraham and Torok argued that one forms attachments to another through Sandor Ferenczi's 1909 theory of "introjection" (1986, xvi), defined as the narcissistic enlargement of the self. Whenever someone identifies with another person, place, or thing (real or fictitious, material or abstract), they introject the other, narcissistically adopting it as part of their self. In other words, the psychological act of introjection is a metaphorical act of ingestion. One does not simply extend their cathectic energies to another; they metaphorically use those energies to absorb the other into the self. When that other is lost (through death, for example), the introjective metaphor of ingestion becomes a digestive metaphor for mourning. The mourning process of introjection is the subject's re-appropriation of the cathectic energies investing the other within their self before expelling the remains of the other (the otherness of the other) by letting them pass away. So ends Abraham and Torok's normal work of mourning.

Against the normalcy of introjective mourning, Abraham and Torok posited the fantasy of incorporation, a fantasy that marks the pathological refusal to end the work of mourning. With incorporation, the subject takes the metaphor of introjection literally, consuming the other in a fantasy that is secretly taken for reality. The subject identifies with another's secret and unspeakable

trauma (whether real or imaginary) and cannot let the other pass away because of it: "So in order not to have to 'swallow' a loss, we fantasize swallowing (or having swallowed) that which has been lost, as if it were some kind of thing" (Abraham and Torok 1994, 126). Consequently, the pathological mourner is caught in a paradoxical desire—the desire to mourn the other and the desire to conceal the unspeakable shame to which the other is inextricably bound. Thus, incorporation compromises the work of mourning.

Instead of a metaphorical act of digestion, the other is secreted into a cystic pocket in the topography of the subject's ailing psyche: "the fantasy involves eating the object (through the mouth or otherwise) in order *not* to introject it, in order to vomit it, in a way, into the inside, into the pocket of a cyst" (Derrida 1986, xxviii; emphasis original). The other to be mourned is expelled into the inside of the self, where it can survive. It is kept alive, though dead, in a space inside the inside of the self, a pocket of internal exclusion that Abraham and Torok called the crypt. The subject refuses to re-appropriate their cathectic investment while refusing to acknowledge the refusal; and this double refusal endures because of the subject's need to sustain the crypt's unique structure of (un)death and traumatic concealment. Ultimately, Abraham and Torok developed new (ana)semiotic strategies for reading psychological case studies, listening for others cryptically lodged in the subject's speech.

Abraham and Torok consequently argued that language was the key to the crypt because we acquire language through the mourning process. It begins at birth, with the cries that occur when separated from the maternal body: "First the empty mouth, then the absence of objects become words, and finally

experiences with words themselves are converted into other words" (Abraham and Torok, qtd. in Wigley 1993, 145). The absence of the maternal amnion or breast fills the empty mouth with cries that evolve into communicable words, which expand into a litany of interchangeable words. The expressive power of words, i.e., the "talking cure," is supposed to soothe one's grief (at least calling attention to what is needed).

The crypt interrupts this process because the subject cannot utter a word or a series of words needed to express their grief because expressing it would expose the unspeakable trauma implicit to their shared grievance with the incorporated other. Instead, the crypt functions as a sort of confessional, a space of internal exclusion from which the word(s) of grief endure(s) an encryption that re-motivates them, making them safe to utter publicly: "Hail Mary, full of grace...". Yet this process of encryption "no longer rallies the easy metaphors of the Unconscious" (Derrida 1986, xiii). The cryptic subject does not simply repress the trauma into their unconscious mind so that it can return in the form of conscious symbols to be read in the dialectics of Freud's dynamic repression. Rather, the cystic pocket of the crypt forms in the conscious mind of the subject through the fantasy of identification, forming a false unconscious for another embedded in the subject's ego. Only from there can the secret word(s) re-emerge simultaneously to conceal and reveal their trauma through a series of cryptic convolutions.

In the simplest sense, the crypt transforms the secret word(s) into an associative tableau that emerges in the conscious mind of the subject as a rebus-text that both desires and confounds interpretation. Freud's famous case

of the Wolf Man, for example, had the tableau of the washerwoman, seen scrubbing the floor from behind. Freud argued that this image was the Wolf Man's repressed experience of witnessing his parents having *coitus-a-tergo* during his infancy. Abraham and Torok argued, instead, that the Wolf Man identified with his sister, whom their father seduced, and who, in turn, seduced her brother. The tableau of the washerwoman consequently allowed the Wolf Man to desire the erogenous suggestion of *coitus-a-tergo* openly while secretly desiring the woman's act of rubbing that, in his fantasy (whether real or imagined), his father had his sister do, and she, in turn, had done to him. The Russian *tieret* (to rub) is the Wolf Man's unspeakable word.

More complexly, the secret word returns as a "broken symbol" that breaks through the walls of the crypt, meaning that only bits and pieces of the word are released into the conscious vocabulary of the subject—sounds and syllables that are translated into quasi-homonyms and quasi-synonyms "along both semantic and phonic paths" (Derrida 1986, xli). For example, the Wolf Man received his pseudonym because of a recurring nightmare of wolves in a tree. His dream depended on the broken phonetic interplay of *siestra* (sister) and the pack of six wolves, one with a scrape rubbed into its nose; hence the Wolf Man's dream of the skyscraper, in German *Wolkenkratzer*, where the syllabic "wol" echoes the sister-wolf who would scrape or rub. Either way, through the "double density" of the visual tableau or the broken interplay of words (Derrida 1986, xlii; emphasis original), the subject can covertly express their traumatic desire (which is, of course, the trauma of the incorporated other) while keeping alive the cathectic energies attached to the other.

Derrida's theory of the crypt, however, introduced the scruple of a challenge to Abraham and Torok. Derrida did not challenge their theory of incorporation, nor their cryptic strategies. Instead, he questioned the assumption that there could be anything other than incorporation. Concerning the crypt, Derrida agreed that the metaphor of introjective ingestion "is taken *literally* in order to refuse its introjective effectiveness," but Derrida crucially added that introjection is an "effectiveness that is always ... a form of idealization" (1986, xxxviii; emphasis original). The so-called normalcy of introjection is an ideal form of mourning, one that does not actually happen. Derrida further articulated the point in a long summation from the "Roundtable on Autobiography":

Not having been taken back inside the self, digested, assimilated, as in all "normal" mourning, the dead object remains like a living dead abscessed in a specific spot in the ego.... The dead object is incorporated in this crypt—the term "incorporated" signalling precisely that one has failed to digest or assimilate it totally, so that it remains there, forming a pocket in the mourning body.... By contrast, in normal mourning, if such a thing exists, I take the dead upon myself, I digest it, I assimilate it, I idealize it, I interiorize it in the Hegelian sense of the term. (1985, 57)

Here, again, we have Derrida's engagement with Hegel, in that the "common order of psychoanalysis" depends upon its ability to sustain the systemic order of its classifications. Even though Abraham and Torok complicated Freud's mourning semiotics, they still sustained a dialectical borderline [*cordon sanitaire*] between introjection and incorporation. As Derrida put it, "everything is played out on the borderline that divides and opposes the two terms" (1986, xvi). Yet, for Derrida, it is impossible to sustain the borderline that would treat the crypt as a psychopathology distinct from "normal" mourning. For Derrida, every "Thing is to

be thought out *starting from* the Crypt, the Thing as a 'crypt effect'" (1986, xiii; emphasis original). The work of mourning is never done.

In fact, according to Derrida, the "work of mourning is not one kind of work among others. It is work itself, work in general" (1994, 97). This would include a work of art, in which Derrida showed a special affinity for the nineteenth-century poetry of Stéphane Mallarmé, haunted by a "'ghost white as a still unwritten page' (*Mimique*)" (1994, 190–1n13). Derrida was not only interested in the "blank" spaces that open up the structure of Mallarmé's poetry to the undecidability of meaning (1981a, 252); Derrida was also interested in the way his poetry caused the ciphers of textual meaning to "pirouette" (1981a, 240) in ways that mimic the "second-degree distancing" of the cryptic fantasy (1986, xli–xlii).⁶⁶ This is why Gregory Ulmer argued that Derrida's textual strategy was "to learn to write the way the Wolf Man spoke" (1985, 60), and why Castricano entitled her study of Derrida's textual strategies *Cryptomimesis* (2001, 31–5, especially). For Derrida, a work of art only works inasmuch as it mimes the ideal of introjective effectiveness while concealing (and cryptically revealing) the trauma of its incorporation.

On that condition, we should pay close attention to Cram's (failed) desire to be an architect who "grasped his art with both hands, [who] devoured and assimilated it" (1907, 150–1). Cram wanted nothing more than to introject the Gothic past lost to him in the murder of the Catholic Middle Ages. Yet his

⁶⁶ Tellingly, Derrida subtitled his foreword to *The Wolf Man's Magic Word* as "The English Words of Nicolas Abraham and Maria Torok" in homage of Mallarmé's *English Words* and the phonic and graphic interplay of bits of words and words within words. Derrida directly referred to Mallarmé in "Fors" (1986, xlvj).

pessimistic belief that he was inextricably bound to the social sickness that murdered Gothic architecture meant that he lacked the "hands" necessary to grasp the Gothic and "assimilate" it in his own work. All he could do was to create a cystic crypt within his creative psyche to be filled, eventually, with Edward Chandler Walker. Inasmuch as the crypt "must always incorporate *more than one*," Derrida noted that the "Wolf Man's crypt does not shelter his own lost and incorporated object, as a melancholic's crypt would, but the illegitimate object of another" (1986, xxxvi). In other words, there is more than one type of crypt because the pessimism of Cram's melancholia was the impotence of a church architect interminably working to mourn the loss of the Catholic Middle Ages. Yet that encryption process only happened in Walkerville because Cram could identify with the unspeakable trauma of Edward Walker. Edward was secretly dying of syphilis and Cram's inheritance of Welby Pugin's melancholia meant that the (syphilitic) sickness of Puginian modernity facilitated Cram's phantasmal act of identification. Caught in the space between two deaths (terminal diagnosis and corporeal expiration), Edward Walker was, in a sense, the living dead, and Cram incorporated Edward's trauma along with his own loss to encrypt that secret within the language of the Walkerville church.

How, then, do we trace the spectral effect of Edward's living death from within the Walkerville crypt? Derrida noted that the crypt "sometimes mak[es] use of probability or facts" as a strategy of concealment (1986, xiv). The crypt hides under the expectations of probable outcomes and given facts. One such expectation in Walkerville is the "drowsiness" that Montgomery Schuyler noted as the standard measure of a Cram village church. Cram designed his drowsy

churches, dreaming of *Anglia Perdita*, to make us think that there is nothing “sensational” about them. They merely look as though they belong in the Anglo-Saxon context of their construction: “Surely one would say here is a church [in Walkerville] built by our forefathers when Canada was young, who brought with them from their homeland love and reverence for the House of God” (Wilby 1942, 3). Yet such a dream of Anglo-North-American heritage is a ruse to draw the viewer away from the urgent contemporaneousness of the building, Edward Walker’s present and pressing need for it. Consequently, another fact on which the Walkerville crypt depends is the Walker brothers’ public declaration that they commissioned the new St. Mary’s Anglican Church as a memorial for their parents, Hiram and Mary Abigail Walker. The assumption is that the new church in Walkerville is a site designed to mourn the loss of Hiram and Mary—to introject their memory into the communal body of the Anglican congregation. Yet the Walkerville church does not simply mourn Edward’s parents.

We recall that Shand-Tucci described the Walkerville church as the “centerpiece of the development of the Hiram Walker estate.” Nor was Shand-Tucci alone in that deferential respect for Hiram Walker (Chauvin 1927; Daniels 1954; Edwards & Weeks 2006; Files 1986; Fraser 1992; Hallam 1979b; Hoskins 1964; Pratt 1978; Walton 1958; and the Windsor Architectural Conservation Advisory Committee 1997).⁶⁷ What is crucial to the Walkerville church (and the body of Edward Walker concealed therein) is the fact that the scholarship on Walkerville forwards the proper name of Hiram Walker as all-important. Hiram Walker’s name

⁶⁷ Much of the following information on Hiram Walker and the Walker family has been culled from these various books, essays, and pamphlets.

has become so synonymous with the eponymous village of Walkerville that we risk losing sight of the fact that it was his family name (not his *prænomen*) that was given to the municipality he founded. It's Walkerville not Hiramston, and his family had other agenda obscured in the name of the father. If we are to trace the effects of the Walkerville crypt in the new St. Mary's Anglican Church, we must parse Hiram Walker's legacy to get to Edward, his eldest son. Thus, in the context of constructing the new church, this chapter complicates what it means to say the Walker family name in Walkerville, Ontario.

PATRONYMY⁶⁸

Hiram Walker was born on July 4, 1816, at an agrarian homestead near Douglas, Massachusetts. His ambitions were entrepreneurial, so he moved to the capital city of Boston in the 1830s to become a grocer of dry goods. However, in 1838, having failed to entrench himself in Boston's established economy, he took advantage of the newly opened Erie and Welland Canals (1825 and 1829, respectively), travelling westward to the boom-town of Detroit, Michigan. Thriving there, again as a grocer (among other things), Hiram Walker accumulated enough money by the 1850s to realize his latest ambition; he wanted to build a combined distillery and mill for the production of whisky and flour, respectively.

There were at least three circumstances impeding his ambition. First was a matter of competition; many other distillers and millers were then operating in the Detroit area. Second was a matter of expenditure; though Hiram Walker had

⁶⁸ In 2006, I published large portions of this and the following section of this chapter through a different methodological strategy.

the capital, he needed land and the raw materials to initiate his enterprise. Third was a matter of jurisprudence; in 1855, the State of Michigan passed a law of prohibition against alcohol. Though seldom enforced, it was illegal for Hiram Walker to sell whisky in Detroit by the time he could afford to build a liquor distillery.⁶⁹ Thus, he looked across the Detroit River to the shores of Ontario, Canada, finding fewer local competitors there, cheaper land and materials for construction, and no prohibition laws against alcohol. In 1856, he purchased the riverfront Labadie estate, due east of Windsor, Ontario, for £300. In 1857, he developed his combined distillery and mill on the property, opening his business in 1858 and moving from Detroit into the old Labadie homestead with his wife, Mary Abigail Walker (née Williams), and five of their soon-to-be six children.⁷⁰

That was the inaugural moment of the company town that became Walkerville. In 1857, Hiram Walker purchased another 300 acres of the surrounding Ontario farm- and timberland to stimulate his fledgling business, becoming the largest property owner and employer in the immediate area.⁷¹ The flour-milling side of his business did not last beyond the 1870s, but the distillery made Hiram Walker a wealthy man, producing the brand of liquor called *Canadian Club Whisky*, a label still famous today.⁷² Thus, with his fortune in hand,

⁶⁹ More accurately, the State of Michigan sanctioned the "Maine Prohibitory Law" (Files 1986, 2–3), which meant that only druggists were allowed to sell alcohol, and only if they swore to sell it for medicinal purposes.

⁷⁰ The children were Julia Elizabeth (1847–1928), Willis Ephraim (1849–86), Edward Chandler, Franklin Hiram, Jennie Melissa (1857–70), and James Harrington Walker. There was also Alfred, who was born and died in 1856.

⁷¹ The town adopted the name of Walkerville in 1869, when the Canadian government established a post office there.

⁷² Originally, the liquor label was simply *Club Whisky* because of its intended market for finer men's clubs. The name changed to *Canadian Club Whisky* in 1889 because of political pressures from the

Hiram Walker moved his family back to Detroit in 1864, purchasing a mansion at the intersection of Fort Street and Shelby. That way he could commute between the grandeur of Detroit's growing social scene and his business affairs in Walkerville.⁷³

Walkerville, too, was growing because of Hiram Walker's good fortune.

Ronald Hoskins summarizes that,

after twenty-five years of existence [1882,] the unincorporated village of Walkerville had a population of approximately six hundred souls. Almost all of these people lived in cottages built by Hiram Walker. They used and drank water pumped through pipes laid by the Walkers. They received police protection free of charge and likewise free fire protection from the Walkers.... The children of the community attended school on a site donated by Hiram Walker. In the absence of a banking establishment, the inhabitants might place their savings in the Walker bank at seven percent interest rates. Walkerville, indeed, was Walker's town and he planned it and exercised complete jurisdiction over it for his own benefit and for those who resided in it. (1964, 45)

Not everybody saw the "benefit" in Hiram Walker's controlling presence, though.

The Detroit Journal published an anonymous article on May 10, 1890, the author(s) of which criticized the paternalistic village:

To-day Walkerville, just over the river in Canada, is the queerest, quaintest place in all Christendom. Day after tomorrow it will lose its novelty.... For years the inhabitants of this village have been satisfied to live and die without the suffrages usually exercised by free-born people; have had absolutely no say in how they should be governed, and have lived under the sway of one man, whose dictation was ... absolute.... No one lived in Walkerville that Hiram Walker did not like.⁷⁴ (Anonymous, qtd. in Fraser 1992, 25)

American liquor market. Kentucky whisky-makers argued that Walker's *Club Whisky* was a name American consumers mistook as American-made and demanded that an appropriate label be applied to identify the Canadian export—hence, *Canadian Club Whisky* (see especially Files 1986, 12–33).

⁷³ Hiram Walker still kept the old Labadie homestead in Walkerville, affectionately dubbing it "The Cottage," where several of his children lived occasionally throughout the late nineteenth century.

⁷⁴ To call the political situation in Walkerville a "novelty" was rather misleading. After all, just outside Chicago, Illinois, was the famous town of Pullman (begun 1880), where George Pullman (1831–97) exercised the same level of control (if not more) than Hiram Walker. Detroiters would have known

Nor was it accidental that the *Detroit Journal* published that article on May 10, 1890. A month earlier (April 7, 1890) Walkerville was incorporated as a town, whereby most of the land that Hiram Walker privately owned was transferred to the Walkerville Land and Building Company (of which the Walker family still held the majority interest). Furthermore, May 12 (the aforementioned "Day after tomorrow") was the first meeting of the Walkerville civic council to discuss the town seal.⁷⁵ Ironically, when the "souls" of Walkerville were finally incorporated into that political body, Hiram Walker was still symbolically named as the mayoral head.⁷⁶ The front-runner in Walkerville's first mayoral election had been Thomas Reid, head distiller of *Canadian Club Whisky*. Then, Hiram Walker's nephew, a man by the name of Hiram Alexis Walker (1840–1928), declared his candidacy, and all other candidates withdrew so that "Hiram Walker" could win the election by acclamation. Even from across the Detroit River, Hiram Walker was still strangely in control of his town.

the Pullman situation well, given that the Pullman Palace Car Company began when George Pullman purchased the Detroit Car and Manufacturing Company in 1869. For the extensive literature on George Pullman, the Pullman Palace Car Company, and the town of Pullman, Illinois, see especially: Buder (1967), Crawford (1995), Harding (1951), Leyendecker (1992), Lillibridge (1953), Lindsey (1939), Morel (1983), Reiff (2000), Reiff and Hirsch (1989), and Smith (1995).

⁷⁵ Significantly (and perhaps spurred on by the accusatory *Detroit Journal* article), the Walkerville council also discussed their plans to hold a great public celebration of Hiram Walker's birthday that year. Thus, on July 4, 1890, the council presented Hiram Walker with a bronze statue, and Hiram was much praised in the public celebration, especially by his long-time friend, Dr. Sidney King. King refuted Hiram Walker's anonymous enemies: "The people of Walkerville ... point with pride to the fact that they have been for years in the enjoyment, through the thoughtfulness of your [Hiram Walker's] firm, of advantages and comforts which are rare under similar conditions of private control, and it is doubtful whether there could be found a more happy relationship between capital and labour, or a greater average of comfort among all classes than has existed here" (King, qtd. in Fraser 1992, 59).

⁷⁶ The corporeal metaphor continued in Walkerville, even up to the time of amalgamation in 1935, when Walkerville became a neighbourhood of the growing city of Windsor. As a declaration of protest against amalgamation, citizens of Walkerville posted a billboard in the neighbourhood, stating "WALKERVILLE: FOUNDED 1858, INCORPORATED 1890, CRUCIFIED 1935" (Hallam 1979b, 12).

The same can be said of Walkerville's religious history. Hiram Walker built the first church in Walkerville (c. 1870) at his own expense [Plate 2.1]. He was an Episcopalian and, having returned to the United States in 1864, he worshipped at St. Paul's Episcopal Church in Detroit. Hence, he apparently had no interest in controlling the denominational status of the parish. He built the structure then held a survey among the people of Walkerville, asking them which denomination they preferred for the building. The majority wanted Methodism, so Hiram Walker petitioned the Canadian Methodist Conference to send a minister, which it did: John Semmens from Victoria College, Cobourg, then Reverend Edwin McCollum, then Reverend Alex Hardie.⁷⁷ Thus, with a church set prominently in place (right across the street from the riverside Walkerville distillery), the Walker family invited the Methodist ministers to stay at "The Cottage"—the old Labadie homestead located nearby [Plate 2.2].

Hiram Walker placed two vital provisos on the Methodist ministry in Walkerville, demonstrating the extent of his control from across the Detroit River. He would keep the deed to the building, and the Methodist ministers could not, under any circumstances, preach against the use of alcohol, remembering that

⁷⁷ The structure of Walkerville's first church was well suited to a nonconformist service, like Methodism. The only extant photograph of the old church shows that the stairs to the main floor were quite high, suggesting that Hiram Walker commissioned a full basement underneath the church. Nonconformist denominations in Canada had a history of integrating the Sunday school directly into the church's structure, often using a full basement level for that purpose (see Bowler 1856, for nonconformist designs of the period; see also Thurlby 2005 for a study of Canadian nonconformist traditions in architecture contemporaneous with the first Walkerville church). Furthermore, the foundations of the old church (which are still extant) suggest that the chancel was nothing more than a shallow bay projecting off the back of the building. That arrangement would have especially suited nonconformist denominations because, for them, a church was a meeting hall, an auditorium where the community could sing and the minister could preach the Word of God. For nonconformists, the church was not a place of "superstitious" rituals. Consequently, they would not need a large chancel area for ritual worship; they would only need space enough for a pulpit (and perhaps a choir) at the chancel end.

Hiram Walker and many of the local residents made money from the production of whisky.⁷⁸ Apparently, despite the warning, one of the Methodist ministers openly condemned drunkenness, and Hiram Walker cancelled the Methodist service, offering the church to the Anglicans without any further public canvassing on the matter. Walkerville, in-deed, was still Walker's town. In fact, once Hiram restructured the deed to the building for the Anglicans, the church was rededicated as St. Mary's, 1874.⁷⁹ Yet the choice of Mary as the church's titular saint had nothing to do with the Anglicans, *per se*. Rather, Hiram Walker's wife, Mary Abigail Walker, died on September 14, 1872, and the church was rededicated in her memory.⁸⁰

Hiram Walker would eventually follow his wife to the grave. His health was failing throughout the 1890s, especially after he suffered a stroke in 1895. By then, his three surviving sons—Edward, Franklin, and James—were partners in the family corporation. In 1871, the company was renamed Hiram Walker and Son because Edward Walker joined his father. It changed to Hiram Walker and Sons in 1873, when Franklin joined, as well. Finally, James joined in 1878, and the Walker brothers took greater control of the family enterprises throughout the 1890s. Consequently, the transition of power from father to sons went smoothly when Hiram Walker died on January 12, 1899. He was buried at Elmwood

⁷⁸ According to local legend, Hiram Walker set down the second proviso to John Semmens on the understanding that, because Semmens was still a student at Victoria College, he lacked the moral stature of an ordained man, and thus Semmens could not pass judgment on the use of alcohol in Walkerville. Yet two ordained Methodist ministers followed Semmens, and the same proviso seems to have remained in place (see Hallam 1979b, 7–8).

⁷⁹ Henceforth, that building shall be called the old St. Mary's Anglican Church, as opposed to the new St. Mary's Anglican Church to be built later, starting in 1902.

⁸⁰ More precisely, Hiram dedicated the east window of the church in memory of his wife. That window is currently located in St. Paul's Anglican Church, Essex.

Cemetery in Detroit, and, with his death, the Walker brothers inherited much of his vast fortune, which was not limited to the whisky distillery. Hiram Walker was the founder, president, and majority shareholder in the Lake Erie, Essex, & Detroit River Railway Company (founded 1887), and he built a massive hotel and casino in the neighbouring town of Kingsville, Ontario, in 1888 [Plate 2.3]. At the start of the twentieth century, however, the profit margins on the railway and the hotel-casino were already thinning. Hence, the Walker brothers sold the hotel, casino, and railway in 1901–02, instantly accruing millions of dollars in revenue, and they used some of that money to refurbish the town of Walkerville, starting in 1902.

Meanwhile, the Anglican rector and vestrymen of Walkerville conducted their annual vestry meeting on Easter Monday, 1902. They met in the basement of the old St. Mary's Church to discuss the pressing matter of the building's condition—lamenting the state of the thirty-two-year-old basement and the lack of a proper chancel for Anglican ritual use (St. Mary's Church Papers, file 1).⁸¹ They also lamented the fact that Walkerville's busy railways led to "frequent interruptions at every service" (St. Mary's Church Papers, file 1). In short, they wanted to build a new and appropriately Anglican church somewhere else in the parish, somewhere far removed from the trundling trains. However, because they would need parishioners to donate funds for the erection of a new church, the rector and vestrymen wanted to discuss the matter with the rest of the Anglican congregation. That way, the entire parish could decide what they wanted to do about the old building and the prospect of a new one. So, the

⁸¹ The lack of a proper chancel would be further proof of the building's original suitability for a nonconformist denomination and not Anglicanism.

members of the vestry board determined that they would reconvene on April 7, 1902 (perhaps not coincidentally the anniversary of Walkerville's incorporation), with an open invitation to all Walkerville Anglicans.

According to the *Vestry Minute Book*, "21 ladies and 25 gentlemen attended" the meeting (St. Mary's Church Papers, file 1), and the Anglican rector arrived with a letter in hand signed by all three of the Walker brothers. The letter stated that

the disadvantages of the present site [of the church] have been manifest to us for some time, and we have had in mind to provide a Church, School Room, and Rectory in a more suitable location. Indeed, we have been considering plans for several months past, and the action of the Congregation has only slightly anticipated the announcement of our purposes.

As you are aware, St. Mary's Church has been a memorial to our Mother, for which reason we have naturally been reluctant to see it abandoned. We intend the new Church and Companion buildings to be a memorial to both our parents. (St. Mary's Church Papers, file 248)

Then, they concluded their letter:

Finding the question of the new buildings disposed of, those who have been contemplating an effort in that direction may wish to consider some other step for the promotion of the Church; and perhaps it may be thought well to adjourn this meeting until we have thought out the plan of endowment. (St. Mary's Church Papers, file 248)

With but a letter, the Walker brothers not only "disposed of" the Anglican desire for a new church complex, they also stripped the community of any real power to shape its form.⁸² The new St. Mary's Anglican Church (just like the old one) was

⁸² For example, Edward Radford was a member of the vestry board during the construction period of the new church, and he sent a critique of the cornerstone to the architects in Boston—a cornerstone that, significantly, was already in place before Radford could judge its worthiness. In response to Radford's objection to the type of Roman numerals used to date the cornerstone, Cram began his reply (June 12, 1903) with an admission: "The fight as to the proper method of expressing the current year in Roman numerals has never been definitely determined, unless" (and this is where he appears to have dismissed Radford for parochialism) "you accept the dictum of the professor of Classical Languages in Harvard University. He has declared that the form we used is the only justifiable one" (St. Mary's Church Papers, file 278). Briefly, then, neither Edward Radford

going to be a Walker monument built with Walker money, only now as a memorial to both of the beloved Walker parents. After all, it was a tradition for the Walker family to commission such buildings at their own expense.

Thus, it was through Hiram Walker's legacy that a crypt was set into place. When Edward Walker (along with his brothers) declared the building to be a gesture of filial devotion to their parents, Edward drew attention away from himself. With Hiram Walker recently dead and buried across the river in Detroit (1899), the civic body of Walkerville required a space to mourn the loss of their communal patriarch. The new St. Mary's Church provided that space (for Anglicans, at least), which supposedly accounted for the Walker family's generosity. The communal memory of Hiram Walker and all that he achieved in Walkerville was so prevalent that the idea of parental deference was enough to convince people (then as now) that Edward Walker had no other reason to give Walkerville an expensive new church—hence, Douglass Shand-Tucci's willingness to isolate the church as part of the patronymic "Hiram Walker estate." Of course, the Walker family was still mourning the death of their patriarch (and the titular matriarch). Yet the crypt operates precisely by masking the secreted cyst of its incorporation under the expected process of so-called normal mourning—the introjection of Hiram Walker's memorial into the communal body of the town. Ultimately, Edward Walker had at least one other reason to commission the new St. Mary's Anglican Church, and Cram used the death of Edward's father as a cryptic means to conceal the confession of their shared secrecy.

nor any other potentially interested party were welcomed into the design process, only the Walker brothers.

THE EDWARDIAN ERA

To date, only one book has complicated the hegemony of Hiram Walker in Walkerville. In 1997, the Windsor Architectural Conservation Advisory Committee published a guidebook of Walkerville that, while still respecting the importance of Hiram Walker, illustrated the many buildings that the Walker family commissioned after Hiram Walker's death. The subtitle for the guidebook is "An Edwardian Company Town," playing on a coincidence of Edwardian nomenclature.⁸³ Edward Chandler Walker became the head of the Walker family—and thus, *de facto* head of Walkerville—at about the same time that Edward VII ascended to the British throne (r. 1901–10). The twentieth century began as the Edwardian era of the Walker family.

Architecturally, the Edwardian significance for Walkerville began with finding a "more suitable location" for the Anglican parish, which required a change to the Walkerville map. Previously, Hiram Walker had imposed spatial order on his town through a municipal plan called the Georgian gridiron [Plate 2.4]. It was typical of the time.⁸⁴ Streets were laid out on right angles wherever possible (the riverfront being a necessary exception), many of which were given perfunctory ordinals like First Street, Second Street, etc. Hiram Walker also

⁸³ That point notwithstanding, the 1997 guidebook also seems to treat the play of Edwardian nomenclature as nothing more than a fortuitous accident, worthy of a clever subtitle but having no bearing on the architecture that Edward Chandler Walker commissioned. It was, indeed, a coincidence that Edward became the head of the Walker family when Edward VII became the King of England (and Canada), but the coincidence was still important to the architectural projects of Walkerville's Edwardian era.

⁸⁴ For other Ontarian examples of the Georgian gridiron, see Guelph (founded 1827) or Goderich (founded 1828). For another example of a company town using the Georgian gridiron, see Pullman, Illinois.

followed a typical pattern of paternalistic company town owners in that he used the divisions of streets to regulate distinctions in economic and social class. On the eastern end of the town were two streets composed of cheap cottages or semi-detached brick houses and terraces for employees to rent. Third Street (Argyle Street, today) had brick terraces and detached houses for specialized employees; and Second Street (Devonshire Road, today) became the main street of Walkerville because the ferry service to Detroit was located at its northern extremity. Consequently, most of the important buildings of Walkerville were situated in close proximity to Second Street, including the Walker family's "Cottage," the company offices, the old church, the train station, the Crown Inn, the school house, and several fashionable houses and semi-detached houses reserved for company management and adjunct entrepreneurs.

The measure of architectural fashion in late-nineteenth-century Walkerville was the Richardsonian style—in both its Romanesque- and its Queen-Anne-Revival modes. Henry Hobson Richardson's architectural popularity was such that many cities across North America had at least one firm that could emulate his Boston-based designs. In Detroit, it was George DeWitt Mason and Zachariah Rice who best accomplished that task, and Hiram Walker favoured them. Hence, we find the Richardsonian style of cavernous porches, framed with ponderous Romanesque arches, on the semi-detached houses of Second Street, as well as shingled gables and an eyebrow dormer [Plates 2.5–6].⁸⁵ The Crown

⁸⁵ For an example of Richardson's cavernous porches and eyebrow dormers, see the Thomas Crane Public Library (c. 1880) in Quincy, Massachusetts. For examples of Richardson's work in the shingle style, see especially the William Watts Sherman House (c. 1874) in Newport, Rhode Island, and the Mary Fiske Stoughton House (c. 1882) in Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Inn, nearby, has two pairs of second-storey windows, each with a thick transom tying them together [Plate 2.7].⁸⁶ And the railway station had jutting dormer roofs of Richardsonian flair and a monumental Richardsonian tower perforated with grids of lantern windows [Plate 2.8].⁸⁷ However, when it came to the Hiram Walker & Sons company offices (1892–94), the Walkers jettisoned the Richardsonian vocabulary in favour of Italian Renaissance Classicism [Plate 2.9]. Mason and Rice were still the architects, but they designed the façade of the building in reference to the famous Palazzo Pandolfini (c. 1515) in Florence, Italy [Plate 2.10]. Both have chamfered quoins in the corners, alternating segmental and triangular pediments, parapets with sections of balustrade, and chamfered rustications radiating from the central doorway to punctuate the point of ingress. Ultimately, it would seem that, in the 1890s, when the Walker brothers were taking greater control of the company, they chose palatial architecture from Renaissance Italy for their corporate building (and their lavish offices within) because of the aristocratic pretensions of Florentine mercantile wealth.⁸⁸ Thus, the Walker family used Renaissance architecture to validate their position as merchant-aristocrats.

⁸⁶ For examples of Richardson's transom window arrangement, see the Oakes Ames Memorial Town Hall (c. 1879) in North Easton, Massachusetts, and the Benjamin H. Warden House (c. 1885) in Washington, DC.

⁸⁷ For an example of the flared dormer roof, see the F. L. Ames Gate Lodge (c. 1880) in North Easton, Massachusetts. For an example of Richardson's monumental tower type with a perforated grid of windows, see Trinity Episcopal Church (c. 1875) in Boston, Massachusetts. See also Mason and Rice's First Presbyterian Church (c. 1889) in Detroit, Michigan.

⁸⁸ In a broader sense, the Walkers were also responding to the Beaux-Arts Classicism then fashionable in North America through firms like McKim, Mead, and White. Ironically, this was precisely the "Parisian Renaissance" architecture that, at the time, Cram felt was the antithesis of what Anglo-Saxon America should be building: "Are we a province of France, are we in harmony with her ideals and her methods, are we French by instinct and sympathy? Are they [meaning American architects building in a Beaux-Arts idiom] not trying to express Anglo-Saxon ideas through the medium of a Gallic language" (Cram 1899b, 65)?

More importantly, the Walker family strengthened their *de facto* claim to aristocracy through the British royal family. On September 17, 1898, Queen Victoria gave *Canadian Club Whisky* a warrant to display the royal coat-of-arms on their whisky label because her Physician in Ordinary, Sir William Jenner, recommended that she stop drinking claret and champagne and start drinking a mixture of *Canadian Club Whisky* and mineral water. *Canadian Club Whisky* was the only label from North America to receive such an acclamation. Furthermore, the soon-to-be King of England, Edward VII (who was then the Prince of Wales), particularly enjoyed the Jenner-prescribed mixture, and it became a preferred drink of his social circle. Consequently, *Canadian Club Whisky* acquired the especially rare honour of holding warrants from both the British monarch and the Prince of Wales, as both coats-of-arms were evident on the label. Hence, when Edward VII ascended to the British throne in 1901, he readily renewed the royal warrant for *Canadian Club Whisky* [Plate 2.11]. It truly was the drink of kings, and royal favour affected the coincidence of nomenclature when Edward Chandler Walker became head of the Walker family. Edward became the “King” of Walkerville just before he commissioned the new St. Mary’s Anglican Church.

Technically, all three Walker brothers commissioned the Walkerville church, but this is also a fact used to conceal Edward’s crypt.⁸⁹ By signing the declaration to build the new church along with his brothers, Edward drew attention even further from himself. Yet Edward Walker was the most important part of the commission because, with the death of Hiram Walker, Walkerville

⁸⁹ Perhaps Franklin and James will lead others to different Walkerville crypts, buried in their names.

became Edward's town, not his brothers'. We recall that Hiram Walker moved back to Detroit in 1864. Franklin and James Walker followed his lead, building handsome homes for themselves in the same general area. Once Edward became head of the Walker family, though, he made Walkerville (not Detroit) his permanent residence, at first living in the "Cottage" attached to the company office. Furthermore, while the Walker brothers were commissioning the new St. Mary's Anglican Church in Walkerville, they were also commissioning Cram's firm to design new chancel furniture for Christ Episcopal Church in Detroit [Plate 2.12].⁹⁰ With Franklin and James living in Detroit, it would seem that the latter commission was for their benefit while the Walkerville church was for Edward's.⁹¹ After all, Edward was the only Walker brother buried in the cemetery of the new Walkerville churchyard [Plate 2.18]—Franklin was buried in the same Detroit cemetery as his father, and James was buried in Detroit's Woodlawn Cemetery. Further still, Edward was buried in the middle of Walkerville's Anglican cemetery, given pride of place among the Anglican dead. Thus, when it came to approving the Walkerville church design, we recall that it was Edward's opinion

⁹⁰ Though there are several possible examples from this commission, only one piece of furniture in Christ Church, Detroit, clearly came from Cram's firm—a triptych reredos screen relegated to a chapel altar [Plate 2.13]. We note especially the heart-shaped traceries in the left and right panels, with stylized grape-leaves pendulous in the hearts. That feature is parallel to the woodwork Cram's firm designed in Walkerville [Plate 2.14]. We also note that the grape-leaf pendants in Christ Church, Detroit, are framing miniature protome faces [Plate 2.15], and that the doors of the tabernacle have images of the sacrificial lamb and the blood-feeding pelican *in clipei* [Plate 2.16]. Cram gathered all of the same figures in the nave clerestory windows of Walkerville [Plate 2.17].

⁹¹ James Harrington Walker is listed, for example, as a churchwarden and vestryman for Christ Church, Detroit, as evident on a bronze plaque therein.

that finally mattered: “The Church itself Mr. Ed[ward Walker] is very anxious to have pretty nearly as designed by Mr. Cram.”⁹² It was Edward’s church.

Edward’s anxiety for the church was part of a greater concern with changing the spatial and architectural character of the Walkerville map in 1902 [Plate 2.19]. It was a change that the kingly Edwardian name spurred in a particular direction. Hiram Walker tersely designated the streets of Walkerville, First, Second, Third, etc. The Walkers renamed these streets during the Edwardian era. First Street became Kildare Street; Second Street became Devonshire Road, and so on, each one taking a distinctly Anglophile tone. More importantly, as the president of the Walkerville Land and Building Company, Edward had the authority to change the monotony of his father’s gridiron plan. With the ferry docks to Detroit located at the northern foot of Devonshire Road, and the major buildings of the town positioned on either side of it, Edward made a change to accentuate the importance of that road in ways that the standard gridiron could not achieve. In other words, the problem with Hiram Walker’s street plan was that Second Street (later Devonshire Road) simply ended in open fields—hardly a grand conclusion for such an important street. Thus, instead of that agrarian vista, we recall that the new St. Mary’s Anglican Church was situated on an island of earth, seven blocks south of the ferry terminus, to bifurcate

⁹² It is important to note that Albert Kahn sent this letter to James Harrington Walker because James took great interest in the new Walkerville church design. After all, if Cram’s firm did not address their numerous letters to the Walker brothers, generally, they addressed their letters to James, specifically. James was also the one who typically met with the architects in Boston. However, with Edward clearly making the final decision about the design, this particular letter shows that James liaised with all the architects as Edward’s agent. No correspondence about the Walkerville church survives in Franklin Walker’s hand. Whereas Edward and James both left endowments for the Walkerville church in their wills, Franklin did not. Incidentally, no word is given about their sole surviving sister—Julia Elizabeth Walker. How, I wonder, is she encrypted in the church?

Devonshire Road. That way, the building could provide an architectural exclamation mark for the street, especially because the church's English Gothic tower was perfect for (and perfectly aligned with) the thoroughfare's new Anglophile name—Devonshire Road.

More practically, the commission situated the new St. Mary's Anglican Church seven blocks south of the waterfront to answer one of the complaints that the Anglicans of the town had about its architectural predecessor. The old church was located near the busy railways of Walkerville. It was a complaint that Edward Walker must have known well. Not only was he a member of the parish, the old Walker family "Cottage" in which he was living also stood near the railways. Thus, the decision to move the parish to its current location was to provide not only a quiet environment for worship but also a new neighbourhood for living and leisure. They reserved the lots of land surrounding the new Anglican churchyard for residential projects no less than 3,500 square feet in size. They developed the land to the geographic southeast of the churchyard as the Walkerville Golf and Country Club, and they situated Edward Walker's new mansion, Willistead Manor (c. 1906), on the land to the geographic southwest of the churchyard [Plate 2.20].⁹³ As a result, the new St. Mary's Anglican Church stood in conjunction with Edward Walker's Willistead estate, built immediately behind it. Thus, Kildare Road, the street aligned with Willistead Manor, did not pursue the gridiron regularity of the nineteenth century. It curved toward the new St. Mary's Anglican Church before continuing to the Willistead park entrance.

⁹³ Edward called his new mansion Willistead Manor because his older brother, Willis Ephraim Walker, died in 1886. With his mansion, Edward declared that he became the head of the Walker family in Willis's stead.

Between the placement of the new church in the middle of Devonshire Road and the bending of Kildare Road toward the Anglican architecture, Edward Walker wanted his church to be the gateway to the new Walkerville under his “kingship”—hence, the street name along the church front: St. Mary's Gate.

The Detroit architect Albert Kahn (1869–1942) designed Willistead Manor in association with an English-born architect named Ernest Wilby (1868–1957).⁹⁴ Kahn and Wilby were also the supervising architects for construction at the new St. Mary's Anglican Church, acting as liaisons between the Walker family and the Boston firm of Cram, Goodhue, and Ferguson. Consequently, Wilby would later reflect on Walkerville's Edwardian neighbourhood, suggesting that the new Anglican architecture was “a bit of sixteenth-century England transplanted to North America.... Here in Walkerville is reproduced the English scene of church, churchyard, and rectory, and nearby is Willistead taking the place of the English manor house. Combined, these buildings make a picture of peace and beauty found in England, rarely found in America, which will endure and grow in beauty with the passing years” (1942, 3). Wilby likely took his sixteenth-century cue from the parish hall and the rectory that flank the church to the liturgical north and south, respectively. With half-timbered gables and a projecting second storey on the rectory, these subordinate structures are examples of the Tudor-Revival style,

⁹⁴ In the nineteenth century, Albert Kahn was a draughtsman in the Detroit firm of Mason and Rice. For example, Kahn was responsible for many if not all of the interior designs at the Renaissance-inspired offices of Hiram Walker & Sons, Ltd. In the twentieth century, he became the favourite architect of the Walker family and other fashionable residents of Walkerville, also designing the Walkerville Town Hall (1904), the Hiram H. Walker House (1906), the Strathcona Block (1906–07), the Ambury House (1906–07), the Walkerville Bank of Commerce (1907), the Harrington Walker House (1911), and the Stephen Griggs House (1911).

Though English-born (Yorkshire), Ernest Wilby began as a young architect in Toronto, Ontario, and sometime treasurer of the Toronto Architectural Sketch Club. In 1891, he did a study tour and office work in England before returning to start a firm (c. 1895) in Buffalo, New York. His firm apparently failed in the twentieth century because he became Albert Kahn's associate in 1903.

Tudor architecture coming from sixteenth-century England.⁹⁵ Furthermore, Edward commissioned his neighbouring mansion, Willistead, in the same Tudor-Revival style as the parish hall and rectory.⁹⁶ On that condition, the Tudor Revival specifically makes the church and manor house look as though they belong to the same neighbourhood.⁹⁷ Thus, the leading architectural taste of Walkerville shifted from the Richardsonian styles of the nineteenth century to the Tudor-Revival style of Edward Chandler Walker and his social circle.⁹⁸

Granted, the use of Tudor-Revival architecture was not unique to Edwardian Walkerville. It was common to the repertoire of modern Gothic domestic architecture, and it came to great popularity in England when Richard Norman Shaw designed houses like Leys Wood (1868) in Sussex [Plate 2.21]. Likewise, in America, Cram's first domestic projects show Shavian influence, like the Fellner House (1890) in Brookline, Massachusetts [Plate 2.22]. Nevertheless, it was *how* Edward Walker appropriated the Tudor style that made his situational

⁹⁵ The gable and the overhanging second storey on the back of the rectory were originally in the shingle style, not half-timbering. The change to half-timbering in the back of the church complex occurred in the 1970s (see Pratt 1978, 67).

⁹⁶ In addition to the use of half-timbering in the gables and an overhanging second storey, Willistead Manor also uses the same Amherstburg limestone as the new church, applying that stone in random courses on the ground floor.

⁹⁷ As do the other two neighbouring houses built as part of the same development—Elmscroft (1906) and Foxley (1906–07)—both of which were the work of Albert Kahn's firm, following the Tudor-Revival trend of the new church and Willistead Manor. Hiram Holcomb Walker (1886–1953), the son of James Harrington Walker, commissioned Elmscroft. Clayton J. Ambery, the secretary to William Robins, a business manager for Hiram Walker & Sons, commissioned Foxley.

⁹⁸ One notable exception to the Richardsonian trend of nineteenth-century Walkerville was William Robins's house, Pentilly (Mason and Rice, 1892), but Robins was English-born and may have consequently wanted an Old English style home. Furthermore, Robins was a senior manager for Hiram Walker & Sons, and a good friend of Edward Chandler Walker at that time. Certainly, their families kept the same social circles in Walkerville. When, the Anglican vestry board met on Easter Monday, 1902, one of their compliments to the Easter service of the previous day was the addition of vases of lilies that Edward and William's wives gave together to the church (St. Mary's Church Papers, file 1). Perhaps, then, Edward's friendship with the Anglo-centric Robins influenced the Anglo-centrism of Walkerville during the Edwardian era.

use significant, if not unique. When King Edward VII ascended to the English throne, the Edwardian appellation had gone unused for centuries for the English monarchy. King Edward VI (r. 1547–53), son of Henry VIII and Jane Seymour, was a Tudor monarch from sixteenth-century England. Thus, the Edwardian name was synonymous with the Tudor style. To revive the Tudor style was to revive the Edwardian appellation—a detail of Anglo-centric nomenclature that has gone unnoticed in Walkerville, even among those who recognize the many Tudor hallmarks in the town's Edwardian architecture. Consequently, in 1905, when Walkerville commissioned a new schoolhouse, Albert Kahn predictably designed a Tudor-Revival structure [Plate 2.23].⁹⁹ The school board laid the cornerstone on Empire Day and named the building King Edward's School as an explicit homage to England's new Edwardian monarch, Edward VII. Yet it was also an implicit homage to Walkerville's newly elevated “king,” Edward Walker, done in the style of the last Edwardian monarch before them.

Though nowhere near as grand as King Edward's School, the Roman Catholics of Walkerville created a separate school in 1905, first opening only a few interconnecting rooms on Monmouth Road (formerly Fourth Street). They called it St. Edward's School, ostensibly in reference to King Edward the Confessor (r. 1042–66)—the medieval English monarch who was later canonized a saint. Once again, though, it was also an implicit reference to King Edward VII and, more importantly, an implicit reference to “King” Edward Walker. After all, Mary Griffin Walker, Edward's wife, was a Roman Catholic living in Walkerville.

⁹⁹ To be slightly more accurate, Kahn added a stone Jacobean flourish to the school's Tudor-Revival body to accentuate the main entrance against the Tudor-Revival brickwork.

She likely commissioned (or at least contributed to) the Catholic school. Ultimately, King Edward the Confessor is the Edwardian pun that takes us within the new St. Mary's Anglican Church.

According to the endowment of the Anglican parish, the pews of the new Walkerville church were not for rent [Plate 1.4]. They were supposed to be free, by which the Anglican congregants were entitled to sit wherever they pleased in the nave. However, according to the account of Florence Robinson, that was not exactly the case in Edwardian Walkerville. Robinson was only a child when the new church was opened, but she remembered that “there used to be a red cord marking a special pew,” and that she, sitting under the pulpit, “across the aisle ... sometimes would see Mr. E. C. Walker sitting in [that] pew reserved with a red cord. Behind him sat the Robins's and the Coburns” (Robinson, qtd. in Hallam 1979b, 79). Of William Robins, there will be more to say. J. H. Coburn was a local lawyer—the one, in fact, responsible for the transfer of the newly completed St. Mary's Church from the Walkerville Land and Building Company to the Anglican Diocese of Huron, Ontario. Regardless, Robinson's account is valuable for situating Edward Walker in a pew specifically marked for him, a pew located across from the pulpit and thus to the right forefront of the congregation. The choice of that pew was extraordinary because (sitting to the right of center) it had a privileged relationship with the reredos screen behind the church's high altar [Plate 1.23].

The wooden reredos screen gathers eight Christian saints and martyrs, most of whom are not surprising for a church, especially not for Walkerville's Anglican parish. St. Stephen, for example, on the far left, is there because St.

Mary's congregation once united with St. Stephen's Anglican parish in Sandwich, Ontario. Furthermore, St. Thomas à Becket, standing third from the left, ensured the Anglo-Catholic nature of the design. The most important choice, however, was King Edward the Confessor, second to the right [Plate 2.24]. In deference to the newly crowned King of England, this Anglophile selection is indeed a reference to him. Yet, given the other Edwardian projects underway in Walkerville, and given the fact that the statue of King Edward the Confessor stands immediately across from the pew reserved for Edward Walker, the statue is also a reference to the "King" of Walkerville. Thus, King Edward the Confessor was a paragon of royal virtue staring back at Edward Walker every time the latter appeared among the congregants of the church.

However, the statue of King Edward the Confessor is not Edward's crypt. It only confesses the fact that the church cryptically operates on behalf of Edward Chandler Walker. In pursuit of his crypt (and a more cryptic reading of the Edwardian statue), we must sound the walls of the entire structure as a metaphorical-cum-literal body. Inasmuch as the crypt conceals a secret "word-thing," and inasmuch as Cram's Gothic combined the ritual emphasis of Welby Pugin with the narrative legibility of John Ruskin, the Walkerville "word-thing" depends upon the transubstantiated power of the church architecture as a corporeal architecture to be read, diagnostically.

A BODY OF FLESH AND STONE

The correlation of architecture with the human body is perhaps as old as the art of building. For the Christian Church, the correlation was fundamental to the

death and resurrection of Jesus Christ. In the gospel according to Matthew, the Pharisees accused Christ of saying: "I have the power to destroy the Temple of God and in three days build it up" (Mt. 26:60). Elsewhere, in the gospel of Mark, the accusation was: "I am going to destroy this Temple made by human hands, and in three days build another, not made by human hands" (Mk. 14:57). Christ confirmed the accusation in the gospel of John, which the author followed with an exegetical commentary: "Jesus answered, 'Destroy this sanctuary, and in three days I will raise it up.' The Jews replied, 'It has taken forty-six years to build this sanctuary: are you going to raise it up in three days?' But he was speaking of the sanctuary that was his body, and when Jesus rose from the dead, his disciples remembered that he had said this, and they believed the scripture and the words he had said" (Jn. 2:19–22).

As we saw in the previous chapter, the Christian church, in the moment of sacramental transubstantiation, is Christ's resurrected body, a belief that Guillaume Durand articulated in the Middle Ages: "the Church is sometimes called the Body of Christ" (1843, 23). Durand consequently wrote about the material construct of a church in bodily terms: "The arrangement of a material church resembleth a human body: the Chancel, or place where the altar is, representeth the head: the Transepts, the hands and arms, and the remainder,—toward the west,—the rest of the body" (1843, 23). Furthermore, the Cambridge Camden Society began a translation of Durand in the 1840s for the benefit of modern Gothic architects and the Anglican liturgy of their churches.¹⁰⁰ Cram

¹⁰⁰ My Durand quotes are furnished courtesy of Neale and Webb's translation for the Cambridge Camden Society.

likewise celebrated Durand in his *Six Lectures on Architecture* (1917a, 15). Thus, Cram would use Durand's corporeal metaphor in his architectural theory.

As an architect working from the end of the American nineteenth century, Cram belonged to an architectural discourse concerned with the organic. Beginning with the Romanticism of Ralph Waldo Emerson, New England's transcendental philosophy developed an American aesthetic rooted in nature. Emerson found beauty in the function of nature: "The line of beauty is the result of perfect economy. The cell of the bee is built at the angle which gives the most strength with the least wax" (Emerson, qtd. in Shand-Tucci 2005, 321). Horatio Greenough would thus respond to Emerson's theory in structural terms: "If, as the first step in our search after the great principles of construction, we but observe the skeletons and skins of animals ... [there] is scarce a part of the animal organization which we do not find elongated or shortened, increased, diminished, or suppressed as the wants of the genus or species dictate, as their exposure or their work may require" (Greenough, qtd. in Mumford 1989, 26). Mark Mumford (1989) consequently argued that American architects, like Richard Morris Hunt and H. H. Richardson, trained in the "Romantique" faction of the École des Beaux-Arts, reinforced New England's transcendentalism with their Parisian lessons, spreading their "organic" architecture to Frank Furness, Louis Sullivan, and Frank Lloyd Wright. Yet Cram's views on the École des Beaux-Arts and its influence on American architecture were largely negative, especially during his early career (1896, 1899a). Instead, Barbara Novak (1980), Mark Orlovski (1986), and Lauren Weingarden (1989) have all traced the willingness of New England transcendentalists to embrace the English aesthetics of John

Ruskin: "the essential character of Beauty," according to Ruskin, "depends on the expression of vital energy in organic things ... expressive of action, of force of some kind" (Ruskin, qtd. in Weingarden 1989, 51).

Certainly, Cram, the Anglo-American who was named Ralph after Ralph Waldo Emerson (a friend and mentor for Cram's father), read both Emerson and Ruskin during his youth in New Hampshire. Yet I would stress that, when Cram repressed his Ruskinian youth during the early years of his architectural firm, he sought the same organic possibilities when he turned to the Pugins. After all, Welby Pugin argued that, with Gothic architecture, "we find the *faith of Christianity embodied*" (Pugin 1841a, 3; emphasis original). Furthermore, as Michael Hall recently noted (1993, 114–15), the Anglo-Catholics of the Late Victorian era took the trans-substantiality of the *Corpus Christi* as seriously, if not more so, than the Tractarians of the Oxford Movement, with whom Cram counted the Pugins. Consequently, the Late Victorian Gothicists emphasized "the Eucharist as not simply ... a commemorative moment in history, but a supernatural event that revealed the eternal nature of the Incarnation and the Sacrifice of Christ. This was ... the primary fact *embodied* by a church building" (M. Hall 2000, 86; emphasis added). Thus, Ralph Adams Cram, the American Anglo-Catholic, transubstantiated his Ruskinian-transcendentalist youth into a corporeal lineage he backtracked from the Late Victorians, to the Tractarian Pugins, to the Gothic Middle Ages: "Far back of structural expedients lay a determining force, a driving energy, and the embodiment of these, the incarnation, was ... Gothic architecture" (Cram 1907, 58).

In the broadest sense, Cram thought of Gothic architecture as a living organism: "A church is organic; and every line, every mass, every detail, must be carefully considered and perfectly adapted to its ends, forming an essential part of a great and living whole" (1901, 125). At times, he explored the arboreal aspect of that organism. We recall that Cram wanted a Gothic Revival that started with the Perpendicular at its "root." This was because Henry VIII and the Protestant Reformers "laid the axe not at the root of the moribund tree, but at that of the strongest and healthiest growth in the English Church" (Cram 1905, 9). Hence, Cram wrote of Gothic architecture as an organic synthesis of "arboreal development from roots to trunk, branches, twigs, leaves, and flowers. This is not an exaggerated simile, as will be seen if you consider its vertical system from pavement to ribbed vault" (1936, 182). The Perpendicular was, for Cram, a "tree of wonderful beauty, blossoming with quite new flowers" (1907, 176).

Even more than the arboreal simile, Cram saw architecture as a corporeal organism: "All great architecture is organic.... Like the horse, the tiger, or the eagle, all its parts are perfectly adapted to their function" (1917a, 3). Yet a Gothic church was a special incarnation: "To the simpler forms of building, [a church] bears the same relation that man bears to the lower forms of life; and, like man, it possesses that which raises it immeasurably above every other organism, a soul, and that soul is the altar" (Cram 1901, 151).¹⁰¹ The Catholic altar made the human body of a church better than any other form of life. Not only did the transubstantiation of the bread and wine give proof to the corporeal

¹⁰¹ Cram further articulated the point in *Ruined Abbeys*: "A Gothic building is at its highest point of development as marvellous in its intricate simplicity, its logical organization, and its co-ordination of parts, as man himself" (1905, 121–2).

reality of God incarnate, it also vitalized the raw materials of the church into a living body that “drew to itself every soul in the community, tying them by every bond of love and memory and association” (1901, 37). The church is a body of flesh and stone, made one through the communal experience of the sacraments; and, although the corporeal metaphor (made literal through sacramental faith) was more important to Cram than the arboreal simile, as we shall see, the Walkerville church demonstrated how Cram could twist the two together.

Meanwhile, Cram's Gothic architecture was also an engendered body. His article on “Good and Bad Modern Gothic” declared the “masterful, manly, fearless Gothic” of the Middle Ages as the standard for modern Gothic construction (1899a, 116). A modern Gothic building was to be manly; and, by “manly,” Cram meant “strong and frank” (1905, 53) but “reserved” (1905, 122). Thus, Cram's first lesson in manly church building was the monumental strength and frankness of Richardson's Trinity Church, Boston: “Here was a real *man* at last...! Here was something of force and majesty and authority, solid, consistent, and beautiful” (1936, 32; emphasis original).¹⁰² It was not enough, though.

¹⁰² Shand-Tucci rightly noted that Cram's comment on Richardson's manly church paraphrased Louis Sullivan's comment about the manliness of Richardson's Marshall Field Warehouse, but he was wrong to read that detail back into Cram's entire career as proof of Cram's modernism. Cram made that comment near the end of his life (1936), and Sullivan did not publish his version of it until the *Kindergarten Chats* of 1901. Yet Cram was already commenting on the manly Middle Ages in 1898, years before he could have read Sullivan's quote. Thus, the gender construction of Cram's architecture is not modernist. David Sonstroem (1971) and Patrick O'Malley (2006) have touched upon John Ruskin's concern with architectural gender, and George Hersey (1972) touched upon the gender construction of architecture in Victorian England. There was also the emerging American discourse on the “strenuous life” under Theodore Roosevelt's advocacy. Yet Cram specifically learned the discourse of Christian manliness from his spiritual instructor, Father Hall, who wrote of Christ's “real and perfect manhood” (1896, 14). Father Hall's interest in Christ's manhood was, in turn, a Late Victorian, Anglo-Catholic response to the English Protestant discourse of Muscular Christianity that burgeoned in the High Victorian period. English Protestants, like Charles Kingsley, contrasted the manliness of English Protestantism with the effeminacy of Catholicism and

Richardson lacked the “refinement or subtlety” of Gothic reserve (1936, 33).¹⁰³ This combination of manly strength and refinement Cram found instead in English Gothic architecture polished with the flourishes of the Perpendicular style.

When Cram lamented the Protestant Reformation for destroying Perpendicular buildings in “the strength of their mature manhood,” he was referring quite literally to the Perpendicular as a manly architecture of strength and controlled maturity. Thus, even though the Walkerville edifice is called the new St. Mary’s Anglican Church, the incarnate body of the architecture is that of Christ. After all, Welby Pugin reminded his fellow Gothic Revivalists of a “very common error, of speaking of churches and altars as being dedicated *to* such a saint. The Church has never sanctioned the dedication of a church *to any* saint; they are *all dedicated to God*, (but according to the most ancient and laudable custom), *in honour* of certain saints, by whose names they are distinguished” (1843b, 25n1; emphasis original). The new St. Mary’s is dedicated to Mary’s son, God incarnate, but in honour of her memory as the mother to the incarnate body of flesh and stone.

The significance of the Walkerville church as an incarnate body begins again with the massive and refined (read, manly) western tower, with its thick

consequently the threat of the latter condition in England via Anglo-Catholicism (J. Reed 1996; Vance 1985). Thus, Cram’s interest in architectural masculinity was part of his Anglophile heritage.

¹⁰³ Cram’s interest in the “refinement” of later English Gothic architecture came from George Frederick Bodley and, by extension, Bodley’s student in Boston, Henry Vaughan. Bodley famously rejected the muscular, French Gothic inspiration of his early architecture, returning to the latest phases of English Decorated and the Perpendicular Gothic (see especially M. Hall 1993). Hence, Bodley divided good and bad modern Gothic architecture between those buildings that were “courteous” and those that had “bad manners” (Bodley, qtd. in M. J. Lewis 2002, 173). Cram’s response to this was, however, the same as Father Hall’s to the charge of Anglo-Catholic effeminacy. Cram’s Gothic was manly but refined by the lessons in architectural courtesy he learned from Bodley and Vaughan.

proportions and the “crushed velvet” of its supple, sparrow-pecked ashlar (Richardson and Richardson 2007, 219). We recall from the first chapter that the Walkerville tower was erected as an, albeit incomplete, emblem of the corporeal resurrection, a vertical thrust raised from the earth and reaching for the heavens. Likewise, the castle tiles clustered in the vestibule pavement are another “vertical” thrust, leading the eye (and foot) up the nave alley to the high altar reredos, where the tall, centralized tower of the screen leads the eye skyward once again. Only now, I can mention that the reredos tower draws the eye up the body of the crucified Christ in the altar window above [Plate 2.25]; and Christ’s body is not a frail, spindly husk, but the muscular body of manhood incarnate. The massiveness of the Walkerville tower aspires, without a spire, to reflect Christ’s manly body.

Furthermore, inasmuch as the cruciform shape of a Gothic church is a symbol of the incarnate body Christ sacrificed on the cross, Guillaume Durand’s corporeal diagram is crucial in Walkerville. The chancel is the head of the church, the transepts (and their extension into the parish hall and rectory) are the arms, and the rest of the nave, toward the west, is the rest of the body [Plate 2.26]. Consequently, the pulpit at Walkerville is a unique reminder of this fact [Plate 2.27]. Ernest Wilby also noticed that detail, calling attention to the “quaint and unusual pulpit corbelled out of the north wall and reached by a stairway in the thickness of the wall” (1942, 4). Yet Wilby missed the significance of such an “unusual” choice.

Only occasionally would Cram design a stone pulpit; and, very rarely would he design the pulpit as part of a wall; and, he practically never designed

a pulpit to stand on the lay side of the transeptal divide. In other words, at Walkerville, not only did he design a stone pulpit, located among the pews of the laity, and surmounted by stairs in a wall, but the wall itself also demarcates the external boundary of the church. This style of pulpit—made of the same material that trims the surrounding walls and located on the western (lay) side of the transept—is thus a reminder that the church is Christ's body. If the transeptal ends are the outstretched arms of Christ crucified, then the Walkerville pulpit is located in the chest of the cruciform body, precisely where the lance pierced the side of Christ. The rector stands within His wounded side of when preaching to the Walkerville faithful—hence, the relief of grapevines that circumscribe the pulpit's polygonal form. The grapes are the blood of Christ's sacrificial wound.

Further still, Shand-Tucci rightly noted Cram's occasional flair for "Mannerism," playing with the expectations of architecture. For example, in one of Cram's early houses, Cram designed an elongated keystone that elegantly undermined the expected proportions of Classical architecture [Plate 2.28]. Likewise, in another early house, Cram designed a fireplace that reversed the architectural expectations of Classical profiles; the Renaissance-styled over-mantel recedes into the wall (like the Mannerist columns in Michelangelo's Laurentian Library Staircase) rather than projecting into the room [Plate 2.29]. Similarly, in a church Cram designed much later in his career, in Americus, Georgia, the arcade does not follow Cram's Late Victorian pattern of Gothic columns that continue, unbroken, into the moulded profiles of the arches. In Americus, not only do the columns have capitals, the capitals playfully recede into their columnar circumference [Plate 2.30]. Instead of using clustered Gothic

capitals that flower outward to catch the myriad ribs of vaulted ceilings, these capitals capitulate their non-necessity.

Consequently, the nave arcade at Walkerville demonstrates a unique “Mannerist” detail for Cram’s architecture [Plate 2.31]. When Cram designed arches to span the bays of a nave arcade, he typically created soffit profiles that project outward in various rhythms of light and shadow. In Walkerville, the soffits undercut that expectation because they recede into the structure of the arch. Yet, in Walkerville, the soffits do not simply recede for the sake of Mannerist playfulness. Rather, because the nave arcade demarcates the structural “torso” of the church (as it extends west of the transeptal arms), the recessed soffits represent the armpit of that structural body.¹⁰⁴ Just as the crucified body of Christ depicted in the high altar window has deep shadows in the pits between His torso and His outstretched arms, so too do the nave arches have shadows playing in the depths of their recession [Plate 2.32].

The new St. Mary’s Anglican Church is indeed dedicated to the body of Mary’s son. Yet, if we are to take Durand’s diagram to its logical limit, then the only soffit recession should have been in the easternmost arch, at the transeptal limit of the nave—literally in the armpit of the church. Furthermore, if this church is to be understood as Christ’s crucified body, with arms extended along the transeptal paths into the parish hall and rectory, then there should not have been another aisle extending down the southern side of the building. If the body of the Walkerville church is truly the flesh and stone of the crucified God

¹⁰⁴ Technically, this designation is well founded. When church architects place a tower in the corner of the transeptal arm and the nave body, they called it an armpit tower.

incarnate, then why do we see an asymmetrical aisle acting as yet another arm extending along the body of the nave [Plate 2.33]? This is where Edward Walker's crypt begins to spill its secret, for Christ was not the only son of a woman named Mary. We recall that the Walkerville church was dedicated to God in memory of Mary Abigail Walker, mother of Edward. We also recall, from the previous chapter, that Cram designed this church as a site of malady, where the house of Walker corrupts the house of God. Consequently, the church's body is not just God incarnate, son of the Virgin Mary; it is also the body of Edward, son of Mary Abigail Walker. Cram encrypted Edward Walker's ailing body in the aisle of the church, and he relied on the conventional understanding of a church as Christ's body to conceal Edward. The inclusion of a single, asymmetrical aisle is certainly not unusual for an Anglo-Gothic church; however, in a church like Walkerville, where Cram explored the cruciform body, the single aisle is suspiciously extraneous. It requires further consideration.

WALKER'S I'LL

As we saw in the previous chapter, St. Stephen's Episcopal Church in Cohasset and the new St. Mary's in Walkerville were descendants of St. Michael's Church in Bray. They share a family resemblance in the towers of their structural bodies. Yet the Bray tower takes a position on the southern side of the nave, near the western end of the building [Plate 1.9]. When Cram photographed that church in the 1890s, he chose a view from the southern side because it highlighted the stark verticality of the tower in contrast with the length of the nave-chancel axis. When Cram published his book on *Church Building* in 1901, he republished that

photograph of the Bray church, calling it "The Perfect Type" of small English church for modern Gothic adaptation (1901, 31). As a result, Cram's *Church Building* included several perspective drawings and floor plans for adapted modern Gothic churches. Figures VII and VIII, in particular, show the influence of Bray's perfect type [Plate 2.34]. Not only is the tower of Cram's paper architecture square-topped with angled stepped buttressing and random stone coursing, it stands in position along the southern side of the nave. Only here, Cram moved the tower farther east along the nave body to punctuate, externally, the transition from nave to chancel. Internally, the tower of Cram's paper architecture also punctuates the sacramental importance of baptism.

Cram lamented the status of the baptismal font in modern Gothic churches: "It is difficult to reconcile one's self to the process of change that has reduced the baptistery, once a thing of honor and dignity, a structure that showed through its very solemnity and importance the greatness of the sacrament to which it was consecrated, to an insignificant font hidden in an aisle, crowded against the wall" (1901, 111). Therefore, Cram's paper architecture used the monumental shape of the Bray-inspired tower to return a degree of "solemnity" to the baptismal font located therein. At Cohasset and Walkerville, however, Cram moved the Bray-inspired tower to the western front of the nave to act as an axial vestibule. Nevertheless, the baptismal fonts at Cohasset and Walkerville were not moved in that transposition. If baptism is to be read as the first step into Christianity, and if the western towers of Cohasset and Walkerville are the first step into their respective churches, then why are their respective fonts still located in the southern aisle?

Spatially, the Cohasset and Walkerville churches come closer to Figures IX and X in *Church Building* [Plate 2.35]. With that paper architecture, Cram positioned the vestibule of the massive tower at the western end of the nave, and he designed a single aisle to the south, in which the baptismal font is located. As the floor plan of Figure IX shows, Cram positioned the font near the western end of the aisle, and he shortened the length of the pews at that end so that the font could stand away from the wall. That way, with more space created through the open southwestern corner of the aisle, Cram could still offer a bit of "dignity" to the sacramental vessel. At Cohasset, though, Cram built a secondary porch at the western end of the aisle [Plate 2.36], so he moved the font farther east, to the midpoint of the aisle's length [Plate 2.37]. Furthermore, unlike the paper architecture of Figure IX, where Cram shortened the pews to accommodate the font, in Cohasset the font is located against the wall. And, unlike the paper architecture of Figure IX, and unlike the published floor plan of the Cohasset church, the actual seating in the Cohasset aisle is not an embankment of fixed pews but a collection of free-standing chairs. As a result, the dignity of baptism can occur by moving the chairs to face the Cohasset font. At Walkerville, though, Cram did not have a secondary porch to occupy the western-most bay of the aisle, nor did he have moveable chairs to re-arrange in honour of the baptismal rite. Instead, the Walkerville font appears to be exactly what Cram hated most about baptism in a modern church; apparently, the sacrament has been reduce to "an insignificant font hidden in an aisle, crowded against the wall" [Plate 2.38]. Yet Cram did this for a reason.

That reason begins, yet again, with the Bray-inspired tower that Cram moved to the western front of the Walkerville church. Inasmuch as Cram hailed the Bray tower as the "Perfect Type" for modern adaptation, he expressed that adaptable perfection at Walkerville in ways unrealized at Bray, or Cram's paper architecture, or even the Cohasset church. In his essay on "Good and Bad Modern Gothic," Cram admired the Hoar Cross church of Bodley and Garner, where the "vertical lines of the buttresses and the [horizontal] lines of the stringcourses strengthen the wall admirably" (1899a, 118). He then contrasted that work with an inferior church, "where, with the exception of the water-table, and a belt and a cornice in the tower, there isn't a single horizontal line to tie the thing together" (1899a, 118). It was not that Cram simply loved the vertical emphasis of Welby Pugin's Gothic theory; he felt that the vertical forms of Gothic architecture were only effective if they worked in conjunction with the horizontal lines that tie together the plan of the building. Consequently, when Cram saw the Bray tower's stringcourses juxtaposing with its vertical thrust, he saw an opportunity to use those horizontal lines to tie together his spatial composition at Walkerville.

At Bray, the stringcourses have no resonance among the horizontal lines of the church's body. They only accentuate the tower's proportions. Likewise, with the paper architecture of Cram's Figure VIII in *Church Building*, there is no coordination among the stringcourses and the horizontal lines of the church. Even at Cohasset, the "sprightliness" of the tower's picturesque height meant that its stringcourses bear little relation to the structural body behind it. At Walkerville, though, the lowest course of the tower aligns with the eaves-line of

the southern aisle roof, and the second course aligns with the eaves-line of the nave roof [Plate 2.39]. Even the clocks (both real and potential) align at the height of the nave roof apex. In few, Cram designed the Walkerville tower to organize the structural body of the Walkerville church, where every major horizontal line of the building follows from a tower detail. If Shand-Tucci argued that the gabled end was the “basic genetic code” of Cram’s domestic architecture (1995, 91), then the stringcourses that demarcate the setbacks in a Cram tower are the basic genetic code of a Cram church—and never more so than at Walkerville.

Crucially, in comparison to the second stringcourse at Walkerville, which continues from the tower to become the eaves-line of the nave roof, there is a gap between the lowest course of the Walkerville tower and the southern aisle roof. That gap is not simply a reflection of the fact that Cram’s aisle is farther from the tower. At All Saints’ Church in Ashmont, Cram took a stringcourse all the way from the western tower to the eaves-line of the chancel roof [Plate 2.40]. Why, then, did he choose not to continue the stringcourse at Walkerville from the tower to the southern aisle? This question connects the crypt of Edward’s body with the extraneous arm of the southern aisle and the questionable position of the Walkerville font therein; and, an answer comes from William Robins, the man who sat behind Edward Walker’s special pew.

William Robins was an Englishman, born c. 1850. He apparently first met the Walker family in 1888, becoming good friends with Edward and James. Edward’s wife, for example, Mary Griffin Walker, often wrote to Robins, stating that “Ed. sends his love” (Robins 1930, 174). Likewise, a letter from a mutual friend

of James Harrington Walker and William Robins assured the latter of James's "enduring fondness for you" (1930, 178). The affection extended to the rest of the Robins family as well, recalling that Mary Griffin Walker and Gertrude Robins (William's wife) both contributed the Easter lilies to the 1902 service at the old St. Mary's Church in Walkerville. Likewise, Mary Griffin Walker corresponded with and visited Robins's daughter, Margaret, in England, writing to Margaret that "Ed. always thought so much of your father" (1930, 178). Consequently, with Edward's ascension to the head of the Walker family and their family business, William Robins served as a managerial director for the company. Nor was his directorship an honorary position. The "Food and Drugs Act" of America took effect on January 1, 1907, largely through Dr. Harvey Wiley's influential arguments against product impurities in whisky, for example. This act of government devastated the whisky trade, both foreign and domestic, and William Robins wrote a rebuttal to the "preposterous theories of Dr. Harvey W. Wiley" that helped save the viability of *Canadian Club Whisky* for American consumption—a vital market for the Canadian borderland distillery (1930, 169; see also Files 1986). In other words, the Walkers did not trust the persuasiveness of a rebuttal to anyone but Robins. Thus, the latter was an important part of Edward's life, personally and professionally.

Robins's intimacy with the Walker family was further evident in the fact that Edward named him as an executor of his will, signed December 21, 1901. Edward Walker also gave Robins 1,000 shares in the Walker family company as a legacy in the 1901 will. The shares were valued at \$100 each at that time. Yet, even though Edward and James were good friends with Robins, apparently there was tension with the middle brother, Franklin. For instance, in July of 1905,

Franklin quarrelled with Robins over some undisclosed matter, and Robins threatened to resign his position with the company. This prompted James (who was then out of the country) to write Robins:

You must know, I am sure, how sorry I was to hear how you have been treated.... *By no means must you resign*; if you should do anything of that kind, it would make things all the harder for us.... *I cannot begin to tell you how deeply I feel for you. I realize fully what you have stood for a long time, on E.C.'s [Edward Chandler's] and my account, and now to feel that matters are even worse [between Franklin and you] makes me very hot. If you cannot manage to get along until when I intend returning, I will go home at once, for I cannot bear to have you treated so....* However, it is his [Franklin's] usual way, and until we come to some understanding, I presume he will continue.¹⁰⁵ (Robins 1930, 137; emphasis original)

They did reach an understanding, and it lasted until the winter of 1911–12, at a time when Edward was away in Europe, and in poor health. James, having suffered a “stroke” in 1911 (Robins 1930, 138), was in poor health as well, and Franklin used the situation to expel Robins from the company. Robins left Canada in 1914, bound for England. He would not return until 1922.

With Edward Walker's death in 1915, it was Edward's will that prompted Robins to return in 1922. According to Robins, the lapse of time between 1915 and 1922 was the result of his ignorance to what had occurred in Walkerville after his expulsion from the company. In 1914, Edward signed a new will, expunging the name of William Robins and cancelling the vast legacy. The new executors were the directors of the National Trust Company, which included

¹⁰⁵ Franklin Walker corroborated the enmity between Robins and him. Franklin wrote a letter to his friend and fellow National Trust director, Z. A. Lash, stating, “Both Ed. and Harry [James Harrington Walker] ... think I am treating [Robins] badly. He [Robins] has misstated several facts in his letters to them reflecting seriously on me, and I have been obliged to ignore them in order not to annoy my brothers” (Robins 1930, 142).

Franklin Walker and Z. A. Lash.¹⁰⁶ Then, according to Robins, in April of 1922, Mary Griffin Walker arranged to meet with him in London, England. There, she described how she was “violently bitter against Mr. Z. A. Lash and her brothers-in-law” (Robins 1930, 92), and how Robins should take legal action against the 1914 will.

The problem with the 1914 will (as Robins saw it) was the fact that Edward Walker was not mentally competent at the time of signing. More precisely, in Canada, there were two types of wills available at that time. The first was the highly official “Solemn Form” of probate; the second was the “Common Form.” Edward Walker’s 1901 will was in the Solemn Form, the 1914 will was in the Common Form, and the significant difference between them was that the former required proof of mental competency to be authentic, which meant that only the Common Form could be challenged on the grounds of mental competency. Thus, because the 1914 will was in the Common Form, William Robins had a legal right to challenge its authority on the question of Edward’s state of mind, and the writ was issued on June 23, 1923.

The case was tried without a jury in the town of Sandwich, Ontario. Judge Mowat made it clear in his final statement that onus was the point of contention. The judge ruled that the plaintiff must prove that Edward Walker was mentally incompetent, whereas Robins and his counsel felt that onus, according to English law, was the defendants’ need to prove mental competency. Having lost the case, Robins sent it to the Appellate Court of Ontario in 1925. The Appellate

¹⁰⁶ Lash, we recall, was the same man to whom Franklin complained about the alliance between William Robins and Edward and James.

Court upheld the trial judgment, and Robins appealed again—this time to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, who again, in 1926, upheld the original judgment on the grounds that the Appellate Court in a colony may differ in opinion from the Appellate Court of England. The Judicial Committee also stated that a precedence existed for ruling that onus fell to the plaintiff, courtesy of *Larocque v. Landry* (Robins 1930, 42–3). If onus fell to the plaintiff, then Robins had the difficult task of proving that Edward was not having a “lucid interval” when signing the 1914 will (Robins 1930, 52). Thus, Robins sought an appeal directly to the Crown in England, publishing a book about the case for public distribution, in which he included a letter of appeal to the King's Secretary. In the end, nothing came of it, and the decision was never overturned.

Regardless of the debate on onus, what is crucial to Edward's crypt at the new St. Mary's Anglican Church is the fact that neither the defendants nor the judge disagreed with the plaintiff that Edward Walker was, to some extent, sick. Consequently, the testimony of Edward's many doctors revealed that were two points on which everyone agreed. First, doctors on both sides of the argument would call Edward's illness the result of a “specific infection” that they would not openly name (Robins 1930, 62). Second, doctors on both sides of the argument testified that “there was no known test [for that infection] at the time [of Edward's diagnosis]” (Robins 1930, 150; emphasis original). For example, Edward was the patient of Dr. Charles W. Hoare at the time of contracting his “specific infection.” In fact, Dr. Hoare was Edward's physician in Walkerville from 1891 to 1907, with 1,317 appointments (Robins 1930, 62). Hoare testified that Edward contracted the infection in question in 1893, which, in 1900, led to the “infection

of nervous system, progressive, and in 1905 culminating in aphasia, with interference of speech, confused mental condition, and mixing of words, attacks recurring with greater frequency and severity to the end of attendance; numbness of face, hands, and legs, pronounced arterio-sclerosis, and *degeneracy of mental and nervous system typical of infection*" (Robins 1930, 62; emphasis original). Dr. Hoare also testified that several specialists in nervous disorders consulted on Edward's illness, including Dr. Allan McLean Hamilton of New York City, "a high authority in such cases" (Robins 1930, 62).¹⁰⁷ Likewise, Dr. P. A. Dewar (Edward's physician between 1910 and 1913) found that Edward had a "specific infection" that manifested "a specific condition due to a specific trouble" (Robins 1930, 63). And Dr. Burt R. Shurly (Edward's physician from 1913 to 1915) testified that Edward suffered from "general senile decay which had been going on for some years" (Robins 1930, 64), ultimately declaring Edward to be a "vegetable" in the last years of his life (Robins 1930, 56).

Given that list of symptoms, the chronology, and the choice phrasings of the doctors, it is likely that Edward had syphilis or at least received a syphilis diagnosis. There was no standardized diagnostic tool for that disease until the Wasserman test of 1906, but even that was not completely effective—hence, the doctors at the 1923 trial testified that there was no known test for Edward's "specific infection" when he caught it. Within a year of contracting syphilis

¹⁰⁷ Dr. Hamilton was a medical expert in mental illness who was brought into the trial of President Garfield's assassin, Charles J. Guiteau, and for the trial of President McKinley's assassin, Leon F. Czolgosz (see Anonymous 1901). For another reference to Dr. Hamilton's authority, see *The New York Times* (Anonymous 1894). He testified as to the mental capacity of Mrs. Harrison, a wealthy New York City dowager. However, he did not testify in the Walkerville case because he had died in 1919. The defence called Dr. Harmon A. Vedder instead, a physician on staff at a New York City hotel that Edward frequented.

(1893), Edward would have experienced the first two stages of the disease—primary syphilis, when a skin lesion usually appears at the point of syphilitic transmission, and secondary syphilis, when a rash typically spreads across the trunk and extremities, often recurring and highly infectious. Syphilis then goes into a latent stage, where it might lie dormant for the rest of the person's life, or it might re-emerge at any time in the devastating forms of tertiary syphilis. Thus, Edward's body began to suffer the effects of tertiary syphilis in 1900, as the spirochetes targeted both his central nervous and cardio-vascular systems—hence, Dr. Hoare's extensive list of symptoms that were “*typical of infection*.”¹⁰⁸

Perhaps the most telling aspect of a syphilis diagnosis is the fact that the testifying doctors could speak of Edward's ailment as a “specific infection” with “typical” symptoms, and yet never openly name the disease that seemed so specific and typical to them. Syphilis was a venereal disease so stigmatized in Edward's day that public discourse would often rely on a euphemistic vocabulary. Allan Brandt quoted physicians from turn-of-the-century America: “‘A convenient and somewhat elastic medical nomenclature lends itself to this policy of concealment,’ explained one doctor. ‘A vast number of morbid conditions which should be charged to venereal infection are entered [into medical records] under some non-compromising name which does not indicate its real value’” (Brandt 1987, 10).¹⁰⁹ Dr. Prince Albert Morrow, perhaps the most

¹⁰⁸ One nineteenth-century writer with syphilis wrote, “But above all, you see, the disease attacks the nervous system.... It snaps the network of nerves at whim.... Or perhaps it lays into the brain, kingpin of it all. And there's your general paralysis, senility in all its glory, all its regularity” (Anonymous, qtd. in Quétel 1990, 147).

¹⁰⁹ Consequently, “the mortality rate from syphilis was often hidden under a cloud of inaccuracies when physicians were disinclined to give it as a cause of death, fearing publicity for the patient, further hurt to a sorrowing family, or risk of losing insurance” (Hayden 2003, 223).

vocal of Gilded-Age American dermatologists, stated, "social sentiment holds that it is a greater violation of the proprieties of public life publicly to mention venereal disease than privately to contract it" (Morrow, qtd. in Quétel 1990, 149). This was at least partly due to the Judaeo-Christian structure of western morality, which saw venereal disease as the proof of lust.¹¹⁰ Despite Alfred Fournier's attempt to rearticulate syphilis in terms of *merited* cases (pre- or extramarital sexual activity) and *unmerited* cases (the innocent wives of syphilitic men and the children who received syphilis through heredity) (1907, 310–11), the *merited* cases still carried the Christological assumption of the "wages of sin."¹¹¹ According to John Parascandola, even the American Committee on the Prevention of Venereal Disease (ACPVD) declared in their 1881 report that "if venereal diseases were restricted to those who sought illicit sexual gratification, 'it might be well to let the guilty suffer and die'" (ACPVD, qtd. in Parascandola 2008, 34). Hence, the doctors and lawyers in the case of Edward Walker's last will and testament avoided the identity of Edward's illness as best they could to save him from posthumous stigmatization.¹¹²

¹¹⁰ When the Board of Social Service and Evangelism for the Presbyterian Church in Canada reprinted *The Social Danger of Syphilis* (1905, originally 1889), Ernest A. Bell appended a poem (c. 1905) called "The Doom of Lust."

¹¹¹ Concerning the transmission of syphilis from husband to innocent wife, the participants of a 1901 medical symposium on syphilis noted that the innocent wives and, by extension, their children, were "made to suffer thus vicariously for the sins of others" (Bulkley 1901, 5). Thus, the Christological discourse did not disappear from the medical profession.

¹¹² Andrew Smith (2004) has explored the Gothic literary implications for the professional desire to conceal the identity of men with syphilis. Inasmuch as Smith studied the role of Late Victorian constructs of masculinity in the production of *fin-de-siècle* Gothic narratives, he was interested in how the medical profession worked to justify the concealment of men with syphilis. Smith noted that Sir Jonathan Hutchinson, a Late Victorian expert in syphilis, suggested that men conceal their syphilitic past (believing that it was likely past) in order to "protect the wife from unnecessary upset" (Hutchinson, qtd. in Smith 2004, 109).

The specific circumstances of Edward's life and the acquisition of his fortune further stigmatized a syphilis diagnosis. When Dr. Fournier wrote his study on syphilis and society (1907, 315n1), he made special note of a "remarkable work" called *Syphilis and Alcohol* (1882). In response to that work, Fournier specifically condemned bars that included women: "'These bars are the despair of families, because their sons find in these houses the three plagues of modern society: loafing, alcoholism, and syphilis. Morally and physically, these women's bars are sinks of iniquity'" (M. le Roy de Méricourt, qtd. in Fournier 1907, 314–15). In his medical practice, Fournier consequently argued that the "subjects we have to treat for syphilis nearly always present, independently of their syphilis, a certain pathological individuality ... some are alcoholics, and others suffer from excess of pleasure or overwork; so that most patients, for one reason or another, add to syphilis a morbid idiosyncrasy" (1907, 49). Thus, when social reformers of the era looked to create prophylaxes against the spread of syphilis, those who did not simply call for the regulation of prostitution placed some of the blame on the men (rarely the women) who had pre- or extramarital sex, and their solution was to teach and enforce self-control. Dr. Morrow, for example, the American translator of Fournier's essay, *Syphilis and Marriage*, insisted that preventative measures against venereal disease would be "incomplete without impressing upon young men that the use of alcohol is one of the most powerful of all influences in the incitation of sexual debauch" (1907, 31).¹¹³ Edward Walker, as

¹¹³ For other medical texts of the era that included warning about the dangers of contracting venereal diseases during inebriation, see James R. Lane's warning against "excessive sexual and alcoholic indulgence combined" (1878, 37); and Sir Jonathan Hutchinson, who received a letter dating March 26, 1899, which detailed the story of a sailor who, "by testimony of his shipmates, was a sober and chaste man until a certain day in December [1898] when he went ashore at Bombay and fell under the influence of alcohol. He copulated with a black prostitute once at the dockside.

the producer of *Canadian Club Whisky*, risked being twice stigmatized: for the wages of sin and the social lubricant assumed to seal the "sinful" deal. Certainly, in a town where Hiram Walker shut down the first Methodist ministry because a preacher sermonized on the bibulous, the Walker family did not take the social problem of their business lightly.

Walkerville's status as a paternalistic company town throws this problem into sharper relief. Christian stewardship was the nineteenth-century justification for paternalistic communities (see especially Crawford 1995, 3–4, 28, and 32), where the beneficent lord used his good fortune to secure a better life for those who perpetuated his fortune; hence, the cottages, water pipes, police and fire protection, churches, bank, and school houses of Walkerville, all of which the Walker family provided. In exchange for the financial benefit of paternal stewardship was the creation and maintenance of a productive workforce; and, often, temperance was assumed to optimize productivity.

The owners of several company towns would thus strictly regulate or abolish the consumption of alcohol to promote a sober and focused workforce. Titus Salt, founder of Saltaire, England, enforced temperance among his workers, even while privately believing that "wine taken with meals was an enjoyable comfort" (Huggins 2000, 590; see also Reynolds 1983, 184). The Lever family, at Port Sunlight, England, experimented with temperance (see Ashworth 1951, 382; Batchelor 1969, 195). Even utopian, British city-planners, like Minton Morgan and Ebenezer Howard, had a "strong undercurrent of temperance" running through

Between eight and ten weeks afterwards a single hard sore had developed" (Hutchinson 1909, 135; emphasis original).

their utopian plans, believing that the existing cities of the nineteenth century were “full of ‘pernicious excitements’ such as beer-shops and brothels” (Batchelor 1969, 191). Likewise, in America, George Pullman's eponymous company town of Pullman, Illinois, restricted the consumption of alcohol to the luxury hotel in the managerial heart of the town (see especially Buder 1967, 65). Even American landscape designers, like Frederick Law Olmsted, stated that the urban and suburban parks they create were exercises in a “distinctly harmonizing and refining influence upon the most unfortunate and lawless classes of the city—an influence favorable to courtesy, self-control, and temperance” (Olmsted, qtd. in Scheper 1989, 385). Thus, in Walkerville (where Edward Walker created an Olmsted-like suburban park around his Anglican church), the ideal of the paternalistic company town constantly operated in tension with the whisky that the company produced.¹¹⁴

Essentially, Edward's anxiety to construct the new St. Mary's Anglican Church takes on a new urgency in light of his secret and (socially constructed as) shameful illness. He was not simply devoted to his dead parents. Having surpassed the symptoms of primary and secondary syphilis, Edward Walker married Mary Emma Griffin on September 3, 1896. This provided a three-year buffer between his initial infection (1893) and his wedding date, as per the standard advice concerning syphilis and marriage during the time.¹¹⁵ And,

¹¹⁴ When Cram's firm started planning the Walkerville church in conjunction with the development of the surrounding neighbourhood, Cram suggested that the Walker brothers hire Olmsted's sons, the descendants of the paternal firm (St. Mary's Church Paper, file 278). The Walker brothers went, instead, with an emerging Boston firm of landscape architects, Kelsey and Guild.

¹¹⁵ Alfred Fournier, for example, (and his American translator, Morrow) advised the following: “I do not think that a syphilitic subject should be permitted to think of marriage until a *minimum period of three or four years* devoted to a most careful treatment ... in order that the patient, restored to

although Edward and Mary would have no children together (perhaps out of fear of the still births that were common among children born to a syphilitic parent, or as a result thereof), Edward was likely hopeful that his infection would remain dormant for the rest of his life with Mary.¹¹⁶

That hope was shattered in 1900, with the devastating onset of tertiary syphilis in both his cardio-vascular and nervous systems. With his doctors unable to provide a cure for the unspeakable trauma of his rapidly escalating condition, Edward turned to God, commissioning the new St. Mary's Anglican Church as a gift that God might favour with the reward of a miraculous cure. Syphilis is the unspeakable "word-thing" that Cram tried to conceal and confess on behalf of Edward Walker. Thus, along the southern wall of the Walkerville aisle, Cram positioned a stained-glass window bearing "The Sermon on the Mount" as an inscription in the lowest pane of its central light [Plate 2.41]. In the context of

ordinary conditions, may properly aspire to become husband, father, head of a family" (Fournier 1882, 92; emphasis original). The reason for the delay and the provisional permission of marriage is that syphilis is at its most contagious during the primary and secondary phases. Once the infectious rashes of secondary syphilis pass (and seem to have passed for good), the patient would be medically acceptable for marriage in the hope that transmission of the disease would be next to nil. Other doctors following similar rules included Alfred Cooper: "In the absence of any symptoms of [secondary syphilis] it may be laid down that, as a general rule, marriage is permissible, provided that three years have elapsed since infection, that during two years the patient has been subjected to careful and systematic treatment, and that no symptoms of the disease have developed for twelve months" (1895, 426); James Nevin Hyde and Frank Hugh Montgomery: "A previously healthy young man or woman, skillfully treated for between three and four years after infection, and free for the last year of all but the most insignificant symptoms, will in the large majority of cases fail to infect a married partner or transmit syphilis by inheritance" (1900, 275); and Sir Jonathan Hutchinson: "The question under discussion at the present time is whether Professor Fournier's dicta do not take rank as counsels of perfection, and whether the two years' rule, now generally acted upon in British practice, is not sufficient to secure reasonable social safety. It must be understood that those who are content with this rule advocate continuous treatment by mercury during the two years, or, if this has not been secured, a six months' course immediately prior to marriage.... I have never yet seen an infant, born of a marriage which I have sanctioned, who presented infantile symptoms of syphilis, nor a young person who suffered from keratitis or who showed notched teeth. As regards infection between husband and wife I have seen almost nothing" (1909, 554).

¹¹⁶ Concerning the contextual medical literature on "hereditary" syphilis in children, see Cooper 1895, 344–403; Fournier 1882, 30–75; and Hutchinson 1909, 384–506.

Edward's illness, however, the figural imagery in the central light is remarkably cryptic.

Harry Eldredge Goodhue (1872–1918), the younger brother of Cram's architectural partner, Bertram Goodhue, designed all the windows in the Walkerville church. He also designed all the original stained glass in St. Stephen's Church, Cohasset, which included another depiction of the Sermon on the Mount [Plate 2.42]. The comparison between the two depictions is telling of the cryptic nature of the Walkerville window. Both windows place Jesus at the center of the composition, looking out at the viewer. He raises His right hand in the gesture of benediction, as His blessing extends beyond the pictorial space into the architectural space of the Cohasset and Walkerville churches. Both windows also place Jesus on slightly higher ground to indicate the rocky terrain from which He delivered His mounted sermon; and, in both windows, the crowds are limited to a tight circumference of people surrounding Christ. Yet, whereas the Cohasset window has five figures surrounding Christ, the narrower span of the central light in the Walkerville window meant that only three could crowd Him, and the two kneeling foreground figures from each window, man and woman, have crucial differences. The Cohasset woman is dressed in red and green, with a white wimple; the Walkerville woman is dressed in purple, with a blue mantle and white wimple—all of which are colours reminiscent of the purples, blues, and whites of the Virgin Mary elsewhere in the Walkerville windows. The woman in the Cohasset is unidentified, but the Walkerville woman is Mary—perhaps not the Virgin Mary but another Marian woman who is significant to the aisle.

We recall, again, that the Walkerville church was a memorial to Edward's mother, Mary Abigail Walker. Yet Edward's wife was another Mary—Mary Griffin Walker. Consequently, the high altar of the church combines Mary and Christ, mother and child, as a reminder of the maternal Marian figure that Mary Abigail Walker was [Plate 2.43]. Conversely, the mo[u]rning chapel at the end of Walkerville's southern aisle features the church's only tile of a griffin in the center of the sanctuary floor [Plate 2.44]. If the high altar of the new St. Mary's is in reference to Mary Abigail Walker, Edward's mother, then the southern aisle is in reference to Mary Griffin Walker, Edward's wife. On that condition, the Mary kneeling in the Walkerville Sermon window is a representation of Mary Griffin Walker, and thus the bearded man kneeling beside her is a representation of Edward. More importantly, unlike the bearded man kneeling in the left foreground of the Cohasset window, turning his body into the pictorial space, with his naked hands extending in prayer, the bearded man in the Walkerville window looks down to reveal the shrouded status of his arm. Unlike his Cohasset counterpart, or even the Marian woman beside him, the bearded man in Walkerville does not have a hand to offer Christ in prayer. In fact, he does not even have a second arm, only the stump of one limb that he buries in a swath of green mantle. His condition plays upon the cryptic tension between the desire for confession and the desire for shameful concealment.

The concealment of this unusual figure in the window partly depends on the fact that he does not technically belong to the Sermon on the Mount. He is from an event that immediately follows the sermon in the Matthean gospel. In Matthew 8:1–4, Christ descended from his mounted sermon and a leper

approached Him, humbly stating, "Sir ... if you want to, you can cure me." Christ, who had just finished telling the crowds "Ask, and it will be given to you" (Mt. 7:7), the same Christ who would later admonish His disciples for not having the faith of a mustard seed (Mt. 17:20), saw in this leper the seed of true Christian gratitude. Thus, Christ replied, "'Of course I want to! Be cured!' And his leprosy was cured at once." This is the visual tableau that Cram used to encrypt the unspeakable condition of Edward's syphilitic body, transforming syphilis into the synonymous (if only euphemistic) condition of leprosy.¹¹⁷

From there, Cram envisioned Edward Walker in terms of the Matthean leper, and he folded that leper into the Matthean man with the withered hand (Mt. 12:9–14). Cram concentrated Edward's syphilis into the leprosy of his withered appendage (revealed and concealed in the Walkerville window), the rebus-text of a tableau that is concealed, yet again, in the de-contextualization of its place within the Matthean narrative. The window is and isn't about the Sermon on the Mount. Thus, Christ looks out at Edward Walker as the latter approached his appointed place among the congregants, so that He could bestow His gesture of benediction on Edward. Edward Walker is the leper, and he and his wife have gathered at the feet of Christ to beseech a cure for Edward's illness—hence, the empty shields that flank their kneeling positions. The

¹¹⁷ For contextual evidence on leprosy as a euphemism for syphilis, see Michel Levy: "this leprosy of our time, which is called syphilis" (Levy, qtd. in Fournier 1907, 309). Cooper noted that, for syphilitic patients who suffer from severe ulcerations and disfigurements, "due to the ravages of the disease, delusions may occur that the victim of them is a leper, and is pointed out as such. The patient is first of all morbidly self-conscious of his disfigurement, and is likely to attempt to drown his thoughts in drink. This leads to hallucinations and delusions of persecution, and this form of insanity is frequently complicated with homicidal or suicidal mania" (1895, 415). Likewise, Hutchinson noted that "forms of inflammation, simulating those called lupus, are very common as the result of syphilis, and it is the same with alopecia, leucoderma, true leprosy, and many others" (1909, 104). By implication, syphilis is a false leprosy that required Hutchinson's distinction from the "true" form.

shields' green and blue combinations bring together the mantle colours of the leprous Edward and beseeching Mary because they are without issue; their legacy is as barren as the heraldry that flanks them.

Edward's ailing body was responsible for this, symbolized in the single stumpy arm of the leper. Having established that encryption in the semiotics of the window, Cram extended the crypt into the structural language of the church. The single southern aisle at Walkerville is the leprous limb of the window's tableau; it is Edward's corrupted body, extraneous to the perfect cruciform of Christ's body. Just as the leper has only one, truncated arm, so too does the church have only one aisle, truncated, as we shall see, when we compare it to the body of its Cohasset counterpart.

Both churches have a single southern aisle. Yet the Cohasset aisle extends all the way from the transept to the western limit of the nave [Plate 2.45]. Conversely, the Walkerville aisle extends from the armpit of the transept (made literal in the Mannerist detail of the soffits) until it terminates one bay short of the western limit [Plate 2.46]. This is why there is a gap between the stringcourse of the western tower and the eaves-line of the southern aisle. The gap is the potential space reserved for the leper's healthy hand, a space that is not present in the church as anything more than the haunting presence of an absence—the healthy hand to be. This gap is the crypt of the Walkerville church, a space of internal exclusion. Its visibility belongs to the church that should be in Walkerville, not the one that is there. Just as the Walkerville tower is missing the spire that would complete its vertical resurrection, so too is the southern aisle missing the hand that would complete its horizontal reach toward the tower.

Furthermore, the gap at the end of the Walkerville aisle is the place in which Cram kept the unspeakable word-thing of Edward's syphilis. Having transformed Edward's ailment into the Matthean leper, and having concentrated his leprosy into the withered hand of another Matthean man, Cram then let the withered limb re-emerge through the partitions of the Walkerville crypt as the broken symbol of the letter "k," the unspeakable letter of the building's Gothick legacy. As a revenant of the modern world, still caught in the abysmal night of its decadence, Cram's church silently confesses the condition of its Gothick-ness. The question then becomes, what can redeem the unspeakable "k" as the healthy hand of a new world basking in the dawn of a true Gothic resurrection? That question must wait, however, for a later chapter.

For now, it is enough to note that, on either side of the corner that constitutes the limit of the aisle's leprous arm (the western end of the aisle and the southwestern end of the nave), the glazier, Harry Goodhue, produced additional windows [Plate 2.47]. As we recall from the previous entr'acte, the ground-floor windows in the Walkerville nave are a quartet of twinned patristic saints, each window with an open book and a banner in the tracery above. The banner in the window on the nave side of the leprous limit unfurls to reveal the Latin word, "Spes," meaning "Hope" [Plate 2.48], and the window on the leprous end of the aisle is the Transfiguration of Christ [Plate 2.49]. Consequently, the Walkerville church seeks the restoration of Edward's body in the *hope* of a miraculous *transfiguration*—the hope that God might miraculously absolve Edward of the syphilitic infection that secretly ravaged his body and, by extension, the body of his gift, the church.

Secrecy is the crux of the matter. In the Matthean gospel, after the disciples bore witness to the miraculous Transfiguration of Christ, the messiah warned them to "Tell no one about the vision until the Son of Man has risen from the dead" (Mt. 17:9). Furthermore, when Christ cured the leper in the Matthean gospel, He told the leper, "Mind you do not tell anyone, but go and show yourself to the priest and make your offering prescribed by Moses, as evidence for them" (Mt. 8:4). The Matthean gospel turns on a secret economy. Thus, Edward Walker wished not to have his private illness become a matter of public knowledge, but to show his body, miraculously transfigured, in the communal body of the church that he and his brothers gave as a gift to God. They publically offered that gift to the Anglican community in terms of their filial obligation to Hiram and Mary Abigail Walker. Yet, within that "public" gift, we find a secret offering given in the name of Edward Walker; hence, the unusual position of Cram's baptismal font [Plate 2.38].

At Walkerville, Cram reduced the sacrament of baptism to an "insignificant font hidden in an aisle, crowded against the wall," because the window immediately above the font depicts the Adoration of the Magi [Plate 2.50]. Cram wanted the font to be understood in terms of the biblical magi. The magi were a trio of kings who came to honour Christ as the King of Kings with the gifts of gold, frankincense, and myrrh. Consequently, Edward and his brothers modelled their status of merchant-aristocracy in terms of the biblical magi. They gave as the magi gave. Furthermore, we can examine who among the Walkerville magi is carrying which gift. In *Church Building*, Cram included a celebrated image of the Adoration of the Magi as an example of superior

Christian art: the Pre-Raphaelite painting of Edward Burne-Jones [Plate 2.51] that William Morris translated into a tapestry [Plate 2.52]. In the Pre-Raphaelite imagery, the magi present Christ with their gifts in the order of their listing in the Matthean gospel, from left to right [Plate 2.53]. The first and eldest magus holds an open box of gold coins. The second magus, dressed in armour, holds a censer in hand, suggesting the aromatic incense from the gift of frankincense. The third, stereotypically Moorish magus holds a sealed jar, presumably containing the pungent balm of myrrh. Thus, in the Walkerville window, the elderly magus, kneeling closest to Christ, holds a box that, though unopened, probably contains the gift of gold. The second magus, whose armour has been reduced to an epaulette projecting from beneath his crimson cloak (the one kneeling closest to our position) holds an urn of similar shape to the censer-bearing magus in the Morris or Burne-Jones imagery. Thus, his is the gift of frankincense. Finally, the farthest magus, looking more stereotypically Arabian than Moorish, holds a white, stone vessel of myrrh.

Of the three gifts illustrated in the Walkerville window, the gift of myrrh is the most divergent from the Pre-Raphaelite imagery—intentionally so [Plate 2.54]. With its white, stone vessel, its octagonal shape, and its inset decoration of blind tricuspid arches, the gift of myrrh parallels the baptismal font located directly below Walkerville's magi window [Plate 2.55]. The Walkerville font is a white, stone octagon with the inset detail of blind tricuspid arches. It is the only font Cram's firm designed of this type. They issued several octagonal fonts throughout their careers, many of which in stone, but none with that precise detail of the blind tricuspid arch. The closest they came to this font was Goodhue's c. 1915

design for the First Congregationalist Church of Montclair, New Jersey [Plate 2.56]. Yet there, set among the clustered responds of a massive pier, the arches simply flourish on the font, having no direct correlation with any other decorative feature. In Walkerville, though, the font and the window are set together so that the gifts of the magi correlate with baptismal cleansing. The baptismal font held the sacramental promise of wiping clean the sins of the pagan world—a world that the magi were among the first to abandon for Christ.

Finally, of the three magi, the one closest the viewer, the one kneeling with his back turned to us, represents Edward's illness [Plate 2.57]. In the tradition of the Romantic *rückenfigur*, this kneeling magus has his back turned so that the viewer can project their experience onto him. Inasmuch as this is Edward's church, it is his experience projected onto the figure. This is why, if we look to the epaulette of his armour, we see the English rose emerging from beneath his cloak. As we recall from the previous entr'acte, Cram charged this style of rose with an Anglo-political agendum. This is the tainted rose of the bloody house of Tudor, with King Edward VI as the worst of that "malignant epoch" and the modern world to follow. Consequently, Edward Walker kneels before the infant Christ in the form of a gift-giving magus in the hope that he, like a pagan, might give a gift worthy of God so that God could cleanse Edward's soul of his wasted youth and the sinful consequences of syphilis. Hence, above the kneeling magus, and above the infant Christ, we see the bearded figure of Joseph holding forth the rod that miraculously burst into flower; and that flower, significantly, is the pure white lily [Plate 2.58].

Just as Cram placed the tainted English rose beneath Gregory the Great on the northern wall of the nave, and just as he placed beneath the image of St. Augustine the lily of his redemption, so too did Cram place the lily and the rose together in the Adoration window to echo the confessional mode of St. Augustine. By confessing the truth of his sinfulness to God, St. Augustine was saved. By secretly confessing to God the sinfulness of his youth, Edward also hoped for salvation. It is no accident, therefore, that the Adoration of the Magi window is located on the eastern side of the Sermon on the Mount.

Inasmuch as the empty heraldic shields below the Sermon on the Mount are colour-coded to the leper and the woman representing Edward and Mary Griffin Walker, so too are the empty shields at the Adoration of the Magi keyed to the colours of the kneeling magus—red and green. These, once again, herald the empty legacy of Edward Walker. He had no children to baptize at the Walkerville font. Perhaps, then, through the grace of God that could change. The leper and Joseph are thus the “before and after” of that hoped-for secret exchange [Plate 2.59]. Joseph holds the rod that, like the leper’s arm, was once a truncated stump. Yet, through the miracle of God’s providence, the rod burst into a new life of glorious lilies. This is how Cram reconciled the arboreal and corporeal metaphors of his ecclesiastical organism. Cram expressed the new life that he hoped the Gothic Revival would enjoy through the changed condition of the Matthean leper’s corporeal limb and Joseph’s arboreal staff. The leper’s hand might suddenly grow like the lilies. Conversely, the shortened length of the southern aisle was Cram’s confession of his pessimism at the *revenant* status of the modern revival and his enduring hope for a future-present of miraculous new

life. He swallowed the withered “hand” of Edward Chandler Walker to draw up (*mano-a-mano*) the cryptic plans of a modern Gothic “Mannerism.” His church plays with the expectations of a true Gothic Revival in a way that cryptically conceals and reveals the haunted condition of its *revenge*.

ENTR’ACTE

We now return to the high altar of the Walkerville church and the statue of King Edward the Confessor. To understand the full cryptic import of this statue, we must first walk the ritual path that approaches the high altar of the church and thus the Confessor’s statue. In the Walkerville choir, the floor is paved with Moravian tiles. In particular, there is a cluster of Maltese crosses in a complex arrangement [Plate 2.60], and I shall return to the Maltese symbol in the final chapter. For now, it is important to recognize that there are nine large tiles grouped together in a three-by-three grid, and each tile depicts an individual Maltese cross in sunken relief. However, Maltese crosses also form in sunken relief across the borders of the nine tiles, where the mottled black, white, red, and ruddy-grey colours mingle together in the arms spanning the spaces between the tiles. These colours call to mind the famous incantation of Hecate, leader of the witches’ coven in Shakespeare’s play, *Macbeth*: “Black spirits and white, red spirits and gray; / Mingle, mingle, mingle, you that mingle may” (4.1.44–5).¹¹⁸ Cram used those lines in his autobiography to express the muddled condition of the modern world, where political anarchies, “not to speak of new philosophies

¹¹⁸ All in-text references from Shakespeare’s *Macbeth* are courtesy of Greenblatt, gen. ed. (1997), and they refer to the act, scene, and line(s) of this edition.

and religions, engage in feverish rivalry for acceptance and application.... And the result is pretty much that of the witches' cauldron" (1936, 293). Because the Walkerville church cannot escape the mingled spirit of its modern, decadent epoch, it too suffers from the "witches' cauldron."

Not incidentally, Cram also used that incantation from *Macbeth* as the epigraph to his 1895 book of ghost stories, *Black Spirits and White*. The title of the book and his epigraphic reference to *Macbeth* accentuate Cram's assertion that he was living in a diseased world. Cram found in the Scotland of *Macbeth* an equally diseased society for which there was no physician's cure. Hence, we have the speech of Macbeth to the doctor: "If thou couldst, doctor, cast / The water of my land, find her disease, / And purge it to a sound and pristine health, / I would applaud thee to the very echo, / That should applaud again" (5.3.52–6). The doctor could not, and thus the supernatural existence of the witches' coven was demonstrative of a land that was beyond mortal medicine. Once again, sickness and the supernatural are coterminous effects of the same state of usurpation.

This is significant because Shakespeare provided a counterpoint to the sickly state of Macbeth's Scotland. When Malcolm, the rightful King of Scotland, fled the aftermath of Macbeth's bloody usurpation and tyranny, he sought refuge in England at the court of King Edward the Confessor. King Edward marks the difference between healthy English royalty and a sickly Scottish tyranny, in that the English king possessed the royal touch, the touch that could miraculously heal. An English doctor, in conversation with Malcolm, lamented the limits of his medical training: "Their malady convinces / The great essay of art, but at his

[King Edward the Confessor's] touch, / Such sanctity hath Heaven given his hand, / They presently amend" (*Macbeth*, 4.3.143–6). Consequently, the Walkerville statue of King Edward the Confessor is not just a paragon of kingly virtue staring back at Edward Walker in his special pew; he represents the prospect of divine health through the touch of a royal hand.

Just as the Matthean leper and Joseph are the "before and after" of God's secret economy, so too does the red rose of the sixth Edward's malignancy (located in both the nave and southern aisle) come before the resurrecting prospect of health, courtesy of Edward the Confessor in the reredos. If true medieval Gothic architecture was, for Cram, a progress that "had been glorious without pause from the days of Edward the Confessor," then his greatest hope for Edward Walker and the Edwardian era was the return to the healthy architecture of the medieval Edward, and not to linger in the sick modernity of the Protestant Edward VI. The church, however, was (and still is) caught in an interval between the two, and Cram's Gothic literature developed an uncanny aesthetic that articulated the sensation of being caught in that interval. Through his Gothic literature, Cram's part in the secret contract of the Walkerville church comes to the fore.

3. WITHOUT THE PALE OF THE CHURCH: SITING THE GOTHICK STORIES OF RALPH ADAMS CRAM

An epigraph takes place, appropriately, at the opening of a ghost stor[e]y, hovering as a textual (if not to say visual) severance appropriated from one body to be of special value to another—a severed limb thought fit for separate “burial,” haunting the latter from the site of its citation. Nor is that severance intent on being an anonymous donation. It carries with it, on its pointing digit, the signet ring of a referential notice. Or else, should it lack a referential digit, it hangs from the apostrophic tender-hooks of quotation marks; or, perhaps, it possesses merely the lexical ringing of words thought to be the tolling of reminiscent bells. I hear them ringing through Cram's archi-text-ure, time and again, sounding the walls of the edifice, like an architect, expert in the matter. And, with every crack I find, a seal of severed lips appears, Tartarian perhaps, but straight and strictly centered betwixt the margins of the page. For the length of a line, the textual body is ethereal and a Cheshire mouth is all that remains. It waits for someone to add a super-scriptural smile that tugs knowingly at its farthest corner.¹¹⁹

The Cavaliere smiled that slow, cryptic smile of his that was so unfathomable.¹²⁰

Black Spirits and White are haunting the Walkerville church, but in ways that have gone unnoticed in Cram scholarship (Daniel 1978, 20n13; Muccigrosso 1980, 35; Oberg 1992, 182; Shand-Tucci 1995, especially 120–3; Bischof 2005, 74–5; Anthony 2007, 20). For instance, Stefan Dziemianowicz (2004) argued that Cram's authorial and architectural careers interconnect because *Black Spirits and White* reads as a travelogue of Cram's aesthetic and religious awakening in Europe during the late 1880s. Indeed, the first-person narrator of Cram's Gothic ghost

¹¹⁹ This text is in the margins of a copy of Cram's *Black Spirits and White*. It has no date, but the signature on the inside front cover reads, Mr. E. C. Nolan MacLeod.

¹²⁰ Cram (1895a, 89).

stories is a Catholic, architectural enthusiast from New England, like Cram himself. Likewise, his travelling companion in three of the six stories is Tom Rendel, an “obvious animadversion to Thomas Henry Randall” (Shand-Tucci 1995, 63), Cram’s travelling companion on his second trip through Europe.¹²¹ Hence, Cram dedicated *Black Spirits and White* to “My dear T. H. R.: Here is a book of stories which I beg you will accept. All of them you know, and part of them you were” (1895a, front matter). Although, given the amount of Cram’s non-fiction writing as an architectural enthusiast, the event of his aesthetic and religious awakening is not, in itself, as important to his Gothic literature as the nightmarish modern world in which he awoke to find himself still haunted. Cram’s Anglo-Catholicism determined not only the course of his architectural career but also the horrific nature of his haunted houses.

Granted, vivid architectural descriptions are among the longest-standing conventions of Gothic literature. Yet, as an architect, Cram had a special affinity for that convention, demonstrating the breadth of his “architectural knowledge” in *Black Spirits and White* (1895a, 106). Not only do his architectural settings establish evocative moods (the slamming of a distant door, the howling of wind on a windowpane), those settings also foreground Cram’s belief in the

¹²¹ Two of the adventures that Cram’s autobiographical narrator shared with “Tom Rendel” occurred in Italy, where Cram and T. Henry Randall met. Cram specifically set one of his ghost stories in Sicily, where his narrator and Tom Rendel ventured on the recommendation of naval “officers on the tubby U. S. S. ‘Quinebaug,’ that, during the summer of 1888, was trying to uphold the maritime honour of the United States in European waters” (1895a, 85). In his autobiography, Cram also detailed how he and Randall met a pair of American naval officers from the “ancient U.S.S. Quinebaug” while sketching mosaics on the Roman Trastevere (1936, 60; emphasis original). The officers recommended that Cram and Randall study the mosaics in Sicily. Furthermore, in *Black Spirits and White*, Cram’s narrator and Tom Rendel travelled north, through the Alps, visiting the “courtly cordial castle” at Matzen, near Innsbruck (1895a, 34). Likewise, according to Cram’s autobiography, he and Randall took the “Brenner Pass to Innsbruck with its valley castles—in one of which, Schloss Matzen, there was found the wide and genial hospitality of the *hochwohlgebornen*” (1936, 66; emphasis original).

inextricability of architecture and modern spectrality. When Cram's autobiographical narrator visited his first haunted house, he described the ominous silence of standing in its empty courtyard as being "weird and uncanny in the extreme" (1895a, 14). He could sense that the emptiness concealed something terrible. Hence, as Anthony Vidler rightly noted, "by far the most popular *topos* of nineteenth-century uncanny [literature] was the haunted house" (1992, 17; emphasis original), and Mark Wigley argued that the uncanniness extends to the etymological bind between the words "haunting" and "house" (1993, 163). Thus, the un-canniness of Cram's fictional settings summons the *Black Spirits and White* that dwell upon the Walkerville church.

Drawing on nineteenth-century etymological and philosophical discussions of *das unheimlich*, "the uncanny," Sigmund Freud's famous 1919 essay of the same name concentrates on the strange domesticity of haunting. Even more than its "uncanny" English translation, *unheimlich* is a word that signifies the frightening sensation of the "unhomely," the disturbing sensation that something has disrupted one's sense of house and home. More precisely, *das unheimlich* is not simply the fear of something unknown that infiltrates the house, but the lingering dread that something unresolved has remained within it, something thought to have been dead and gone. Freud further explained the specificity of this dreadful sensation through the antonymic ambivalence of the linguistic pair, *heimlich/unheimlich*, noting that *das unheimlich* is not really the opposite of *das heimlich*, the "homely." Rather, *heimlich* designates something that belongs to the house but is "concealed, kept from sight, so that others do not get to know of or about it" (Freud 1995, 223). The *heimlich* house sustains its

homeliness by keeping something secretly buried therein. In other words, *unheimlich* is the "name for everything that ought to have remained ... secret and hidden but has come to light" (1955, 224; emphasis original). Thus, according to Freud, the "un" of *unheimlich* is not a sign of negation but a "token of repression" (1955, 245), and the aesthetic sensation of *das unheimlich* is the lingering reminder that repression has occurred.

Freud's theory of *das unheimlich* was not, however, limited to the repressive mechanisms of the individual psyche. He articulated the fear in terms of a collective western (un)consciousness, extending the uncanny sensation to those living in an age of modern western science. Freud wrote his essay from the perspective of a rational scientist who declared, in the detached voice of the third person, "It is long since he has experienced or heard of anything which has given him an uncanny impression" (1955, 220). Freud likewise framed his reader in the conditional assumption that "unless a man is utterly hardened and proof against the lure of superstition" (1955, 238), he will remain susceptible to *das unheimlich*. Consequently, just as repressed infantile traumas may haunt Freud's modern individual, that same individual might feel the un-canniness of primitive superstitions that the scientific forefront of western society has surmounted.

Freud continued: "none of us has passed through [animistic primitivism] without preserving certain residues and traces of it which are still capable of manifesting themselves, and that everything which now strikes us as 'uncanny' fulfils the condition of touching those residues of animistic mental activity within us and bringing them to expression" (1955, 240–1). According to Freud, nowhere is that "residue" more active than in the contemplation of death:

Since almost all of us still think as savages do on this topic, it is no matter for surprise that the primitive fear of the dead is still so strong within us and always ready to come to the surface on any provocation.... Considering our unchanged attitude toward death, we might rather enquire what has become of the repression, which is the necessary condition of a primitive feeling reoccurring in the shape of something uncanny. But repression is there, too. All supposedly educated people have ceased to believe officially that the dead can become visible as spirits, and have made any such appearances dependent on improbable and remote conditions. (1955, 242–3)

Ultimately, because necrotic fears are still so strong (even among the rational minds of Freud's western world), ghosts are "perhaps the most striking" example of the uncanny (1955, 241). In fact, Freud noted that some languages can only translate the phrase *ein unheimliches Haus* as "a haunted house" because ghosts are still considered paradigmatic of the un-homeliness lingering in the architecture of one's home.

Derrida was especially interested in Freud's reaction to the un-canniness of ghosts and, by implication, haunted houses. In *Specters of Marx*, Derrida dwelt on Freud's confession: "We might indeed have begun our investigation" of *das unheimlich* with the example of the ghost (1994, 173; see also Freud 1955, 241). Derrida also noted Freud's explanation as to why he did not begin with the haunted [house]: "Two things account for our conservatism: the strength of our original emotional reaction to death and the insufficiency of our scientific knowledge about it" (Freud 1955, 242). Against the "serene tone" of Freud's scientific method (Derrida 1994, 173), deferring the primal fear of ghosts long enough to theorize *das unheimlich* rationally, Derrida wondered if the haunted [house] is really just one example of the uncanny: "what if it were the Thing itself, the cause of the very thing one is seeking and that makes one seek" (Derrida

1994, 173)? What if every Thing begins with the remains of the dead, which then disturb the very foundations of origin?

As Wigley argued in *The Architecture of Deconstruction* (aptly subtitled *Derrida's Haunt*), such a question is implicit to deconstructive thinking. Derrida constantly demonstrated that the act of institution, of origination, is an act of violence. The creation of a domestic space, an appropriate interior for some Thing, is dependent on the expulsion of everything it deems foreign to itself. Crucially, however, “the house's ability to domesticate is its capacity to define inside and outside, but not simply because that which is located inside is domesticated. For Derrida, the ‘outside’ of a house continues to be organized by the logic of the house and so remain inside it.... To be excluded is to be subjected to a certain domestic violence that is both organized and veiled by metaphysics” (1993, 107). The deconstructive trope of the hauntological spectre demonstrates the uncanny logic of the house, where something ostensibly excluded from the metaphysical concept of “interiority” has actually been haunting it all along. On that condition, the haunted [house] is indeed “the most striking” proof of domestic violence, which is to say the violence necessary for domestication. Thus, for deconstruction, everything that claims to be a Thing in “itself” is a house that is haunted to the foundations of its self-definition by the strangeness of some Thing that is “already found within (*das Heimliche-Unheimliche*), more intimate with one than one is oneself” (Derrida 1994, 172; emphasis original). Every Thing is haunted from the start.

Deconstructive readers of Gothic fiction have consequently concerned themselves with the genre's architecture as proof of Derrida's point. Ruth Parkin-

Gounelas argued: "For Gothic fiction, the house has always been 'the Thing itself.' If the genre had any 'beginning,' it was surely a particular house, that 'prototype' constructed in both fact and fantasy by Horace Walpole.... Since then, the genre has remained fixated on anatriopias, the repetition of other forms of this house, as well as its contents: its villains, incestuous relationships, disembodied parts, and above all, the buried secrets of its origins" (1999, 131). Jodey Castricano likewise used the foundational fractures of Edgar Allan Poe's "Fall of the House of Usher" (1839) to remind us that "what haunts Derrida's work is the figure of the (fissured) house, at the heart of which is a crypt, the inhabitant of which is the harbinger of the uncanny" (2001, 75). Julian Wolfreys consequently noted the Gothic-ness of another architectural enthusiast who wrote Gothic literature. In Thomas Hardy's Late Victorian novel, *The Mayor of Casterbridge* (1886),

the architectural features appeal to the details of both Gothic narrative and a Victorian interest in the reinvention of Gothic architecture: they are thus doubled—internally haunted—in their function.... While this part of the essay concentrates on the literary Gothic, it is important to note that Hardy's references to various architectural details, alongside those discussions of stones, architectural history, grave-sites, and so on, are forms of citation and reference. They cite the past within the site of Casterbridge's present, constant textual rem(a)inders returning in the text as untimely traces displacing both the spatial and temporal frames of Casterbridge and the novel. (2002, 169n23)

Once again, the discursive spaces of architecture and literature are haunted by their shared inheritance of the Gothic past, whereby Hardy's Gothic literature cited past architectural sites to make his reader feel the un-canniness of history "itself." Gothic history spectralizes both the textual presence of Casterbridge's civic structures and the narrative conventions that structure the *Casterbridge*

novel. Thus, the uncanny procedure that deconstructs *Black Spirits and White* is to trace the ruined structures of Europe's fractious past as their citations haunt the pages of Cram's Gothic ghost stories, starting with the prefatory epigraph.

EPIGRAPHY

Epigraph is a word, like the Gothic adjective, that inhabits the disciplinary borders of architecture and literature. An epigraph is both an apt text to cite at the opening of a story and an apt text to site at the opening of a monumental storey. In the case of Cram's Gothic literature, we recall from the previous entr'acte that the epigraph came from Shakespeare's *Macbeth*: "Black spirits and white, / Red spirits and gray, / Mingle, mingle, mingle, / Ye that mingle may" (Cram 1895a, front matter). We also recall that Cram was interested in that passage because *Macbeth* turns on a contrast between sickly Scotland and healthy England, where the supernatural spirits—black, white, red, and grey—are demonstrative of the horrible consequences that befall those who infect the medieval body politic with their selfish, pagan despotism. More importantly, when Macbeth took it upon himself to seize power in Scotland, he broke his bond with God. Having murdered Duncan offstage, Macbeth entered to ask himself a disturbing question: "But wherefore could I not pronounce 'Amen'" (*Macbeth*, 2.2.29)? The conspiring Lady Macbeth reassured her husband, "Consider it not so deeply" (*Macbeth*, 2.2.28), but the religious question festered in the body politic of Scotland, leaving Macbeth a haunted tyrant and Lady Macbeth hauntingly mad.

Likewise, the question of religion informed Cram's use of *Hamlet* in his Gothic literature. Hamlet's dear friend, Horatio, was a scholar trained in Wittenberg, a nexus of reformed Protestant reason. Consequently, when the Danish night watchmen explained to Horatio that they saw a ghost, Horatio's rational reply was to dismiss such a notion: "'tis but our fantasy" (*Hamlet*, 1.1.21). In other words, Horatio would not "let belief take hold of him" (*Hamlet*, 1.1.22) until he witnessed the apparition and accepted Hamlet's dictum that "there are more things in heaven and earth, Horatio, / Than are dreamt of in our philosophy" (*Hamlet*, 1.5.168–9). Having witnessed the ghost, Horatio then sought historical precedence for the phenomenon, noting that "A little ere the mightiest Julius fell ... the sheeted dead / Did squeak and gibber in the Roman streets" (*Hamlet*, 1.1.106.7–9). In other words, Horatio interpreted the ghost as an omen: "Something is rotten in the state of Denmark" (*Hamlet*, 1.4.67). Thus, Cram's Gothic literature introduced the characters of "rake-hell" doctors (1895a, 7), who rationally tried to laugh off the ominousness of a haunted house with a Shakespearean paraphrase: "Let's get inside before the hour arrives for the sheeted dead to squeak and gibber in these lonely halls. Light your pipes, your tobacco is a sure protection against 'your whoreson dead bodies'" (1895a, 16). Yet the ghosts of Cram's Gothic literature were real and endemic to modernity's rotten state, where the "healthy movement [of medieval art] was crushed by revolution" (1901, 219), and the ambient light of their pipes would not be enough save them from the supernatural darkness of a world that broke Catholic faith with God. Ultimately, starting with his epigraphic reference to *Macbeth*, Cram's Gothic literature challenged the Anglo-Protestant traditions of the genre.

When Chris Baldick and Robert Mighall (2000) addressed the religiosity of Gothic literature, they insisted on scholastic accountability to the culture(s) that produced the genre. More precisely, Baldick and Mighall insisted that scholars of Anglo-Gothic literature should reacquaint themselves with some of the earliest critics of the genre—from Walter Scott (1811, 1824) to Edith Birkhead (1921) and J. M. S. Tompkins (1932), all of whom emphasized the Protestantism of Gothic literature: “it was well understood that anti-Catholic satire was a major feature of early Gothic fiction and that Protestant readers found these novels welcome as endorsements of what Tompkins calls their complacency in their liberation from priestcraft, vulgar superstition, and popish persecution, at a time when the Spanish Inquisition, although inactive, had still not been formally dissolved” (Baldick and Mighall 2000, 216). It was the modern Protestant (if not secular) fear of archaic Catholicism that Baldick and Mighall claimed as the defining characteristic of Gothic literature, starting with the novels of the Georgian Gothics. Hence, Walter Scott argued that one such Georgian Gothic, Ann Radcliffe, skilfully “selected for her place of action the south of Europe ... where feudal tyranny and Catholic superstition still continue to exercise their sway over the slave and bigot” (Scott 1824, xxiii). Nor was Baldick and Mighall’s argument limited to the Georgian era. They emphasized the Protestantism of Victorian Gothic literature (see also Sage 1988), and they concluded their analysis with a reading of the late Victorian novel *Dracula* (1897). For them, *Dracula* was a celebration of modern Protestant England over the evils of continental Catholicism.

Although I do agree with Baldick and Mighall that religious questions are important for Gothic literature, they pushed their Protestant agenda too far. They seemed to think that the Protestantism of the genre extended unproblematically from the Georgian era to the Victorian. Even if we set aside the possibility of crypto-Catholicism in Georgian England, we cannot ignore the resurgent Catholic cultures from the years immediately prior to the Victorian era. With the Catholic Relief Act of 1829 and the advent of the Oxford movement in 1833, the Church of England was no longer (if ever it was) the Protestant monolith that Baldick and Mighall posited in their essay. As of 1833, the Church of England was internally fractured, and the fractures spread throughout the empire, even into the American Episcopal Church. To be Anglican or Episcopalian during the Victorian era was not a declaration of Protestantism, *per se*. Some, like Cram, were Anglo-Catholics, developing a counter-culture within the very rubrics of the Church of England.

On the one hand, this calls greater attention to Baldick and Mighall's point. Anglo-Protestant readers and writers of Victorian Gothic literature had that much more to fear in an age when Englishmen rioted over the ritual use of candles in an Anglican church (see especially J. Reed 1996).¹²² On the other hand, it raises the question of Anglo-Catholic Gothic literature. Baldick and Mighall argued that the genre should not accommodate "romantic poems, historical romances, thrillers, and horror movies, many of which are not truly

¹²² This Anglo-Protestant fear is evident in Kenelm Digby's reaction to John Henry Newman's Catholic parish at Littlemore. The former detailed an "indescribable horror" creeping over him at the sight of a stone cross at the east end of Newman's parish church (Digby, qtd. in Hill 2007, 165). Likewise, when Cram's Irish-Catholic friend, Louise Imogen Guiney, became postmistress in Auburndale, a Protestant community outside Boston, Massachusetts, the community took their postal business elsewhere (Cram 1936, 15–16).

Gothic" (2000, 216). For them, Gothic literature was really "anti-Gothic" (Baldick, qtd. in Mighall 1999, xix), meaning that the Gothic adjective applied to the antiquated, Catholic villains of the novels, not the protagonists of Protestant modernity. Yet, as I introduced in the "Pre-Face," Cram precisely applied the Gothic adjective (in the pejorative sense) to a Protestant modernity consequential of the three barbaric R's—the Renaissance, Reformation, and (primarily French) Revolution.

Significantly, Cram's attitude toward the three barbaric R's was not univocal. As Shand-Tucci rehearsed, "the Renaissance broke a splendid path through a fast-thickening jungle, but once in the saddle, Machiavelli followed, and [Pope] Alexander IV; the Reformation was a mighty destroyer of evil, but its substitutions were calamitous; the [French] Revolution swept Europe clear of a pestilence that bred death and hell, but, conquering, it engendered a poison that still runs in the veins of society" (2005, 201; see also Cram 1914b, 120). For Cram, there was "a true and a false Renaissance, a true and a false Reformation" (1905, 279). As an heir of the Pre-Raphaelite tradition in England, Cram's true Renaissance was the time of "Dante and Giotto and all that intervenes between them and Pico della Mirandola and Botticelli" (1905, 283). In other words, Cram admired the Early Renaissance and its extension into the Perpendicular Gothic of England, wherein "we find the Gothic root rising into a tree of wonderful beauty, blossoming with quite new flowers, covering its strong and powerful limbs with efflorescence of the South, with the blossoms of that 'Early Renaissance' which was so matchlessly beautiful in Italy, and which was absolutely a logical development from Medievalism" (1907, 176). Yet Cram's

quotation marks around the "Early Renaissance" demonstrate his suspicion of the Renaissance affiliation, especially because of its "bastard offspring, the 'High Renaissance'" (1907, 176). For Cram, the "true Renaissance" was a medieval climax.

Furthermore, Cram's "true Reformation" was a continental response to the fourteenth-century Avignon Captivity and the anti-popes who "paralyzed and rendered impotent [the Church] to stop the flood of paganism that was fast rising into the deluge of the Renaissance [i.e., the 'High Renaissance']" (1905, 7). He continued: "the virus of the pagan Renaissance flowed at last into the veins of religious life, the [institution of] *commende* sapped its vitality on the continent.... England, spared the horror of commendatory abbots, retained a monastic organization singularly and unexpectedly pure, while its episcopate, though suffering grievously, had not fallen so low as was the case across the Channel" (1905, 284–5; emphasis original). Hence, the Protestant destruction of English monasticism was among the rankest offences of the false Reformation because, unlike corrupt, commendatory monasticism on the continent, the English institution was "pure." Thus, Cram would mock the Anglo-Protestant assumption that English monasticism was a "canker in the body politic" (1905, 1), an institution that encouraged "vice" (1905, 276), as evident in the horrors of Anglo-Protestant Gothic literature, Matthew Lewis's *The Monk* (1796) most of all.

This, ultimately, is the point of Cram's postscript to *Black Spirits and White*, wherein he claimed no originality in the material he gathered for his stories. He only wished to succeed in "clothing" them in "some slightly new vesture" (1895a, 151). Just as Cram's architectural polemics inverted the Anglo-Protestant dread

of monastic corruption and vice, his Gothic literature allowed him to become a macabre *Sartor Resartus*, turning the genre's Protestantism inside-out to stitch together a series of Gothic ghost stories befitting an Anglo-Catholic at odds with the modern world. Stefan Dziemianowicz was right, therefore, to note that "Cram was well-read, and there are references throughout the stories to both classical and contemporary literature" (2004, xvi-xvii), starting with Cram's epigraphic reference to *Macbeth*. Yet Dziemianowicz had only begun to follow the threads of those referential lines as they stitched together the Shakespearean correlation of sickness and the supernatural from one story to the next.

NO. 252 RUE M. LE PRINCE

Nowhere is that correlation clearer than in Cram's first ghost story, "No. 252 Rue M. le Prince," where Cram set a Parisian haunted house at the titular address. His first-person narrator, like Cram himself, had left Boston in 1886 to visit Europe. Only Cram's narrator arrived in Paris to visit an old Bostonian friend, Eugene Marie d'Ardeche. Eugene had left Boston a few years before because his Parisian aunt, Mlle. Blaye de Tartas, bequeathed him all her properties. These included a suburban estate at Meudon and the titular Parisian address. Eugene never got along with his aunt during her lifetime, who was, by all accounts, a satanic witch, and her Parisian manse was known locally as the *Bouche d'Enfer*, the "Mouth of Hell." Furthermore, Mlle. de Tartas' partner in the *Bouche d'Enfer* was Sar Torrevieja, the King of Sorcerers. If her decision to name her nephew as her sole heir perplexed Eugene, it infuriated Torrevieja, who cursed the property to be

haunted. Thus, Eugene, who took up residence at the Meudon estate, could not retain a tenant at No. 252 Rue M. le Prince.

By the time Cram's narrator had arrived in Paris, Eugene was debating whether to abandon the Parisian house. Instead, Eugene, Cram's narrator, and two Parisian friends, Duchesne and Fargeau, decided to spend a night at No. 252 Rue M. le Prince, determined to solve its mystery. When they approached the *Bouche d'Enfer*, Cram's narrator described the architecture:

Beyond lay the courtyard, a curious place rendered more curious still by the fitful moonlight and the flashing of four dark lanterns. The place had evidently been once a most noble palace. Opposite rose the oldest portion, a three-story wall of the time of Francis I., with a great wisteria vine covering half. The wings on either side were more modern, seventeenth century, and ugly, while toward the street was nothing but a flat unbroken wall. (1895a, 13–14)

Then they entered:

So far as we could see, the house was apparently perfectly uninteresting inside, all eighteenth century work, the façade of the main building being, with the vestibule, the only portion of the Francis I. work.

"The place was burned during the Terror," said Eugene, "for my great-uncle, from whom Mlle. de Tartas inherited it, was a good and true Royalist; he went to Spain after the Revolution, and did not come back until the accession of Charles X., when he restored the house, and then died, enormously old. This explains why it is all so new." (1895a, 16–17)

According to Cram, the violence of the French Revolution had forged the architecture of the *Bouche d'Enfer*. He imagined what must have been a "noble palace" from the end of the Middle Ages, from the reign of Francis I, and he specifically named the revolutionary "Terror" as being responsible for its destruction, leaving behind its façade as a silent memorial of its grandeur, lost to modernity. Just as Eugene reassured Cram's narrator that he would like the Meudon estate better because it was "all furnished, and nothing in it newer than

the last century" (1895a, 6), the oldest remnants of No. 252 Rue M. le Prince were the only parts that appealed to Cram and his discriminating narrator. Furthermore, even though Eugene's great-uncle was a "good and true Royalist" (like Cram himself), he could not restore the palace to its late medieval glory. He was, according to Cram's pessimism, a product of their inescapably inferior epoch. Thus, the modern residence at No. 252 Rue M. le Prince was, from the moment of its re-birth in the flames of revolutionary terror, a corrupt architecture, a composite form that disturbed Cram with its incongruous mixture of noble medievalism and ugly or uninteresting additions from the modern world.

No matter how "perfectly uninteresting" the great-uncle's restorations may have been, Mlle. de Tartas hid something awful amid the banality. Behind a dense iron door, covered in green baize, an enfilade of three chambers served as a setting for the "Walpurgisnacht" of her black magic (1895a, 11). One was a black-lacquered antechamber, another was a lacquered hemisphere with a brass pentagram for conjurations, and the final was an unholy sanctuary, plated in brass and replete with a porphyry altar and a pedestal of black basalt. Having toured the rooms, Eugene stated, "it is all just about as queer and *fin de siècle* as I can well imagine" (1895a, 21; emphasis original), and Shand-Tucci concluded that Cram's use of the word "queer" was his veiled expression of repressed homosexuality. For Shand-Tucci, *Black Spirits and White* is "full of homoerotic overtones" (1995, 63).

Shand-Tucci developed three interrelated arguments to defend his homoerotic reading of Cram's "queer" usage, starting with Oscar Wilde, the author of a homoerotic Gothic novel, *The Picture of Dorian Gray* (1890). Shand-

Tucci rightly noted that Cram's friends, Herbert Copeland and Fred Holland Day, founded an aesthetic publishing company in the early 1890s, becoming Oscar Wilde's American publishers. Shand-Tucci also noted that the first book published under the aegis of Copeland and Day was Cram's first novel—*The Decadent* (1893c). Day declared that Cram's decadent novel was an attempt to "'do the Oscar'" (Day, qtd. in Shand-Tucci 1995, 366), acknowledging that "it will appear most 'queer' before Christmas" (Day, qtd. in Shand-Tucci 1995, 368). Thus, Shand-Tucci quoted from Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick that "many of [the] uses [of 'decadent'] can be simply explained by its being a euphemism for 'homosexual'" (1995, 359).

Consequently, with Wilde's legal battles in 1895 and the public outcry concerning the moral and criminal contexts of sodomy, Shand-Tucci quoted from a letter Charles Wentworth (Cram's original architectural partner) wrote to Cram, May 1, 1895.¹²³ Wentworth was concerned with the danger of Cram and Bertram Goodhue associating with certain people: "You [meaning Cram and Goodhue] are two innocents and beside you are both queer, and queer things are looked at askance since Oscar's exposé" (1995, 147). Despite Wentworth's preamble that Cram and Goodhue were both "innocents," Shand-Tucci asserted that Wentworth's use of the word "queer" in conjunction with Wilde's "exposé" meant that "Cram and Goodhue's relationship was Wildean, i.e., gay" (1995, 147).¹²⁴ Thus, because Cram wrote *Black Spirits and White* in 1895, he

¹²³ Richard Ellmann noted that there were no less than 900 sermons condemning Oscar Wilde uttered in the United States between 1895 and 1900 (1988, 548).

¹²⁴ Shand-Tucci based his theory of sexual orientation not on genital activity, per se, but a quasi-Freudian correlation of sexuality and creativity: "the most telling evidence [of sexual orientation] is what type of relationship is key in a person's life, for there is the erotic investment the historian seeks

supposedly used his ghost stories to express his homosexuality in light of what was happening to Wilde.

Certainly, whether or not Cram and Goodhue were “innocent” of Wilde’s criminal charges, they were hardly oblivious to the homoeroticism of the yellow nineties. After all, in the opiate-smoke of Cram’s first novel, *The Decadent*, we find “dark figures radiating from the queer brazier,” and,

in the midst, appeared a dark figure with closed eyes, swaying softly as it leaned forward, and, while the curtain closed, fell with a long sweep gently toward the brazier,—not as men fall, but as a snake with its head lifted high might “advance” slidingly, and as it came, droop lower and lower, until it rested prone on the uncrushed flowers. So Enderby, heavy with the suave sleep of haschish, came among the smokers and dropped motionless in the midst of the cushions. The movement set a tall glass quivering until it fell to one side, and the yellow wine sank slowly into the silky fur of a leopard skin. (1893c, 12)

Such an image is, indeed, charged with homoeroticism. However, when Shand-Tucci quoted Sedgwick’s decadent definition, he glossed over her assertion that “Decadence is a notably shifty idea” (Sedgwick 1985, 90). Nor did he mention her deconstruction of queerness as the “open mesh of possibilities, gaps, overlaps, dissonances, resonances, lapses, and excesses of meaning when the constituent elements of anyone’s gender, of anyone’s sexuality aren’t made (or *can’t* be made) to signify monolithically” (Sedgwick 1993, 8; emphasis original). The instability of the word “queer” is the estrangement of oneself from the supposed stability of identity. As Max Fincher noted in his introduction to *Queering Gothic in the Romantic Age*, “the plurality of queerness ... is also

to locate” (1995, 159; emphasis original). Hence, Shand-Tucci argued that Bertram Goodhue was “key” to Cram’s life. Yet Shand-Tucci’s biographical project undercut his theory of sexual orientation. Even though Cram’s marriage to Elizabeth Carrington Read was problematic from the start, in 1900, his wife “polished” Cram’s Romanticism far better than Goodhue (Shand-Tucci 2005, 10). Thus, by Shand-Tucci’s definition, the modern Gothic style that Cram developed in the dissolution of his partnership with Goodhue made Cram’s relationship with his wife “key.”

sometimes used as a catch-all term for the idea of polymorphous perverse sex, or sexual acts, practices, and desires that include straight sex but which are perceived to be beyond 'the norm'" (2007, 12–13). In those terms, whatever his reasons, when Wentworth wrote to Cram that "queer things are looked at askance since Oscar's exposé," the strangeness and plurality of queerness are what matter to Cram's Gothic literature. Not everything "queer" was euphemistically homosexual.

Second, Shand-Tucci specifically argued that the architectural queerness of the *Bouche d'Enfer* in "No. 252 Rue M. le Prince" was demonstrative of Cram's homosexuality. Despite the fact that Cram set his stories in Europe, Shand-Tucci claimed that *Black Spirits and White* was "profoundly New England" (1995, 121), and Shand-Tucci's New England profundity was its gay modernity. Hence, he argued that Cram based the architecture of No. 252 Rue M. le Prince on the residence at 74 ½ Pinckney Street, Boston—the Hidden House of Beacon Hill. Cram lived on Pinckney Street during the 1890s, when writing *Black Spirits and White*, and the Hidden House hid on that street because later construction on either side of its courtyard encroached upon the property throughout the years. This created a long tunnel from the street to the diminished courtyard within—much like the fictional residence at No. 252 Rue M. le Prince. Although, as any *flâneur* on the streets of old Paris can attest, there are (and certainly were) plenty of Parisian houses that could have inspired Cram's story. Shand-Tucci wanted it to be the Hidden House of Beacon Hill because he could then suggest that the tunnel to the Hidden House was rectal and thus an example of gay architecture. Shand-Tucci would later comment on the neighbouring house of

"Ned" Warren, whose "back door" opened onto Pinckney Street, concluding that "it says something about New England that back doors are always more significant than front doors" (1995, 219). Yet the tunnel at 74 ½ Pinckney Street is not a back entrance to the property; nor was the tunnel to the *Bouche d'Enfer*.

Finally, Shand-Tucci argued that Cram's use of the word "queer" in "No. 252 Rue M. le Prince" was in reference to "Queer Street" in Robert Louis Stevenson's Gothic novel, *The Strange Case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde* (1886, 10). Cram's friend, Alice Brown, once wrote that Stevenson was a "boy who had no mind to play with girls" (Brown, qtd. in Shand-Tucci 1995, 361). Consequently, Shand-Tucci, echoing Elaine Showalter's conclusion that Stevenson's Gothic novel was a "fable of *fin-de-siècle* homosexual panic" (Showalter, qtd. in Shand-Tucci 1995, 361; emphasis original), insisted that Cram's use of the word "queer" was a Stevensonian euphemism for homosexuality. Yet Cram's narrator specifically mentioned the story from which he took his "queer" signifier—Edward Bulwer-Lytton's *The Haunted and the Haunters* (1859).¹²⁵ The first-person narrator of Bulwer-Lytton's story asked his servant if the latter had "not seen nor heard anything remarkable" at the story's haunted house (1859/1911, 15). To this, the

¹²⁵ Stefan Dziemianowicz rightly noted that Cram wrote "No. 252 Rue M. le Prince" to "match Bulwer-Lytton's tale on its own terms" (2004, xviii). For instance, in Bulwer-Lytton's story, the narrator first learned of the haunted house from a friend who was a "man of letters and a philosopher" (1859/1911, 1). In other words, Bulwer-Lytton constantly made an effort to give his characters credibility so that they would not appear to his Anglo-Protestant readers as "superstitious dreamers" (1859/1911, 2). These were rational men who approached the haunted house as a site of "phenomena" in need of investigation (1859/1911, 7). Thus, the narrator treated his visit as an "experiment" (1859/1911, 12), testing the validity of his theory that "what is called supernatural is only a something in the laws of nature of which we have been hitherto ignorant" (1859/1911, 36). Ultimately, his theory was proven correct, as the apparitions of the house were really the work of a "dazzling charlatan" who developed a superior form of mesmerism to control people and objects from a remote distance (1859/1911, 81). Conversely, Eugene d'Ardeche, friend of Cram's first-person narrator, was a dabbler in the occult who believed in the supernatural. Likewise, Sar Torrevieja was no charlatan, and his curse was not of natural origins. Thus, Cram's narrator, who had a "strong predisposition to believe some things that [he] could not explain," did not rely upon his reason to survive a night in the *Bouche d'Enfer*.

servant replied, "Well, sir, I must owe that I have heard something queer" (1859/1911, 15), the queerness of which was literally the strangeness of the situation without the "homoerotic overtones" Shand-Tucci read into Cram's story. Thus, when Cram called the *Bouche d'Enfer* "queer" he was not reducing the uncanny condition of the architecture to a homosexual euphemism—a point made all the clearer with the "queer and *fin-de-siècle*" enfilade of Mlle. de Tartas.

The hemispherical room in the middle of the enfilade was the most arresting space, even to Shand-Tucci:

The room was circular, thirty feet or so in diameter, covered by a hemispherical dome; walls and ceiling were dark blue, spotted with gold stars; and reaching from floor to floor across the dome stretched a colossal figure in red lacquer of a nude woman kneeling, her legs reaching out along the floor on either side, her head touching the lintel of the door through which we had entered, her arms forming its sides, with the fore arms extended and stretching along the walls until they met the long feet. The most astounding, misshapen, absolutely terrifying thing, I think, I ever saw. From the navel hung a great white object, like the traditional roc's egg of the Arabian Nights. (1895a, 19)

Yet the implicit detail of the room, left unmentioned by the narrator, was the placement of the other door, leading farther into the chambers of black magic. If the lacquered woman's head rested on the door by which they entered, and if her misshapen arms bent from either side of that door so that her forearms wrapped around the room to meet her elongated feet, then the other door stood between her legs from where she knelt. In other words, the architecture of the *Bouche d'Enfer* was vaginal, not rectal—hence the ovarian image of the white object suspended umbilically from the lacquered woman's navel.

So grotesque was this representation of womanhood that Cram's narrator and his friends declined to spend the night in the enfilade. Instead, they each

retired to entirely “commonplace” rooms down the hall (1895a, 22). To no avail, however, a “hellish succubus” attacked the narrator during the night, and his choice of the word “succubus” is telling because Cram knew how to distinguish it from an incubus, its counterpart. An incubus is a demon in male form that crushes the chest of its victim with nightmarish oppression. Thus, when Cram lamented the modern market of land speculation, he called it an “incubus” (1901, 70), implying that it crushed the real value of property with a perverse sense of the squatter’s right. Furthermore, when one of Cram’s *Decadent* characters cursed the modern system of industrial and commercial economics, he called it a gigantic “incubus” (1893c, 18), as if crushing the last breath from a dying world.

Conversely, that same *Decadent* character dreaded the prospect of state socialism, calling it the “most awful and omnipotent succubus that ever waxed fat on the blood of a dying nation” (1893c, 18). For Cram, the succubus, a sexual demon in female form, took on the vampirism of a lamia, growing fat on what it drained. Cram’s succubus was a perverse pregnancy. Thus, in *Black Spirits and White*, the succubus confronted Cram’s narrator with its “wet, icy mouth ... shapeless and jelly-like” (1895a, 26). The succubus then enfolded his mouth with her vaginal orifice, draining away his life. Finally, “as enormous and shuddering folds of palpitating jelly swept sinuously around [the narrator]” (1895a, 26–7), his friends burst into the room to save him, finding that the “floor and walls to the height of about six feet were running with something that seemed like stagnant water, thick, glutinous, sickening. As for [Cram’s narrator], [he] was drenched with the same cursed liquid. The odor of musk was nauseating” (1895a, 29).

Hence, the satanic womb that he abandoned in the "scarlet aunt's unholy of unholies" pursued him to the bedroom, where he nearly died in terror of live emersion in demonic amnion (1895a, 18).

In Cram's description of the *Bouche d'Enfer*, David Blair suggested that a "Gothic of the female body seems to be pathologically embedded in a way that goes beyond the traditional misogyny and the traditional repertoire of Gothic anxieties" (2002, xxv). Indeed, Cram's misogyny was time-specific. He openly dismissed "woman suffrage" as one of many, modern political gestures that were futile in attaining true democracy (1917b, 24). At best, he would applaud the "suffragettes" in their attempt to destroy modern political conventions, but only insofar as they ushered in the destruction of the modern world (1914b, 120). The moment "suffragettes" tried to "rebuild" society in the guise of their own political agenda, "then we must arise to do them battle" (1914b, 120). It was not that Cram thought women were intrinsically inferior to men, only that modern women, "suffragettes" included, were incapable of laying claim to a healthy society, as he saw it. Consequently, he argued that

the Middle Ages are as full of lovable and admirable women as the Renaissance [and the modern world, thereafter] is of sinister and regrettable representatives of the same sex ... and a study of the Middle Ages reveals a certain feminine dominance that is startling to the male of to-day.... Of course, it was all a part of the very real supremacy of Christianity over all domains of activity, all phases of life and thought. As soon as its power began to lapse and old pagan theories came in with the Renaissance, while Our Lady and the saints were dethroned by the Reformation, the wholesome balance was overthrown and women slowly fell back to that earlier position where the only defence against male oppression was the power of sex.¹²⁶ (1915c, 192-3)

¹²⁶ Cram reiterated the difference in terms of universal suffrage: "The problem to-day is not how women are to get the ballot but how they are to regain their old medieval equality (or supremacy if you like) without it" (1915c, 194).

The haunting at No. 252 Rue M. le Prince was the terrifying extremity of that female sexual power, perverted with satanic witchcraft.

Barbara Creed described that Gothic trope as the “monstrous-feminine” (1993), drawing upon Julia Kristeva’s study of the *Powers of Horror* (1982). For Kristeva, the first and foremost site of identity formation is a child’s attempt to establish a subject position distinct from the maternal body. Hence, the maternal body becomes a site of abjection, whereby the subject is terrified of “being swamped” again, *in utero*, and thus “risking the loss not of a part (castration) but of the totality of his living being” (1982, 64). Maintaining one’s subject position is to “ward off the subject’s fear of his very own identity sinking irretrievably into the mother” (1982, 64).

Consequently, Castricano extended the Kristevan horror into Derrida’s deconstruction of aesthetics: “To speak of the disgusting is to draw attention to what makes aesthetics possible” (2001, 90). For instance, Derrida admired the aesthetic philosophy of Friedrich Nietzsche because “Nietzsche constantly draws our attention to the value of learning to vomit, forming in this way one’s taste, distaste, and disgust ... that the word ‘Ekel’ (disgust, nausea, wanting to vomit) comes back again and again to set the stage for [aesthetic] evaluation ... it is disgust that controls everything” (1985, 23; emphasis original). In those terms, Cram formed his sense of medieval aesthetics through his disgust in a modern world that corrupted it. The three barbaric R’s gave birth to Cram’s dreaded modern world, including sexually aggressive women who were no longer “lovable” or under the “supremacy” of the Catholic Church, women who would swamp him with the “nauseating” aroma of their “jelly.” This extremity of female

sexuality terrified Cram, who longed for the medieval propriety of heterosexual relations. Hence, Nicholas Royle noted that the uncanny is a “crisis of the proper” (2003, 1), pursuing Sedgwick’s queer definition to argue (2009) that the polymorphous uncertainty of sexuality is irrevocably uncanny, too.

Ultimately, Cram’s narrator survived his uncanny encounter with the monstrous-feminine because his friends crashed into the room and rushed him to the hospital. Specifically, they rushed him to the Hôtel Dieu. Earlier in the story, Eugene explained that any tenant who dared spend the night in the *Bouche d’Enfer* succumbed to terror “so bad they have to go to the hospital afterward. I have one ex-tenant in the Bicêtre now” (1895a, 7). The Bicêtre was a Parisian asylum for the insane, famous for housing the Marquis de Sade. Furthermore, we learn that the two friends, Duchesne and Fargeau, were “doctors in the Clinical Hospital beyond [the Rue M. le Prince], up by the Parc Mont Souris” (1895a, 7). Yet, as with the doctors from Shakespeare’s *Macbeth*, once the “hellish succubus” attacked Cram’s narrator, his friends were medically useless. In fact, knowing that they worked at the clinical hospital near the Parc Mont Souris, why did they rush the ailing narrator to the Hôtel Dieu on the Île de Cité? Granted, the Île de Cité is slightly closer to the Rue M. le Prince than the Parc Mont Souris. Nevertheless, Cram detailed his narrator’s recovery in the Catholic-royalist context of the Hôtel Dieu, rather than the “clinical” nature of his friends’ hospital.

When the narrator awoke from the supernatural trauma, he noted a bouquet of “yellow *fleurs-de-lis*” that stood for the royalty of pre-revolutionary France, and he saw a “tall sister of mercy” whose Catholicity kept vigil over his recovery (1895a, 28; emphasis original). She, a Catholic nun, was the curative

against the monstrous femininity of the “hellish succubus,” and the narrator had to ask for Duchesne and Fargeau. Only “by and by” would the former arrive to see him (1895a, 28), proving that, to the end, the “clinical” doctors would remain medically ineffectual. Cram’s narrator survived the haunted house (and, perhaps, a permanent residency in the Bicêtre) because they sent him to the medieval hospital of Paris, the Hôtel Dieu, and the propriety of its pre-revolutionary, Catholic care.

Having recovered from his encounter, the narrator also discovered that the *Bouche d’Enfer* had burned down during the night of his attack, “and within only the façade of Francis I remained, draped still with the black stems of the wisteria. Beyond lay a great vacancy, where thin smoke was rising slowly. Every floor was gone, and the strange halls of Mlle. Blaye de Tartas were only a memory” (1895a, 30). The spectrality of No. 252 Rue M. le Prince ended with the destruction of the post-revolutionary additions; only the medieval façade and the wisteria stem survived.

For someone like Cram, who believed that history was not a linear evolution but a series of 500-year cycles of barbaric and civilizing waves (see Cram 1893c, 1907, 1918, and 1922b), the detail of the surviving wisteria vine is especially telling. When his narrator settled in for the night of his attack, he noted that “great masses of rank wisteria leaves, with here and there a second blossoming of purple flowers, hung dead over the window in the sluggish air” (1895a, 22). Just as the noble, medieval palace burned in the fires of the French Revolution, destroying the first metaphorical blossoms of the wisteria vine, so too did the fire at the end of the story burn down the “rank wisteria leaves” that

"hung dead" in the "second blossoming" of a vine and a house that were corrupted blooms of decadent modernity. Thus, rather than allowing the wisteria to blossom over yet another modern corruption to the medieval façade, the entire structure was levelled to erect a "new and ordinary building, fresh and respectable" (1895a, 30), but completely uninteresting to Cram and his narrator.

IN KROPFSBERG KEEP

"No. 252 Rue M. le Prince" was a tale of two structures, one the hospitable survival of medievalism, the other an uncanny reminder of all that was lost in the revolutions of modernity. "In Kropfsberg Keep," Cram's second story, is a similar tale of two castles. Cram's narrator and his travelling companion, Tom Rendel, toured the castles of Austria in the summer of 1888. In retrospect, the narrator began the story with a declaration that he was not so impressed with the "gorgeous and princely Ambras, nor the noble Tratzberg, with its crowded treasures of solemn and splendid medievalism" (1895a, 33). Instead, what impressed him was "little Matzen, where eager hospitality forms the new life of a never-dead chivalry" (1895a, 33).

Chivalry is essential to the story because it was intrinsic to the health of Cram's Catholic Middle Ages: "As economic feudalism had its flowering in the guild system, so social feudalism grew through the Crusades into the institution of chivalry which, until it degenerated into the licentious pageantry of the Renaissance, was a vital force in society no substitute for which has as yet been found" (1917d, 38). The little castle of Matzen, therefore, was not a storehouse of medieval artefacts. It was a living continuum of Cram's preferred medieval way

of life, replete with "stories, and legends, and fairy tales, while the stiff old portraits changed countenance constantly under the flickering firelight, and the sound of the drifting Inn came softly across the meadows far below" (1895a, 34–5). In short, little Matzen was a "fair oasis in the desert of [modern] travel and tourists and hotels" (1895a, 35). Against the drifting sounds of the local inn, Matzen was a reservoir of chivalrous hospitality as rare as it was refreshing to one accustomed to the perfunctory conveniences of a tourist hotel.

Chris Brooks has already highlighted the question of chivalry and the Gothic novel. He called attention to Edmund Burke's *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (1790), which represented modern France as unnatural because it broke ties with a "moral regime with roots deep in the Middle Ages: the aristocratic code of chivalry" (Brooks 1999, 131). The Gothic novel was, for Brooks, an exploration of the "fears and dark fantasies" generated in a world where chivalry was presumed to be dead (1999, 151). Conversely, the Romantic genre of the historical novel (made popular by Walter Scott) used medieval chivalry to secure the reader against such a sinister world. There was "plenty of Gothic creepiness" in Scott's novels (1999, 151), but the chivalrous characters held it in check or, at least, provided retribution in the end.

Not coincidentally, when Cram celebrated the elder Pugin's discovery of England's national architecture (the Perpendicular) he noted that the elder Pugin's discovery was "synchronous with Sir Walter Scott's revelation of the old-time glory of British character and British history" (1907, 129). For Cram, the elder Pugin was a French royalist who escaped the unnatural devastation of the French Revolution, coming to England to recognize the Anglo-medieval glory of

the Perpendicular style, “flaunting all the glittering pageantry of chivalry” (1917d, 174). The elder Pugin gave that style “new life” through his illustrated texts in the same way that Walter Scott gave the chivalry of Anglo-medieval romance “new life” through his historical novels. Consequently, when Cram wrote of the “courtly, cordial castle” of Matzen, he did so in terms of the same “new life,” whereby chivalry proved impossible to kill.

From the security of cordial Matzen, Cram’s narrator and Tom Rendel heard the story of another Austrian castle—the titular Kropfsberg Keep. They had already visited the ruins of Kropfsberg Keep, savouring how it was “eloquent of mystery and tragedy” (1895a, 34), and their gracious hosts at Matzen obliged them with the story of its degeneration. Fräulein E—, the “gold-haired niece” of Matzen’s matriarch (1895a, 35), explained that Kropfsberg Keep was once a medieval castle, ancestral home of the first and noble Count of Kropfsberg. So it remained, until the accession of his great-great-grandson, Count Albert. Albert was as wicked and licentious as he was young and handsome, deciding one night to host a coterie of fellow debauchees,

gathering them all together, men and women who had known only love and pleasure, for a glorious and awful riot of luxury, and then, when they were all dancing in the great ballroom, locking the doors and burning the whole castle about them, the while he sat in the great keep listening to their screams of agonized fear, watching the fire sweep from wing to wing until the whole mighty mass was one enormous and awful pyre, and then, clothing himself in his great-great-grandfather’s armour, hanging himself in the midst of the ruins of what had been a proud and noble castle. So ended a great family, a great house. (1895a, 44–5)

With the conflagration, the first floors of Kropfsberg Keep fell into the family crypt, literally collapsing into its ancestral past. Yet the third floor of the castle, where Count Albert hanged himself, would not fall; neither would Albert’s corpse. His

body lingered in its “strange casing of medieval steel” for the length of twelve years until, suddenly, his corpse and the armour disappeared, leaving only the empty gaff in the ceiling (1895a, 44).

Altogether, forty years had passed since the last debauchery of Count Albert, when a pair of young painters, Rupert and Otto, came from Munich. Significantly, Rupert and Otto were students of the Fräulein E—'s grandfather, and she remembered them from her childhood. If the Fräulein E— (she of the still golden hair in 1888) was a child when Rupert and Otto arrived, and if the last debauch of Count Albert occurred only forty years before their arrival, then Count Albert lived his wicked life during the early nineteenth century, what Cram considered to be among the darkest of Dark Ages. In other words, in the aftermath of revolution, Count Albert was a monster of modernity, the same modern world that Cram lamented for the degeneration of medieval chivalry into the licentious pageantry of the Renaissance. In a world where the chivalry of Matzen was as rare as a desert oasis, Albert had been severed from the social institutions that raised his forebears rightly. He may have worn the armour of his once-proud and noble family, but without a chivalric code to live by, he made a hollow mockery of what it represented. His evil flourished instead, playing host with mock chivalry to those he burned with the house of his ancestors. Thus, as with “No. 252 Rue M. le Prince,” the un-canniness of this story is the incongruous mixture of medievalism and modernity.

Nor were Rupert and Otto much better than the count. They fancied themselves ghost hunters, pistols in hand, searching for proof to dispel the superstitions of the locals who still believed in ghosts. They made use of the local

inn at Brixleg as their headquarters, and they pumped the innkeeper, Peter Rosskopf, for information on the local haunts. When Peter told them the tale of Kropfsberg Keep, they chose the ruined castle as their first hunting ground; and, despite Peter's warning not to go, they "abused the poor old man shamefully" (1895a, 38), mocking his credulity and forcing him to help them in their enterprise. No chivalric heroes would they be, spending the night in the room where Count Albert hanged himself.

During the night, they fell asleep, disappointed not to have seen (and, presumably, disproved) the "ghost." Yet, at the strike of two, Rupert awoke to find an armoured presence in the room, gesturing for Rupert to follow. Rupert and the armour entered a secret tunnel that led to a spectral ballroom where danced the dead of lustful men and women, the "score of gay, reckless, wicked guests whom Count Albert had gathered in Kropfsberg for a last debauch" (1895a, 44). More importantly, having witnessed the gruesome corpses of the dancing dead, Rupert described the scene as a "mad, evil, seductive dance that bewitched even while it disgusted" (1895a, 48). Shand-Tucci consequently argued that the bewitchingly disgusting "gay" dance of Kropfsberg Keep was Cram's guilt-ridden expression of homosexual desire for T. Henry Randall. Even though Bertram Goodhue was, according to Shand-Tucci, the great love of Cram's life, Cram allegedly discovered the "stable personality type" of his homosexuality in Europe with T. Henry Randall (1995, 259). Thus, as Shand-Tucci would have it, Rupert and Otto were projections of Cram's narrator and Tom Rendel, safely ensconced in the chivalrous Matzen, who were, in turn, projections of Cram and T. Henry Randall.

Yet, as with “No. 252 Rue M. le Prince,” Cram’s use of the word “gay” in his second story is closer to his source material than the emerging western discourse on sexual orientation. As Dziemianowicz rightly noted, “an anonymously written group of macabre vignettes [were] published under the title ‘Rather Ghostly’ in the August 1858 issue of *Harper’s New Monthly Magazine* ... and they included one account so similar in plot that it could have been a draft version of Cram’s story [‘In Kropfsberg Keep’]” (2004, xix). Not only did the “Rather Ghostly” vignette include a pair of pistol-wielding ghost hunters in a castle, one of them follows a ghost through an opening in the wall to a spectral ballroom. There, the anonymous author described a “gay festive scene” made gruesome with the skeletons of “gaily-dressed ladies and their richly-uniformed chevaliers” (Anonymous 1858, 368). Thus, as with the “Rather Ghostly” vignette, Cram’s depiction of Count Albert’s last debauch was an orgiastic scene of “reckless” gaiety among men *and* women.

Consequently, when the armoured presence, “man, or ghost, or devil,” demanded that Rupert should dance, Rupert was not so bewitched as to join the macabre orgy. Furthermore, when the armoured moved to strike Rupert with a two-handed sword, Rupert shot his pistol full in the armour’s “face.” Rupert then awoke at the gunshot, finding himself back in the third storey of the keep, where Otto lay dead on the mattress, a bullet in his neck. Rupert and Otto had thus become the final victims of Kropfsberg Keep, Otto dead and Rupert devastated with the guilt of murdering his friend. Even though Rupert escaped the lustful dance, he and Otto were punished for their rude and abusive mockery of those, like Cram, who still believed in ghosts. So the keep remained, undisturbed, until it

was “finally burned out only a few years ago by some wicked boys who came over from Jenbach to have a good time” (1895a, 38)—a fitting end for a house without honour.

Now, even though I emphasize the extremity of female sexual horror in “No. 252 Rue M. le Prince” and the orgiastic lustfulness of both men and women in “In Kropfsberg Keep,” I am not suggesting that Cram was “truly” heterosexual either. When Rupert refused to join the orgiastic dance, he reacted violently to the threat of a massive sword stabbing him. In an era when Cram’s friend, Richard Hovey, wrote about the “swift orgasm of the knife” (1896, 41), Rupert’s dread of the sword was homophobic, and his reaction, ironically, was to unload his phallic pistol in the face of that threat, killing his boon companion instead. My point, therefore, is to stress that Cram’s fear of female sexual aggression in the *Bouche d’Enfer* only demonstrated his belief that medieval relations between the sexes were wholesome and modern ones were “out of balance” when fallen into the un-Catholic world of satanic paganism. So too did Cram believe that medieval relations between men were wholesome and modern ones had the potential to fall into debauchery.

When Cram converted to Anglo-Catholicism, Arthur Hall was his spiritual advisor, a modern monk and fellow of the American branch of the Cowley Fathers. Hall had written a book on *Christian Friendship* (1886), and Shand-Tucci rightly used that book to “eavesdrop on Hall’s instruction and counsel to Cram” (1995, 188). Hall’s theory of *Christian Friendship* compared friendship in the pagan world of ancient Greece and Rome to that of Christianity: “Truly, Friendship does not occupy in Christianity the exclusive position it possessed in

the ancient world [because it] is no longer the only relation of love.... In the [ancient] world, Friendship had to take the place which marriage and family life fill with us.... Friendship in Christianity is no longer all in all; it is but one ray of the moral sun" (1886, 88). Even though Hall would disparage neither the sacrament of marriage nor the institution of the Christian family, his text sought to redeem the ancient Greek love of same-sex friendship through a neo-platonic reading of chaste friendship between Christ and St. John the Evangelist.

St. John's contribution to the New Testament was, according to Hall, "pre-eminently the Gospel of Friendship" because of John's "peculiar intimacy with Our Lord" (1886, 4). Thus, true Christian friendships, on the model of Christ and John, were "marriages of the soul" (1886, 11). Father Hall consequently passed admonishment on the "danger of excessive *friendship*, especially between two persons of the same sex ... [because] the friends were trying to be husband and wife to one another, and they were not sufficiently different; the very sameness of their sex prevented their being to one another that which they were trying to be" (1886, 11; emphasis original). For Hall, it was one thing to marry the chasteness of one's soul to another's of the same sex; it was another to be "entirely wrapped up one in another" (1886, 11), and Cram's third ghost story, "The White Villa," expressed the horrifying consequences of the latter.

THE WHITE VILLA

In May of 1888, Cram's narrator and Tom Rendel were touring the ancient Greek ruins at Paestum, Italy. They arrived in the neighbouring village of Pesto via the 8:10 train, and they planned their return to Naples via the 2:46 because they

promised to dine with the Turners. More precisely, they promised to do so because Tom was "so obviously in Miss Turner's good graces ... which made a difference" (1895a, 55). Nevertheless, Tom and the narrator had come to Pæstum because they wanted to be alone, finding, to their dismay, that the ruins were crowded with tourists. They consequently lingered in a meadow to enjoy the temples from a distance, waiting for the tourists to pass. Yet, so charmed were they with the scenery, they neglected their promise to the Turners. Quoth Rendel, then the narrator, then Rendel again:

"I say, old man, shall we let the 2.46 go to thunder?"
I chuckled to myself. "But the Turners?"
"They be blowed, we can tell them we missed the train." (1895a, 58–9)

As we saw with little Matzen and Kropfsberg Keep, the chivalry of proper social etiquette was, for Cram, the mark of a wholesome civilization, and haunting consequences befell those who broke ties with chivalry. Thus, when Cram's narrator and Tom Rendel let the 2:46 train depart without them, they assumed they could catch the 6:11. The timetable had changed, however, and they missed the last train out of the village.

Because Pæstum was located in the "very center of Campanian brigandage" (1895a, 56), and because the lone hotel of Pesto was populated with "swarthy knaves, looking like banditti out of a job" (1895a, 59), Rendel and the narrator were permitted to spend the night at the titular White Villa. The narrator had described the villa thusly:

a great square structure, half villa, half fortress, with round turrets on its four corners, and a ten-foot wall surrounding it. There were no windows on the first story, so far as [they] could see, and it had evidently been at one time the fortified villa of some Campanian noble. Now, however, whether because brigandage had been stamped out, or because the villa was empty and deserted, it was no longer

formidable; the gates of the great wall hung sagging on their hinges, brambles growing all over them, and many of the windows in the upper storey were broken and black. (1895a, 60)

Clearly, brigandage had not been “stamped out,” and the villa was not empty, so they locked the door to their room. Nevertheless, that night Cram's narrator heard someone enter. An invisible presence opened the door, followed by another, and the narrator found himself caught in a spectral quarrel. The battle ended in a “long, gurgling moan close over [the narrator's] head, and then, crushing down upon [him], the weight of a collapsing body; there was long hair over [his] face, and in [his] staring eyes; and ... life went out, and [he] fell unfathomable miles into nothingness” (1895a, 73).

The next morning he awoke on the floor, suffering from a temporary paralysis, and only later did he discover that the duke who originally owned the villa had murdered his beautiful wife, *La Luna di Pesto*, for adultery. Every year, in the month of her murder, when the moon is full, she returns to re-enact her death, nearly crushing Cram's narrator to death in the final moments of her re-enactment. Shand-Tucci consequently wondered: “Could Cram have identified himself any more explicitly or any more intimately with sexual transgression? The punishment is all but visited on Cram himself as he is crushed under the weight of the transgressor's collapsing body” (1995, 197).¹²⁷ Indeed, of all stories from *Black Spirits and White*, “The White Villa” is the only one in which Shand-Tucci's

¹²⁷ Bertram Goodhue's commentary on Cram's book is telling on that account. Goodhue noted several similarities between Cram's “White Villa” in *Black Spirits and White* and William Sharp's “Graven Image” in *The Gypsy Christ and Other Tales*, both published by Stone & Kimball in the same year (1895). Goodhue stated that “both authors have evidently worked from the same original” (1896, 466). Yet, when Sharp's narrator witnessed the spectral re-enactment of domestic violence, he fell unconscious, having dashed across the room to save the woman and smashed his head “against a corner of the oaken bookcase” (1895, 231). In other words, Sharp's narrator only suffered indirectly from the event.

“homoerotic overtones” are noteworthy, starting with the narrator’s choice to be alone with Rendel at the ancient Greek ruins of Pæstum.

In an era when Oscar Wilde framed his relationship with Lord Alfred Douglas in terms of “Greek love”—“I know Hyacinthus, whom Apollo loved so madly, was you in Greek days” (Wilde, qtd. in McKinna 2005, 207)—the same-sex sexuality of ancient Greece and its pre-Christian Platonism were well understood.¹²⁸ After all, Father Hall’s discourse on *Christian Friendship* was precisely an attempt to chasten the same-sex sexuality of ancient Greek friendship. Thus, when Rendel and the narrator revelled in the beauty of the ancient Greek ruins, they ran the risk of becoming the excessive friends that Father Hall admonished, dallying together in the meadow and breaking their promise to the Turners and their affectionate daughter. Consequently, when the crowd of tourists finally left the ruins, neither Cram’s narrator nor Rendel was in the “mood” to sketch the architecture, choosing instead to “explore the single street of the squalid town of Pesto that was within the walls of dead Poseidonia” (1895a, 59). Unlike the vaginal architecture at No. 252 Rue M. le Prince, the single “dirty” street available to their exploration was the rectal dead-end of the same culture that built Poseidonia (1895a, 59), and their exploration caused them to miss the last train to safety and nearly cost Cram’s narrator his life.

I consequently agree with Shand-Tucci’s homoerotic reading of “The White Villa,” but I disagree with the assumption that Cram’s terror was the

¹²⁸ McKinna further noted that Wilde helped John Pentland Mahaffy compile a book on *Social Life in Greece* (1874), which included a reference to “that strange and to us revolting perversion, which ... centered upon beautiful boys all the romantic affections which we naturally feel between opposite sexes, and opposite sexes alone” (Mahaffy, qtd. in McKinna 2005, 6).

discovery of his “stable personality type.” Just as Rupert, in the previous story, found the lustful dance of Count Albert’s orgy to be both bewitching and disgusting, and just as the narrator in the first story found the “hellish succubus” of modern femininity to be both beautiful and nauseating, so too did he find the homoeroticism of Greek love to be both beautiful and dirty. The polymorphous perversity of sexuality horrified Cram, making the modern world such a queer place.

This is why he dreamt of *Walled Towns*, where, “in addition to the groups of either men or women, living in a community life apart, and vowed to poverty, celibacy, and obedience, there will be groups of natural families, father, mother, and children, entering into a communal ... life ... in the midst of the world but not of it” (1919d, 36).¹²⁹ These communities were to be homo- and hetero-social loci of “real” identity (1919d, 36)—little sanctuaries “in the midst” of the modern world “but not of it.” It was the celibacy of the homo-social monastery and the natural procreativity of the hetero-social commune that constituted Cram’s perception of a “wholesome” society (1919d, 36). Cram’s sexuality, therefore, was not the construct of an emerging twentieth-century discourse on sexual orientation (homo- vs. heterosexual), and certainly not of Shand-Tucci’s Kinsey Scale that was, “like the laws of physics, as operative before discovery as after” (2005, 7). Instead, Cram constructed his sexuality through the nineteenth-century Christological discourse of love and lust, as identified by Jonathan Ned Katz

¹²⁹ This is also why Cram lamented the modern condition of walled towns from the Middle Ages: “Carcassonne, Rothenbourg, San Gimignano, Oxford, ghosts of the past, arouse hauntings of memory today” (1919d, 6). Once again, Cram found himself caught between the walled towns of the medieval past and the walled towns of a desired future-present.

(2001). For Cram, sexuality was not a question homo- or heterosexuality; it was a question of men who did or did not chastely love other men, and men who did or did not love women through the procreative Christian institution of monogamous marriage. After all, the punishment of "The White Villa" was as real for the hetero-adulterous duchess of the villa as it was for Cram's narrator.

The duke had murdered his wife, *La Luna di Pesto*, because she had fallen in love with the young captain of the local banditti. One night, the bandits ambushed the duke and his guards, and when the bandit captain lay mortally wounded, the duke discovered that the captain possessed his sword. *La Luna di Pesto* had given the duke's sword to her lover, and this set the duke into a rage, he who rushed home and killed his wife. According to local legend, the duke then buried *La Luna di Pesto* "in the garden that was once under the window of her chamber; and as she died unshriven, so she was buried without the pale of the Church. Therefore, she cannot sleep in peace" (1895a, 80). The ghost of the duchess haunts the villa because her sinful, banditti affair had stained her soul. The bandits ultimately were to blame. The duke was guilty of murder, no question, but he fled the villa to wage war on the banditti all across the Italian Campania. Through his retributive efforts, the duke's name became something "feared by the lawless [banditti] and loved by the peaceful, until he was killed in a battle down by Mormanno" (1895a, 80). Thus, the duke's ghost also haunted the villa, re-enacting his murderous crime, but his efforts against the banditti and the love it earned him from the "peaceful" demonstrate the greater evil of the banditti sickness poisoning the Italian Campania.

Significantly, the duke's full title was Duca di San Damiano, where the saintly cognomen highlights the social sickness of brigandage. In Catholic hagiography, St. Damian (San Damiano) is a patron saint of surgeons. Consequently, in penance for his murdered wife, the duke became a holy "scourge" to excoriate the lawless infection of Christian enemies (1895a, 79). Thus, when the duke died, the banditti menace returned and spread, infecting even the duke's village of Pesto. Cram's narrator noted that Pesto was a town without even the "sign of a church" to protect the locals from brigandage (1895a, 59), and the one-time villa of the duke, the last man capable of scourging their menace, is now a dilapidated ruin. In fact, the present owner of the White Villa (the man who agreed to let Cram's narrator and Tom Rendel spend the night) was an "old, old man, bent with age and gaunt with malaria" (1895a, 65). No holy surgeon would he be, not like the Duca di San Damiano. Ultimately, in a land without the presence of the Catholic Church and the surgical scourge of its militant arm, the results could only be lawlessness (the banditti), sickness (the present owner of the White Villa), haunting (*La Luna di Pesto*), and ruination (the architecture of the villa itself).

SISTER MADDELENA

"The White Villa" was the first story in *Black Spirits and White* not to reach an architectural crescendo of destruction and supernatural dissipation. The succubus inhabiting the Parisian mansion at No. 252 Rue M. le Prince disappeared with the conflagration of the post-revolutionary architecture and had no chance of reoccurrence with the demolition of the late medieval

remnants. Likewise, the armoured menace lingering in Kropfsberg Keep disappeared once the wicked boys from Jenbach burned down the last standing chambers of that once-proud castle. Yet the White Villa endured beyond the end of Cram's narrative, and *La Luna di Pesto* presumably still haunts it annually. This is an important foil for "Sister Maddelena," the fourth story of *Black Spirits and White*. In "Sister Maddelena," Cram's narrator encountered the ghost of another woman who died "without the pale of the Church"; and, if the second story of *Black Spirits and White* was a tale of two castles, then the "The White Villa" and "Sister Maddelena" operate as conjoined tales of two torments—of ghosts worthy and unworthy of salvation.

"Sister Maddelena" occurred in March of 1888, when Cram's narrator and Tom Rendel ventured south to Sicily in search of architecture. While there, they befriended the Cavaliere Valguanera and his wife, both of whom were "charming and gracious in their pressing hospitality" (1895a, 84). The Cavaliere guided their tour of Palermo, and he and his wife invited them to stay at their home, the former convent of Santa Catarina. As with the owners of Austria's little Matzen, Cram's narrator felt at home with the chivalrous Cavaliere and his wife; and, as with their hosts at Matzen, the Cavaliere indulged them in a ghost story. Specifically, he told Tom and the narrator that the titular ghost of Sister Maddelena would visit either one of them during the night. That point notwithstanding, he insisted that Sister Maddelena was a harmless spirit, and that he would not have even mentioned it—only that (being a gracious host) he thought it best to spare his guests "any unnecessary alarm" (1895a, 87). Ultimately, whosoever received the visit would simply hear Sister Maddelena say

that she could not sleep and never see her again. This intrigued Rendel and the narrator, both of whom entreated the Cavaliere to tell her story.

Sister Maddelena was born Rosalia di Castiglione, whose father was an adjunct to the court of Charles III, King of Spain and the Two Sicilies. Her father was an ambitious man, determined to marry his beautiful daughter into the royal family and securing the proposal of Prince Antonio, a cousin of the king. Yet Rosalia was already in love with a military officer named Michele Biscari. Her father was furious when he discovered their plans to elope; and, because Rosalia refused to marry the prince, her father had Michele sent to war, convincing Rosalia that Michele had died in combat, and forcing her to join the Carmelite nuns at Santa Catarina. There he gave her the name of Sister Maddelena, in reference to Mary Magdalene and the sins of the flesh.

Meanwhile, Michele returned from the war to find his lover at Santa Catarina. They renewed their love in secret, for they were able to rendezvous at the window of her cell—Michele climbing a rope that she concealed among the window bars. Furthermore, they were planning their elopement to Spain when a fellow Sister of the convent spied the lovers and informed the Mother Superior. The cruel Mother then offered Sister Maddelena a choice: either Michele's life or her own. Sister Maddelena consented thus to die for love, tying a farewell note to the rope and cutting it herself. Ultimately, her body remained unfound, and she haunted the convent because of her missing funereal rites.

After hearing the story, the Cavaliere and his guests retired for the evening. That night, Sister Maddelena visited the narrator; and, so moved was he by her plaintive sorrow, "I cannot sleep" (1895a, 101), that he leapt from his bed

and followed her down to the locked door to her old cell, where she repeated her sorrow and disappeared. The next morning, the narrator requested permission to pursue the mystery, and the Cavaliere "courteously gave the whole matter into [the narrator's] charge, promising that he would consent to anything" (1895a, 103). When they unlocked the former cell of Sister Maddelena, it looked entirely commonplace—eight feet square, with solid masonry walls and a single window. Still, the narrator procured the keys and began investigating the neighbouring cells. They were all the same—eight feet square, with a single window.

Then it occurred to him; Sister Maddelena's cell should not have been the same. Her cell was on the corner of the cloister. Consequently, if every cell along each side of the convent had a single window on the exterior wall, then a corner cell should have had two windows. Sure enough, the embrasure of any window in the convent was deep enough to entomb a standing girl, and when he removed the bricks from Sister Maddelena's second window, he found her corpse, like an ivory statue, frozen in the agony of suffocation. Thus, the Cavaliere summoned a Catholic priest from the neighbouring village to perform the necessary rites, and when the priest applied the Catholic asperge to her ivory torment, the strange corpse of Sister Maddelena crumbled to dust. Then, they performed a midnight mass for the repose of her soul, and the narrator gathered dust from the local cemetery, casting it into the embrasure of her tomb. Finally, the narrator assisted the Cavaliere in ordering a memorial tablet that would re-seal her final resting place; and, while thinking of the cruel nuns who "with remorseless hands and iron hearts" had sealed their Sister in a living

tomb (1895a, 108), he added a parting thought: "Let him that is without sin among you cast the first stone" (1895a, 112).¹³⁰

If Sister Maddelena and *La Luna di Pesto* were both women who died "without the pale of the Church," why did Cram's narrator make an effort to save the former while abandoning the latter? Their respective lives made the difference. Both were married or engaged to someone they ultimately loved less than another. *La Luna di Pesto* married the Duca di San Damiano but fell in love with the bandit captain; Sister Maddelena's father arranged her marriage to Prince Antonio, but she was already in love with Michele Biscari. However, *La Luna di Pesto* married the duke, whereas Sister Maddelena refused to marry the prince, being subsequently forced into the convent. After all, the Cavaliere specified that Sister Maddelena was "only a novice, and even that unwillingly" (1895a, 89), which meant that she had not yet taken her vows, which, in turn, meant that she was not yet a bride of Christ to adulterate with Michele. Most importantly, *La Luna di Pesto* conspired to murder her husband, whereas Sister Maddelena made a willing sacrifice of herself to save the man she loved. Thus, when Cram's narrator followed the ghost of Sister Maddelena to her cell, he passed a great fresco of the Crucifixion that flashed in the fitful glare of the stormy night. In the end, Sister Maddelena's self-sacrifice made her worthy of salvation.

¹³⁰ Cram's motif of live burial demonstrates his debt to Edgar Allan Poe. In Poe's "Fall of the House of Usher" (1839), the last scion of the titular house put his sister "*living in the tomb*" (1839/1986, 76; emphasis original), and his sister, Madeline, shared her name with Sister Maddelena. Furthermore, Poe, like Cram, was an American who drew upon the venerability of European history to thicken the miasma of decadence. Even though the location of "The House of Usher" is intentionally vague, the antiquity of the house (both lineal and architectural), with the "Gothic archway of the hall" (1839/1986, 64), suggests a European setting. Certainly, in Poe's other famous tale of live burial, "The Cask of Amontillado" (1846), Italy is the setting. Yet, even then, Poe would not offer the same level of scenic specificity as Cram.

Yet, given Cram's Catholicity, why did he put Sister Maddelena's death in the "remorseless hands" of her fellow nuns? Cram wrote "Sister Maddelena" in response to the Gothic literary tradition of using monastic settings to stimulate Anglo-Protestant fears of Catholicism. On the one hand, we recall that Matthew Lewis's *The Monk* was the quintessential novel of that tradition, whereby the seclusion of monastic life was a breeding ground for vice. The Anglo-Catholic Cram, on the other hand, specifically wrote books like *The Ruined Abbeys of Great Britain* (1905) to defend the monastic ideal. Monasticism was intrinsic to the health of Cram's medieval society. Yet Cram was also pragmatic about it. Monks, medieval or modern, were still "fallible men, and their vast responsibilities sometimes bred failure, sometimes were responsible for a grievous falling off in spiritual things" (1905, 5). The cruel Mother Superior and her accomplice, the spying Sister of "Sister Maddelena," were two such fallible people. Furthermore, because Cram believed that medieval monks and nuns, fallible as they were, belonged to a generally wholesome Catholic culture, those who suffered a "grievous falling off in spiritual things" were rare. Conversely, the modern world suffered an "atmosphere weakened and impoverished by three centuries of ... folly" (Cram 1907, 236). Thus, because Rosalia di Castiglione became Sister Maddelena during the reign of Charles III (1759–88), at a time when the world was so weakened and impoverished, her fellow nuns were that much more likely to fall off in spiritual matters.

Sister Maddelena's conventual family had forgotten a basic Christian tenet. If Rosalia's father gave her the name of Sister Maddelena in reference to the Magdalenian prostitute, then Cram repeated Christ's warning to those who

would deign to kill an adulteress: "Let him that is without sin among you cast the first stone" (Jn. 8:7). In the biblical context, the referential stone was the first of many punishing rocks to be thrown at the adulteress. In the context of Cram's story, the referential stone was the first of many bricks used to entomb the poor Sister. Hence, in contrast to the failed spirituality of the Mother Superior, the Catholic priest who finally performed the saving rituals at the story's end was Padre Stefano. St. Stephen, the padre's namesake, was a Christian martyr, a man who died in a hail of prejudicial stones. If anyone could appreciate the plight of Sister Maddelena, it was a priest named for a saint who died at the hands of those who presumed to cast the first of many stones. Thus, Padre Stefano represented a Catholicism that endured the modern world, despite its atmosphere of moral weakness and spiritual impoverishment.

NOTRE DAME DES EAUX

The fifth story among the *Black Spirits and White* is another example of Catholicism enduring the modern world—a point made clearer when compared to its source. Dziemianowicz rightly noted that the central plot of Cram's "Notre Dame des Eaux" came from "A Ghost Story," published anonymously in the June 1843 issue of *The Southern Literary Messenger*, a journal Edgar Allan Poe once edited. Yet Cram did not simply add a "rural French setting" to the existing plot (Dziemianowicz 2004, xix). There were crucial differences. For instance, the anonymous author of "A Ghost Story" set his narrative in the English town of Exeter precisely because of England's translation of Catholic churches to modern Protestant usage. In the narrative context, Exeter cathedral was under

the "ministerial services" of Anglicanism, whereby the Church of England allowed the "dwelling houses" of two appointed clergymen, Mr. Smith and Mr. Sheffield, to flank the cathedral on opposite sides (Anonymous 1843, 382). Furthermore, because the Smiths and Sheffields, dear friends, had to walk around the cathedral grounds to visit one another, the Anglican Church allowed them to cut doorways through the cathedral's cloister to create a direct route from house to house.

One night, Fanny Sheffield, the protagonist of "A Ghost Story," attended a party at the Smiths' house, retiring through the Smiths' cloister door. She discovered, however, that her family's cloister door had been accidentally locked for the night, and when she returned to the Smiths' door, they too had locked it, turning in for the evening. Fanny thus resolved to spend the night in the cathedral, settling into the pulpit for her rest. Yet, during the night, a white figure approached and laid a "cold hand" on Fanny's arm, causing her to collapse (Anonymous 1843, 383). Only after weeks of sickness, in shock and fever, did Fanny wake to discover that her family found her unconscious and moaning in the pulpit. As it turned out, a "poor idiot boy" had wandered into the church (Anonymous 1843, 383), incapable of understanding the fright he had caused the girl. Thus, the "ghost" of this story was entirely terrestrial and explicable, and the narrator concluded: "I make no doubt that other ghost stories, be they ever so well authenticated, would admit of similar explanation if sifted to the bottom" (Anonymous 1843, 383).

Against that Anglo-Protestant tradition of the explained supernatural, Cram set "Notre Dame des Eaux" in the context of post-revolutionary France.

Specifically, he set the story in an obscure region on the western edge of Catholic Brittany called Finisterre—literally, the end of the earth. Although Cram's narrator did not directly witness the haunting of this story, his familiarity with the region suggested someone who toured Finisterre, learning the town's "ghost" story during his visit. As Cram described it, the focal point of Finisterre was the titular Catholic church of Notre Dame des Eaux, and his narrator gave specific instructions on how to find it, tucked among the ragged cliffs of the earth's end. Yet the obscure condition of the church was also a secret blessing: "for the horrors and follies of the [French] Revolution have never come near" (1895a, 117). Notre Dame des Eaux was a medieval beauty that survived the modern world. The church interior remained a "dream and a delight ... a Norman nave of round, red stone piers and arches, a delicate choir of the richest flamboyant, a High Altar of the time of Francis I., form only the mellow background and frame for carven tombs and dark old pictures, hanging lamps of iron and brass, and black, heavily carved choir-stalls of the Renaissance" (1895a, 116–17). This interior was extraordinary for Cram because it stood as a reminder that healthy church architecture was a living continuum.

In 1901, he wrote of an ideal church constructed slowly over time, a "building with history and with constantly growing associations ... becoming ever more glorious and more beautiful" (1901, 50). Thus, when his narrator visited Notre Dame des Eaux, he marvelled at how the Norman nave gave onto a rich Gothic choir and a late Gothic altar from the time of Francis I. Even the Renaissance choir stalls were effective because of the town's continuously "hardy and faithful" Catholicism (1895a, 117), ensuring that the "true" Renaissance of

medieval culmination occurred. Ultimately, the terrors of modernity had not touched the Catholic purity of Finisterre until the late nineteenth century.

Cram's narrator was not the first to admire the living continuum of Notre Dame des Eaux. Julien, the Comte de Bergerac, discovered the building in the mid-1880s, and "by his picture of its dreamy interior in the Salon of '86 brought once more into notice this forgotten corner of the world" (1895a, 118). The Comte de Bergerac facilitated the narrator's attraction to the church. Significantly, the Comte and his family were "virulent Royalists" (1895a, 118), like Cram himself.¹³¹ In 1886, Julien's desire for pre-revolutionary France attuned him to the same Catholic beauty at Notre Dame des Eaux that would later appeal to Cram and, by extension, Cram's narrator. Hence, when a colony of fair-weather painters started their exploration of Finisterre in the summer of 1887, Julien purchased a local farmhouse at Pontivy to rally the artists, spending the summers there with his wife and his daughter, H  lo  se.

Jean d'Yriex was a young artist attached to the Pontivy colony. He was, by nature, a merry fellow, but suddenly, in the summer of 1890, he became "moody and morose" (1895a, 118). The other colonists assumed, at first, that his mood reflected his doomed infatuation with H  lo  se, the Comte's daughter, who "felt no special affection for him, only pity" (1895a, 119). Yet it soon became clear that Jean's madness did not stem from rejected love; every day he began a painting, and every night, no matter how good the work, he erased it. One day, his madness escalated while painting inside Notre Dame des Eaux. H  lo  se

¹³¹ Cram's use of the word "virulent" was intentionally ironic. He was mocking the "triumphant Republic in 1794" and its proclamations against "virulent Royalists" (1895a, 118). For Cram, the revolutionary Republic was the real virus.

was there, reading and singing aloud to Jean, when suddenly the lunatic slashed his canvas with a palette knife; and, when Héloïse tried to stop him, he momentarily turned the knife on her. He was mad, not for love of Héloïse, but by the impossible beauty of his surroundings. He could not adequately paint Notre Dame des Eaux, and it triggered his final insanity.

Dr. Charpentier, the Comte's physician, came from Paris, and one short interview with Jean convinced the doctor of Jean's insanity. The doctor meant to take Jean back to Paris by train, but days later, he sent a letter to the Bergerac family, explaining that he had given Jean "too much liberty, owing to his apparent calmness, and that when the train stopped at Le Mans [Jean] had slipped from him and utterly vanished" (1895a, 120). For months, despite the due diligence of the police, Jean could not be found and, by summer's end, was declared dead by all, including Dr. Charpentier. Thus, just as the doctor friends in "No. 252 Rue M. le Prince" proved medically incapable of curing the supernatural sickness of the *Bouche d'Enfer*, so was Dr. Charpentier incapable of curing the madness of Jean d'Yriex, dismissing Jean as dead. Yet, in his madness, Jean became something supernatural, something like a ghost, because he had the paradoxical body of a man "in whom reason is dead" (1895a, 128), and he subsequently haunted the church of Notre Dame des Eaux.

One evening in the autumn of 1890, Héloïse entered Notre Dame des Eaux to say a final prayer for Jean d'Yriex before the summer colony disbanded. As she meditated on the summer's events, she fell asleep in the choir stalls, waking to find the church locked until morning. As with Fanny Sheffield in the anonymously written "Ghost Story," Héloïse prepared to rest there for the night,

hearing footsteps creeping closer. In the moonlight, she saw something that had “awful, luminous eyes ... fascinating her as a cat fascinates a bird” (1895a, 126). Like a cat, the lunatic prepared to pounce, when Héloïse cried out, “Jean, stop!”—at which point he crouched at her feet and croaked “*Chantez*” (1895a, 126–7). Héloïse sang song after song to soothe the threatening figure, but as the hours passed, she could sing no more. The last thing she could do, as her body collapsed to the floor, was to pray: “Mother of God, save me” (1895a, 128), and her prayer was answered. Dawn had come, the priests had opened the church, and the terror of Jean d'Yriex disappeared forever. Héloïse was saved from his madness not by the mortal medicine of Dr. Charpentier but the divine grace of a church that was one with the health and sanity of medieval Europe, a church untouched by the French Revolution.

Thus, Cram's lunatic was radically different from the “poor idiot boy” who wandered into the cathedral of “A Ghost Story.” Cram based Héloïse's fascination with the lunatic on a line from the anonymous story—Fanny Sheffield was “as unable to withdraw her eyes from the object which created so much alarm [in her], as is the poor little bird when fascinated by the eye of a snake” (Anonymous 1843, 382–3). Yet, crucially, Fanny's sense of alarm is what caused her fascination, not the active agency of the “poor idiot boy.” The boy was innocent of any malice, and Fanny's consequent sickness was the result of her overstimulated “fancy” (Anonymous 1843, 382). Conversely, in Cram's story, Jean's “awful, luminous eyes” were directly responsible for Héloïse's fascination, and Cram transformed Jean into a metaphorical cat, not a snake, so that the nocturnal nature of feline vision could underscore Jean's ability to fascinate

Héloïse. Likewise, Cram transformed Jean into a metaphorical cat so that Jean could crouch affectionately at her feet, threatening to pounce only when Héloïse ceased to sooth him. Furthermore, unlike the boy in “A Ghost Story,” who was readily accounted for at the story’s end, and whose presence in the church was entirely explainable, in Cram’s story, it was never clear how Jean entered the church or how long he had been there. Likewise, it was never clear if, in fact, Jean was undead or simply a living lunatic “in whom reason is dead,” nor do we know what happened to him after he fled the church. Ultimately, in refashioning the Anglo-Protestant tradition of the explained supernatural, Cram not only designed “Notre Dame des Eaux” to suit his Anglo-Catholic belief in the inexplicable but also his belief in the Divine’s ability to exorcise the supernatural, thus provided an architectural setting in healthy commune with God.

THE DEAD VALLEY

In his famous essay on *Supernatural Horror in Literature*, H. P. Lovecraft isolated “The Dead Valley” as the achievement of a “potent degree of vague regional horror through subtleties of atmosphere and description” (1945, 72). By this, Lovecraft argued that the setting of “The Dead Valley” was “vague” enough to become anyone’s landscape, thus bringing the horror palpably closer to the reader’s experience.¹³² Unlike all the other stories in *Black Spirits and White*, which

¹³² When Shand-Tucci tried to interconnect Cram’s Gothic architecture and literature, he fundamentally misread Lovecraft’s praise. Shand-Tucci argued that Lovecraft praised “Notre Dame des Eaux” because Cram’s description of the seacoast and wind, winter night and deciduous trees were specific to Cram’s native New England—despite the story’s setting on the coast of Brittany (1995, 121). In other words, Shand-Tucci assumed that Lovecraft used the word “local” to reference Cram’s local context, New England, and not the suggestion that “The Dead Valley” could fit into anyone’s local community. Furthermore, Shand-Tucci argued that the local, New England sensibility of “Notre Dame des Eaux” was important because Cram built All Saints,

concentrate on architectural settings and describe those settings in great detail, "The Dead Valley" was in the middle of a wilderness. Cram named specific towns—Hallsberg and Engelholm—as end points in the wilderness, but they were nondescript, architecturally. Likewise, Cram described the journey between them in the generic terms of the "good road, across the big hills" with a "long valley, from which rose the low mountains" (1895a, 136). Consequently, for the length of five stories, we have encountered meticulously detailed buildings, situated in or around well-known locations, and set within the context of a thorough travelogue. In the last story, we have an open landscape that Cram's narrator never visited himself, and his Swedish friend, Olof Ehrensward, told the story, not the narrator. Yet, no matter how "vague" Olof's landscape may have been, he thoroughly described the Dead Valley within that landscape, and it coincided with Cram's architectural discourse on sickness and the supernatural.

Olof's story concerned his boyhood in Sweden, when he and a friend, Nils, went to Hallsberg to buy a puppy. The journey back to Engelholm was a full day's hike through a low-lying spur of the mountains, so they spent the night with a Hallsberg aunt, leaving for home the following morning. Along the way, they found a shooting range and lingered too long, rushing back to Engelholm in the dying light. While in the dusky mountains, they noticed that things got utterly silent. Then "came a cry, beginning as a low, sorrowful moan, rising to a tremulous shriek, culminating in a yell that seemed to tear the night in sunder and

Ashmont, using locally quarried granite blocks. Yet, setting aside the fact that Cram frequently used local stone in his church commissions (he built the new St. Mary's, Walkerville, with a local limestone from Amherstburg, Ontario), Cram's use of local stone is not relevant to Gothic interdisciplinarity. Hence, Shand-Tucci argued that the granite edifice of All Saints, Ashmont, is notable for its "directness, simplicity, and absence of self-consciousness" (1995, 122–3), all of which are qualities that do not describe Shand-Tucci's reading of Cram's Gothic literature.

rend the world as by a cataclysm" (1895a, 139). With that, the boys grabbed their dog and raced in a panic, discovering the brim of a valley (the titular "Dead Valley") that stretched as far as their twilight eyes could see. Inside, there was a dense motionless sea of white fog, shot through with phosphorescence, and they tried to cross it. Yet Olof's first step into the fog nearly stopped his heart, throwing him back onto the brink. At that moment, the terrible cry rang out again, and the fog began to palpitate and rise. As the chilling fog rose, Nils and Olof ran along the edge of the valley in a desperate circumambulation, discovering that the dog had died of fright before they themselves fell unconscious.

Olof awoke, three weeks later, in his own bed, his mother at his side. According to his family, Olof had been found in bed, three weeks ago, and was "raging sick" (1895a, 143), only now recovering consciousness.¹³³ When he tried to speak of the Dead Valley, they dismissed his story as the result of delirium. Much worse, Nils had denied the whole thing—having gotten lost, the cry, the valley, the chill of the fog. Thus, Olof decided to return to the mountains to verify the existence of the Dead Valley, and when he approached the mountains by daylight, "the bright sunlight and the clear air had worked as a tonic to [him], for by the time [he] came to the foot of the great pine, [he] had quite lost faith in the verity of the vision that haunted [him], believing at last that it was indeed but the nightmare of madness" (1895a, 145). Yet, when Olof tripped over the carcass of the dog, the healing power of nature's "tonic" disappeared. He found himself

¹³³ Cram seems to have borrowed that detail from "A Ghost Story," where Fanny Sheffield collapsed in fright, waking weeks later from a feverish sickness.

strangely drawn to a path among the thickets, which led back to the Dead Valley. This time, however, the valley was empty of fog, revealing a "great oval basin, almost as smooth and regular as though made by man" (1895a, 146), and in the midst of the valley stood a "great dead tree, rising leafless and gaunt" (1895a, 147). The strange attraction of the valley continued, drawing Olof toward the dead tree and a pile of animal and human bones heaping at its roots. Only a falcon, which flew high above the tree, falling dead as a result, diminished the tree's effect on Olof, and he struggled to leave the basin. At sunset, he escaped the valley just in time to hear the same terrible cry as before, off in the distance, and thus, having escaped, he maintained his sanity long enough to crawl home from the Dead Valley.

In his final story, Cram used the Shakespearean equation of sickness and the supernatural, once again. Olof's sickness had been real, but so too was the supernatural terrain of the Dead Valley, which caused his sickness. Even though the valley did not, as in the previous stories, have an obvious architectural vocabulary to demonstrate the sickening conditions of modernity, it was telling in its smoothness and regularity, which seemed unnatural to Olof, and thus, in a sense, architectural. The Dead Valley seemed "as though made by man." More importantly, in the midst of that potentially manufactured structure was a great dead tree.

For Cram, all great architecture, especially Gothic architecture, was an organic structure, as we saw in the second chapter: "Art is a flower; it will only appear on the tree of life under certain circumstances. Without the bloom, life is barren and valueless, for the flower is the proof of the healthy growth of the tree"

(1893a, 351). More explicitly, he stated, "You cannot sever art from society; you cannot make it grow in unfavourable soil, however zealously you may labour and lecture and subsidize. It follows from certain spiritual and social conditions, and without these it is a dead twig thrust in sand, and only a divine miracle can make such bloom, as blossomed the staff of St. Joseph of Arimathea at Glastonbury" (1914b, 29). Of Joseph's miraculous staff and blossom, I shall have more to say in the next chapter. For now, it is enough to note that Joseph's staff was a symbol of medieval Catholicism taking root in a pagan land. By contrast, in a modern world that thrice broke faith with medieval Catholicism (Renaissance, Reformation, Revolution), the resultant architecture was as "barren and valueless" as the great dead "twig" Olof found thrust into the smooth and regular floor of the Dead Valley.

Ultimately, such an emphasis on the living death of a diseased modernity (of a world "without the pale of the Church") calls into question something implicit to Freud's theory of the uncanny. Nicholas Royle rightly noted, "It is, in fact, one of the unstated assumptions of Freud's essay that the uncanny is to be theorized in non-religious terms" (2003, 20). Freud would later bring that assumption to the fore in his essay, "The Future of an Illusion" (1927). According to Freud, the pious cannot have an uncanny experience because their belief in the supernatural makes them "feel at home in the uncanny" (Freud, qtd. in Royle 2003, 20). Just as the rational forefront of western science is supposed to be immune to the uncanny because it has successfully surpassed primitive belief, the pious are inversely immune to the uncanny because they are still wholly mired in the primitive. For Freud, the uncanny is thus the liminal condition of

modernity, of a world striving for rational knowledge but haunted by the still-lingering presence of primitive belief. Consequently, Freud dismissed the ghosts of Shakespeare's *Hamlet* or *Macbeth* because they "may be gloomy and terrible enough, but they are no more really uncanny than Homer's jovial world of gods" (1955, 250). Shakespeare supposedly set the ghosts of *Hamlet* or *Macbeth* in a world that accepted them as real, and thus neither the characters nor the initial audience could have had an uncanny experience because Shakespeare's ghosts were part of a Christian society that still believed in them.

The problem with Freud's argument is the reduction of all religious sects into one primitive entity to contrast with scientific reason. To say that Shakespeare's plays feel at home in the uncanny because Shakespeare wrote and set them in times that still believed in Christianity is to ignore differing denominational attitudes toward the supernatural. This is especially clear in *Hamlet*, where Hamlet and Horatio studied in Wittenberg, we recall, before the play began. Thus, Shakespeare set a Protestant discourse on rational knowledge, stemming from Martin Luther's Wittenberg, in contrast with the ghost of Hamlet's "father" and its tale of fiery purgation. Protestant reason had supposedly surmounted the Catholic belief in a purgatorial hinterland and the ghosts that haunted its transitory landscape of flesh and spirit. The ghost of Hamlet's "father" is indeed uncanny to the Protestant audience because it calls into question the homeliness of Anglo-Protestant rational knowledge. Baldick and Mighall's point (2000), therefore, bears repeating: many Georgian and Victorian Gothic novels address an Anglo-Protestant audience that felt the uncanny terror of ghosts precisely because Catholic "superstition" lingered in their modern world. Bulwer-

Lytton, for example, described the soul as “superior emancipated intelligence” (1859/1911, 63), not to be confused with the supernatural entities of Catholic “superstition.”

How then do we reconcile the uncanny with an Anglo-Catholic author like Ralph Adams Cram? If the uncanny erodes the rational knowledge of the modern West (Protestant or scientific-atheistic), how could someone who believed in ghosts have an uncanny sensation when exploring a haunted house? Crucially, Cram and Freud had radically different senses of history. Freud’s history was linear, with the maturity of the modern West surmounting the repressed, infantile primitivism of religious belief. Cram’s history was cyclical, with medieval Catholicism surmounting ancient paganism, and modern paganism surmounting the Catholic Middle Ages, and the resurgent Anglo-Catholicism of the Tractarians surmounting the Protestantism of pagan modernity—hence his belief in “a growing consciousness that ... Protestantism has definitely failed or at least become superannuated.” Cram’s uncanny sensation is of an Anglo-Catholic who surmounted Protestant modernity. He strove to repress not simply his “homosexuality” but all the “queer” sexualities and other sicknesses of modernity. In that sense, the ghosts of *Black Spirits and White* were not exactly “inexplicable.” Cram constantly explained their haunting in terms of modern sickness. Rather, it was how to exorcise the ghosts born of modernity that remained inexplicable to Cram. His desire was to put modernity, in the decadent sense, to rest, to leave it behind as “superannuated” history.

Thus, the horror of *Black Spirits and White* is not the discovery of ghosts but the paralysis of someone who could not put them to rest. Cram's narrator froze when confronted with the "hellish succubus" from the *Bouche d'Enfer*:

I tried to rise, to cry out. My body was like lead, my tongue was paralyzed. I could hardly move my eyes. And the light was going out. There was no question about that. Darker and darker yet; little by little the pattern of the [wall] paper was swallowed up in the advancing night. A prickling numbness gathered in every nerve, my right arm slipped without feeling from my lap to my side, and I could not raise it,—it swung helpless. (1895a, 24)

Ultimately, Cram did not simply fear ghosts; he experienced an uncanny fear comparable to Freud's *unheimlichkeit* of the severed hand and its implicit relationship to the castration complex. If the Protestant Reformation created a modern world where "art and the Church have been utterly severed" (Cram 1893a, 353), then the hand of the modern architect, Catholic as he may be, falls "helpless" to his side as he tries to save even himself from the haunted house of modernity. Cram could not escape the "spirit of the epoch" or, rather, its spectre. It was the loss of his hand—its effectiveness to ward off the sickening ghosts of his epoch—that horrified Cram. As with the Walkerville church, the grammatological hand of the Gothic "k" is haunting Cram's Gothic ghost stories, marking the presently absent healthy hand necessary to heal the modern world.

ENTR'ACTE

Among the *Black Spirits and White*, the one that has the most (and, paradoxically, the least) in common with the Walkerville church is "Sister Maddelena." The foremost commonality between book and building is the narrative frame of cryptic architecture used to conceal a secret through the

building of patterned expectations. Not only did Cram variously use the words “crypt” and “cryptic” throughout “Sister Maddelena,” his architecturally perceptive narrator discovered Sister Maddelena’s illicit crypt because everyone prior to him had assumed that all the convent’s cells were identical—they each had one window. Furthermore, Cram used repetitions within the entire project of *Black Spirits and White* to encrypt the discovery of Maddelena’s corpse through clever bits of foreshadowing.

For instance, entombing Sister Maddelena in the embrasure of her window could only have worked if the embrasure was deep enough for her body. Hence, when Cram’s narrator retired to his bedchamber on the night before his investigation, he took a moment to stare at the stormy night while standing at a “deeply embrasured window” (1895a, 99). Yet, at that point, Cram designed the detail of the window’s depth to appear trivial. In “No. 252 Rue M. le Prince,” when the narrator retired to his bedroom in the haunted house, he noted that there were “two deeply embrasured windows looking out on the court” (1895a, 22). Likewise, when Rupert and Otto awaited the arrival of Count Albert’s ghost, “In Kropfsberg Keep,” they heard the village clock strike twelve, “muffled through the high, deep-embrasured windows” (1895a, 43). Thus, by the time we encounter the words “deep” and “embrasured” in “Sister Maddelena,” they appear to be nothing more than common bywords. Yet Cram cryptically revealed the secret of Maddelena’s tomb before his narrator (and the reader) could discover it, using the clue of the window’s depth by which the narrator stood, contemplating the stormy weather and the stormy afterlife of Sister Maddelena.

Furthermore, because Cram described the façade of the *Bouche d'Enfer* as having a "great wisteria covering half," and because he described the gates of the White Villa as having "brambles growing all over them," we might have expected an extensive plant-life spreading across the convent of Santa Catarina. Sure enough, when the narrator arrived at the convent, he noted that it was "draped in smothering roses" (1895a, 86). Yet, when we later learn that Sister Maddelena was born Rosalia di Castiglione, and when we finally learn that she died by suffocation, in retrospect we appreciate the cryptic nature of the floral clue. Rosalia revisited her torturous suffocation on the convent, her tomb, in the form of "smothering roses." Ultimately, the new St. Mary's Anglican Church, itself smothered in bloody English roses, depended on the same cryptic use of patterns. In the entr'acte to the first chapter, we saw how Cram organized the floral patterns in Walkerville's patristic saint windows—where three of the four windows have identical flourishes beneath the twinned saints in their two-light structures. The fourth window, however, with SS. Augustine and Gregory the Great, varied the pattern in a way that cryptically revealed Edward Walker's confession of illness. In the next chapter, we shall see how other Walkerville patterns vary to place Edward's illness in the spectral context of an ailing modern world.

In the meantime, the paradoxical connection between "Sister Maddelena" and the Walkerville church is evident in the story's incongruous relationship to the other *Black Spirits and White*. Contrary to Lovecraft's effort to isolate "The Dead Valley" from Cram's other Gothic ghost stories, "Sister Maddelena" was the real oddity among them. Bulwer-Lytton acknowledged the

"popular superstition" of ghost stories, in which "a person who was either the perpetrator or the victim of dark crimes in life can revisit, as a spirit, the scene to which those crimes had been committed" (1859/1911, 59). Unlike Bulwer-Lytton, though, Cram believed in that "superstition," and he subdivided his book of ghost stories among the "perpetrators" and "victims." The satanic denizens of No. 252 Rue M. le Prince, Count Albert in Kropfsberg Keep, the adulterous and conspiring *Luna di Pesto*, the lunatic Jean d'Yriex, and the unknown artisans of the Dead Valley were all perpetrators (or attempted perpetrators) of "dark crimes." The ghost of Sister Maddelena, alone among them, was the victim of modernity's darkness. Hence, the poor Sister's ghost was not terrifying but "infinitely sad and sorrowful" (1895a, 101). Likewise, her spectral presence had not paralyzed Cram's narrator with fear; he put her spirit to rest.

In that sense, "Sister Maddelena" came closer to Walter Scott's historical romances, where chivalry secured the reader from the supernatural horrors of Gothic literature. Consequently, Charlotte Oberg rightly noted that Cram fashioned his narrator's reaction to Sister Maddelena in terms of Arthurian knighthood, where "knights of the Round Table saved damsels from various perils" (1992, 182). Cram was Sister Maddelena's knight and she his lady, a representation of modern womanhood, unlike *La Luna di Pesto*, worthy of salvation.¹³⁴ Yet the nun's tormented soul was not the only one encrypted in the narrative of "Sister Maddelena." The Arthurian discourse is telling on that account.

¹³⁴ In that sense, "Sister Maddelena" echoes "No. 252 Rue M. le Prince." Just as the vigilant nun at the Hôtel Dieu was the narrator's salvation in Paris, the vigilant narrator saved Sister Maddelena in Sicily.

When Cram's narrator first arrived at the former convent of Santa Catarina, he reflected on his gorgeous surroundings: "all were but parts of a dreamy vision, like the heavenly city of Sir Percivale, to attain which he passed across the golden bridge that burned after him as he vanished in the intolerable light of the Beatific Vision" (1895a, 87). Sir Percivale was one of the knights of Arthurian lore; he was also, according to some traditions, the Grail Knight—the one who discovered the secret location of the holy chalice that held the very blood of Christ—hence Cram's allusion to the "heavenly city" of Sarras, land of the Grail.¹³⁵ Therefore, the Cavaliere's role as host to Cram's narrator is crucial to this land of vision.

The Fisher King, keeper of the Holy Grail, is sick with a festering wound when the Grail Knight arrives, and his sickness extends to the very land of his kingdom. It is only with the arrival of the Grail Knight that the king's wound, and the land itself, might finally be healed. Consequently, the challenge of the Grail Quest is the Grail Knight's ability to recognize his necessary role and to act upon that need. The quest is a test, and the Fisher King cannot directly reveal how the Grail Knight is to accomplish it. Thus, when the narrator had his "dreamy vision" in Sicily, Cram was writing "Sister Maddelena" as an extended Grail simile, whose likeness projected beyond the mere beauty of the narrator's surroundings. In other words, the Cavaliere, Italian for "knight," himself the lord of the land, became like the Fisher King for Cram's Gothic ghost story.¹³⁶ The Cavaliere's

¹³⁵ For Percivale, as the Grail Knight, Richard Wagner's opera, *Parsifal*, was especially important to Cram, as we shall see in the next chapter. For the holy city of Sarras, see Malory 1485/1985, 442–5.

¹³⁶ The correlations of Gothic horror and Arthurian romance long preceded Cram's story. In Thomas Malory's *Morte d'Arthur*, Lancelot approached the Chapel Perilous to the macabre sight of "thirty great knights, more by a yard than any man that ever he had seen, and all those grinned and

sickness was modernity itself—he claimed not to believe in the “priestly hocus-pocus” of Catholicism (1895a, 98)—and his sickness extended not only through his household—where his servants would be “astonished and delighted” should he restore the convent’s chapel to its Catholic use (1895a, 110)—but also throughout the land itself. The Cavaliere told the narrator, “we have fierce tempests here” (1895a, 89). Hence, the land itself was in spiritual turmoil. In fact, within the context of that tumultuous comment, we first sense that the Cavaliere was not quite all that he seemed.

The Cavaliere first told the narrator and Tom Rendel the tale of Sister Maddelena when they were all lounging on the evening terrace of Santa Catarina. Crucially, he did not tell them of Sister Maddelena at first, only that he had something to say that might spare them “any unnecessary alarm.” To this, Rendel interjected that the place must be haunted. Rendel had passed the first part of the Grail Knight’s test—he anticipated the extraordinary circumstances of the convent, which caused the Cavaliere to smile a little. Then, when Rendel

gnashed at Sir Lancelot. And when he saw their countenance he dread him sore” (1485/1985, 113). Yet Lancelot passed the gnashing guardians, entering the chapel to find “no light but a dim lamp burning, and then was he ware of a corpse hyll’d with a cloth of silk. Then Lancelot stooped down, and cut a piece away of that cloth, and then it fared under him as the earth had quaked a little; therewithal he feared” (1485/1985, 113). Thus, Gothic writers, like John Aikin and Anna Laetitia Barbauld, combined the figures of chivalric romance with the gruesome vignette of a “dead cold hand” clutching at their chivalric hero (1773/1792, 132). Likewise, modern romancers, like Robert Browning, placed their dauntless heroes in a nightmarish landscape of “skull-like” laughter (1855/1993, 1206) and a “palsied oak, a cleft in him / Like a distorted mouth that splits its rim / Gaping at death, and dies while it recoils” (1855/1993, 1210). Ultimately, Cram would refer to Browning often, and when his autobiographical narrator encountered the tormented corpse of Sister Maddelena, he tellingly noted, “I had read of such things in romance; but to find the verity here, before my eyes ...” (1895a, 108).

Furthermore, in 1897, Bram Stoker wrote *Dracula*, where the albeit primarily Protestant heroes, some of them scientists, and one of them named Arthur, joined together in the quest to destroy the monstrous Count Dracula. Although Cram could not have used *Dracula* as a source for *Black Spirits and White*, Stoker notably based Dracula’s English lair, the fictional Carfax Abbey, on the ruins of England’s Whitby Abbey. Thus, a few years later, Cram revisited the tone of his Gothic literature when describing the ruins of Whitby Abbey, perhaps in homage to Stoker’s novel (1905, especially 55–7).

begged the Cavaliere to speak of Sister Maddelena, Cram's narrator added a significant detail: "'There is a storm coming,' ... 'See, the lightning is flashing already up among the mountains at the head of the valley; if the story is tragic, as it must be, now is just the time for it. You will tell it, won't you'" (1895a, 89)? In response to that, the "Cavaliere smiled that slow, cryptic smile of his that was so unfathomable." He replied, "'As you say, there is a shower coming, and as we have fierce tempests here, we might not sleep; so perhaps we may as well sit up a little longer, and I will tell you the story'" (1895a, 89). Cram's narrator was the first to sense the sympathetic nature of the Cavaliere's stormy land and the tragedy of Sister Maddelena. He would prove to be a kind of Grail Knight, causing the Cavaliere to smile cryptically, and knowingly seal the connection between the story and the weather in the hope that Cram's narrator "might not sleep" once he heard the tale.

When the narrator retired to bed, we recall that he watched the storm from the deep embrasure of a window:

I had thought out the whole matter to my own satisfaction, and fancied I knew exactly what I should do, in case Sister Maddelena came to visit me. The story touched me: the thought of the poor faithful girl who sacrificed herself for her lover,—himself, very likely, quite unworthy,—and who now could never sleep for reason of her unquiet soul, sent out into the storm of eternity without spiritual aid or counsel. I could not sleep. (1895a, 100)

Cram's narrator (he who would prove quite worthy of the "poor faithful girl," unlike Michele, her lover) confirmed in that moment that the storm he saw without the window reflected the turbulent afterlife of someone who died "without the pale of the Church." It moved him to the point that he, like the poor Sister, could not sleep. Thus, in a sudden blast of lightning, he saw the ghost of

Sister Maddelena; and, when she breathed her predicted line, and when she moved to depart, the narrator “leaped from bed and stood waiting” (1895a, 101). This earned a “look of utter gratitude” (1895a, 101), and he pursued her to the cell in which she was cruelly entombed. Like the Grail knight, the narrator understood the quest at hand and chose to act accordingly.

As we recall, Cram's narrator used his “architectural knowledge” to solve the mystery of Sister Maddelena's torment—thus proving his comprehension. Yet, in light of his host's “cryptic smile,” the Cavaliere's interest in seeing the narrator solve the mystery was not just of someone “who had watched curiously” (1895a, 104). The salvation of the Cavaliere's soul hung in the balance. The night before, the Cavaliere noted that his servants wanted a proper mass said for the repose of Sister Maddelena. He cursed their request as “priestly hocus-pocus” and then (being a gracious host) apologized to Cram's Catholic narrator for the offence he had caused, and the narrator (being a gracious guest) accepted the apology. The next day, however, when the narrator solved the mystery and Padre Stefano arrived from the neighbouring town, the narrator noticed that the “Cavaliere no longer spoke of the Church with that hardness, which had hurt me so often” (1895a, 110). Consequently, the narrator wondered “if it might not prove that more than one soul benefited by the untoward events of the day” (1895a, 110). Sure enough, when Padre Stefano held midnight mass for the repose of Sister Maddelena's soul, the chapel, which had gone unused for so long within the Cavaliere's household, returned to its full Catholic service, including the use of the Eucharistic chalice. Restoring the chapel of Santa Catarina meant the discovery of something comparable to the Holy Grail

through the magical transubstantiation of wine into blood. Thus, when Cram's narrator turned to leave the chapel, he saw the Cavaliere kneeling in prayer and smiled "with quiet satisfaction and gratitude ... content with the chain of events that now seemed finished" (1895a, 111). He had healed the Cavaliere.

If the story of "Sister Maddelena" inspired the design of the new St. Mary's Anglican Church because Cram's cryptic architecture depended on the subtle manipulation of patterns and expectations, then the next chapter shall demonstrate that "Sister Maddelena" also inspired Cram to fashion the sickly Edward Walker into the modern Fisher King. The crucial difference, however, is that Cram's narrator healed the Sicilian Cavaliere himself. In "Sister Maddelena," the narrator belonged to the chivalric optimism of the Cram who believed that his Catholic conversion made him part of the "new life" of a resurrected medievalism. Conversely, Cram designed the Walkerville church as someone who pessimistically accepted that he could not achieve the Holy Grail—that the sickness of Edward Walker (and modernity at large) was beyond his power to heal. In other words, the new St. Mary's Anglican Church is the Gothic ghost story that "Sister Maddelena" might have been, had its narrator not become the true knight of chivalric romance. Cram designed the Walkerville church, not from the perspective his "Sister Maddelena" narrator, but from the "unworthy" perspective of Sister Maddelena's lover, Michele Biscari—of someone whose only response to her torment was to become "mad with the horror of impotent fear" (1895a, 96). Michele Biscari's version of the story is closer to the uncanny horror of Cram's other *Black Spirits and White*. Thus, if Cram's narrator, elsewhere in the book of Gothic ghost stories, felt the paralytic horror of his right arm falling

helpless to his side, then Michele's failure to achieve the quest of "Sister Maddelena" emphasized the "impotence" of that horror—and so shall the Walkerville church.

4. THE CASTLE PERILOUS, WALKERVILLE

In the old legends ... we read of the mighty quest, the Quest of the Holy Grail, and how, year after year, right valorous and stainless Knights out of every land in Christiantie rode into the four winds of heaven searching for, and never finding, the sacred Chalice wherein St. Joseph of Aramathie had gathered the very Blood of Christ that had been shed for men on Calvary. (Cram 1907, 7)

At the moment of his death, the Temple veil is supposed to have torn...

—Shall we say that in tearing thus the veil revealed at last what it ought to hide, shelter, protect? Must we understand that it tore, simply, as if the tearing finally signed the end of the veil or of veiling, a sort of truth laid bare? (Derrida 2002, 314–15)

In 1907, Cram compiled several of his previous essays as *The Gothic Quest*. He introduced the compilation with a brief explanation why we should understand Gothic architecture as a quest. For Cram, the development of later medieval architecture was comparable to the Quest for the Holy Grail: "In the Quest of the Grail is the type of the Gothic Quest" (1907, 8). The knights on the Grail Quest were men in search of the divine: "The quest failed, as men count failure, but it brought to all brave, knightly adventure and the doing of great deeds of chivalry," leaving behind records of true Christian virtue (1907, 8). The quest for perfect Gothic architecture was thus the "lawful heir" of the Grail Quest, and its medieval manifestation "followed close upon" (1907, 8). Medieval Gothic builders sought the architectural divine, failing just as well, but leaving behind their monuments of true Christian worship. For Cram, both quests were the work of ardent Christianity in pursuit of Beatific Vision, and he argued that the Christian architect's "quest to-day is the Gothic Quest in a varied guise, as that was the

Quest of the Grail under another form" (1907, 10). Consequently, the "varied guise" of Cram's modern Gothic architecture, its optimism and pessimism, meant that he too was heir to the Grail Quest.

Walkerville's Anglican architecture stands as the most sophisticated exploration of that inheritance. Hence, the most promising statement in Shand-Tucci's biography is the following: "Alas, in the [eighteen-] nineties Cram never quite gathered his forces sufficiently to create an 'Arthurian' architecture to match his literary work" (1995, 326). Shand-Tucci was referring to *Excalibur*, a play that Cram first wrote (we recall) in 1893, though it remained unpublished until 1908. The play was the first in an unwritten trilogy involving King Arthur, the Knights of the Round Table, and their Quest for the Holy Grail—themes that shall resonate in the Walkerville church. For Shand-Tucci, though, Cram's "Arthurian" architecture would not be a new church of the twentieth century (i.e., Walkerville), but an addition to Cram's first constructed church: All Saints' in Ashmont [Plate 4.1]. The addition was a 1910, gilt-bronze tabernacle door for the church's high altar, displaying a pair of angels holding a chalice aloft with the sacramental bread in glory above its rim [Plate 4.2]. Shand-Tucci argued that the gilt-bronze ornament "depicts the Holy Grail" because the tabernacle is the place where the Eucharistic chalice is stored (1995, 452).¹³⁷ Such an assertion needs to be qualified, though. What does it mean to "depict" the Holy Grail?

¹³⁷ Shand-Tucci was not the only scholar to consider Cram's interest in the Grail Quest. Margaret O'Shaughnessey briefly described how Cram was "much taken with Arthurian legend," especially "the central episode of Arthurian romance, the Grail Quest" (1989, 125). Yet O'Shaughnessey did not explore the Arthurian condition of Cram's architecture, despite her conclusion that "For Cram the legend of the Grail Quest thus provided a paradigm for understanding Gothic art, which to his mind was as much a wonder as the Holy Grail" (1989, 126). Cram's Grail legacy was more complicated in its play between "understanding" and "wonder."

The Holy Grail is indeed a Eucharistic chalice, "the sacred Chalice wherein St. Joseph of Arimathie had gathered the very Blood of Christ that had been shed for men on Calvary." In the *Morte d'Arthur*, Thomas Malory wrote that St. Joseph of Arimathea was the "first bishop of Christendom," presenting the Holy Grail to the Grail Knight, Sir Galahad, and his fellows, while making "semblant as though he would have gone to the sacring of the mass" (1485/1985, 442).¹³⁸ Cram had been reading the *Morte d'Arthur* since at least 1893, when he wrote the first draft of *Excalibur*. Many of the archaic spellings for Cram's *dramatis personae*, like Sir Breuse saunce Pit  , come from the *Morte d'Arthur*. Furthermore, when Cram wrote his essay on *The Substance of Gothic*, he advised his students to read the "'Morte d'Arthur,' by Sir Thomas Mallory, first, of course," in order to get a sense of the social context in which Gothic architecture thrived (1917d, xvi–xvii). Finally, Cram used the *Morte d'Arthur* for the collected episodes depicted in the Grail window at the refectory of Princeton University's graduate college [Plate 4.3], where we are told: "See ye here / Joseph / the first / Bishop of Crystendome" [Plate 4.4]. Both Malory and Cram called attention to St. Joseph of Arimathea's connection with the Grail and the Grail's connection with the prelate's performance of the Eucharist.

Charlotte Oberg (1992) also provided a partial summary of Cram's Grail references. Yet, when it came to discussing Cram's architecture, Oberg's examples bore no direct significance to the Grail Quest. Oberg only asserted that Cram built in the Gothic style as part of his crusade against a corrupt modern world: "What began as a young man's taste for the architecture of the Middle Ages had become an old man's crusade to recreate in some measure the fundamental ethos underlying medieval life" (1992, 191). I disagree. In his youth, as with his old age, Cram's architectural "taste" for medieval construction was never divorced from his "crusade" for the "fundamental ethos underlying medieval life." That crusade was just as important to the Walkerville church, from the early years of his career, as any social commentary Cram would provide in his "old age."

¹³⁸ The text is ambiguous, however, as to whether or not the bishop is St. Joseph of Arimathea or a later prelate who took the name of Joseph in honour of the former.

Yet, as both the *Morte d'Arthur* and Cram's Princeton window demonstrate, there is a hierarchy of revelations for the Holy Grail. At Camelot, during the feast of Pentecost, King Arthur and the Knights of the Round Table witnessed a miraculous event: "there entered into the hall the Holy Greal covered with white samite, but there was none might see it, nor who bare it" (1485/1985, 376). Thus, in the lowest register of the Princeton window, not only is the Grail depicted at Camelot, covered with white samite, but the angelic figures are likewise covered—they that, unseen, bear it [Plate 4.5]. With that miraculous event, Sir Gawaine of Camelot inaugurated the Quest for the Holy Grail so that he might see it "more openly than it hath been seen here;" and, when the others knights of the Round Table heard Gawaine's vow, "they arose up the most part and made such avows as Sir Gawaine had made" (1485/1985, 377). Yet Sir Gawaine was not destined to achieve the Grail. Galahad was the Grail Knight, keeping the company of Sir Percivale and Sir Bors. Consequently, in the middle register of the Princeton window, St. Joseph stands within the Grail Castle, Carbonek, as the first bishop of Christendom, with Sir Bors and Sir Percivale to the left and right, respectively, and the retinue of Sir Galahad extending behind them [Plate 4.6].

St. Joseph, however, only "made semblant" of the mass at Carbonek, and a vision of Christ appeared within the chalice. Christ informed Galahad that the Holy Grail, as it appeared in Castle Carbonek, was not a full revelation: "but yet hast thou not seen it [the Grail] so openly as thou shalt see it in the city of Sarras in the spiritual place" (1485/1985, 442). To that end, Christ permitted Galahad to bring only Sir Bors and Sir Percivale with him to Sarras. Hence, on the highest

register of the Princeton window, we see the shields of Bors and Percivale in the tracery atop the left and right, respectively. And, in the middle, we see not only the red-cross shield of Sir Galahad in the tracery but Sir Galahad himself in the light, the only person capable of withstanding the trembling of his body when his "flesh began to behold" the Holy Grail in its full and perfect glory (1485/1985, 444) [Plate 4.7]. Even we are not permitted this experience, for the glazier introduced ribbons of cloud that stand between us and the conclusion of Galahad's quest. Our mortal perception of the Grail is, by necessity, veiled because our bodies, unlike the Grail Knight's, cannot endure the Grail's perfect glory.

Derrida called attention to the Christological importance of the veil when he turned to the biblical accounts of the Crucifixion. Not only did the crucifying death of Christ generate the Holy Grail through the shedding of His blood, but Matthew, Mark, and Luke all noted that the veil to the Jerusalem temple tore when Jesus died. The Crucifixion links the Grail and the veil. More precisely, Matthew and Mark stated that the veil tore in two, Luke that it tore in half (Mt. 27:51; Mk. 15:38; Lk. 23:45). Consequently, Derrida insisted that, even in tearing, the veil did not disappear. The veil marks the "*separation* between the holy and the most holy, between the tabernacle and the tabernacle of tabernacles" (2002, 315; emphasis original). By tearing the veil, Christianity did not lay bare the truth of God's absolute presence for eyes of flesh and blood to witness. The veil remains, though torn, because the holiness of the holiest of holies is, by necessity, in the veiling of that space. Thus, when Cram wrote of the Christian soul, "by the grace of God penetrating beyond the veil that limits our mortal sense, achiev[ing] the quest of the Holy Grail of ultimate truth" (1914b, 221), the temple

veil marks the boundary of body and soul. And the tearing of the veil marks the passage for the immortal Christian soul, alone, to penetrate. This, according to Cram, is the truth that all Christian mortals, save one, must face—all save the Grail Knight, whose flesh is pure enough to endure the absolute presence of the Grail.

This bodily limitation is crucial to understand the distinction between the Holy Grail and every other Eucharistic chalice. The Holy Grail is indeed a Eucharistic chalice, but not all Eucharistic chalices are Holy Grails. For Cram, it was the difference between the Catholic truth, as revealed to our mortal flesh through sacramental transubstantiation, and the Absolute Truth of God. He indicated as much when he wrote about the Grail Quest: "it was none other than the Beatific Vision in quest of which they rode: Beauty and Truth, absolute and unmingled of any imperfection, and these are attributes of God, not of man, and not to be perceived by eyes of flesh and blood (1907, 8). Hence, Cram would later insist, "Absolute Truth is not for us here on earth, for its flame would not vitalize but destroy" (1927, i). It must be veiled to all save the Grail Knight.

Cram further elaborated the point in terms of sacramental philosophy: "man, of his own motion, cannot remotely touch the 'thing-in-itself,' the *noumenon*, the Absolute, but is able to deal only with the phenomenon or, as Aristotle calls it, the 'phantasm.' 'In the present state of life, in which the soul is united to a passible body,' says St. Thomas, 'it is impossible for our intellect to understand anything actually, except by turning to the phantasm'" (1919a, 69; emphasis original). In other words, because we exist within our sensory bodies,

“Philosophers tell us that the Absolute, the ultimate Truth that lies behind the show of things, can only be apprehended or expressed through the symbol” (Cram 1927, i). For Cram, the symbol is the Aristotelian “phantasm.” Thus, the Eucharist is remarkable because it is the “unique symbol of the redemption and transformation of matter, since, of all the Sacraments, it is the only one where the very physical qualities of the material vehicle are transformed” (1919a, 101). This is because “by the act of Consecration the very substance of the bread and wine are transformed into an altogether different Substance, the very Body and Blood of Christ, only the accidents of form, colour, ponderability, etc., remaining” (Cram 1919a, 99). Yet the “accidents of form” remain in the Eucharist to ensure that the bread and wine are still symbolic phantasms, differentiated from the divine by the slightest (but still crucial) degree. With the Holy Grail, there are no accidents of form to distinguish the fluid in the chalice from the Blood of Christ. Communing with the Holy Grail is to touch the Absolute in a way that only the faith of the average Christian soul might achieve through the simulacrum of every other chalice.

Shand-Tucci may then be right that the image on the Ashmont tabernacle door is a “depiction” of the Holy Grail. The door is a symbolic representation of the divine glory that the angels (and the Grail Knight) can endure—hence, the angelic worshipers on the tabernacle door (and the angels descending to either side of Galahad in the highest register of the Princeton window). Yet such a depiction on the Ashmont tabernacle door is there only to indicate the chasm that persists between the truth of the Eucharist as performed in Ashmont and the Truth of the Holy Grail that, somewhere else, awaits the

arrival of the Grail Knight. It is the difference between a tabernacle and the tabernacle of tabernacles. Thus, it is of no consequence that the Ashmont tabernacle was the “first on any such high altar in any parish church in the Diocese of Massachusetts” (Shand-Tucci 1995, 452). It may have been the first, but it would not be the last; Cram added a similar tabernacle door to St. Paul’s Episcopal Church in Brockton, Massachusetts [Plate 4.8]. How then is the Ashmont tabernacle worthy of Shand-Tucci’s preferential treatment as Cram’s “Arthurian” architecture, let alone the unique chalice of the Holy Grail? It cannot be. Otherwise, the Knights of the Round Table would never have needed to leave Camelot to attain the Grail; they would have found it waiting on the Eucharistic high altar in any parish church or chapel.

Consequently, Shand-Tucci was wrong to imply that Mary Peabody, the donor of the tabernacle door, was the Fisher King of Grail mythology (or, rather, Fisher Queen) because she “lay dying” in 1910, when the tabernacle door was commissioned (1995, 452). Because the Fisher King is a monarch whose name puns on *pêcheur* and *pécheur*, the French for fisher and sinner, the wounded state of his thigh (or, rather, groin) is the curse of his sinfulness. There is nothing in the way Mary Peabody “lay dying” to suggest that her illness was the result of sin. At most, because she was losing her sight at the end of her life, she might be a modern version of Malory’s character, King Mordrains (1485/1985, 440). Mordrains lost his sight when he tried to see the Holy Grail, asking God thereafter to let him live until he could miraculously see Sir Galahad, the Grail Knight. Centuries later, Galahad arrived en route for the Grail, and Mordrains recovered his sight. Crucially, though, Galahad did not heal King Mordrains with the Holy Grail. He

healed the king simply by attending mass at the king's chapel. Thus, Mary Peabody only needed Galahad to attend mass in her church, not achieve the Holy Grail.

Finally, Shand-Tucci wrongly implied that the Ashmont church is Cram's Grail Castle because St. George stands in the foreground of the Ashmont altarpiece [Plate 4.9]. St. George, indeed, served as an ideal knight for Cram—he wrote a sonnet in 1893, with the opening line: “Save us, St. George of England, ere we die” (1893b, 407). However, St. George was not the questing knight of the Catholic Holy Grail. He was not the Galahad of Malory's *Morte d'Arthur*. In fact, Cram's one reference to St. George in his Arthurian play, *Excalibur*, was of a patron saint already dead and ready to hear the pleas of Arthurian knighthood: “St. George, an altar for thee” (1908b, 35). Yet, because St. George holds the sword before him at Ashmont, and the red-cross shield at his side, he still performs a role within Cram's “Arthurian” architecture. He is the keeper and protector of artefacts dedicated to the Grail Knight's use. He is the “white knight” of the *Morte d'Arthur*, he who guards the red-cross shield, awaiting the Grail Knight's arrival (1485/1985, 379).

When Galahad arrived at Camelot to claim his knighthood and the Siege Perilous at the Table Round, he also claimed a sword that no one else could handle (Malory 1485/1985, 375). Likewise, when Galahad ventured forth from Camelot, he came to the White Abbey, where he claimed the red-cross shield to the satisfaction of the white knight guardian (Malory 1485/1985, 379). The presence of the sword at Camelot and the presence of the shield at the White Abbey were tests for all who saw them. They were guarantors of the Grail

Knight's destiny. Sir Gawaine and Sir Percivale tried the sword and failed; King Bagdemagus tried the shield and failed. As Cram put it in *Excalibur*, every artefact calls on us to "Take it ... if ye have the hand" (1908b, 3), but only the Grail Knight has "the hand" necessary to handle the artefacts of the Grail Quest. Thus, St. George is waiting at Ashmont for the Grail Knight to come and claim his weapons in pursuit of the Holy Grail, a Grail whose absence is a constant reminder of the discrepancy between its depiction on the tabernacle door and the actual chalice presented to the congregation. Consequently, the two knights riding in the background of the altarpiece (Sir Bors and Sir Percivale?) await the Grail Knight's arrival so they might continue in pursuit of their quest [Plate 4.10]. Ultimately, in the context of the Grail legend, Cram's Ashmont church marks a site of departure in search of the Grail, not its achievement—a rather fitting metaphor for the first church Cram constructed. We must look elsewhere for the Grail Castle.

Cram selected his friend, George Hallowell, to paint the Ashmont altarpiece, c. 1903. The painting is thus concurrent with the Walkerville design. If All Saints' Church in Ashmont is the Grail Knight's point of departure, then Cram's cryptic architecture at Walkerville, the site of Edward Walker's sickly, sinful kingship, was (and still is) Cram's Grail Castle. Walkerville is not, however, the site in which the Holy Grail is achieved (not yet, anyway). The phantasmal condition of the Grail is haunting the Walkerville church, encrypted in the promise of its architecture, as in Cram's ghost story "Sister Maddelena." As argued in the previous entr'acte, Cram's cryptic ghost story was an extended simile on the Grail Quest and the encrypted possibility of restoring Catholic health to the

modern world: i.e., healing the spiritually sick Cavaliere. We recall that architectural patterns and the building of expectations through repetition were the cryptic strategies in "Sister Maddelena." Hence, Cram's narrator only discovered Sister Maddelena's crypt when he questioned the repetitious pattern of the standard convent cell. Consequently, our approach to the Grail Quest of the Walkerville church is through the study of Cram's strategic repetitions, starting, once again, with the monumental tower that dominates the church exterior.

THE TOWER OF THE FOUR WINDS

The Grail Castle is located at a remote distance, requiring the Grail Knight to travel extensively in quest of it. By 1902, Cram lacked the opportunity to build an Anglican or Episcopalian church as far away as Walkerville, Ontario. At that time, Cram's firm had built only seventeen churches, the majority of which were located in New England, and most of them within the greater Boston area. Furthermore, although the first church Cram designed outside New England was St. Andrew's Episcopal Church (c. 1894) in Detroit, Michigan, just across the river from Walkerville, Ontario, it was the crossing of that river and the placement of the Walkerville church in relation to the water that made Walkerville the ideal location for the Grail Castle.¹³⁹ St. Andrew's Church, Detroit, is nowhere near the

¹³⁹ Incidentally, the Walker brothers likely hired Cram's firm to build the new St. Mary's Anglican Church in Walkerville because they had already seen what the firm could do at St. Andrew's, Detroit. Local legend has it that the Walkers first offered the Walkerville church design to Albert Kahn, who, being Jewish, declined the commission, suggesting Cram's firm instead (Hallam 1979b, 19). That, however, seems unlikely because Kahn would design the Christian mortuary chapel at Detroit's Woodlawn Cemetery in 1905, immediately after his supervision of the Walkerville church that Cram's firm designed. He was clearly comfortable designing a Christian church. Regardless,

river, whereas the new St. Mary's is located a mere seven blocks south of the Walkerville waterfront. More importantly, with the ferry docks to Detroit located at the foot of Devonshire Road, and the new Anglican edifice located seven blocks away, its western bell tower stands directly in the path of the road to the river. Cram designed the Walkerville church to have maximum visual impact from Devonshire Road, approaching from the Detroit River and thus, from the United States [Plate 1.3]. If the Ashmont church, near Cram's office in Boston, was the point of departure for the Grail Quest, then our approach to Walkerville, via the Detroit River and the United States, marks our arrival in the land of the Fisher King. After all, as the king's adjectival designation indicates, the land of the Fisher King is on the edge of a body of water.¹⁴⁰

Granted, it was common for Cram to place the bell tower of a parish church at the western limit of the nave.¹⁴¹ It was also quite common among Gothic-Revival architects to place the bell tower of a church in alignment with a prominent street of the town.¹⁴² In those terms, the Walkerville Anglican church is a repetition of things repeatedly seen in Cram's career and the Gothic Revival.

even if Kahn was the one to suggest Cram's firm to the Walker brothers, he likely did so on the strength of their design for St. Andrew's, Detroit.

¹⁴⁰ Richard Wagner, for instance, opened his Grail opera, *Parsifal*, on the edge of a "deep-set forest lake" (1904, 8).

¹⁴¹ Cram included a western tower aligned with the nave on his first prospective churches, St. John's Episcopal Church, Williamstown, Massachusetts (c. 1889), the Church of the Messiah, Boston, Massachusetts (c. 1890), and St. Thomas's Episcopal Church, Dover, New Hampshire (c. 1890); his first constructed church, All Saints' Episcopal Church, Ashmont (c. 1891); and several others: All Saints' Episcopal Church, Brookline, Massachusetts (c. 1894)—though the tower was never built—, St. Stephen's Episcopal Church, Cohasset, Massachusetts (c. 1899), St. Mark's Episcopal Church, Mount Kisco, New York (c. 1907), Christ Episcopal Church, West Haven, Connecticut (c. 1908), First Presbyterian Church, Oakland, California (c. 1912), and Trinity Methodist-Episcopal Church, Durham, North Carolina (c. 1923).

¹⁴² In Canada, for instance, Malcolm Thurlby and William Westfall (1990) have explored the arrangement of Gothic-Revival church towers with important streets in Ontario towns.

Yet the placement of the new St. Mary's, Walkerville, on an island of earth, bifurcating the traffic of Devonshire Road, was unique for Cram. To be sure, he designed several churches that occupied entire blocks of land, though none save Walkerville where he diverted the traffic of the town around the architecture. Furthermore, the new St. Mary's churchyard and graveyard, spreading generously to either side of the building complex, accentuates that diversion of traffic, making the architecture seem all the more insular in the broad expanses of land to either side [Plate 4.11]. This is another clue to the Walkerville Grail Quest. The insular condition of the new St. Mary's Anglican Church is indebted to Cram's love of the ruined abbey at Glastonbury, England.

In 1919, Cram prefaced a book called *The Hill of Vision*, Frederick Bligh Bond's essay on Glastonbury Abbey. Cram stated, "I first went to [Glastonbury,] the most holy place in Britain, in the year 1886, and thereafter as often as I was in England—some seven or eight times in all. From the first, it had overwhelmed me by its almost mystical influence, partly august and enormous history, partly dim and evocative tradition, partly the sense that the story was not finished" (1919b, vii). Cram had been visiting Glastonbury, "the most holy place in Britain," since his first European tour. Consequently, Cram opened his 1905 tour of *The Ruined Abbeys of Great Britain* with an exploration of Glastonbury: "To those who have ever set foot in the magical Island of Avalon, the word means immeasurable things, and to its few and desecrated ruins one turns first among all the abbeys of England" (1905, 27). As William Albert Nitze noted long ago, the ruins of Glastonbury Abbey are situated on the river Brue, "which in the flood season of the year makes of it an island" (1940, 84). Thus, because the floodwaters of Brue

make an island of Glastonbury Abbey, and because the abbey is the supposed resting place of the legendary King Arthur, Cram had faith in the story that Glastonbury Abbey is the Island of Avalon, the deathless retreat of King Arthur.¹⁴³

More importantly, Cram believed that Glastonbury was the “unquestioned site of the first Christian church in Britain” (1905, 27). He envisioned the “founding of the abbey by St. Philip the Apostle and his twelve disciples, amongst whom was St. Joseph of Arimathea ... bearing the Holy Grail” (1905, 30). He then lamented the ruined state of the present abbey, where “beneath the vanished vaults once rested the Holy Grail” (1905, 34). This is why Cram sensed that the story of Glastonbury Abbey was unfinished and why he found the isolated tower of the Glastonbury Tor so “ominous and insistent” in its seclusion (1905, 28) [Plate 4.12]. The “gaunt spike” of the “lonely tower, from the base of which every vestige of church has fallen away” (1905, 28), was an ominous reminder of the destruction that the modern world visited upon medieval Gothic, but was also an insistent reminder of the quest to rebuild the Gothic and redeem that modern world. Therefore, the new St. Mary's, Walkerville, was Cram's response to Glastonbury Abbey, creating a modern church situated on an island of earth, with a tower as potentially “gaunt” and “lonely” as the one atop the Glastonbury Tor. There is, of course, a church

¹⁴³ On that Arthurian note, when Cram wrote of the Anglo-Protestant destruction of medieval architecture (Glastonbury included), he optimistically stated that the Gothic style “did not die in the sixteenth century, it only retreated to the sanctuary of the Island of Avalon with King Arthur and all the other inextinguishable truths, to lie there in a long daydream until the Sun of Righteousness should rise again on the world. It is not day yet, but the east is silver, and Gothic has come back and is at work again” (1907, 160–1). Gothic, the once and future king; at that moment, Cram, like Malcolm McCann, the revolutionary optimist of Cram's first novel, *The Decadent*, believed that the dawn of a true medieval resurrection was soon at hand. Pessimistically, however, Cram, like his *Decadent* character, Aurelian Blake, would otherwise insist that the light is not the silver east but the red west, the dying light of beauty in the increasingly abysmal conditions of modernity.

attached to the Walkerville bell tower (and a parish hall and rectory besides), but because that church complex is implicated in the sickness of the modern world, it too is a kind of ruin. Secretly, the tower is missing the “lance-like” projection of a reaching spire, and the arm of its aisle has withered into the missing hand that should complete its body. If the Holy Grail once rested in the Catholic completion of Glastonbury Abbey, then the ruin of Walkerville’s Anglican architecture holds the potential of its return.

Granted, the Walkerville tower is not identical to the pile atop the Glastonbury Tor; it only shares the massive proportions of its square-topped construction. Yet neither is it simply a variation on the western tower of All Saints’, Ashmont, as according to Shand-Tucci. The only thing the Ashmont and Walkerville towers have in common is Cram’s love of massive proportions and squared tops. We recall that St. Michael’s bell tower in Bray was the closest inspiration for Walkerville, with its quintet of tower tiers, the angling of its stepped buttressing, even the randomness of its stone coursing. Yet neither the cornice at the crown of Glastonbury’s Tor, nor the cornice of the Ashmont tower, nor even the cornice of the Bray tower make use of sculptural details like we see in Walkerville [Plate 4.13]. For this, Cram looked to the work of his one-time Boston neighbour—the English émigré, Henry Vaughan.

William Morgan described Vaughan’s chapel at St. Paul’s School, Concord, thusly: “It was the Perpendicular tower, based on the most glorious phase of English art, that so appealed to Cram and other architects of his generation. From St. Paul’s onward, the square, spireless tower became one the characteristic forms of the Modern Gothic style” (1983, 95) [Plate 1.11]. It was not

just the square-ness and spire-less-ness of Vaughan's chapel tower that "so appealed" to Cram; it was the way Vaughan integrated little sculpted plaques along the cornice of his tower [Plate 4.14]. In fact, Cram used several of the same floral details, sculpted by the same studio—the John Evans Company of Boston—for numerous towers of his early career, including St. Stephen's Church, Cohasset, the Emmanuel Episcopal Church of Newport, Rhode Island (c. 1900), and the new St. Mary's Church of Walkerville.¹⁴⁴ Yet, within the patterned regularity of those crowning cornices, Walkerville presents a subtle variation that further distinguishes the Walkerville Grail Quest. Each side of the Walkerville tower, save one, has a septet of sculpted details, repeating the same grape leaf, oak leaf, ballflower, budding, and rosy emblems on any given side. However, on the center of every side, a face is blowing in one of the four cardinal directions [Plate 4.15]. These faces are unique to the Walkerville church, and they personify the four winds of heaven.¹⁴⁵

The east and west winds, Eurus and Zephyrus, respectively, are identical depictions of faces emerging from vegetation, blowing with puffed cheeks. The west wind, Zephyrus, blows in the direction of the Anglican graveyard. As the wind of springtime, Zephyrus is an eschatological reminder that the Christian

¹⁴⁴ Though not always the work of the John Evans Company, Cram's firm would design several more towers with sculpted bosses in the cornice, including the Cadet Chapel of the West Point Military Academy, West Point, New York (c. 1905), St. Mark's Episcopal Church, Mount Kisco, New York (c. 1907), St. Thomas's Episcopal Church, New York City, New York (c. 1909), the House of Hope Presbyterian Church, Minneapolis, Minnesota (c. 1912), St. George's School Chapel, Providence, Rhode Island (c. 1920), and the First Presbyterian Church of Greensburg, Pennsylvania (c. 1930).

¹⁴⁵ Years later, Cram would design a harbour mansion in Gloucester, Massachusetts, called the Tower-of-the-Winds (c. 1920), though it lacks the specific detail of wind gods blowing in their cardinal directions. For a contemporary description of the four winds, see W. Smith 1853, 112, 124, 809, and 829.

dead, like Christ Himself in spring, will arise from their graves to join in the earthly paradise. By contrast, the east wind, Eurus, is a wind of torrential rains. He faces in the same direction as the lone gargoyle of the church. That gargoyle, its mouth gorged on a downspout, spews forth the rainwater as a reminder of what the east wind brings [Plate 4.16]. Then, on the back of the tower, we find the cold north wind, Boreas, a name derived from the Greek *boraô*—the devourer. Boreas does not breathe life into the world, as the west wind of springtime does; the cold north wind frostily devours the life of the world, leaving only the dead husks of once vernal growth. Thus, the carving of Boreas does not purse his lips to blow. His mouth splits open to inhale and consume.

Finally, on the front of the church, we find Notus, the warm south wind—bringer of fog and haze. His mouth is neither pursed to blow nor inhaling to devour; he is seething his foggy breath through cinched lips, creating a miasma akin to the rolling folds of cloth that envelop his head. This is why Notus is the only personification of wind at Walkerville to have his eyes closed. Unlike the other winds, the fog that sputters from his mouth is blinding. This is also why Notus is located directly beneath the cross that projects from the tower's parapet. With his southern source, his quasi-Arabian headdress, and his shut eyes, Notus represents what Cram considered to be the sirocco of blind pagan cultures, Islam included, over which the cross of Christianity is supposed to be victorious. After all, Cram's architectural partner, Bertram Goodhue, once illustrated a book with a Christian knight toppling his Islamic counterpart in combat [Plate 4.17], and Cram himself argued that the "modern Goth is the defender of Christian civilization against paganism" (1907, 158). More precisely, when Cram described

The Great Thousand Years (500–1500 AD), he argued that in “1453 the great battle began. Then fell Constantinople before the devouring Turks, and suddenly over Italy poured the flood of decadent philosophy, evil morals and false learning that had festered there in the last years of Byzantine corruption” (1918, 24–5). The Islamic Turks were instrumental in Cram’s theory of modern decadence.

An optimistic reader of Cram’s Walkerville tower would consequently believe that Cram’s modern Gothic architecture was a victorious defence of Christian civilization against the decadent paganism that Turkish Islam helped usher into the modern world. We recall Cram’s celebration of later medieval architecture as the “trumpet blast of an awakening world, a proclamation to *the four winds of heaven* that man has found himself ... in a word, that Christianity has triumphed over paganism, the Catholic faith over heresy” (1907, 56; emphasis added). Furthermore, Cram wrote an article on “Christ Church Bells,” in which he commended the restoration of the old colonial bells to Christ Church, Cambridge, Massachusetts. Even though the Cambridge church had never been a Gothic or even Gothic-Revival edifice, Cram applauded the “homogeneity of metal” in the old bells and the consequent quality of their musical tones (1895b, 640). Likewise, he advocated the proper casting, hanging, and playing of church bells, calling the art of campanology a “manly recreation” (1895b, 644).¹⁴⁶ He then concluded his article with the assertion that the re-hung bells and rediscovered campanological music of Christ Church,

¹⁴⁶ Cram encouraged the Walker brothers to establish a guild of bell ringers among the “men in your works” (St. Mary’s Church Papers, file 278).

Cambridge, were proofs positive of the beauty of liturgical art, "proclaiming [their] rediscovered truth to the four winds of heaven" (1895b, 647). Therefore, single tenor bell of Walkerville, cast by a Cram-approved foundry (Mears and Stainbank of London, England), is just such an example of Cram's "rediscovered truth." Indeed, with the tenor bell of Walkerville pealing manfully from its Anglican belfry, the sound could be interpreted as a proclamation of Christian victory over paganism, ringing out to the four winds of heaven as depicted on the crowning cornice of the belfry.

Pessimistically, though, Cram did not think that we could secure that victory. With his "Introduction" to *The Gothic Quest*, he reminded his reader that "Paynim and infidel roll up in surging ranks, break, ebb, and are sucked back into their night, or, as happens now and again, sweep on in victory over fields won from them once by the Knights of the Gothic Quest, and all is to do again. There is neither rest nor pause, neither final defeat, nor definite victory" (1907, 9). In other words, Cram saw modernity (living in a time of surging infidelity) in terms of Robert Browning's questing poem, "Childe Roland to the Dark Tower Came," quoting from Browning at length (Cram 1907, 7, 10–11). Like Browning, Cram saw his modern Gothic Quest as the noble, but hopeless journey of one who, "dauntless," fought against the odds (Browning 1855/1993, 1211). This is why Cram's Bostonian friend, Louise Imogen Guiney, the "laureate of the lost" (Fairbanks 1973, xii), named Cram as her "knight" (Guiney, qtd. in Shand-Tucci 1995, 38). She admired Cram as the "mad agitator for 'dead issues'" (Guiney, qtd. in Shand-Tucci 1995, 38). Thus, Cram fought for the lost cause of a Gothic resurrection because it was (presently) dead to the decadent minds of the

modern world. And thus, the seething, be-turbaned “night” of the foggy south wind is not simply crushed under the Walkerville cross.

As we shall see (or, rather, not see), the veiled condition of Notus’s breath seeps into the Walkerville church to ensure that Cram and his brethren, the knights of the modern Gothic Quest, could not absolutely achieve their goal, certainly no more than the “right valorous and stainless Knights” of the Middle Ages could achieve the Grail Quest. Those medieval knights “rode into the four winds of heaven, searching for, and never finding, the sacred Chalice.” Hence, they failed because they rode into the four winds of heaven, by necessity, one wind at a time. For Cram, the Grail is located at a miraculous site where the four winds converge and disperse their breath in their respective directions. The Walkerville tower, as the only site where Cram converged the four winds of heaven, is thus the location of his Holy Grail, a detail lost on all who approach the church thinking that the sculpted cornice is just another decorative crown on yet another square-topped tower, so “characteristic” of Cram’s modern Gothic style. For those, however, who note the unique detail of the four winds, the interior of the Walkerville church becomes a different experience altogether.

This distinction between ignorance/innocence and awareness calls attention to divergent traditions of the Grail Quest. In the tradition where Sir Galahad is the Grail Knight, as in Malory’s *Morte d’Arthur*, there was never any question as to Galahad’s purpose as the Grail Knight, nor was there any need for him to question what he beheld. He knew the answers were forthcoming. Christ had asked him in the episode of Castle Carbonek: “Son, wotest thou what I hold betwixt my hands” (Malory 1485/1985, 442)? “Nay,” said Galahad, “but if ye will

tell me" (1485/1985, 442), so Christ told him it was the Holy Grail—or, at least, a slightly veiled version of the Grail, as the sacred chalice was only to be fully discovered in the Holy City of Sarras. There is, however, another version of the Grail Quest, one that pre-dates the Malorian epic and the Galahad tradition, where Sir Percivale was the Grail Knight, and not simply a companion in Sir Galahad's retinue. Hence, Cram referred to that earlier version of Percivale in "Sister Maddelena," passing "across the golden bridge that burned after him as he vanished in the intolerable light of the Beatific Vision." That version of Percivale, as the Grail Knight, is the one where the hero approached the Grail Castle, Montsalvat, unawares, an innocent fool. There he met the wounded Fisher King, and there he witnessed the Holy Grail and the bleeding lance that once pierced the side of Christ, but he kept silent and did nothing with the artefacts. Having failed to question what he saw, he lost the opportunity to achieve the quest at once, being forced to wander in search of another opportunity to act accordingly. Galahad, utterly pure as he may have been, was never the fool, never unaware of his role as the Grail Knight, whereas Percivale progressed from an innocent fool to the knowing achiever.

At Walkerville, Cram combined aspects of both the Galahad and Percivale traditions of the Grail Quest. Certainly, he was acquainted with both traditions by the time he designed the Walkerville church: he used Malory's *Morte d'Arthur* as the source for his 1893 play, *Excalibur*, and he referred to Percivale's Grail Quest in his 1895 book of ghost stories. Furthermore, Cram's favourite opera was Richard Wagner's *Parsifal*, where the titular hero was Wagner's Grail Knight. Yet we recall that Cram prefaced *Excalibur* with an

apologetic notice, stating that he attempted—"however inadequately—to do for the epic of our own race, and in a form adapted to dramatic presentation, a small measure of that which Richard Wagner achieved in an allied art for the Teutonic legends." Wagner's opera *Parsifal* used the Teutonic poetry of Wolfram von Eschenbach's "Parzival" as a sourcebook. Thus, for Cram, the Grail Knight of his "own race" was Galahad, and the "epic" involved was Anglo-Arthurian romance, with Thomas Malory as his medieval sourcebook. After all, in Cram's Princeton Grail window, Galahad, not Percivale, was the Grail Knight. Nevertheless, at Walkerville, Cram used the Wagnerian trajectory through the *Parsifal* narrative to articulate *our* mortal experience of the Grail Quest and Castle. We are not the Grail Knight, but we, like Percivale, might overcome our limitations to understand, at least, that we are standing in the Grail Castle.¹⁴⁷

WAGNERIAN GOTHIC

Cram disparaged those who thought that architecture is "frozen music" (1936, 5). He did not disparage the musical analogy. On the contrary, he argued that a church "should be composed almost like a piece of music. Aisles, ambulatories, chapels, baptisteries, oratories, and even shrines and chantries, all unite to the making of the perfect whole" (1901, 125). Likewise, in another essay, he argued that a "Gothic church is a gigantic composition, worked out like a symphony.... Built out of innumerable details as a symphony is built out of innumerable notes, it becomes the most exalted expression of art that man can achieve" (1899a,

¹⁴⁷ Cram's friend, Richard Hovey, likewise wrote of Percival in his own unfinished cycle of Arthurian plays: "And as for thee, since thou art not the son / I wait, give o'er; the Graal is not for thee" (1900, 49). Hovey's Percival was not the Grail Knight, either.

119). Thus, rather than the musical analogy, Cram disparaged the assumption that architecture is frozen. For him, architecture is a dynamic experience in flux, as in "The White Villa," where Cram's narrator revelled in the ruins of Paestum because the beauty of the architecture changed as the marble washed in the ephemeral colours of day and night.¹⁴⁸

Yet, even more than the chromatic transience of architecture in situ, Cram felt that church architecture, in particular, was the profound coordination of ritual spaces. He insisted that Catholic ceremony was a fine art that once rightly ranked with architecture, painting, sculpture, music, poetry, and drama, "demanding every adjunct of perfect beauty that can be brought to its environment" (1907, 292). Thus, because Cram could design a church with precise ritual activities in mind, he could also orchestrate the spaces to maximize the emotional and spiritual impact of the ritual narratives performed therein. For instance, he used musical terminology to describe the experience of approaching the high altar of a church: "with the choir screen there is a change; and both from the standpoint of reverence and from that of artistic composition it is imperative that, to borrow a musical term, the crescendo that culminates in

¹⁴⁸ In the full light of May sunshine, Cram's narrator described the ruins at Paestum as "three temples, one silver gray, one golden gray, and one flushed with intangible rose" (1895a, 57). As the sun set, a "red flush poured from the west and painted the Doric temples in pallid rose against the evanescent purple of the Apennines. Already a thin mist was rising from the meadows, and the temples hung pink in the misty grayness" (1895a, 60–1). At night, a "flat, white mist, like water, lay over the entire meadow; from the midst rose against the blue-black sky the three ghostly temples, black and silver in the vivid moonlight, floating, it seemed, in the fog; and behind them, seen in the broken glints between the pallid shafts, stretched the line of the silver sea" (1895a, 68). Finally, he described the ruins at sunrise, "when the mist-like lambent opals bathed the bases of the tall columns salmon in the morning light! It was a rhapsody in the pale and unearthly colors of Puvis de Chavannes vitalized and made glorious with splendid sunlight; the apotheosis of mist; a vision never seen before, never to be forgotten" (1895a, 77).

the climax of the altar itself should begin here" (1901, 90). Cram's churches build, as it were, to a crescendo of ritualism.

Nor was the musical analogy limited to the structure of a Cram church.

Concerning the crafted details that decorate the building, Cram argued:

whoever the craftsman is he must work with and not for the architect, although the latter must exercise a general oversight over everything.... Really an architect is, or should be, more a coordinator than a general designer ... by means of which architectural designers, workmen, artificers, craftsmen and artists should come together, and, while preserving their own personality, merge their identity in a great artistic whole, somewhat as the instruments of a great orchestra are assembled to the perfect rendering of a symphony by the master and conductor. (1914b, 158–9)

Cram considered himself the "master and conductor" of his architectural compositions; and, although the architect *should* be "more a coordinator than a general designer, we recall from the first chapter that the all-controlling architect was a lamentable but inevitable condition of Cram's modern world. In selecting an architect, the building committee of a church must then "rely on him implicitly" because, according to Cram, modern social conditions were not right for a church to grow as an organic extension of the community that used it (1901, 43). Specialists must be hired, starting with the architect. Thus, Cram may have wanted to limit himself to the role of conductor, but his "general oversight" could be quite overbearing when it came to the individual personalities of the artisans he employed.

He once admitted that he had "always had a passion for stained glass ... interfering with the makers to [his] heart's content" (1936, 192). Furthermore, he warned his reader that an architect should never give "all the glass in any one place to one man" (1936, 193). Yet he did exactly that at Walkerville. We recall

that Bertram Goodhue's younger brother, Harry Goodhue, produced all the glass. I say "produced" because Cram reported to the Walker brothers that his firm provided Harry Goodhue with the "general scheme for all the stained glass" (St. Mary's Church Papers, file 278). The subject matter belonged to Cram, not Harry. Furthermore, because Harry Goodhue's studio was located in Cambridge, Massachusetts, Cram would indeed interfere with Harry's work to his heart's content. He gave the Walker brothers frequent updates and approval of Harry's work as it progressed. Consequently, when the Walkers wondered why the chapel window of the church was still unfinished in October of 1903, they sent their query to Cram, not Harry. Cram then met with Harry and set the matter straight. The younger Goodhue had neglected the chapel window in his original estimate of \$4,000, and he apologized to the Walkers for his mistake: "I regret exceedingly this misunderstanding regarding the coloured glass for St. Mary's Church, and wish I might have dealt directly with you at every point" (St. Mary's Church Papers, file 278). Ultimately, Harry had to deal with Cram's control because every major detail concerning the Walkerville church came through Cram's office.

The same is true of the woodwork. Johannes Kirchmayer, lead carver of the Irving and Casson Company of Boston, produced all the figural woodwork at Walkerville. Cram claimed that Kirchmayer's "best work is done when he is given a free hand, without full-sized drawings or even sketches" (1914a, 228). Yet, at Walkerville, Cram's firm provided detailed sketches of all the figural carvings, and

Kirchmayer followed those drawings closely [Plate 4.18–19].¹⁴⁹ No free hand would he be given there. Furthermore, I have already mentioned the stonework of the John Evans Company, where the majority of the sculpted plaques for the tower cornice were made-to-order patterns used in previous Cram churches—the four winds being the exception. Likewise, Cram's firm ordered all the Walkerville floor tiles from the 1901 catalogue of the Moravian Pottery and Tile Works of Doylestown, Pennsylvania. Henry Chapman Mercer, owner and head ceramicist at Doylestown, was a Harvard graduate and contributor to the Society of Arts and Crafts, Boston. Through Mercer's Boston affiliations, Cram learned of the tile work and simply ordered the images he wanted for the Walkerville floor. Thus, Cram's role as “master and conductor” of the Walkerville composition was such that the instrumental craftsmen were limited to producing exactly what Cram wanted and expected of them.

Cram's admiration for Richard Wagner is demonstrative of his need to control every aspect of an architectural composition.¹⁵⁰ When Cram journeyed to Europe for the first time, in 1886, his ultimate destination was Bayreuth, Germany, to witness Wagner's music at the *Festspielhaus* designed expressly for

¹⁴⁹ In the sketch of the Walkerville high altar reredos [Plate 4.19], St. Thomas à Becket (middle left) and St. John the Baptist (directly left of the central St. Mary and infant Christ) are the opposite of the final arrangement of the built reredos—with John in the middle left and Thomas next to Mary and Christ. Kirchmayer's company shipped the individual statues to Walkerville for assembly with the reredos screen. Yet there was some confusion in Walkerville as to the ordering of the figures. Cram's office sent a hasty telegraph to the Walkers, mistakenly stating that, from left to right, John came before Thomas. By contrast, the original sketch had a greater sense of balanced opposition, where, to either side of Mary and Christ, John the Baptist looks down and out to the steps before the altar and St. George, to the right, looks up and into the reredos. Then, Thomas (middle left) and King Edward the Confessor (middle right) both engage the congregation.

¹⁵⁰ Wagner was notoriously demanding in all aspects of Bayreuth productions. In *Parsifal*, the “*Zaubergarten* scene, for instance, was redesigned seven times before Wagner was satisfied” (Skelton 1965, 56).

that purpose. Cram had already heard some of Wagner's music in Boston, but he heard it at Mechanics Hall, "of all inappropriate places" (1936, 7). Despite the deficiencies of the Boston setting, Cram instantly "became a besotted Wagnerite ... holding stubbornly to [his] idol" (1936, 8). Nevertheless, he wanted to experience Wagner's music as Wagner himself had staged it, "with Richter conducting and Materna, Winckleman, and Scaria singing, together with others personally trained by Wagner himself" (1936, 9). It was the *gesamtkunstwerk* of Wagner's personal training and personal touches at the *Festspielhaus* that made Cram's 1886 journey to Bayreuth worth more than his previous experiences at Mechanics Hall. The *Festspielhaus* was Wagner's attempt at a total work of art, *gesamtkunstwerk*, where Wagner coordinated and approved everything (music, staging, lighting, costumes, scenery) to maximize the aesthetic experience of hearing his music at his theatre.

At Bayreuth, Cram witnessed three performances each of *Parsifal* and *Tristan und Isolde*. Consequently, when Cram distinguished between "Good and Bad Modern Gothic" architecture, he drew upon his Bayreuth experience: "When you hear *Tristan* one night and *Traviata* the next you are enlightened and become convinced of the gulf that lies between good and evil" (1899a, 115). The *gesamtkunstwerk* of *Tristan und Isolde* was the same as good Gothic architecture. Thus, Cram defended the musicality of Gothic with a Wagnerian analogy. He insisted that "we can no more reduce Gothic architecture to the terms of a structural formula than we can dismiss Greek architecture with a word on trabeate construction; the stone beams and dead loads are there in the one case, and the pointed vaults with their supporting ribs and resisting buttresses in

the other, but these are no more the essence of the two styles than the *leitmotifs* are all of Wagner" (1907, 59). The isolated structural formulae of Gothic architecture did not matter to Cram, no more than the isolated *leitmotifs* of Wagner's opera. What made Cram's architecture and Wagner's music "good" was the way they organized the constituent elements of their respective compositions. The interplay of *leitmotifs* in service of the narrative is what made Wagner's music profound to Cram. Likewise, it was (and still is) the interplay of visual *leitmotifs* arranged in service of the Eucharistic that touches on the cryptic profundity of Cram's Walkerville church.

The four evangelists are a dominant *leitmotif* in Walkerville, and Cram orchestrated their depictions to punctuate the *gesamtkunstwerk* of that church's liturgical ceremony. Tellingly, when Cram corresponded with the Walker brothers, he stated that the final cost of the church should include four choir-stall finials, each depicting one of the four evangelists [Plate 4.18]. He insisted: "we feel that these [finials] are almost imperatively necessary to the design" (St. Mary's Church Papers, file 278), and the imperative necessity of the finials depended on the tripartite division of the church along the ritual axis of nave, choir, and sanctuary [Plate 1.4].

In the nave, we find the protomes of the four evangelists in the clerestory windows—the angel of St. Matthew, the eagle of St. John, the lion of St. Mark, and the ox of St. Luke [Plate 2.17]. Then, in the choir, we find the four evangelists carved as wooden finials, again with their protomes *in clipei* at their feet [Plate 4.20]. Finally, in the sanctuary of the church, the four protomes repeat as relief

carvings along the base of the high stone altar [Plate 4.21].¹⁵¹ Hence, when the faithful approach the high altar of the Walkerville church, they experience the four evangelists as a *leitmotif* that gets closer and closer to their ritual trajectory and, thus, stronger and stronger in tangible materiality. In the nave, the evangelists are translucent glass high in the clerestory. In the choir, they solidify into the wooden finials that sit to either side of the approaching faithful. Finally, as the faithful kneel before the high altar, they come face to face with the evangelistic protomes made substantial in the durable stone of the same altar on which the body and blood of Christ are made, trans-substantially. With the evangelistic *leitmotif*, the architecture guides the faithful to the ritual climax of the church: to approach and kneel before the high altar to commune with the body and blood of Christ.

Within this sequential variation on the evangelistic *leitmotif*, from nave to choir to sanctuary (glass to wood to stone), the choir-stall evangelists create yet another variation among themselves, one that punctuates the spirit-altering experience of approaching the Walkerville high altar. Because the ritual journey from vestibule to high-altar stone is one that moves the faithful, “from secular things to spiritual” (Cram 1901, 8), the evangelists on the nave side of the choir are less spiritually focused than the evangelists on the sanctuary side. From secular things to spiritual, the four wooden evangelists articulate the transformative path to the ritual high altar, *mise en abyme*. SS. Matthew and Luke, on the sanctuary side, are diligent at their writing desks, whereas St. John,

¹⁵¹ Only two protomes (the angel of St. Matthew and the lion of St. Mark) are on the altar front—the other two are on the sides.

on the nave side, turns to gaze into the congregation, and St. Mark, try as he might, cannot help but be distracted by the passing congregants. His head is down, as if focusing on his work, but his eyes look across the choir from beneath his brow [Plate 4.22].

Cram further articulated this discrepancy between the clerical and lay sides of the church through the colour schemes of the Walkerville nave and chancel. Cram was fond of the medieval fable in which two knights find a shield with one side made of silver, the other made of gold. Hence, Cram would argue that "Medieval philosophy is inseparable from Medieval religion, the two sides of the same shield"—philosophical silver and religious gold (1935, 279). Medieval metaphysicians postulated a philosophical system to explain the "absolute limitation of man's mental processes" (1935, 279). The Eucharistic magic of the altar was the final proof of that limitation, where faith alone could transubstantiate the wafer and wine into the body and blood of Christ, leaving only the "accidents of form." Consequently, to express this distinction between the silver of philosophy and the gold of faith, Cram used the stained-glass *leitmotif* of the split pomegranate, itself symbolic of Christ's sacrifice of body and blood.

In the nave of the Walkerville church, the skins of the pomegranates, framing the clerestory *clipei*, are silver-green [Plate 2.17]. This detail, combined with the abundant use of grisailles glass, the openness of the arcaded space, and the white plastering of the walls saturate the Walkerville nave in the silver light of metaphysical philosophy [Plate 2.46]. Conversely, the skins of the pomegranates depicted in the clerestory of the choir and the sanctuary are

gold [Plate 4.23]. That detail, combined with the abundant use of coloured glass, the structural concentration of the sacred space, and the exposure of seam-faced limestone therein, tint the chancel with the golden light of faith in something beyond the limits of mortal comprehension [Plate 4.24]. This, ultimately, was Cram's way of expressing the "crescendo" that typified his churches' architectural "music," where the chancel arch marks the moment when the pomegranate *leitmotif* of Walkerville changes from the cool, silvery colour of the austere nave to the warm, golden colour of the richly concentrated chancel, inviting us in [Plate 1.4].

Walkerville, however, is not the typical Cram church, even while it depends on conventions typical of his practice. Instead, Cram organized our experience of the church through the structure of Wagner's *Parsifal*, Cram's favourite opera.¹⁵² More precisely, Cram orchestrated the Walkerville design so that it resonated with the *leitmotifs* of Wagner's *Parsifal*. In act one of *Parsifal*, the title character approaches Montsalvat, Wagner's version of the Grail Castle. Parsifal, being too young and foolish to comprehend the gravitas of the situation, fails to act when he witnesses the Grail rituals of the wounded Fisher King. Thus, because of his failure, Parsifal is expelled from the castle. In act two, Parsifal finds himself in the kingdom of the wizard, Klingsor, the fallen knight, where he endures the temptation of lustful seduction, claiming the holy lance of Christ's Crucifixion, and wandering thence for years as penance for his act-one failure, only to return to the Grail Castle in act three. In the third act, therefore, Parsifal is wise enough

¹⁵² Cram, in fact, considered *Parsifal* to be the closest thing to the full sacramental glory of Catholic ceremony, where "art comes full tide" (1907, 292).

to comprehend the Grail mysteries and to perform the requisite task of healing Amfortus, the wounded Fisher King, with the lance he won from Klingsor. Hence, in terms of music, Wagner orchestrated *Parsifal* through contrasting diatonic and chromatic scales. Acts one and three are predominantly diatonic as a means to set the stage in the kingdom of the wounded Grail King. Conversely, act two is lusciously chromatic, setting the stage in the kingdom of Klingsor, the fallen knight.

Thus, as Parsifal moves through the three acts of the opera, his *leitmotif* changes to reflect his interactions with the diatonic and chromatic *leitmotifs* of his various situations. When he first enters the drama, in act one, his *leitmotif* is

full of energy but wild and out of control, just like Parsifal himself. Later on it will sound flirtatious, when he's dallying with Klingsor's Flower Maidens; weary and despondent, when he can't find his way back to the Grail Castle; and finally, mature and glorious when he becomes the new Grail King. The same musical shape, each time, only changes in the tempo, in the orchestration, and in the harmony follow the changing fortunes of the character. (Anonymous 2003)

The various *leitmotifs* that structure acts one and three are parallel; what changes is the way Parsifal's *leitmotif* interacts with their parallel structures. In act one, his "wild and out of control" *leitmotif* is discordant with the solemn grandeur of the kingdom's musical structure. In act three, the "mature and glorious" sound of his *leitmotif* finally harmonizes with the same solemn grandeur he encountered in the first act. Consequently, Cram structured the Walkerville *leitmotifs* along the ritual axis of the church so that, as we approach to receive communion, we run the risk of being foolish knaves, like Parsifal in Wagner's first act. If we approach the Walkerville church without heeding the symbolic quartet of winds, and if we pass through the nave thinking that the church is simply about the sacramental

Eucharist, then we too have failed to appreciate the mystery encrypted in the architecture. The evangelists and the pomegranates fool us into thinking that the Walkerville church is merely a site of Eucharistic sacrifice and not the castle of the sickly Fisher King, keeper of the Holy Grail.

Henry Adams further articulated the point in a book Cram edited and prefaced:

As knights-errant necessarily did the wrong thing in order to make their adventures possible, Perceval's error [in first failing to comprehend the Grail mystery] cannot be in itself mysterious, nor was the castle in any way mysterious where the miracle occurred. It appeared to him to be the usual castle, and he saw nothing unusual in the manner of his reception by the usual old lord, or in the fact that both seated themselves quite simply before the hall-fire with the usual household. Then, as though it were an everyday habit, the Holy Grail was brought in.¹⁵³ (Adams 1913, 215–16)

The Grail Castle is a site where the domestic and the religious cryptically converge, a site where the customs of a typical household conceal the miraculously religious. The test by which the Grail Knight succeeds in his quest is his ability to question the typicality of the household and then act accordingly. Thus, Cram inverted the terms of the equation in his Walkerville design. The new St. Mary's Anglican Church is a building that appears to be the typical sacred space, where "nothing sensational" (to echo Schuyler's phrase) appears to be occurring with the churchly business of transubstantiating bread and wine. Yet, as we have seen in the first and second chapters, the Walkerville church is not the typical house of God; it is the house of God tainted with the diseased state of modernity, with Edward Walker as its ailing representative. Edward Walker was

¹⁵³ Cram, a distant cousin of Henry Adams, first read the private printing of this book in 1904, and he eventually persuaded Adams to publish it widely.

Cram's Fisher King, and his church was (and still is) secretly the Grail Castle.¹⁵⁴ To heal the Fisher King of the modern world (i.e., Edward Walker) Cram required a Grail Knight to see beyond the conventions of his religious architecture, to witness the suffering and act accordingly. Our inability to see this leaves us like Parsifal, a knight-errant, whose path to comprehension is slower than Cram's perfect Grail Knight—Sir Galahad. Galahad would simply travel the ritual axis of the Walkerville church, from vestibule to high altar, knowing that the Grail Quest lay before him. Conversely, the path of the Parsifalian knight-errant lies in the southern aisle of the Walkerville church, act two of Cram's Wagnerian Gothic.

THE KNIGHT-ERRANT

Cram's interest in the errant conditions of knighthood began at least as early as 1892, when he co-founded and co-edited an aesthetics journal called *The Knight Errant* [Plate 4.25]. As the apologetic editorial for the first issue declared, Cram fashioned himself as a knight in combat with the modern world, riding for the "succour of forlorn hopes and the restoration of forgotten ideals" (Cram et al. 1892, 1). He and his contributing allies were "men against an epoch" (1892, 2). Yet, as Cram's dear friend, Louise Imogen Guiney, made clear in her "poem of salutation" for the inaugural issue, the "Knight Errant" was someone who fought against the epoch from within: "The passion of perfection / Redeem my faulty way" (1892, 3).¹⁵⁵ The knight-errant is not perfect but in quest of perfection. Thus,

¹⁵⁴ Cram's friend, Richard Hovey, also saw the potential in this conflation. In Hovey's Arthurian cycle, the gateway to the Holy Grail was through the "Chapel of the Graal," where the sickly, wounded king, Evelac, awaits the arrival of the Grail Knight (1900, 40).

¹⁵⁵ Cram was so fond of the poem that he reprinted it in his memoirs (1936, 87–8).

when Cram wrote to the Walker brothers that the church he designed for them was an attempt to create "an absolutely perfect piece of ecclesiastical design," he already knew that that perfection was impossible, especially under the present circumstances of the degenerate "spirit of the epoch," from which no one can escape. Therefore, if the ritual axis of the Walkerville church seems to be Cram's perfect piece of ecclesiastical design, a Wagnerian *gesamtkunstwerk* of perfectly orchestrated *leitmotifs*, it does so to create a juxtaposition with the southern aisle—which becomes the "faulty way" of a knight-errant in pursuit of perfection.

The very position of the Walkerville aisle expresses the faltering path of the knight errant. In the second chapter, we saw how Cram reduced the southern aisle by the length of one western bay to represent the leprous arm of the syphilitic Edward Walker, which, in turn, represented the sickly condition of modernity. In this chapter, we can also explore the aisle in terms of the sickly Fisher King, folding the Walkerville church as a structural body into the Walkerville church as a ritual space. The circumambulation needed to enter the southern aisle is that of a knight-errant, a manoeuvre Cram learned from the game of chess.

Shand-Tucci rightly noted that Cram "rather fancied himself at chess in his youth" (2005, 6). Thus, in *Black Spirits and White*, the game of chess featured in two of the stories. In "In Kropfsberg Keep," the two ghost hunters, Rupert and Otto, played games of chess to keep awake (1895a, 43). In "The Dead Valley," Cram's narrator indicated that he learned the story while he and his friend, Olof, had "some close, fierce battles" at chess (1895a, 133). Hence, Shand-Tucci used

the knight's move on a chessboard as a metaphor for Cram's life and work (2005, 22), where every chance Cram had for advancement came at the cost of a pragmatic compromise—two steps forward and one to the side. At Walkerville, though, the metaphor was literal and intrinsic to the errant condition of modernity. The knight's move on a chessboard was, for Cram, the errant path of the knight-errant. Ultimately, as we move through the Walkerville church, circumambulating the leprous limit of the southwestern corner, we enter the southern aisle by moving two steps into the nave and one step into the aisle [Plate 4.26]. Our errant path is the direct result of sick modernity.

Another *leitmotif* within the Walkerville church accentuated the significance of the knight's move into the southern aisle. That *leitmotif* is the Maltese cross, the cross of regeneration, as worn by the Knights Hospitaller [Plate 4.27]. The Knights Hospitaller were a chivalric order of the Middle Age, affiliated with St. John's Hospital of Jerusalem, and they developed their stylized cross as a symbol of regeneration, where a quartet of spear tips converge on a central point to form the four arms of the cross.¹⁵⁶ Furthermore, because the spear tips are double-edged, creating eight sides among the four converging spears, it served to connect the Knights Hospitaller with their patron saint, John the Baptist. The eight sides of the Maltese cross echo the typically octagonal shape of the

¹⁵⁶ For the regenerative significance of the Maltese cross, see Webber (1927, 117). A letter Cram received from Marion Nichols further articulated that cross's significance to Cram. Concerning Cram's first novel, *The Decadent*, Nichols wrote, February 17, 1894, "I think your Rhodian dreams offer a more attractive ideal life than that pursued among Eastern luxuries" (Nichols, qtd. in Shand-Tucci 1995, 362). What are we to make of these "Rhodian dreams?" Given that Cram had no abiding love for Grecian Classicism, a medievalist's desire for an ideal Rhodian life may have been the fact that the Knights Hospitaller had a stronghold on the Isle of Rhodes, awaiting reclamation.

baptismal font.¹⁵⁷ Thus, just as the ablutions of baptismal water regenerate the soul, cleansing Christians of their original sin, so too did the Jerusalem Hospital of St. John the Baptist seek to regenerate the Christian body, cleansing the body of its wounds and ailments. Consequently, the Knights Hospitaller provided safe passage for pilgrims seeking corporeal and spiritual regeneration in Jerusalem.

In Walkerville, then, a crude version of the Maltese cross marks the passages through the church.¹⁵⁸ More precisely, in the nave of the church, along the “perfect” ritual axis of the nave alley, Cram situated the Maltese cross at the edges of the pavement, as if the Knights Hospitaller are providing safe passage for the faithful [Plate 4.28]. These crosses guide the parishioners to sit among their fellow congregants and witness the miracle of transubstantiation, before partaking of the spiritual nourishment at the high-altar rail. In the southern aisle, however, Cram did not situate the Maltese crosses at the edges of the pavement; they are clustered in the middle [Plate 4.29]. In the southern aisle, the Knights Hospitaller do not guide the faithful to sit among the pews. Instead, we are encouraged to walk the errant path of Edward Walker’s aisle, all the way to the mo[u]rning chapel.

¹⁵⁷ Furthermore, concerning the octagonal shape of Walkerville’s baptismal font and its octagonal echo in the vessel of myrrh among the adoring magi of the window above, I note the apologetic editorial to *The Knight Errant*, in which Cram (and his fellow editors) quoted from Alfred, Lord Tennyson’s *Idylls of the King*. Specifically, the quote is from “The Passing of Arthur,” where the last Arthurian knights declared “Such times have been not since the light had led / The holy Elders with the gift of myrrh” (Cram et al. 1892, 1; or Tennyson 1869/1993, 1163). Cram, in other words, had fashioned the adoring magi (“holy Elders”) as knights-errant who followed the Christmas Star to their salvation. Thus, the eight-sided Maltese cross of the Knights Hospitaller conflated with both the octagonal shape of the baptismal font and the octagonal shape of the “gift of myrrh” that the original knights-errant, the adoring magi, gave to Christ in the Walkerville window.

¹⁵⁸ See the Little Maltese Cross tile in the Moravian Pottery and Tile Works catalogue of 1901 (MC 87), as reprinted in C. Reed 1987, 199.

Along the way, we perform our knight's move to enter the aisle by passing the "Spes" window of the nave and the Transfiguration window on the western limit of the aisle, reminding us that the malady of modernity for which the church stands in hope of healing predicates our movement [Plate 2.48–49]. Then, the first window of the aisle's southern wall is the Presentation of Jesus in the Temple (Lk. 2:22–35), with Simeon holding the infant Christ and Anna kneeling in prayer behind the foreground cluster [Plate 4.30]. This window is significant to the Grail narrative inasmuch as Malory wrote his Arthurian romance as a palimpsest over the Bible. For instance, the Quest for the Holy Grail began on the Feast of Pentecost, when the Grail (covered in white samite) entered the hall to the accompaniment of the "cracking and crying of thunder" and a "sunbeam more clearer by seven times than ever they saw day, and all they were alighted of the grace of the Holy Ghost" (Malory 1485/1985, 376). This descriptive detail doubles the Apostolic Feast of Pentecost, where the apostles of Christ gathered at their table and heard "what sounded like a powerful wind from heaven, the noise of which filled the entire house in which they were sitting; and something appeared to them that seemed like tongues of flame; ... They were all filled with the Holy Spirit" (Acts 2:2–4). At that moment, Christ's apostles dispersed to spread the Gospel around the world, never to convene again. Hence, the Knights of the Round Table dispersed for the Grail Quest during the Feast of Pentecost, likewise never to convene again.

Thus, the biblical characters of Anna and Simeon both resonate in the palimpsest of the Grail narrative. When Sir Percivale came to Camelot to be knighted, there was a

maiden in the queen's court that was come of high blood, and she was dumb and never spake a word. Right so she came straight into the hall, and went unto Sir Percivale, and took him by the hand and said aloud, that the king and all the knights might hear it, Arise, Sir Percivale, the noble knight and God's knight, and go with me; and so he did. And there she brought him to the right side of the Siege Perilous, and said, Fair knight, take here thy siege, for that siege appertaineth to thee and none other. Right so she departed and asked a priest. And as she was confessed and houselled then she died. (Malory 1485/1985, 271)

When Christ was presented at the temple, Anna, "the daughter of Phanuel, of the tribe of Asher," approached, proclaiming the infant Jesus as the messiah (Lk. 2:36). Anna, a maiden of "high blood," could recognize God's knight. Granted, Malory never gave that maiden a name, and Percivale's place at the right-hand of the Siege Perilous is further proof that he was not Malory's Grail Knight, and the gospel gives no indication that Anna died, having proclaimed Jesus the messiah, but Simeon did.

Just as Anna made her proclamation in the temple, so too did Simeon proclaim Jesus as the messiah. Specifically, Simeon announced that "he would not see death until he had set eyes on the Christ of the Lord" (Lk. 2:26). Thus, having seen the infant Jesus in the temple, he continued: "Now, Master, you can let your servant go in peace, just as you promised" (Lk. 2:29). And thus, when Sir Galahad came to Camelot to be knighted, an old man led him to court, proclaiming to King Arthur, "Sir, I bring here a young knight the which is of king's lineage, and of the kindred of Joseph Aramathie, whereby the marvels of this court, and of strange realms, shall be fully accomplished" (Malory 1485/1985, 374). He then led Galahad to the Siege Perilous, saying to the Grail Knight, "wit ye well that place is yours" (1485/1985, 374). Galahad then took his seat at the Table Round, proving his role as the Grail Knight, whereby he said to the old man:

"Sir, ye may now go your way, for well have ye done that ye were commanded to do" (1485/1985, 374). Simeon and Anna participate in the Walkerville church as those who recognize Galahad as the Grail Knight and Percivale as his errant second.

Next, the knights-errant of Walkerville pass the Sermon on the Mount window, where the leper waits with his arms withered in useless impotence [Plate 2.41], and then to the Adoration of the Magi window, where St. Joseph stands with his comparable staff in bloom [Plate 2.50]. Here, again, is a cryptic clue to the Grail narrative. To be sure, Joseph was the name of Christ's earthly father, but Joseph was also the name of the saint who had "gathered the very Blood of Christ that had been shed for men on Calvary." St. Joseph in the Walkerville window is also Joseph of Arimathea because, when Joseph departed from the Apostolic Feast of Pentecost, he came to England, where he planted his staff and it miraculously bloomed into flower.

We recall Cram's analogy that art can only grow under the right conditions, otherwise it is a "dead twig thrust in sand," and only a "divine miracle" can make a dead twig bloom. When Joseph of Arimathea arrived at Glastonbury, legend has it that he thrust his pilgrim's staff into the ground, producing the miraculous Holy Thorn, which blooms but twice a year, in the winter (Christmas) and the spring (Easter); hence, Joseph's blossoming staff in the Walkerville window is set beneath the Christmas Star of the magi's epiphany season. Thus, just as an island of earth encompasses the Walkerville church, and just as the massive western tower calls to mind the "ominous" spike of the Glastonbury Tor, and just as the Walkerville church is a ruin secretly akin to the

church that once stood atop the Glastonbury Tor, St. Joseph of (Glastonbury and) Arimathea stands among the adoring Magi as proof that the Holy Grail can regenerate the ruined state of the church and Edward Walker's body.

Ultimately, as we walk the Walker's path of the Knights Hospitaller, we approach the baptismal font beneath the Adoration window. The octagonal font, like the Maltese cross, is a symbol of regeneration. Yet we recall that the font was not enough to save the ailing Edward, nor the modern world; it may have purified Edward's soul for heaven, but his body festered. At best, set among the ruins of Edward's church, the Walkerville font is what Browning called a "draught of earlier, happier sights" (1855/1993, 1208). "As a man calls for [drink] before he fights" (Browning 1855/1993, 1208), the memory of a baptism that once purified the soul is all the knight-errant has for the fight ahead. Hence, we move into the Chapel Perilous of Walkerville, the mo[u]rning chapel at the end of the aisle [Plate 4.31].

On the step before the kneelers of the Chapel Perilous, Cram ordered more Moravian tiles [Plate 4.32]. On the left is a knight, lance in hand, charging into combat against a centaur [Plate 4.33].¹⁵⁹ On the right is another knight, lance in hand (dog in advance), charging into combat against a demon [Plate 4.34].¹⁶⁰ When Cram's first spiritual advisor and baptizer, Father Hall, wrote a book on *Christ's Temptation and Ours*, he called specific attention to the Devil's choice in tempting Christ immediately after His baptism in the River Jordan (1897,

¹⁵⁹ These tiles are listed in the 1901 catalogue as the Knight of Nuremberg (MC 61) and the Centaur of Nuremberg (MC 65), as reprinted in C. Reed 1987, 198.

¹⁶⁰ These tiles, in addition to the knight, are listed in the 1901 catalogue as the Dog of Nuremberg (MC 64) and the Demon of Nuremberg (MC 63). See the 1901 Moravian Pottery and Tile Work catalogue, as reprinted in C. Reed 1987, 198.

36). Approaching the chapel step from Walkerville's baptismal font, we too are to think of Christ's temptation and of ours. Said Father Hall: "[Christ is] the captain of our salvation, who fought His way through the hosts of evil, and called upon His disciples to follow where He had gone before, to trample underfoot the enemy that He has first smitten to the ground" (1897, 6–7). The first battleground was the desert into which Christ had ventured for 40 days and 40 nights immediately after His baptism; and, of the three ways that the Devil tried to tempt Christ in the wilderness, the first is of consequence in Walkerville: the "lust of the flesh" (1897, 6). For Christ, the lust of the flesh was the temptation of hunger. Having wandered in the desert for days on end, the Devil tried to offer Christ food to sustain the flesh of His body, but Christ refused. At Walkerville, though, the lust of the flesh was the temptation of sex—hence the chosen combat with a centaur.

In the broadest sense, the centaur represents "evil passions" (Webber 1927, 85) and is thus often located near the cleansing waters of a church's baptismal font (Webber 1927, 343).¹⁶¹ More precisely, for Cram, the centaur represented the evil passions of paganism, against which the "modern Goth" was supposed to defend the world. He advised his fellow Gothic Revivalists to "steep yourselves in the solution" of medieval beauty, "let it soak in until you are full of its medicinal power, and then, sloughing off the pagan hide that has grown over your bodies during four centuries of barbarism, come forth men and Christians" (1907, 164). The pagan hide to which Cram referred was the poisoned

¹⁶¹ Cram wrote the preface to this book, and Webber largely illustrated it with details from Cram's churches.

shirt of Nessus, the centaur from ancient Greek mythology who ferried people across a river.

When Nessus ferried Dejanira, the wife of Hercules, across the river, the centaur lasciviously tried to abduct her, and Hercules shot him with an arrow. As the centaur lay dying, he told Dejanira that his blood had the magical power to restore the love of Hercules, should he ever abandon her. Dejanira then collected the centaur's blood-soaked shirt (or hide) and eventually gave it to Hercules on the suspicion that he no longer loved her. Yet Nessus had deceived Dejanira; the shirt was poisoned with his blood, and Hercules died in agony. Thus, everywhere in the modern world, Cram pessimistically saw the proof of that betrayal, despite the "medicinal power" of medieval beauty. Consequently, Cram would write that the renewed paganisms of the modern world, in all their myriad manifestations—Renaissance, Reformation, Revolution—were "strands" that have "gone to the weaving of the poisonous shirt of Nessus" (1915c, 317). Having slain the centaur of ancient paganism, the Herculean Church of the Middle Ages was brought low by the poison of pagan revenge when "natural" love deteriorated between husband and wife. After all, Cram dreaded the sexuality of modern women who "fell back" on older, pagan, social conditions, preying on men who were subject to their lustfulness. Half man, half beast, the centaur was indeed subject to "evil passions," and the Walkerville knight-errant must fight against this—hence the other knightly combat on the chapel step. The lancing knight and the dog of his Christian fidelity do battle with a demon whose "tail" is ambiguously located between his legs. The knight must fight against the demon of lust.

This, ultimately, was the failure of Malory's Percivale. In the *Morte d'Arthur*, the Devil seduced Percivale in the form of a damsel in distress. Once Percivale promised to help the maiden, she invited him to dine in her pavilion. There, he drank the "strongest wine that ever he drank" (1485/1985, 398), and he marvelled at her beauty. So enamoured was he that he swore to be her "true servant" and do nothing but her command (1485/1985, 398). Thence, she lay down naked on a bed and bade Percivale to lay with her. Only at the last minute did he see the red cross on the pommel of his discarded sword, remembering his vow to the Grail Quest and crossing himself, causing the Devil to shriek and be revealed. As penance for the near-loss of his chastity, Percivale then "drew his sword unto him[self], saying, Sithen my flesh will be my master I shall punish it; and therewith he rove himself through the thigh" (1485/1985, 399), his self-inflicted punishment echoing the wounded thigh (i.e., groin) of the Fisher King. Unlike Christ, who refused the Devil's proffer of food in the desert, Percivale accepted the Devil's wine, and it weakened his resolve in a way that Galahad, the true Grail Knight, would never suffer.¹⁶²

This is also where Cram parted company with Richard Wagner in pursuit of the epic of his "own race." In act two of *Parsifal*, the hero is constantly on the verge of "dallying" with the flower maidens that tempt him in Klingsor's fallen kingdom. Yet Parsifal never actually committed himself to an act of lust with the flower maidens. Then, Klingsor sent Kundry, the Magdalenian seductress, to corrupt him. Her efforts were almost in vain until she recalled Parsifal's love for his

¹⁶² When a fiend tried to confront Galahad, a demonic voice rang out, "Galahad, I see there environ about thee so many angels that my power may not dare thee" (Malory 1485/1985, 381). Galahad, like Christ, could not be tempted, though the Devil still tried to tempt the latter.

mother, drawing upon that tenderness to steal a kiss. Only then did Parsifal fully understand what had happened to the sinful Fisher King, who had also fallen for Kundry. Consequently, Parsifal understood the foolish innocence of his initial failure to save the king. With that, he, like Malory's Percivale, wandered off, seeking penance for his failure. Yet Wagner's Parsifal succeeds in the final act, returning to the Grail Kingdom, healing the wounded king with the lance, and owning his destiny as the Grail Knight. In Malory's account, Percivale also succeeds in returning to the Grail Castle, but only as Galahad's pre-destined subordinate—the right-hand man to the Siege Perilous. Galahad's perfection is unassailable to all save Christ, whose blood, absolute and unmingled of any imperfection, Galahad alone could taste in the end. Thus, in coming to the end of the Walkerville Grail narrative, in moving back to the ritual axis of the high altar, we come out of the errant southern aisle no better than Percivale. At best, we are capable of understanding the lustful temptation that brought low the Fisher King (the syphilis of Edward Walker), and we might sympathize with his wounded repentance, but we cannot perform the miracle to save his body.

AMFORTUS! DIE WUNDE! DIE WUNDE.

Back in the nave alley, we now notice that there are six lights among the clerestory windows, not four. In addition to the quartet of evangelistic protomes, there are also clerestory images of the lamb and, more importantly, the pelican feeding its young [Plate 2.17]. The lamb, holding the banner of "Agnus Dei," is an obvious reference to Christ as the sacrificial lamb, and the pelican, derived from medieval bestiaries, is another symbol of His sacrifice. More precisely, because

those bestiaries stated that the pelican pierced its own breast to feed its children with the blood it shed, the pelican is a reminder that Christ's sacrifice was sanguineous. As will be significant shortly, the pelican also pierces the right-hand side of its breast, just as the soldier pierced Christ with the lance that shed His blood into the chalice that then became the Holy Grail.

In the meantime, as we approach the high altar sanctuary, we see a pair of devouring etins that threaten us in the form of Moravian tiles that flank the altar rail [Plate 4.35].¹⁶³ An etin is a giant; only these giants have great, leonine manes that conflated four different questing traditions into one threatening motif. When Sir Percivale crossed the burning bridge into the intolerable light of the Grail's presence, he had to surpass a pair of devouring lions as proof of his valour. Thus, the leonine tiles guard the Walkerville sanctuary as the Grail Castle proper. Likewise, in Malory's *Morte D'Arthur*, Sir Lancelot pled to God that, "in despite for [his] sins done aforetime," he might see "something" of the Holy Grail (1485/1985, 437). Thus, Lancelot discovered to the Grail Castle, Carbonek, where he passed through a gate guarded by lions that "made semblant to do him harm" (1485/1985, 436). Cram depicted that vignette in his Princeton Grail window, where Lancelot, like the pre-Malorian version of Percivale, passed the test of valour [Plate 4.36], but Lancelot, like Malory's version of Percivale, still carried the taint of sexual sin. Consequently, he could only see the Grail through a "red samite" covering (1485/1985, 437), and he was thereafter told that his quest was done, for "never shall ye see of the Sangreal no more than ye have

¹⁶³ See MC 160 in the 1901 catalogue, as reprinted in C. Reed 1987, 202.

seen" (1485/1985, 438). In our imperfection, we can only pass the lions guarding the Walkerville sanctuary to see the Grail imperfectly.

Finally, the etins, as giants, echo another test of Lancelot's valour, where he freed a castle from "two great giants, well armed all save the heads, with two horrible clubs in their hands" (Malory 1485/1985, 109). Hence, we see the giant heads exposed in Cram's choir floor, daring the blades of valorous knights. More importantly, these etins, as giants, bring to the fore Robert Browning's questing poem, "Childe Roland to the Dark Tower Came." Cram, who specifically identified with Childe Roland in his introduction to *The Gothic Quest*, also folded an aspect of that poem into the Walkerville church. When Browning's knight approached the dark tower, he described the environment thusly: "The hills, like giants at a hunting, lay, / Chin upon hand, to see the game at bay— / 'Now stab and end the creature—to the heft'" (1855/1993, 1210). The etins in Walkerville, like the metaphorical giants of Browning's poem, await the Grail Knight's arrive.

Thus, entering the sanctuary, we see the castle of the reredos screen [Plate 1.23], where a cross, unique to Cram's architecture, crowns the tall, centralized tower [Plate 4.37]. This cross, composed of four intersecting crescents, not only creates an eccentric variant on the eight-pointed cross of the Knights Hospitaller but also the *Vesica Piscis* that the younger Pugin noted in his *Glossary of Ecclesiastical Ornament* (1846). Welby Pugin stated that the *Vesica Piscis* is a "symbolical figure, consisting of two intersecting segments of circles, introduced as an emblem of our Lord ... born in the waters of Baptism. Hence, it seems probable that the mode of representing our Lord in a Nimbus of a fish form originated" (Pugin 1863, 239). The Walkerville cross atop the castle of the reredos

is, however, made of four segments—two for Christ and two for the palimpsestic Fisher King, Edward Walker. Thus, the fish are intertwining emblems of their fates. Furthermore, as Shand-Tucci noted, Cram's architectural partner, Bertram Goodhue, was fond of designing reredos screens that reach up to "engage the stained-glass window above the altar" (1995, 241). Consequently, the cross and the crown of the reredos tower all but disappear as they reach up into the glory of colours that flood from the window. Only when we approach and kneel knowingly before the altar do we recognize the cross and its relationship evident to the Crucifixion window [Plate 2.25].

This image of the Crucifixion is not unique to Walkerville. Cram wrote to the Walker brothers, praising Harry Goodhue's work on the high altar window in the Emmanuel Episcopal Church of Newport, Rhode Island (St. Mary's Church Papers, file 278) [Plate 4.38]. At the heart of the Newport window is the same depiction of the Crucifixion flanked by the Virgin Mary and St. John the Evangelist [Plate 4.39]. Only, at Walkerville, the Crucifixion is not a small, central episode among several glass vignettes. At Walkerville, the entire window depicts the Crucifixion in full scale. Furthermore, the structuring of that window is unique to Walkerville, where the Crucifixion spreads across three massive lights, with a pair of three-light ladders intervening to either side of His torso. Thus, unlike the Newport window, Cram had a series of angels set between the suffering Christ and His mourning companions at Walkerville.

Because Cram's sense of cryptic architecture plays on repetitive expectations, the flanking angels form a final pattern to be studied, leading thus to the Holy Grail. The two angels at the tops of the tracery ladders look down in

prayer, their garments coloured in reciprocal combinations of red and blue [Plate 4.40]. Likewise, the censer-swinging angels at the bottom are dressed in reciprocal combinations of red and purple [Plate 4.41]. The same is true of the chalice-holding angels in the middle, save one crucial difference [Plate 4.42]. The angel at Christ's left-hand side is wearing a pallium that consists solely of a long ribbon of fabric draped down the center of its body; a chasuble drapes the shoulders instead. That angel's pallium is inferior to the angel on Christ's right-hand side because the right-hand angel not only has the ribbon of fabric down the center of its body, but also the ribbon across its shoulders. That angel's pallium is cruciform, indicating that the chalice in its hands is the one from the Crucifixion and is thus the Holy Grail or, rather, the chalice that would become the Holy Grail.

Not incidentally, on the Princeton Grail window, Cram depicted Joseph, the first bishop of Christendom, whose chalice was none other than the Holy Grail, with a cruciform pallium [Plate 4.4]. Only Joseph's pallium is a mixture of blood-red jewel tones laced in a lattice of pure white fabric, both of which are in reference to the pure blood Christ shed into Joseph's chalice. At Walkerville, the angel holding that chalice aloft has a pallium of pure white embossing only. Christ has yet to shed His blood in the new St. Mary's Anglican Church. In fact, the glazier organized the lead comes of the Crucifixion window to triangulate a vector into Christ's waiting flesh, daring us to pierce it [Plate 2.32]. Thus, as we look back into the nave alley, where the Walkerville pulpit projects into the right-hand side of the church's structural body [Plate 2.27], and the pelican in the nave clerestory pierces the right-hand side of its chest [Plate 2.17], we are

reminded, time and again, that Christ's sacrifice involved the piercing of His right-hand side. Likewise, looking back to the many spear tips of the Maltese cross in Walkerville [Plate 2.60], we are constantly reminded that the lance is required to pierce His side. Inasmuch as the spear tips of the Maltese cross symbolize regeneration, the spear tip from the Crucifixion will become the tool necessary to regenerate the Fisher King: "And Galahad went anon to the spear which lay upon the table, and touched the blood with his fingers, and came after to the maimed king and anointed his legs.... He had healed him" (Malory 1485/1985, 443). Hence, we see the lance in the background of Cram's Princeton window, where Galahad helps the miraculously healed Fisher King to his feet [Plate 4.43].

In Walkerville, the necessary lance waits in the hand of St. George, standing in the castle of Walkerville's reredos screen [Plate 4.44]. As we kneel before the altar, looking to the woodwork, the imperative of Christ's wounding (and thence, the Fisher King's healing) is evident. From the center of the reredos, the Virgin Mary, lady of the castle, looks down to us with long-suffering patience, waiting for us to act: "Behold how sad she is, and in her eyes / Infinite sorrow, infinite despair. / Not her own mother's grief it is that lies / Upon her soul, a weary weight of care, / Not the pity of self, but the blind, yearning cry / Of the world's hopeless, helpless misery" (Cram, 1892, 44) [Plate 4.45]. To her right, St. John the Baptist turns his Leonardo-esque finger, pointing not heavenward but inward toward himself as he looks down to where we kneel [Plate 4.46]. He awaits the arrival of someone who can, in all honesty, say that they are as saintly as John the Baptist. Even farther to her right is St. Stephen—he who was martyred at the

hands of those who cast prejudicial stones [Plate 4.47]. If Cram reminded the reader of "Sister Maddelena" that only he who is without sin could cast the first stone, then Cram reminded the knights-errant of Walkerville that only he who is without sin can cast the first lance, a lance that is patiently waiting in the hand of St. George.

Furthermore, we recall that Cram commissioned his friend, George Hollowell, to paint the high altarpiece of Ashmont at the same time as the Walkerville design. In Ashmont, Hollowell painted St. George as looking out to the congregation, with the sword in his hand and the shield at his side, awaiting the Grail Knight to depart in pursuit of the Holy Grail. In Walkerville, St. George (with the Maltese cross carved into his visor) holds the lance that would achieve the Grail [Plate 4.48]. Only here, in Walkerville, he does not turn to engage the congregation. St. George will not afford the Grail Knight such a clue. This is the test. The Grail Knight must look into the window and see that Christ is suffering, see that the Fisher King is suffering as well, and he must act accordingly. He must take the lance from the feigned-indifferent hand of St. George and thrust it into the body of Christ in the high altar window: "Now stab and end the creature—to the heft!" And, having done so, the Grail Knight will end Christ's crucifying torture and use the bloody lance to anoint the Fisher King's sickly body, healing not only the king, but also the very wasteland of an ailing modern world.

The unusual shape of the Walkerville lance further articulates the point. It is bladed at both ends. Wagner's Grail Knight came to understand the power of the Grail only when he finally felt sympathetic compassion for the Fisher King's suffering. Specifically, Parsifal sang: "*Amfortus! Die wunde! Die wunde. Sie brennt*

in meinen hertzen" (Wagner 1904, 184–5). The wound of Amfortus, the Wagnerian Fisher King, burned in the Grail Knight's heart, as well. Thus, as only the Grail Knight can stab the lance into the heart of the high altar glass, the lance simultaneously can only stab the Grail Knight's heart, as well, "to the heft!"—hence, the prophesy of Simeon to Mary: "and a sword will pierce your own soul, too" (Lk. 2:32), and hence the Marian hearts in the lights surrounding the Walkerville Presentation, and hence the Marian heart above her head as she witnesses the Crucifixion in the high altar window [Plate 4.49]. Inasmuch as the Walkerville church is dedicated in the name of St. Mary, the Grail Knight must let his heart be pierced with the utter compassion of the Virgin Mary's sorrow, witnessing the torture of Christ. In the words of Father Hall: "We sing of her as standing by the Cross of her Son, but it is much too solemn and awful a thought for mere sentiment" (1894, 187). If Percivale stabbed himself in the thigh for the taint of lust in his heart, then Galahad, "a clene maiden," has the purity of compassion necessary to pierce both Christ's heart and his own (Malory 1485/1985, 444).

Yet we ourselves can only appreciate this event through the "mere sentiment" of ceremony, as evident in the woodwork of the Walkerville sanctuary. Cram decorated the credence shelf, on which the Eucharistic chalice is prepared for transubstantiation, with twin grapevines trained into the shape of hearts [Plate 4.50]. Grape is to wine as wine is to blood, where the vineyard's "accidents of form" still taint our participation in the Eucharist. We might sympathize with the suffering, but we cannot bear its full and utter sorrow, just as surely as we cannot bear the arms of the double-sided lance.

Furthermore, just as the grapevine hearts spread across the bishop's throne and the attendants' sedilia [Plates 4.51 & 2.14, respectively] neither the bishop, nor the attendant priests, nor any knights-errant of the human race can complete the task at hand. We are not the Grail Knight; and, although Galahad was of human parentage, his purity was of the soul's perfection in a human body.

Cram further demonstrated this distinction in yet another difference between the chalice-holding angels in Walkerville's high altar window. The left-hand angel looks to the congregation, holding the chalice toward us. Like the Eucharistic performance of the priests below, the gift of the left-hand angel is a diminished version of the Holy Grail—as diminished as the pallium worn upon its body. Conversely, the right-hand angel turns to look at Christ or, rather, to look at His loincloth [Plate 4.52]. As Leo Steinberg demonstrated in *The Sexuality of Christ in Renaissance Art and in Modern Oblivion* (1983, 16–17), the folding of Christ's loincloth could be symbolic of His genitalia. Furthermore, Father Hall emphasized that Christ “had a human body, subject ... to all sinless infirmities” (1897, 16). He could bleed, for example, as with His circumcision. In that sense, the significance of the angel's glance is a reminder that Christ's circumcision was the first shedding of His blood, a pre-figuration of the blood He will eventually shed at Walkerville's Calvary, should the Grail Knight arrive.

More importantly, the flaccid folding of Christ's genital loincloth is symbolic of the fact that His circumcised penis would not be moved to sin. His genitals were a requisite part of His “real and perfect Manhood”—“real” inasmuch as the incarnation must occupy a fully human body, and “perfect” inasmuch as that body transcended the temptation to sin. If Christ lacked a

penis, the chastity of His real and perfect manhood would have been a meaningless victory to the fully human faithful who follow His example. This is why Cram later lamented the castration of Peter Abelard: "one is driven to believe that the terrible mutilation to which he had been subjected had broken down his personality and left him in all things less than man" (1922a, xx). For Cram, when Abelard repented his sexual sins, his castration robbed him of the opportunity to follow the example of Christ's manhood.

This was also Klingsor's problem, the failed knight in Wagner's opera. Klingsor, knowing that he could not sustain the requisite chastity to be a knight of the Grail Kingdom, decided to castrate himself to escape the physical act of sex. The sin, however, was already real in Klingsor's lustful heart; and, although his self-castration kept him from acting on his lust, it also kept him from the real victory of transcending his sin. He lacked the strength and restraint to be worthy of the Grail. Thus, just as the structural body of medieval Gothic architecture was a "manly" combination of strength and restraint, so too was the mortal flesh of Christ's incarnate manhood the real and perfect combination of the strength and restraint necessary to sustain His perfection under the threat of sin.

Further still, the reference to His circumcision in relation to lust (and the prospective transcendence thereof) extends back into the southern aisle of Walkerville, where the holy family presented the infant Christ in the temple shortly after His circumcision. Conversely, the leper in the neighbouring Sermon window projects his single arm from the midsection of his body like a leprous erection [Plate 2.59]. With Edward Walker suffering from syphilis and the Wagnerian Fisher King suffering from the wound of his lustful temptation, Cram both concealed

and revealed the sexual condition of their mutual ailment through the wrapt appendage of the kneeling leper. A Wagnerian interpretation likewise enriches the blooming staff in the neighbouring Adoration window.

In Wagner's opera *Tannhäuser*, the title character oscillated between his pagan lust for Venus and his Christian love for Elisabeth, dying repentant of his lustful ways. Yet, despite his penitent pilgrimage to Rome, the pope mockingly declared that he would as soon forgive Tannhäuser's lust as the papal staff should burst into flower. Sure enough, at the end of the opera, the papal staff is brought forth, having blossomed. Edward Walker, like the Wagnerian Fisher King or the penitent Tannhäuser, repented his lascivious youth in the hope of a purifying regeneration that would be as sudden and miraculous as a burst of white lilies on an arid staff. However, in accordance with Cram's pessimism, the regenerative blossoming of Edward Walker's "staff" would be a miracle, and thus beyond his own powers to perform.

If the new St. Mary's Anglican Church is Edward Walker's confession that he had syphilis, then it is also Cram's confession that he himself could not cure such a wound. Inasmuch as Richard Hovey published a poem about the "swift orgasm of the knife," and Gelett Burgess wrote to Cram of the "long ambitious strokes of an excited and madly turgescient penis" (Burgess, qtd. in Shand-Tucci 1995, 442), it was impossible for Cram to take the lance in hand and stab Christ's body without falling prey to the homoerotic implications of such a gesture. Unlike Malory's Grail Knight, whom the Devil could not tempt, Cram could not escape the temptations of a modern world where the chaste interactions of medieval men-loving men were far too often corrupted with the sexual innuendos of

modern men-lusting men—hence, his acknowledgement of Aubrey Beardsley's "brilliant and epicene" drawings for the *Morte d'Arthur* (1936, 18) [Plate 4.53]. Consequently, if the un-canniness of Michele Biscari's powerlessness in "Sister Maddelena" was the mad "horror of impotent fear," then Cram's hand, ironically, was impotent of the Walkerville lance precisely because he was all too well aware of the phallic gesture needed to complete the Grail's miraculous quest.

He never dared come to Walkerville to test the veil between the Grail and his mortal flesh, and, had he come, he would have to acknowledge the grotesque faces looking down from the organ pipes and the bishop's throne with leering eyes and mocking laughter, shock and mock despair, at the weakness of mortal flesh [Plate 4.54]. Inasmuch as Cram believed that medieval artisans used grotesque imagery to satirize the "very common foibles of fellowmen, whether clerical or secular" (1930a, viii), that same satirical laughter haunts the Walkerville church and the all too common foible of Cram's modern world—the "lust of the flesh." Instead of questing to the Walkerville church, Cram satisfied his soul, as best he could, with the ceremonial wine that faith alone could taste in lieu of the Absolute Truth of the divine.

POSTCRYPT: THE CEREMONIAL GOTHIC

Despite Freud's attempt to theorize "*Das Unheimliche*" as something (striving to be) beyond religion, his list of German definitions of the word *unheimlich* included a religious example: "'To veil the divine, to surround it with a certain

unheimlichkeit''' (1995, 224; emphasis original). Consequently, Anthony Vidler rightly noted that Freud's preferred definition of *das unheimlich*—the “name for everything that ought to have remained ... secret and hidden but has come to light”—came from Friedrich Schelling's Idealist philosophy precisely because Freud assumed that Schelling's *unheimlich* definition surmounted the religious.

In the *Philosophie der Mythologie* (1835), Schelling stated that Homer's sublime poetry could only have occurred because it suppressed the uncanniness of religion:

Greece had a Homer precisely because it had mysteries, that is, because it succeeded in completely subduing that [religious] principle of the past ... and in pushing it back into the interior, that is, into secrecy, into the Mystery (out of which it had, after all, originally emerged.) That clear sky which hovers above the Homeric poems ... could not have spread itself over Greece until the dark and obscure power of that uncanny principle which dominated earlier religions had been reduced to the Mysteries (all things are called uncanny which should have remained secret, hidden, latent, but which have come to light); the Homeric age could not contemplate fashioning that purely poetic mythology until the genuine religious principle had been secured in the interior, thereby granting the mind complete outward freedom. (Schelling, qtd. in Vidler 1987, 12)

For Freud, “Homer's jovial world of gods” was beyond the uncanny precisely because Homeric Greece had successfully subdued, reduced, and secured religion to the interior of a primal past that the Greeks surmounted in the poetic formalism of their mysteries. Yet, as with Shakespeare's *Hamlet* and *Macbeth*, Freud wrongly assumed that Homeric Greece was immune to the uncanny. Inasmuch as the ancient Greeks secured “genuine” religion in the primal interiority of Mystery, the participants of the myriad Grecian mysteries caught glimpses of the primal secret in the poetry of the ceremonial procedures they performed. If the uncanny is the experience of something that “should have

remained secret" but has "come to light," then the glancing secrets of religious ceremonies are an uncanny experience. Hence, a diaphanous veil surrounds the divine with "a certain *unheimlichkeit*."

From an analogous perspective, David Punter explored the haunting conditions of "Ceremonial Gothic" literature (1999). As Punter demonstrated, the word "ceremony" is undecidable: "ceremonial strikes in two ways. It strikes toward the unearthly, the hieratic, the sense of the beyond, and signs which might be directed toward or might emanate from the beyond.... But ceremonial also stands in for the conventional, the quotidian, that which is reduced to 'mere ceremony', that which is drained of meaning.... Ceremonial, then, as a surplus of meaning or as an absence of meaning; the term begins to deconstruct itself" (1999, 38).

Cram was well aware of this ceremonial slippage between the surplus of meaning and the enervation thereof. In his quest to restore the sacramental Catholicity of ceremony, he structured the art of liturgy as the "symbolical expression of otherwise inexpressible ideas" (1907, 263). Conversely, in the Roman Catholic Church re-born of the Renaissance, Cram lamented, "In the Roman Church the thing itself [ceremony] had endured, but as hardly more than a series of obligatory forms" (1907, 267). Yet, no matter how earnestly one may or may not pursue sacramental ceremonies, Cram insisted, "in itself [sacramentalism] is not an eternal reality, therefore it must be accepted and valued only as an agency or as a symbol" (1919c, 88). Punter would thus agree:

The ceremony always points past and beyond, behind itself; it signifies, even in its superflux of meaning, the absence of whatever it was that preceded the ceremonial. Similarly, ceremonial speaks of repetition: a repetition without which the ceremony is not a

ceremony, a repetition which also serves through the very force of its stability to invoke a past which has always already vanished. Ceremonial as reminder, as a gesture toward what is absent, as a site that is perennially haunted by all that it is not. (1999, 38)

Consequently, Punter argued that the horror of Ceremonial Gothic is not at the "moment of transgression" but at the "moment of stabilization" (1999, 37). As dreadful as the transgressive actions of the Renaissance, Reformation, and Revolution might have been, the horror of Cram's Gothic ghost stories occurred when Cram's autobiographical narrator was caught in the repetitious cycles of hauntings that he himself could not stop.

Cram found himself frozen, paralyzed at the boundaries of his comprehension. Thus, according to Punter, "we find ourselves, then, in the realm of the ceremonial up against a barrier; we can see this barrier as the altar-rail beyond which lies the mystery of transubstantiation, or in magical terms as the barrier of incomprehension" (1999, 46). Cram's narrator could not comprehend the black magic that summoned the "hellish succubus" of the *Bouche d'Enfer* (though he understood how that magic could thrive in a sick modern world). Nor could Cram himself comprehend the utter Truth of transubstantiation, only the symbolic gestures of the liturgy. For Cram, the *unheimlich* veil that invisibly shrouds the Walkerville altar rail wraps the divine until the end of time. The veil may be torn, like the Temple veil in Jerusalem (for the passage of the Christian soul), but it has not fallen. The uncanny veil of Christian liturgy remains, like the ribbons of cloud between Galahad and the viewer of the Princeton window. Thus, even if we physically enter the sanctuary of the new St. Mary's Anglican Church, the veil continues to hide our mortal eyes from the Absolute Truth of the Holy Grail. As Derrida may have written, in Walkerville we experience the

“diabolical” sensation of the *pas*—the step (*pas*) that is not (*pas*) a step (1987a, 269). In our errant way, every step we take toward the Grail brings us no nearer to Galahad’s accomplishment.

We may also take the holy lance in hand, but unless we are the Grail Knight (worthy of such a weapon), our piercing of the Crucifixion window would only Vandal-ize the church with our barbaric violence. Hence, the light flowing through the broken glass would be nothing more than earthly glare, whereas the light of the Grail is so much more. Even in Camelot, at the beginning of the quest, the Holy Grail entered to the accompaniment of a “sunbeam more clearer by seven times than ever they saw day.” Furthermore, in Sarras, at the end of the quest, the Holy Grail blazed with a light “intolerable” to all save Galahad—hence the burst of light healing the cripple in Cram’s Princeton window, emanating from a Grail that is still veiled to our mortal perception [Plate 4.55].

This, ultimately, is why stained glass was so important to Cram’s Grail Quest—more important than the decoration of a tabernacle door: “In its mingling of material definiteness and transcendent glory, [stained glass] was that which seemed most perfectly to express the ardent and comprehensive religion of the [Middle Ages]” (1930b, 83). The chalice in the hands of the right-hand angel will become the Holy Grail when the stained and “material definiteness” of the Walkerville glass is pierced to reveal the luminescence of pure “transcendent glory.” It is the materiality of stained glass that veils the Walkerville Grail, separating the holy from the holiest of holies and keeping us (in the fog of a seething south wind) from the “definite victory” we seek.

This was also the point of Cram's Mediterranean revelry, years later, when he saw the ruins of a Frankish castle high above the coastal city of Mausolus. From the sea, the white-marble castle seemed "almost intact, a silvery silhouette unreal, intangible. So should Camelot have seemed, or Joyous Gard or Montsalvat, the dream castle hoarding the Holy Grail" (1935, 28). To this he added, "we know little enough of the Beatific Vision, but one thing we can safely assume and that is that it has this perfect whiteness that has its pale simulacrum in the white cities of the Ægean Sea" (1935, 32). The whiteness of the Grail's holy glory is pure and perfect, beyond the simulacrum of white marble walls or even the streaming daylight that our imperfect efforts might release, should we break the window waiting above Walkerville's high altar.

Only if the Grail Knight were to pierce the window would a flood of light, as pure and perfect as the blood of Christ, flow into the right-hand angel's chalice, which would then become the Holy Grail. So we wait, hesitating before the lance, tormented by the knowledge that Christ is suffering on the cross and the Fisher King is "anxious" for a miraculous cure. This paralytic waiting on the verge of transcendence is what ultimately horrified Ralph Adams Cram. To paraphrase from David Punter, we have entered Edward Walker's crypt but it has (yet) to be penetrated (1999, 42–3); or, to paraphrase from Derrida, we have lifted the spectre's visor, but still cannot get beyond the "Pre-Face." Our forced entry into the Walkerville crypt is ironically impotent of the action needed for the closure of Cram's great Grail narrative.

Will the Grail Knight ever arrive? In lieu of a conclusion, I post this final question through an odd aperture that overlooks the chancel of the new St.

Mary's Anglican Church [Plate 4.56]. The aperture is part of the Walkerville rectory, extending from the liturgically southern side of the chancel. The rector's second-storey, master bedroom is adjacent to the southern chancel wall, and through the master closet, a small chamber sits, where the aperture perforates the boundary between the sacred space of the church and the domestic space of the bedroom [Plate 4.57]. Locally, the aperture is called the "leper's squint" (Hallam 1979a, n.p.); and, although this term is a misappropriation of the medieval leper's squint, or lychnoscope, such a misappropriation proves all too appropriate for the uncanny structure of the church.

A leper's squint is an aperture typically cut into the southern wall of the chancel, shuttered from within and often grilled from without, providing an angled line of sight to the church's high altar—as if it were the skewed view of an eye squinting through the iron grille. Although the purpose of the lychnoscope is debatable, inasmuch as it refers to squinting lepers its purpose was to offer communion with those who were not allowed to worship inside the church for fear of spreading their infection. Yet, by definition, the leper's squint is a ground-floor aperture at which lepers received communion. Consequently, the second-storey aperture of the Walkerville chancel cannot fulfill that purpose. Instead, the leprous condition of the aperture functions as a super-scriptural reference, whose skewed view provides another angle among the spreading fingers of the Gothic "k"—the gauntlet effect of an armoured ghost that has been haunting the church all along.

Welby Pugin, once again, provides the referential clue as to why Cram would use this aperture.¹⁶⁴ In his 1843 essay on *The Present State of Ecclesiastical Architecture in England*, the younger Pugin noted several English medieval churches that had a second-storey chamber set aside for non-liturgical purposes. At Salisbury Cathedral, for example, Welby Pugin saw such a room above the liturgically northern porch, stating (in a generic sense) that “occasionally these apartments appear to have been occupied by the sacristan, and they are sometimes provided with tracery apertures, through which the church would be watched at night” (1843b, 20). Of course, Welby Pugin was referring to apertures that overlook the exterior of the porch entrance, like a gatehouse, to observe nocturnal visitors to the church. In that sense, the domestic space of the sacristan’s apartment did not perforate the sacred space of the church—it was an adjunct architecture, whose aperture(s) communicated not with the internal body of the church but the secular world without.

Cram reoriented this medieval arrangement for the sake of modern Gothick architecture. Just as the square-topped tower of Walkerville demonstrates the malady of the domestic infecting the sacred, and just as the sickly Fisher King’s Grail Castle conflates the domestic and sacred, the aperture of the “leper’s squint” perforates the sacred space of the church to demonstrate the leprosy of Edward Walker’s commission. Through it, we “watch” the church

¹⁶⁴ Cram’s sometime partner, Bertram Goodhue, would continue to use the second-storey aperture when he opened his own office in New York City: see the cadet chapel at West Point Military Academy, West Point, New York (c. 1905), and the Episcopal Church of the Intercession, New York City, New York (c. 1911). By then, the poignancy of such an inclusion lost the edge Cram (and Goodhue) had given it in Walkerville.

through the enduring “night” of our modern decadence; hence, Cram’s proclamation that we are presently, at best, the “blind leaders of the blind” for we “also walk in the darkness that fell when the light of art went out” (1907, 225). Thus, in the second chapter, we “saw” how Cram encrypted Edward’s illness through the broken symbol. Edward became the leper of the Matthean gospel, whose leprosy truncated to the withered hand of another Matthean man. In turn, that withered hand infected the structural body of Edward’s church, withering the western bay of the aisle and cryptically confessing that Cram’s modern Gothic architecture was still only a Gothick revenant of the once-healthy organism of medieval society.

We have thus left the brokenness of the Gothic “k” in suspension for the Grail Knight’s arrival. If the sickness of modern Gothick architecture is intrinsic to the darkness of the night through which we wait, then the Grail Knight brings a hand worthy of grasping the lance that would heal the broken symbol. Through the knight, the unspeakable k of modern decadence is redeemed. The Grail Knight relieves the knight. And, if the Walkerville tower lacks the lance-like spire of its eschatological dawn, and if the southern aisle lacks the completion of its final bay, then the Grail Knight’s “k” is the healthy hand missing in that bay. The Grail Knight grasps St. George’s lance and thrusting it into the Crucifixion window so that divine Truth might flow through the wounded glass in a flood of eschatological light—the same light in which the tower’s missing spire should bask. The missing spire is the lance and the missing bay is the hand that should hold it; the Grail Knight completes the church. Yet the Grail Knight’s “k” is (at present) as grammatologically haunting as the Gothick revenance of the

building "itself." Consequently, the church is twice haunted by the alpha and omega of glorious medieval art and the messianic glory of a Gothic resurrection, yet to come.

Inasmuch as Grail mythology is a palimpsest written over the Bible, the Grail Knight's arrival is a messianic future that overlaps the Christian messiah. To be sure, Sir Galahad was not Christ, but his quest marked an eschatological moment that, for Cram, might happen again. If Christ was the messiah of Cram's spiritual Truth, then Galahad was the messiah of true, earthly Art, the symbolic vessel by which the Christian faithful might glimpse the Beauty of His Truth. We recall Cram stating that the Grail Quest "failed, as men count failure." Yet, with Sir Galahad as the Grail Knight, how exactly did it fail?

Cram would later explain: "Sir Galahad rode for the Grail, and all other knights of honour and of old courtesie, questing for the lost Chalice of the Blood of God, achieving it never.... They could not bring back the Grail, but they marked the way to its shrine, and the way is still there for the finding" (1915b, 359). Galahad did not fail to experience the Grail himself; his failure, "as men count failure," was the impossibility of bringing back the Grail for the rest of us to witness. Instead, what the knights in quest of the Holy Grail achieved was the "mystical knowledge of Art" (1907, 9). Consequently, the ritual path of the Walkerville church aspires to what Cram called "The Second Coming of Art" (1917c).

Setting aside the obvious eschatological concerns with a church as the ritual path to the Second Coming of Christ and the preparation of one's soul for that moment—and Edward Walker surely used his church for that purpose—what

makes the new St. Mary's profound is the ritual path for the messianic Grail Knight, he who might save Edward's earthly body. The corporeal redemption of Edward Walker, the Fisher King of modernity, occurs only with the arrival of the messianic knight and the inauguration of a new era of mortal life in which the Gothic Revival would no longer be a Gothick revenant but a Gothic resurrection. Yet this is also where Cram's thinking is exposed to the pre-deconstructive limits of its structure.

For Derrida, the messiah is a promise or, rather, the "being-promise of the promise" (1994, 105).¹⁶⁵ The messiah can only be the messiah inasmuch as we cannot anticipate the form or content by which the messiah may or may not arrive. For Derrida, faith in the messiah meant opening oneself to the impossibility of knowing the future, of knowing what is to come (*a-venir*), up to and including the possibility of the messiah's eternal absence. The messiah, said Derrida, is a spectre that Karl Marx well understood. Thus, despite Marx's vitriol against Christianity, Derrida demonstrated that Marx still structured his revolutionary thought in the onto-teleological, onto-theological terms of Judeo-Christian religion. When Marx stated that "a spectre is haunting Europe—the spectre of communism" (Marx, qtd. in Derrida 1994, 4), he was referring to the spectral presence of a new, messianic International, yet to come. Nevertheless, Marx dedicated his life's work to detailing a dialectical system, a program by which we would recognize the spectral conditions of modernity and how to move toward that messianic future.

¹⁶⁵ Nicholas Royle called attention to Derrida's uncanny reading of the Christian messiah (2003, 292–3).

Likewise, Ralph Adams Cram may have known (or believed to have known) that the Catholic rituals would lead inevitably to the Second Coming of Christ, and Cram may also have known (or believed to have known) that the 500-year cycles of human history would shortly lead to the return of healthy civilization via the Second Coming of Art, but Cram's architecture is deconstructively interesting because he did not know if what he was building would lead inevitably to the Grail Knight's arrival. Thus, of all the voices to inherit from Ralph Adams Cram, deconstruction must choose the following admission: "whether or no we choose from the ramifying roads the one that leadeth to salvation is a matter altogether veiled in impenetrable cloud" (1907, 75). In that sense, Cram's faith was a belief in something he could not know; and, because his architecture was inescapably part of a sick modern world, he put his faith in a quest that was ultimately veiled to him. If the Gothick Revival began with the gauntlet effect of the ancient Goths, inscrutably haunting the ruins of ancient Rome, then the barbaric night of modernity (its Gothick-ness) would only end with the arrival of the Grail Knight's redemptive hand, a hand that continues to be veiled in the haunted armour of a gauntlet that has yet to come.

APPENDIX A: AN INTERDISCIPLINARY HISTORIOGRAPHY OF THE GOTHIC

Starting with Charles Eastlake in 1872, architectural surveys of the Gothic Revival have typically dismissed Gothic literature after the early chapters on Georgian culture. These surveys have acknowledged the Gothic novel as a Georgian literary type that Horace Walpole made famous with *The Castle of Otranto*. Yet Eastlake was only interested in Walpole's Gothic novel for the "incidents of a chivalrous age," including "the feudal tyrant, the venerable ecclesiastic, the forlorn but virtuous damsel, the castle itself, with its moats and drawbridge, its gloomy dungeons and solemn corridors" (1876, 43). According to Eastlake, Walter Scott later perfected these incidents, and thus the "Gothic" novel required no analysis beyond Scott's Late Georgian, Waverley romances. Scott's romances and the Gothic novel were ultimately worthy of Eastlake's *History of the Gothic Revival* only because, in the most general sense, they helped to kindle the Victorian "Lamp of Memory" (1876, 115), sparking the popular imagination with tales of medieval drama while the more serious business of Gothic antiquarianism provided the real fire for maturing Victorian architects. Those architects, in turn, developed an archaeologically sound Gothic that could rival and, ultimately, surpass the authenticity of Scott's literary Romanticism.

Kenneth Clark's history of *The Gothic Revival* likewise made no literary references after the works of Walter Scott. According to Clark, Scott's value to a maturing Gothic Revival was the historicism of his Waverley novels: "It was the

wealth of archaeological detail in Scott's novels which made his picture of the Middle Ages so satisfying" (1962, 58). Yet, contrary to Eastlake, Clark distinguished between Scott's historical romances and Walpole's Gothic literature. Scott was no Gothic novelist because the power of Walpole's literature was not its chivalric milieu but the unspeakable horrors festering beneath the surfaces—social and architectural—of Georgian culture. Consequently, Clark stated, "it is impossible to show a smooth interaction, or even a close parallel, between eighteenth-century Gothic novels and buildings" (1962, 33). *The Castle of Otranto* was a sublime piece of melodramatic horror that was irreconcilable to Walpole's Gothic mansion, Strawberry Hill, and Clark would not find any building even remotely comparable until the scenic sublime of William Beckford's folly, Fonthill Abbey (begun 1795).

With its sublime scale and its secretive owner, Fonthill Abbey eerily echoed the paper architecture of Gothic literature, tangentially including Beckford's oriental novel, *Vathek* (1786), both of which could "make one's hair stand on end" (K. Clark 1962, 33). Yet, for Clark, the collapse of Fonthill's tower in 1825 served as a parable for the Gothic Revival: sham architecture might be sufficient for the Gothic novel, but the sound construction of Victorian Gothic would come closer (without succeeding) to the truth of medieval architecture. Thus, the rich historicism of Scott's romance stood in the wake of the Gothic novel, only then to be surpassed by the archaeological correctness of early Victorian architects.

Michael Lewis agreed with Clark in his survey of *The Gothic Revival*. For Lewis, the "dainty affectations of Walpole's Strawberry Hill" were at odds with the fictional gloom of *Otranto* (2002, 30). Yet the megalomaniacal erection of

Beckford's Fonthill Abbey was an "appropriate setting for playing the part of the capricious despot" (2002, 38). Lewis continued, "The stunning complex effectively ended the Georgian phase of the Gothic Revival" (2002, 41). Thence, the historical novels of Walter Scott would usher in the transition to Victorian medievalism: "In comparison to [Scott's] vivid recreation of medieval life, *The Castle of Otranto* and *Vathek* were no more than fairytales" (2002, 51). And the archaeological sophistication of late-Georgian-cum-Victorian architects could more than match Scott's vivid Romanticism.

Far too often, then, historians of modern Gothic architecture have taken for granted Scott's warning from his introduction to *The Castle of Otranto*:

It is ... almost impossible to build such a modern Gothic structure as shall impress us with the feelings we have endeavoured to describe [of *The Castle of Otranto*]. [A modern Gothic structure] may be grand, or it may be gloomy; it may excite magnificent or melancholy ideas; but it must fail in bringing forth the sensation of supernatural awe.... Horace Walpole has attained in [literary] composition, what, as an architect, he must have felt beyond the power of his art. (1811, xx-xxi)

The Gothic novel supposedly achieved something that Gothic-Revival architecture could not; and, when Beckford's Fonthill Abbey aspired to that condition, it came crashing to the ground. Thus, the incidental coexistence of Gothic novels and Gothic-Revival architecture supposedly died with the Georgian dilettantes who wrote the former to achieve an effect ostensibly impossible for the latter.

Having accepted the fragile but tangible interdisciplinarity of Beckford's building and book, select interdisciplinary readings of the Gothic have specifically dwelt on Walpole's projects (Strawberry Hill and *The Castle of Otranto*) in an attempt to reconcile his Georgian Gothic building and book.

Against Kenneth Clark's argument that there is no "smooth interaction, or even a close parallel, between eighteenth-century Gothic novels and buildings," W. S. Lewis wrote an article on "The Genesis of Strawberry Hill" (1934), arguing that the fictional architecture of the Castle of Otranto is closely modelled on the architectural spaces of Strawberry Hill. Lewis's argument is faulty, however, because the most terrifying aspect of Walpole's Castle of Otranto is the subterranean labyrinth beneath the castle, a detail that does not occur at Strawberry Hill. Lewis consequently struggled to account for that discrepancy, flimsily suggesting that Walpole may have entertained the notion of subterranean passages at Strawberry Hill "to facilitate the carrying of food from the kitchen" (1934, 90). Yet, to paraphrase Charles Dickens, there is more of gravy than the grave about such a notion; and, if we are to think of uncanny correlations between modern Gothic architecture and literature, then Lewis's argument is unconvincing.¹⁶⁶

From yet another perspective, Dianne Ames (1979) argued that Kenneth Clark wrongly affiliated *The Castle of Otranto* with the graveyard poets of the early eighteenth century. Ames sought to emphasize *The Castle of Otranto* in relation to the chivalric traditions of Thomas Malory, Edmund Spenser, and the like, the same traditions that Eastlake used. Thus, Ames tried to align Walpole's architecture and literature through the associative power of historical romances

¹⁶⁶ Likewise, Warren Hunting Smith challenged Clark's assumption that Walpole's house and his literary castle were "utterly divergent" (1934, 49). For Smith, Strawberry Hill was designed to be "pretty," but so too were the aboveground portions of the Castle of Otranto—which were more "Tudor than medieval" (1934, 49). At the same time, though, Smith insisted, "The Castle of Otranto is not Strawberry Hill in literary form" (1934, 79). This is because the subterranean vaults of the castle are the "most horrifying part of the book, and Walpole's Strawberry Hill seems rather unpretentious in comparison" (1934, 80).

and not, as W. S. Lewis attempted, through the frightening details that inform the Gothic literary genre. Furthermore, Ames took exception to Clark's criticism that Strawberry Hill is cheap, imitation Gothic with its lath-and-plaster and *papier-mâché* features. On the contrary, according to Ames, Clark's anachronistically Victorian sense of constructional honesty was a bias that blinded Clark to the architectural value of Strawberry Hill and *The Castle of Otranto*: "The whimsical congregation of analogies [at Strawberry Hill] is not an attempt at archaeological truth in the manner of nineteenth-century Gothic buildings, which failed to achieve it. At Strawberry Hill there are no failures, only fictions" (1979, 352). Ultimately, for Ames, Strawberry Hill is the architecture of a subjunctive grammar—it is the playful association of medieval details that ask the viewer/reader to accept the architecture/literature "as if" it were a medieval castle—without ever expecting sincere belief.¹⁶⁷

Whether or not we agree with Ames that the post-Georgian, archaeological quest for "true" Gothic forms was a failure, I am interested in how we might interpret those "failures" in terms of Gothic fiction. More to the point: how might a post-Georgian architect, who considered the quest for a true Gothic Revival to be a failure, develop an architecture that reimagined the terror endemic to Gothic literature in terms of ostensibly "true" Gothic forms?

¹⁶⁷ Peter Sabor reiterated the point, quoting from Walpole's correspondence of 1781: "I am too, though a Goth, so modern a Goth that I hate the black letter [of the Chaucerian Middle Ages], and I love Chaucer better in Dryden or Baskerville, than in his own language and dress" (Walpole, qtd. in Sabor 1997, 474–5). Sabor then concluded, "Walpole's pseudo-medieval fiction was no more intended to be taken for an authentic medieval work than his remodelling of Strawberry Hill in Gothic style was designed to turn a former coachman's cottage into an authentic Gothic castle: the use of plaster for the battlements was evidently self-parodic" (1997, 481).

How are Gothic horrors seething beneath the ostensibly solid surfaces of a “true” Gothic Revival?

To date, Peter Coffman (2003) has been the only scholar to consider the possibility of an interdisciplinary Gothic after the Georgian era. In his study of Casa Loma (the c. 1911, Torontonion mansion of Henry Pellatt), Coffman observed that Casa Loma is often criticized as a “fake” medieval castle with a smattering of neo-classically appointed rooms. Instead, Coffman argued that Casa Loma “is not the illegitimate child of the medieval castle—it is the legitimate child of the [Georgian] Gothic imagination” (2003, 3). By playing with the Gothic literary trope of legacies and illegitimacies, Coffman explored Casa Loma as a building more closely attuned to the irrationality of the architecture in Georgian Gothic fiction. As a result, viewing Casa Loma “requires considerable suspension of disbelief.... Its premises, irrational as they may be, must be accepted unconditionally; it only works if the reader agrees to play along” (2003, 7). Casa Loma is, as Ames suggested, the architecture of a subjunctive grammar—the “as if.”

Coffman consequently developed a narrative history of Gothic-Revival architecture that plays with another Gothic literary trope: “Between Walpole [in the eighteenth century] and Pellatt [in the twentieth], another generation briefly but spectacularly appropriated Gothic, imposing the light of reason upon it, and proclaiming it, in Ruskin's words, “the only *rational* architecture” (his italics). Thus was Mr. Hyde transformed into Doctor Jekyll” (2003, 10). For Coffman, the history of the Gothic Revival reads like R. L. Stevenson's *Strange Case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde* (1886), which is to say that the eighteenth-century Gothic was the

irrational Mr. Hyde, only to become the rational Dr. Jekyll of the Victorian era, only to re-emerge, briefly, in twentieth-century Toronto as the irrational Mr. Hyde of Casa Loma.

Such a narrative limits our reading of the Gothic Revival, as if we were standing on the streets of Stevenson's city witnessing either the irrational Mr. Hyde or the rational Dr. Jekyll, without understanding that those two were, in a sense, one and the same. Significantly, then, Coffman chose to connect the eighteenth- and twentieth-century Gothic through the domestic architecture of the mansion—be it the Castle of Otranto or the “Castle of Toronto” (2003, 8). He also chose as one of two contrasting examples of “rational” Victorian Gothic the image of a Christian church. Therefore, Coffman's distinctions between the Gothic Jekyll and Hyde are at least partly dependent on distinctions between irrational domestic architecture and rational churches, despite the possibility that Hyde might have been hiding among the rational structures of the ecclesiastical, post-Georgian Gothic all along.

A similar theory underwrites the scholarship of Gothic literary criticism. Broadly speaking, architectural details are among the most persistent conventions of the genre, though the time and place of those architectural settings varied with the stories. Horace Walpole set *The Castle of Otranto* in Italy during the time of the crusades, no later than 1243. Ann Radcliffe set the bulk of her later Georgian novels, like *A Sicilian Romance* (1790), *The Mysteries of Udolpho* (1794), and *The Italian* (1797), in Italy or the south of France, and she typically dated her scenes from the late sixteenth or early seventeenth centuries. Robert Miles consequently situated Radcliffe's novels on a “Gothic cusp” (1995,

87), occupying a turning point between medieval and modern worlds. Hence, the modern, Anglo-Protestant values of her heroines escaped intact from the medieval castles of Catholic, continental tyranny, taking up residence, in the denouement, in tasteful modern villas.

Then, as the Gothic novel neared the Victorian era, C. R. Maturin let *Melmoth the Wanderer* (1820) wander out of the past and into the modern Irish countryside. From there, the Victorian "Suburban" Gothic dwelled on the modern city. Edward Bulwer-Lytton set *The Hallowed and the Haunters* (1859) on a thoroughfare near Oxford Street in London. Robert Louis Stevenson set *The Strange Case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde* on a "Queer Street" in modern London (1886, 10). And Bram Stoker conflated the entire history of the genre for his Gothic novel *Dracula* (1897), where the titular count abandoned his continental castle to take up residence in the remains of Carfax Abbey on the outskirts of modern London. Thus, whether we think of castles, abbeys, or urban mansions (and Cram would use them all), Gothic literature perpetually terrifies the domesticity of the house—be it secular or monastic.

Consequently, Eino Railo selected *The Haunted Castle* as the title for his 1927 study of Gothic literature because the "entire stock-in-trade of horror-Romanticism in its oldest and purest form consists ... chiefly of the properties and staff of the [haunted] castle" (1927/1964, 7). Montague Summers also argued that haunted castles were the "real protagonists of the early Gothics" (1938, 410–11).¹⁶⁸ Even as recently as 2002, Dani Cavallaro echoed Summers's conclusion:

¹⁶⁸ In 2000, Chris Baldick and Robert Mighall countered that the haunted castles were the real *antagonists* of Gothic fiction, being home to the villains that terrorized the novels' protagonists.

"One of the most intriguing aspects of *The Castle of Otranto* is precisely the fact that the castle's architecture, with its battlements, closets, vaults, and trapdoors, is so alive as to suggest that the dwelling is the actual protagonist and controlling force" (2002, 29). According to Anne Williams, this is because a "house makes secrets in merely being itself, for its function is to enclose space. And the larger, older, and more complex the structure becomes, the more likely it is to have secret or forgotten rooms.... More important, this structure is marked, haunted by 'history'—the events of its own development. The ghosts—whether real or imaginary—derive from the past passions, past deeds, past crimes of the family identified with this structure" (1995, 44–5). Hence, literary Gothic was preoccupied with architecture because the ghosts of familial legacies were inextricably bound to the spaces of domesticity. Fictional Gothic architecture situates the reader in the (dis)placing spaces of a haunted house.

The domestic status of the haunted house allows Gothic literary scholars to ignore the architectural revival beyond the Georgian era. Inasmuch as the domestic house was the quintessentially Georgian venue for the Gothic Revival, Gothic literary scholars have been particularly interested in Walpole and Beckford because they designed homes in the guises of medieval castles and abbeys.¹⁶⁹ As David Punter summarized in his comprehensive survey of Gothic literature (1980) and his revised edition of 1996:

Alongside its taste for [medieval] literature, the late eighteenth century acquired a pronounced taste for medieval buildings, and the wealthy even went to the extent of building Gothic ruins, ready-made; perhaps the most famous example of Gothic building in the period was Horace

¹⁶⁹ Kenneth Conant further argued that Horace Walpole gave the "Gothic style 'aristocratic respectability' in his own time by taking it from the cathedral and putting it in the home" (1945, 65).

Walpole's Strawberry Hill, a Gothic castle in miniature, although much more impressive was William Beckford's Fonthill, which collapsed under the weight of its own grandiosity. The inheritor of this taste, of course, was to be the "Gothicizing" mania of the Victorians. (1996, 7)

Crucially, Punter articulated the Victorian Gothic Revival as the "inheritor" of Georgian Gothic, in the sense that the inheritor is not to be confused with the testator. Georgian Gothic architecture was not the same as the Victorian. He would go on to explain this point in an essay written with Glennis Byron: "Interest in Gothic architecture increased during the early nineteenth century, when attention turned from domestic buildings to churches" (2004, 34). Thus, according to Punter, even though Victorian Gothic literature would continue to explore the correlations of haunting and the house, the Victorian Gothic Revival no longer mattered to Gothic literature precisely because the architectural revival turned its attention to church architecture rather than domestic.¹⁷⁰

¹⁷⁰ Victor Sage likewise argued, "nineteenth-century visual and literary senses of the term [Gothic] tend to polarize into opposites. Much Victorian neo-Gothic architecture, for example, had strong Oxford Movement and Catholic associations, whereas I am particularly concerned in this book with the survival and transformations of a popular Reformation tradition, in which anxiety about 'superstition' of all kinds (Tractarianism in particular) is a regular component, and a mortuary sensibility to which decay itself is the ultimate 'Gothic' style [of literature]" (1988, xxii). Yet, even though Gothic literary scholars have continually dismissed the churches of Victorian Gothicists (even those without Tractarian and Catholic associations), some scholars have taken an interest in the church architecture of medieval Gothic.

Devendra Varma compared the Gothic novel with Chartres Cathedral: "The Gothic novel is a conception as vast and complex as a Gothic cathedral. One finds in them the same sinister overtones and the same solemn grandeur" (1957, 16). Why Varma needed to compare the English Gothic novel with Chartres Cathedral remains unclear when English cathedrals abound. Nevertheless, in France, Maurice Lévy's comprehensive study of the English Gothic novel (1968) framed the genre in similar terms of the medieval cathedral, with its grotesque touches of demonic supernaturalism balanced against the aspirations for the divine. Thus, G. Richard Thompson suggested that the Gothic cathedral is analogous to the Gothic novel because the cathedral "has both an outward movement toward the heavens, and an inward, downward motion, convoluting in upon itself in labyrinthine passages and dark recesses, descending to catacombs deep in the earth" (1974, 3); and Joel Porte saw those movements as the "union of Terror and Sublimity which was alone considered capable of transporting the soul beyond reason and decorum" (1974, 45). Linda Bayer-Berenbaum then provided a slightly more astute comparison, noting that the "structure of a Gothic cathedral, like the plot of the Gothic novel, is dominated by action, by both tiny, frenetic movements in ornamentation or detail and the large, sweeping, rising movements of construction or plot" (1982, 55). Nevertheless, Judith Halberstam declared Gothic fiction as a rhetoric of excess, comparing it to the "crazy loops and spires" of a Gothic cathedral (1995, 2). And Mark Hennelly argued that "the artifice of Gothic cathedrals mocks the natural models of forest

Richard Davenport-Hines's interdisciplinary study of the *Gothic* (1998) is the most explicit argument from that narrowly domestic perspective. Davenport-Hines only explored Gothic-Revival houses from the Georgian era and, having finished, he defended his disinterest in Victorian Gothic architecture thusly: "The intense reverent passions of ... the great patrons of Victorian church-building fall outside the concern of my book. The Goths who terrified Europe in the fifth century, rather than the church craftsmen and architects, represent the cultural moods which have resurged since the death of Satan. I explore the fascination with twisted and punished desires, barbarity, caprice, base terror, and vicious life which has underlain the revival of Gothic since the eighteenth century" (1998, 2). Such a distinction is highly problematic because, at the very least, Davenport-Hines was projecting a definite identity onto the fifth-century Goths and what they supposedly meant to the "revival of Gothic since the eighteenth century." To argue that "barbarity" is somehow truly Gothic is to ignore the undecidable Gothick spectre haunting the ruined battlements of ancient Rome.

I refuse the certainty Davenport-Hines sought in that kind of transparent legacy, and I refute his effort to buttress his argument with a diatribe against the Victorian Gothicism A. W. N. Pugin:

Pugin was not a true Goth. He did not admire the Dark Ages, superstition and fear, or regard human identity as a masquerade of discontinuous, improvised performances. "The world that Pugin

trees, stressing especially the vertical tension between spiritual spires and charnel/carnal catacombs, what *The Monk* terms 'vaults above and caverns below'" (2001, 16). Thus, Gothic literary scholars largely navigate the would-be convoluted, crazy labyrinth of a medieval cathedral with the mentality of an eighteenth-century tourist. Gothic cathedrals were not always so baffling or sinister, especially with the rise of antiquarian knowledge in the years leading up to the Victorian era. Thus, once again, when Victorian architects ostensibly turned to an erudite understanding of medieval Gothic, Gothic literary scholars have had no interest in the Victorian perspective on Gothic architecture.

dreamt of re-creating in three-dimensional forms was not a Dark Age, but an Age of Faith: a society still familial, communal, organic, hierarchical, credulous, and theocratic," as Mordaunt Crook has brilliantly summarized. "Spiritually fragmented by the Reformation; intellectually undermined by the Enlightenment; physically destroyed by the Industrial Revolution, this half-forgotten universe of the mind survived as a powerful mythology—a mythology all the more seductive in a world gone secular, urban, libertarian, and capitalistic." (1998, 226)

In few, Davenport-Hines believed that the Victorian turn from the house to the church meant that Victorian Gothic architects, starting with Pugin, "ceased to be Goths, though they may earn large fees as gothic revivalists" (1998, 221). Yet, even if we are to assume a supposed lack of architectural admiration for superstition and fear among the Victorian Gothicists, it does not mean that Pugin and subsequent Victorian architects were safely ensconced in their churches, protected from the modern world.

Davenport-Hines was right that Pugin and Victorian Gothic architects "succumbed to a craze for ethical uplift. They came to feel that moral environments must be created by moral architecture" (1998, 221). Yet, by those very words, Davenport-Hines's disavowal of Victorian church architecture undercut itself. To use "moral architecture" as a means to create a "moral environment" is to acknowledge the immorality of a modern world that Victorian architects strove to overcome. On what basis can Davenport-Hines (and the entire tradition of Gothic architectural and literary history) assume that Victorian church architects succeeded in making churches that were free from the horrors of modernity? My entire project turns on this question.

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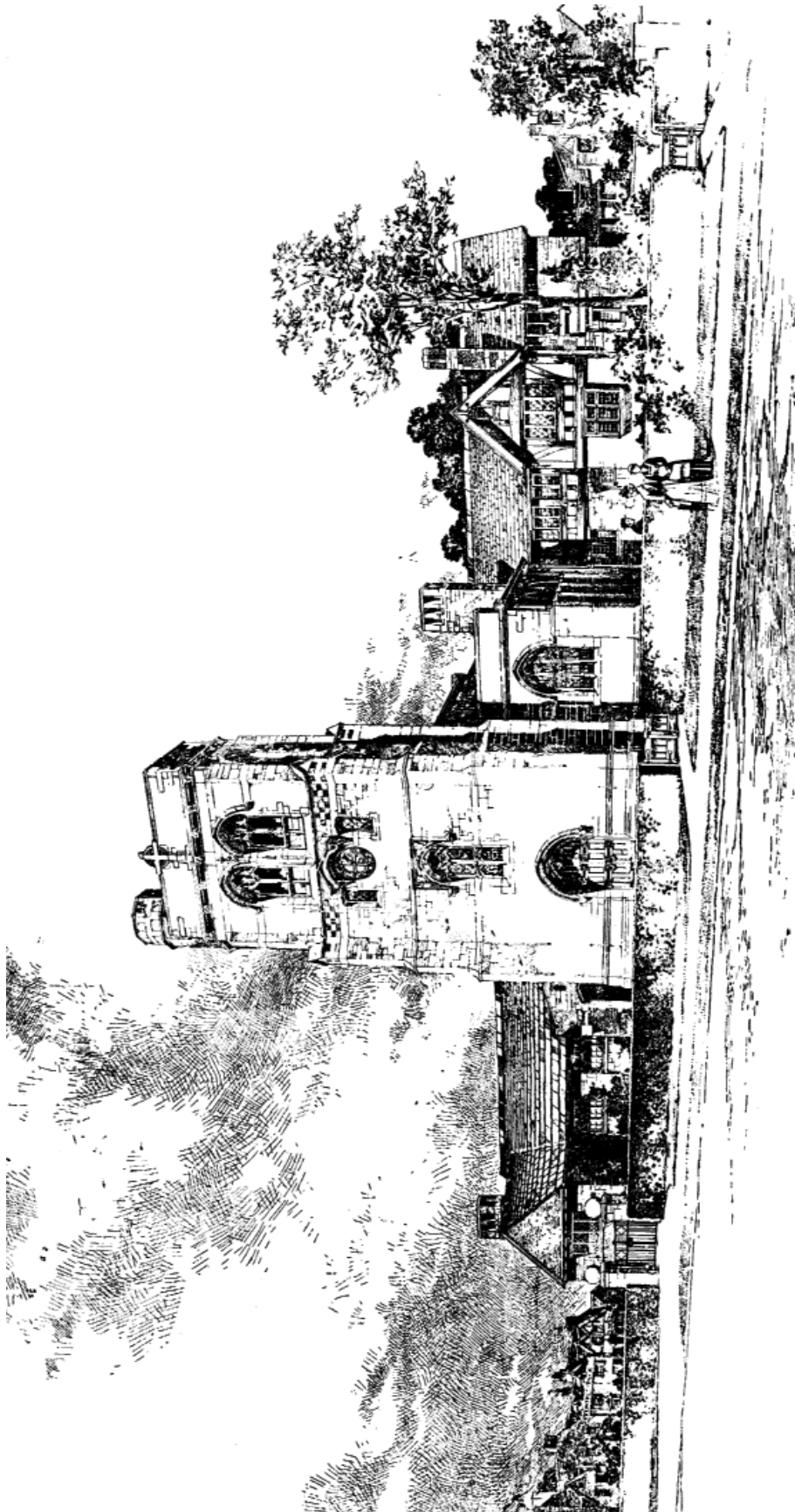
[Plate 0.1] The new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON (1902-04), Cram, Goodhue & Ferguson, architects
Exterior facing liturgically northeast [Image courtesy of Cameron Macdonell]



[Plate 0.2] All Saints' Episcopal Church, Ashmont, MA (begun c.1891), Cram, Wentworth & Goodhue, architects
Exterior facing liturgically northeast [Image courtesy of Cameron Macdonell]



[Plate 1.1] St. Stephen's Episcopal Church, Cohasset, MA (begun c.1899) Cram, Goodhue & Ferguson, architects
Exterior facing liturgically east [Image courtesy of Cameron Macdonell]



[Plate 1.2] Presentation drawing of the new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON (c.1903)
Bertram Goodhue, draughtsman
Exterior facing liturgically east-northeast [Image courtesy of the Canadian Architect & Builder 16:5 (May 1903), plate 3]



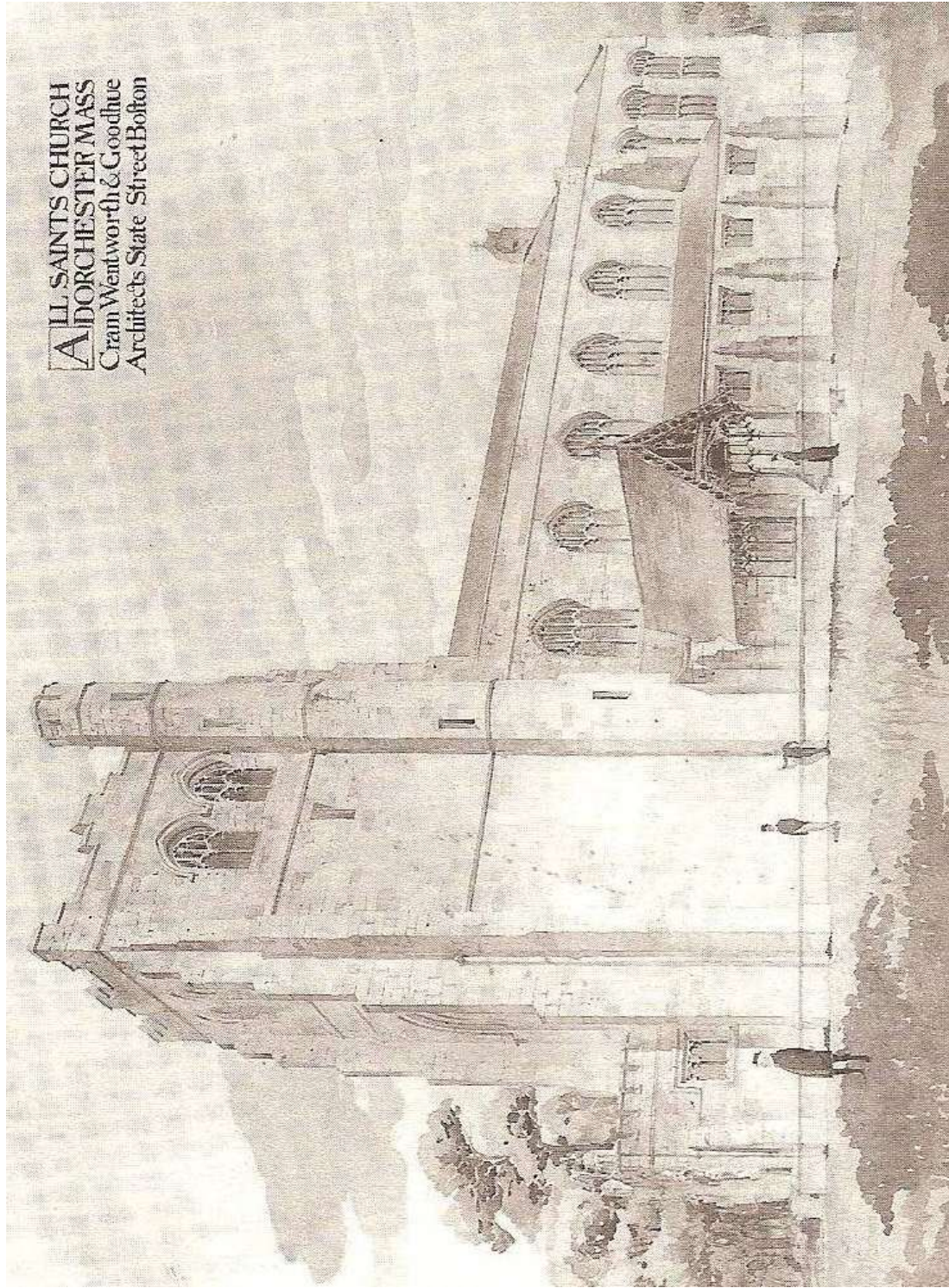
[Plate 1.3] The new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON (1902–04) Cram, Goodhue & Ferguson, architects
Exterior facing liturgically east from Devonshire Road [Image courtesy of Vern & Kyle Harvey]



[Plate 1.4] The new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON (1902–04)
Cram, Goodhue & Ferguson, architects
Interior facing liturgically east from the tower/vestibule
[Image courtesy of Vern & Kyle Harvey]



[Plate 1.5] Presentation painting of the prospective St. John's Episcopal Church, Williamstown, MA (c.1889)
Ralph Adams Cram, painter
Exterior facing liturgically southeast [Image courtesy of Anthony 2007, 16]

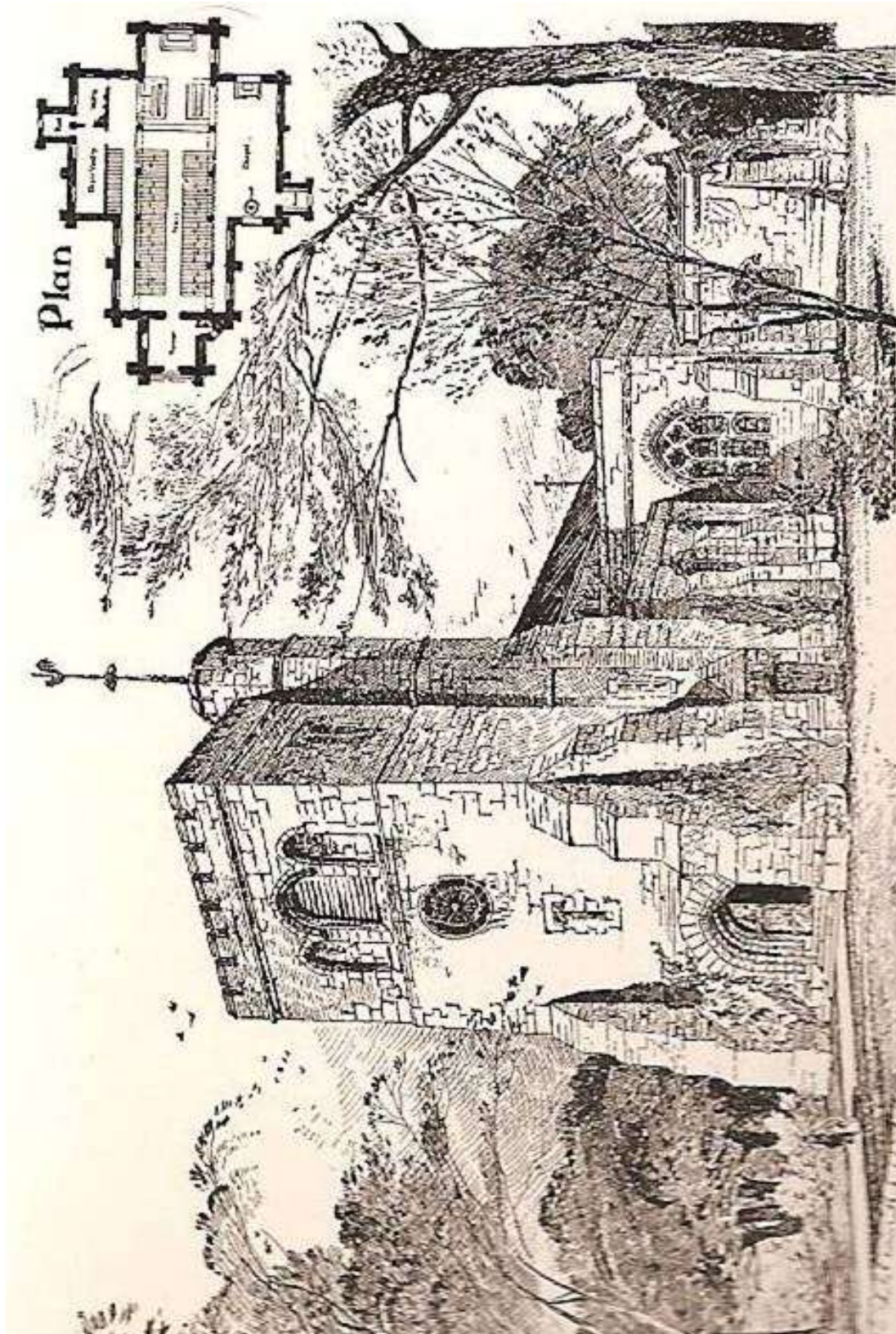


ALL SAINTS CHURCH
DORCHESTER MASS
Cram Wentworth & Goodhue
Architects State Street Boston

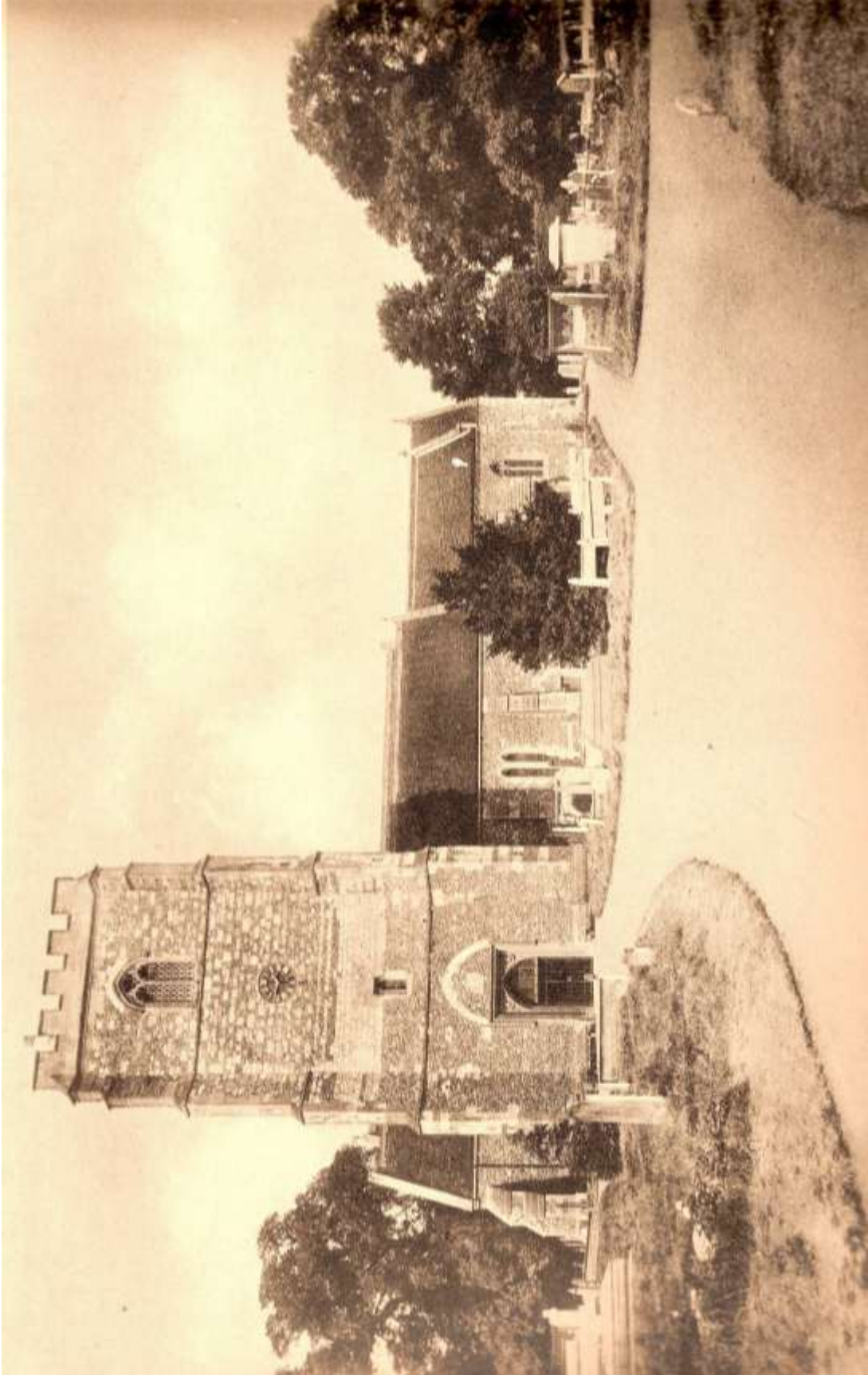
[Plate 1.6] Presentation image of All Saints' Episcopal Church, Ashmont, MA (c.1891)
Bertram Goodhue, designer
Exterior facing liturgically north-northeast [Image courtesy of Shand-Tucci 1995, 116]



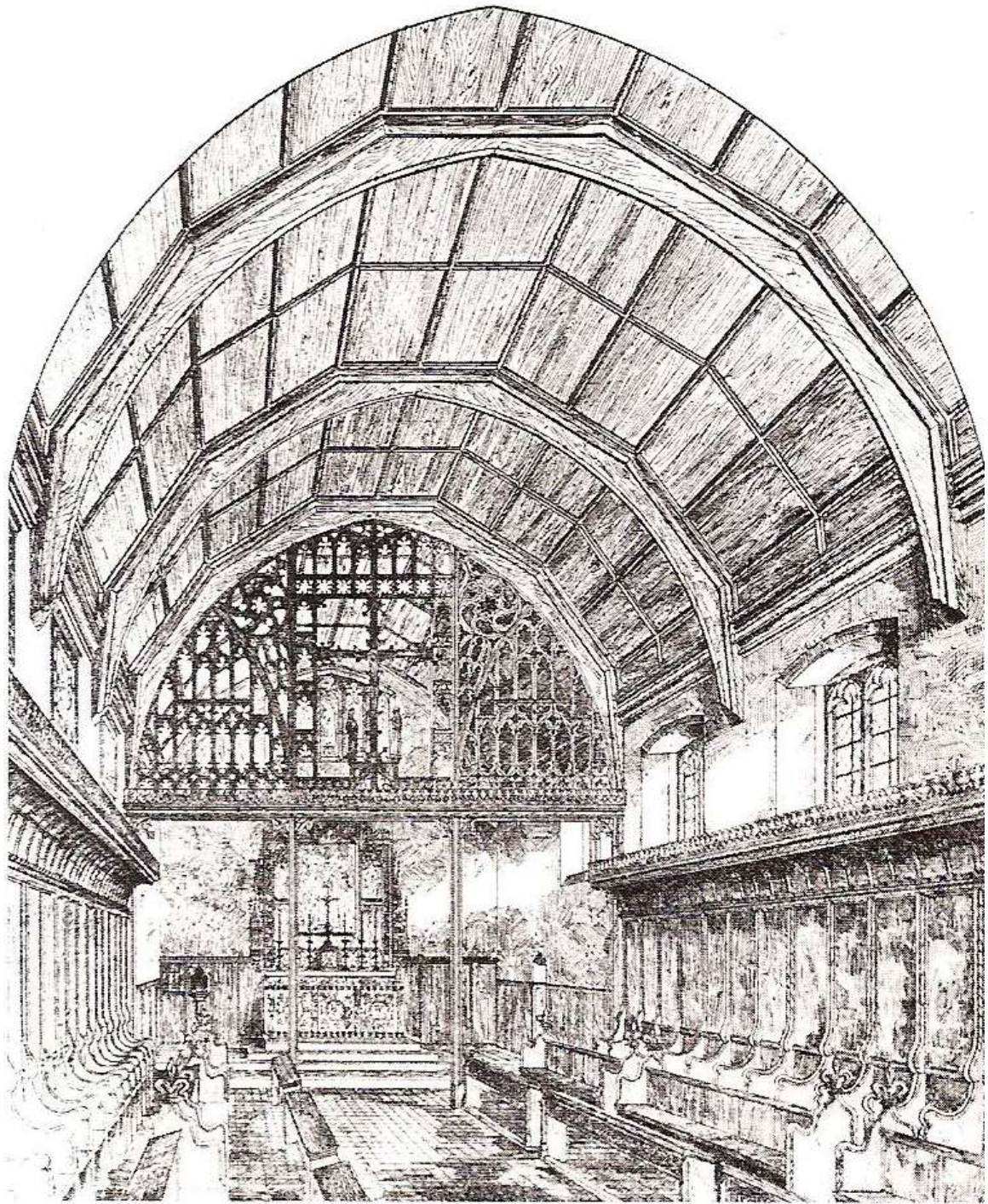
[Plate 1.7] Trinity Episcopal Church, Boston, MA (c.1875) Henry Hobson Richardson, architect
Exterior facing liturgically northeast [Image courtesy of [en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Trinity_Church_\(Boston\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Trinity_Church_(Boston))]



[Plate 1.8] Presentation drawing of St. Peter's Episcopal Church, Morristown, NJ (c.1887)
 McKim, Mead & White, architects: Exterior facing liturgically northeast
 [Image courtesy of Cram 1901, 47]



[Plate 1.9] St. Michael's Anglican Church, Bray, Berkshire County, England (14th–15th century) architect(s) unknown
Exterior facing liturgically north [Image courtesy of Cram 1898, plate viii]



[Plate 1.10] Presentation drawing of St. Margaret's Episcopal Chapel, Boston, MA
(c.1881) Henry Vaughan, draughtsman
Interior facing liturgically east-southeast
[Image courtesy of Morgan 1983, 7]



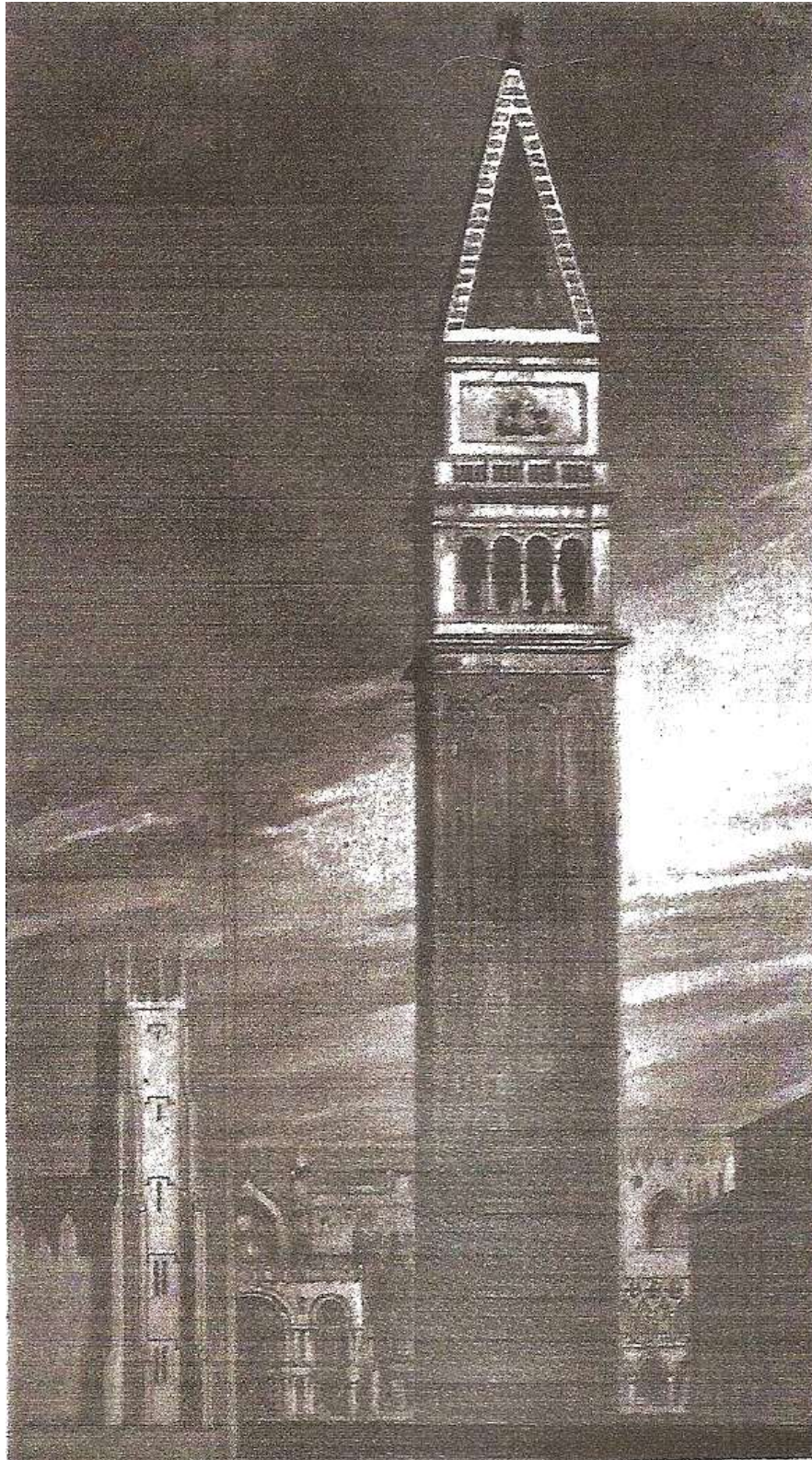
[Plate 1.11] Episcopal Chapel of SS. Peter & Paul, St. Paul 's School, Concord, NH (c.1890) Henry Vaughan, architect
Exterior facing liturgically north [Image courtesy of Cameron Macdonell]



[Plate 1.12] Anglican Church of St. Michael & All Angels, Hoar Cross, Staffordshire, England (c.1872)
Bodley & Garner, architects
Exterior facing liturgically southwest [Image courtesy of Cameron Macdonell]



[Plate 1.13] Holy Trinity Anglican Church, Sloane Square, London, England (c. 1890) John Dando Sedding, architect
Exterior facing liturgically southeast [Image courtesy of Cameron Macdonell]



[Plate 1.14] "Types of Towers" (c.1850) John Ruskin, painter

[Image courtesy of Ruskin 1851, plate vi]



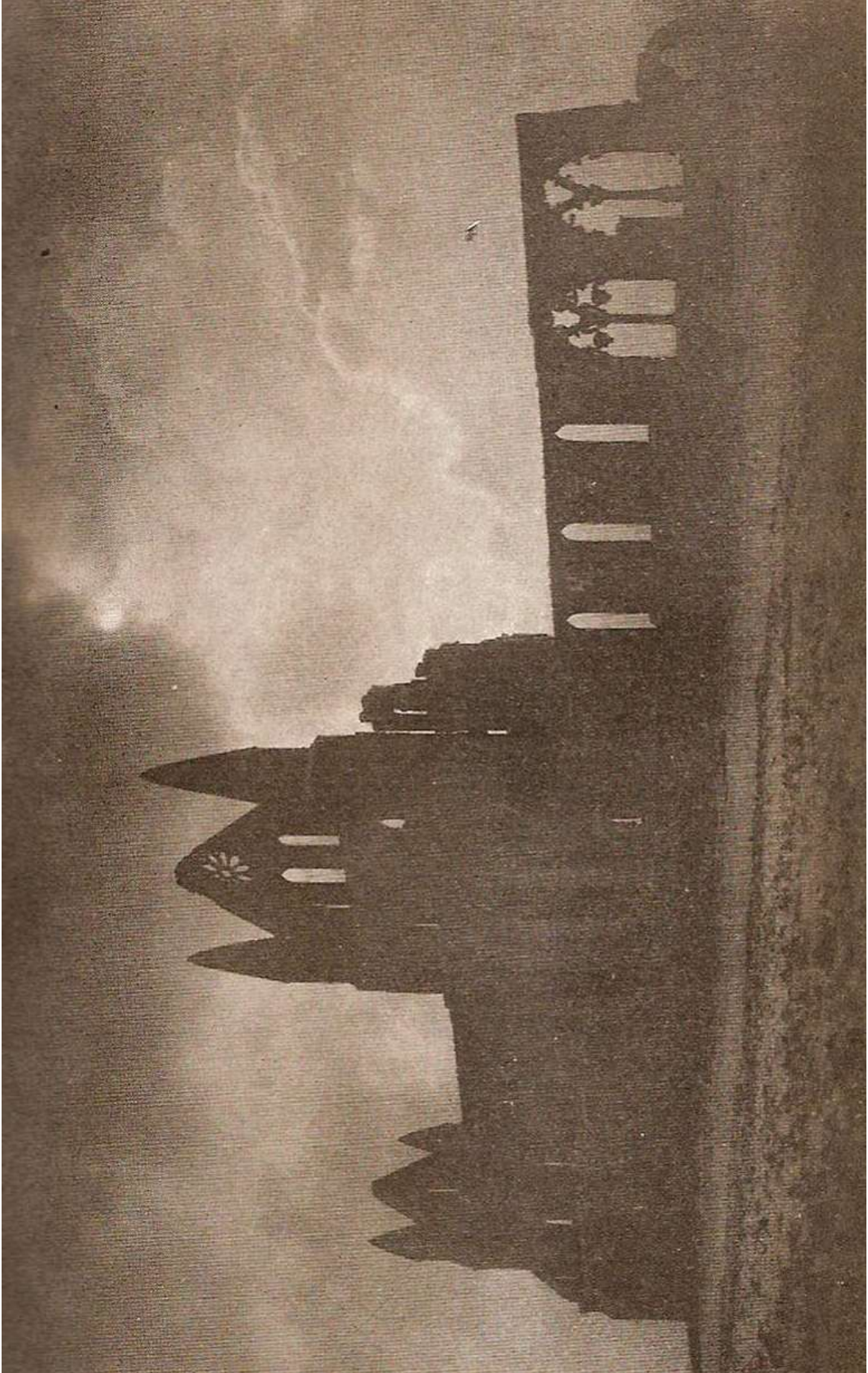
[Plate 1.15] "Four Statues" (c.1904) Johannes Kirchmayer, sculptor;
Pugin the Elder is second from the left.
[Image courtesy of Cram 1914a, plate cxxx]



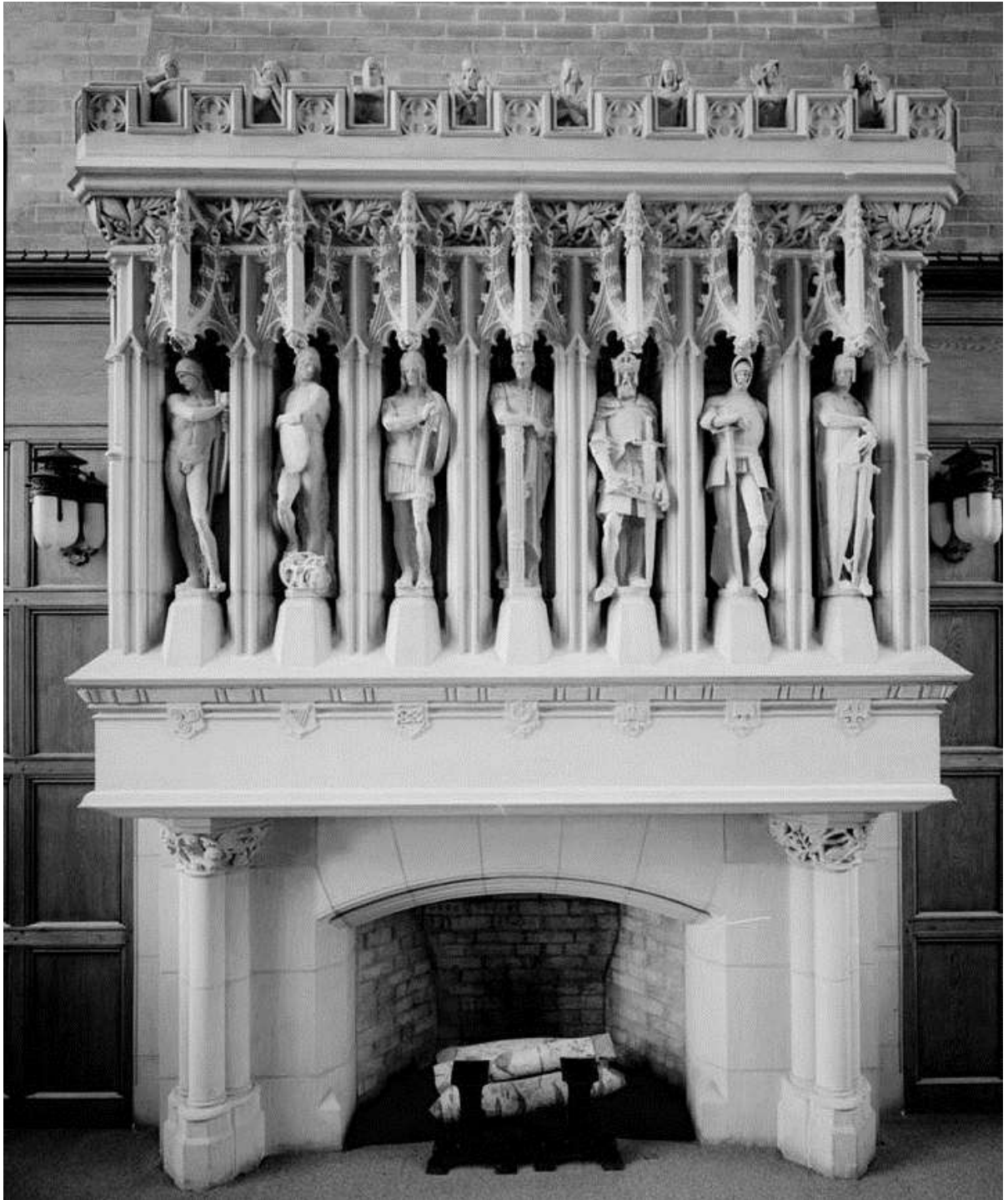
[Plate 1.16] St. Marie's Roman Catholic Church, Derbyshire, England (c.1838) A.W.N. Pugin, architect
Exterior facing liturgically east [Image courtesy of en.wikipedia.org/wiki/St_Mary's_Church,_Derby]



[Plate 1.17] St. Alban's Roman Catholic Church, Macclesfield, England (c.1839)
A.W.N. Pugin, architect
Exterior facing liturgically east-northeast
[Image courtesy of pt.wikipedia.org/wiki/St_Alban's_Church,_Macclesfield]



[Plate 1.18] The ruins of Whitby Abbey (c.1904) Ralph Adams Cram, photographer
Exterior facing liturgically north-northwest [Image courtesy of Cram 1905, plate 15]



[Plate 1.19] The Administrative Building at West Point Military Academy, NY.
 (c.1905) Cram, Goodhue & Ferguson, architects
 Detail of the board room fireplace and over-mantel (c.1905)
 Lee Lawrie [?], sculptor
 [Image courtesy of the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.]



[Plate 1.20] The new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON (1902–04) Cram, Goodhue & Ferguson, architects
Interior facing liturgically east: Detail of vestibule floor tiles (c.1904) Henry Chapman Mercer, ceramicist
Image courtesy of Cameron Macdonell

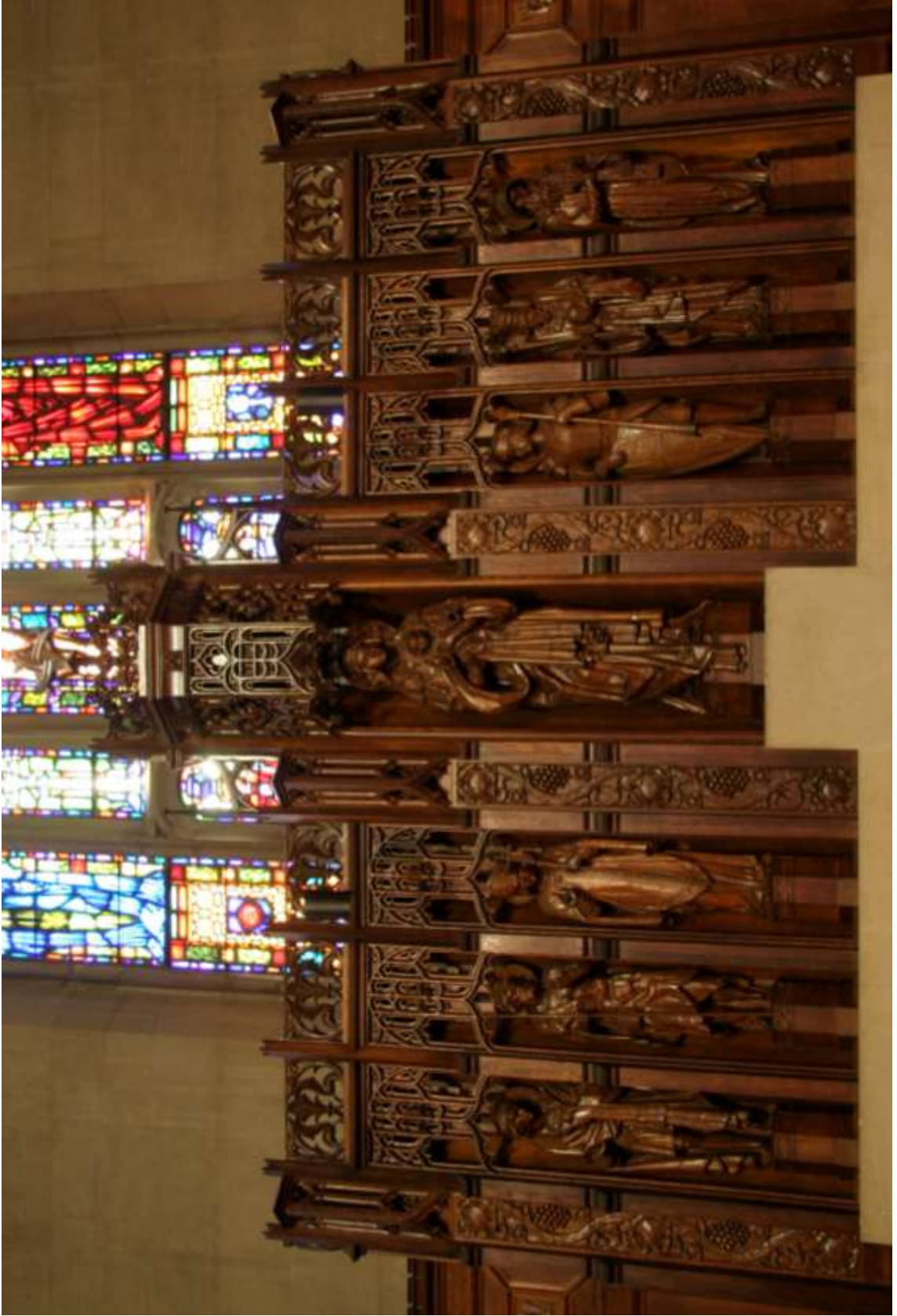


[Plate 1.21] The Little Caste tile (MC 85) Henry Chapman Mercer, ceramicist

[Image courtesy of Vern & Kyle Harvey]



[Plate 1.22] The new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON (1902–04) Cram, Goodhue & Ferguson, architects
 Interior facing liturgically east: Detail of sanctuary floor tiles (c.1904) Henry Chapman Mercer, ceramicist
 [Image courtesy of Vern & Kyle Harvey]



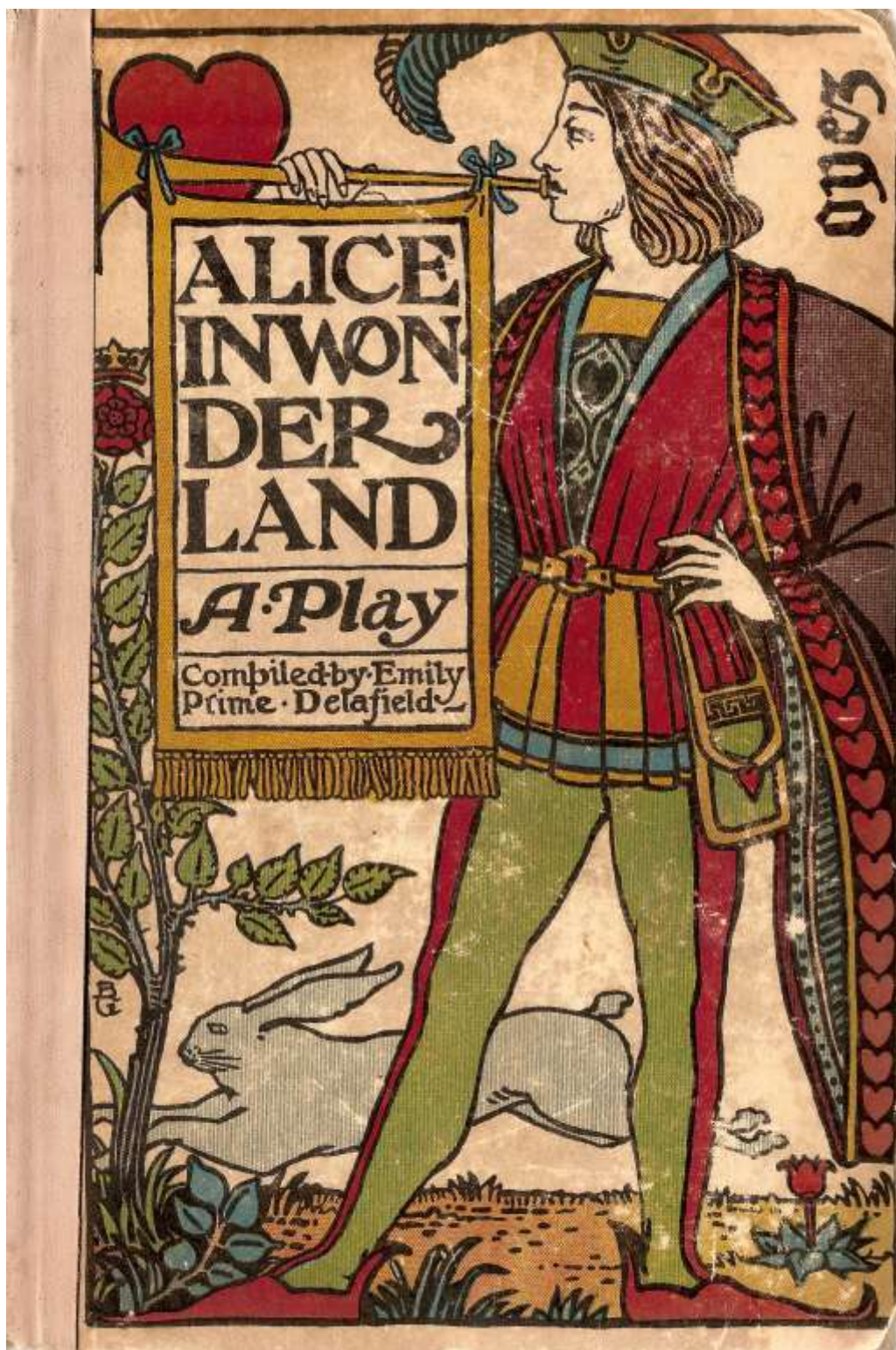
[Plate 1.23] The new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON (1902–04) Cram, Goodhue & Ferguson, architects
 Interior facing liturgically east: Detail of the high altar reredos (c.1904) Johannes Kirchmayer, sculptor
 Image courtesy of Vern & Kyle Harvey



[Plate 1.24] The new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON (1902–04)
Cram, Goodhue & Ferguson, architects: Interior facing liturgically north or south
Detail of the Patristic Saint windows (c.1904) Harry Goodhue, glazier
[Images courtesy of Vern & Kyle Harvey]



[Plate 1.25] The new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON (1902–04)
 Cram, Goodhue & Ferguson, architects: Interior facing liturgically north
 Detail of the SS. Augustine & Gregory from their Patristic Saint window (c.1904)
 Harry Goodhue, glazier [Image courtesy of Vern & Kyle Harvey]



[Plate 1.26] Untitled front cover illustration (c.1898) Bertram Goodhue, designer

[Image courtesy of Delafield (1898)]



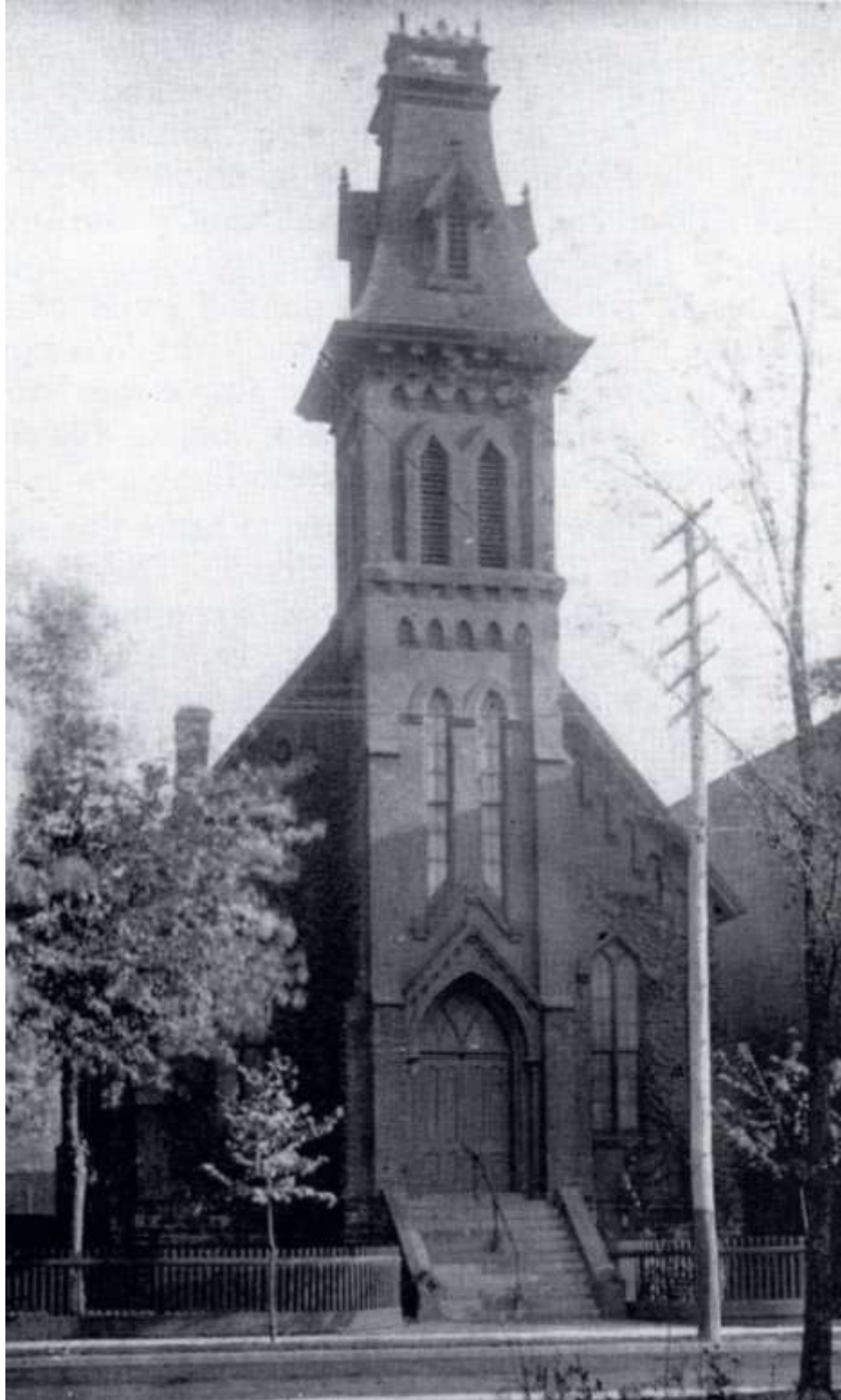
[Plate 1.27] Untitled illustration (n.d.) John Tenniel, draughtsman

[Image courtesy of Carroll 1865/1960, 106]

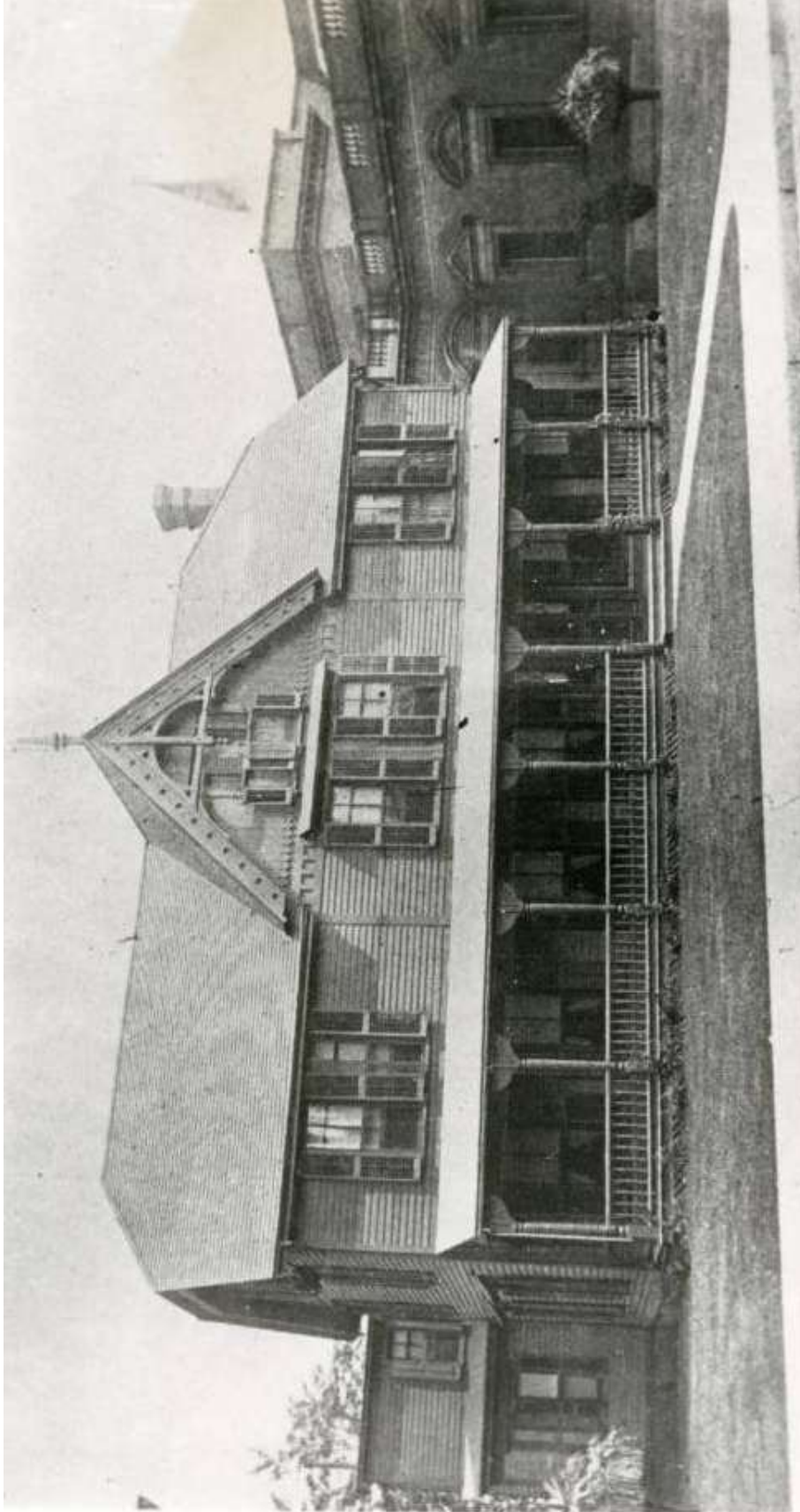


[Plate 1.28] Untitled back cover illustration (c.1898) Bertram Goodhue, designer

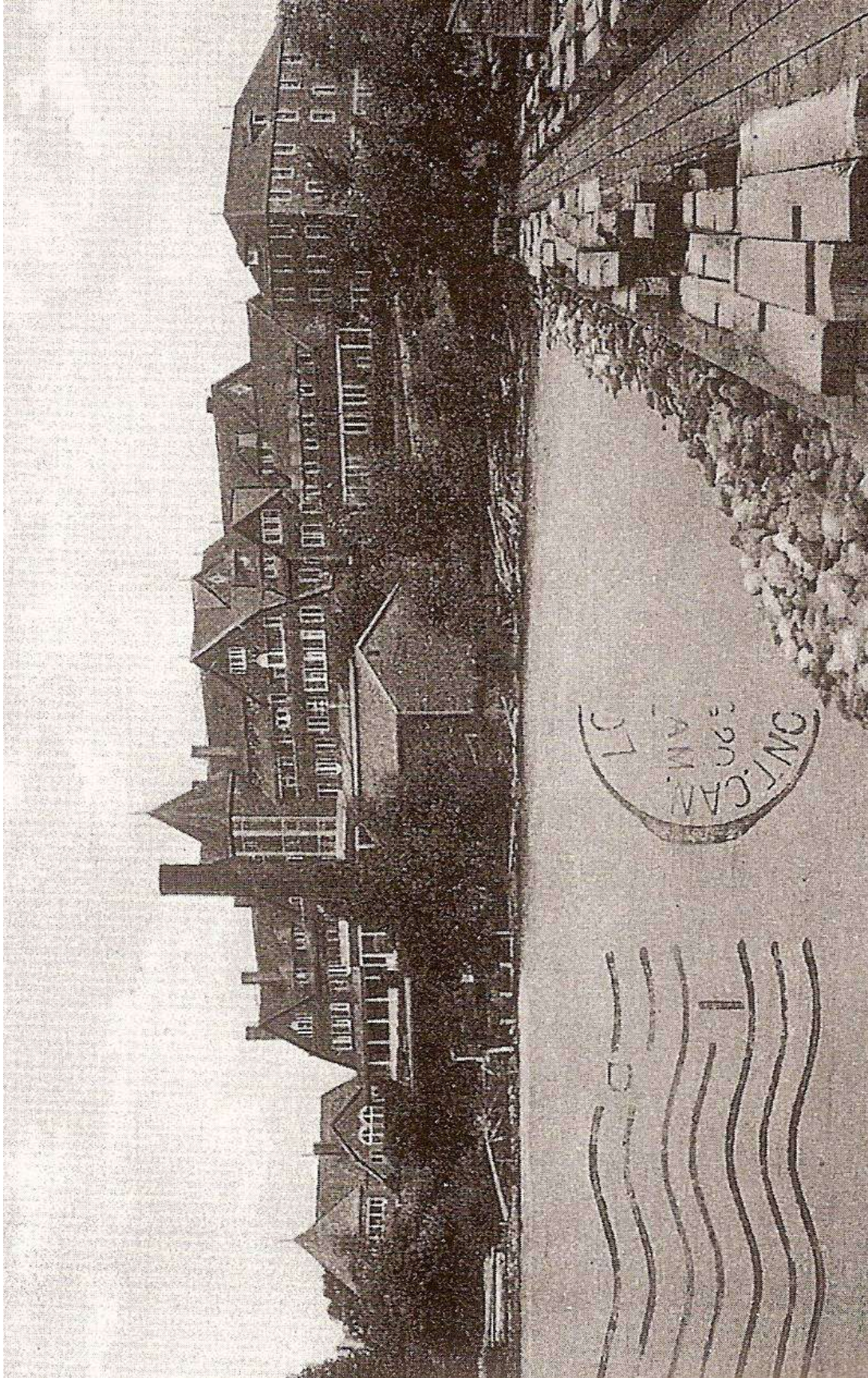
[Image courtesy of Delafield (1898)]



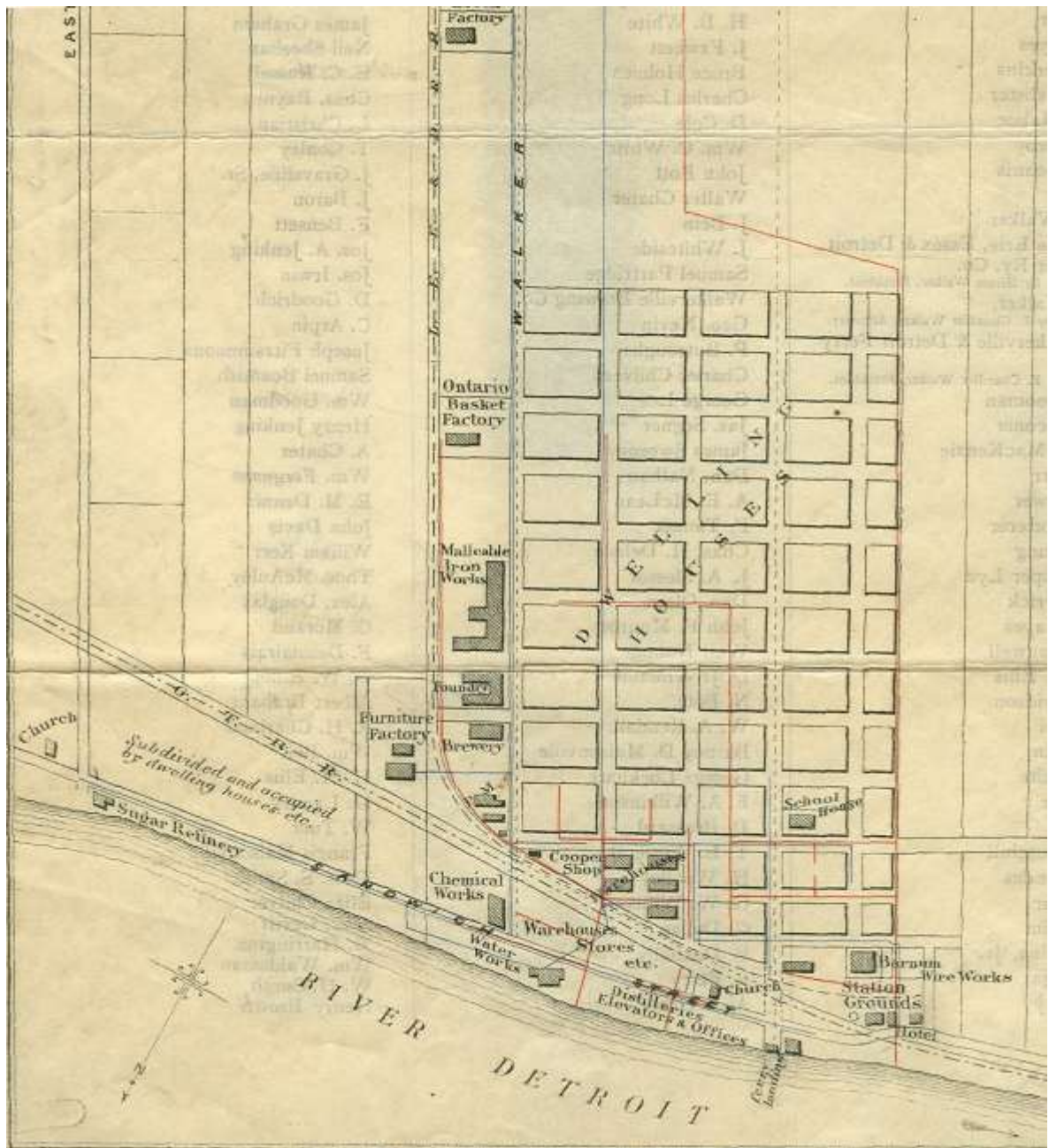
[Plate 2.1] The old St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON (c.1870)
Architect unknown: Exterior facing liturgically east-southeast
[Image courtesy of the Windsor Communities Museum, Windsor, ON.]



[Plate 2.2] The "Cottage", Hiram Walker's Estate, Walkerville, ON (photographed c.1900, when Edward resided therein)
Architect unknown: Exterior facing geographically north-northeast
[Image courtesy of the Leddy Library Archives, University of Windsor]



[Plate 2.3] The Mettawas Hotel and Casino, Kingsville, ON (c. 1888) Mason and Rice, architects
 Exterior facing geographically northwest
 [Image courtesy of Armstrong-Reynolds 2003, vol. 1, 130]



[Plate 2.4] Map of Walkerville, ON (c.1890)
 [Image courtesy of the Windsor Communities Museum, Windsor, ON.]



[Plate 2.5] Duplex residence, Devonshire Road, Walkerville, ON (c.1890) Mason & Rice, architects
Exterior facing geographically east-northeast [Image courtesy of Cameron Macdonell]



[Plate 2.6] Duplex residence, Devonshire Road, Walkerville, ON (c.1890) Mason & Rice, architects
Exterior facing geographically north-northeast [Image courtesy of Cameron Macdonell]



[Plate 2.7] The Crown Inn, Walkerville, ON (c. 1892) Mason & Rice, architects
Exterior facing geographically northeast [Image courtesy of Cameron Macdonell]



[Plate 2.8] The Lake Erie, Essex & Detroit River Railway Station, Walkerville, ON (c.1888) Mason & Rice, architects
Exterior facing geographically northwest [Image courtesy of the Leddy Library Archives, University of Windsor]



[Plate 2.9] The offices of Hiram Walker & Sons, Ltd., Walkerville, ON [c.1893] Mason & Rice, architects
Exterior facing geographically east-northeast [Image courtesy of Cameron Macdonell]



[Plate 2.10] The Palazzo Pandolfini, Florence, Italy (c.1515) Raphael Sanzio & studio, architects
Exterior facing geographically northeast [Image courtesy of
http://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Palazzo_via_San_Gallo.jpg]



[Plate 2.11] Letterhead of Hiram Walker & Sons, Ltd. (c.1903)

[Image courtesy of the Liddy Library, University of Windsor]



[Plate 2.12] Christ Episcopal Church, Detroit, MI (c.1863)
Gordon W. Lloyd, architect: Interior facing liturgically east
Additional chancel furnishings by Cram, Goodhue & Ferguson (c.1904)
[Image courtesy of Cameron Macdonell]



[Plate 2.13] Christ Episcopal Church, Detroit, MI (c.1863)
George W. Lloyd, architect: Interior facing liturgically east
Detail of the reredos screen in the north chapel (c.1904)
Cram, Goodhue & Ferguson, designers, Johannes Kirchmayer, sculptor
[Image courtesy of Cameron Macdonell]



[Plate 2.14] The new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON (1902–04) Cram, Goodhue & Ferguson, architects
Interior facing liturgically southeast: Detail of the sedilia canopy with heart-shaped pendants (c.1904)
Johannes Kirchmayer, sculptor [Image courtesy of Vern & Kyle Harvey]



[Plate 2.15] Christ Episcopal Church, Detroit, MI (c.1863) George W. Lloyd, architect
Interior facing liturgically northeast: Detail of chapel reredos screen with eagle protome
(c.1904) Cram, Goodhue & Ferguson, designers, Johannes Kirchmayer, sculptor
[Image courtesy of Cameron Macdonell]



[Plate 2.16] Detail of the tabernacle door for the reredos screen from Plate 2.13



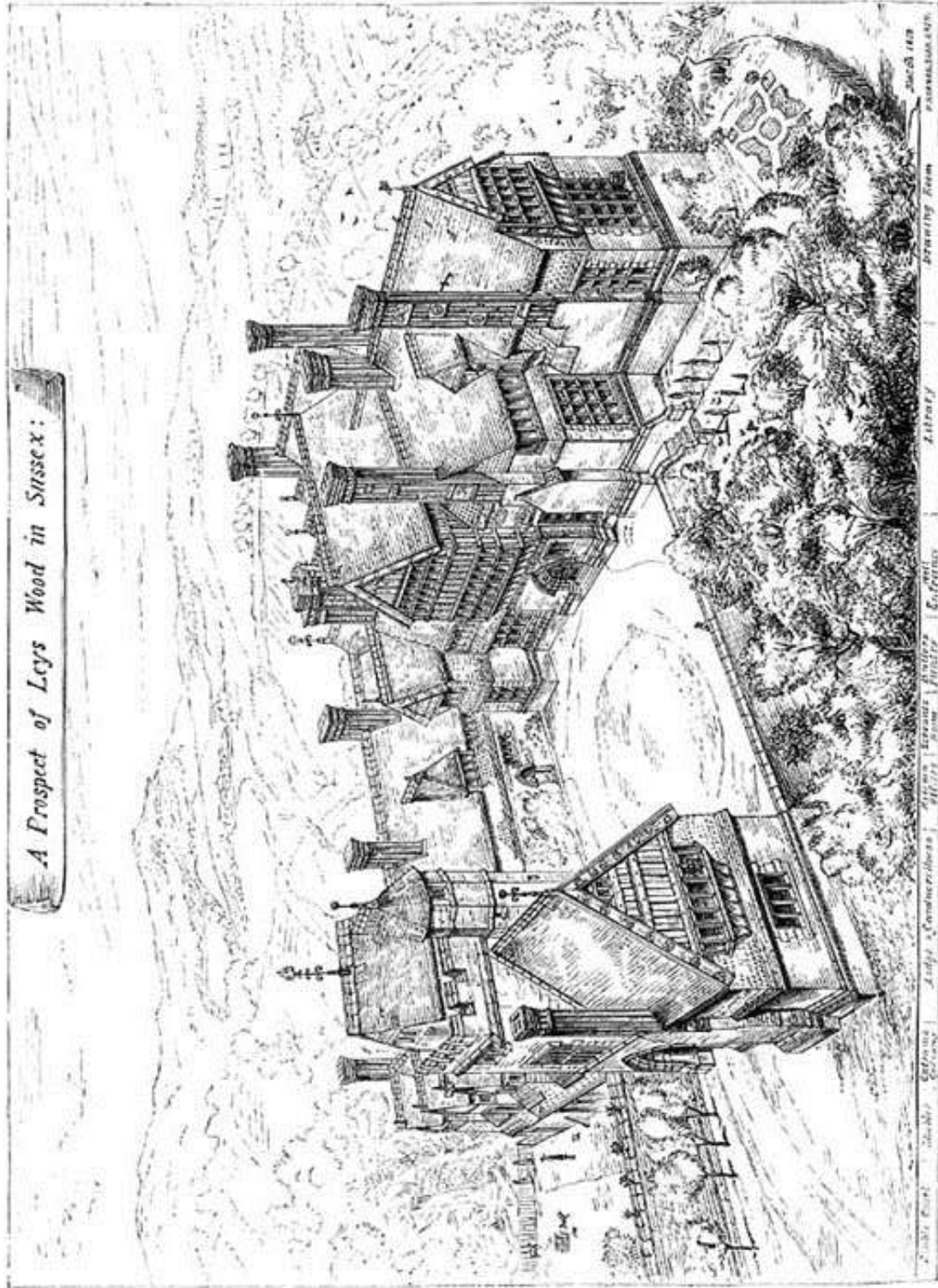
[Plate 2.17] The new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON (1902–04)
 Cram, Goodhue & Ferguson, architects: Interior facing liturgically south
 Detail of the nave clerestory windows (c.1904) Harry Goodhue, glazier
 [Images courtesy of Vern & Kyle Harvey]



[Plate 2.18] Tombstone of Edward Chandler Walker, Walkerville, ON (c.1915)
Sculptor unknown [Image courtesy of Cameron Macdonell]



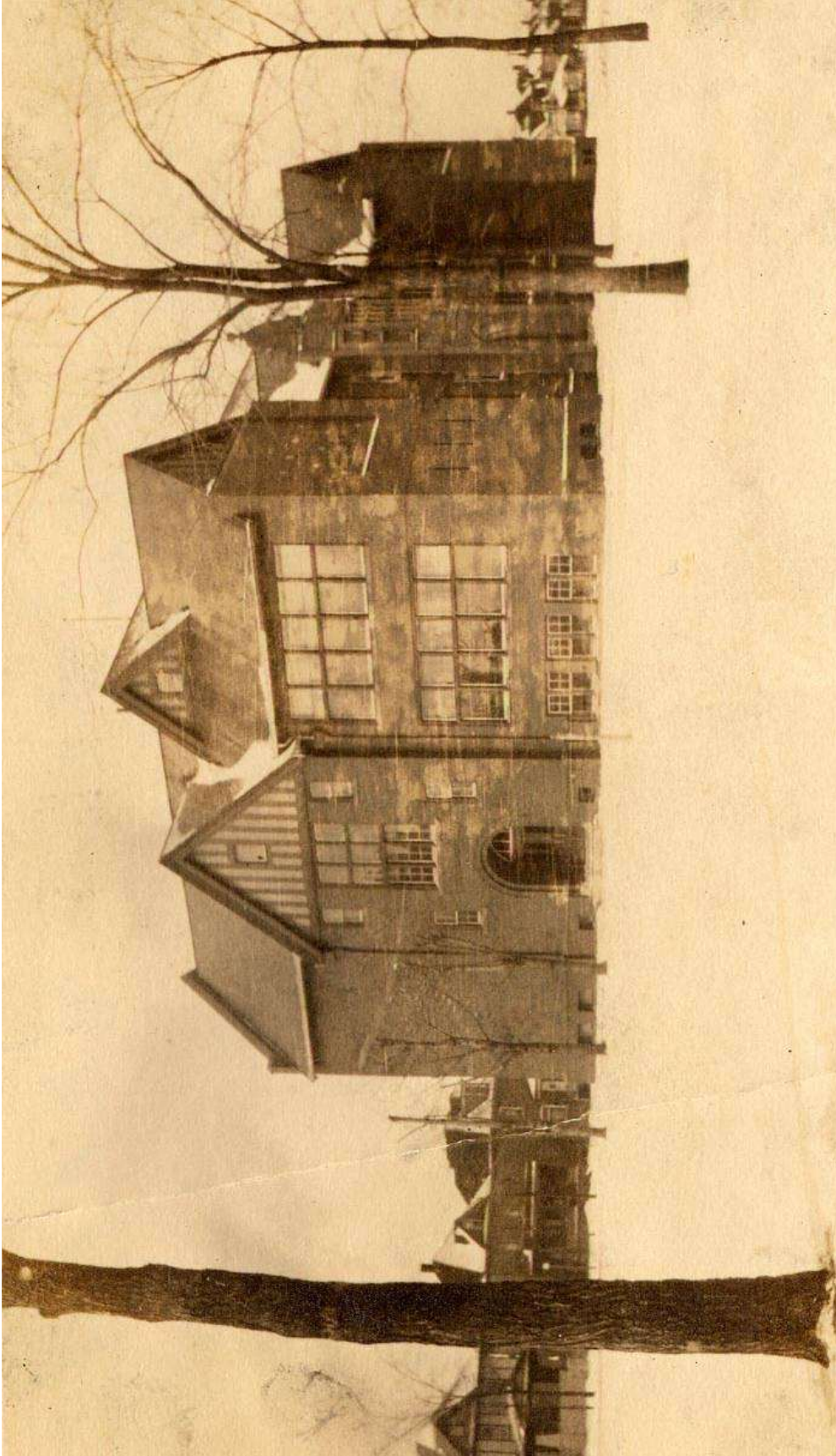
[Plate 2.20] Willistead Manor, Walkerville, ON (c.1906) Albert Kahn & associates, architects
Exterior facing geographically east-northeast [Image courtesy of the *American Architect*, 97, supplement]



[Plate 2.21] Presentation drawing of Leys Wood Manor, Sussex, England (c.1868)
 Norman Shaw, draughtsman
 [Image courtesy of George P. Landow, <http://www.victoriaweb.org/art/architecture/normanshaw>]



[Plate 2.22] Presentation image of the Eugene Fellner House, Brookline, MA (c.1893), Bertram Goodhue, designer
[Image courtesy of <http://www.booktown.com/stcroixprints/cram.php>]

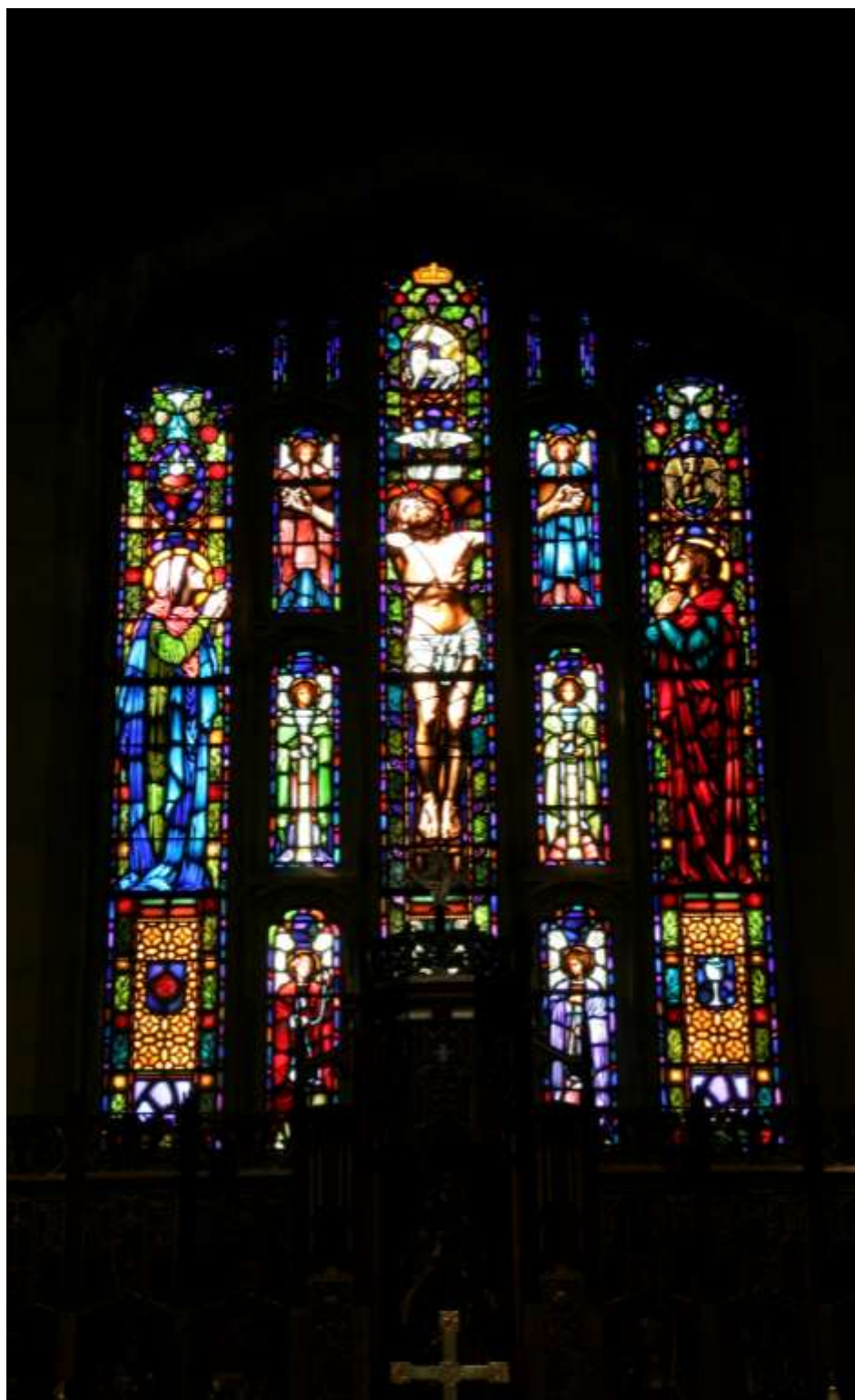


[Plate 2.23] King Edward's School, Walkerville, ON (c.1905) Albert Kahn & associates, architects
Exterior facing geographically north-northwest

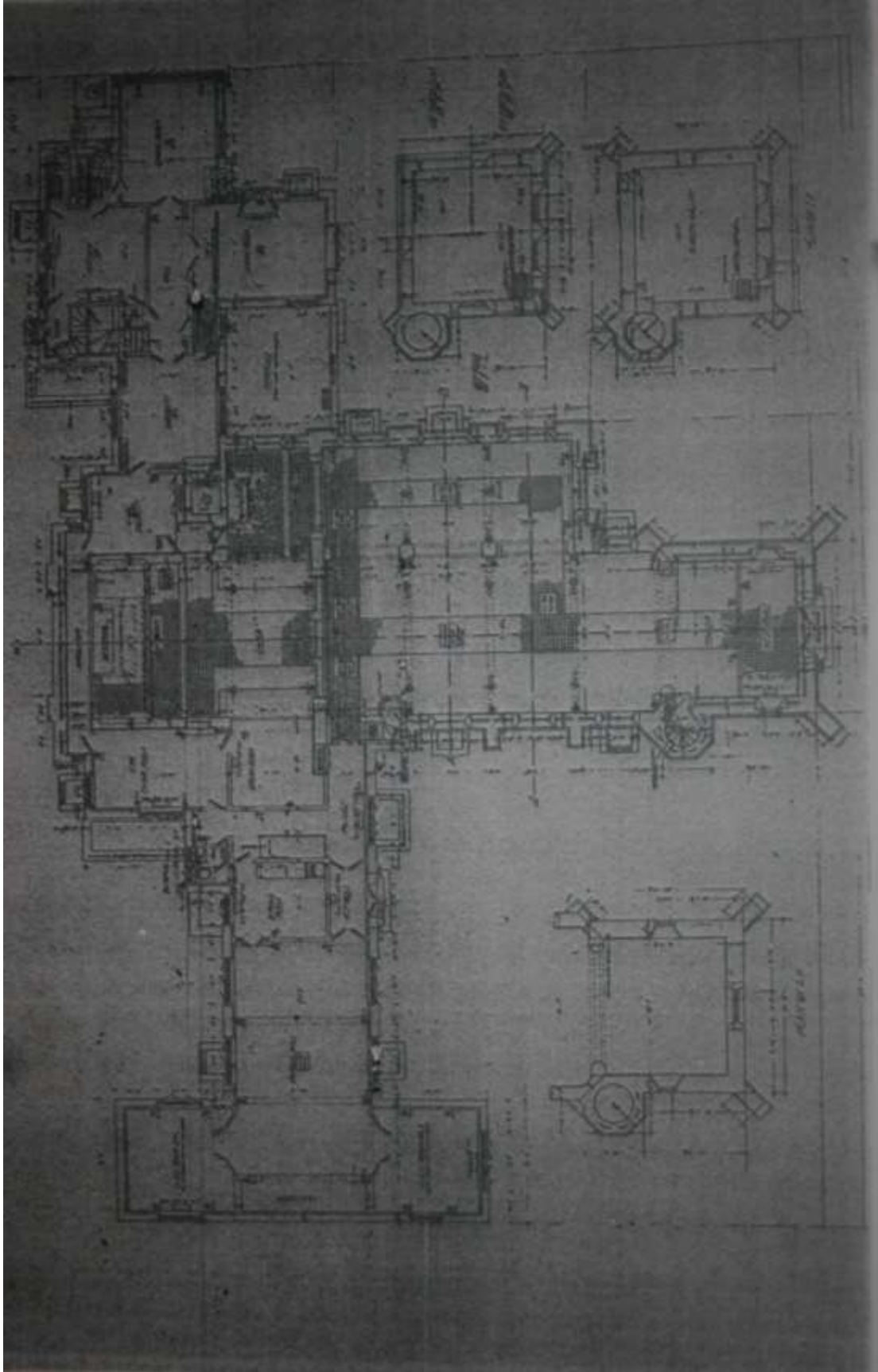
[Image courtesy of the Windsor Communities Museum, Windsor, Ontario]



[Plate 2.24] The new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON (1902–04)
Cram, Goodhue & Ferguson, architects: Interior facing liturgically east-southeast
Detail of King Edward the Confessor from the high altar reredos (c.1904)
Johannes Kirchmayer, sculptor [Image courtesy of Vern & Kyle Harvey]



[Plate 2.25] The new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON (1902–04)
 Cram, Goodhue & Ferguson, architects: Interior facing liturgically east
 Detail of the Crucifixion window above the high altar reredos screen (c.1904)
 Harry Goodhue, glazier [Image courtesy of Vern & Kyle Harvey]



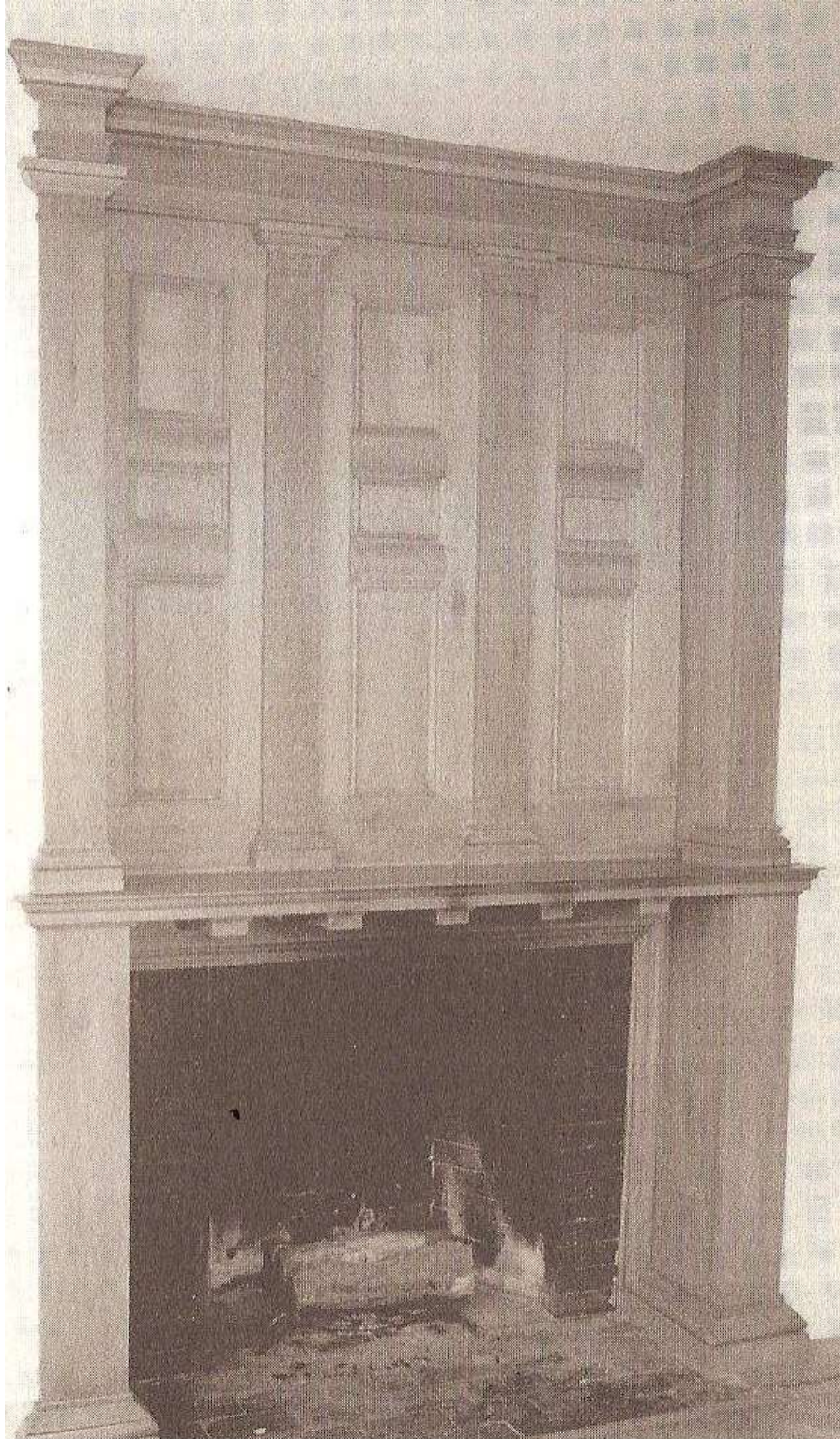
[Plate 2.26] Ground floor plan for the new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON (1902-04)
Cram, Goodhue & Ferguson, architects [Image courtesy of the Leddy Library, University of Windsor, ON]



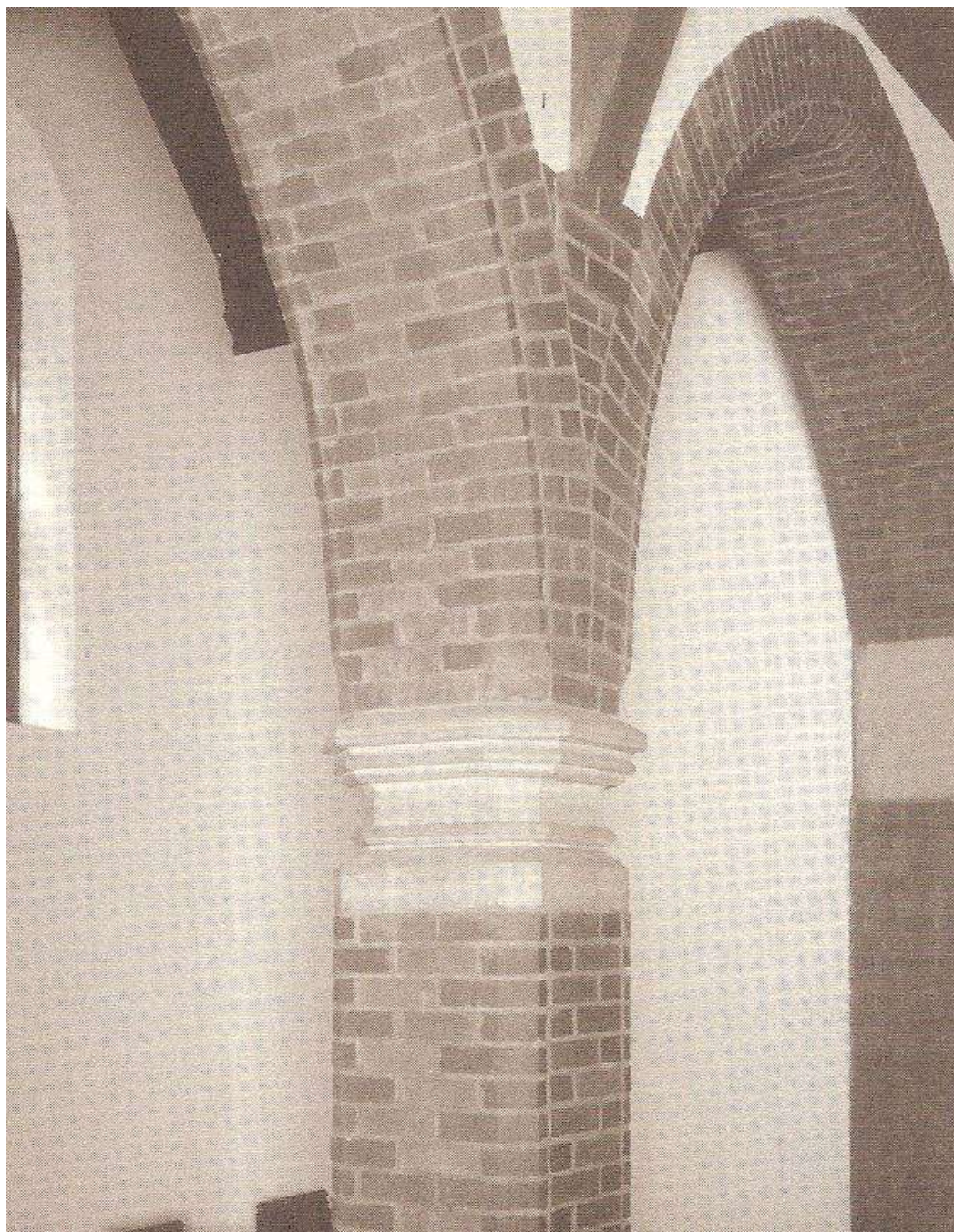
[Plate 2.27] The new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON (1902–04)
Cram, Goodhue & Ferguson, architects: Interior facing liturgically northeast
Detail of the pulpit (c.1904) John Evans Co., sculptors
[Image courtesy of Vern & Kyle Harvey]



[Plate 2.28] The Hamlin House, Brookline, MA (c.1891)
Cram & Wentworth, architects
Detail of the reception room over-mantel, sculptor unknown,
[Image courtesy of Shand-Tucci 1995, 103]



[Plate 2.29] The Merriam House, Brookline, MA (c.1891)
Cram & Wentworth, architects,
Detail of the living-room fireplace with over-mantel, sculptor unknown
[Image courtesy of Shand-Tucci 1995, 104]



[Plate 2.30] Calvary Episcopal Church, Americus, GA (c.1916)
Cram & Ferguson, architects: Interior facing liturgically southwest
Detail of nave column
[Image courtesy of Shand-Tucci 2005, 119]



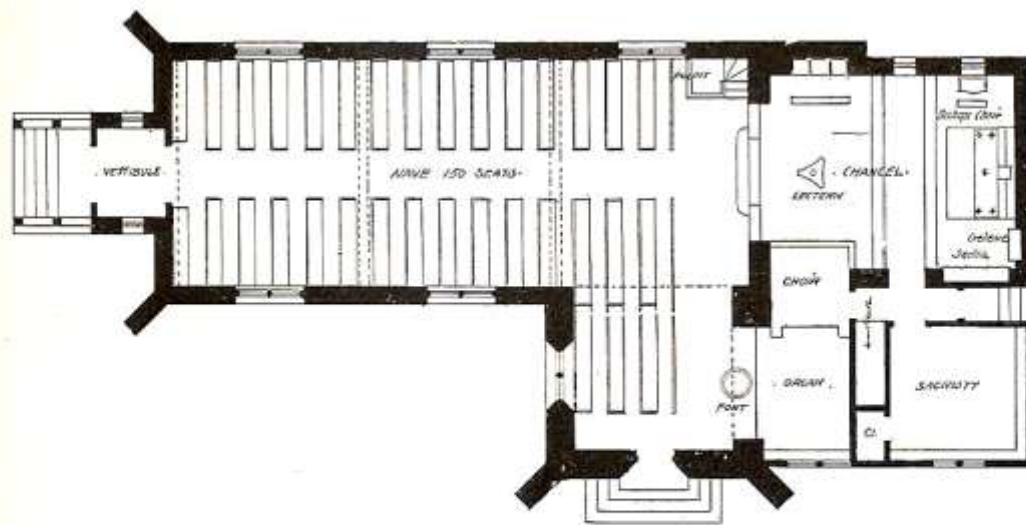
[Plate 2.31] The new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON (1902–04)
Cram, Goodhue & Ferguson, architects: Interior facing liturgically northeast
Detail of the nave arcade [Image courtesy of Vern & Kyle Harvey]



[Plate 2.32] The new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON (1902–04)
Cram, Goodhue & Ferguson, architects: Interior facing liturgically east
Detail of Christ's torso in the high altar window (c.1904) Harry Goodhue, glazier
[Image courtesy of Vern & Kyle Harvey]



[Plate 2.33] The new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON (1902–04)
 Cram, Goodhue & Ferguson, architects: Interior facing liturgically east
 Detail of the southern aisle and morning chapel
 [Image courtesy of Vern & Kyle Harvey]

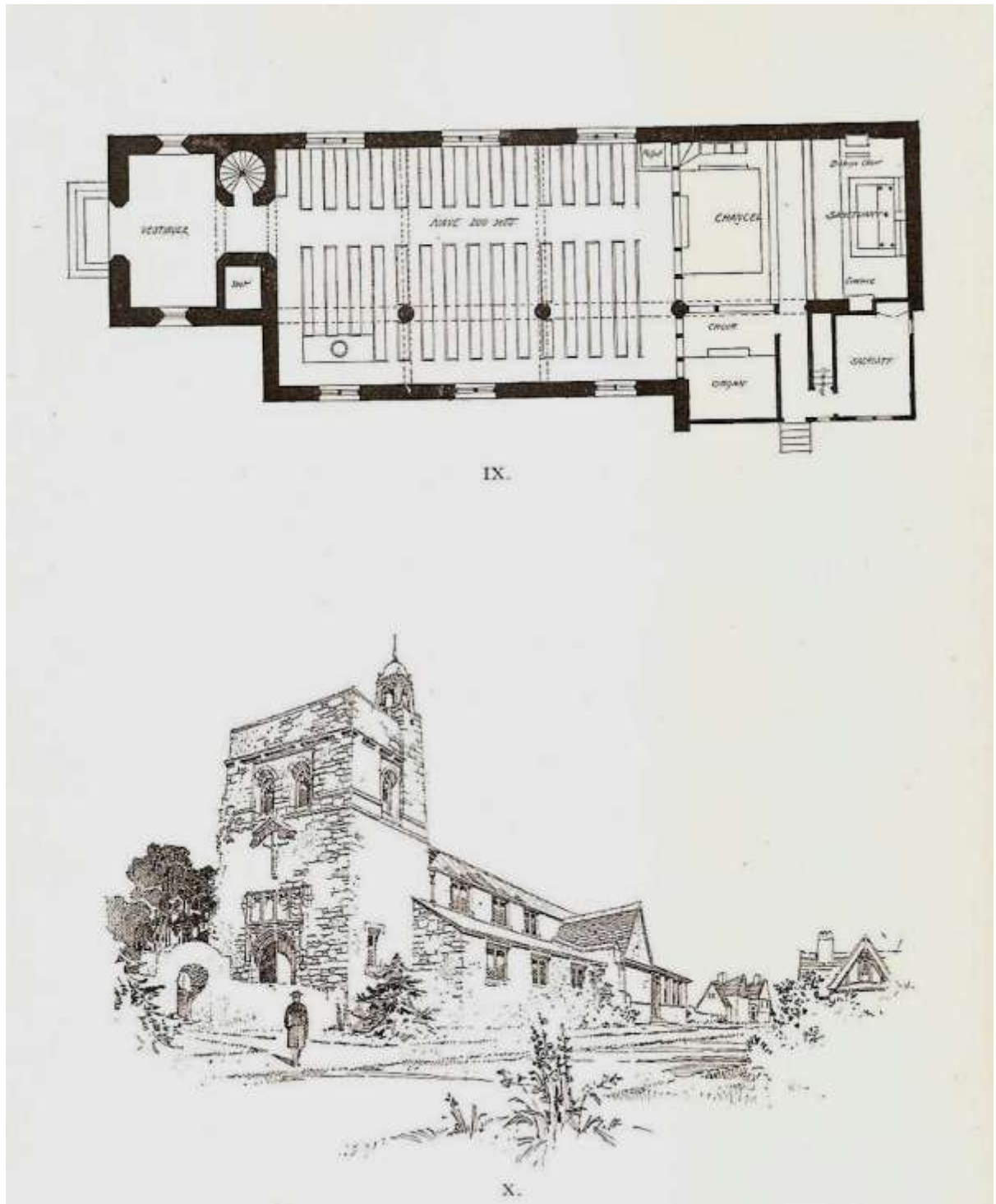


VII.

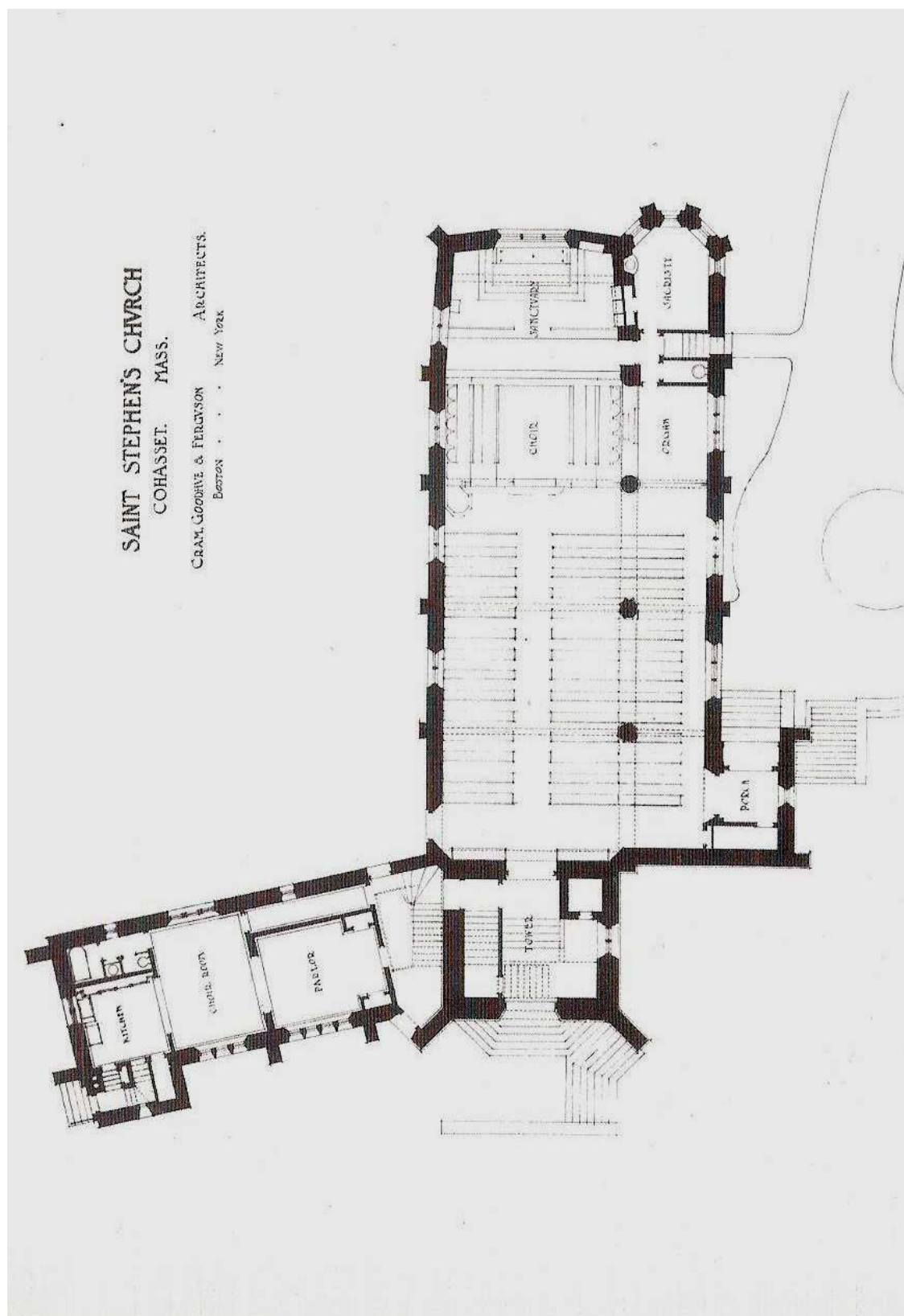


VIII.

[Plate 2.34] An ideal church plan (c.1901)
 Cram, Goodhue & Ferguson, architects
 [Image courtesy of Cram 1901, 23]



[Plate 2.35] An ideal church plan (c.1901)
Cram, Goodhue & Ferguson, architects [Image courtesy of Cram 1901, 24]



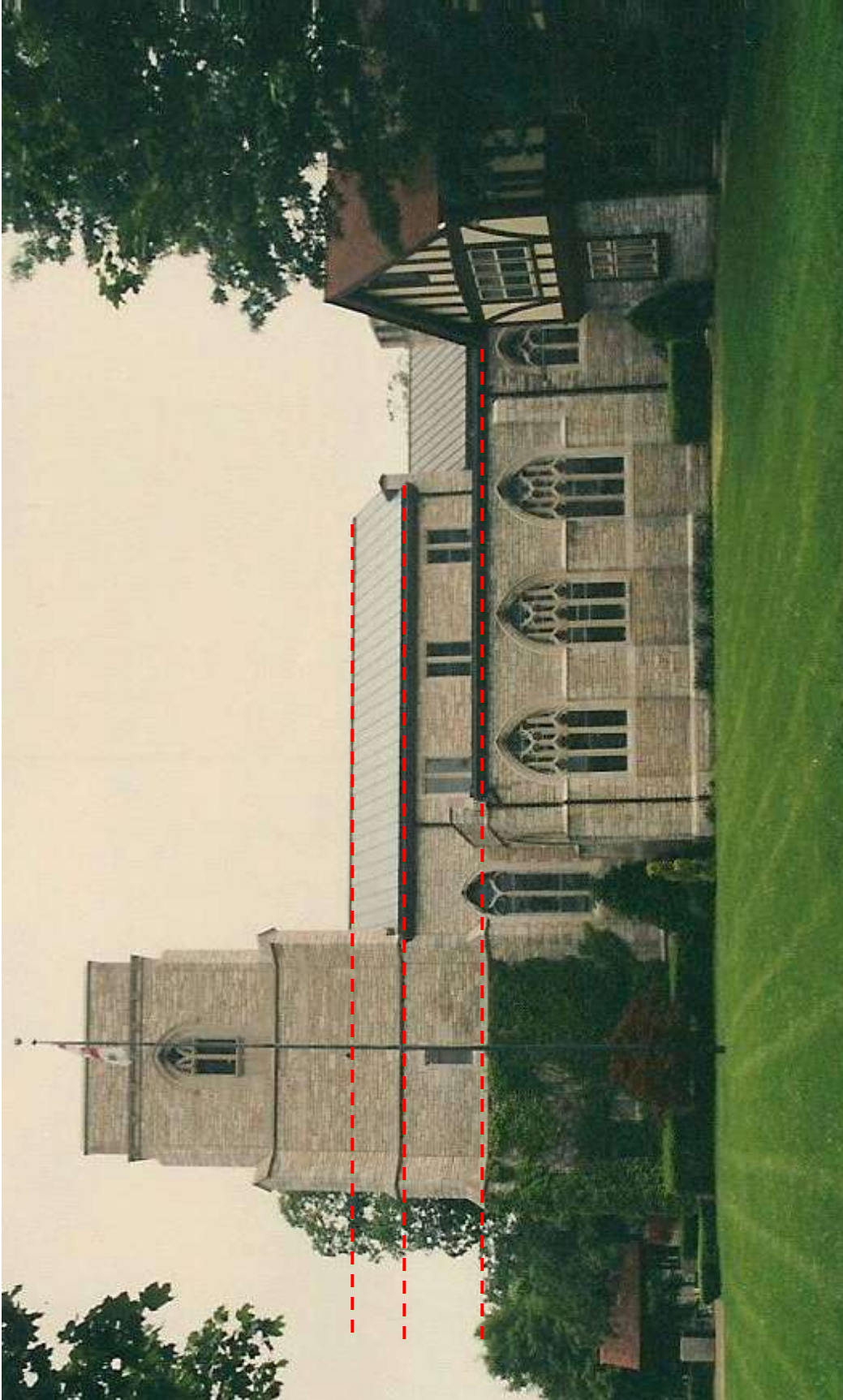
[Plate 2.36] Ground floor plan for St. Stephen's Episcopal Church, Cohasset, MA (begun c.1899)
Cram, Goodhue & Ferguson, architects [Image courtesy of Anthony 2007, 51]



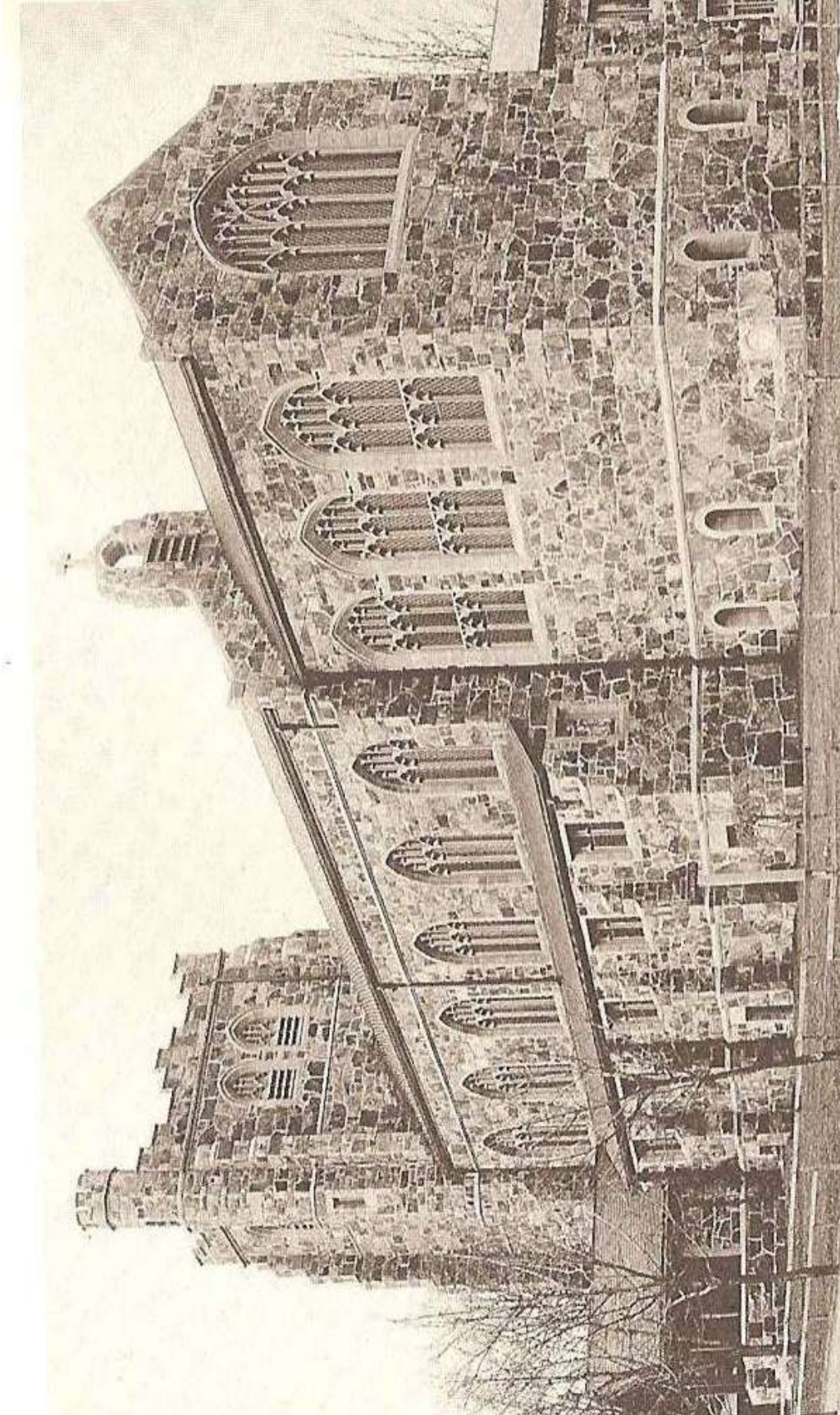
[Plate 2.37] St. Stephen's Episcopal Church, Cohasset, MA (begun c.1899)
Cram, Goodhue & Ferguson, architects: Interior facing liturgically east
Detail of the southern aisle and baptismal font to the right
[Image courtesy of Cameron Macdonell]



[Plate 2.38] The new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON (c.1902–04)
Cram, Goodhue & Ferguson, architects: Interior facing liturgically southwest
Detail of the baptismal font (c.1904) John Evans Co., sculptors
[Image courtesy of Vern & Kyle Harvey]



[Plate 2.39] The new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON (1902-04) Cram, Goodhue & Ferguson, architects
Exterior facing liturgically north [Image courtesy of Cameron Macdonell]



[Plate 2.40] All Saints' Episcopal Church, Ashmont, MA (begun c.1891) Cram, Wentworth & Goodhue, architects
Exterior facing liturgically northwest [Image courtesy of Shand-Tucci 1995, 116]



[Plate 2.41] The new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON (1902–04)
 Cram, Goodhue & Ferguson, architects: Interior facing liturgically south
 Detail of the Sermon on the Mount window (c.1904) Harry Goodhue, glazier
 [Image courtesy of Vern & Kyle Harvey]



[Plate 2.42] St. Stephen's Episcopal Church, Cohasset, MA (begun c.1899)
Cram, Goodhue & Ferguson, architects: Interior facing liturgically southwest
Detail of the Sermon on the Mount window (c.1900) Harry Goodhue, glazier
[Image courtesy of Cameron Macdonell]



[Plate 2.43] The new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON (1902–04)
Cram, Goodhue & Ferguson, architects: Interior facing liturgically east-northeast
Detail of St. Mary and the infant Christ in the high altar reredos screen (c.1904)
Johannes Kirchmayer, sculptor [Image courtesy of Vern & Kyle Harvey]



[Plate 2.44] The new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON (1902–04) Cram, Goodhue & Ferguson, architects
Interior facing liturgically east
Detail of the Griffin tile (MC 62) in the sanctuary pavement of the southern aisle's mo[ju]ming chapel (c.1904)
Henry Chapman Mercer, ceramicist [Image courtesy of Vern & Kyle Harvey]



[Plate 2.45] St. Stephen's Episcopal Church, Cohasset, MA (begun c.1899) Cram, Goodhue & Ferguson, architects
 Interior facing liturgically southwest: Detail of the nave arcade extending to the western limit of the nave
 [Image courtesy of Cameron Macdonell]



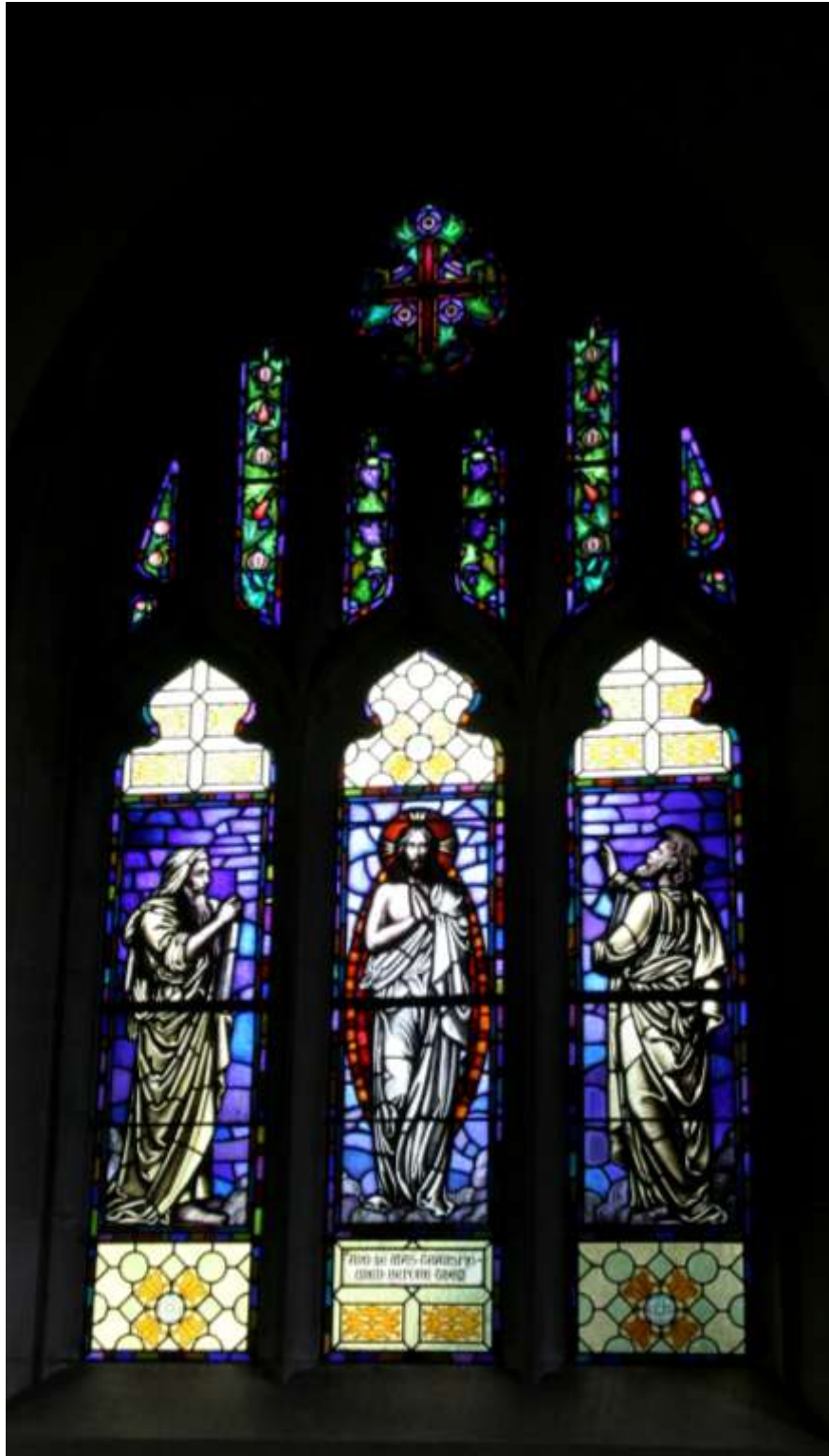
[Plate 2.46] The new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON (1902-04) Cram, Goodhue & Ferguson, architects
Interior facing liturgically southeast: Detail of the nave arcade ending one bay short of the western limit of the nave
[Image courtesy of Vern & Kyle Harvey]



[Plate 2.47] The new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON (1902-04) Cram, Goodhue & Ferguson, architects
Interior facing liturgically southwest: Detail of the windows on the western end of the aisle & the south wall of the nave
[Image courtesy of Vern & Kyle Harvey]



[Plate 2.48] The new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON (c.1902–04)
 Cram, Goodhue & Ferguson, architects: Interior facing liturgically south
 Detail of a Patristic Saint window (c.1904) Harry Goodhue, glazier
 [Image courtesy of Vern & Kyle Harvey]



[Plate 2.49] The new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON (1902–04)
 Cram, Goodhue & Ferguson, architects: Interior facing liturgically west
 Detail of the Transfiguration window (c.1904) Harry Goodhue, glazier
 [Image courtesy of Vern & Kyle Harvey]



[Plate 2.50] The new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON (1902–04)
 Cram, Goodhue & Ferguson, architects: Interior facing liturgically south
 Detail of the Adoration of the Magi window (c.1904) Harry Goodhue, glazier
 [Image courtesy of Vern & Kyle Harvey]



[Plate 2.51] The Adoration of the Magi (c.1887), Edward Burne-Jones, painter
[Image courtesy of Cram 1901, 129]



[Plate 2.52] The Adoration of the Magi (c.1894), William Morris, weaver
 [Image courtesy of http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/3/31/Adoration_of_the_Magi_Tapestry.png]



[Plate 2.53] Detail of the adoring magi from Plate 2.52



[Plate 2.54] Detail of the third magus from Plate 2.50



[Plate 2.55] The new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON (1902–04)
Cram, Goodhue & Ferguson, architects: interior facing liturgically south
Detail of the baptismal font (c.1904) John Evans Co., sculptors
[Image courtesy of Vern & Kyle Harvey]



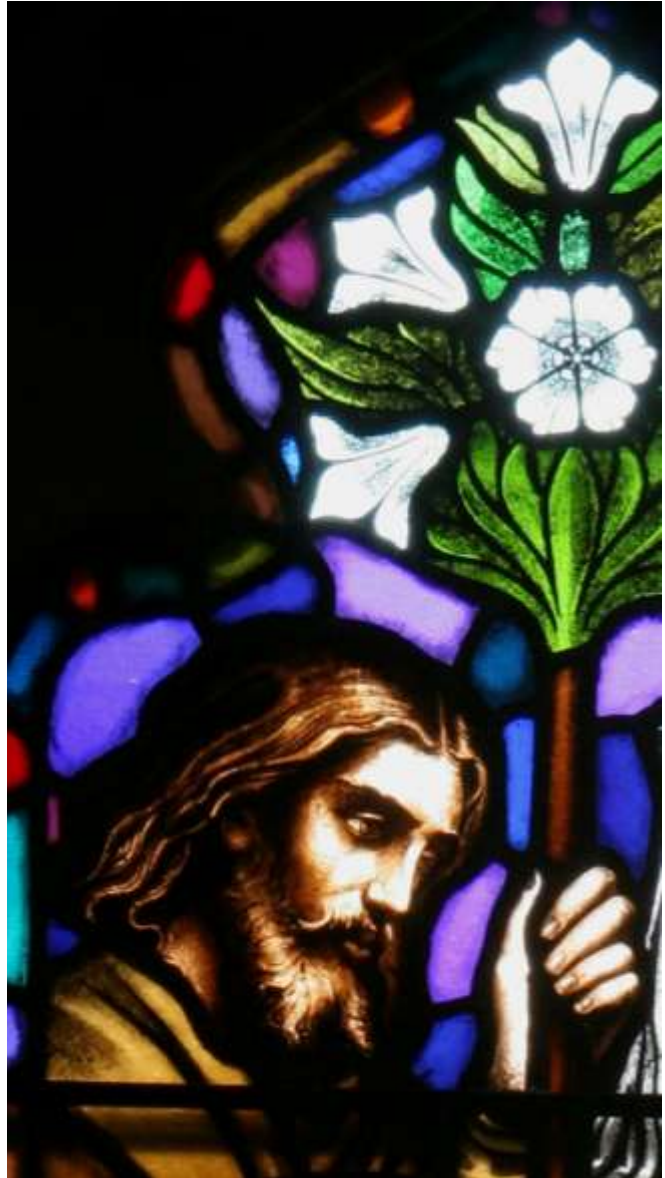
[Plate 2.56] The First Congregational Church, Montclair, NJ (c.1915)
Bertram Goodhue, architect: Interior facing liturgically northwest
Detail of the baptismal font (c.1915) Lee Lawrie [?], sculptor
[Image courtesy of Cameron Macdonell]



[Plate 2.57] Detail of the second magus from Plate 2.50



[Plate 2.58] Detail of Joseph from Plate 2.50



[Plate 2.59] Comparative detail of the leper and Joseph from Plates 2.41 & 2.50



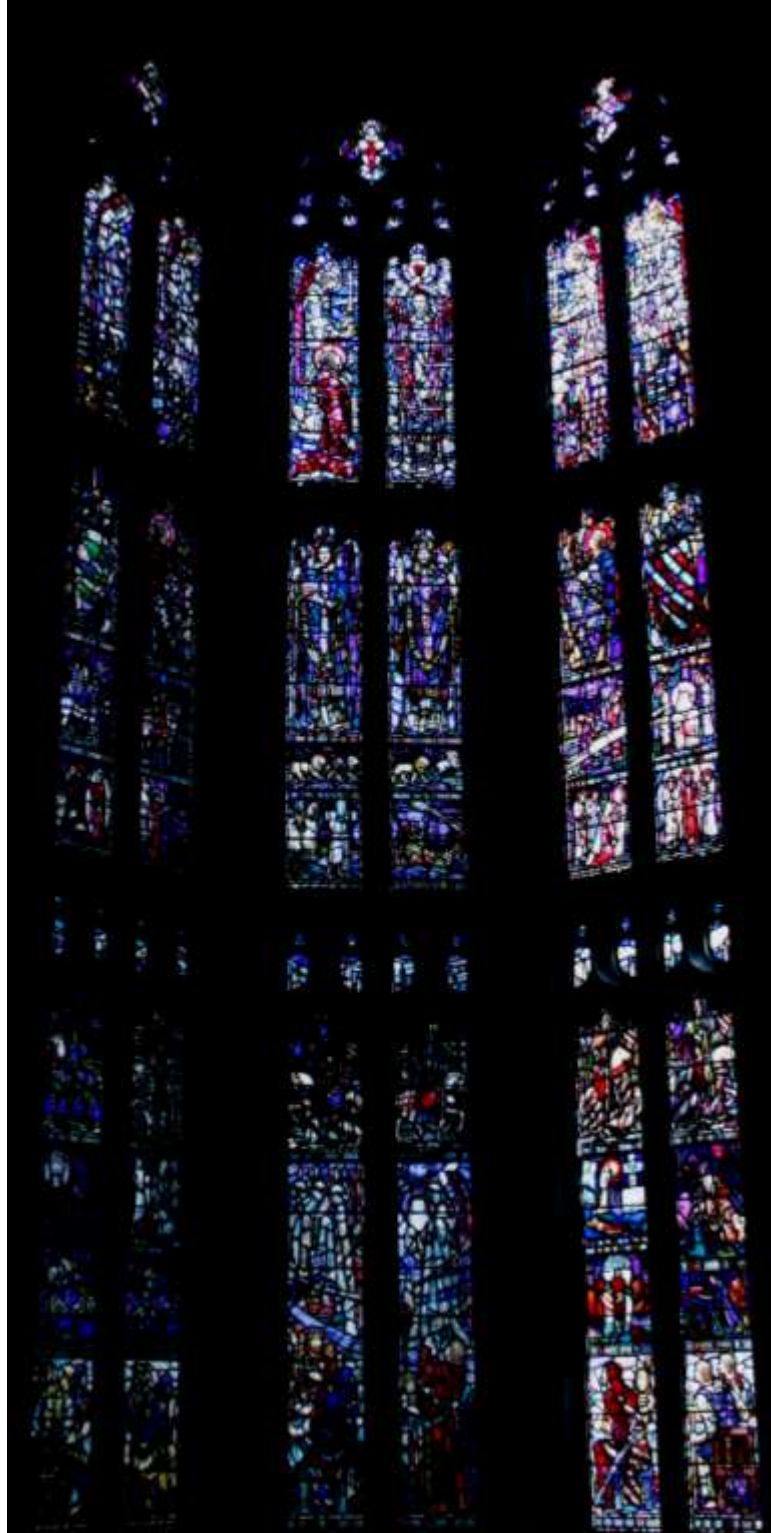
[Plate 2.60] The new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON (1902–04) Cram, Goodhue & Ferguson, architects
Interior facing liturgically east: Detail of the Maltese cross tile (variations on MC 87) (c.1904)
Henry Chapman Mercer, ceramicist [Image courtesy of Vern & Kyle Harvey]



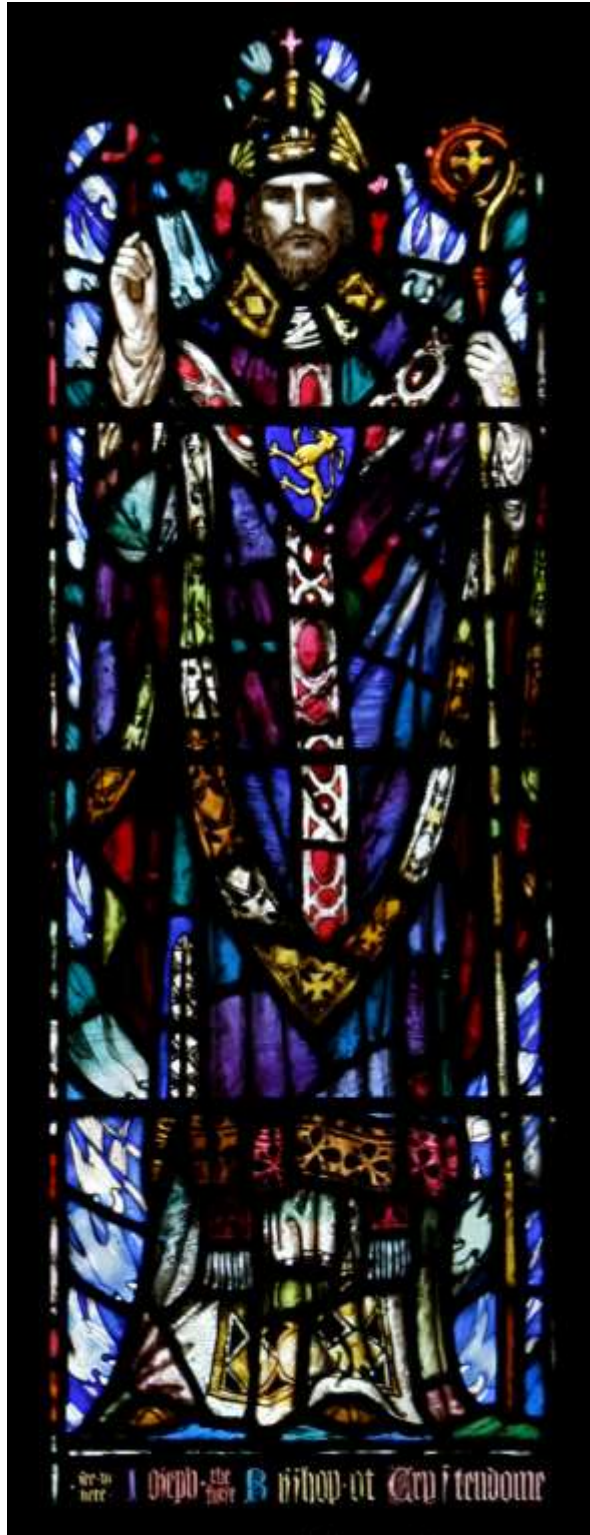
[Plate 4.1] All Saints' Episcopal Church, Ashmont, MA (begun c.1891)
Cram, Wentworth & Goodhue, architects: Interior facing liturgically east
Detail of the chancel from the nave alley
[Image courtesy of Cameron Macdonell]



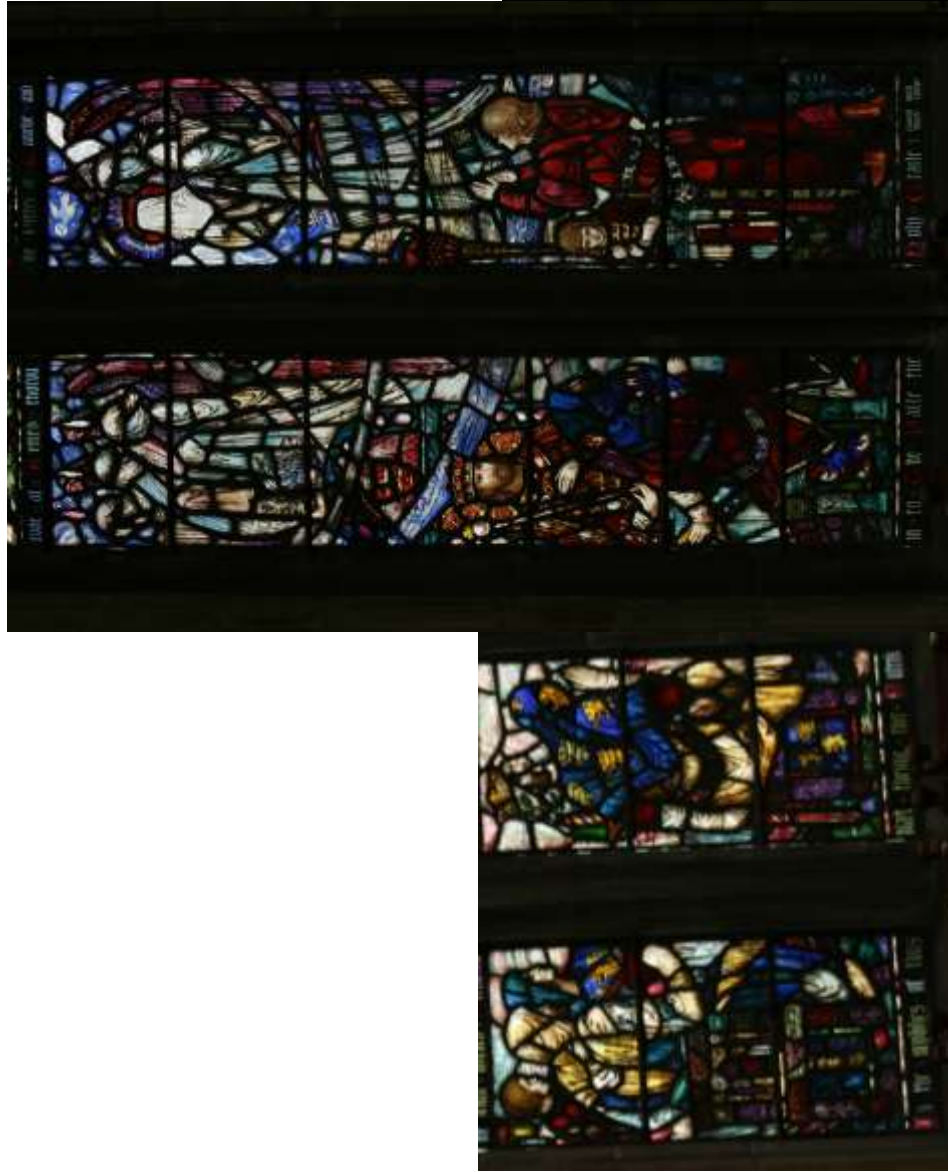
[Plate 4.2] All Saints' Episcopal Church, Ashmont, MA (begun c.1891)
Cram, Wentworth & Goodhue, architects: Interior facing liturgically east
Detail of high altar tabernacle door (c.1910) James Wooley, sculptor
[Image courtesy of Cameron Macdonell]



[Plate 4.3] Procter Hall, Princeton University, Princeton, NJ (c.1913)
Cram, Goodhue & Ferguson, architects: Interior facing geographic southeast
Detail of the Grail window (c.1919) Charles Connick, glazier
[Image courtesy of Cameron Macdonell]



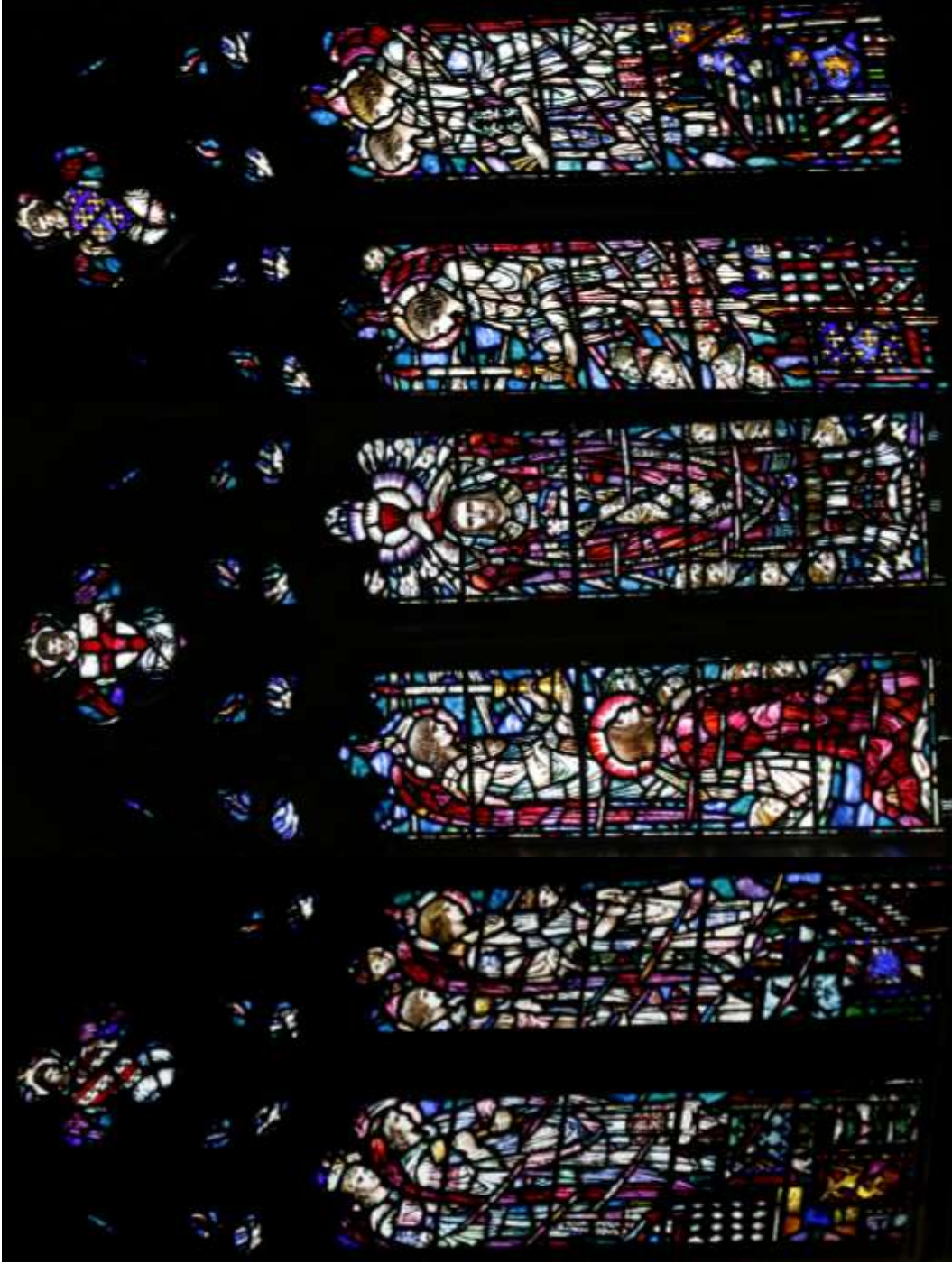
[Plate 4.4] Procter Hall, Princeton University, Princeton, NJ (c.1913)
 Cram, Goodhue & Ferguson, architects: Interior facing geographic southeast
 Detail of Joseph from the Grail window (c.1919) Charles Connick, glazier
 [Image courtesy of Cameron Macdonell]



[Plate 4.5] Procter Hall, Princeton University, Princeton, NJ (c.1913) Cram, Goodhue & Ferguson, architects
 Interior facing geographic southeast
 Detail of the Feast of Pentecost, Camelot, from the Grail window (c.1919) Charles Connick, glazier
 [Images courtesy of Cameron Macdonell]



[Plate 4.6] Procter Hall, Princeton University, Princeton, NJ (c.1913) Cram, Goodhue & Ferguson, architects
 Interior facing geographic southeast
 Detail of the mass at Castle Carbonek from the Grail window (c.1919) Charles Connick, glazier
 [Images courtesy of Cameron Macdonell]



[Plate 4.7] Procter Hall, Princeton University, Princeton, NJ (c.1913)
 Cram, Goodhue & Ferguson, architects: Interior facing geographic southeast
 Detail of the Grail Quest achieved from the Grail window (c.1919) Charles Connick, glazier
 [Image courtesy of Cameron Macdonell]



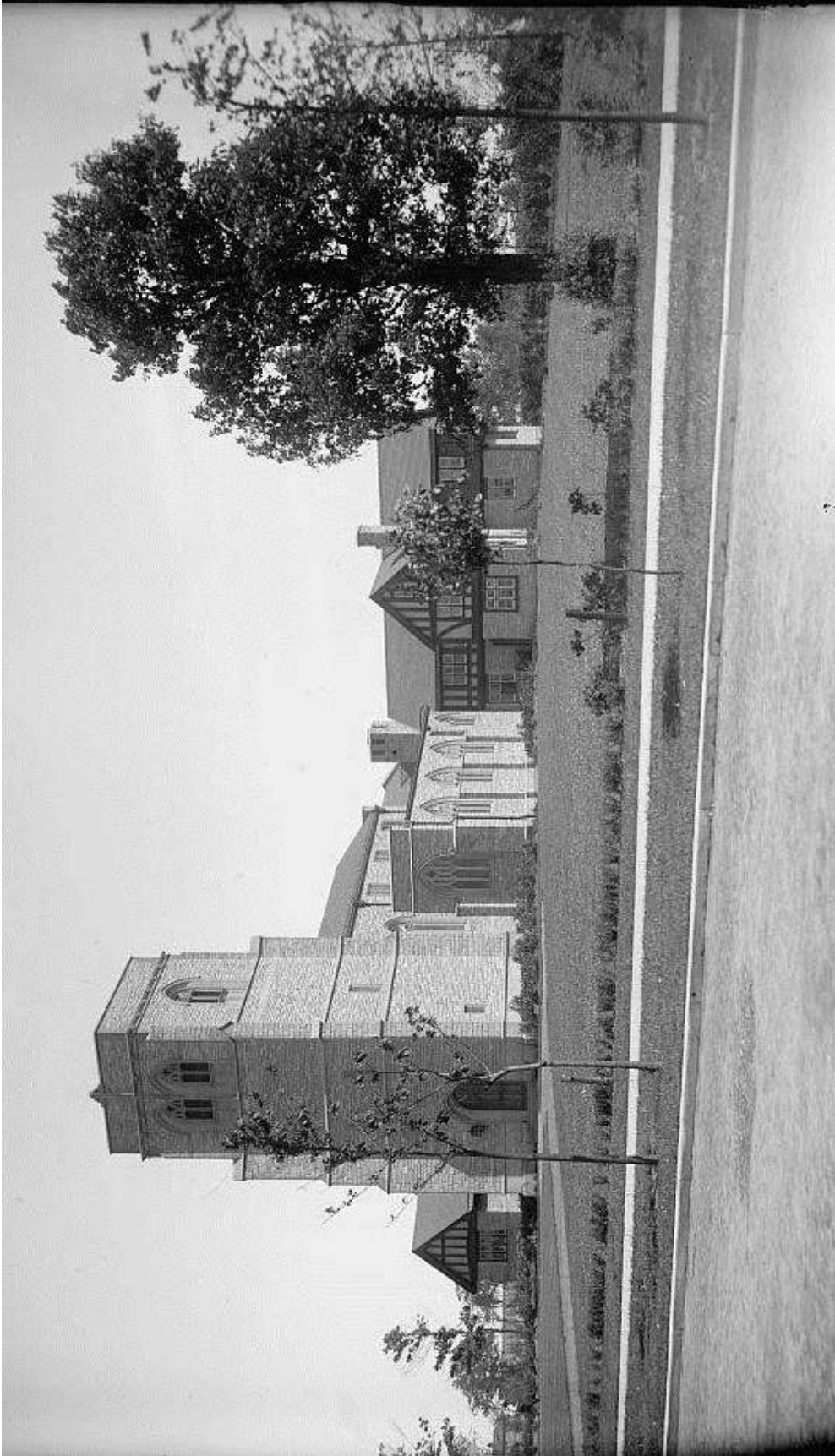
[Plate 4.8] St. Paul's Episcopal Church, Brockton, MA (c.1892)
Cram, Wentworth & Goodhue, architects: Interior facing liturgically east
Detail of high-altar tabernacle door (n.d.) James Wooley [?], sculptor
[Image courtesy of Cameron Macdonell]



[Plate 4.9] All Saints' Episcopal Church, Ashmont, MA (begun c.1891)
Cram, Wentworth & Goodhue, architects: Interior facing liturgically east
Detail of St. George from the high altarpiece (c.1903) George Hallowell, painter
[Image courtesy of Cameron Macdonell]



[Plate 4.10] All Saints' Episcopal Church, Ashmont, MA (begun c.1891)
Cram, Wentworth & Goodhue, architects: Interior facing liturgically east
Detail of the riding knights in the high altarpiece (c.1903) George Hallowell,
painter [Image courtesy of Cameron Macdonell]

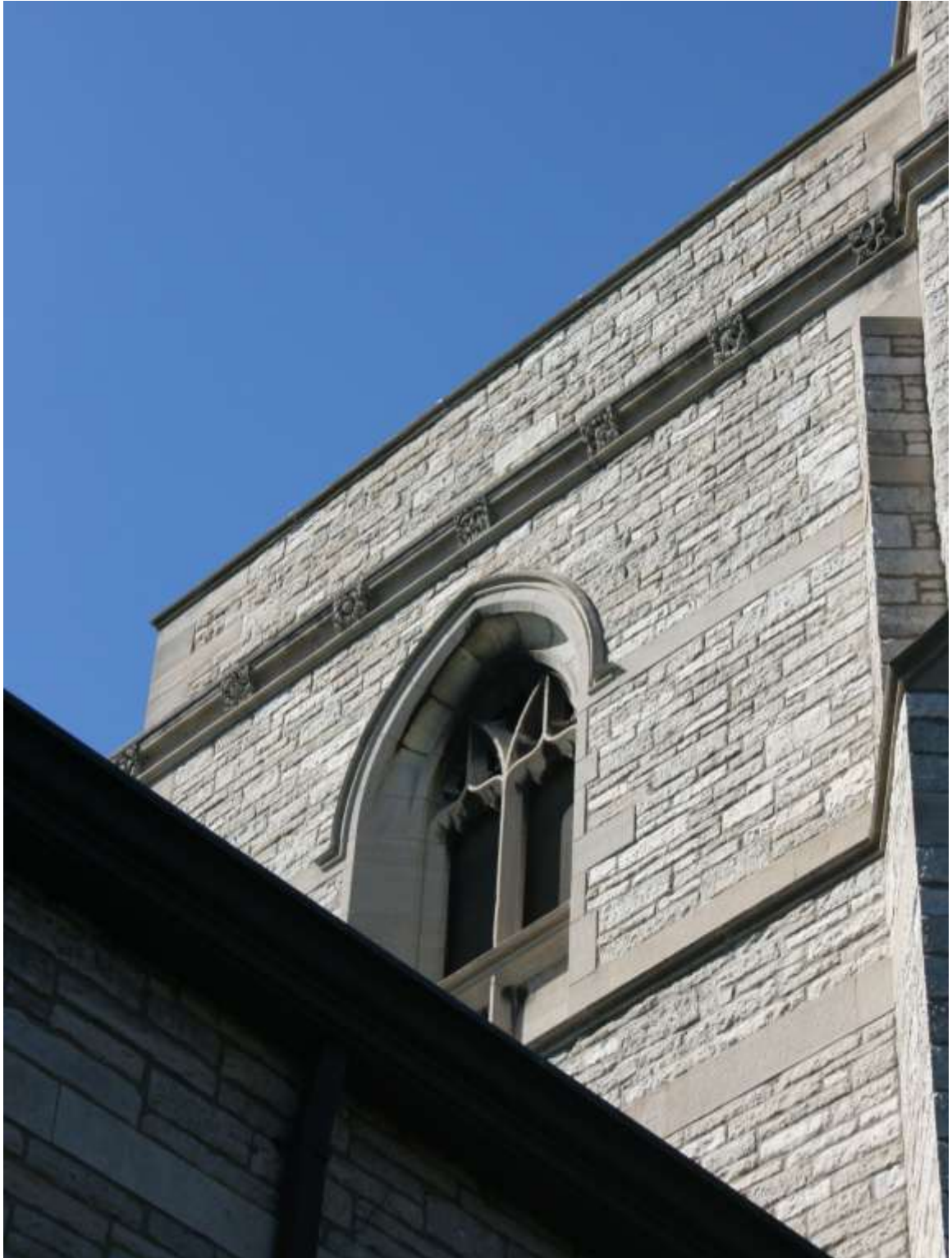


[Plate 4.11] The new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON (1902-04) Cram, Goodhue, & Ferguson, architects
Exterior facing liturgically northeast

[Image courtesy of the Library of Congress, Washington, DC]



[Plate 4.12] St. Michael's Tower, the Tor of Glastonbury, England (c.14th century)
Exterior facing liturgically east-northeast
[Image courtesy of
upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/f/fd/Summit_of_glastonbury_tor.jpg]



[Plate 4.13] The new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON (1902–04)
Cram, Goodhue & Ferguson, architects: Exterior facing liturgically southwest
Detail of the cornice plaques on the bell tower (c.1904) John Evans Co., sculptors
[Image courtesy of Cameron Macdonell]



[Plate 4.14] Episcopal Chapel of St. Peter & Paul, St. Paul's School, Concord, NH (c.1890) Henry Vaughan, architect
Exterior facing liturgically south-southwest: Detail of the cornice plaques in the bell tower cornice (c.1890)
John Evans Co., sculptors [Image courtesy of Cameron Macdonell]



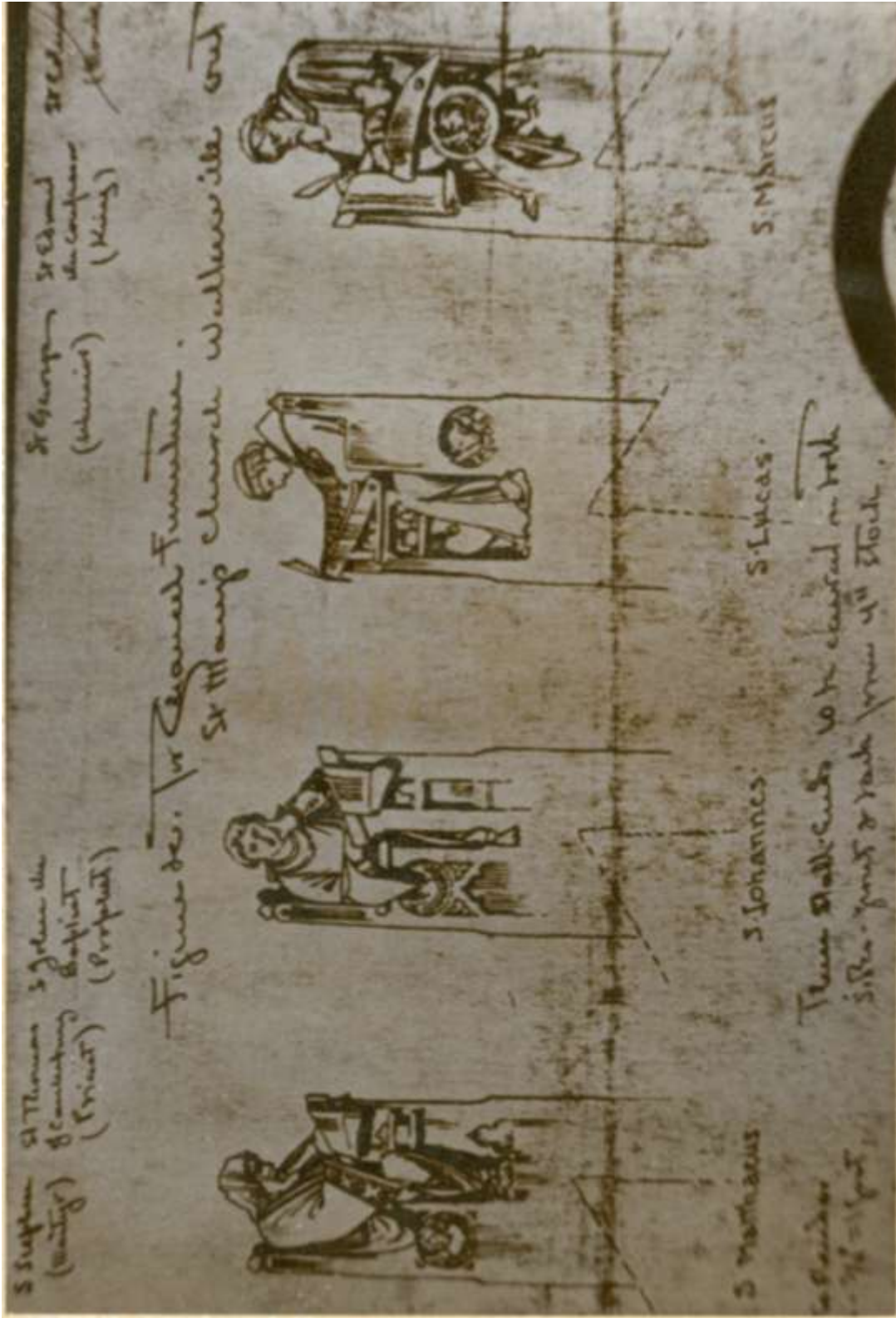
[Plate 4.15] The new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON (1902–04) Cram, Goodhue & Ferguson, architects
 Exterior facing liturgically north, south, southwest, & east-northeast, respectively
 Detail of the four wind plaques on the bell tower cornice—geographic east, west, north, & south, respectively—(c.1904)
 John Evans Co., sculptors
 [Images courtesy of Vern & Kyle Harvey (east, west, & south) or Cameron Macdonell (north)]



[Plate 4.16] The new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON (1902–04)
Cram, Goodhue & Ferguson, architects: Exterior facing liturgically north-northeast
Detail of the gargoyle on the southwest corner of the southern aisle (c.1904)
John Evans Co., sculptors
[Image courtesy of Vern & Kyle Harvey]



[Plate 4.17] Historiated initial for an undisclosed book
Bertram Goodhue, illustrator
[Image courtesy of Bertram Goodhue 1931, n.p.]



[Plate 4.18] Sketch for the four evangelist finials to the choir stalls at the new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON (c.1903)
 Bertram Goodhue, draughtsman
 [Image courtesy of the Leddy Library, University of the Windsor, ON]



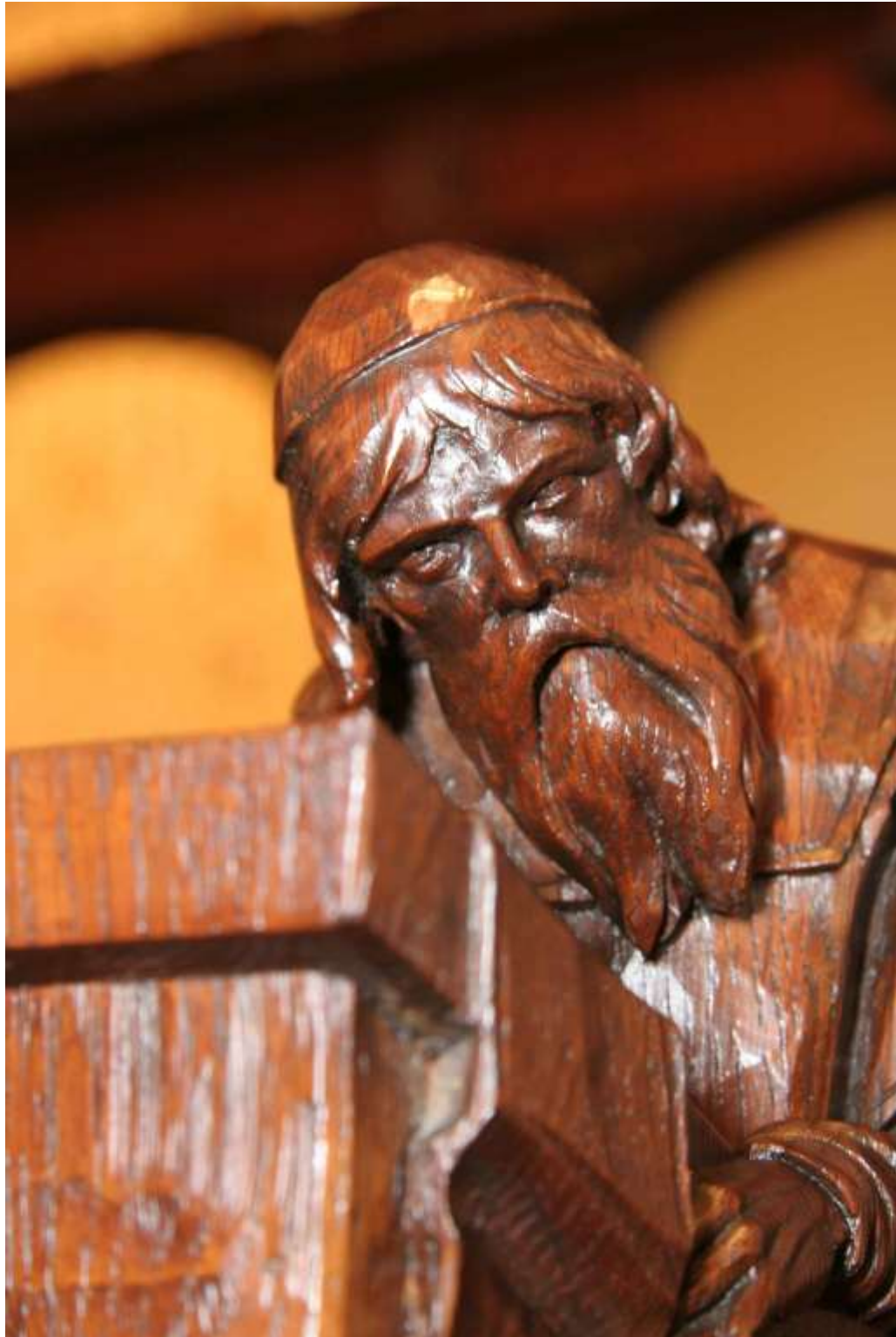
[Plate 4.19] Sketch for the high altar reredos figures at the new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON (c.1903)
 Bertram Goodhue, draughtsman
 [Image courtesy of the Leddy Library, University of Windsor, ON]



[Plate 4.20] The new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON (1902–04)
Cram, Goodhue & Ferguson, architects: Interior facing (clockwise from upper
left) liturgically southwest, southwest, north-northeast, & east-northeast
Detail of the four evangelist choir-stall finials (clockwise from upper left):
SS. Matthew, Mark, Luke, & John (c.1904) Johannes Kirchmayer, sculptor
[Images courtesy of Vern & Kyle Harvey]



[Plate 4.21] The new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON (1902-04) Cram, Goodhue & Ferguson, architects
 Interior facing liturgically east
 Detail of the high altar (c.1904) John Evans Co., sculptors
 [Image courtesy of Vern & Kyle Harvey]



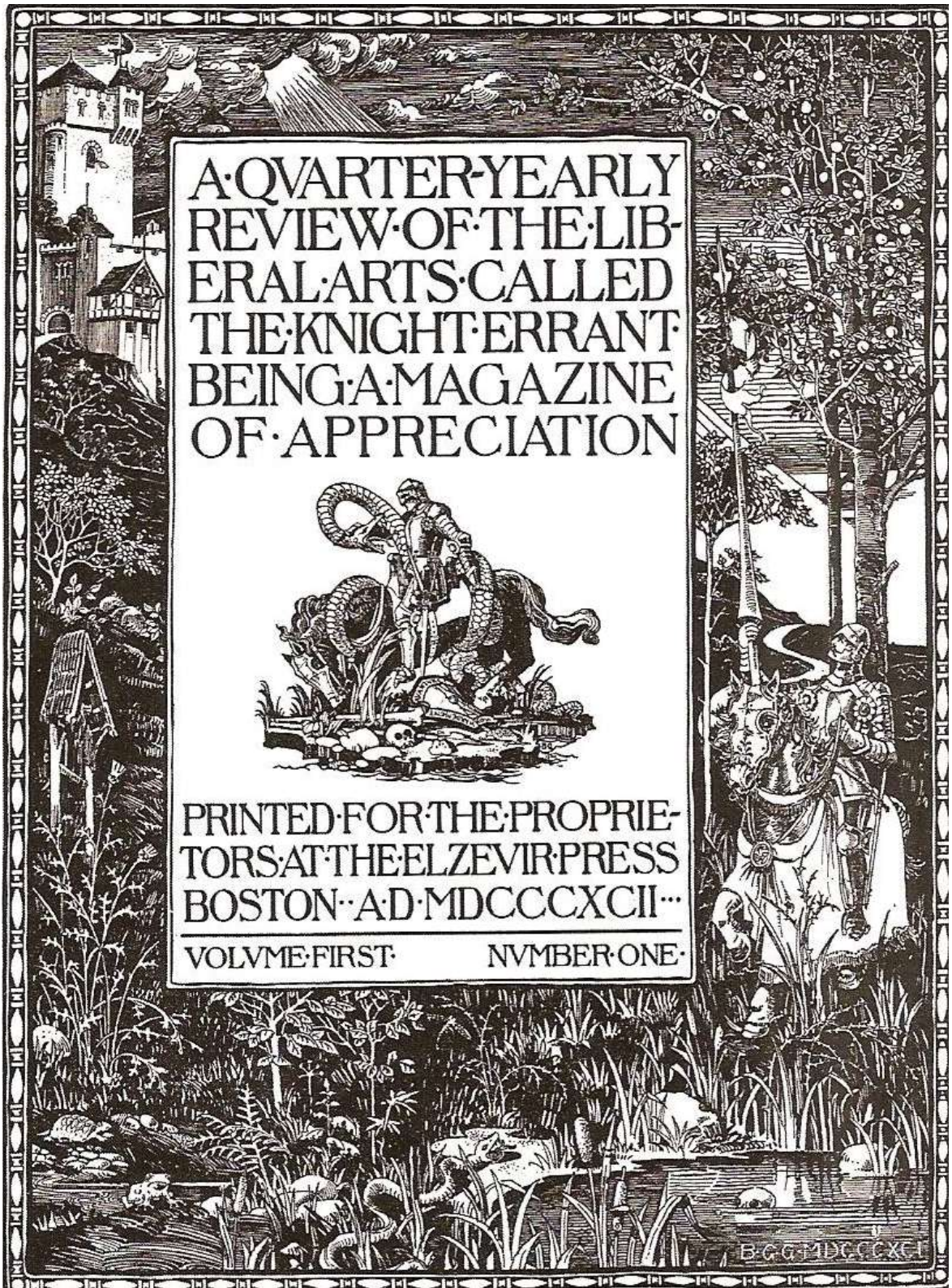
[Plate 4.22] The new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON (1902–04)
Cram, Goodhue & Ferguson, architects: Interior facing liturgically south
Detail of St. Mark's choir-stall finial (c.1904) Johannes Kirchmayer, sculptor
[Image courtesy of Vern & Kyle Harvey]



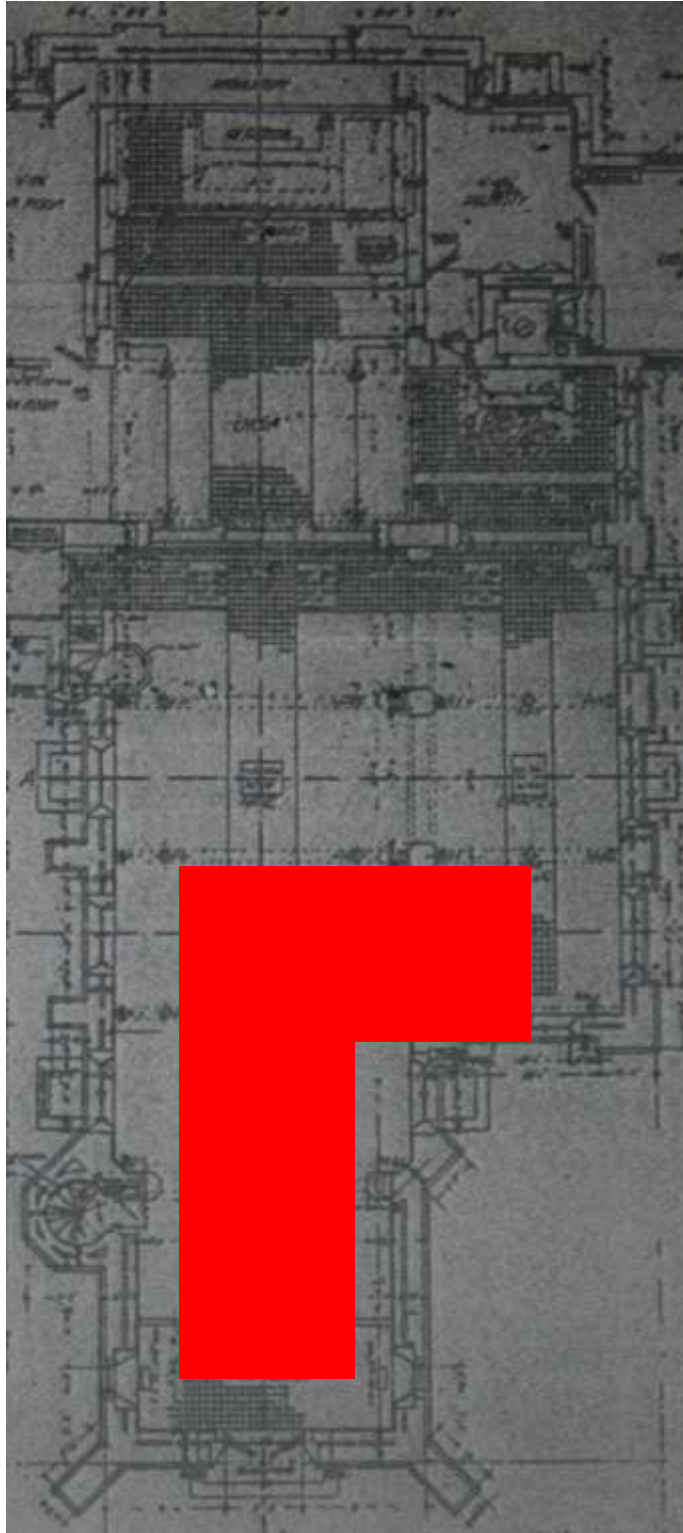
[Plate 4.23] The new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON (1902–04)
 Cram, Goodhue & Ferguson, architects; Interior facing liturgically east-northeast
 Detail of the Visitation window (c.1904) Harry Goodhue, glazier
 [Image courtesy of Vern & Kyle Harvey]



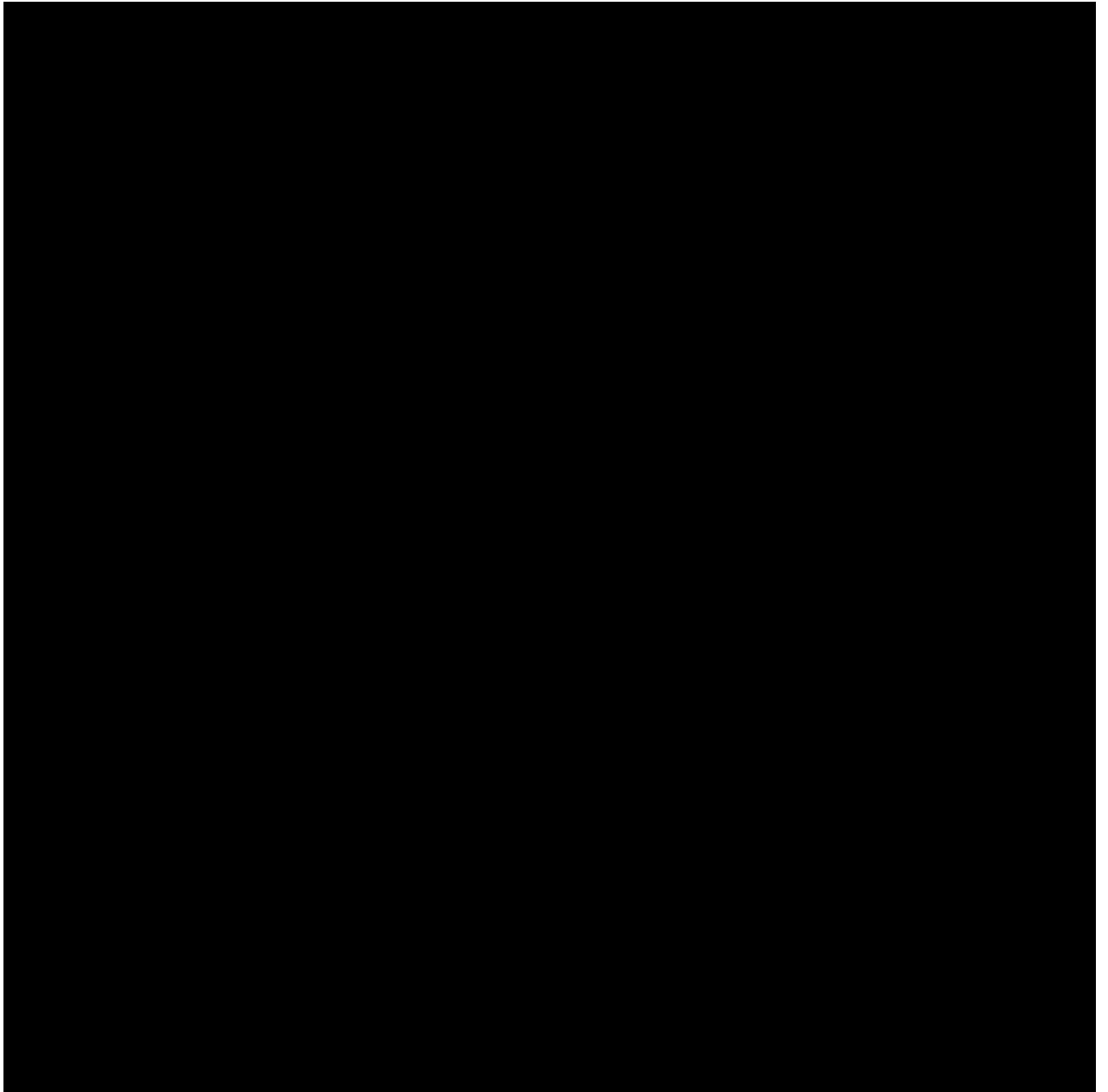
[Plate 4.24] The new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON (1902–04)
Cram, Goodhue & Ferguson, architects: Interior of nave facing liturgically west
[Image courtesy of Vern & Kyle Harvey]



[Plate 4.25] Frontispiece (c.1891) for *The Knight Errant* (begun 1892)
Bertram Goodhue, draughtsman
[Image courtesy of Wyllie 2007, 37]



[Plate 4.26] The ground floor plan for the new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON (1902-04) Cram, Goodhue & Ferguson, architects
[Image courtesy of the Leddy Library, University of Windsor, ON]



[Plate 4.27] The Maltese cross
[Image courtesy of http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Maltese_cross]



[Plate 4.28] The new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON (1902–04) Cram, Goodhue & Ferguson, architects
Interior facing liturgically northeast
Detail of the Maltese cross pressed into the nave alley tiles (c.1904) Henry Chapman Mercer, ceramicist
[Image courtesy of Vern & Kyle Harvey]



[Plate 4.29] The new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON (1902–04) Cram, Goodhue & Ferguson, architects
Interior facing liturgically east
Detail of Maltese crosses pressed into the southern aisle tiles (c.1904) Henry Chapman Mercer, ceramicist
[Image courtesy of Vern & Kyle Harvey]



[Plate 4.30] The new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON (1902–04)
 Cram, Goodhue & Ferguson, architects: Interior facing liturgically south
 Detail of the Presentation of Jesus window (c.1904) Harry Goodhue, glazier
 [Image courtesy of Vern & Kyle Harvey]



[Plate 4.31] The new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON (1902–04)
Cram, Goodhue & Ferguson, architects: Interior facing liturgically east
Detail of the Mo[u]rning Chapel (the Chapel Perilous) in the southern aisle
[Image courtesy of Vern & Kyle Harvey]



[Plate 4.32] The new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON (1902–04) Cram, Goodhue & Ferguson, architects
Interior facing liturgically east-northeast
Detail of the Moravian tiles on the step before the Chapel Perilous (c.1904) Henry Chapman Mercer, ceramicist
[Image courtesy of Vern & Kyle Harvey]



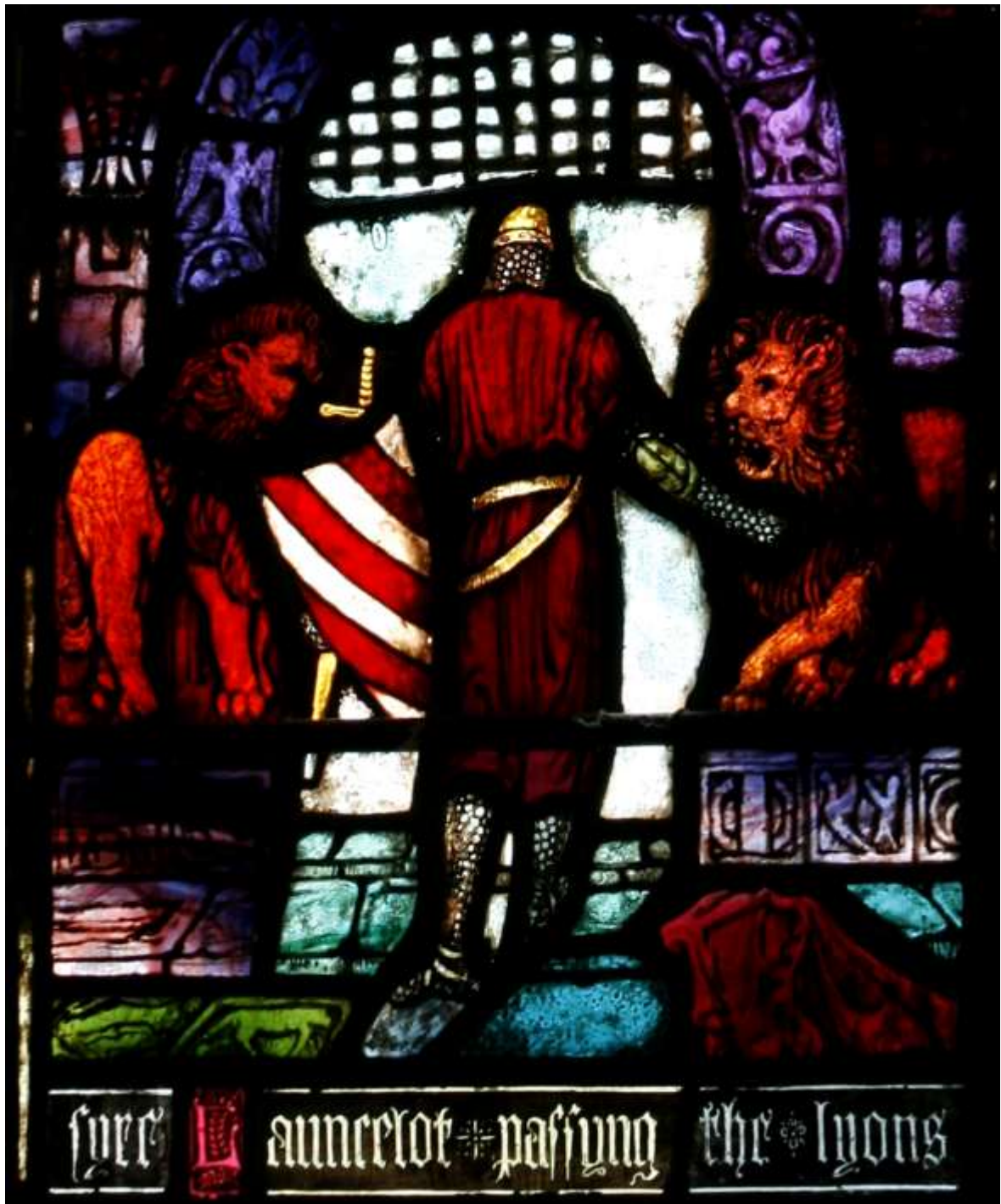
[Plate 4.33] The new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON (1902–04) Cram, Goodhue & Ferguson, architects
Interior facing liturgically east
Detail of Knight & Centaur pressing into the chapel tiles (c.1904) Henry Chapman Mercer, ceramicist
[Images courtesy of Vern & Kyle Harvey]



[Plate 4.34] The new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON (1902–04) Cram, Goodhue & Ferguson, architects
 Interior facing liturgically east
 Detail of the Knight, Dog & Demon pressed into the chapel tiles (c.1904) Henry Chapman Mercer, ceramicist
 [Images courtesy of Vern & Kyle Harvey]



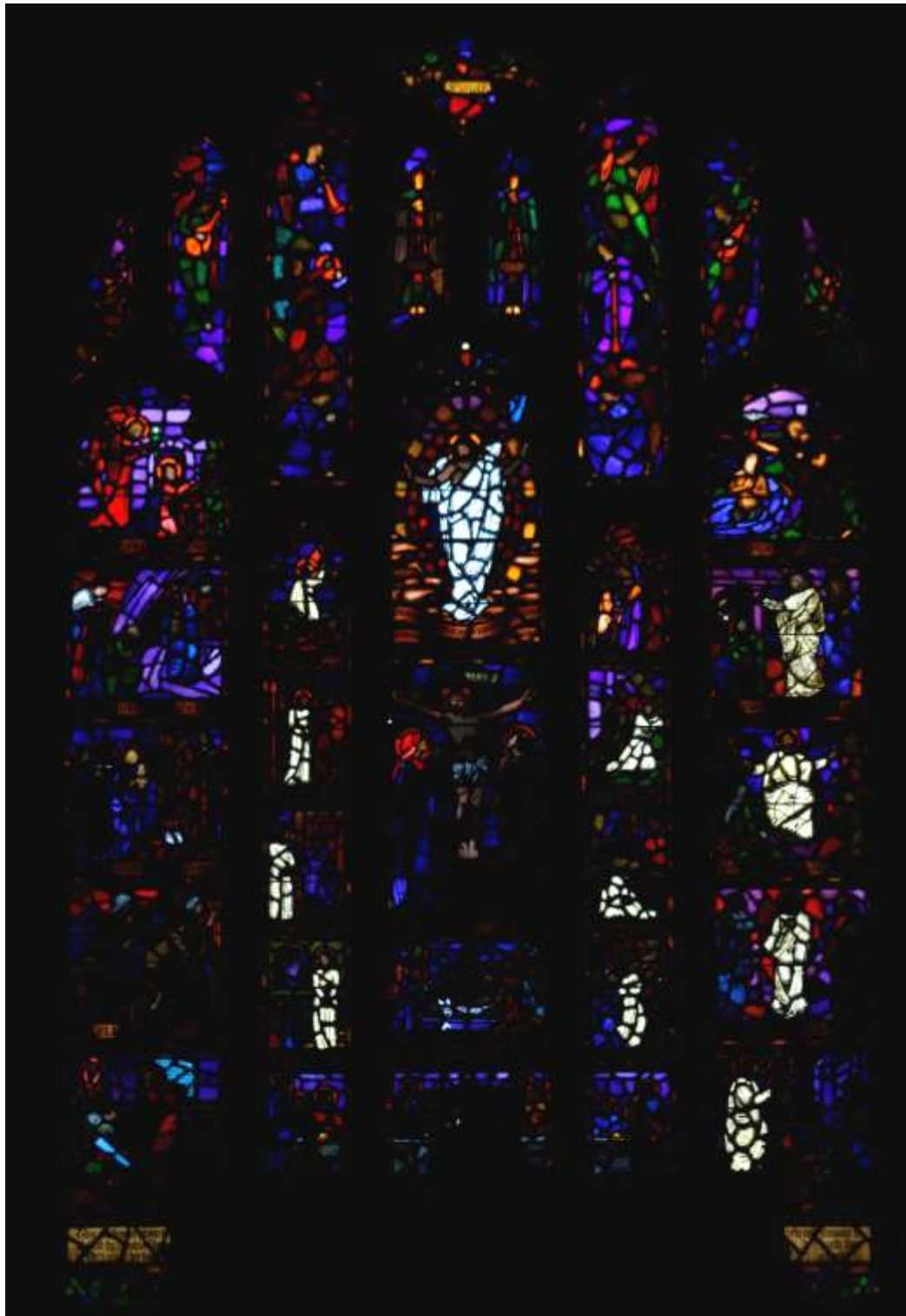
[Plate 4.35] The new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON (1902–04) Cram, Goodhue & Ferguson, architects
Interior facing liturgically east
Detail of the Etin pressed into the choir tiles (c.1904) Henry Chapman Mercer, ceramicist
[Image courtesy of Vern & Kyle Harvey]



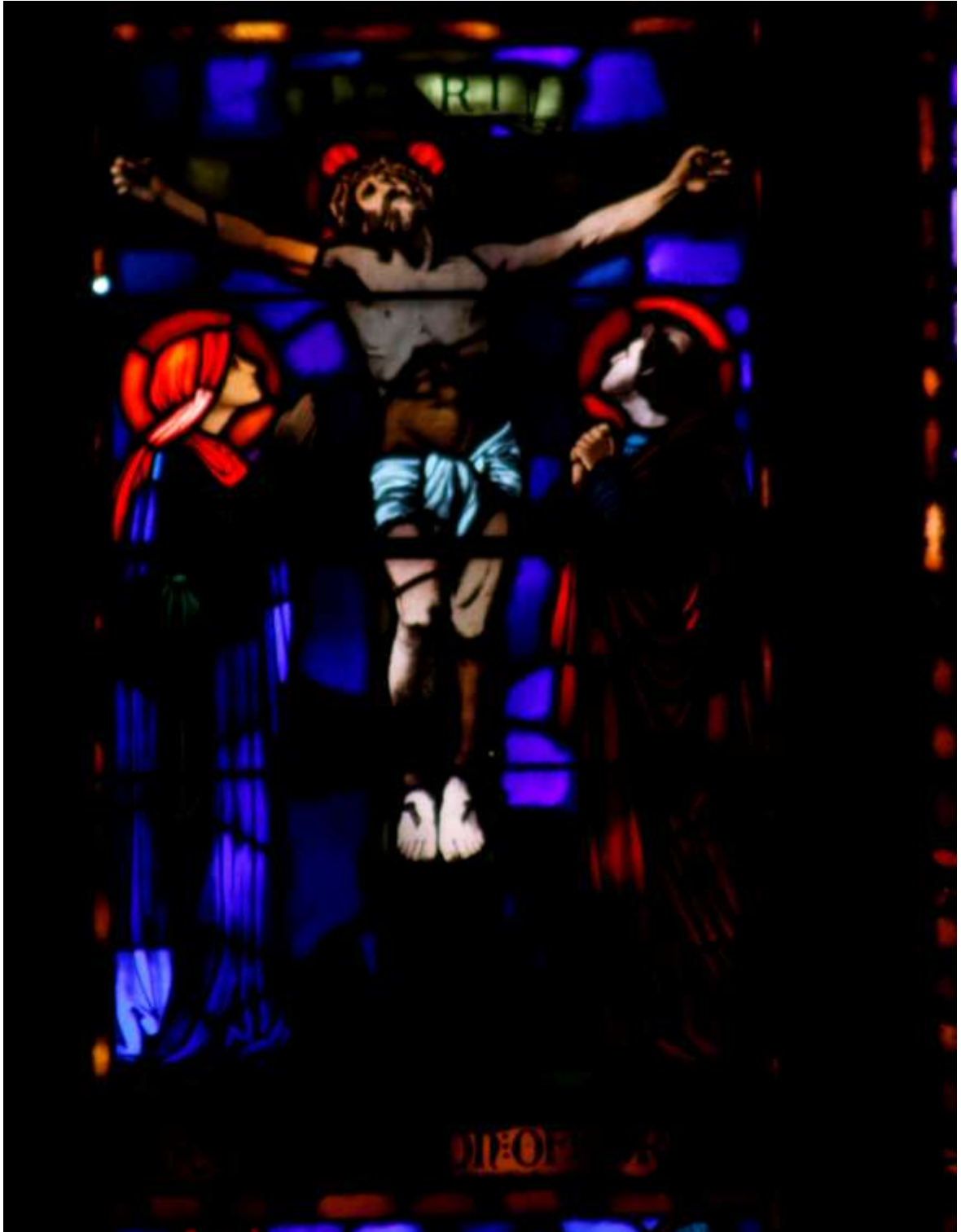
[Plate 4.36] Procter Hall, Princeton University, Princeton, NJ (c.1913)
 Cram, Goodhue & Ferguson, architects: Interior facing geographic southeast
 Detail of Lancelot & the lions in the Grail window (c.1919) Charles Connick,
 glazier [Image courtesy of Cameron Macdonell]



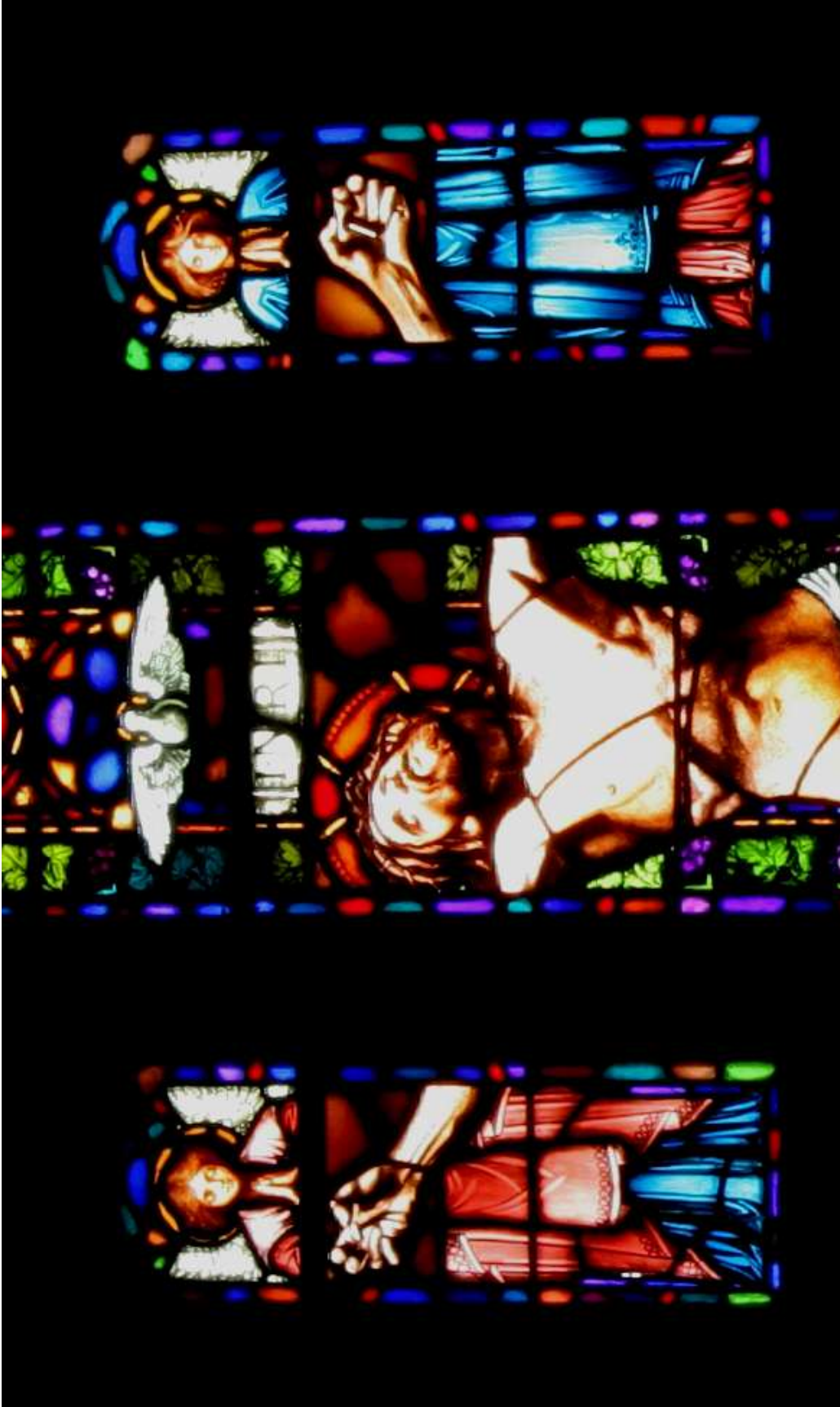
[Plate 4.37] The new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON (1902–04)
Cram, Goodhue & Ferguson, architects: Interior facing southeast
Detail of the cross atop the reredos screen (c.1904) Johannes Kirchmayer,
sculptor [Image courtesy of Vern & Kyle Harvey]



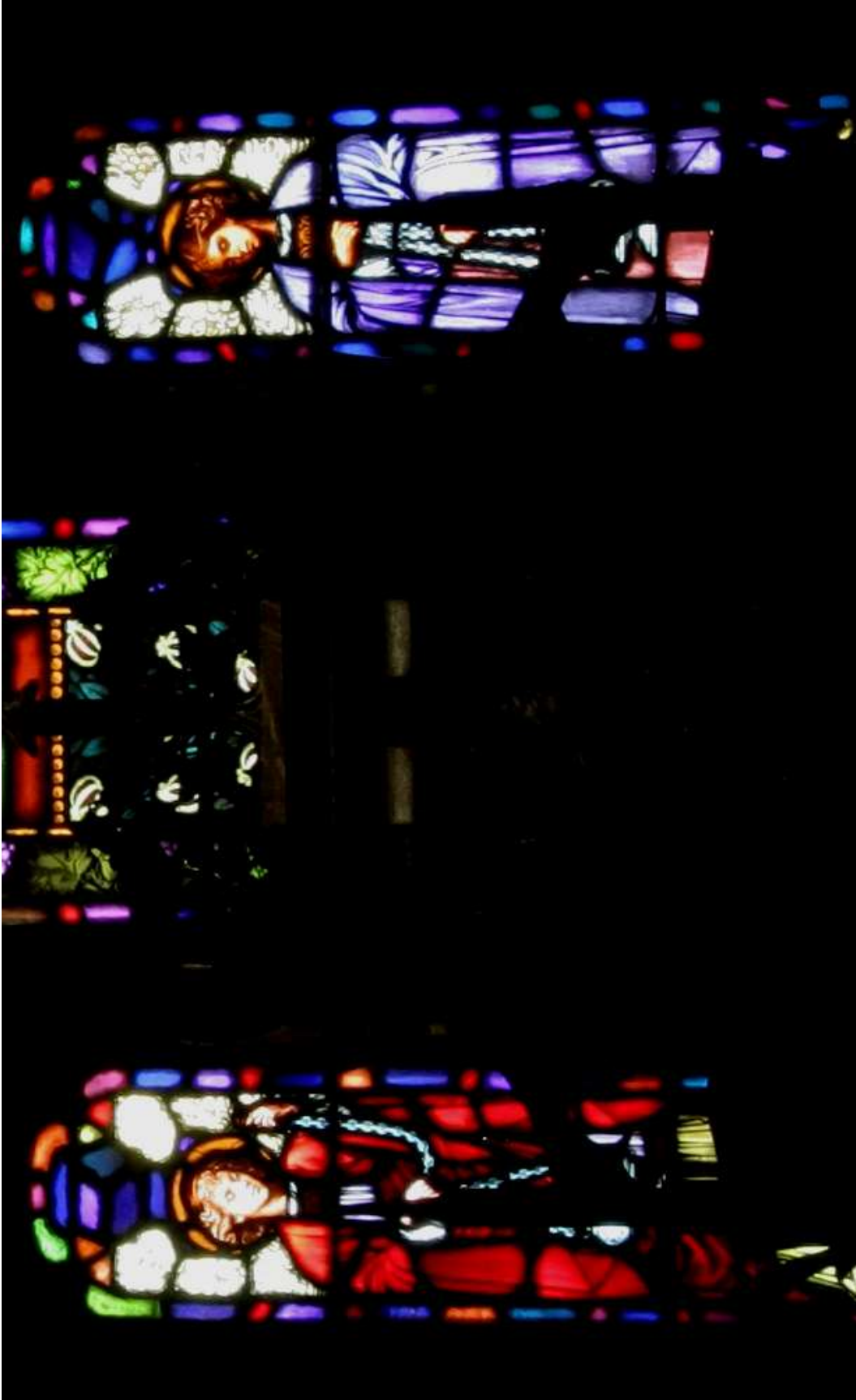
[Plate 4.38] The Emmanuel Episcopal Church, Newport, RI (c.1900)
Cram, Goodhue & Ferguson, architects: Interior facing liturgically east
Detail of the high altar window (c.1902) Harry Goodhue, glazier
[Image courtesy of Cameron Macdonell]



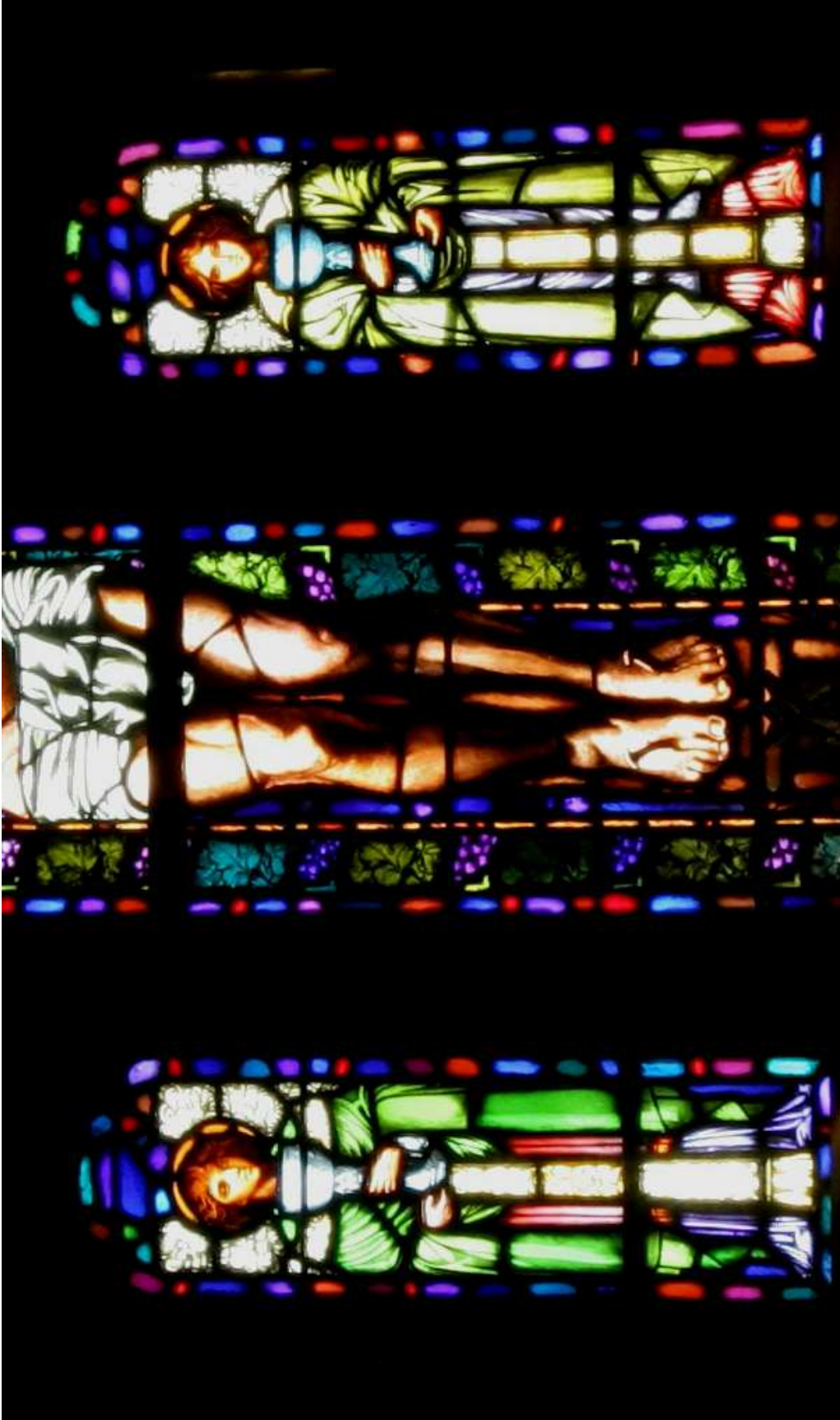
[Plate 4.39] The Emmanuel Episcopal Church, Newport, RI (c.1900)
Cram, Goodhue & Ferguson, architects: Interior facing liturgically east
Detail of the Crucifixion in the high altar window (c.1902) Harry Goodhue, glazier
[Image courtesy of Cameron Macdonell]



[Plate 4.40] The new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON (1902–04) Cram, Goodhue & Ferguson, architects
 Interior facing liturgically east
 Detail of the praying angels flanking the Crucifixion (c.1904) Harry Goodhue, glazier
 [Image courtesy of Vern & Kyle Harvey]



[Plate 4.41] The new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON (1902–04) Cram, Goodhue & Ferguson, architects
 Interior facing liturgically east
 Detail of the censer-swinging angels flanking the Crucifixion (c.1904) Harry Goodhue, glazier
 [Image courtesy of Vern & Kyle Harvey]



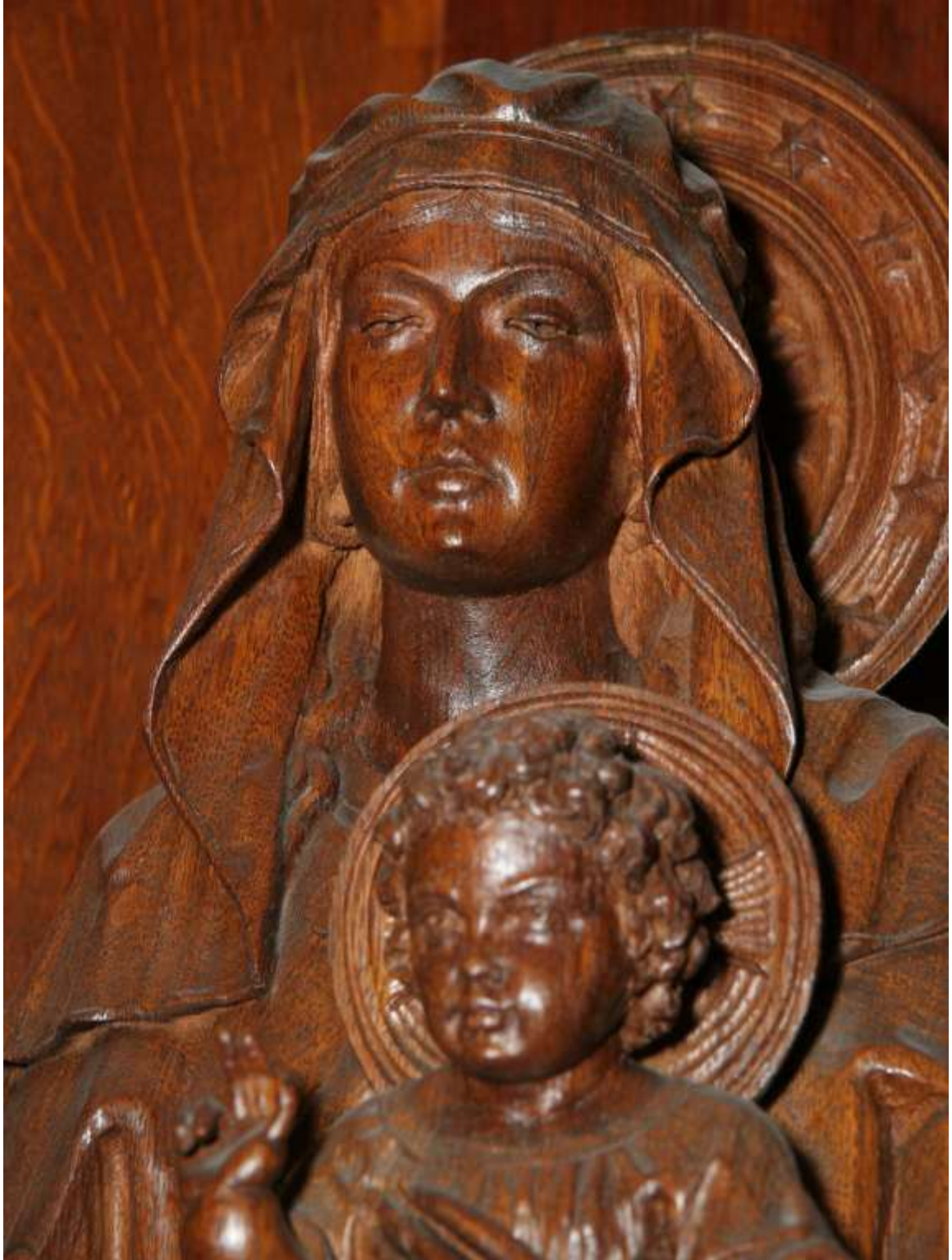
[Plate 4.42] The new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON (1902–04) Cram, Goodhue & Ferguson, architects
 Interior facing liturgically east
 Detail of the chalice-holding angels flanking the Crucifixion (c.1904) Harry Goodhue, glazier
 [Image courtesy of Vern & Kyle Harvey]



[Plate 4.43] Procter Hall, Princeton University, Princeton, NJ (c.1913)
Cram, Goodhue & Ferguson, architects: Interior facing geographic southeast
Detail of Galahad healing the Fisher King in the Grail window (c.1919)
Charles Connick, glazier
[Image courtesy of Cameron Macdonell]



[Plate 4.44] The new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON (1902–04)
Cram, Goodhue & Ferguson, architects: Interior facing liturgically east-southeast
Detail of St. George in the reredos screen (c.1904) Johannes Kirchmayer, sculptor
[Image courtesy of Vern & Kyle Harvey]



[Plate 4.45] The new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON (1902–04)
Cram, Goodhue & Ferguson, architects: Interior facing liturgically east-northeast
Detail of St. Mary's in the reredos screen (c.1904) Johannes Kirchmayer, sculptor
[Image courtesy of Vern & Kyle Harvey]



[Plate 4.46] The new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON (1902–04)
Cram, Goodhue & Ferguson, architects: Interior facing liturgically east-northeast
Detail of St. John the Baptist in the reredos screen (c.1904)
Johannes Kirchmayer, sculptor
[Image courtesy of Vern & Kyle Harvey]



[Plate 4.47] The new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON (1902–04)
Cram, Goodhue & Ferguson, architects: Interior facing liturgically east-northeast
Detail of St. Stephen in the reredos screen (c.1904) Johannes Kirchmayer,
sculptor [Image courtesy of Vern & Kyle Harvey]



[Plate 4.48] The new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON (1902–04)
Cram, Goodhue & Ferguson, architects: Interior facing liturgically east-southeast
Detail of St. George in the reredos screen (c.1904) Johannes Kirchmayer, sculptor
[Image courtesy of Vern & Kyle Harvey]



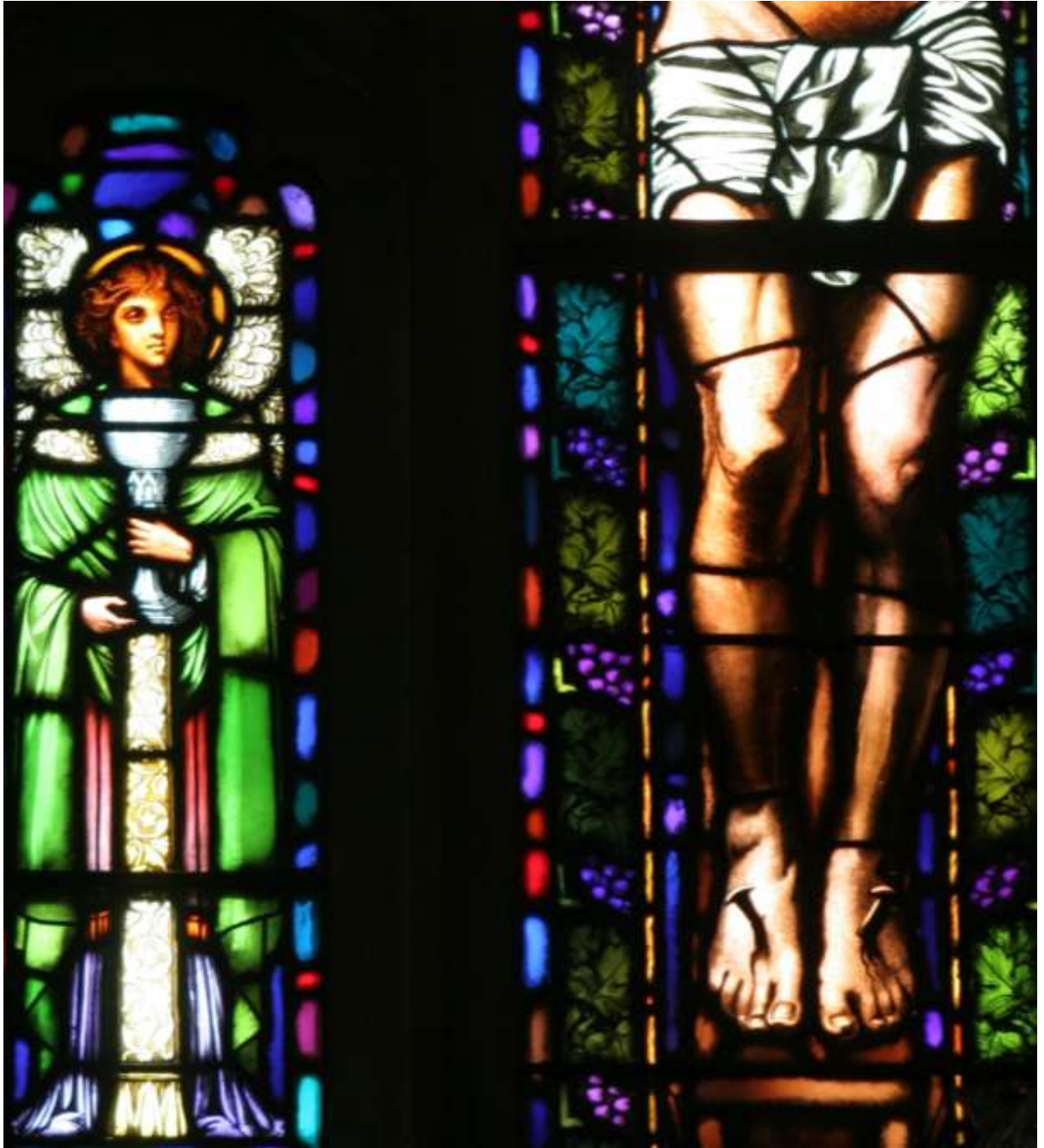
[Plate 4.49] The new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON (1902–04)
 Cram, Goodhue & Ferguson, architects: Interior facing liturgically south & east
 Detail of the Marian hearts in the Presentation of Jesus window & the Marian
 heart in the Crucifixion window (c.1904) Harry Goodhue, glazier
 [Images courtesy of Vern & Kyle Harvey]



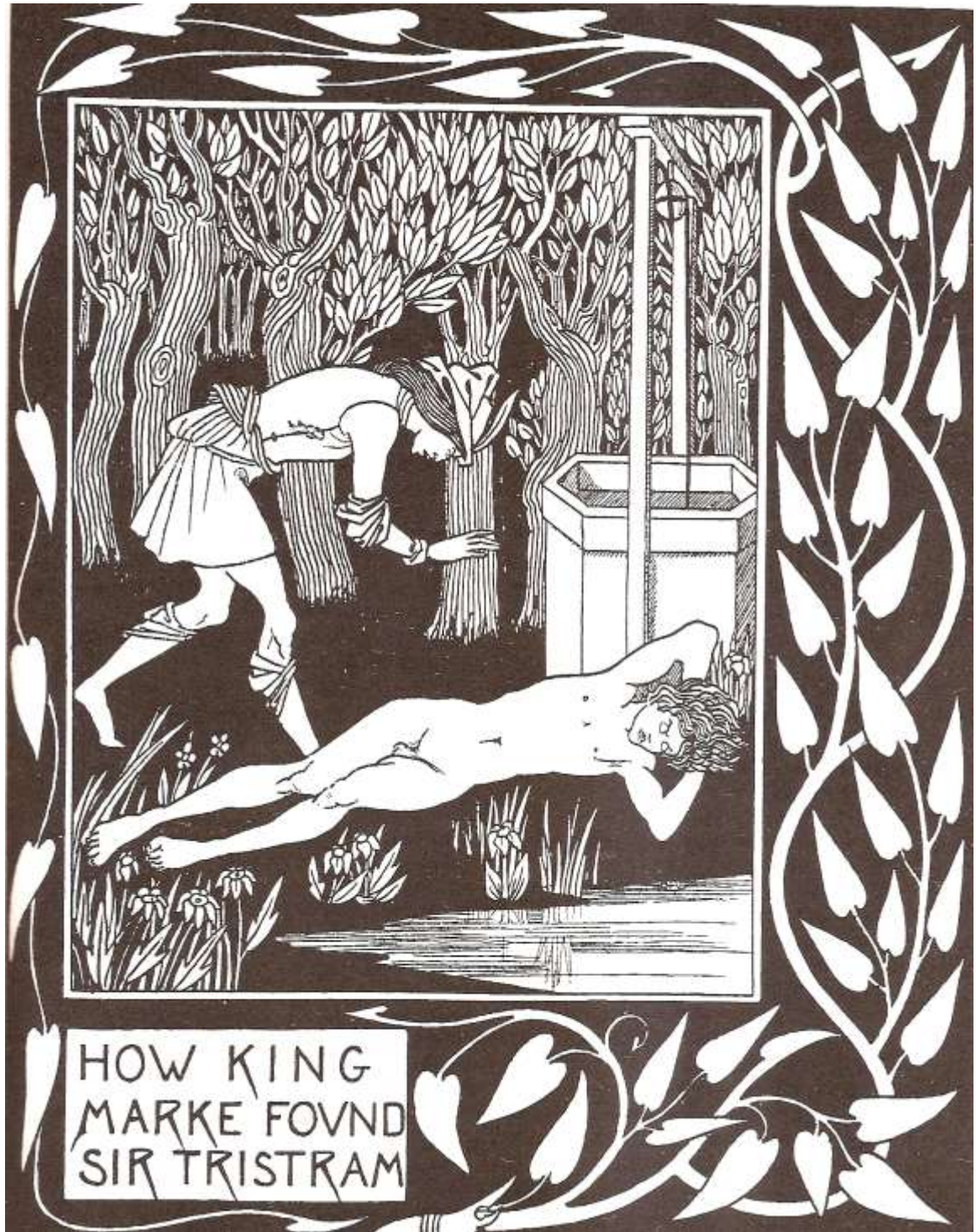
[Plate 4.50] The new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON (1902–04)
Cram, Goodhue & Ferguson, architects: Interior facing liturgically east-southeast
Detail of the credence shelf (c.1904) Johannes Kirchmayer, sculptor
[Image courtesy of Vern & Kyle Harvey]



[Plate 4.51] The new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON (1902–04)
Cram, Goodhue & Ferguson, architects: Interior facing liturgically northeast
Detail of the bishop's throne (c.1904) Johannes Kirchmayer, sculptor
[Image courtesy of Vern & Kyle Harvey]



[Plate 4.52] The new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON (1902–04)
Cram, Goodhue & Ferguson, architects: Interior facing liturgically east
Detail of the angel & Christ's loincloth from the Crucifixion window (c.1904)
Harry Goodhue, glazier
[Image courtesy of Vern & Kyle Harvey]



[Plate 4.53] "How King Marke Found Sir Tristram" (c.1893)
Aubrey Beardsley, draughtsman
[Image courtesy of Malory 1485/1985, facing 220]



[Plate 4.54] The new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON (1902–04)
 Cram, Goodhue & Ferguson, architects: Interior facing liturgically north
 Detail of the grotesque faces under the bishop's mitre & organ pipes (c.1904)
 Johannes Kirchmayer, sculptor
 [Images courtesy of Vern & Kyle Harvey]



[Plate 4.55] Procter Hall, Princeton University, Princeton, NJ (c.1913) Cram, Goodhue & Ferguson, architects
 Interior facing geographic southeast
 Detail of the Grail healing the cripple at Sarra's in the Grail window (c.1919) Charles Connick, glazier
 [Image courtesy of Cameron Macdonell]



[Plate 4.56] The new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON (1902–04)
Cram, Goodhue & Ferguson, architects: Interior facing liturgically south-southeast
Detail of the “leper's squint” from the chancel
[Image courtesy of Vern & Kyle Harvey]



[Plate 4.57] Rectory of the new St. Mary's Anglican Church, Walkerville, ON (1902–04) Cram, Goodhue & Ferguson, architects: Interior facing liturgically north
Detail of the master bedroom with closet open, leading to the “leper's squint”
[Image courtesy of Cameron Macdonell]