Glass-Painting in Britain c.1760-c.1840:

A Revolution in Taste

Dissertation submitted by
Sarah Frances Baylis,
Pembroke College,
University of Cambridge.

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Summary:

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This thesis discusses the development of British glass-painting laying particular emphasis on the progress of the Gothic Revival in architecture. These years (the most neglected and perhaps the most crucial, in the history of the medium) witnessed a fundamental change in the sources, iconography and techniques of painted glass.

An introductory chapter provides a survey of the Post-Reformation history of stained glass up to c.1760 - an overview essential both to an understanding of the Anglican Church's hostility to religious imagery and of the late 18th-century revival of interest in the medium. For much of the period in question, the history of glass-painting is closely bound up with the history of canvas-painting: designs for 'picture windows' were provided by celebrated artists and the pictorial models used conformed to the canons of taste expounded by the President of the Royal Academy himself. This thesis charts the gradual breakdown of these academic and painterly traditions under the impact of antiquarianism and developments in medievalist scholarship. The emergence of a new 'gothic' style in Georgian glass-painting was a direct reflection of current perceptions of medieval art. In response to the new taste for archaic subject matter, glass-painters began to turn to medieval works of art, which they used as models with increasing versatility and sophistication. By 1840, glass-painters such as Thomas Willement had brought this eclectic process to its logical conclusion and were producing windows modelled closely on authentic examples of medieval stained glass. The growth of interest in ancient glass was also to have important consequences for its restoration. The activities of private collectors of ancient glass are also analysed in this context. Although the progress of glass-painting was closely bound up with the critical ideology of the Gothic Revival, a number of neo-classical architects shared a common professional interest in the medium and experimented with its architectural application. There was, by the early 19th century, a well-established precedent for the use of modern glass in neo-classical buildings and a clear perception of a subject and style appropriate to such locations. This thesis also examines the wider role the medium played in the interpretation of non-gothic decorative styles and the increasing versatility shown by the glass-painter in adapting his work to the changing requirements of architectural setting.
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This dissertation is the result of my own work and includes nothing which is the outcome of work done in collaboration.
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<td>Gents. Mag.</td>
<td>The Gentleman's Magazine</td>
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<td>JBSMG-P</td>
<td>The Journal of the British Society of Master Glass-Painters, (now The Journal of Stained Glass)</td>
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<td>JWCI</td>
<td>The Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes</td>
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<td>JSAH</td>
<td>The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians</td>
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<td>Lit. Gaz.</td>
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Introduction

The period discussed in this thesis is not only the most neglected, but, in many ways, the most crucial era in the whole history of British glass-painting. It also, incidentally, demarcates an important episode in the developing history of taste. Looked at through the critical eyes of the Ecclesiologists, the painted glass of the Georgian era was an aberrant art form whose adherence to an autonomous and 'misapplied aesthetic' had caused its own inevitable demise: ridiculed for its heavy, opaque effects, dramatic chiaroscuro and sombre coloration, reviled for its overtly naturalistic techniques, such glass was seen as a travesty of the 'true principles' of the medium - as represented by a medieval stained glass window. Nothing, in the Ecclesiologists' opinion, constituted so grave a misunderstanding of these ancient and fundamental principles as the treatment of the window surface as if it were a painted canvas. By the measure of a gothic window - the highest standard of excellence in stained glass - even the works produced during the Renaissance were to be condemned for their naturalistic drawing and pictorial effects. Those contemporary glass-painters unwise enough to persist in transposing to glass the properties of oil-painting, were by the same token, subject to harsh criticism from ecclesiological quarters: they were dubbed the 'landscape school' of glass-painting 1 - a pejorative label more frequently used to describe the enamel-painted works of the eighteenth and early nineteenth century. The latter were seen by the majority of Victorians as scarcely entitled to the name of glass-paintings: they were thought to have a greater affinity with certain popular forms of visual entertainment. 
in Georgian England whose spectacular effects had relied on the principles of optical illusionism. The association made between highly naturalistic picture windows and these low-brow and ephemeral public 'peep-shows' encouraged the view that such glass-paintings were merely a counterfeit art form, fundamentally unsuited to the decoration of ecclesiastical buildings and, therefore, utterly expendable.

The Ecclesiologists and their supporters thus established a critical bias in the appreciation of the art of glass-painting which was not only to outlive the ecclesiological movement itself but was also to determine the fate of vast numbers of Georgian 'picture windows'. Later Victorians continued to denigrate the achievements of the enamel glass-painters. Ironically, there was now also evidence of a critical reaction against the works of an earlier, pioneering generation of Victorian glass-painters — many of whom had been supported by the Ecclesiologists themselves — who were seen with hindsight to have failed in their attempt to achieve convincing medieval effects. As Charles Eastlake put it,

the glass-stainers of Pugin's time did not indeed fall into the error of supposing that they could treat the design of windows after the same fashion as an easel picture, but it is evident that they and their successors for years after gave less attention to the question of colour than to the drawing and grouping of their figures.\(^2\)

Eastlake, writing in 1872, saw the development of English glass-painting since the turn of the century in Vasarian terms as a straightforward progression, a process of amelioration which had culminated in the success of the craftsmen of his own day. This self-conscious and self-congratulatory sense of improvement is, however, a consistent feature running right through the eighteenth and the nineteenth-century history of glass-painting.\(^3\) Each generation had firmly believed itself responsible for having brought this neglected art form to an unprecedented state of perfection: it consequently felt at complete
liberty to remove and replace glass installed by an earlier age. The vast and largely indiscriminate sacrifice of Georgian glass, (as indeed of earlier Victorian examples), in this way has yet to be fully appreciated. Although the following pages do not attempt to assess in any statistical fashion the extent of this loss, it is worth stressing that a high proportion of the painted windows discussed here are now known only from written records.

Victorian 'vandals' should not, of course, be seen as the only culprits in this extended process of destruction. The effects of two World Wars must also be taken into consideration, and, generally speaking, in our own century there has been little evidence of more enlightened attitudes to this aspect of Georgian art. 'The eighteenth century from an artistic point of view was a slough of despond', one historian stated categorically in 1912, 'and its stained glass was the worst thing it produced'. Much more recent examples of such doctrinaire and dismissive attitudes could be cited. There are still those who choose to see English glass-painting as a 'lost art' which disappeared more or less completely at the Reformation until its mid nineteenth-century Ecclesiological revival. Such an historical perspective not only dismisses the importance of this transitional Georgian period as if it had no relevance at all to the evolutionary development of the medium, but also helps to explain the dearth of modern scholarly research and the relative public ignorance about this crucial period of English glass-painting.

However harsh the judgements of Georgian painted glass over the last 150 years, it is nevertheless apparent that there has always been a minority capable of seeing its historical importance and sensible of the need to preserve such examples for posterity, regardless of their current aesthetic value. Some evidence of this preservationist impulse can even be found in the pages of *The Ecclesiologist* - perhaps the most powerful critical forum of all - where one writer boldly ventured to defend
eighteenth-century glass-painting, claiming 'we have no earthly right to tear this page out of our history or to make a poor palimpsest of it'. He questioned the wisdom of destroying completely those picture windows designed by Sir Joshua Reynolds and Benjamin West which were so celebrated in their day: 'their masterpieces seem to me worthy of preservation, though entirely unworthy of imitation'\textsuperscript{6}

The survival \emph{in situ} of a small number of important picture windows is largely due to the willingness on the part of a minority to acknowledge the art-historical significance of this era of glass-painting. It was recognised that a handful of Georgian glass-painters deserved to be remembered as much for their individual contributions as for their collective role in having sustained public interest in this neglected art form: the works of these craftsmen were qualitatively superior to the rest, showing 'a feeling after the true light' which entitled them to escape the general condemnation accorded to Georgian glass as a whole.\textsuperscript{7}

We owe much to men like the Prices, Peckitt, Eginton, Jervois (sic), Pearson and others of the latter part of the eighteenth and early part of the last centuries, for they served to keep alive the art of glass-painting until the revival of its true principles with the ecclesiological movement at Oxford and Cambridge in 1839.\textsuperscript{8}

The most controversial element of J.L. Pearson's restoration of the north transept of Westminster Abbey in the 1880s was the rebuilding along strictly archaeological lines of the thirteenth-century rose window, whose tracery had been replaced by Sir Christopher Wren. This involved serious tampering with Joshua Price's painted glass figures of Apostles and Evangelists, dating from 1721.\textsuperscript{9} Under the leadership of William Morris, the newly founded \textit{Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings}, spoke out in loud condemnation of the new window which had required the enamel-painted glass to be 'cut up and mangled after a most strange and barbarous fashion': Price's figures had been considerably shortened at the
feet in order to fit the new tracery. Pearson's methods of church restoration were regarded with increasing hostility by his contemporaries in the later nineteenth century and this case no doubt presented an ideal opportunity for public criticism of his work. It is nevertheless significant that there does not appear to have been any attempt at this juncture to remove the enamel-painted glass for good in order to replace it with a modern stained glass window of more convenient design. The preservation of Price's glass, which by no means satisfied the standards of late Victorian taste, reflects a consciousness of its wider historical value as the work of a glass-painter alleged to have practised the art almost single-handedly in England.

A greater controversy was generated in 1903 when it was proposed to remove the eighteenth-century painted glass from the west window of Exeter Cathedral and to replace it with a modern memorial to the late Archbishop of Canterbury. It is curiously ironic that the figures of Saints and Evangelists in Peckitt's window (1767) at Exeter were drawn from the same cartoons by James Thornhill, originally used by Price in the north rose of Westminster Abbey a half century earlier. The decision to remove the Exeter Cathedral window led to an extended and, at times, bitter, correspondence in The Times which was initiated by Stuart Moore, a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries. Moore argued that the west window was the best surviving work of William Peckitt, 'the glass-painter who did his best with the materials at his hand to keep alive the art of glass-painting in England'. He also incidentally implied that the authorities at Exeter had been rather less than scrupulous in the past in their general treatment of the ancient stained glass in the Cathedral. Moore found support amongst his fellow Antiquaries, notably C.F. Bell who described Peckitt's glass-painting as 'a monument of unique importance in the history of art'. He pointed out that the west window had been executed under the supervision of Jeremiah Miles, then Dean of Exeter Cathedral.
and a distinguished former President of the Society of Antiquaries. The painted glass was not only a testament to Milles' personal 'taste and zeal', but,

it marks from its relationship to the revival of medieval studies, a most interesting moment in the history of British archaeology, and for these reasons calls especially for the protection of the Society of Antiquaries. 13

Bell expressed his belief that the tide of taste was about to turn in favour of eighteenth-century painted glass:

there is every probability, considering the trend of fashion, that if the removal of the glass can be averted for a few more years, its ultimate safety will be assured'.

Though few went as far as to share Bell's over-confident prediction, a number of influential people, including W.R. Lethaby (a Devonian by birth) made it clear that they considered the removal of Peckitt's window would be a great historical blunder. 14 Others, on the contrary, seized the opportunity to revile the pictorial techniques and effects of enamel glass-painting in general. 'In tone and effect', wrote another Devonian with undisguised contempt, 'it is like nothing so much as those cheap coloured German prints which find a way into some cottage homes...'. 15 G.F. Bodley, who, as advising architect to the Cathedral was to supervise the execution of the new west window, was equally scathing in his opinion of Peckitt's work: 'painted at a time when glass-painting was a dead art, this window is entirely worthless'. 16 A few days later he felt it necessary to put his views even more forcefully.

It would be difficult to find words strong enough to express how 'potent for evil' it is, and what a detriment to a noble interior. It should 'be done away with'. 17
Both the Chancellor and the Dean of the Cathedral were forced to enter the correspondence columns of The Times, not only to defend the decision to remove the glass but also to protest against the wider allegations Moore had made. The debate escalated into something which had rather less to do with the aesthetics of glass-painting than with the fundamental principles of the preservation and conservation of ancient buildings: the result was a head-on collision between the Dean and Chapter and the Society of Antiquaries who believed they should have been advised of the decision to remove the glass early enough to prevent its happening. As the Secretary made clear, a basic ideological principle of the Society was seen to be at stake:

I submit that if the Dean & Chapter of Exeter sweep away all parts of the structure in their cathedral that may not seem to them to be in the best of taste, they will go far to destroy the story of the building and will have an account to settle with posterity.

As to the allegation that the window was in 'bad taste' -

surely, in dealing with a fabric of such slow growth as a cathedral, this is dangerous ground to take. Are the seventeenth century and later monuments in Westminster in 'good taste' - can the phrase be used of any building to which additions have been made from century to century?

Sadly, the antiquarians lost this particular battle: Peckitt's window was ignominiously removed and replaced with the new stained glass by Burlison and Grylls which remains today. Some of the eighteenth-century heraldic panels were given away to descendants of the original families who had donated them; the remainder were re-erected in the Cathedral Cloisters. The main figures from this controversial window seem to have disappeared without trace.
The battle over Peckitt's west window is a sharp reminder of the strength of criticism directed against eighteenth-century glass-painting - a hostility which has by no means fully disappeared. Ironically perhaps, nothing has done more in recent years to illuminate the need for and facilitate research into Georgian glass-painting than the re-assessment of Victorian stained glass. As with the history of the growing taste for gothic architecture, which forms a powerful backdrop to any discussion of the medium, the true origins of the mid-Victorian revival of glass-painting and the return to medieval methods of manufacture must be sought in developing eighteenth-century attitudes to medieval art.

A continuing insistence on the mistaken aesthetic of Georgian glass-painting has until now precluded the possibility of understanding how it functioned in its contemporary artistic environment. The aim of this thesis is, in the widest sense, to re-establish an accurate aesthetic context in which to assess the painted glass of this neglected period. So far it has been seen solely through ecclesiological eyes in terms of the medieval origins of the medium and the Georgian glass-painters' apparent rejection of, or failure to understand, those ancient artistic principles. On the whole during this transitional period modern painted glass was, for a number of reasons, rated far more highly than medieval specimens of the art: there was a conscious desire to correct and to 'improve upon' the achievements of the ancient glass-painters. The period should thus be seen not as one of relapse or regression but one of deliberate experiment with the transparent painted medium in which glass-painters and their designers clearly saw themselves as the interpreters and disseminators of a wide range of artistic influences.

Above all, the period in question cannot be viewed in aesthetic terms as a unified whole. The tendency so far has been to generalise about all painted glass after 1700 and prior to the mid-Victorian revival, usually to describe it as uniformly 'bad'. Eastlake perhaps set a precedent for this
when he leapt from a discussion of the work of Thomas Jervais to that of Augustus Welby Pugin without any consideration of the vital, intervening period: an omission which is, at the very least, unhelpful to an understanding of the progress of the Gothic Revival (although Eastlake is perhaps to be congratulated for mentioning the art of glass-painting at all - something that later writers on the subject have been curiously reluctant to do). The main thrust of this thesis is in fact to demonstrate that extraordinary developments took place in the medium between c.1760 and c.1840, whilst at the same time revealing the underlying continuity of the glass-painters' aims and achievements. It will become apparent that an aesthetic revolution occurred between these two dates in terms both of the public perception of the art form and the glass-painter's own practice of his craft.
Notes: Introduction

1. Modern exponents of the 'landscape style' included Thomas Wilmshurst, George Hedgeland and Charles Clutterbuck. See also G.R.F. 'Some remarks on glass-painting. no.1', Ecclesiologist, 18 pp. 364-6.


3. The comments of James Dallaway in 1806, cited at the beginning of Chap.2, illustrate this point particularly well. See also Ecclesiologist, 17 (1856), p. 364.


5. E.g. 'By the early eighteenth century, stained glass ... was largely committed to a corpulent, patternless naturalism sponsored by the taste of the courts and academies'. R. Sowers, The Lost Art, London 1954, pp. 29-30. P. Cowen, A Guide to Stained Glass in Britain, London 1985, p. 55, refers to the high-point of 18th century enamel glass-painting at New College, Oxford, as an "exceptional monstrosity", lamenting the 'disastrous' effects of the window.


7. Drake, p. 199.


11. See below Chap. 2, p. 91.

12. The Times, 7 Feb. 1903, p. 12. For subsequent letters see ibid, 10 Feb., p. 5; 13 Feb., p. 8; 16 Feb., p. 7; 18 Feb., p. 8; 21 Feb., p. 10; 6 Mar., p. 9; 11 Mar., p. 8; 14 Mar., p. 13; 17 Mar., p. 8; 23 Mar., p. 7; April 17, p. 10.


18. J. Oldrid Scott was forced to enter the debate in defence of his father's reputation as an architect. Ibid., 18 Feb., p. 8.


Chapter 1

Glass-Painting and the Protestant Church
c.1540–c.1760

1. The Reformation of Images and its Aftermath

For over two centuries following the Reformation glass-painters in England were faced with the dual responsibilities of sustaining an undervalued and neglected art-form and at the same time attending to the strictures of the Anglican Church against the usage of religious imagery. It is the continuing attempts of glass-painters to overcome these historical constraints, whilst promoting their art, which form the backbone of the following discussion.

The impact of the English Reformation on the art of glass-painting was felt in two major ways: first, in the restrictions imposed on the production of new glass and second, in the outbursts of iconoclasm against stained glass windows already in situ. Signs of the general attack upon images, relics, pilgrimages and ceremonial were first evident in the Henrician Injunctions of 1538. A more specific reference to the removal and destruction of images of idolatory and superstition - so that there remain no memory of the same in walls, glass-windows or elsewhere within their churches and houses' - appeared in Edward VI's Injunctions of 1547.\(^1\) Theoretically, only the most inoffensive secular imagery was now permissible. John Hooper, Bishop of Worcester and Gloucester, thus ordered that when from henceforth any church window in his diocese was to be made or repaired,

\[\text{you do not permit to be painted or portrayed therein the image or picture of any saint; but if they will have anything painted, that it be either branches, flowers or posies taken out of Holy Scripture }^{2} \]
However, the injunctions of 1559 issued under Elizabeth I included the clause, 'preserving nevertheless or repairing both the walls and glass windows', a condition which appeared to sanction the presence of stained glass in churches and marked a diminution, at least, in the violent iconoclastic tendencies of Edward's reign. In practical terms, this stipulation was undoubtedly an attempt to avoid the considerable costs and inconvenience of repairing windows destroyed or damaged because of their provocative subject matter: however, a further Royal Proclamation against the defacement of windows and the destruction of tombs and monuments, shows this was also a concerted attempt to arrest the mindless process of church depredation by people 'partly ignorant, partly malicious or covetous'.

The most immediate and significant result of the Reformation with regard to stained glass was, of course, the virtual cessation in the mid-sixteenth century of ecclesiastical patronage: on the other hand, the production of heraldic stained glass was given a considerable stimulus by the Elizabethan Settlement. The only other form of church decoration enjoying the official sanction of the Crown was the royal coat of arms which the Queen had ordered should be set up in every church, and the tables of the Decalogue, Creed and Lord's Prayer - the embodiment of Church Law - which were generally placed at the east end. The kind of imagery that continued to be considered offensive, superstitious and dangerous included representations of the Annunciation and Assumption of the Virgin, 'the Descending of Christ into the Virgin in the form of a little boy', and images of the Blessed Trinity and of God the Father ('of whom there can be no image made'). Particular images of individual saints were also condemned as idolatrous: representations of Thomas Becket, for instance, whose cult had roused the personal fury of Henry VIII, continued under Elizabeth to be singled out for defacement or removal.

The native tradition of glass-painting had thus sunk to its nadir in
the second half of the sixteenth century, a state in which it was to remain practically unaltered for over a century. The career of Bernard Dinnickhoff (c.1585–c.1618), a Protestant Bohemian who had settled in York, exemplifies the critical state into which the art had fallen. Dinnickhoff’s extant work belongs to the northern European Mannerist tradition: his visual sources were derived from contemporary engravings such as the works of Hendrik Goltzius. Not only was Dinnickhoff a foreigner without roots in England, but he appears to have practised the craft alone in the city of York; nor is there any evidence that he felt it necessary to train apprentices. Even in this great mercantile city with its strong medieval craft traditions, he was apparently unable to survive by glass-painting alone and diversified his skills as a surveyor, architect and builder. Dinnickhoff’s principal output was heraldic glass embracing the latest European decorative fashions for the local gentry and growing mercantile classes. It was clearly hoped that he would stay and help to regenerate the art of glass-painting in the north of England; however, despite being made a freeman of the city of York, Dinnickhoff disappeared, utterly without trace, around 1618.

The art of glass-painting in England was to receive another set-back in the 1630s, the aesthetic effects of which were both far-reaching and momentous. By the early seventeenth century the major source of coloured or ‘pot-metal’ glass was the Lorraine region in France. In 1633, the Lorraine glass-works – many of which were owned by Huguenots – were devastated by the invading armies of Louis XIII; the persecuted Protestants fled and a twenty-six year occupation of the area began. Unable now to rely on adequate supplies of pot-metal glass, glass-painters had to make increasing use of enamel paints which had been available in England as early as the 1540s; these paints were applied to the surface of clear glass before firing. This technique, simulating closely the process and effects of oil-painting on canvas, gradually supplanted the old
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medieval 'mosaic' method of manufacturing stained glass. By the late seventeenth century the universal acceptance of this new style of glass-painting had given rise to the widespread and unfounded belief that the ancient secret of making mosaic-style windows had been lost altogether.\(^\text{10}\)

**II. The 'Laudian' Revival**

The twenty years preceding the outbreak of the Civil War nevertheless witnessed a vigorous and clearly defined revival of religious glass-painting in England. The renaissance seems to have been largely, but not entirely, confined to the south and midlands; its focus was the University of Oxford, whose college chapels remain today the *locus classicus* of seventeenth-century painted glass. This brief resurgence has been commonly attributed to the High Church policies of Archbishop William Laud (Chancellor of the University from 1630) and a group of like-minded bishops.\(^\text{11}\) However, the impetus should not be seen as emanating solely from Laudian circles: even before the latter came to power there were several instances of the reappearance of religious glass-painting. In \(\text{c.}1612\), for instance, a new window depicting the martyrdom of the patron saint was installed in St Alban's Cathedral.\(^\text{12}\) The chapel of Robert Cecil's new mansion at Hatfield was embellished soon after completion in \(\text{c.}1610\) with a large painted window displaying an arrangement of types and antitypes.\(^\text{13}\) The Hatfield chapel has been described as 'a remarkable early instance of the reaction against the strictures imposed by Elizabeth on ecclesiastical decoration.'\(^\text{14}\) Its internal fittings included large canvas-paintings of 'The Annunciation', 'The Appearance of the Angel to the Shepherds' and a picture of 'Christ and the Apostles'; the spaces between the canvases were 'wrought with figures of the small prophets and with bordars and scrowles gilded about them and very much other worke'.\(^\text{15}\) One of Laud's most ferocious
opponents, John Williams, Bishop of Lincoln and Archbishop of York, a
so-called 'Moderate Anglican', was also known to have decorated his
episcopal chapel at Buckden, Huntingdonshire, with lavish altar-hangings
and other furnishings, including a programme of painted glass. As one
visitor to the chapel noted,

...there are to be seen many goodly pictures, which cannot but strike
the beholders with thoughts of piety and devotion at their entrance
into so holy a place; as the Picture of the Passion, and likewise of the
holy Apostles, together with a faire Crucifix and our Blessed Lady, and
St John, set up in painted glasses, in the East window ... .16

Bishop Williams also donated funds for the building of the new chapel at
Lincoln College, Oxford, consecrated in 1631 and fully furnished with
misericordes and a complete programme of stained glass windows. These
have survived intact: the eastern window, featuring an arrangement of
biblical types and antitypes, includes a 'Crucifixion' whilst the side
windows contain standing, canopied figures of prophets and apostles.17

The renewed patronage of glass-painting was an essential element of
that overall concern for the external appearance of the place of worship,
the 'beauty of holiness', which characterised Laudian religious feeling; yet
the commissioning of new glass was only one of many liturgical and
architectural innovations introduced into the Anglican Church whilst Laud
was in a position of power. There is no evidence that Laud was personally
interested in the aesthetics or historical traditions of glass-painting, or
that he saw his patronage as a deliberate 'revival' of a semi-defunct art
form. Nor can it be proved, as has sometimes been claimed, that he or his
followers patronised gothic architectural and artistic forms as a
deliberate means of evoking the past and thus recovering the Catholic
heritage of the Anglican Church.18 Laud's concern was primarily for the
upkeep and repair of buildings, an insistence on their cleanliness and
fitness as places of worship. However, with regard to painted glass at least, it could be argued that the Archbishop’s aesthetic sense was not entirely disinterested: as we shall see, he was personally responsible for the restoration of a considerable amount of ancient glass which could have been clear-glazed much more conveniently if ‘seemliness’ were the only consideration. He was, moreover, publicly to oppose the destruction of particular images in painted glass, making himself vulnerable to imputations of popery and idolatry. Even more telling, perhaps, is the fact that Laud seems to have encouraged the commissioning of the best contemporary glass-painters available.

The influx of foreign artists and craftsmen into England in the 1620s and 30s included several illustrious figures who were to exercise a decisive influence over the development of English art. Amongst them were two Flemings, the brothers Abraham and Bernard Van Linge, whose work has come to represent the high watermark of early seventeenth-century glass-painting in England. Another glass-painter of the period who can be identified with specific works is Baptista Sutton whose *floruit* coincides roughly with that of the Van Linges and who, like them, is thought to have been an immigrant artist; his work also ceased abruptly at the outbreak of Civil War.

By the early seventeenth century, the ruling against ‘superstitious’ images in church windows had clearly been somewhat undermined. Glass-painters felt greater freedom to treat biblical themes and ‘sacred histories’, to represent figures of saints and prophets and to use the typological format. The west window of the church of St Andrew Undershaft, London, dating from c.1637, makes use of another medieval composition: the standing figures of Edward VI, Elizabeth I, James I and Charles I (with the later addition of William III) are shown standing on pedestals under elaborate canopies in the manner of gothic saints. The east window of the chapel of Trinity Hospital, Greenwich (1616) was
filled with painted glass by an unknown artist including a 'Crucifixion' flanked by 'The Agony in the Garden' and an 'Ascension'. Windows in Wadham College Chapel (1616), ascribed to one Robert Rudland, depict the figures of Christ, prophets and apostles against landscape backgrounds whilst the east window by Bernard Van Linge (1622) contains scenes from the Passion. Some of the most extraordinary glass-paintings of the period are to be found in the antechapel windows of Magdalen College, Oxford: the eight monochrome figures of saints and bishops are the work of Richard Greenbury (fl.1622-51) and date from 1632. Greenbury was an English Catholic with versatile artistic talents and was particularly noted as a portrait-painter patronised by Charles I. The distinctive baroque painted figures, with their heavy modelling and bold chiaroscuro, are powerfully handled. Greenbury also executed the designs (and may even have painted the glass) for the huge Venetian window in the Catholic Chapel at St James's Palace, built for Queen Henrietta Maria. Surviving cartoons show that the window probably depicted 'The Marriage of St Catharine' with St Cecilia and attendant angels.

Much of the religious glass of this period, however, drew on northern European pictorial models. The former east window of Hampton Court Chapel, Herefordshire, by Abraham Van Linge (1629) depicting 'The Deposition' is derived from a Flemish altarpiece by Roger Van der Weyden. Also attributed to Abraham Van Linge is the vivid eastern 'Crucifixion' in Peterhouse College Chapel, Cambridge (c.1639) which is thought to be based on Rubens' 'Coup du Lance'. The west window of Magdalen College Chapel, Oxford, a huge scene of 'The Last Judgement' by Richard Greenbury, was apparently copied from a design by Christopher Schwarz (1540-94). The latter glass-painting must rank as one of the most important religious windows of the seventeenth century executed by a native glass-painter: it was removed before the Second World War and has remained in storage since that date.
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Not all the new glass of this period was commissioned for such illustrious buildings. The parish church of Compton, Surrey, for instance, contains a single lancet of 'The Baptism of Christ' thought to be the work of one of the Van Linge brothers. 28 To Abraham is attributed the east window of Lydiard Tregoze Church, Wiltshire, showing Saints John the Baptist and Evangelist; the figures flank a genealogical olive tree bearing heraldic shields, a rebus on the name of its donor, Oliver St John, and a type of visual pun commonly found in medieval windows. 29 Three scenes from the history of Jacob, given in 1634 and attributed to Baptista Sutton, were formerly in the church of St Leonard's, Shoreditch: a 'Last Supper' in the east window was probably installed around the same time. 30 The controversy generated by the latter window marks decisively the end of this brief renaissance of English glass-painting: at the same time it heralds the more violent excesses of the Civil War with regard to the treatment of religious imagery and forecasts the use of such images as powerful political propaganda.

III. Iconoclasm and the Civil War

In 1641, the Long Parliament issued an order directing commissioners to 'demolish and remove out of churches and chapels all images, altars, or tables turned altar-wise, crucifixes, superstitious pictures and other monuments and relics of idolatry'. 31 A further Injunction added that 'all crucifixes, scandalous pictures of any one or more of the Trinity, and all images of the Virgin Mary shall be taken away and abolished'. An Ordinance issued shortly afterwards included the removal of 'all other images and pictures of saints, or superstitious inscriptions'. 32 Soon after this date the Rector of St. Leonard's was brought to trial for having introduced certain 'Popish ceremonies' into his church: the tenth charge levelled against him was that of 'allowing the picture of the Virgin Mary and Christ and the twelve Apostles at the Last Supper in glass', said to have been
bought and set up at the charge of certain parishioners.\textsuperscript{33} Although it was pointed out that the window contained no representation of the Virgin Mary (only a somewhat effeminate-looking John the Evangelist), the parishioners evidently thought it wiser to remove the glass and bury it in a wooden case 'till the rage of fanaticism had subsided.'\textsuperscript{34}

The preservation of much stained glass during the Civil War was undoubtedly due to judicious removal and concealment of this nature. In some cases whole windows were removed and hidden, in others, only the figures most likely to give offence, or their heads and torsos alone were removed.\textsuperscript{35} It was once widely believed that the vast programme of sixteenth-century glass in King's College Chapel, Cambridge, had been removed and hidden under the organ-loft before it could be destroyed: tradition held that the west window (which contained clear glass until 1879) had been smashed by soldiers, an act which had hastened the removal of the rest of the scheme.\textsuperscript{36} In fact, there is no evidence that any of this glass was ever removed - as witnessed by continuing records for its general upkeep. The magnificent late medieval stained glass in Fairford Church, Gloucestershire, appears to have enjoyed almost complete immunity from the destructive zeal of the reformers, as well as escaping the worst excesses of Puritan iconoclasm.\textsuperscript{37} Yet the scheme incorporates both scenes from the lives of the Virgin Mary and Christ and figures of apostles, prophets and doctors of the Church. Even before the outbreak of Civil War, the preservation of this glass had attracted the attention of one poet in particular.

Tell me, you Anti-saintes, why brasse
With you is shorter liv'd than glasse,
And why the Saintes have 'scap't their falls
Better from Windowes than from Walles?

... Faireford, boast
Thy church hath kept what all have lost
And is preserved from the bane
Of either War or Puritane. 38

It is clear that the Parliamentary Ordinances were directed mainly against church decoration of the Laudian period: large amounts of recently executed glass were doubtless destroyed before any records had been made but it seems somewhat surprising that any seventeenth-century glass should have survived at all. New and expensive windows may simply have been more jealously guarded or more securely hidden. The city of Oxford remained throughout the War a Royalist Head Quarters and the University was therefore heavily protected. Even so, the installation of the new Van Linge windows in University College, dated 1641, was wisely left until the Restoration. 39 There is some evidence that Cambridge, under Cromwell’s special care during the War, also suffered less than it might otherwise have done; whilst the terms of surrender issued to Lord Fairfax for the city of York included special protection for its medieval churches. 40

Although some reformation in obedience to the Parliamentary Ordinances was carried out voluntarily, committees were established to ensure compliance. In 1643, William Dowsing was awarded such a commission in the counties of the Eastern Association. 41 The surviving journals of his Visitations in Suffolk and Cambridgeshire have for the last two hundred years provided the focus of documentary evidence for seventeenth-century iconoclasm. On them rests Dowsing’s reputation as uncompromising zealot and arch-fiend who is said to have gloated over his acts of destruction. It is somewhat difficult to judge against the background of inflated passions, fierce antipathies and fiercer loyalties, the truth of almost any statement regarding Dowsing’s conduct. His journals are merely misspelt jottings and certain important questions remain to this day unanswered. Why, for instance, were so many churches in these counties left unvisited? Nor is it always clear to which medium, whether stained glass, painted wood or stone, Dowsing refers when he
writes of having destroyed 'superstitious pictures'. In some cases churchwardens were instructed to remove any glass that was out of easy reach; however, as was often the case with clerestorey glass or the upper lights of very large windows, it might be fortunate to escape notice altogether. Despite their sketchiness, Dowsing's descriptions conveniently highlight the images which were singled out for destruction. The main targets included cherubim and angels, symbols of the Passion, the Holy Dove, representations of Moses, Aaron, Adam and Eve, apostles, prophets, saints and all 'popish inscriptions'. Scenes of 'The Crucifixion' were always removed, and no crucifixes were allowed to remain in the church. Images of the Virgin Mary, of Christ or the Holy Trinity were considered particularly offensive.

From the anti-Puritan camp evidence of iconoclasm is provided by the *Querela Cantabrigiensis* (1685), supposedly drawn up by banished members of the University of Cambridge, but in fact published by Royalists in Oxford. The latter includes a graphic description of Colonel Purefoy's attack on the medieval glass in Thomas Beauchamp's Chapel in St Mary's Church, Warwick. This depicted portraits of the founder and his children whose husbands were 'the prime Nobility of those times', along with much heraldry. Purefoy's defacement of this ancient glass was regarded as an expression of more than mere religious zeal.

These men are the sworn enemies not only of pretended superstition, but of the Ensigns of Nobility and Gentry ... there being in these Windows something indeed nothing to offend the weakest Christian.

Bruno Ryves' *Mercurius Rusticus* (1646), 'a description of the Sacrileges, Prophanations, and Plunderings, Committed by the Schismatiques on the Cathedral Churches of England' shows that Dowsing was but one of many military figures empowered to destroy church furnishings: although none has earned a comparable historical reputation, Colonel Sandys and Sir
Michael Liversey at Canterbury Cathedral and Sir William Waller at Winchester also feature as iconoclasts of considerable stature.

IV. The Trial of Archbishop Laud

The trial and subsequent execution of William Laud in 1644 on a charge of high treason reveals not only the strength of Puritan antipathy for religious imagery in churches, but also the extent to which theological arguments had been transformed into powerful political propaganda.

William Prynne's virulent attack on his old enemy was published in Canterbury's Doome, Or the First part of a Compleat History of the Commitment, Charge, Tryall, Condemnation, and Execution of William Laud ..., (1646). The charges brought against Laud as proof of his 'rotten idolatorous Romish heart' included the 'Pictures in Glasse—Windows' he was alleged to have erected or sanctioned in various churches 'to the great scandal of our Religion, and encouragement of Papists in their idolatory'.

First, he had repaired, 'beautified and made more compleat and accurate with new painted glasse' the windows in his chapel at Lambeth Palace which had been installed 'in times of Popery'. Laud had not only expended a large amount of money on this but he was alleged to have resorted to his own 'Roman Missall or Masse Book' as a model for their reconstruction, and had copied directly from particular illustrations in two of his own 'Popish books'. Although the glass had recently been destroyed by soldiers garrisoned in Lambeth, Prynne was able to describe its iconography which dealt in typological fashion with the history of the Creation to the Day of Judgement. His account concentrated on the east window featuring a Crucifixion and bearing the date 1634. Other windows of incriminating subject matter were enumerated, including one supposedly representing God the Father. Two further instances of Laud's 'popish' tendencies were cited, namely, his repair of an old painted glass
crucifix in his chapel at Tothilfields, and the east window of the 'new Chapel' at Westminster where he was alleged to have replaced the royal arms with his own and to have installed figures including the Virgin Mary and Christ. The latter work, by Baptista Sutton, had also since been destroyed by order of Parliament.

According to Prynne, Laud's conduct in all these instances constituted a breach of the Edwardian Injunctions requiring the removal and destruction of all decoration liable to superstitious or idolatrous practices. Laud's response to these and all other accusations were published at length in his own autobiographical countercharge - the History of the Troubles and Tryal of ... William Laud (1695). In defence of his actions, Laud claimed that his chapel at Lambeth had required immediate refurbishment but he had done no more than repair the painted glass set up by his Catholic predecessor, Cardinal Moreton. Nor would he admit to having used his Mass Book, or any other visual aid, in the restoration, but had simply 'made out the story ... by the remains that were unbroken'. As for the subject matter, Laud could see 'no crime nor superstition in this history'. His main defence throughout was an insistence on the distinction between lawful and unlawful images; between the 'monuments of feigned miracles, pilgrimages, idolatory and superstition' and those inoffensive representations of scriptural history which had their use 'not only for the beautifying and adorning of places of divine worship, but for admonition and instruction'. This was a differentiation which even Calvin himself had sanctioned. Nor, as Laud was quick to point out, was it contemporary practice to destroy all painted glass windows. He illustrated this point with the example of Lincolns-Inn Court 'where Mr Prynne's zeal hath not yet beaten down the images of the Apostles in the fair windows of that Chapel ...'. Both Prynne and his supporting lawyer, as prominent members of Lincolns-Inn, were thus neatly hoist with their own petard, for the painted glass in the latter
V. Restoration and Revival

The Restoration of the Stuart dynasty in 1660 witnessed to some extent the restoration of the art of glass-painting in England, or, more accurately, its second revival since the Reformation. The accompanying wave of patriotism manifested itself in a renewed emphasis on heraldry and royal insignia. The extensive works of reparation in Lichfield Cathedral under Bishop John Hacket included a commemorative gift from the Duke of York, future King James III, of new stone tracery to the west window: by 1671 this window had been embellished with royal and episcopal coats of arms. Painted glass was also used to commemorate the triumphant Royalist cause; at Farndon, in Cheshire, for instance, a window featuring portraits of prominent local Royalists, pikemen, musicians and military trophies was erected in the parish church. In reaction to the violent excesses of the past two decades, a new preservationist feeling towards stained glass and towards architecture in general emerged at the Restoration. One of the earliest instances of this new attitude occurred at Winchester Cathedral where Puritan troops, undaunted by the height of the stained glass windows, had hurled at them the bones of bishops, saints and other venerable personages. The remaining fragments were gathered up in the 1660s and assembled in the great west window, where they survive to this day. However, such instances were to remain exceptional rather than typical of the period. In many cases, the ruinous condition of buildings at the Restoration was as much due to long-term neglect as to wilful acts of destruction. On the other hand, Prebendary Fowler of Gloucester who, in 1679, smashed with his own hands a medieval window depicting the Holy Trinity, is unlikely to have been the sole representative of...
post-Restoration iconoclasm. Fowler, incidentally, became Bishop of Gloucester in 1691.53

Meanwhile, the restored monarch’s relaxed attitude to religious imagery and his indulgence towards Catholicism was fast becoming apparent in his patronage of the decorative arts. The creation of a Royal Chapel at Windsor Castle in the 1670s, whose baroque decorations ‘surpassed anything hitherto attempted in England’,54 was not achieved without difficulty. The wall-paintings, by the Italian Antonio Verrio, included scenes of the miracles of Christ and the ceiling was embellished with an ‘Ascension’. Whilst working at Windsor, the artist and his assistants, as Catholics, had to be protected by special decree from the danger of molestation. Verrio’s status as the leading decorative artist in England continued under the brief patronage of James II: his decoration of the Wren Chapel at Whitehall Palace according to true Roman Catholic tradition included a representation of ‘The Assumption of the Virgin’.55 The Chapel was, moreover, open to public use. John Evelyn’s reaction epitomises the mixture of awe and abhorrence felt at this overt popish display.

And so I came away: not believing I should ever have lived to see such things in the King of England’s palace, after it had pleas’d God to enlighten this nation.56

Developments in the art of glass-painting were on the whole more cautious. However, in 1662, Henrietta Maria’s Catholic Chapel in St James Palace, which had been stripped of its original fittings, was restored for the use of Queen Catherine of Braganza. Amongst other embellishments, the Chapel windows were filled with new painted glass made by the Master Glazier, Thomas Bagley. This included ‘a Crucifix of paynted glasse iij foot boarde and 4 foot depee’ and ‘2 coats of Armes each 3 foote 5 inches depee and 2 foote 7 inches broad’.57 Soon after the Restoration,
Bishop Robert Creighton donated painted glass for the west window of Wells Cathedral; before major alterations and additions were made, it had apparently featured portraits of Christ, Moses, Aaron, King Ina, Bishop Ralph de Salopia and Creighton himself. Considering its obvious importance in the history of English glass-painting, this window has been curiously neglected by scholars. Bishop Creighton had been Canon and Treasurer of Wells under Charles I and a member of the exiled court of Charles II: he was perhaps attempting to recapture something of the High Church Laudian era in which he had spent his youthful clerical days. An unfounded tradition, current in the early nineteenth century, claimed that the window was in fact made of Continental glass collected by the Bishop when in exile with Charles II. By that date, of course, such collecting was commonplace but in the seventeenth century this would have been a rare, not to say, unique example. Equally important were the two unattributed painted windows installed in Bristol Cathedral by Dean Henry Glemham (1660–7), which appear to be the first cathedral commissions for figural glass following the Restoration. These windows featured a traditional arrangement of types and antitypes; both were damaged in the Second War but one remains today in reasonable condition.

The later seventeenth and early eighteenth century thus witnessed for the first time since the Reformation, the gradual rise to prominence of native glass-painters. This period was also marked by an increase in the ornamentation of ecclesiastical buildings. The re-emergence of the art of glass-painting was pioneered shortly after the Restoration by Henry Gyles of York (1645–1709) on a new commercial and increasingly scientific basis. Ralph Thoresby described his friend as 'the famousest painter of glass perhaps in the world', and he certainly appears to have enjoyed a unchallenged position as the leading glass-painter in the north. Gyles had had a basic artistic training, he issued his own trade cards and advertised his skills in the local press. As a highly respected
member of the the York 'Virtuosi' (who, according to Vertue, often congregated in the glass-painter's house) Gyles was acquainted with leading artists, antiquarians and engravers of the day on whose experience and connections he frequently drew. Like Dinnickhoff before him, Gyles' artistic models were exclusively prints rather than paintings and he also left no apprentices or sons. His work belongs to the baroque decorative traditions of northern Europe expressed in his fanciful armorial surrounds, cartouches, and spread-winged cherubs. To the end, Gyles seems to have remained uninfluenced by the conspicuous gothic traditions of glass-painting in his native city. His only contribution to the glazing of York Minster, apart from one armorial panel, appears to have been some repair work carried out in 1668 and 1707.64

The greater part of Gyles's oeuvre constituted heraldic glass destined for private houses, civic buildings and churches. His ecclesiastical commissions did, however, include pictorial windows, the most important of which was executed for the chapel of University College, Oxford, in 1687: Gyles was, in fact, completing a scheme of painted glass inaugurated by Abraham Van Linge before the Civil War.65 One of Gyles' initial plans for the window was a compilation of subjects from the history of Christ based on prints by Albrecht Durer who, Gyles declared, 'is very worthy of imitating in works of this kind'.66 Ultimately, a single scene of The Adoration of the Shepherds' was executed: this window (which disappeared after its removal from the chapel in 1862) was once, erroneously, thought to be the earliest example of 'picture glass-painting' since the Restoration.67

Although there is no reason to believe they ever met, Henry Gyles seems to have been the exact contemporary of another doyen of glass-painting, William Price of London. The latter, who had died by 1709, was the eldest member of three generations of a family who exercised a virtual monopoly of English glass-painting in the first half of the
eighteenth century. Their work represents glass-painting of the period at its most fashionable and sophisticated. Although it is clear from their advertisements that the Prices continued to produce the standard type of heraldic glass and to 'perform all kinds of glazing-work', they are best remembered for a number of large-scale painted windows made to designs in the vanguard of contemporary trends in European art.

The east window of Christ Church Cathedral, representing 'The Nativity', was executed in 1696 by William Price the Elder to the designs of James Thornhill (1676-1734). This was the first of a series of great collaborative ventures in the eighteenth century between glass-painters and decorative artists. If the attribution is correct, the Christ Church window must have been one of the very first commissions which launched Thornhill on his public career as the founder of a British school of History painters: in 1696 his apprenticeship to the painter Thomas Highmore had only just come to an end. Even at the height of his career, Thornhill continued to supply designs to the Prices for both secular and ecclesiastical glass-paintings. In 1721 he provided full-sized, painted and framed cartoons for the rose window in the north transept of Westminster Abbey. This was executed by Joshua Price (c.1672-1722) and featured standing figures of the Apostles and Evangelists. Joshua died before he could receive payment for the window, but his son, William Price the Younger (c.1703-65), is also likely to have used Thornhill's cartoons for the new west window in the Abbey. The latter featured, along with heraldry, the standing figures of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob and fourteen Patriarchs. It was not completed until 1736 by which time Thornhill himself was dead and unable to benefit from the widespread admiration the window attracted.

VI. Painted glass and the Decorative Arts

The relationship of glass-painting to contemporary developments in
mural painting was to become particularly close in the early eighteenth century: the two media benefitted equally from the increasing trend towards church decoration and were also subject to the same aesthetic influences and pressures. The arrival in the reign of Queen Anne of the Venetian artists, Sebastiano and Marco Ricci and Gianantonio Pellegrini, introduced a new phase in the decorative arts in England. The impact of their work on ecclesiastical interiors is nowhere more effectively demonstrated than in the parish church of Great Witley, Worcestershire. The first Duke of Chandos, a successful war-profititeer, commissioned Antonio Bellucci to decorate the ceilings and chapel of his new mansion Canons, in Middlesex; he also commissioned twelve painted windows for the chapel from Joshua Price. Following a series of financial catastrophes, the Canons estate was broken up and the internal fittings of 'Timon's Villa' were sold at auction in 1747. The paintings and ten of the windows were acquired wholesale by Lord Foley of Witley Court and adapted to fit his parish church which had been recently rebuilt. There is probably no finer example in England of a baroque church interior, dominated as it is by the productions of Italian craftsmen and artists. The windows alone at Great Witley can be attributed to an Englishman; six of these date from 1719, the other two from 1721, and all but two are signed by Joshua Price. With one exception they depict New Testament scenes from the life of Christ and the Apostles. The Venetian influence is fully apparent in the vivid enamel colours and dramatic compositions of the painted glass. At the bottom of each window are additional strips of glass executed by William Price the Younger in c.1747 when the windows were installed. The two later panels flanking 'The Resurrection' at the east end have also been convincingly attributed to William Price, the ornamental yellow stain whorls in the glass echoing the gilded plasterwork motifs on the walls. The designs for these windows were, however, again the work of an Italian - Francesco Sleter, who was
possibly Sebastiano’s Ricci’s assistant and pupil; it seems likely that both
the windows and their cartoons were sold deliberately as the work of
Ricci. The other two windows from the Canons Chapel programme (a
‘Stoning of St Stephen’ and a ‘Conversion of St Paul’) had been acquired by
the Duke of Portland for his own chapel at Bulstrode Park, Bucks, a
building decorated some thirty years earlier by Ricci himself.76

There is no documentary evidence that the two elder members of the
Price family ever worked as ‘restorers’ on a large scheme of medieval
glass such as that in New College, Oxford, on which Price the Younger was
employed in the 1740s.77 There is, however, evidence of Joshua having
handled and repaired a considerable amount of older glass. Between 1715
and 1717 he largely remade the Van Linge glass in the newly built chapel
of The Queen’s College, Oxford; the east window depicting The Holy Family
seems to have been entirely his own work.78 In 1716–19, Joshua Price
was employed to restore a collection of old glass, some dating back to the
fifteenth century, for Archdeacon Matthew Postlethwaite at Denton Church
in Norfolk – an interesting early example of the type of glazing-work
which is more usually associated with his son, William Price.79

Although they were undoubtedly the most highly regarded and
technically proficient glass-painters of their time, the Prices were not, of
course, the only practitioners. John Rowell of Reading and High Wycombe
(1689–1756) also advertised his skills as a painter of large ‘church
histories’, sundials and coats of arms, and as a restorer of ancient
glass.80 Rowell’s floruit coincided with that of Price the Younger; they
even competed with each other for commissions to repair old glass in the
Oxford chapels of Wadham and Magdalen. Rowell’s terms were evidently
less attractive and by comparison with Price’s fashionable metropolitan
style, his work appears clumsy and provincial. Even so, Rowell’s glass has
at times been mistaken for that of his more illustrious contemporary and
the two used at times a common ornamental vocabulary.81
Throughout the eighteenth century, under the impact of the imported Italian tradition in the decorative arts, the fashion for the ornamentation of churches, chapels, domestic and civic interiors continued to make some headway in England. Although whole schemes of painted glass decoration were still rare in this period, the altar window was frequently singled out for embellishment. St Nicholas’s Church, Deptford, for example, possessed until the Second War a magnificent reredos of c.1696 which incorporated a glass-painting of ‘The Adoration of the Shepherds’: the latter, in an oval frame surrounded by carved foliage, was signed by the elder William Price. Flanking this were paintings of Moses and Aaron, St John the Evangelist and a prophet, whilst the whole reredos was surmounted by the arms of William III. Equally lavish was the east end of St Andrew’s Church, Holborn (c.1718): it incorporated frescoes of Saints Andrew and Peter and the Holy Family, and Tables of the Creed and Lord’s Prayer. The main feature were the two glass-paintings by Joshua Price representing ‘The Last Supper’ above ‘The Ascension’ – works still, somewhat surprisingly, as highly regarded by Charles Winston in the nineteenth century as by James Boswell a hundred years earlier. Ornamental painted glass might also be used, as in the Venetian window of St Martin’s-in-the-Fields for which Joshua and William Price were paid £130 in 1726: the ceiling above the altar was covered with a painted glory, the windows featured ‘antique ornaments’ and a sun-burst in the central arch containing the word ‘DEUS’. The two windows in Westminster Abbey by Joshua and William Price cited above represent something of a high watermark in early eighteenth-century ecclesiastical glass-painting. The initiative in commissioning new figural glass was not taken up by any English cathedral or major church, until much later in the century: nor did Westminster Abbey itself repeat the experiment until the following century. A parallel high watermark in decorative painting had been the completion by
Thornhill in 1719 of the cupola of St Paul's Cathedral. Regarded as the most important ecclesiastical commission of the day, Thornhill's success reflects both the triumph and the limitations of the united forces of Nationalism and Protestantism in the early eighteenth-century: he was to treat only safe, non-papistic subjects, preferably 'Scriptural History taken from the Acts of the Apostles', which were to be executed 'in Basso-Relievo'. Thornhill's paintings of the life of St Paul derive much from Raphael - an act of homage which looks forward to the latter's canonisation by artists and glass-painters alike, as the supreme painter of religious art. Despite several later eighteenth-century attempts, the experiment in painted decoration at St Paul's was not repeated.

VII. 'Superstitious Images'

It seems clear that by the early eighteenth century many of the individual images proscribed at the Reformation and further condemned by the Puritans had become the stock-in-trade of the glass-painter, no less than of the decorative artist. Angels, saints, apostles, prophets, sacred histories and emblems, had all made their reappearance in church windows or in the reredos - often the decorative focus of the whole building. However, not all 'forbidden images' had regained the approval of the Anglican Church or, indeed, of the wider public. This was made clear in 1725 when a painting by William Kent was installed in the city church of St Clement Dane. The congregation immediately petitioned for its removal; the Bishop of London was asked to intervene and as a result the offending picture was removed. Kent's painting, which showed a 'choir of heavenly Angels at a Practice of Musick playing on Earthy instruments', was believed by many to contain a portrait of Princess Clementina Sobieski, wife of James the Old Pretender and 'Pensioner to the Whore of Babylon'. The painting was therefore judged not only to be
sacrilegious, but blatantly 'traiterous'. Numerous other instances of sporadic intolerance could be cited. In 1789, the Fellows of Magdalen College, Oxford, asked the celebrated glass-painter Thomas Jervais if he would take on the task of restoring and reconstructing Greenbury's west window which had been damaged in the great storm of 1703: a special stipulation was made that the figure of the Virgin Mary be omitted from the 'Last Judgement' although the rest of the design was to be left entirely to the glass-painter's own judgement. Clearly, images of the Virgin, however subsidiary to the main design, were still judged by many to be an inappropriate ornament in a Protestant chapel.

It has been noted that scenes of the Crucifixion rarely (if ever) appeared in altar-paintings in the first half of the eighteenth century, nor in the painted glass of the period. We have seen how representations of the Crucifixion in painted glass and the use of crucifixes themselves, had been amongst the most contentious issues voiced in Laud's trial: the idolatrous associations of this image (or the connotation of illegality) had above all others, persisted well into the following century. Whatever the reasons, the representation of the Crucifixion constituted the central issue of the legality of 'superstitious images' in churches which was, in 1760, once more brought publicly into question.

Since the early seventeenth century, the church of St Margaret's, Westminster, had been used by the House of Commons who had objected to the High Church ceremonial introduced into the Abbey services. In 1758, during a repair and gothicizing of the east end, the churchwardens and curate of St Margaret's installed a newly acquired painted glass window and an altarpiece. They had failed to apply for a faculty from the Dean and Chapter: an inquiry was ordered and a prosecution in the Ecclesiastical Court ensued. Apart from obvious resentment of the increasing attempts at autonomous government by the Vestry of St Margaret's, the main objection cited was that the churchwardens had allowed the insertion of a
window 'whereon is represented by Delineations and Colours, one or more
superstitious Picture or Pictures, Image or Images of Christ upon the
Cross'.

There is not sufficient space here to deal with the chequered history
of this early sixteenth-century Flemish glass before its acquisition by St
Margaret's; however, it had at one point been substantially restored and
supplemented by William Price the Younger. For this reason, the
glass-painter was called to give evidence at the trial. From remaining
documents, it appears that Price was questioned not just about this
window but also about the existence of religious painted glass in general,
and he was asked specifically about representations of the Crucifixion.

As the last surviving member of the great dynasty of glass-painters,
perhaps no one was better qualified than William Price to answer
questions about the recent history of this art. His answers were (no doubt,
deliberately) vague and non-committal: his guarded responses imply that
whilst anxious to defend himself and his late father from particular
accusations of having made or repaired windows depicting the
Crucifixion, Price was nevertheless keen to back the general cause of
painted glass in ecclesiastical buildings. He cites a number of extant
windows with a wide variety of religious subject matter, some of which
had been recently installed in major buildings with the sanction of
respected authorities and many of which — although he does not say so —
were in fact his own work.

In one sense, of course, the purpose of the trial — to register
complaint against the presumption of the Vestry — had already succeeded.
If Price's defence did not contribute to the failure of the prosecution then
it must have petered out under the obvious futility of maintaining a stand
against religious subjects in painted glass. The St Margaret's 'Crucifixion'
was not, after all, a newly commissioned window: and by this date, as
Price had demonstrated, there was even a respectable, established
precedent for the installation of modern religious glass. Although the case did arouse much public interest, a great offensive such as that launched by Prynne against Archbishop Laud was inconceivable in the mid eighteenth century. It was both far too late to make an example of St Margaret's and pointless to raise the spectre of 'superstitious images' without pursuing it to some logical conclusion.

In fact, the extended logical argument demanded by this court case was produced fairly promptly in a published pamphlet, The Ornament of Churches Considered, with a particular View to the late Decoration of the Parish Church of St Margaret's, Westminster. As its authors had clearly intended, the publication of this work sealed the fate of the St Margaret's window and put an end to the law-suit. The pamphlet set out to justify the action of the churchwardens in acquiring and installing the window where 'the greatest Propriety was deemed to arise for placing it over the Communion Table'. The authors pointed out what was by now an essential and time-honoured distinction between 'historical paintings' taken from sacred History ('of which none is of a more pathetic and edifying Nature than the general history of our Saviour's Passion') and pictures of 'false and feigned Miracles'. The fact that many of the former were no longer to be found in English churches, it was argued, was due to 'the impious rage of the Puritanical Faction and not to the cautious Prudence of our Reformers'. Some sacred images had survived without endangering the reformed religion, and 'if those which have acquired a kind of Reverence by Prescription are attended with no ill Consequence, it must be a Weakness to apprehend any from others of a modern Date ...'. A number of windows dating from both before and after the Reformation were listed, representations of the Crucifixion frequently appearing among them. As the authors themselves were clearly aware, their defence of legitimate imagery contains distinct echoes, in sound no less than sense, of the trial of William Laud: 'it is remarkable that our Modern Reformers and the
precedent for the installation of modern religious glass. Although the case did arouse much public interest, a great offensive such as that launched by Prynne against Archbishop Laud was inconceivable in the mid eighteenth century. It was both far too late to make an example of St Margaret's and pointless to raise the spectre of 'superstitious images' without pursuing it to some logical conclusion.

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Yet another interesting aspect of this publication is the inclusion of a precise chronology of ecclesiastical architecture, with reference to the use of painted glass, from the temples of the ancient world right up to the eighteenth-century Church. Indeed, this pamphlet has been described as 'one of the pioneer works of the Gothic Revival' which preceded the specialist studies of Essex and Carter. Particularly far-sighted is the discussion of the Reformation and its implications for English art. The authors also made use of what was then a virtually unknown source on seventeenth-century iconoclasm, namely, the journal of the Cambridgeshire Visitation made in 1643 and undoubtedly written by William Dowsing. By this date, seventeenth-century religious fanaticism and the accompanying wave of iconoclasm was generally regarded as a discreditable passage of English history. However, the records of Dowsing's exploits (often highly exaggerated) were soon to be absorbed into the growing concern for the nation's medieval architectural heritage; by the mid nineteenth century, Dowsing's journals were to constitute crucial works of ecclesiological reference.

The authors of *The Ornaments of Churches* had another self-confessed purpose; one which looked forward rather than back, towards a future in which the 'elegant arts' would once more be put to religious use.

I mean the Hope of their one day appearing with all their lustre in an Island, whose Heroes, Philosophers, and Poets, have done Honour to Humanity, whilst her Painters and Sculptors have scarce ever attained to mediocrity.
patron of the native arts, prefigures the impassioned campaign of James Barry who was to argue that the establishment of a British school of history painting could only be achieved with the concerted help of both Church and State. For a variety of reasons, therefore, The Ornaments of Churches should be regarded as a seminal art-historical document of the eighteenth century.

The case against St Margaret's was abandoned, but the cause for the ornamentation of churches was by no means won. A decade later it was taken up by British artists and assimilated into their struggle to achieve recognition and status for religious history painting. In 1773, James Barry was one of a group of leading Academicians, including Reynolds and West, who proposed to decorate the interior of St Paul's Cathedral with a series of religious paintings. George III had given his full approval of the scheme and the Dean and Chapter of St Paul's had also assented. Bishop Terrick of London along with the Archbishop of Canterbury and others strenuously opposed the idea, fearing, they said, the imputation of the introduction of popery. George III, tacitly bound as head of the Church of England, had no option under these circumstances but to withdraw his support. A compromise plan was therefore broached to supply paintings for two over-door compartments. West and Reynolds were to paint respectively, scenes of 'Moses receiving the Tables of the Law' and 'The Nativity': this plan also was rejected. It seems significant that at least four members of the original group of Royal Academicians involved in this frustrated attempt at church decoration were at some point in their career to provide designs for contemporary glass-painters.

Although it was undoubtedly a major set-back, the failure of the St Paul's scheme by no means indicated a uniform antipathy amongst the upper echelons of the Anglican clergy to church decoration. In 1746, William Price had executed a window of 'The Resurrection' for the episcopal chapel of Bishop Benson of Gloucester, who also expended large
sums of money on the refurbishment of his cathedral.\textsuperscript{107} In 1744, John Rowell had supplied an 'Agony in the Garden' For Hartlebury Castle, the Palace of Bishop Maddox of Worcester: it is clear from the remains of armorial glass in the tracery lights of the chapel that this window once formed part of a more extensive scheme of painted glass decoration.\textsuperscript{108} By the 1760s, large-scale restoration programmes in the Cathedrals of Norwich, Exeter and Ely were underway; the specific allocation of funds included the provision of new and costly figural painted windows which were to attract widespread public admiration. The same trend was fast establishing itself in parish churches and chapels all over the country. Meanwhile, the widespread neglect of medieval stained glass continued. Windows which had been permitted to fall into disrepair at the Reformation were prey to theft and further damage and there was little sign as yet of the vociferous preservationist lobby which was to condemn the depredations of ancient glass. If we consider the long legacy of the Reformation and Civil War in terms of a lingering communal fear of popery and communal memory of conflict, destruction and retribution - then it is perhaps easier to understand this willingness to neglect, remove or destroy genuine medieval glass, whilst being at the same time eager to acquire modern specimens of the art. The last Jacobite rising against the Hanoverian dynasty in 1745 may not have had much hope of success, but it was undoubtedly sufficient to fan the dying embers of a Popish threat to Protestant freedom in England. Old ideas, especially if they are ill-understood, die hard. Elegant, modern painted windows, with the sanction of lords in their manors, bishops in their palaces and dons in their colleges, were clearly permissible. Ancient stained glass, still bearing the evidence of iconoclastic fury in maimed and decapitated figures and ravaged inscriptions, was a different matter.

Not everyone, it should be stressed, was enthusiastic about the revived taste for modern glass-painting. Vicesimus Knox expressed a
strong personal antipathy to all specimens of the art, which he found merely gaudy and meretricious. 'Glaring colours, rendered still more glaring by transparency', he wrote drily, 'seem to have constituted in the idea of those who lived a century or two ago, the perfection of beauty.'\(^{109}\) Knox's aesthetic aversion was not unmixed with a certain Protestant suspicion: he was probably voicing the unease of a great many people when he condemned the increasing trend towards admiration of gloomy medieval church interiors.

A religious dimness may, perhaps, be deemed necessary for the bigoted inhabitants of the convent and the cloyster, whose minds, it is to be feared, are often as dark as their habitations; but light is cheerful and cheerfulness is the disposition of innocence.\(^{110}\)

Well into the nineteenth century, long after the balance of public opinion towards church decoration had been swung by the growing Ecclesiological movement, the emotional undercurrents of the Reformation were still very much alive. The zealous Victorian revival of neo-medieval style glass-painting soon generated its own paranoia - manifested in sporadic hostility towards those religious images with particularly strong Catholic connotations. At Oxford where the expansion of the Tractarian movement was causing considerable consternation and upheaval, the Vestry of the University Church of St Mary the Virgin made an attempt in 1847 to prevent the installation of a stained glass memorial designed by A.W.N. Pugin - an ardent and proselytizing Roman Catholic. The window was said to display 'an angel offering homage, or adoration to the Mary-idol', (it is in fact a harmless representation of 'The Annunciation' appearing beneath scenes from the life of St Thomas), and it was felt that the tendency of such windows was to withdraw the mind from the Creator to the creature, and the Vestry were unanimous in considering that the attempt on the part of the Committee (embracing the Vicar, the principal of Brasenose, and the Master of
the University) to set up the window, was an endeavour to Romanise the church without their knowledge or consent.111

Although the glass was eventually installed in St Mary's, the Oxford Protestant Magazine seized this opportunity to point out that such 'window erections' were 'one of the devices resorted to by the Tractarians, for embodying and representing the refined coarseness of sensual religionism'.112 Much later in the century, despite the general popularity of the medium, such extreme Protestant attitudes to visual imagery were still in evidence and the question of a religious iconography appropriate to modern windows was continuing to provoke debate. Even Charles Winston, the most well-informed of all Victorian writers on the art of glass-painting, felt it necessary to introduce a strong note of caution when he broached this critical subject.

The Romish veneration for relics gives to the instruments of the Crucifixion ... an importance which Protestants do not commonly allow them and therefore we should not affect it by giving them a prominent place in our designs.113

Representations of God the Father, The Trinity and the Holy Ghost, Winston advised, were also 'much better avoided' and whilst there could be no resistance in the present age to the portrayal of real saints - 'those persons distinguished in church history' - apocryphal saints and their fabulous legends were definitely forbidden.

Against the representation of unscriptural subjects there is in Protestant minds a general and well-founded objection. And here an imitation of some of the older glass-paintings may lead into mischievous error ... To adopt these subjects is to give sanction and currency to fiction: they should therefore be rigidly excluded, and cannot be justified by the authority of ancient examples.114
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8. *Ibid.*, pp.4-5. Brighton suggests that two heraldic panels of glass dated 1613 & 1624 in York Minster could possibly by by Dinnickhoff: if so, the latter would be his last recorded work.


10. The complex methods of producing red pot-metal glass in particular were the subject of much late 17th-century and early 18th-century experimentation and theorising; *Ibid.,* 'The History of Copper Ruby Glass', *JBSMG-P*, 13 no.1 (1960), pp.357-363.


20. The brothers arrived in England in the early 1620s. Bernard's first recorded commission was the provision or repair of painted glass for Old St Paul's Cathedral in c.1621. Abraham, the younger brother, is thought to have stayed here after having obtained British citizenship, until his death. Archer, p.27. See also T.G. Jackson, *Wadham College, Oxford*, Oxford 1893, pp.163-8; C. Woodforde, *The Stained Glass of New College, Oxford*, Oxford 1951, pp.13-14.


23. Whinney & Millar, p.78.

24. Croft-Murray, 1, p.204.


26. The design is also sometimes attributed to the Flemish Mannerist, Lambert Lombard. The chapel was glazed under the Mastership of John Cosin; only the e. window and a small number of fragments survive today but there may once have been a more extensive programme of 17th-century stained glass.


32. Ibid., pp.184-5.


34. All the 17th-century glass was preserved and transferred to the new church of St Leonard's (c.1736-40). J. Nightingale, London and Middlesex, 4 vols, London 1810-16, 3, pp.180-2.

35. Bishop Hall of Norwich removed the heads of bishops in his chapel windows in an attempt to preserve the glass; Works, P. Hall ed., 12 vols, Oxford 1637-9, 1, pp.liv-1v.

36. The tradition was related by William Cole in the 18th century; R. Willis & J. Clarke, The Architectural History of the University of Cambridge, 3 vols, Cambridge 1886, 1, p.510.

37. H. Wayment, The Stained Glass of the Church of St Mary, Fairford, Gloucester, London 1864, pp.7-10. Peter Heylyn used the preservation of this glass specifically to prove Queen Elizabeth's tolerance of sacred imagery; Cyprianus Anglicanus ..., London 1671, p.14.

38. The poem, dated c.1630, is generally attributed to Richard Corbet, Bishop of Norwich, who was later accused of being a member of the 'Arminian' faction; Phillips, p.180 n.68.


42. Part of the glass in the w. window of Peterborough Cathedral, for instance, was said to have remained intact because it was too high for the 'Reforming Rabble' to reach. S. Gunton, History of the Church of Peterborough, S. Patrick ed., London 1686, supplement p.337.

43. It was in fact published by Royalists in Oxford. Varley, pp.8-11.

44. Querela, (1685 edn) p.70.


46. The quotations concerning stained glass are from Canterburies Doome, pp.59-93.

47. Ibid., pp.59-60. The Raising of Lazarus and 'The Fall of Manna' were alleged to have come from Imagines Vitae, Passiones et Mortis D.N. Jesu Christi, printed by Boetius a Bolswirt in 1623. The illuminations in this volume were also adduced as proof of Laud's involvement in the production of English Bibles with 'popish' illustrations. G.D.S. Henderson, 'Bible Illustration in

48. Laud traditionally spent the summer at his palace at Tothillfields; the chapel here was restored from 1631-42. The 'new chapel' at Westminster was on Broadway; it was built in c.1631 and Laud was said to have contributed £1,000 to its foundation, in addition to some 'most curious glass'. J. Timbs, The Curiosities of London, London 1868, pp.156-7.

49. Ed. Henry Wharton; it was said to have been written whilst Laud was imprisoned. The extracts in reply to Pryne's accusations are from pp.311-35.


52. J.D. Le Couteur, Ancient Glass in Winchester, Winchester 1920, pp.17-18.


54. Whinney & Millar, p.299.


59. The glass was in the eastern windows of the Choir aisles; H.Q. Smith, The Stained Glass of Bristol Cathedral, Bristol 1963, pp.21-4. Cobb, p.48, pls.60-2, implies the 2 windows were in this position only from c.1860 onwards. A tradition, still current in the 18th century, stated they were the gift of Nell Gwynne.

60. Gunton, p.99, refers to windows in the 'New Building' (i.e. Retro-Choir) of Peterborough Cathedral 'lately beautified with painted glass' featuring mainly 'pictures of Saints, largely expressed'. Gunton died in 1676 and this could be an amendment to his text by Dean Patrick who edited the work before its publication.

61. See, for instance, the wall-painting executed in All Souls Chapel, Oxford; K. Downes, 'Fuller's "Last Judgement"', Burl., 102 (Oct.1960), pp.451-2; another wall-painting of the same subject was executed around the same time for Magdalen College Chapel, Oxford.

62. For Gyles' career, see Brighton, pp.79-236.

63. There were at this time less than half a dozen glass-painters in London, 'but not Worke enough to Imploy one if he did nothing else ...'. *Ibid*, p.660, letter of 1683 to Gyles from Francis Place. A glass-painter named Shute had come to Yorkshire from London some time before 1674, but he emigrated to Holland. *Ibid*, p.100.

65. *Ibid.* pp.167-172. Anticipating later Georgian practice, the stone tracery of the e. window was adapted to fit the new glass. (This had been done even earlier for the Van Linge glass in Christ Church Cathedral). Gyles' window is now lost although a small fragment has recently been rediscovered. The College owns a series of 8 rough drawings of the Van Linge windows in the chapel, once belonging to Ralph Thoresby, generally assumed to have been sent from Oxford to Gyles to help him with designing the e. window.


67. C. Winston, *An Inquiry into the Difference of Style Observable in Ancient Glass-Paintings with Hints on Glass-Painting*, 2nd ed., London 1867, p.236. Winston overlooked both the Wells and the Bristol Cathedral glass. Brighton, p.136, similarly overlooks Greenbury's 'Last Judgement' in Magdalen when he states that Gyles' window was 'perhaps the first (picture window) by an Englishman since the Reformation'.

68. For the careers of the Price family, see M. Archer, 'Stained Glass at Erddig and the work of William Price', *Apollo*, (Oct. 1985), pp.252-63; Archer has exploded the long-established myth that the 2 elder members of the Price family were brothers; they were in fact father and son.


70. B. Allen, 'Thorhill at Wimpole', *Apollo*, (Sep. 1985), pp.204-5.

71. See for instance Thorhill's designs for 2 windows in Bateman House, Soho Square 'to be painted by Mr Price' on glass in 'copper colours'. These designs, dated 1719, show 6 scenes of classical mythology. J. Harris, *A Catalogue of British Drawings for Architecture, Decoration, Sculpture & Landscape Gardening 1550-1900 in American Collections*, New Jersey, 1971, pl.190 and p. 245.

72. For the re-use of Thorhill's cartoons see below Chap. 2, p.91. His designs remained popular with glass-painters long after his death; eg. the altar window of Bayswater Chapel (completed 1818) - a large head of Christ administering the Sacrament 'after Thornhill'. T. Faulkner, *History and Antiquities of Kensington*, London 1820, p.586.


74. At the e. end - 'The Resurrection'; s. side - 'Peter Walking on the Water', 'The Adoration of the Shepherds', 'The Annunciation'; n. side, 'The Salutation', 'The Adoration of the Magi', 'The Baptism', 'Peter and John at the Beautiful Gate'; w. end - 'The Supper at Emmaus', 'The Israelites Worshipping the Golden Calf'.

75. Archer, 'Erddig', p.262.

76. These 2 windows, probably sold privately, may have come from the antechapel of Canons; J. Harris, 'Bulstrode', *Architectural Review*, 124 (1958), pp.319-20.
77. Somewhat surprisingly, neither appears to have been involved in the massive rearrangement of ancient glass in Westminster Abbey. This skilful work has been attributed to a glazier named Edward Drew. W.R. Lethaby, Westminster Abbey Re-Examined, London 1925, pp.247-8.

78. J.R. Magrath, The Queen’s College, 2 vols, Oxford 1921, 2, pp.245-52. Joshua Price also restored the early 16th-century glass in this chapel and repaired the Van Linge glass in Christ Church Cathedral, Woodforde, New College, p.19.


80. S.M. Gold, John Rowell, Ranelagh Press, 1965. Much less is known of other glass-painters of the period, eg. John Langton of Stamford (1671-1724) who executed the e. window of St George’s, Stamford in 1700 and claimed to have revived the art of glass-painting. The Correspondence of Horace Walpole, W.S. Lewis ed., 46 vols, Oxford 1937-83, 1, pp.175-6. James Dutfield, d.1757 at Brentford, ‘was esteemed the greatest Artist in Europe for painting on Glass’, Felix Farley’s Bristol Journal, (23 April 1757).

81. The diaper surround of blue and gold in Rowell’s Adoration in The Yyne was to become a distinctive feature of Price’s decorative work. eg. the windows in Shobdon Church, Herefords. (c.1750-6), see Archer, ‘Erddig’, p.262; or the 2 windows flanking ‘The Resurrection’ in Great Witley.


83. J.F. Malcolm, London Redivivum, 4 vols, London 1805, 2, pp.200-1. The church also contained heraldic glass by the Prices. All the glass was destroyed in the Blitz.


86. Croft-Murray, 1, pp.72-4.

87. Thornhill devoted the last years of his life to painting copies of the Raphael Cartoons in Hampton Court.

88. Samuel Wale and John Gwynne attempted in c.1755 to resurrect the idea of decorating St Paul’s; they published engravings showing the interior ‘agreeably to the INVENTION of St Christopher Wren’ ibid., pl.132.

89. The reredos might include an altar-painting: pictures of saints were acceptable by the end of the 17th century, although Moses and Aaron were undoubtedly safer. Addleshaw & Etchells, p.161. The earliest known appearance of Moses and Aaron was in a gothic altar-piece in Exeter Cathedral dated 1639, Croft-Murray, 1, p.48. Rowell executed an altar-window for Arborfield Church, Berks in 1744, which featured Moses and Aaron supporting the Decalogue.

90. ‘Letter from a parishioner of St Clement Dane’s to ... Lord Bishop of London occasioned by his

91. Magdalen College Archives, MS 735, C. 6. 11. arch., College Orders, April 24 1789. Jervais declined the commission - ultimately awarded to Francis Eginton. Schwarz's design, engraved by Sadeler, was used as an authority for the restoration. Grinling, p.168.

92. Addleshaw & Etchells, p.159 n.1. An exception was to be found in W. Price's e. window for Merton College Chapel (1702) where 'The Crucifixion' appeared as one of a number of scenes in the life of Christ.

93. K. Esaide, 'Changes at St Margaret's, Westminster, 1761', *Church Quarterly Review*, 150 (1950), pp.230-244.

94. See M. Archer, 'Superstitious images'.

95. Another objection centred on 'the devil carrying off the soul of the impenitent thief and the angel performing the same office to that of the penitent one'. Ackermann, London, 3, p.126.


97. Exceptions were the Van Linge e. window in Wadham College Chapel which Price admitted to having repaired in 1742, and the window in question at St Margaret's.

98. (To which is subjoined an Appendix Containing the History of the said Church: an Account of the Altar-piece and Stained Glass Window erected over it; a State of the Prosecution it has occasioned: And other PAPERS), London, 1761. The pamphlet claimed to have been written by the then curate of St Margaret's, Dr Thomas Wilson, but it was later established that large sections were by Dr William Hole, Archdeacon of Barnstaple and Canon of Exeter.


100. Esdaile, p.240.

101. Wilson & Hole, p.36.

102. 'An inquiry into the Real and Imaginary Obstructions to the acquisition of the Arts in England', London 1775. Later works - such as B. R. Haydon's *New Churches Considered with respect to the Opportunities they offer for the Encouragement of Painting* (1818), and W. Carey's *The National Obstacle to the National Public Style Considered* (1825), continued this campaign against church exclusion.

103. The *Works of Thomas Newton*, (Dean of St Paul's), 3 vols, London 1782, 1, pp.105-8. Barry later took credit for the conception of the scheme, but this has also been attributed to both Reynolds and West. For Reynolds's opinions on church decoration see his 'Journey to Flanders and Holland in 1781', The Literary *Works of Sir J. Reynolds*, H.W. Beechey ed., 2 vols, London 1835, 2, pp.189-91.


105. Yet Terrick is said to have contributed to the installation of an altar-painting of 'The Annunciation' by Cipriani in the chapel of Clare, his old college. Newton, 1, p.107.
106. i.e. Reynolds, West, Cipriani, Barry.


111. The Builder, 5 (1847), p.139. The debate as to whether or not the vicar was able to sanction the erection of a stained glass window without his parishioners' consent continued. Eventually the case was referred to the Bishop of the diocese who recommended that the designs for the window be submitted to the parishioners for their approval: Ibid, p.218. The window is at the e. end of the s. aisle, a memorial to Thomas Bartley (d.1843). According to Rodney Hubback, it was probably executed by William Walles.

112. Ibid (1847) p.308. See also Ibid, pp.92-4 for details of the Vestry meeting.


114. Ibid. p.262. As late as 1888, Bodley's reredos in St Paul's representing 'The Crucifixion' caused 'an outburst of Protestant indignation': the work was judged to be an historical representation of Calvary and therefore non-superstitious; The History of St Paul's, W.R. Matthews & W.M. Atkins eds., London 1957, pp.280-1.
Chapter 2

Painted Glass as Public Spectacle

In this reign a new style of staining glass has originated, which is the boast and peculiar invention of our own artists. ... The deviation from the hard outline of the early Florentine or Flemish schools to the correct contour of Michelagnolo, (sic) or the gorgeous colours of Rubens, is not more decidedly marked, than the design and execution of the Van Linges and Prices, and the masterly performances of Jervais.¹

Dallaway's confident encomium on the achievements of modern glass-painters reflects the widespread enthusiasm for this art form which had emerged by the end of the eighteenth century. The reasons for its increasing popularity are not hard to find. Championed by Sir Joshua Reynolds and Benjamin West, the first two Presidents of the Royal Academy, and openly patronised by the King himself, glass-painting had acquired by 1800 a new and privileged artistic status. This was enhanced by the conspicuously close relationship between glass-painting and canvas-painting during the period in question: an association, through the sharing of a common aesthetics and a basic technical correspondence, which was to last well into the next century. Glass-painters also acted as powerful advertising agents for contemporary artists; their works in this medium were instrumental in helping British painters of history to achieve both recognition and status. New painted glass windows had been given a crucial role to play in the extensive and much publicised restorations of Britain's greater churches and cathedrals. Finally, the aesthetics of Georgian glass-painting were peculiarly suited to a society which had at all levels a marked fascination with showmanship, optical illusions and spectacular visual effects.
I. 'Picture Windows'

The high point of Georgian glass-painting is characterised by a group of new windows in ecclesiastical locations, to be found at New College, Oxford, (c.1777–85), Salisbury Cathedral, (c.1781–91), Lichfield Cathedral (c.1795), and St George’s Chapel, Windsor (c.1786–89). These quintessential ‘picture windows’ represented the painted glass medium at its most fashionable, sophisticated and influential. They depicted religious subject matter supplied by, or copied from, the work of established artists; in these windows, the techniques of modern enamel glass-painting so admired by James Dallaway were displayed to the full. Due in part to their location in buildings of great national and historical importance, these schemes excited more public attention and admiration than any others of the period; they were not only responsible for shaping contemporary awareness of the art form, but they have been regarded ever since as landmarks in its historical development. By examining these commissions as a group it is possible to define a community of aesthetic ideals and conditions which shed light on some of the wider issues governing the production of painted glass during this period.

Dallaway was expressing the views of the majority when he described the west window of New College antechapel as the first specimen of modern glass-painting ‘in priority of excellence, if not of time’. The extraordinary and enduring popularity of this window can be largely attributed to the celebrity of its designer, Sir Joshua Reynolds: although this was not at the time an unusual way of perceiving painted windows, no other example has remained so firmly identified with the name of its designer rather than with that of glass-painter – in this case the Dublin-born Thomas Jervas (d.1799). The new west window was but one phase of an exceptionally active and somewhat complex glazing programme in the chapel undertaken by the Warden and Fellows of New College in response to a number of generous bequests. Other aspects of
this scheme will be dealt with elsewhere, but for our purposes, it is significant that the completion of the west window appears to have largely eclipsed the effort expended on the earlier glazing work in the chapel.4

In 1777, Thomas Jervais was called in to complete the series of patriarchs and prophets in the north windows of the choir, which had been inaugurated in 1772 by the York glass-painter, William Peckitt, to the designs of Biagio Rebecca: the two easternmost windows of this scheme had remained empty, for the Fellows had become increasingly dissatisfied with the quality of Peckitt's work.5 Although Jervais had personally recommended the services of Benjamin West for his 'excellence in this Stile of design', Sir Joshua Reynolds was ultimately prevailed upon to prepare cartoons for these two windows. Four years after the abortive scheme to decorate St Paul's Cathedral with religious paintings, Reynolds was thus presented with an ideal opportunity to put into practice his personal belief that the House of God could justifiably appear 'as well-ornamented and as costly as any private house for man ...'.6

 Correspondence relating to this commission reveals the individual authority and influence exerted by Reynolds, as designer, over the progress of the whole venture. He was planning to visit the chapel in July 1777 and appears to have started work on the cartoons soon after that date. He does not appear, however, to have consulted either the glass-painter or the college authorities before beginning his designs. The finished cartoons were therefore highly autonomous, making little attempt to harmonise with, let alone to imitate, William Peckitt's rather stolid niced and canopied figures. Reynolds' first design - a figure of 'Religion' - was set against a background of open sky; only after Jervais had tactfully pointed out that 'the want of uniformity might be an Objection' did Reynolds seem to give the question of homogeneity due consideration.7 With some relief, perhaps, the Warden and Fellows saw here a tactical opportunity to remove
Peckitt's feeble west window to a less conspicuous position in the choir and allocate this large space to Reynolds. The pictorial possibilities of the new medium for the latter were thus considerably expanded and he decided to produce an historical painting in his 'grand manner'.

My idea is to paint in the great space in the centre Christ in the Manger, on the Principle that Corregio (sic) has done it in the famous Picture called the Notte, making all the light proceed from Christ, these tricks of the art ... seem to be more properly adapted to glass painting than any other kind. This middle space will be filled with the Virgin, Christ, Joseph, and Angels, the two smaller spaces on each side I shall fill with the shepherds coming to worship and the seven divisions below fill'd with the figures of Faith Hope and Charity and the four Cardinal Virtues, which will make a proper Rustic Base or foundation for the support of the Christian Religion.

The finished window demonstrates perfectly the aesthetics of Georgian 'picture window' glass-painting - those 'fallacious principles' of manufacture which were so denigrated by the Victorians. The techniques are quite distinct from those used in making medieval stained glass; here enamel paints simulate on large regular-sized panes of glass the pictorial and illusionistic effects of a canvas-painting; no lead is allowed to intrude into the design: in the fullest sense, this is a painting on glass. Despite its prominent position in this medieval building, Reynolds' window makes little or no attempt to harmonise stylistically with either its architectural setting or the considerable remains of original late fourteenth-century glass in the antechapel. His Virtues are made to stand on architectural bases of a gothic character with flimsy canopies strung over their heads in the fashion of a paper-chain; but the background, a stormy and crepuscular sky, makes nonsense of these medievalising gestures. No objections were raised when, at the wishes of the two men, and with the approval of Sir William Chambers, portions of the central stonework of the window were removed 'so as to make a principal predominant space in the Centre' - a practice frequently employed at this
time to accommodate the designs of new painted glass. For the central scene of 'The Nativity', Reynolds seems to have drawn largely, as planned, on the work of Antonio Correggio (c.1489-1534). Although no genuine paintings by this artist had yet been seen in England, Correggio was, in the second half of the eighteenth century, among the most highly revered of Italian Renaissance artists and works attributed to him could command exceptionally high prices. Reynolds' personal admiration for this artist was well known; he continued throughout his career to make frequent allusions to Correggio through visual borrowings and through explicit praise in his critical writings.

His style is founded upon modern grace and elegance, to which is superadded something of the simplicity of the grand style. breadth of light and colour, the general ideas of the drapery, an uninterrupted flow of outline, all conspire to this effect.

It was precisely these qualities, as manifested in Correggio's celebrated painting of 'La Notte' (c.1530), which Reynolds sought to infuse into the New College design. The unusual treatment of the light in Correggio's picture relates to an apocryphal gospel which told of a divine radiance emanating from the newly born Christ-child and illuminating the face of his mother. Reynolds produced a dramatic and yet distinctly contemporary distillation of Correggio's painting; creating in the very act of allusion, a certain, self-conscious, distance. The place of the Virgin Mary, who in the original version is bent over her child, is taken by a group of cherubic children merely masquerading as angels. The Virgin herself wears the type of generalised 'classical' gowns which Reynolds thought appropriate for his portraits of modern society women.

Underneath 'The Nativity' stand the four Cardinal Virtues and three Christian Graces in overtly classicising poses, each in an attitude which perfectly expresses her moral nature. The muscled, resolute figure of 'Fortitude', with her stern expression and Amazonian physique, is a tour de
force anticipating in mood Reynolds's monumental portrait of 'Mrs Siddons as the Tragic Muse' (c.1784). To give stature and presence to his figures the artist drew on some of the most admired specimens of antique sculpture; combining these references to celebrated immortal beauty with contemporary portraiture. Thus, the figure of 'Fortitude' (a portrait of Reynolds' own niece), is modelled conspicuously on the 'Cesi Juno', a Roman copy of an Hellenistic statue then in the Capitoline Museum and, according to Michelangelo, 'the most beautiful thing there is in all of Rome'.

The sculpted drapery folds of the Juno, which Reynolds reproduced fairly closely, were much admired; the arms of the statue, restored since the Renaissance, were less highly thought of and these the artist felt free to adapt. 'Charity' has also been traced to another well-known and much copied antique source - the 'Niobe' in the Uffizi Gallery. The emotional tension has been subtly transmuted and softened in the painted glass version from terror into maternal tenderness: no anguish is to be seen in the mild features of 'Charity', modelled, like the face of the Virgin Mary, from Elizabeth Linley who was an obliging sitter for Reynolds. The 'Charity' group might also be seen as a full-length adaptation of a subject treated earlier by the artist in his portrait of Lady Cockburn and her children; this was subsequently known as 'Cornelia', (the Roman mother of the Republican period who boasted that her children were her only jewels), and had been exhibited at the R.A. in 1774. As Edgar Wind has demonstrated, the Lady Cockburn portrait, part of a long representational tradition, was itself derived from a Van Dyckian transformation of a Michelangelo group on the Sistine Chapel ceiling. On the left of the New College window, Reynolds has included a self-portrait; both he and the glass-painter, Jervas, are cast in the modest roles of attendant shepherds conveying their sense of wonder at the Holy Birth; a judicious inclusion which must have contributed greatly to the popular attraction of the window. The artistic resonances of this glass-painting are thus
extraordinarily diverse: Reynolds missed no opportunity to bring to these designs, through the use of 'borrowed attitudes', the same sophisticated appeal of his own canvas paintings.

It was usual at this time for a designer to supply cartoons to the glass-painter in the form of large-scale drawings, but Reynolds—maintaining a somewhat uncompromisingly business-like attitude to the whole commission—chose instead to produce full-sized oil canvases, claiming 'he had been so long in the use of the pallet and brushes, that he found it easier to him to paint them, to drawing'. He was, nevertheless, well aware of the commercial possibilities of producing finished oil-paintings which could be, and indeed were, exhibited and sold as works of art in their own right. The cartoon of 'The Nativity', for instance, was shown at the R.A. exhibition of 1779, some four years before the painted glass window, for which it had acted as a powerful advertisement, was finally installed. The publicity given in this way to the art of contemporary glass-painting was invaluable and undoubtedly helped to broaden the potential for future patronage.

Shortly after completion of the west window, the architect James Wyatt began work in New College Chapel: between 1788 and 1794, a new vault was erected, the choir stalls were refurbished, and a new reredos and organ case were provided. A pierced central arch in the latter permitted a long visual perspective down the length of the chapel, opening up the interior space and displaying the painted glass to full advantage, without the effects of foreshortening experienced in the antechapel. The creation of such an internal vista was an important, if controversial, aesthetic principle underlying the restoration and re-ordering of ecclesiastical buildings during this period: it was, moreover, a process in which painted glass was to play a role of some significance. The original impact of the west window on its numerous admirers is now left largely to the imagination, for, since G.G. Scott's mid nineteenth-century
replacement of Wyatt's fittings, it has not been possible to view the window as a coherent whole and to appreciate from a due distance its dramatic painterly effects. It seems that by the early nineteenth century Thomas Jervais' enamel paints had already begun to decay and fade: the window's current, rather monotone appearance and 'washed' colouring is probably much as it already was by the 1820s. If we are to believe contemporary eulogiums, however, when newly installed, the painted window was a mass of radiant colour:

> Those tints that steal no glories from the day, Nor ask the sun to lend his streaming ray;²⁶

The New College window brought a distinct aura of glamour and sophistication to the art of glass-painting as a whole. It also ensured that new picture windows such as this would become a statutory component of fashionable sight-seeing tours of England, appealing to those with any interest in the fine arts and finding a permanent place in the guide-books of the day. Yet, for all its popularity, the painted window attracted from the beginning a certain amount of criticism for its failure to achieve adequately transparent effects. Reynolds himself is reported to have been deeply disappointed with the result of his experiment.²⁷ It is in many ways, something of a paradox: an unresolved attempt to exploit the luminous potential of a glass surface and diffused light whilst sacrificing none of the artifice or ingenuity of canvas-painting. The result is a curious mixture of transparent effects and three-dimensional solidity; of airy, wind-blown, nebulous forms, and solemn depths of chiaroscuro. Reynolds, like his Renaissance forbears, saw no conflict in the juxtaposition of Christian subject matter with personified Virtues, whose borrowed attitudes point explicitly to pagan sources; a combination which a later age was to find indefensible.²⁸

Reynolds' personal dissatisfaction with the transposition of his
designs to painted glass in no way affected the overall popularity of the medium. The plan to fill the east window of St George's Chapel in Windsor Castle was inaugurated by King George III himself as early as 1782, when, with the help of the Dean, he established a subscription fund. Contributions were invited from the Knights of the Garter and other members of the Royal family. Benjamin West, the King's historical painter, who had enjoyed the monopoly of royal patronage in England since 1768, was asked to furnish the designs whilst Thomas Jervais, then still engaged on the finishing touches to the New College window, was employed to execute the glass. This was an extremely important move in terms of the future of religious art in England and one which rapidly earnt the King the reputation of possessing a 'piety, taste and liberality of sentiment, beyond the narrow fanatical limits of preceding ages'. In financial terms, it was a far bigger venture than the New College scheme, the subscription fund amounting in total to £4,042.

The subject selected was the Resurrection of Christ. Once more, to facilitate the pictorial effects of the design, the medieval window tracery was removed, leaving only the barest skeleton of its original form and a new altarpiece by Henry Emlyn, an architect-craftsman of some proficiency in the gothic style, was installed underneath. The central feature of his altar-piece was a large oil-painting, also by West, of 'The Last Supper'. Together, the east window and the canvas-painting created a dramatic pictorial backdrop to the restored choir. Whereas the New College window could only be viewed from the east end looking back, the window in St George's Chapel, which was in situ by 1787, dominated the whole interior of the choir. Emlyn was also said to have been responsible for the destruction of a medieval rood screen in an attempt to secure an uninterrupted view of the new window. Some visitors found the vivid painted glass far too overpowering: John Carter, that arch-critic of modern 'improvements' in medieval buildings, drily inquired whether it had
been intended that the new window should be seen as the 'first and most glorious appendage in the resplendent mound'.

The vast, denuded east window presented ample scope for a pictorial glass-painting. West divided the space into three sections on the principle of an altar triptych: the central scene depicted Christ emerging from the sepulchre, preceded by the angel of the Lord and ascending towards a waiting crowd of cherubim and seraphim. One of the angelic crowd in the finished window was in fact a portrait of the young Prince Octavius who had died in 1783. In the right-hand scene appeared 'The Three Marys approaching the Sepulchre of Christ' and in the left-hand compartment, 'The Disciples Peter and John Running towards the Sepulchre'. West produced in connection with his designs both full-sized cartoons squared up for transfer by the glass-painter and large oil-paintings: the latter were exhibited at the R.A. in 1783 and the two outer scenes were reproduced in mezzotint by Valentine Green in 1784, before the window - completed some three years later - was installed in the chapel. All the cartoons for the east window have since disappeared, but the oil designs for 'The Resurrection' and 'The Three Marys' fortunately survive.

The east window was but one element of a much larger programme of painted glass planned for St George's Chapel. 'The Resurrection' was to be balanced in the west window by a scene of 'The Crucifixion', also after a design by Benjamin West, for which the tracery had been removed in anticipation: this picture window would have replaced an arrangement of late medieval glass only recently installed here by Dean Lockman.

Jervais, who retired in 1788 due to poor health, was succeeded by his former pupil, Charles Forrest, who had probably assisted in the latter stages of the New College window. However, 'The Crucifixion' remained unfinished at Forrest's death in c.1806, hastened, it was said, by the task on which he had been engaged for over ten years. After his death, the glass-painter's widow vainly attempted to finish the window herself.
However, the tide of opinion was shortly to turn against the productions of Jervais and his contemporaries. Both the aesthetic and the practical disadvantages of the opaque enamel-painted glass already in the chapel were rapidly becoming apparent. Meanwhile, the medieval stained glass displayed in the west window, despite 'not having the claim to admiration that a regular and perfect composition would have', was beginning to be rather more generally admired.\(^{40}\) Benjamin West's artistic reputation had already begun to plummet and by 1801 he had lost the vital support of royal patronage. Richard Westall, a fellow Royal Academician, who saw West's design for 'The Crucifixion' in 1796, confided to Joseph Farington that he thought it 'the stangest thing he ever saw ... altogether a most absurd jumble'.\(^{41}\) In 1846, the unfinished glass-painting was taken out of store and presented, with lordly generosity, to the newly built Cathedral of St Peter's in Calcutta, where it was altered to fit its new situation and where, less than twenty years later, this ill-fated picture window was destroyed by a cyclone.\(^{42}\)

Before his death, however, Forrest had completed three other windows in St George's Chapel to West's designs. The east window of the south aisle, according to a contemporary guide, featured 'The Angel appearing to the Shepherds' (1792) - a moon-light scene which was said to have been painted in 'half tints'. The principal angel was depicted 'looking directly down the aisle of the church, and in the act of calling to the spectators ... '. A second group of angels holding scrolls with biblical texts was said to have been executed 'in a soft tone of colour which never appeared before on painted glass'.\(^{43}\) The west window of the same aisle, a scene of 'The Nativity' (1794), again made dramatic use of a night-time setting: Joseph, 'with the most devoted attention' was shown holding a lamp over his wife and child, whilst the Angel of the Lord, accompanied by a group of cherubs, appeared bearing an olive-branch.\(^{44}\) The west window in the north aisle portrayed 'The Adoration of the Magi' (1796) and was particularly
commended for not being 'crowded with a vast variety of figures, as we sometimes see in pictures on this subject'.

At Salisbury, two glass-paintings were installed on separate occasions during a general restoration of the Cathedral interior. The last phase of the work (1789–91), under the supervision of James Wyatt, entailed throwing the Lady Chapel into the chancel and, by the removal of the medieval altar screen and the redeployment of monuments between the nave pillars, creating the impression of a long, open room. The same effect had been achieved at Lichfield - Wyatt's first cathedral restoration (1788–95) - with the additional filling in of the arches in the choir aisles: the elegant neatness of this arrangement caused the Cathedral to be dubbed sarcastically, 'the finest drawing-room in Europe'. The 1790s mark a high watermark in contemporary attitudes towards the restoration of medieval buildings; a new stylistic discrimination and sensitivity was evident in the widespread attacks on modern architects for their drastic 'improvements'. Critics of the new taste included notable figures such as the architect John Carter, and Richard Gough, President of the London Society of Antiquaries: a long drawn-out and bitter dispute developed between the pages of the Gentleman's Magazine, the literary focus of the developing art of architectural criticism. It was felt that the essential characteristics of medieval architecture, involving discrete compartmentalised elements, had been wholly sacrificed at Salisbury and at Lichfield to the creation of picturesque and elegant interior effects.

In 1781, before Wyatt had begun his work at Salisbury Cathedral, a new painted glass window was installed in the clerestory at the east end of the choir. This was executed by the glass-painter James Pearson (c.1740–c.1838), with the assistance of Richard Askew - better known as an enamellist and painter of miniatures. The design for the window which featured 'Moses and the Elevation of the Brazen Serpent' was provided by John Hamilton Mortimer (1741–79); the glass-painting was the
gift of the second Earl of Radnor who was to take considerable personal interest in the progress of the restorations at Salisbury Cathedral.\textsuperscript{50} James Pearson, then at the height of his long professional career, was renowned for his skilful technical manipulation of the painted glass medium; the Salisbury window was much praised by his contemporaries for the ingenuity of its pictorial effects.

The divisions of the glass are concealed by being in the dark shades of the draperies and figures, and a frame or iron, to which it is fastened by bandages of lead, is so constructed as to be hid from the view by corresponding to the different shapes.\textsuperscript{51} All the artifice of the glass-painter was thus disguised; his design which ignored the stone divisions of the window was intended to simulate the appearance and effects of an oil-painting.

Ten years later, the view inside the choir at Salisbury was further enhanced by the installation of painted glass into the three central lancet windows at the east end of the Lady Chapel; this was executed by Francis Eginton of Birmingham, who in the 1790s was beginning to assume his position as the leading glass-painter in the country.\textsuperscript{52} The window featured 'The Resurrection' from a design ascribed to Sir Joshua Reynolds. The central scene portrayed a full-length figure of Christ having emerged from the tomb 'from which a light or glory proceeds and diffuses itself throughout the whole, dispersing the darkness of the night...': in the left lancet was a distant view of Mount Calvary and the three crosses.\textsuperscript{53} Two painted windows of an opaque quarry design flanked the eastern window. The Resurrection' was situated directly above a new reredos, constructed by Wyatt from a motley assortment of ancient fragments, where it functioned as a kind of immense altar-painting. The grouping of the glass at the east end of the Cathedral was planned to present an iconographically integrated two-tiered pictorial drama, Eginton's window complementing Pearson's 'Brazen Serpent' - the Old Testament type of 'The
Resurrection'. Together the scenes formed a powerful visual focus within the choir, the lower windows theatrically glimpsed through a massive architectural framework.

The screen at the entrance of the choir, the organ loft, the slight elevation of the chancel, the slender yet lofty columns, the mosaic painted windows, the distant prospect of the Saviour in the East window, diffusing light as rising from the tomb, and over it, the Upper Eastern Window, with the enchanting representation of the brazen serpent, all conspire to give grandeur and sublimity.54

However, it was soon found impracticable to use the altar at the far east end; a new one was installed on the site of the medieval high altar, thus leaving the Lady Chapel as a scenic backdrop, a dramatic, but functionless, termination to the choir.

Eginton's 'Resurrection' was installed in Lichfield Cathedral in 1795. Richard Colt Hoare, who saw the newly restored Cathedral in 1801, was but one of many visitors to note a fundamental similarity of design and effect between the new window and that in Salisbury.55 The Lichfield 'Resurrection' is also traditionally ascribed to Reynolds but the question of design authorship (which is far from simple) will be dealt with later in this chapter. Eginton's glass was inserted in the apsidal termination of the Lady Chapel - a half-hexagon in form; 'The Resurrection' filled the central lancet which was flanked by two windows of painted glass of a mosaic pattern. Again it seems that the tracery of the central lancet was removed to facilitate the installation of the new glass. The painted window clearly played a significant role in determining the new visual emphases within this newly ordered choir: the altar, directly under the eastern window, was inconveniently positioned with relation to the congregation whilst the elongation of the choir caused inaudibility and intolerable draughts. Such utilitarian considerations were, however, less important than the fact that the altar did not obstruct the view of the
painted glass windows within Wyatt's new 'Lady Choir'.

Had it been completed, the commission at Ely Cathedral for a new east window (1769), would certainly have constituted a major addition to this seminal group of picture windows. The scheme deserves to be mentioned in this context since the architectural alterations at Ely, of which the new east window formed an important constituent, in some ways prefigured the later restorations of Lichfield and Salisbury Cathedrals. The adaptation of the great eastern window of Ely Cathedral to a display of painted glass presented a considerable obstacle; as Horace Walpole was to discover when called upon by Bishop Mawson of Ely to provide a design, the three lower and five upper Early English lancets were inimical to the requirements of large-scale, pictorial subject matter. The window, he complained, was 'the most untractable of all Saxon uncouthness'. Since nothing practical could be done in this case to alter the window's basic form a compromise had to be found. The final design, which can be reconstructed from the details of the contract made in 1769 between the Bishop of Ely and the glass-painter James Pearson, constitutes the latter's earliest recorded commission. The window was to feature a large scene of 'The Nativity' after Raphael and 'other famous Masters of Painting' in the centre of the lower lights; this was to be surmounted by descending angels. The two outer lights, shortened by the insertion of heraldry at the bottom, were to display figures of the Evangelists on pedestals; the upper lights were to be filled likewise with a combination of standing saints and heraldry. The figure of St Etheldreda, it was stipulated, was to be modelled on an engraving by P.S. Lamborne of a roundel of sixteenth-century glass showing Ely's patron saint dressed as an abbess; this ancient glass had recently been acquired by the Bishop of Ely. An earlier plan for this window, it is interesting to note, had incorporated allegorical figures of 'Faith', 'Hope' and 'Charity' in the three upper lancets. Had this design been carried out, it would have prefigured
the New College combination of Virtues and a scene of 'The Nativity' by some fifteen years.59

The new east window formed an integral part of the most important transformation of Ely Cathedral since the middle ages: the removal of the liturgical choir from under the central Octagon and its relocation at the east end of the presbytery.60 Work had begun in the 1750s under the superintendence of the architect, James Essex (1722-84), and the removal of the choir entailed the destruction of the ancient nave pulpitum. Once the interior space was opened up a comparatively clear view from west to east was obtained. Inevitably, this shift of focal emphasis brought the east window into greater prominence, making it a dominant feature of the removed choir. Plans for the east window, moreover, directly affected the interior arrangement of the new choir and particularly the intended position of the new organ - a matter over which the Chapter were deeply divided. Those who wanted to preserve the long vista from west to east of the Cathedral supported the placing of the organ against the east window: this powerful aesthetic bias had already influenced the decision to remove the choir from the Octagon and to destroy the Norman pulpitum. At the east end, of course, the organ would effectively obscure the lower lights of the window: clearly there would be no point in masking an expensive scheme of glass, even partially, with the organ. Its future was therefore decided only after plans for the new painted glass had been finalised and the contract had been signed. In the event, the glass was never completed: a humble arrangement of piecemeal fragments was installed in c.1791; a poor substitute for the original plan which had been intended to provide a glorious and fitting termination to the new choir at Ely Cathedral transformed by Essex into 'one of the noblest, grandest, and finest things of the sort in England.'61

One other, much neglected, programme of 'painted glass' also deserves to be mentioned here since it incorporated the earliest eighteenth-century
'picture window' in an English Cathedral. In 1767, the Dean and Chapter of Norwich had begun a programme of repair and restoration in the choir; their plans included the provision of new painted glass for the 'middle part of the windows at the east end ... if a sufficient quantity can be had at a reasonable rate.'\(^{62}\) In 1777, figures of the Apostles, Evangelists, Prophets etc., standing over coats of arms, were inserted into the three upper windows at the east end. They were the work of an amateur glass-painter Mary Lloyd (c.1722-1801), wife of the Dean of the Cathedral, Philip Lloyd (an ex-Fellow of New College, Oxford).\(^{63}\) In 1780, it was decided to extend the programme of painted glass to the lower window level - a group of five thirteenth-century lancets: in order to admit 'a painted window of a better design', the three central lancets were replaced by one broad window.\(^{64}\) In the same year Mrs Lloyd provided glass-paintings of the ascending Christ accompanied by the figures of Moses and Elias copied from Raphael's 'Transfiguration'. Her painted glass was, however, unvitrified and therefore had no durability: it was, by all accounts, both qualitatively and technically inferior to the work of her professional contemporaries. Painting on glass in this way was a popular amateur art form, which, since it required no furnace, could be carried out at home: it was, therefore, commonly practised by women.\(^{65}\) Numerous advertisements in local papers offering instruction in the art demonstrate its appeal to a growing leisured class. This was in fact only one of a large variety of related domestic 'crafts' involving the use of a glass surface frequently intended to simulate the effects of stained or painted glass: these included the transfer of prints onto glass, for example, by a simple method which Edward Orme claimed to have invented himself;\(^{66}\) or the 'Indian figures and flowers cut out and oiled to be transparent' which Mrs Delaney admired on the window of her friend's dressing room.\(^{67}\) There were also numerous technical manuals, offering instructions and advice for amateurs and professionals alike.\(^{68}\)
The Norwich Cathedral glass received little attention in the press, although a number of detailed engravings of the east end were executed. The Gentleman's Magazine, made no mention at all of what must have been a dramatic transformation of the choir, but John Britton, writing after Mrs Lloyd's death, did not mince his words: her gift, he declared, 'disfigures, rather than ornaments, its station'. The painted glass in fact deteriorated so rapidly that it had to be repainted in 1818 and in 1826, 'The Transfiguration' was replaced by a window of the same subject executed in fully vitrified colours by a local glass-painter, James Zobel. It was now described as a copy of a painting by Giulio Romano 'in the possession of Mr W. Wilkins'. This window too, was subjected to harsh criticism and all the painted glass was finally removed in the 1840s with the full approval of the Bishop who twenty years earlier had himself encouraged the installation of Zobel's window. Technically, then, the Norwich glass has to be seen in relation to the developing fashion for amateur experimentation with methods of achieving effects similar to authentic painted glass. Yet Mrs Lloyd's 'Transfiguration' also deserves to be classified as a particularly dramatic 'spectacle' window; the Raphaelesque figure of the ascending Christ rising over the eastern arches forming a magnificent termination to the long choir of Norwich Cathedral.

Of all the completed schemes for picture windows comprised in this group, none was to exert quite so much influence as the west window of New College. Its popularity with the public was expressed not simply in vast numbers of visitors to Oxford, but in the proliferation of reproductions of Reynolds' designs, both during his lifetime and after his death in 1792. Engravings of the window were widely available soon after its completion. In 1786, for instance, John Boydell advertised a set of prints engraved by Messrs Fauxius showing six views of 'The Nativity' which, joined together, 'makes one of the most capital ever published'.
Boydell also advertised seven prints of the Virtues and one general view of the whole window engraved by Richard Earlom and accompanied by a description in both English and French. Reynolds’ original oil-painting of ‘The Nativity’, acquired by the Duke of Rutland for the vast sum of £1200, was one of the major losses in the disastrous fire at Belvoir Castle in 1816; fortunately this too had been engraved by Messrs Facius.

To an unprecedented extent, the New College window was itself to become a model for glass-painters; indeed, no modern example was reproduced so frequently throughout the following century. The dissemination of copies extended well overseas; in 1826 the London glass-painter, William Collins executed figures of ‘Faith’, ‘Hope’ and ‘Charity’, after Reynolds, for the church of Sainte Elizabeth in Paris. He was commissioned by the Comte de Chabrol, Prefet de la Seine, who was anxious to revive the art of glass-painting in that city. Two years later Collins included the Christian Virtues in a painted glass window destined for St Peter’s Church, Calcutta whose central scene featured ‘Christ’s Charge to Peter’. In c.1837 King Charles X of France purchased a set of the Virtues made by Messrs Hoadley and Oldfield and which are said to have earned the artists a medal from the French Institute.

Long after eighteenth-century glass in general had fallen into disrepute, Reynolds’ designs were still being employed by those glass-painters who tended towards a more ‘painterly’ personal style. Of all the Virtues, ‘Charity’ appears to have retained its popularity and influence longest, its maternal sentiment endearing it to the sternest of Victorian critics. Moreover, there is ample evidence that Reynolds’ New College designs were freely and inventively adapted by Georgian craftsmen to other media. These examples include at least three surviving Coade stone fonts of late eighteenth-century date whose bases display small sculpted statues of the Virtues. A still more ingenious example of the pervasiveness of Reynolds’ design is a veneered mahogany bureau cabinet,
again of late eighteenth-century date, which incorporates grisaille paintings of the Virtues into its central doors — themselves made to imitate gothick windows. The New College designs were also employed for a variety of illustrational purposes, as, for instance, in Charles Knight’s three-volumed Pictorial Bible (1836-8) whose numerous woodcuts depicted historical events after celebrated paintings. It is clear that one way or another these images had ample opportunity to become firmly embedded in the popular imagination.

Benjamin West’s designs for St George’s Chapel made a less immediate and more restrained visual impact on the public, which perhaps reflects the decline of the artist’s own popularity and favour after c.1800. West did, however, make full use of his own designs for glass-paintings, adapting and repeating them on numerous occasions. His oil-paintings in general were widely employed by glass-painters, and in particular by Thomas Jervais with whom the artist clearly enjoyed a close professional relationship.

In c.1803-4, less than a decade after its insertion, the Eginton glass in Lichfield Cathedral was ignominiously removed to make way for seven windows of early sixteenth-century Continental glass, originating from Herkenrode Abbey in Belgium; these Renaissance specimens represented the very latest trend in the growing appreciation of ancient stained glass. The decision to replace the eastern windows, in which Wyatt was again personally involved, was no doubt made easier by the death in 1805, of Francis Eginton himself. ‘The Resurrection’ was put up for sale; in 1806 a Mr John Anderson of Dublin made an offer of 120 guineas, but the window was eventually sold in 1814 to the parishioners of St Chad’s, in Shrewsbury. Here, its pictorial qualities became increasingly unpopular as years went by: the figure of Christ was said to have ‘a theatrical air ill corresponding with the Divine Person it is meant to represent ...’ In 1842, Eginton’s work was replaced by a new window —
still firmly in the pictorial tradition, but evidently of more acceptable treatment: its subject was 'The Descent from the Cross', a copy of Rubens' altar-painting in Antwerp Cathedral. 'The Resurrection', with sad irony, ended its life as a ruin in the old church of St Chad's to which it was later transferred.\textsuperscript{65}

Eginton's 'Resurrection' at Salisbury Cathedral also came under attack as the years went by: in 1854 it was removed to make way for a Victorian memorial window in the latest neo-medieval style.\textsuperscript{86} There was an unsuccessful attempt to have Pearson's 'Brazen Serpent' window in the choir clerestory removed at the same time. The ultimate fate of the 'Resurrection' window after its removal from the Cathedral is unknown.\textsuperscript{87} Thomas Jervais' 'Resurrection' from St George's Chapel has likewise disappeared without trace; it was removed by G.G. Scott during a restoration of \textasciitilde{1863} and replaced by a memorial window to the Prince Consort.\textsuperscript{68} However, a fragment of painted glass showing cherubs' heads and scrolls has recently been returned to Chapel; it probably originated from the window depicting 'The Annunciation to the Shepherds'.\textsuperscript{89}

The west window of New College has continued to attract a curious mixture of positive and negative criticism; the most serious threat to its future seems to have occurred in the present century when, following the Second War, plans were broached to reinstate the remains of the medieval glass initially removed by William Peckitt. It was only after the intervention of The Royal Commission for the Fine Arts that it was decided the Reynolds glass should stay \textit{in situ}.\textsuperscript{90}

One of the most common criticisms of glass-paintings constructed on the 'picture window' principle, and a factor which undoubtedly contributed to the decline of their popularity as a whole, was rooted in the glass-painter's desire to create a fully three-dimensional and naturalistic image whilst preserving the transparency of the medium. The problem, (as Walpole was among the first to note of the New College glass), was that
ambient light fluctuated widely; the glass-painter’s attempts to fix in
advance, in painterly fashion, where light and shadow should fall in his
design, were thus confounded by the variable conditions of natural daylight
which threw large areas of the glass into obscurity. This difficulty was
not apparent in a darkened exhibition room where the back-lighting could
be adjusted at a suitable angle. Walpole had first seen Jervais’ 'Nativity'
on display in rooms in Pall Mall, and wrote of it in a burst of enthusiasm,

the room being darkened and the sun shining through the
transparencies, realizes the illumination that is supposed to be
diffused from the glory, and has a magic effect.\(^9^1\)

When, a few months later, he saw the glass installed in the antechapel, it
appeared to him just ‘the reverse of the glorious appearance it made in the
dark chamber in Pall Mall’: he claimed to have foreseen all along that
Jervais’ enamels would not be sufficiently transparent to render the
painterly effects of chiaroscuro.\(^9^2\)

Various measures were taken, with differing degrees of success, to
reduce the amount of ambient light and recreate – as far as possible – the
controlled visual conditions of an exhibition room. In St George’s Chapel,
two of the clerestorey windows on each side adjoining the east window
were closed up by the insertion of plates of tin; these were painted with
heraldic insignia intended from the ground to resemble painted glass. It
was also found necessary in to fill the third window on each side with
semi-opaque painted glass so that the transition should not be too glaring.
The latter two windows, ‘of the dingiest tones’, were made to harmonise
with the heraldic tin plates; dating from 1762 this was amongst the
earliest painted glass executed by Francis Eginton.\(^9^3\) If these clumsy
measures did enhance the effect of the east window they undoubtedly
created their own practical problems, darkening the choir so that the altar
and the steps leading up to it were practically invisible.
In Salisbury Cathedral, the enthusiasm for James Pearson's new window was such that under Wyatt's direction the 'curious paintings' on the vaults of the choir and eastern transept, whose antiquity was then a matter of some controversy, were said to have been scraped off. The area was then covered with 'an uniform wash', principally, it was claimed, 'to reflect a shade proper to set off an east window executed by Mr Jarvis (sic.)'. Light falling on 'The Resurrection' was meanwhile reduced by the installation of painted glass of quarry patterns in the north and south windows at the east end of the Lady Chapel; this glass had 'a dull red rose stained in the midst of each quarry and thickly covered with a reddish brown ground'. The result apparently did nothing to enliven the east window itself.

The colouring was weak and its brightest lights dull; the red-brown enamel in the landscape and sky unaided by pot-metal glass, wholly failed of producing that supernatural vivid appearance... intended by Sir Joshua Reynolds.

At Lichfield in much the same fashion the two windows flanking the central 'Resurrection' were filled by Eginton with mosaic glass of a dullish tone. Curtains were hung over the three windows on each side of the Lady Chapel to reduce the glare still further and to 'give a better effect to the beautiful picture'. It seems that curtains were commonly employed for this purpose. The church of St Paul, in Birmingham, still contains Eginton's best known local work, 'The Conversion of St Paul', (c.1791) after a painting by Benjamin West. The Venetian east window functions as an immense triptych altar-painting in the theatrical, baroque style typical of West's artistic output of the 1790s. During a Victorian restoration of the church, the curtains over the side windows were removed and Eginton's glass is now scarcely decipherable under normal lighting conditions. Curtains were commonly introduced even where there was no painted glass, but simply to allow the altar and its ornaments, or the whole east
end, to be better seen. At Winchester Cathedral, where West's celebrated altar-painting of 'The Raising of Lazarus' had been installed, the medieval stained glass in two windows of the choir was sacrificed under a coat of whitewash, in order, it was said, to prevent a glare being cast on the painting. Many people believed the gloom created by heavy painted glass or black-out curtains was essential in helping to create appropriate numinous effects. No poetic description of medieval stained glass was so frequently or so fondly quoted in the eighteenth century as these lines by Milton:

> storied windows richly dight,
> casting a dim religious light

Hereford Cathedral, which had lost most its ancient glass, was seen as sadly deficient in this essential atmospheric ingredient. Its massive Anglo-Norman nave

loses much of its force by an uninterrupted glare of light and the almost total absence of appropriate ornament. These deficiencies prevent that impression on the mind which was excited by the sacred gloom of our ancient ecclesiastical fabrics, and which seems congenial to their nature.

A surfeit of light admitted by the seven large gallery windows in the church of St Andrew, Dublin, was counteracted by oiled silk blinds painted with religious subject matter. Such blinds were not only a cheap alternative to painted glass, but they could be adjusted according to the fluctuation of light in the building. The use of transparent blinds appears to have been a popular Georgian practice; the two masking the windows at the eastern end of St Vedast's Church, London, for instance, displayed 'The Delivery of St Peter' and 'The Transfiguration'. An Irish artist, identified as the portrait-painter John James Russell of Dublin, was paid £17 1s. 3d. in 1814 for 'three transparent paintings in imitation
of stained glass' for Dublin Castle Chapel, where a considerable glazing programme was already underway.\(^\text{103}\) It is likely that these were a temporary measure only, intended to give an idea of the ultimate effect once, or if, painted glass was inserted. Such devices could also be used to fill the gaps whilst a large commission was being completed; thus, at Lichfield Cathedral in 1795 a commentator on the new Eginton window reported that 'the frames covered with paper in the adjacent windows are to be temporary only.'\(^\text{104}\) On the other hand, painted transparent blinds made of stretched cloth or sarsnet had been used as permanent alternatives to glass in sash windows since the late seventeenth century. John Smith, author of *The Art of Painting in Oyl*, described how such 'painted windows' can be made at home; the cloth was first varnished over and left to dry, 'then you may paint over what fancy you please with Oyl Colours, but Landskip is most common and natural ...'.\(^\text{105}\) Thomas Sheraton produced a popular design for window drapery incorporating a roller blind painted to imitate heraldic stained glass surmounted by a gothic pelmet; this ready made 'kit' could be used to mask a Georgian sash-framed classical-style window.\(^\text{106}\)

Another measure to provide an even light source involved the construction of a false-backed window whereby the painted glass surface was parallel to, but not touching, the external window. This helped to diffuse the light and permitted the lead constructional and metal support work to be more effectively hidden. The gap between the two surfaces also allowed the painted glass to be illuminated artificially. This seems to have been the method popularised by James Pearson; his characteristic techniques can still be seen in the three eastern windows in St Botolph's Church, Aldersgate, London, depicting 'The Agony in the Garden' (after Charles Le Brun) flanked by the Apostles Peter and John. The glass dates from 1788 and Pearson was assisted in this commission by the painter Nathaniel Clarkson.\(^\text{107}\) An examination of the back of the windows
demonstrates how every attempt has been made to hide the use of lead and ironwork. These constructional techniques were still being employed later in the Georgian period; a good example is Joseph Backler's east window in St Thomas's Church, Dudley, a copy of Raphael's 'Transfiguration' executed in 1821 under the supervision of Benjamin West. When not artificially illuminated, such windows are almost indecipherable and have a dull, matt appearance which increases their overall resemblance to oil-paintings.

The east windows of St Botolph's, painted in 'Mr Pearson's peculiar manner' have even been likened to a fresco or tinted steel engraving.

Thus, by the end of the eighteenth century, there had fully emerged a visual and aesthetic context for painted glass which encouraged the public to view the art not simply as an adjunct to, but often a substitute for, oil-paintings. Many examples of such windows could be cited, a good number of which survived the nineteenth century only to fall victim to two World Wars. Typical was the former east window of St Bride's Church, Fleet Street - a large painted glass version of Rubens' 'Descent from the Cross'. It was executed in 1824 by Charles Muss, a London enamellist and glass-painter; the window, its lead and iron-work cleverly disguised, was designed to appear like an altar-painting, an illusion enhanced by its setting in an elaborate, carved, classical-style altar-piece masking the whole eastern wall and thus camouflaging the source of light. It was clearly intended to reproduce on glass the total effect, not just the subject matter, of the Antwerp altar-piece; although, as one critic pointed out, the heavy shadows produced 'the sort of effect that Rembrandt would have given to the subject had he treated it, rather than that with which Rubens has invested it'.

The hybrid altar window, part glass and part canvas-painting, by Benjamin West, formerly in St Marylebone Church, was an experimental attempt to simulate the transparent effects of a glass-painting without sacrificing any degree of pictorial artifice. West's design could not
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correctly be described as a painted window and was more usually referred to as 'transparency' or a 'transparent canvas' and it had no need for any constructional metal-work whatsoever. The 'open design' organ at the altar end of the church was constructed so that the centre of the Palladian window, originally intended to contain painted glass, could be seen through its wings. Benjamin West, who had been a member of the parish for many years, was asked in 1815 to furnish a design for the glass: he chose 'The Annunciation to the Shepherds', a subject which he reproduced in a manner loosely reminiscent of his earlier design for St George's Chapel. The pitfalls of glass-painting on this scale were by now fully apparent to West and his decision to provide not a cartoon for a painted window, but a transparent canvas, no doubt sprang from a desire to improve on his earlier attempts. The canvas, illuminated from behind, was placed in a carved classical frame projecting from the window surface and fitting between the two wings of the organ. In order to diffuse the light evenly over the surface, a second, inner window was inserted against which the canvas rested. Both windows were made of ground glass supplied by Joseph Backler, with whom West had already collaborated on a number of occasions. The canvas, measuring some seventeen feet by eight feet, was dominated by the seven foot figure of the principal angel, a size which, according to West, 'has been considered the sublime, or standard for Visionary Figures, or beings supernatural, such as the Apollo, St Michael and other celestial characters ...'. Following his usual charges for historical paintings, West requested a payment of £800: the Vestry, who had clearly thought the artist had intended to offer his services free of charge, were not a little disconcerted and there was even talk of appointing a Committee to obtain the opinion of three Royal Academicians on the true value of the transparency. In the event, West was paid in full: by way of compensation, however, he made the church a present of a smaller, opaque canvas-painting to fill the vacant place in the
centre of the altar-screen and 'add to the dignity of the Church'. This picture, a 'Nativity', was exhibited first at the Royal Academy.

Only six years after Benjamin West's death the Vestry had already begun plans to close up the central space in the organ and to remove his transparency; the latter was finally sold in 1840 for the derisory sum of ten guineas and has not been located since; it had proved impractical as a permanent feature and no more effective than West's earlier attempts in painted glass at St George's Chapel. Almost as soon as the transparency was installed, various experiments had been carried out to 'improve' the effect and to increase the light in this part of the building; there were later accusations that the transparency itself had been tampered with, thus causing the whole distribution of light to be altered. West's design had received a harsh review by the Gentleman's Magazine, who considered the medium inappropriate for a church altar-piece and described the principal angel as having 'the face of a child, with the thigh of a porter'. Amongst prominent members of the congregation there was a strong feeling that the work was both 'popish' and garish in its sensational effects; its installation had clearly provoked the latent Protestant hostility towards religious imagery - a resentment which was no doubt exacerbated by the expense of the commission.

The rapid decline of Benjamin West's artistic reputation was also reflected in the brief life-span of the new painted window at Hereford Cathedral, a scene of 'The Last Supper' executed by Joseph Backler. This was copied from the central section of West's painting for George III, which had been exhibited at the R.A. in 1784. The window was commissioned in 1821 - the year of Benjamin West's own death - and installed some two years later. The eastern wall of the choir of Hereford Cathedral had been masked in the early eighteenth century by an altar-piece and wainscoting of classical design; at some uncertain date the Early English lancet windows at the east end were replaced by a
'bastard Perpendicular' window. Backler's glass-painting apparently measured forty feet by twenty feet and was described as 'the largest in this branch of art which has been executed since the revival of the art in England.' The painted wooden festoons masking the top of the window and the wooden tassels may have been an earlier addition, left because they complemented the baroque effect of the curtains in West's design.

An altar-painting of 'Christ Bearing the Cross' had been added to the screen below in 1816. This dramatic pictorial ensemble representing two of the last events in the life of Christ was, however, extremely short-lived. By the next decade the impractical use of space in the Cathedral had become fully evident: the 'colossal scale' of the new glass-painting was seen as quite out of proportion with the dimensions of the choir, whilst the Lady Chapel - which lay to the east - was entirely redundant. These and other aspects of the alterations of the medieval building were openly criticised by Thomas Garbett who, in 1827, published *A Brief Enquiry into the Ancient and present State of Hereford Cathedral*. Garbett's commentary was in many ways prophetic: Hereford Cathedral was soon to undergo another process of rigorous restoration. This early Victorian remodelling of the Cathedral not only sealed the fate of Backler's work but epitomised the radical change of taste which had occurred over the previous twenty years. In 1842, both the classical screen and the glass-painting were removed by L.N. Cottingham during the restructuring of the choir. The large 'Perpendicular' window was replaced by three Early English lancets and filled with appropriate early medieval-style glass. The Norman arch below was also opened up to allow a vista through to the far end of the Lady Chapel and especially to the eastern windows in which 'sufficient ancient glass of good character has been preserved'.

Backler's 'Last Supper' was put up for sale in London in 1845; although nothing more is known of the window it was said to have been given in
c.1860 to the nearby church of Leominster. No evidence of this transaction has been found. The parish church at Ledbury, only a few miles from Leominster, owns a small panel of early nineteenth-century enamel painted glass which could well be the work of Joseph Backler. It depicts the haloed head and shoulders of a man, his eyes upturned in the act of blessing or praying; the background to the panel has been 'blackened out' with paint and the whole given a decorative border. Although the head might be considered too small to have come from the original window in Hereford, (whose figures were, according to one historian, on a scale of fifteen feet), it does bear a strong similarity to the head of Christ in West's painting of 'The Last Supper' which Backler used as his model. Could this have been a sample or modello of a smaller window made by Backler and acquired by some interested local party? Or, perhaps, a copy of Backler's Christ made by a local glass-painter and again intended as a show-piece? 122

Perhaps nothing is more indicative of the essential bond between glass-painting and canvas-painting during this period, than their common choice of subject matter. In selecting Italian models of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, no less than in their usage of contemporary designs, glass-painters reflected closely contemporary patterns of art collecting and criticism; these were of course dominated by the theories of the foremost art critic of his age, Sir Josua Reynolds. Although no authentic examples of their work had yet been seen in a London sale-room, the three most admired artists in England during the period 1760-1790 were probably Raphael, Correggio and Leonardo; of these, Raphael stood paramount, the work of the Bolognese and Roman 'eclectics' - Guido Reni, Domenichino and the Caracci, for example - ranked a little lower. It is worth noting that Leonardo da Vinci seems to have been the only Renaissance artist whose reputation with English connoisseurs was not in
fact matched by his popularity with contemporary glass-painters. In the Flemish school, the religious compositions of Rubens (who was believed to have been a designer of stained glass) continued well into the Victorian era to provide inspiration for English glass-painters. Since the beginning of the eighteenth century there had been a steady rise in the value of Dutch genre painting; of these, the works of David Teniers, singled out by Reynolds for his 'elegance and precision of pencil', were particularly fashionable. Teniers' designs were well suited to adaptation by painters on glass and ceramic artists in general: copies on glass after Dou, Neefs and Van Goyen, to name but a few, were also highly popular with the English middle-classes.

No single 'Old Master' was copied or adapted so frequently by glass-painters as 'The Transfiguration' which was regarded as the crowning glory of Raphael's oeuvre; its popularity as a model continued well into the nineteenth century. Raphael's Tapestry Cartoons in Hampton Court also offered a rich and convenient source of inspiration to English artists of the eighteenth century: the glass-painter Eglington Margaret Pearson (d.1823) earned a considerable reputation for her execution of several sets of copies of the Cartoons. One small-scale set, sold after the death of her husband James Pearson in 1838, was said to have taken her nearly ten years to complete. The old Protestant hostility to Catholicism was thus subject in the late eighteenth century to a new and overwhelming threat in the widespread adulation for Italian art; this aesthetic impulse was somewhat distressing to a cultured man like the Reverend Robert Bromley, Rector of St Mildred's-in-the Poultry and author of A Philosophical and Critical History of the Fine Arts. For, even the divine Raphael, Bromley noted, was guilty of a 'papal tincture marking many of his religious subjects'; in 'The Transfiguration' the great artist 'could not refrain from placing two monks on the mountain'.

Amongst contemporary religious paintings, Anton Raphael Mengs' much
admired 'Noli Me Tangere' (1771) in the altar-piece of All Souls’ College Chapel, Oxford, provided another popular model for glass-painters. The seventeenth-century 'Christ Bearing the Cross' acquired by Magdalen College in 1745 and attributed variously to Guido Reni, Lodovico Caracci, Ribalti, Murillo and Moralez, was equally popular with glass-painters and artists alike. A painted glass version of this Spanish picture was to be found in Wanstead Church, for instance, by Francis Eginton (c.1790); the chapel of the Newcastle Lying-In Hospital featured a copy by Gibson (c.1827) and St James’s Church, West Hackney formerly displayed a window of this subject by E. Holder (1842). Nor was it unusual to find designs from ancient and modern artists combined in one window:Backler’s painted glass in Macclesfield Church (1821), for instance, featured a figure of Christ after Benjamin West and the four Evangelists after ‘some old Master’. William Collins’ window for the East India Company in Calcutta (1825) likewise included ‘Christ’s Charge to Peter’ after Raphael, a figure of Moses after Michelangelo, together with copies of Reynolds’ ‘Virtues’.

By the 1820s, the art of religious painting seemed to be on the brink of a full revival: newly commissioned altar-paintings provided further scope and stimulus for the glass-painter engaged in producing copies. This resurgence of church art was by no means confined to the metropolis. William Hilton, considered ‘one of the most honoured British historical painters of the early nineteenth century’, was commissioned by the Town Corporation of Liverpool to produce a cartoon for the eastern window of St George’s Church. His huge painting of ‘The Crucifixion’, exhibited at the R.A. in 1827, was composed in the form of a Venetian tri-partite window. It was copied by the glass-painter Thomas Wilmshurst in c.1832, the painted glass constituting one hundred and eighteen separate squares. The subject of Hilton’s painting appears to have met with no opposition; his work had been compared favourably by critics to that of the best
Italian masters and the convincing historical guise worn by his 'Crucifixion' may have rendered it acceptable to a public now fully familiarised with Renaissance representations of 'weeping Magdalens, bloody Ecce Homo, dead Christs and fainting Madonnas'.

It is not surprising, perhaps, that the aesthetic vocabulary used to describe eighteenth-century picture windows was identical to that used in the description of canvas-paintings; a language which demonstrated the major preoccupation of art criticism with the expression of 'The Passions'. Nor was it confined to contemporary glass. Joshua Kirby Baldrey (1754-1828), struggling to complete his engravings of the sixteenth-century stained glass in King's College Chapel, Cambridge, published a 'dissertation' to accompany his print of the east window. He attempted to draw support for his scheme by emphasising the highly pictorial and expressive qualities of the windows, which contained, in his opinion,

the great essentials of Historical Paintings, viz. Grand Composition, the human figure designed with the utmost freedom, great anatomical Knowledge and the various Passions exquisitely expressed ... infinite ingenuity is displayed, to prevent the Munnions (i.e Mullions) concealing any material parts of the principal Figures.

II. Designs and Cartoons

A distinction, by no means always clear, should be drawn between designs commissioned in advance specifically for painted windows during the Georgian period, and glass-paintings based on or adapted from existing paintings or engravings, perhaps after the death of the artist himself. As shown in the case of Reynolds, designs frequently became common property after the artist's death. The cartoons for William Peckitt's much admired west window of Exeter Cathedral, completed in c.1767, were in
fact over forty years old. The standing figures of the Apostles and Evangelists, designed by James Thornhill had already been used by Joshua Price in the execution of the rose window of the north transept of Westminster Abbey (1721). 134

Following the untimely death of the 'ingenious' historical painter John Hamilton Mortimer in 1779, a posthumous exhibition of that artist's works was held at the Royal Academy. In 1780, James Pearson and his wife, Eglington Margaret, organised an exhibition of their painted glass in rooms in the Strand: they offered for sale 'several large and Capital Cartoons by the late justly celebrated Mr Mortimer. Being the only ones he ever painted in that manner'. 135 The cartoons represented 'The Elevation of the Brazen Serpent' (eighteen feet by seventeen feet) for Salisbury Cathedral, and the figures of Moses and the Four Evangelists. The latter were designs for the eastern window of Brasenose College Chapel, Oxford, commissioned from Mortimer in c.1776 and executed by James Pearson. 136 Like Reynolds, Mortimer - 'Imagination's dear and daring child' - was to enjoy something of a posthumous artistic career through his brief but successful association with glass-painting. Pearson exhibited another life-sized glass-painting of St John 'from a cartoon of the late Mr Mortimer' in 1786 and engravings of the Brasenose designs were still being executed thirty years after Mortimer's death. In 1783, Robert Blyth published an engraving of 'The Brazen Serpent': for this he used Mortimer's original drawing in pen, ink and watercolour, then owned by the anatomist John Hunter and now in a private collection in Dublin. The drawing, composed of three individual sections mounted as one, is fully squared for transfer and enlargement by the glass-painter. 137 A casual reference in the writings of the Royal Academician, John Francis Rigaud (1742–1810) sheds some light on what has so far been a puzzling aspect of the transfer of drawn and painted designs to painted glass. In c.1778 Rigaud was apparently employed in the production of three large cartoons.
from a sketch of the late Mr [John Hamilton] Mortimer's, to be executed on glass by Mr Pearson, my employer, for a window in Salisbury cathedral ... The cartoons are 16 feet high and 4 foot 6 inches wide, the center piece a little wider. The whole represents Moses lifting up the brazen serpent- the figures a little larger than life.\textsuperscript{138}

It seems that Pearson's advertisement of 1780 was somewhat disingenuous: the cartoons, which he had claimed were the original work of J.H. Mortimer, should perhaps have been more correctly described as the work of his erstwhile employee, John Francis Rigaud. The measurements Pearson gave would seem to correspond with those of the central cartoon which Rigaud described as slightly larger than the other two. There is no evidence that Mortimer himself executed anything larger or more finished than the watercolour drawing now in Dublin.

It is not possible to ascertain whether Rigaud was commissioned to produce these cartoons before or after the death of Mortimer in February 1779: both Rigaud and his son, as editor, were writing at a distance of some years and could well have been mistaken in dating the commission to c.1778. Rigaud's varied artistic activities and far-ranging interests have been described as 'representative of the preoccupations of the majority of painters':\textsuperscript{139} it is not unlikely that the part he played as an intermediary between the artist and the glass-painter in adapting a small-sized sketch or drawing into a full-sized cartoon for a painted window, was a common adjunct to the career of contemporary decorative and history painters.

This case may perhaps shed some light on another instance of design authorship which has continued to puzzle scholars; namely, the attribution to Sir Joshua Reynolds of both designs for the east windows of Lichfield and Salisbury Cathedrals. There is no documentary evidence to prove Reynolds' direct involvement in either scheme, and by 1789 when the new window in Salisbury was under consideration Reynolds was already in very poor health and nearly blind. Moreover, James Dallaway stated
categorically that the artist 'painted no other picture for a similar purpose' after his New College designs. An anecdote recounted by William Gilpin, a former prebendary of Salisbury Cathedral, seems, however, to indicate that some kind of contract was arranged between Reynolds and the Bishop. Gilpin records that the latter had remonstrated with Reynolds because his initial design for the east window, 'contrary to the truth of Scripture', had depicted the mouth of the sepulchre still sealed: Reynolds had stubbornly contended his version 'made the miracle so much greater' and was only with difficulty persuaded to alter his design. Reynolds is known to have painted a version of 'The Resurrection' in 1784: this was first engraved in 1796 by John Jones and dedicated to Shute Barrington, the Bishop of Durham, who had acquired the painting for his episcopal palace at Auckland Castle. A picture of this subject was incorporated by James Wyatt in c.1794-6 into a gothic reredos in the Chapel at Bishop Auckland where it remained until the late nineteenth century. Later sources identify this work (which is now unfortunately lost) as the original model for the Salisbury window. It seems likely therefore that Eginton's glass-painting was, through some relatively informal arrangement, modelled on or adapted from an oil-painting by Reynolds. Although the artist may not have produced any formally commissioned designs after his New College venture, there is evidence to show that a number of his paintings were copied and adapted quite freely by glass-painters, both before and after his death. Whatever the circumstances of the commission, there is sufficient similarity between the engraving of Reynolds' 'Resurrection' and Eginton's glass-painting to prove beyond doubt that his oil-painting provided the model for the painted window.

In the case of the Lichfield 'Resurrection', the problem of attribution is somewhat more complicated. At its completion and installation in 1795, the window design was ascribed to Reynolds who had been dead for three
years: however, when it was moved to its new location in St Chad's, Shrewsbury in 1814, the glass-painting was subsequently described as the design of one 'Romberg'. The artist in question was probably the German painter and engraver, Johann Heinrich Ramberg (1763-1840), who had studied at the R.A. schools from 1781. Due, no doubt, to the brevity of its lifespan, the Lichfield 'Resurrection' window does not appear to have been engraved in situ. The only visual evidence seems to be a rough drawing currently in the Lichfield Record Office which has been identified as showing the three lancet windows above Wyatt's reredos in the Lady Chapel. A pictorial glass-painting fills the upper section of the long central east window; it shows a figure of Christ surrounded by a glory ascending over the heads of the soldiers on the ground below. The lower section of the central lancet appears partially masked by a tall gothic reredos whilst the two flanking lights are filled with patterned mosaic glass in diamond-shaped quarries. Whether this drawing is an accurate representation of Eginton's painted glass as executed must remain uncertain. Some written accounts would seem to suggest not. If Edmund Butcher's description can be relied upon, the figure of Christ was shown by Eginton 'with one foot resting on the tomb from which he has just risen'. Nor did any critic of the new Lichfield window mention the crouching figures of the soldiers which are represented conspicuously in the foreground of the drawing.

It seems possible that Ramberg may have fulfilled roughly the same intermediary role with regard to the Lichfield 'Resurrection' as Rigaud had done with 'The Brazen Serpent' at Salisbury: he may have been employed to produce full-scale cartoons based on an original work by Reynolds for the glass-painter's use. This would certainly account for both the discrepancies and the similarities noted at times between the two windows. An alternative explanation is that in the case of the Lichfield window Eginton simply drew on an independent engraving or drawing by
Ramberg, an artist known to have been personally instructed by Sir Joshua Reynolds. (Ramberg, incidentally, had left England by 1792, when he was appointed court painter at Hanover). The British Library does in fact own a small, undated pen and ink sketch by Ramberg of a 'Resurrection' which may well have constituted a rough preliminary idea for a larger representation of the subject. The drawing shows a figure of Christ attended by an a female angel at the mouth of the open sepulchre. Two soldiers drawing back in amazement are shown in the foreground. It is interesting to note that at this stage Ramberg's dramatic representation of 'The Resurrection' seem if anything to show the influence of Benjamin West's design for the east window of St George's Chapel.

The obscurity surrounding these two Eginton commissions demonstrates that the relationship between the designer and the glass-painter was by no means clear-cut. Francis Eginton paid Benjamin West eighty guineas for the loan of the latter's 'Conversion of St Paul' which he copied in the east window of St Paul's, Birmingham: this clearly implies a totally different working relationship to that between Reynolds and Jervais at New College, for instance, where both were employed by the Warden and Fellows. As a reflection of expanding public interest in the art, the display of full-scale cartoons and designs intended for painted glass windows had become an accepted practice by institutions as prestigious as the Royal Academy. Designs such as this often enjoyed an almost independent artistic life, especially since the wider public was enabled to view and review the designs through the medium of prints well before the painted glass was in situ. As a result of this professional relationship, the glass-painter's status rose considerably in the latter half of the eighteenth century from that of a mere craftsman to a respected, if somewhat peripheral, member of an exclusive artistic circle.

The cartoon of West's 'Resurrection' was displayed in St George's Chapel itself, resting against the east window where it demonstrated the
final effect. Fanny Burney who visited the Chapel in 1786 was not impressed by West’s powers of draughtsmanship.

The Guiding Angel is truly beautiful in it, but our Saviour is somewhat too earthly; he seems athletic as an Hercules and rather as if he derived his superiority from strength of body than from influence of divinity. 150

'The Crucifixion' was the last historical commission given to West by George III. It was described as the largest single composition ever undertaken by that artist and the cartoon, exhibited at the R. A. in 1797, was boldly declared to be 'the largest picture in the world': West’s receipt of a thousand guineas each for the cartoon and the design of 'The Crucifixion' was the highest sum he had yet received from the King. 151

III. Exhibitions of Painted Glass

'As more than a few foreign visitors noted,' writes Robert Altick, 'no English trait was more widespread throughout the entire social structure than the relish for exhibitions'. 152 Certainly, by the second half of the eighteenth century, exhibitions of painted glass had become a highly popular form of public entertainment which were incorporated into general sight-seeing tours of the metropolis. The type of exhibit did not vary much from show to show. The major components would be single panels of varying shapes and sizes depicting landscapes under different climatic conditions, or interior views by fire or candle-light. Genre subjects were also very popular, especially those of a pastoral or literary nature, the most common models being seventeenth-century Dutch painters. Natural history and portraiture were common subjects, as were vivid 'disaster' scenes like volcanoes, house-fires and ship-wrecks. Such panels, which sold in large numbers, were undoubtedly the staple output of the glass-painter: they had a
predominantly domestic function and were intended for insertion in the upper sections of windows. Sometimes the panels would be given an ornamental setting or a fictive frame; others were acquired as free-standing items with their own frames and could be suspended or placed near a source of light.\(^{153}\) Borrowing or adaptation was made explicit; originality of design was not a significant issue: visitors were encouraged to admire the skill and artifice of the glass-painter in his faithful rendering of a familiar and celebrated subject, his mastery of 'that singular and scientific Art which cannot be equalled in any other Country in Europe'.

The major focuses of every glass-painter's workshop or exhibition were, however, the larger picture windows representing religious or historical subjects copied from the works of celebrated Renaissance or living artists. It was these works - generally commissioned in advance - on which his reputation as a glass-painter to a large extent depended. Size was no small factor in the achievement; in 1790 James Pearson exhibited at his house, two glass-paintings of 'The Transfiguration' after Raphael and 'The Descent from the Cross' after Volterra; these were claimed to be 'the two largest pieces of glass that ever passed the trials of a furnace'.\(^{154}\)

The display and sale of cartoons and designs was, as we have seen, a potent vehicle for advertising and promoting the art of painted glass. Large commissions might take many years to reach completion and demanded great capital resources of the glass-painter who had meanwhile to maintain a regular output of smaller items. Whilst the New College window was underway, public interest was kept alive by the exhibition of the painted designs and subsequently the completed sections of painted glass. The 'Virtues' were the first to be installed in 1779 after their public exhibition in the Charing Cross Rooms, Pall Mall; 'The Nativity' was not inserted until 1783 and the window was not fully completed until
1785. In c.1809 plans were inaugurated to provide a new east window for St James' Church, Piccadilly, to be executed by Joseph Backler under the supervision of Benjamin West. The sum of £2500, to be raised by individual subscription, was needed to produce a copy of Raphael's 'Transfiguration' measuring thirty-five by twenty-five feet. As a means of stimulating interest and raising funds, the glass-painter displayed in 1817 a model of the intended window: this measured fifty-three inches by thirty inches (a scale of one and a half inches to one foot) and was artificially lit at night. In 1830, the model, together with the altar below, was yet again displayed in the glass-painter's showroom; but even in 'so opulent a parish' a sum of this magnitude could not be raised.\(^{155}\)

Clearly, the particular environment in which it was displayed exercised great influence over the manner in which painted glass was perceived by the public. Although the Royal Academy did not include finished glass-paintings in its annual exhibitions for many years, both the Society of Artists and the Free Society, both established in London, displayed a wide variety of artistic products. From the earliest days, in addition to specimens of glass-painting these included what we would now term the 'craft-work' of paper-cutters, enamellists, hair and needleworkers. In Dublin, the earliest exhibitions of the newly founded Society of Artists in Ireland incorporated examples of painted glass; here in 1760, Thomas Jervais' first recorded work appeared on display.\(^{156}\) In 1761 William Peckitt of York sent to the first exhibition of the Free Society of Artists in London, 'a large window of stain'd glass and three smaller specimens': the larger work depicted 'Our Saviour Crowning with Thorns'.\(^{157}\) It was probably seen here by Horace Walpole, for in the same year Peckitt became the successor to William Price at Strawberry Hill. The latter, until then the best-known glass-painter in England, had recently retired from business and moved to Wales. After this, Peckitt rarely sold his work in the south of England. Messrs Baker and Turner of
Liverpool, 'stained glass painters', displayed 'six pieces of glass stained by impression' at the Society of Artists only once in 1783.\textsuperscript{158} It is probable that the growth of local art institutions and exhibitions soon began to offer glass-painters in the provinces comparable facilities for advertising their work.

James Pearson exhibited ten specimens, and his wife eleven, at the Society of Artists' rooms in Spring Gardens between 1775 and 1777. Later, the couple held exhibitions in a variety of places. 'The Elevation of the Brazen Serpent', judged to be one of Pearson's finest works, was the single subject of an exhibition in 1779 in the Pantheon - perhaps the most popular and fashionable venue in late eighteenth-century London for public gatherings of any kind. Walpole dubbed it 'the new Winter Ranelagh' whilst Evelina, Fanny Burney's heroine, felt it had 'more the appearance of a chapel than a place of diversion'. Thomas Jervais' work was exhibited in a variety of places throughout the 1770s and 80s, including the Exeter 'Change, a multi-purpose building in the Strand, and rooms in Charing Cross. At 'Mr Pinchbeck's Repository' his glass-paintings were displayed in five windows alongside some of the most ingenious 'mechanical inventions' of the day; these included 'WINSTANLEY'S perpetual Motion improved', or models for 'preventing the Mischief that so frequently happens to the poor Labourers who work in the WHEEL-CRANE, or descend into Mines and Collieries ...'.\textsuperscript{159} It was at Mr Pinchbeck's that Jervais exhibited in 1780 the two figures of 'Justice' and 'Prudence' intended for New College Chapel. The different requirements for glass as opposed to canvas-paintings made it often impracticable to exhibit both at the same time; the former needed light shed from above, and the latter light from the side. Indeed, some glass-paintings could only be viewed in a darkened chamber: the portrait miniaturist, John Stephen Liotard, who also painted on glass, evidently encountered this difficulty:\textsuperscript{160} Walpole, who visited Liotard's exhibition, was particularly disappointed by the lack of
transparency in his colours. Smaller examples, displaying fine details of craftsmanship, were usually examined with the aid of magnifying glasses; a practice also encouraged in large-scale single exhibits incorporating numerous small figures.

The standard admission charge for all such exhibitions was one shilling, sometimes with the possibility of a second visit included in that sum. A growing number of advertisements and reviews, increasingly fulsome in their recommendation and adulation, appeared in the press. After the middle of the eighteenth century, ancient specimens of Continental glass began to be sold in increasing numbers: this trend, which will be discussed at length later, reached a peak in the early years of the nineteenth century. Samuel Paterson, a book-seller and glass auctioneer in the Strand sold both old and new specimens. He also established a successful, if short-lived, manufactory of painted glass in London; James Pearson probably gained his own early experience as a glass-painter here before marrying Paterson's daughter, Eglington Margaret, and setting up an independent business.

By the 1790s Pearson was able to exhibit from home, opening up his workshops in Great Newport Street to the public, sometimes it seems, with considerable risk to the safety of specimens on display. Around 1817, Joseph Backler was sufficiently well established to open up his own Stained Glass Works at his home in Newman Street, producing extensive catalogues of items on display. The average constituents of such exhibitions had clearly changed little over the half century since the first public displays of glass by Jervais and the Pearsons. In the provinces, Francis Eginton's manufactory at Soho near Birmingham, established in c.1784, rapidly became as famous as that of Wedgewood at Etruria, attracting both curious visitors and potential purchasers from far afield. Eginton, after an exciting entrepreneurial career with Matthew Boulton, became a highly respected and successful local businessman; long
after his death he was remembered in general histories of Birmingham and the Midlands as a local 'worthy' who had contributed to the industrial prowess of his native town. Birmingham was the biggest centre of production outside London for painted glass in the late eighteenth century, whilst Thomas Jervais' fame seems to have spread as far north as Liverpool, where he exhibited specimens of his work in 1785.

The intrinsic qualities of painted glass, its 'beauty and utility' for 'decorative purposes' were for a long time considered rather less important than its usefulness as a reproductive medium; a means of transposing masterpieces of art into 'imperishable materials'. For this purpose, glass-painting was seen as superior to the art of engraving which 'does not preserve the charms of colour, or those effects which often depend on a grand scale' and to the art of enamel-painting, which is 'limited to a small size and even in that size is disfigured by inequality of surface'. In 1821, William Collins, Glass and China Merchant and Director of a considerable painted glass manufactory, exhibited in his showroom window a miniaturised copy on glass of John Martin's 'Belshazzar's Feast'. This gigantic canvas-painting, exhibited earlier that year at the British Institution, had been received by the public with such enthusiasm that railings had to be erected around it and the exhibition was extended a further three weeks. Collins, a former employer of John Martin, bought the painting for a hundred guineas and transferred it to his own showroom; the smaller glass copy, (measuring some eighteen and a half by twenty-eight and a half inches), was painted in unvitriified oils and intended as an advertisement for the larger canvas. As such it was highly effective: five thousand people are said to have visited Collins' showrooms in 1821 to see Martin's celebrated painting.

The next twenty years saw a proliferation of painted glass copies of this and other pictures by Martin showing cataclysmic biblical events enacted in fantastical settings of sublime proportions and dizzying
perspectives. The transposition to glass of his epic canvases proved, in some cases, even more popular than the originals. Martin's earlier rigorous training in the ceramics industry had played a significant role in shaping his highly individual style, his vivid use of colour and minutely detailed painting techniques: 'Martin', said Coleridge, 'never looks at Nature except through bits of stained glass'. Martin later claimed that he had never been able to produce large-scale glass-paintings of his own because the duties on glass had been so heavy; however, before turning to oil-painting at the age of twenty-one, he did produce a number of smaller works on glass and even after his appointment as 'Historical Landscape Painter' to Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg and Princess Charlotte maintained a strong attachment to this art form. In 1824, following the sudden death of Charles Muss, his former teacher and collaborator, Martin made an offer to his widow to complete Muss's unfinished works. 'The Descent from the Cross' in the St Bride's, Fleet Street, was one such posthumous example. Another was the glass commissioned by Jesse Watts Russell for the mausoleum at Isambard Hall in Derbyshire, for which Muss had completed one window before his death - an 'Assumption of the Virgin', after Guido Reni. He had apparently left a sketch for the other window, an 'Agony in the Garden', which Martin undertook to execute himself. The two finished windows were said to have been 'as different as the artists themselves were from each other. Mr Muss's window being painted as smooth as if on ivory; Mr Martin's like fire and lightning'.

The glass-painters George Hoadley and Anthony Oldfield, (later Glass Enamellers to the Royal Family) seem to have enjoyed the monopoly of the reproduction of Martin's canvases. Both men were employed by William Collins and held joint exhibitions of their work until the dissolution of their partnership in c.1851. A miniature version of 'Belshazzar's Feast' was exhibited in 1828 at Collins' showrooms in the Strand. In 1832 they displayed another copy of 'Belshazzar's Feast' and one of 'Joshua
perspectives. The transposition to glass of his epic canvases proved, in some cases, even more popular than the originals. Martin's earlier rigorous training in the ceramics industry had played a significant role in shaping his highly individual style, his vivid use of colour and minutely detailed painting techniques: 'Martin', said Coleridge, 'never looks at Nature except through bits of stained glass'. Martin later claimed that he had never been able to produce large-scale glass-paintings of his own because the duties on glass had been so heavy; however, before turning to oil-painting at the age of twenty-one, he did produce a number of smaller works on glass and even after his appointment as 'Historical Landscape Painter' to Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg and Princess Charlotte maintained a strong attachment to this art form. In 1824, following the sudden death of Charles Muss, his former teacher and collaborator, Martin made an offer to his widow to complete Muss's unfinished works. 'The Descent from the Cross' in the St Bride's, Fleet Street, was one such posthumous example. Another was the glass commissioned by Jesse Watts Russell for the mausoleum at Islar Hall in Derbyshire, for which Muss had completed one window before his death — an 'Assumption of the Virgin', after Guido Reni. He had apparently left a sketch for the other window, an 'Agony in the Garden', which Martin undertook to execute himself. The two finished windows were said to have been 'as different as the artists themselves were from each other. Mr Muss's window being painted as smooth as if on ivory; Mr Martin's like fire and lightning'.

The glass-painters George Hoadley and Anthony Oldfield, (later Glass Enamellers to the Royal Family) seem to have enjoyed the monopoly of the reproduction of Martin's canvases. Both men were employed by William Collins and held joint exhibitions of their work until the dissolution of their partnership in c.1651. A miniature version of 'Belshazzar's Feast' was exhibited in 1828 at Collins' showrooms in the Strand. In 1832 they displayed another copy of 'Belshazzar's Feast' and one of 'Joshua
Commanding the Sun to stand still'. The two held a further exhibition in 1837 at their workshops in Regent Street; this included yet another version of 'Belshazzar's Feast' on a single sheet of glass, said to measure thirty inches by nineteen inches. The latter was purchased by the Duke of Northumberland and, 'to preserve it from damage, it was enclosed between two thick sheets of plate glass, and secured in a strong frame'. Despite a slight discrepancy of size, this can surely be identified as the miniature glass-painting, complete with stout frame, currently on display in Syon House Middlesex. A second copy of 'Belshazzar's Feast' was purchased at the same time by an unnamed American. The glass-paintings, like the original canvases, were accompanied by descriptive outlines and a key to the identity of the figures. Copies of 'Joshua commanding the Sun to Stand Still', 'The Fall of Nineveh', and 'The Opening of the Sixth Seal' - all by Martin - were also displayed at this exhibition held in 1837. 'There are few subjects', wrote one reviewer, better calculated for this description of art than those in which the genius of Martin glories; there is generally some supernatural light, some more than ordinary glow of colour to be obtained ....'

The mysterious east window of Redbourne Church in Lincolnshire belongs to the same 'apocalyptic' school of glass-painting; the window is generally thought to date from c.1835-45, and has been attributed to various designers. The subject matter has, equally, been a matter of some disagreement. Some have suggested it is an adaptation by Martin of his own engraving of 'The Opening of the Sixth Seal', which he produced in collaboration with Richard Westall for his Illustrations of the Bible (1836-7); it has also been identified as 'The Destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah', a subject which Martin engraved in 1835 and painted in 1852. However, there seems little reason to doubt William Feaver's apt description of the window as 'a translation by blood-shot light' of
Francis Danby's 'Opening of the Sixth Seal', a picture which was first exhibited to great acclaim at the R.A. in 1828. Danby's 'Sixth Seal' was certainly copied by glass-painters; Hoadley and Oldfield exhibited a version in 1833-4 which one reviewer took the liberty of 'preferring to the original', whilst another copy by the same glass-painters was exhibited in 1837. It seems likely that the Redbourne window was executed by these two glass-painters under the direction of William Collins, whose signature, (following the usual practice of this firm), is found on the window. This dark, brooding scene seems to have been specifically designed for its ecclesiastical setting: the overhanging gothic canopy and elaborate base look contemporary with the rest of the window. It also shares design features with the niched apostles in the side windows of Redbourne church attributed to the Collins workshop.

Perhaps no glass-paintings of the period better deserve the description of 'public spectacles' than these copies of John Martin's canvases. In one sense his 'machines' were the imaginative progeny of the craze for panoramic paintings which had swept the metropolis in the late eighteenth and early years of the nineteenth century; the close cousins of the lurid documentary paintings celebrating sea-victories and land-battles in the fiery and victorious wake of Waterloo. They were also a product of the 'cult of Immensity' which produced those single canvases of vast proportions by Ward, West, Danby and others, shown individually at the Egyptian Hall in Piccadilly, for a shilling admission. However, the glass-paintings, no less than Martin's canvases themselves, properly belong to the realm of theatre. The catalogue accompanying the exhibition of 'Belshazzar's Feast' and Joshua' at the Liverpool Academy in 1821 described the paintings in terms of classical drama - a performance incorporating a protasis, epistasis and catastrophe. To Martin, the real importance of the medium lay not in its ability to simulate the effects of oil or water-colour, but in the potential, unique to glass-painting, for
creating on an amplified scale an atmosphere which overwhelmed the spectator with a sense of space, light, colour and drama. For, in the transparent effects of glass-painting, Martin claimed:

we have the means of bringing in real light and have the full-scale of nature as to light and as to shadow, as well as the richness of colour which we have not in oil-painting nor in water-colour. 180

To some extent, these ideas had been anticipated on a small scale, by glass-painters such as the Pearsons, Jervais, and Backler who had all attempted to represent and exploit 'the most striking effects of Nature'. Their favoured models included the works of artists such as Joseph Wright of Derby who brought to his canvas-paintings of forges and foundries, a quasi-scientific analysis of the effects of artificial light derived from his study of Dutch painters. Another popular model was Abraham Pether - dubbed 'Moonlight Pether' because of his predilection for nighttime scenes - who was equally celebrated for his representations of volcanic eruptions and vast conflagrations. Such works lent themselves very obviously to the glass-painter's art; but these copies were tame domestic examples acquired to be hung or suspended in the windows of halls or salons, catching the light and creating a pleasing decorative effect.

IV. The Arts of Illusion

Martin's epic canvases, which have been likened in their command of architecture and space to vast, crowded early film-sets, form a convenient watershed in our discussion. Although English glass-painting owed much to the aesthetics of canvas-painting during this period, the medium also enjoyed a special relationship with a variety of illusionistic and ephemeral art forms, all of which shared a common origin in experimentation with the effects of light and colour. The popular
transparency, Phillipe de Loutherbourg's Eidophusikon of 1781 and Daguerre's Dioramas of the 1820s, are usually assigned a minor role in the embryonic history of photography and cinematography, yet their contemporary importance to the developing and highly popular art of glass-painting seems equally, if not more, relevant. The relationship was undoubtedly fully apparent at the time. All these art forms dramatised the spectacular possibilities of light flowing through a painted, translucent medium; in their general fascination with 'scientific' ephemera and illusionistic displays, the public tended to assimilate all such inventions and novelties to a single genre of spectacle, in which one rhetorical vocabulary of appreciative amazement could serve for all.

Perhaps no other aspect of the eighteenth-century artist's oeuvre has been so neglected as his production of transparencies, which in some cases constituted prestigious commissions bringing large financial rewards. This neglect is largely due to the fact that no transparencies have been known to survive, although a number of designs still exist.\(^{181}\) The term 'transparency' could encompass a variety of different meanings, but it was essentially a screen of diaphanous, or semi-opaque material rendered partly transparent and lit from behind. It has already been shown how this principle was adapted in the form of oiled silk or muslin window-blinds, often painted to produce an effect similar to, but much more cheaply than, stained glass. Like painted glass, the transparency was ideal for representing the picturesque effects of moon, fire and candle-light, and formed a popular alternative for amateurs. To Jane Austen, who mentions transparencies in *Mansfield Park* (1814) - 'the three lower panes of one window, where Tintern Abbey held its station between a cave in Italy and a moonlight lake in Cumberland' - such domestic examples must have been commonplace. The application of transparencies to the home, as exemplified by Edward Orme, also extended to the production of lamp-shades, fire-guards, fans and lanterns.\(^{182}\)
Outside the home their usage was even more varied. Transparencies were particularly effective as components of stage scenery; Inigo Jones had helped to popularise back-lit painted transparencies in his masques: under the skilful direction of scene designers such as Thomas Lediard, William Capon and Henry Angelo in the eighteenth century their use in the theatre became much more sophisticated and ingenious. Horace Walpole was not impressed by Garrick’s production of Dryden’s King Arthur in 1770, although he made an exception for ‘a pretty bridge and a Gothic church with windows of painted glass’. John French, who worked as scene designer for Garrick at Drury Lane, combined transparencies with moving effects on the principle of shadow puppets and was able to simulate weather and time alterations with great success.

Transparencies of vast dimensions, depicting historical, allegorical or ornamental subject matter, were commonly displayed in parks with fireworks and mass illuminations where they formed a central feature of public celebrations, such as Peace Treaties, Jubilees and similar occasions for rejoicing. Their content reflected the general tendencies in contemporary history painting and their use as grand moral and political advertisements continued well into the nineteenth century. The passing of the Reform Bill in 1832, for example, was celebrated in Norwich by a locally painted transparency representing ‘The Rising Sun of Reform’. They could also be commissioned as one-off decorations for private balls and fetes, or constitute semi-permanent features in public places such as the Vauxhall and Apollo Gardens in London. James Bunn, proprietor of the Norwich Pleasure Gardens experimented in the 1780s with moving transparencies. At the Apollo Gardens, amongst various horticultural displays, paintings and transparencies of the royal family were exhibited. The recovery of King George III from a bout of madness in 1789 was cause for national celebration and led to a spate of heavily allegorical transparencies in the metropolis. The Royal Academy
celebrated the King's birthday in 1770 by illuminating the front of their building in Pall Mall with transparent paintings. The list of professional artists known to have produced transparencies is long and included Joshua Reynolds, Benjamin West, Robert Adam, G.B. Cipriani, Nathaniel Dance, Thomas Stothard, William Hamilton, Biagio Rebecca, and J.F. Rigaud. All of these, it is interesting to note, are known to have supplied designs for, or had their work copied by, contemporary glass-painters. Professional glass-painters, such as James Zobel of Norwich or George MacAllister of Dublin, were also frequently commissioned to paint transparencies.

It was in his capacity as scene designer for Garrick and his successor, Sheridan, that Philippe Jacques de Loutherbourg (1740-1812) first began his exercises in the art of spectacular illusionism, which transformed the conventional concept of theatrical scenery and captured the imagination of many of the cognoscenti of the day. The culmination of de Loutherbourg's experiments was first shown to the public in 1781: 'The Eidophusikon, or Representation of Nature/ Various Imitations of Natural Phenomena represented by Moving Pictures' was both a one man exhibition and a genteel miniature theatre without actors and without a script. The action centred around pasteboard scenery of cork, moss, etc. and wooden, mechanically operated models; various sound effects and visual devices worked in conjunction to represent different stages of nature. The Eidophusikon, concocted from three Greek roots meaning 'sight', 'nature', and 'image', was also referred to as 'a moving panorama', a popular art-form with which it had much in common.

The separate principles of the Eidophusikon were not original; magic lanterns, projecting scenes painted on glass 'slides' were already in existence; there had likewise been many experiments with movable transparencies and in the 1770s, Mr Pinchbeck's Repository had displayed in conjunction with Jervais' painted glass -
that celebrated and well-known Musical Machine, the Panopticon, with six Moving Pictures, which is universally allowed, from its beautiful Structure and the vast variety of its Motions, to be the first Piece of Mechanism of its Size and Sort in Europe.192

Such a combination of media was not unusual. During daylight hours in 1786, a miscellaneous collection of glass-paintings by Thomas Jervais was displayed in rooms in the Strand; also shown were a group of transparent paintings by Hugh Dean of 'Mount Vesuvius, and the Conflagrations in London during the Riots.' Other exhibits, working on an allied principle of illusionism, included 'a Variety of novel and pleasing Optical Effects in STORER'S Delineators and other Instruments'. The main advantage of William Storer's 'Accurate Delineator' - a new improved version of the camera obscura - was that it could be used without sunlight and even by candlelight to aid the artist in his representation of reality. In the evening, the same rooms were easily adapted to the presentation of de Loutherbourg's Eidophusikon, showing, amongst other subjects, 'The Storm & Shipwreck'; seat prices cost two and three shillings each. In 1781 a performance of the Eidophusikon in five scenes was accompanied by the display in the intervals of four static transparent paintings; the audience was meanwhile entertained by the singing of Mrs Arne. The whole evening's entertainment cost five shillings per head.194

The Eidophusikon is often cited as the inspiration for Gainsborough's show-box, now in the Victoria and Albert Museum.195 It consists of an oak box with a silk screen, back-lit by candles, in which painted glass 'slides' were inserted; these were viewed through a movable magnifying lens. A number of eighteenth-century 'slides' depicting land and sea-scapes under varying light and weather conditions are also exhibited; these are probably by Gainsborough although a Norwich School artist has also been suggested. A number of Gainsborough's late landscape paintings are thought to be based on one or more of these glass 'transparencies' which were said to have been painted initially for the artist's 'own
gratification and the amusement of his friends'. It is interesting to note that Gainsborough made much use of pieces of moss, bark and lichen to construct model landscape backgrounds for his pictures - a working method which had much in common with the construction of de Loutherbourg's miniaturised theatre. Another source of inspiration for the show-box is said to have been the exhibitions of Thomas Jervais' painted glass which captivated Gainsborough during the 1770s and 80s: no doubt he too was impressed by the display of the New College window from the designs of his old rival. The show-box and slides should be seen, perhaps, as Gainsborough's own attempts to explore this popular medium. Gainsborough is equally likely to have seen smaller specimens of James Pearson's work. A number of his delicate classical panels are currently exhibited alongside the show-box in the Victoria and Albert Museum: their juxtaposition emphasises the close relationship between these two art-forms. Pearson's glass-paintings are soft pastoral evolutions of Claude, the Carracci and the Dutch masters, intended to be lit from behind. It is interesting to note that Joseph Wright of Derby, beloved of eighteenth-century glass-painters and renowned for his pictorial manipulation of light, is also said to have constructed his own 'raree-showbox' after having seen one exhibited at a fair; the box measured three feet in height and Wright used painted glass plates to exhibit his own 'Italian views'.

The 1780s saw an important advance in methods of artificial lighting; this was the Argand Lamp which used a circular wick supplying oxygen to the flame and which burnt pre-heated tallow or oil. The new lamp was an immediate success in the theatre enabling a much more brilliant and steadier light to be thrown onto the stage — a huge advance on the candles, oil-lamps and rush-lights of earlier days. De Loutherbourg used Argand Lamps in the presentation of the Eidophusikon; when it was used in conjunction with the magic lantern, much sharper, clearer images
could be projected. The application of the lamp to the display of painted glass was momentous: glass could now be exhibited effectively without an external window and strong natural light. At Uppark in Sussex, a painted internal window was installed by Humphrey Repton in a service lobby adjoining the Dining Room; this window not only hid the view to the yard below but, when artificially lit at night, provided a spectacular interior feature. Repton himself had assured his patron ‘by candlelight the effect will be magic, as all the light may proceed from this window from Argand lamps properly adjusted from behind’. 199

The search for means to achieve ever more striking and ingenious visual effects continued to preoccupy Georgian glass-painters. Some, however, grew rapidly alarmed by this trend towards experimentation, sensing in it a threat to the established technical principles of the medium as they were then perceived. In 1815, when he was well into his seventies, James Pearson was roused to the defence of modern English glass-painting in a sharply worded letter published in the Gentleman’s Magazine. 200 Pearson’s letter was provoked by the recent publicity given to the sale at auction of a number of ‘compound glass pictures’ by two French artists, ‘Messieurs D’Hil and Guerhard’. 201 Not only had the reputation of these foreigners been promoted by the auctioneer at the expense of native glass-painters, but their productions, Pearson maintained, were not true specimens of the art. These pictures were in fact made of three separate glass surfaces, one placed before the other:

the first to display the subject, the second adding an additional shade to the darker parts, SKY &c. the third, of ground glass, to protect them from the effects of too much light.’

True painting on glass, Pearson attested, ‘must all be done on one piece of glass, as a fine picture must all be done on one piece of canvas’: the compound technique was therefore ‘nothing more or less than a deception
on their public understanding. The strong patriotic feeling which underlies Pearson's argument is a reminder that Britain had only recently emerged from a long and bitter war with France. Five years later, moreover, Pearson felt compelled to publish a second letter 'in vindication of British Genius' in the *London Literary Gazette*; this was addressed to Messrs Robins, the auctioneers again responsible for the sale of the 'compound pictures'. Pearson clearly saw himself - the oldest living glass-painter in the country - as a spokesman for all those who practised the craft in its traditional single surface form.

If two or three pieces of glass are used to form a view, or subject, does it not become an optical delusion? and consequently not entitled to the rank which a picture holds in the works of art ...

The questions Pearson felt compelled to raise about the legitimacy of an art form based on deception and delusion, were soon to be echoed by the critics of the Diorama - the newest form of popular spectacle, shown like a theatrical performance but generally regarded as a branch of the fine arts. Like John Martin, the Diorama painters went for dynamic and mysterious effects, concentrating on the depiction of vast, dramatic, topographical or architectural scenes. Sea-battles, shipwrecks and conflagrations were also subjected with spectacular success to 'dioramic' treatment. Invented in Paris in c.1822 by Louis Jacques Monde Daguerre and Charles Marie Bouton, the Diorama consisted of huge transparent paintings which, by the manipulation of screens and shutters could be partially or wholly lit from front or behind to produce various startling illusions of depth, luminosity, colour, and activity. The spectators sat meanwhile in comparative darkness and the whole show was accompanied by appropriate and ingenious sound effects. The Diorama found a permanent home in Regents Park in London in 1823, and subsequently went on tour; with its numerous provincial replicas, it was, until the middle of
the century, a permanent feature of public entertainment. Unlike the Eidophusikon, however, the Diorama elicited no praise or enthusiasm from leading artists. Constable disliked what he saw as the subjection of art to the meretricious effects of illusionism; 'it is without the pale of Art because its object is deception - Claude's never was - or any other great landscape painter's ...': he likened the excited audience to a cage of magpies.204 Constable's judgement reflects the same vein of high-brow criticism which increasingly came to regard John Martin's lurid creations as 'monuments of the vulgar passion for novelty which seemed to raise them to the rank of European masterpieces: an indictment from which Martin's reputation has only recently begun to recover.205

Like the transparency, the Eidophusikon and Diorama were in some important sense the hybrid, stage-struck progeny of the art of glass-painting. Nor could the offspring be allowed to up-stage his parent; each was to vie with each other for supremacy in the art of illusion. Thus, Jervais' exhibition of painted glass at Pinchbeck's 'Repository' included a representation of 'The Interior of the Great Church at Harlem': a perspectival tour de force of a type common in glass-painting of the period. The sunlight penetrating the building was so skilfully depicted that many spectators could not believe it was simply a painted effect,

and often require convincing proof, by taking down the blind beneath it ... Mr Jervais therefore takes the liberty to remind the public that Mr Pinchbeck's house faces nearly due north in which situation this picture is fixed ...'.206

The Eidophusikon in fact relied heavily for its effect on the use of slips of coloured glass placed in front of Argand Lamps and altering the projected light. In a scene representing Greenwich Park, for example, the transition was from 'the cool hue of verdure which appears at dawn, to the refulgent warmth of the blushing morning'.207 A Diorama of the interior of Trinity Chapel in Canterbury Cathedral, the first to be displayed in London, was
hailed by Ackermann as the 'triumph of perspective and the *ne plus ultra* of pictorial illusion'; it even attempted to represent the effects of medieval stained glass:

the gothic architecture is beautifully illuminated, the shadows projected with force and truth, and the secondary lights produced beneath the groining of the roofs ...dressed in the soft tone of colour which they borrow from the pavements and the gem-like brilliancy of the painted glass'.

By the 1820s, Reynolds' New College window was familiarly nick-named the 'the peep-show'. By this time, the term had developed entirely jaded and pejorative associations: Horace Walpole's enthusiasm for the 'magic effect' of Thomas Jervais' painted glass was no longer possible for a public now satiated with so many varieties of ingenious spectacle. The word 'transparency' was used with increasing frequency throughout the nineteenth century to denote eighteenth-century picture windows, or glass still made in that painterly tradition: this word, too, had rapidly developed pejorative connotations, expressive of naivety, crudeness, inappropriateness and even vulgarity. Thus, the true transparency, which had once enjoyed a respected artistic status, was condemned by the same aesthetic judgement which relegated Georgian painted glass to the ranks of a penny peep-show. John Carter had been among the first to transfer the term during his critical attack on the alterations at St George's Chapel in 1805. His response to West's 'Resurrection' left no doubt as to his opinion of contemporary glass-painting: 'here is gained a transparent scenic exhibition, and here is lost one of the finest terminations of a religious edifice the land could own'. Some years later, the young Pugin compared Backler's 'Last Supper' in Hereford Cathedral to 'a great transparency' - a term which implied utter condemnation. 'Think of it!...', he snapped at the unsuspecting canon who proudly showed him the painted...
glass, 'why I think it is yet more execrable than the windows of New College Chapel'. The removal of Benjamin West's transparency from St Marylebone Church and the failure of the attempts to sell it, reflect not only the rapid decline of that artist's critical reputation but a much wider shift in aesthetic and religious values in the later Georgian period: the growth of a movement with which the name of Pugin himself was to be closely associated.
Notes: Chapter 2


2. Ibid., p. 284.


5. Woodforde, p. 23. Biagio Rebecca (1735–1808) 'one of the leading and most prolific painters of the Adam period', worked in England from 1761 until his death. Croft-Murray, 2, p. 54, 258.


7. Woodforde, p. 43. Reynolds may have added the gothic canopies at this point.

8. Letter from Reynolds to the Warden of New College, Jan. 9, 1778, cited Woodforde, p. 45. Reynolds had intended to paint a version of Correggio's 'Notte' for St Paul's Cathedral.

9. Woodforde, p. 44.


13. Reynolds' models were 'three beautiful young female children, with their hair dishevelled, ... placed under a large mirror, which hung angularly over their heads'. C.R. Leslie, The Life and Times of Sir Joshua Reynolds, London 1865, 2 vols, 2, p. 264.

14. Reynolds adapted the Virgin's pose to a more light-hearted mood in his portrait of the Duchess of Devonshire and her daughter (1784). The pose was one of a range of options Reynolds offered his clients through engravings of his own work; Reynolds, p. 22.

16. 'Fortitude' also recalls the Hellenistic sea-goddess of the 'Amymone' type now in the Villa Borghese; Bober & Rubinstein, pp.98–9, p.63.


18. Eg. In Mrs Sheridan in the Character of St Cecilia, (c.1775). The model for Joseph was George White - much used by Reynolds in his portrayal of elderly men; Reynolds, p.45. Two extant preliminary designs for the 'Charity' group show different stages in Reynolds' creative process. One, a rough drawing measuring 24 3/4" x 20", owned by the Warden and Fellows of New College, shows the mother holding 2 babies in her arms whilst 2 naked children play at her side; the older girl is absent. (Photo' in the Witt Library, Courtauld Institute). A 2nd canvas sketch (173cms x 69cms), currently owned by the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (Cat. No.A191) is closer to the executed design.


20. Mengs also included a self-portrait in his inscriptions of the 'Nativity', see above n.11.


24. Walpole had been among the first to point out the problem; Woodforde, New College, p.55.

25. R. Ackermann, Repository of Arts, Literature, Fashions, Manufactures etc.', 7 (April 1826) p.245.


27. Leslie, 2, p.265. Ruskin was struck by the great artist's naivety in believing that 'the qualities of colour which are peculiar to opaque bodies could be obtained in a transparent medium'. 'Reynolds' Disappointment', The Two Paths, in The Works of John Ruskin, 10 vols, London 1878, 10, p.223.


30. 'To the President and Council of the R.A.', V&A. Museum Library, Press Cuttings,
1686-1835, 6 vols, 3, pp.786-7, March 1795.


33. Gents. Mag., 75 (1805) ii, p.926.

34. Meyer p.58 suggests Annibale Carraci's 'Resurrection', now in the Louvre, as a source. See also Von Erffa & Staley, pp.363-5.

35. Ibid., p.363, 368.

36. Peckitt's Commission Books record a large religious glass-painting of 'Christ in the Judgement Hall' after Rubens was sold in London in 1760 for £10 and apparently put up in St George's Chapel. Brighton, p.347. Brighton doubts this was ever installed: however, a casual reference in the Gents. Mag., 75 (1805), ii, p.820, to some 'insignificant paintings' put immediately after the destruction of the window mullions would seem to suggest there was Georgian pictorial glass pre-dating the Jervais/Forrest work.

37. West's design and cartoon for 'The Crucifixion' have both disappeared; Von Erffa & Staley, pp.361-3. A squared drawing of the unfinished 'Crucifixion', as left by Forrest, is currently at Windsor, ibid., p.361. An identical drawing is amongst Willement's 'Drawings of Modern Stained Glass', B.L. Add. Ms 34.873 design no 47, f.17. No. 49, f.17 is a drawing 'from the original sketch by Benjamin West now in the possession of Mr Lodge. Hackney 1845' and depicts the right-hand thief, unfinished by Forrest. By 1797 it was planned to place a painting of 'The Crucifixion' in the Royal Chapel at Windsor as one of a series of biblical subjects treating 'The Progress of Revealed Religion' on which West was simultaneously engaged till 1801 for George III; J.D. Meyer, 'Benjamin West's Chapel of Revealed Religion: A Study in 18th Century Protestant Religious Art', Art Bulletin, 57 no.2 (1975) pp.247-265. Von Erffa & Staley, pp.577-81. West was paid more for his full-sized oil designs for painted windows in St George's than for any of his canvas-paintings for the royal chapel; ibid., p.90.


39. In 1808, Mrs Forrest was driven to ask for help and West recommended one 'Mr Borckhurd' should take over the task; a contract was drawn up but there is no evidence any progress was made. Meyer suggests this may have been Charles Borckhardt, a miniature and crayon painter (1764-1825). 'West's Window Designs', pp.62-4.

40. The Windsor Guide, Windsor 1825, p.84 n. See also Gents. Mag, 75 (1805), ii, p.820.

41. Cited Von Erffa & Staley, p.361. Farington recorded that Wyatt, as surveyor, would not proceed with the alterations, including the insertion of further painted glass, and regretted the removal of the stone tracery in the w. window. A. Dale, James Wyatt, Oxford 1956, p.180. Wyatt was said to have been instrumental in the break-up of the relationship between West and George III. Von Erffa & Staley, p.97. See W. Thornbury, 'West, the Monarch of Mediocrity...', Art Journal, NS 6, (1860), pp.321-3, for the nadir of West's 19th-century critical reputation.

42. Meyer, 'West's Window Designs', fig. 10, p.64, illustrates the window in situ in St Paul's...
Cathedral, Calcutta.


44. Windsor Guide, p.90. Von Erffa & Staley, pp.332-6. The cartoon for 'The Nativity', at Petworth House, is the only one from this programme to have survived; West had exhibited a drawing for the window at the R.A. in 1793; ibid., p.324.


49. E.A. Jones, 'An Unknown English Enameller and Portraitist', Connoisseur, 60 (1921) pp.44-5. Askew, also probably a Dubliner, worked in the ceramics industry and died at Bilston in 1798.


57. Cambridge University Library, EDC 4/5/14: Articles of Agreement.

58. James Bentham published this engraving in his History and Antiquities of... the Cathedral Church of Ely, Cambridge 1771, pl. viii.

59. William Cole claimed to have been influential in substituting real figures (i.e. Sts Peter, Paul and Etheldreda) in the design; Baylis, p.104.

60. The best discussion of these alterations is P.G. Lindley, "Carpenter's gothic" and Gothic carpentry: Contrasting attitudes to the restoration of the Octagon and removals of the Choir at Ely Cathedral', Architectural History, 30 (1987), pp.83-112.

61. Walpole, Correspondence, 1, p.214; letter from William Cole, April 18 1771.


63. P. Browne, An Account and Description of... Norwich, Norwich 1807, p.35. Mary Lloyd, (nee Grey), was better known for her needlework: Cole noted flower-pieces by her at Burleigh; Walpole, Correspondence, 10, p.345.

64. N.R.O. DCN/ 118/1: 'Memoranda', p.40. See also DCN /125/2, labelled 'Dean of Norwich, misc. scrapbook of late 19th century collation', which includes 3 rough drawings by Francis Stone (c.1824) of the new e. window and painted glass. Cranage believed there were only 4 original lancets.

65. Eg. the sepia-coloured copies of Reynolds's 'Virtues' and other pictorial glass in Annesley Church, Notts, removed from Colwick Church in 1937 and executed by Mrs Sophia Musters.


69. History and Antiquities of... Norwich, London 1816, p.36.

70. B. Haward, Nineteenth Century Norfolk Stained Glass, Norwich 1984, p. 223.

71. N.R.O. DCN/120/2R/12b. Letter from the Bishop of Norwich to the Dean Nov. 20 1845. The Ecclesiologist, 12 (1851), p.359, mentions 'the hideous transparency formerly in the eastern apse' which had recently been moved to the s. transept. It was destroyed during the 2nd War. One surviving head is now in St Helen Great Hospital, Bishopsgate. Haward, p.223.


73. The 'Virtues' were particularly popular; Archer, 'Finest Rooms in Europe', p.19, traces at least 35 English copies executed between 1810-1889. 'La Notte' was also copied on glass; eg. St Michael's, Shrewsbury in c.1830 by David Evans.

75. The Civil Engineer and Architect's Journal, 1 (1837), p.156. They were said to have painted 4 sets of the 'Virtues' in all.

76. Eg. at Welney Church, Norfolk (c.1856) by Thomas Wilmshurst; St James, Fulmer, Bucks., by George Hoadley (c.1844).

77. At Debden Church, Essex (1786); Milton Abbas, Dorset; and St George's Chapel, Windsor (1800).


79. A copy of 'The Three Maries' after West was exhibited by Joseph Backler in London in 1817; W.R. Eginton, assisted by Lowe, painted a copy of West's 'Resurrection' for All Saints, Newton, Manchester. As regards other media - a needlework specimen of 'The Resurrection' was executed by Miss Althea Fanshawe in 1793 for Trinity College, Oxford.

80. A glass-painting of 'Samuel and Eli' (4' 4" x 3' 4") by Jervais, after West, was sold by Christie on 23 March 1821 for £32 11s.; 'Catalogue of the Sale of Contents of the Gothic Hall, near the Opera Colonnade, Pall Mall'. Jervais also executed a figure of Daniel from West's 'Daniel interpreting to Belshazzar the Writing on the wall' (1775) Von Erffa & Staley, pp.309-10 and 319. (In neither case has the painted glass copy been noted). Lowe produced 'a Cabinet Picture after West' for Dr Fisher, Bishop of Salisbury, some time before 1805 and also a 'Salvator Mundi' after West. Lowe, *List of Works*, p.61.


82. Wyatt put forward proposals to design new tracery for inserting the Herkenrode glass, although there is no proof this was carried out. Lockett, 'Joseph Potter', p.37.

83. Ibid. p.39; H. Owen & J.B. Blakeway, *A History of Shrewsbury*, 2 vols, London 1825, 2, p.251. The purchase was probably made through the Rev. W.G. Rowland, Vicar of St Mary's, Shrewsbury, who as a former member of the Chapter of Lichfield Cathedral had directed the installation of the Herkenrode glass.


86. See the criticism of the 'ugly painted glass in the Lady Chapel'. *Gents. Mag.*, 100 (1830) i, p.406 (notes of a tour made in 1828).

87. The plans for its relocation are discussed in 'Sir Joshua Reynolds's window at Salisbury', *Art Journal*, N.S 6 (1854) p.191.

88. The glass was moved to the s. ambulatory behind the altar but has disappeared since 1912 when St John Hope noted it. The rest of the Georgian glass in the Chapel had been removed 2 decades earlier and replaced with an heraldic scheme by Thomas Wilement; all the stonework was restored at the same time to its original form.


91. Letter of 11 May 1783 to Mason; cited Woodforde, p.54.


96. There was an earlier plan to fill these 2 windows with 'suitable paintings by the same excellent artist' as soon as funds were available. S. Shaw, *History and Antiquities of Staffordshire*, 2 vols, London 1798, 1, p.260. R. Warner records that 'The Crucifixion' and 'Ascension' 'from designs by Jarvis' (sic) were intended, *A Tour Thro' the Northern Counties of England*, 2 vols, Bath 1802, 1, p.110. This was averted by the acquisition of the Herkenrode glass and Eginton's death.


99. Cf. the painted 'festoon' curtains around clear glazed windows which were a common late 17th and early 18th-century adjunct to altar-pieces; eg. in St Mildred's, Bread St. and St Anne's, Limehouse, in London.

100. J. Duncumb, *Collections Towards the History and Antiquities of... Hereford*, Hereford 1804, 2 vols, 1, p.537-8.


103. Wynne, pp.124-5.


106. The use of such blinds continued into the Victorian era: see a watercolour by Mrs Campbell Swinton (1853) of the Little Parlour, Renishaw Hall, Derbyshire. J. Cornforth, *English Decoration in the 18th Century*, London 1974, pl.73.

107. J.A. Knowles, '18th Century Windows in St Botolph's Church, Aldersgate', *JBSMG-P*, 2 no.2 (1927-8), p.72.; Bumpus, 2, pp.81-2. Clarkson (d.1795) began life as a coach and sign-painter and afterwards turned to portraiture. He became a member of the Society of Artists
in c.1773. In 1787 he painted an Annunciation 'in chiaroscuro' which he presented to his Parish Church of St Mary, Islington. J. Nelson, History ..., of Islington, 2nd ed., London 1823, p.297. An altar-painting of 'Jesus in the Garden' by Clarkson in the church of St George's-in-the-East, Ratcliffe Highway, (dest.) may have been another copy of Le Brun. Timbs, p.162.

108. Some of these windows will be dealt with in later chapters. Other examples were to be found in St Mary's, Wyndham Place, Marylebone, 'The Ascension' (c.1823); St Olave's, Hart St., (1823) Evangelists and Prophets; St Stephen's, Coleman St., 'The Deposition' after Rubens; St John's Chapel, Walham Green, (c.1828), 'The Transfiguration'. St James, W. Hackney (c.1834), 'Christ Bearing the Cross'.


111. Gents. Mag., 97 (1827) ii, p.11, erroneously described the St Marylebone design as a copy of the St George's Chapel window.

112. Eg, at St Thomas's, Dudley, Worcs. (1821). They were also to collaborate at St Anne's, Limehouse; Gents. Mag., 98 (1828) ii, p.298.


114. The altar-painting of 'The Nativity' was retained by the church until 1883.

115. 97 (1827) ii, p.11.

116. It was exhibited after West's death in his gallery in Newman Street. He executed another, larger scale and more melodramatic version of the subject for St George's Chapel in 1786; Von Erffa & Staley, pp.353-5.


118. Acker mann, Repository, 351 (1823), pp.364-5.

119. They probably dated from Bishop Bysse's installation of the altar-screen.

120. See pp.62-9.

121. Merewether, p.48. Wyatt had also wanted to lengthen the choir as he did at Lichfield and Salisbury; Gents. Mag., 65 (1795) ii, p.785.

122. The panel rests on the sill of the w. window in the church. The same church includes painted glass after Reynolds by Collins now in a n. aisle window (c.1828). It was moved and given a Renaissance-style ornamental setting by Kempe in c.1896. (Information kindly supplied by Miss S. Robinson, church archivist).

123. 'Painting on Glass', Lit. Gaz., (July 4 1817), p.28. The 'Compass Window' in Warwick Castle was said to have been filled with glass by Rubens; W. Field, An Historical and Descriptive
Account of ... Warwick, Warwick 1815, p.204. The glass by W. Price in the s. aisle of New College Chapel was often attributed to the designs of Rubens. F. Eginton painted a 'St John in the Wilderness' after Rubens for Shugborough Church. His 'Descent from the Cross' was particularly popular with glass-painters, eg. in St Stephen's Coleman St. & St Bride's, Fleet St., London.


125. Copies of 'The Transfiguration' are too numerous to list; the e. window of St Julian's, Shrewsbury, by David Evans of c.1861 is a fine late example. Small-scale versions were equally popular; the Norwich glass-painter James Zobel fixed a copy in Mr J.C. Yarrington's hall door light in 1831; The Diary of J.G.Zobel, Glass-Stainer, Lady Lane, Norwich, J.K. Edwards ed., Norwich 1964, p.17, (Local Studies Library, Norwich).

126. Press-cutting of the sale of Pearson's effects, July 14 1838: T. Wilmhurst, Notes on ... Stained Glass. A single scene of 'Christ at the Sea of Galilee' is in the Orangery at Bowood House, Wiltshire - the sole remnant of a set of the Cartoons by E.M. Pearson apparently presented to the Marquis of Lansdowne by William IV for his domestic chapel. W.L. Bowles, The English Village Church. A Series of Discourses ... on ... the Cartoons of Raphael., London 1837, preface to 1st Discourse. James Pearson was paid £1000 for a set of the Cartoons which he executed for Sir Gregory Page-Turner of Ambrosden.


128. For Mengs's painting see J. Sparrow, 'An Oxford Altar-Piece', Burl.,102 (Jan. 1960), no.662, pp.4-5. For the Magdalen painting, see T.S.R. Boase, Christ Bearing the Cross, attributed to Valdes Leal, at Magdalen College, Oxford, A Study in Taste, Oxford 1955 (Charlton Lectures on Art). In Upwell Church, Norfolk, both altar-paintings were copied on glass in a single window by Hoadley & Oldfield; Gents. Mag., NS12 (1839) ii, p.400; ibid. NS18 (1842) ii, p.411.


130. ibid., p.126; the glass was destroyed with the church in 1902.


132. Glass-painters or designers who wished to master the 'Characteristics of the Passions' could refer to Benjamin Walsh's finely illustrated School of Raphael, or the Student's Guide to Expression in Historical Painting (1759). Raphael's designs were dissected and the heads were categorised under a range of headings such as Sorrow, Horror, Compassion and Incredulity. Thomas Stothard, a designer of painted glass is known to have made use of Raphael's engravings.


134. Brighton, pp.411-2. The designs had been purchased by Dean Jeremiah Milles of Exeter, after the death of Price the Younger in 1765.

136. See the printed catalogue for the same exhibition in J.A. Knowles, 'Notebooks', 9, p.24: here 'The Brazen Serpent' cartoon is described as 'after a drawing by Mr Mortimer'. For the Brasenose designs, see M. Wynne, 'Drawings by J.H. Mortimer in the Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich, and a stained Glass window in the Chapel of Brasenose College, Oxford', Pantheon, 45 (1987), pp.107-11. See also Sunderland, p.168. The window which ultimately featured Christ and the 4 Evangelists is currently at the w. end of the Chapel.

137. Wynne, 'Drawings by J.H. Mortimer', p.110; Benthall, p.40, 154. The sight measurements of the 3 sections of the drawing (mounted as one) are 36.5 x 9.9 cms; 41.5 x 14.1 cms; 36.5 x 9.7 cms. I owe these figures to Dr M. Wynne.


139. Ibid. p.3.

140. Gents. Mag., 87 (1817) i, p.315.

141. Observations on the Western Parts of England, London 1798, pp.60-1. A tablet commemorating the 'Improvements' in Salisbury Cathedral and attributing the design of the e. window to Reynolds was erected in the Choir.

142. Owen & Blakeway, p.251. Bishop Shute Barrington was translated from Salisbury, where he had been a vigorous supporter of the architectural alterations, to Durham in 1791. For an illustration of the reeds and painting in situ, see J. Raine, A Brief Historical Account of the Episcopal Castle or Palace at Auckland, Durham 1852, p. 89 and plate. J. Macaulay, The Gothic Revival 1745-1845, London/Glasgow, p.145, pls.78 & 79.

143. Pearson, for instance, advertised in 1790 a full-length portrait on glass of the Hon. Christopher Fox after Reynolds.

144. Owen & Blakeway, p.251.


146. An Excursion from Sidmouth to Chester in the Summer of 1803, 2 pts, London 1805, 2, p.336


148. E.K. Waterhouse suggests Ramberg may even have been a pupil of West; Dictionary of British 18th Century Painters, London 1931, p.294. The Lichfield 'Resurrection' was even misattributed to West; Gents. Mag., 65 (1795) i, p.520.

151. Von Erffa & Staley, pp.361-2. The window space measured 36' x 28'.
152. p.3.
153. Dallaway p.284, noted such 'small subjects' by Jervois in Lord Cremorne's Villa (also known as Chelsea Farm); Wynne, 'Irish Stained Glass', pp.86-7.
154. V.&A, Press-Cuttings, 2, p.545. This was also claimed 3 years later by Mrs Pearson of her copy of Reni's 'Aurora', measuring just under 3' in length; it was bought in c.1795 by Duke of Northumberland for less than £60; ibid, 3, p.642, 744.
156. Wynne, 'Irish stained Glass', p.84.
158. Ibid., p.19.
159. Ibid., p.19.
160. V.&A. Museum Library, Picture Catalogues, 1, (1755-89) no.6.
162. An accidental breakage was reported in The Times, Jan. 7, 1786.
165. 'Core's General Advertiser'; Knowles, 'Notebook', 13, p.89.
167. The Table Talk and Omniana of S.T. Coleridge, Oxford 1917, p.107 (31 May 1830).
168. M. Pendered, John Martin, Painter. His Life and Times, London 1923, p.266. Martin executed a design in 1840 for stained glass for the rose window in the s. transept of Westminster Abbey; W. Feaver, The Art of John Martin, Oxford 1975, p.159 n.10: I have not been able to locate this design, said to have been purchased by the Tate Gallery in 1946.
169. J.A.Forrest, 'Stained Glass', Proc. Liverpool Architectural & Archaeological Soc., 1 (1852) p. 90. A larger glazing scheme in the Hall was proposed and J.P. Hedgeland (better known as an architect) was initially commissioned to succeed Muss, C.U.L., MS. Add. 6246, letters 19 and 65. Francis Chantrey apparently supervised the glazing of the mausoleum.
170. Hoadley had trained under Charles Muss, who had worked for Collins; Joseph Backler was a pupil in the 'Muss School', as were John Nixon and the more obscure 'Mr Jones'. Civil Engineer & Architects' Journal, 3 (1840), p.217.

171. Civil Engineer, 1 (1837), p.156.

172. The Syon copy measures 28 1/2" x 19" inside the frame and 40 1/4" x 30 1/2" outside. I am grateful to the administrator of Syon House for these measurements. Altick, p.415, believes this to be the 1832 version by Hoadley & Oldfield.


175. Ibid, p.409.


181. They were particularly vulnerable to fire; Nathaniel Dance (1735-1811), G.L.C. Exhibition, Kenwood (June 25-Sep. 7 1977), p.1.

182. An Essay on Transparent Prints & Transparencies in General, London 1807, pl.4.


184. Walpole, Correspondence, 39, p.133.

185. See T. Fawcett, 'Patriotic Transparencies in Norwich, 1798-1814', Norfolk Archaeology, 34 (1968), pp.245-52. See also The Annual Register for 1814, p.64.

186. Zobel, p.29.

187. E.g. transparencies made for Mrs Stuart's ball in Marylebone Garden by Rebecca, 'well known for his productions at the Pantheon'. Smith, p.68. An allegorical transparency by J.H. Mortimer was displayed in Vauxhall Gardens. Sunderland, pp.39-40.


190. For Reynolds' transparencies, see ibid, 'An Apotheosis of Princess Charlotte', ascribed to West, which A.P. Oppe suggests may be a design for a window in St George's Chapel, is perhaps a transparency design; English Drawings at Windsor Castle, London 1950, p.99, pl.94. West painted numerous transparencies, including those made in collaboration with Cipriani and Dance.


192. Y.&A., Picture Catalogues, 1, no.6.

193. Altick, p.124, fig.28.

194. The Public Advertiser, Mar. 29 1781.


198. Altick, p.117.


201. Monthly Magazine, 40 (1815) pp.60-1. Messrs D'Hil and Guerhard were said to have been 'liberally patronised by Emporor Napoleon' who had owned a gallery 'devoted to this art'. D'Hil, with the help of Guerhard, directed a painted glass manufactory; Gazette Nationale ou le Moniteur Universel, 2 mai 1809, no.122. See also 'Rapport sur les Couleurs pour la Porcelaine du Citoyen D'Hil' (Institut National Rapports 1799-1810). D'Hil later worked with Brongniart, Director of the Sevres Manufactory - the focus of the revival of early 19th-century glass-painting in France. D'Hil, whose name is found in various forms, is sometimes said to have been an Englishman. Merson, pp.276-7. A descriptive catalogue of his glass-paintings which were on sale in England was published in the Gents. Mag., 89 (1819) i, pp.409-11.

202. No.162 (Feb.26 1820), p.138. See also a letter by W. Collins of 1815 addressed to the editors of The Morning Herald, asserting the superiority of native glass-painters over French rivals. Y.&A., Press-Cuttings, 4, p.297. A number of English glass-painters, such as the Egintons, painted on 2 surfaces of glass in order to achieve greater effects of transparency.

208. 'The Diorama', *Somerset House Gazette*, 1 (1824) p.169.
210. *Gents. Mag.*, 75 (1805) ii, p.926. The Lichfield 'Resurrection' was also compared pejoratively to an 'exhibition transparency': *ibid*, 71 (1801) i, p.313.
Chapter 3

Painted Glass and Antiquarianism

Perhaps no aspect of the Georgian phase of the Gothic Revival has been so consistently neglected as the manufacture of painted glass. Charles Eastlake, the first historian of the movement, saw nothing of any relevance to his survey until the medievalising productions of the young Pugin in the late 1830s and 40s; his comments on earlier windows are limited to a general condemnation of the flawed 'transparencies' of Reynolds and his artistic circle.¹ Lord Clark - insofar as he dealt at all with the decorative arts - made only casual references to glass-painting and even the most recent historian of the Revival, whilst professing to present a more 'complete' view of its origins than ever before, has likewise failed to treat this art form as worthy of extended consideration.² Such a perspective neither corresponds with the contemporary evidence of the importance of Georgian glass-painting, nor with the self-image of the glass-painter and his patron. The production of glass was undoubtedly stimulated by the proliferation of building activities associated with the rediscovery of England's architectural heritage but it was demonstrably more than a simple by-product of this national trend.³ The painted glass medium in fact played an integral and a formative role in the progress of the Gothic Revival. Glass-painters and designers were quick to absorb the latest advances in scholarly research; their works thus provide a clear index of evolving attitudes to the past. The art of glass-painting had, moreover, rapidly become a major focus of antiquarian scrutiny; the controversial attacks on the short-comings of modern glass, sparked by such vocal and influential personalities as John Carter and Richard Gough, provided the impetus towards further experimentation with the medium. The architectural value of this art
form was a prominent and recurring issue in those preservationist arguments, reflected in the hostility aroused by Wyatt's cathedral restorations, which characterised a crucial alteration in public attitudes towards medieval buildings.

The stages by which the art of glass-painting became an effective instrument in the dissemination of revivalist ideology, are neither conceptually nor chronologically discrete. The following three chapters will, however, attempt to outline the gradual emergence of medievalist and other antiquarian aesthetics, the development of a vigorous critique of later styles of glass-painting and the birth of a new species of stained glass connoisseurship. Whilst making no claim to analyse in depth the progress of the Gothic Revival itself, these chapters will focus on the changing perceptions of the past, as informed by scholarly research, and as expressed in the imagery of architectural decoration.

1. 'History windows'

The rapid growth of antiquarian studies in the eighteenth century and the attendant rise, from the 1760s onwards, of a school of British history painting, was to have a profound effect on the development of the art of glass-painting. A process of idealisation and selective recreation of the past had begun as Ancient British, Anglo-Saxon and medieval themes were siezed upon by the artist and the writer alike. The imaginative excavation of medieval history for subjects illustrative of heroic and morally uplifting qualities was but one aspect of changing attitudes to the middle ages. The past was now called upon to inform the present with a new and meaningful nationalist iconography, one in which lessons of faith, morality and patriotism could be emotively demonstrated. Glass-painting, an art form which had voluntarily dissociated itself in terms of technique from its ancient origins, was to play a highly significant role in the early,
exploratory stages of the rediscovery of Britain's medieval past.

The eighteenth and early nineteenth-century vogue for 'spectacle' windows was not confined to ecclesiastical locations alone, nor to the treatment of religious subject matter: as the genre developed, the history painter's favourite themes were also translated directly onto glass. These windows, like their religious counterparts, were condemned by the Victorians as crude expressions of an outmoded taste, but it is possible to reconstruct from a small group of documented commissions something of the way in which such historical painted glass functioned in a domestic and secular setting.

The building activities at Arundel Castle paralleled to some extent the aims and achievements of George III at Windsor. Charles Howard, 11th Duke of Norfolk, who began to gothicise his ancestral seat in c.1787, has been ranked alongside men of the stature of Horace Walpole and William Beckford as a connoisseur, collector, architect and patron of the early Gothic Revival. The Duke's historical and antiquarian interests were a reflection of his own strong political sympathies: his fundamental belief in the sanctity of ancient liberties was expressed not just in the archaic style and format of the new apartments whose building he personally supervised at Arundel, but also in the didactic imagery used in their decoration. Visitors to the Castle were greeted by a huge allegorical Coade stone statue, twelve feet in height, representing 'Liberty'; the front entrance was surmounted by a massive Coade stone relief, carved in 1797 by F. Rossi, depicting 'King Alfred Instituting the Trial by Jury on Salisbury Plain'.

For the interior decoration of the Castle, the Duke commissioned from Mather Brown, a series of large canvases covering events in the Howard family history. Benjamin West was working at this time on an analogous programme of historical paintings for George III's Audience Chamber at Windsor Castle; the latter scheme, however, dealt solely with episodes in
the life of Edward III, the King's personal hero. The Duke of Norfolk had inherited a fascination with genealogy from his uncle, the 9th Duke (d.1772), who had commissioned from George Vertue a series of drawings and engravings of family portraits dating back to the middle ages (including, incidentally, representations of the Howards from the fifteenth-century stained glass in the churches of Long Melford and Stoke-by-Nayland). He had also commissioned a series of new ancestral portraits, some of which were based on lost originals. The 11th Duke continued the process of collecting and commissioning portraits of his ancestors - an activity which was by no means unusual at the time. The programme of paintings by Mather Brown at Arundel was never apparently completed, but the Duke was also contemplating a painted scheme of wider historical reference. In 1805, according to Joseph Farington, he was about to commission from Thomas Lawrence a very large painting, perhaps twenty-five feet high, representing 'the pictorial apotheosis of the British Constitution' - the Granting of Magna Carta to the Barons. Lawrence was to be allowed three or four years to execute this work. In the event, the commission did not materialise, although the Duke's initial plans were not entirely abandoned.

It is in his role as a prominent patron of the art of glass-painting at Arundel that the 11th Duke's genealogical, artistic and political zeal found their joint expression. Like his friend James Dallaway, the Duke (who was President of the Society of Arts from 1794) found much to admire in the works of contemporary glass-painters. At Arundel he employed first the Egintons, father and son, and subsequently Joseph Backler, for what must have been one of the latter's earliest recorded, and certainly one of his most prestigious commissions. The Duke took great personal interest in the design and execution of the glass at Arundel; he supervised the works and 'had had the satisfaction of promoting Mr Backler to maintain his pre-eminence among the distinguished artists of the day.' Not all of the
painted glass originally planned for Arundel was completed but it undoubtedly constituted one of the most ambitious schemes of secular glass attempted by a private patron at that date.

The painted glass was disposed in three main areas in the Castle; the Dining Room, Library, and Baron's Hall. Although the Duke had been educated in the Catholic faith, he conformed to the established Church and was responsible for converting the eighteenth-century chapel at Arundel into a Dining Room. Some evidence of the apartment's former function remained in the sumptuous painted glass window, measuring twenty feet by ten feet, installed in c.1796: it featured 'The Queen of Sheba entertaining King Solomon at a Feast'. The Duke of Norfolk appeared in the leading role as Solomon, together with Sheba (who is sometimes said to have been a portrait of his wife who was confined to a lunatic asylum); other full-sized and recognisable portraits of living nobles completed the picture.\(^{(47)}\) The glass-painting was executed by Francis Eginton after a design by William Hamilton (1751–1801), exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1790. The painted window, with its vast baroque stage set, was an extravagant and opulent piece of work, recreating the sensual splendours of the much-vaunted biblical feast. King Solomon, seated on a dais and attired in purple and gold, was shown in the act of toasting the Queen who wore a white dress with a crimson mantle; a High Priest, minstrels, singing women and a 'sable attendant' also surrounded the table which was heavily laden with food and drink. The subject matter did not suit the more fastidious taste of the Victorians and the painted glass was circumspectly removed before the Queen's visit to Arundel in 1846.\(^{(14)}\)

The interior of the Library at Arundel, built in c.1801, was said to have been inspired by St George's Chapel itself; as a specimen of 'modern Gothick' displaying 'the delicacy of modern art operating upon the grandeur of ancient designs', it drew widespread admiration.\(^{(15)}\) A gallery at the far end featured a painted glass window executed by Francis Eginton as a
memorial to John Charles Brooke, the Somerset Herald, who had acted as secretary to the Duke of Norfolk as Earl Marshal and had died in the Haymarket Theatre disaster of 1794; the window contained Brooke's portrait in an heraldic surround. 16

The masterpiece of painted glass at Arundel was undoubtedly that in the Baron's Hall. Begun in 1806, the Hall was designed to commemorate the victory of the barons over the tyranny of King John. The authentic architectural model for the building was a matter of some dispute, but it represented the quintessential gothic heart of the Castle; ancient armour was exhibited on the walls and the oak-timbered roof was 'executed in a most masterly style of curious workmanship'. 17 The largest window featured a glass-painting by Joseph Backler after a painting by James Lonsdale R.A. (1777-1839). Its subject was 'The Granting of Magna Carta to the Barons', which, since the exhibition in 1776 of John Hamilton Mortimer's celebrated canvas, had been among the most popular of all medieval subjects with painters of British history. 18 Backler's window, with its careful and detailed composition, its medley of church dignitaries, barons and attendant guards, was clearly a product of the latest trends in British history painting - those large, lavish and theatrical costume-pieces which filled Robert Bowyer's Historic Gallery in Pall Mall around the turn of the century. Critics commented above all on the masterly realism of Backler's window: 'the gold and ruby colour of the drapery, the sparkling of the polished steel armour, and the jewels, are most brilliantly represented'. 19 The sense of theatricality was enhanced here, as in 'The Meeting of Solomon and Sheba', by extensive use of contemporary portraiture, the major roles being taken by members of the Howard family and their friends: it was living history, enacted, as it was described, in the language of the Passions.
King John, who with an indignant but powerless frown, seems to pause in the act of affixing his signature to the instrument, as if to upbraid the uncompromising patriotism of the barons...

Baron Fitzwalter, the hero of the piece, was, naturally enough, a somewhat flattering portrait of the 11th Duke himself: critics of the window praised the Baron's 'erect and noble' deportment, 'his determined purpose and manly dignity'. Technically, the 'Norfolk Window' typified what was then seen as the great contemporary advancement of the art of glass-painting: the separate panels of the window were larger; it was stated, 'than any work of the same magnitude in Europe'; a feat the glass-painter had achieved without the aid of a single piece of pot-metal glass.

Past and present were welded together with equally shameless genealogical pride in the remaining painted glass windows in the Baron's Hall; this scheme was begun by Francis Eginton but finished by William Raphael after his father's death in 1805. The windows were filled with full-length, fully armed and emblazoned figures, eight feet in height, representing the barons who had been instrumental in obtaining the Charter and from whom the Dukes of Norfolk were lineally descended. Their heads were, however, recognisable portraits of more recent and living members of the Howard family, the designs being provided by the fashionable London portrait painter - Archer James Oliver (1774-1842). John Constable, who visited the Castle in 1834, was singularly unimpressed by these massive historical portraits.

The Barons Hall is a grand room tho' strangely vulgarised by some hideous figures larger than life in painted glass by Oliver ARA in all the windows. These ruffian looking fellows look like drunk bargemen dressed up as crusaders, and are meant to be the "barons bold". 23
The whole iconographic function of the Baron's Hall was consummated in June 1815 when it formed the setting to a huge and exclusive celebration held in the Castle to commemorate the six-hundredth anniversary of Magna Carta and the founding of English liberty. To emphasise the ideological context of the whole event the 'Magna Carta' window was illuminated from the outside during the evening in the manner of a huge patriotic transparency. The occasion was a curious mixture of fantasy and high seriousness, of ancient paegentry and modern entertainment. Three hundred guests 'of distinguished birth' joined in the recreation of a vast medieval banquet in a Hall decked out with ancient armour, swords and other military trophies: (the original plan had been that the guests should wear the newly furbished suits of armour throughout the whole evening). The banquet was followed by a ball led by the 11th Duke in full regimental uniform: the event represented the high point of the Duke's career as Hereditary Earl Marshal, for he died less than six months later. This centenary entertainment at Arundel was an early experiment in the vein of high-brow chivalric fantasy which saw its apotheosis in the much vaunted Eglinton Tournament of 1839. It also anticipated the romantic pageantry of George IV's own coronation in 1821 and the huge gothic banquet at which the royal guests wore specially designed pseudo-historical costumes.

Before his death, in response to the 'earnest solicitation of several artists of the first talents', the Duke had agreed to allow Backler's glass-painting to be exhibited in London. Thus in 1818, the 'Norfolk Window' was the focal-point of a popular exhibition of Backler's works and where it also, incidentally, functioned as a memorial to his patron. The portrait of the Duke, wrote one critic, (possibly Backler himself) -

must give additional value to the work in the eyes of those who
have participated in the enjoyment which his Grace's many excellencies were so highly calculated to excite ... 27

The extensive architectural experiments in the 'Castle Style' at Arundel were a great inspiration to other wealthy proprietors of ancient buildings. 28 Brancepeth Castle, the chief military strong-hold of the Neville family, Earls of Westmorland, was forfeited in the sixteenth century and acquired in 1796 by the Russells who had made their fortune in the coalfields of Sunderland. 29 Between 1818 and 1821 the Castle was largely rebuilt in a Neo-Norman style by James Paterson of Edinburgh: Charles Tennyson, M.P., a close friend of Matthew Russell, played an important advisory role in the rebuilding, particularly with regard to the Baron's Hall. 30 Tennyson was in fact responsible for commissioning a large three-light painted window, which remains today only in fragmentary form, and which was originally installed at the west end of the Hall. 31 The glass-painting was executed from a design by Thomas Stothard R.A. (1755-1822), and depicted a scene from the Battle of Neville's Cross of 1346 in which the owner of Brancepeth, Thomas Neville, along with other English Lords, had defeated and captured King David Bruce of Scotland. Payment of £1500 for the window, installed at Brancepeth in c.1821, was made to William Collins of the Strand, but its execution is generally attributed to Charles Muss, one of Collins' employees.

Stothard, an artist of diverse experience and talents, was a natural choice for the designer of this medieval battle scene. Not only had he displayed a precocious interest in the art of the middle ages, but as early as 1796, had been described as 'the only artist in the country who can comprehend, with keen precision, a subject dependent upon historical fact'. 32 In c.1810 Stothard had been commissioned by Colonel Thomas Johnes to decorate the octagonal Library of Hafod with a series of grisaille paintings of chivalric subjects taken from the Chronicles of
Froissart and Enguerrand de Monstrelet and which Johnes had himself recently translated. Perhaps Stothard’s most famous recreation of the middle ages was his frieze-like painting of ‘The Canterbury Pilgrims’ of c.1806 for the engraver Robert Cromek, a keenly observed and lively study of medieval costume. It was, above all, the strong linear effects of medieval art to which Stothard was attracted: his personalised style of draftsmanship (which owed much to the early influence of J.H. Mortimer, and after the latter’s death, of James Barry) was also particularly suited to translation into painted glass.

Although fragments only of this glass-painting remain, an outline engraving of the whole window, including the tracery lights and heraldic panels at the base, has survived; it incorporates a numbered key identifying the major military figures indicates that the glass was exhibited in London before its installation. Two colour representations of the glass-painting also survive. One is a rough watercolour sketch which differs in minor respects from the engraving and includes neither the tracery lights nor the decorative lower border and heraldic base. The second version, similarly restricted to the narrative scene, is a much more finished watercolour copy of the three lights, located in the collection of stained glass designs by the glass-painter, Thomas Willement (1786-1871). The window depicts three separate incidents in the Battle: Lord Neville is shown on horseback in the foreground of the left-hand light where Lord Hastings, the only English leader to fall, lies dying: a woman on horseback moving out from the distant walls of a fortified castle can be identified as Queen Philippa who had played a significant role in the direction of the offensive. In the centre light, King David of Scotland, identifiable by his crown, struggles without a sword against his captors; whilst in the background of the right-hand light, the fleeing soldiers of the Royal Troops of Scotland are visible.

Matthew Russell, unlike the Duke of Norfolk, could not lay claim to a
noble or heroic ancestry; the 'Neville's Cross' window, although clearly springing from the same fascination with the medieval past, constituted a rather more disinterested historical document than the 'Magna Carta' window at Arundel. Yet both can be seen as a reassertion of ancient rights and liberties and a reaffirmation of ancient dominion by men who believed their personal wealth entitled them to make such constitutional statements. Ideas of the medieval past were at this time most readily transmitted and assimilated through images of royalty or nobility: the concepts of chivalry, heroism, faith and justice which constituted the popular view of the middle ages had become firmly attached to particular historical personalities and the events associated with them. By this token, portraiture alone could embody and evoke a whole host of historical ideas. This was evidently the intention behind other painted windows in Brancepeth installed at this time, featuring portraits of Edward, the Black Prince and his wife the Countess of Kent, and of Ralph Neville, first Earl of Westmorland who had built most of the ancient castle and his countess. In the Armour Gallery, which also contained family portraits, a glass screen incorporated paintings of King Edward III and Queen Philippa. As at Arundel, large amounts of newly acquired ancient armour, later described in guide books as having been worn at the Battle of Neville's Cross itself, completed this medieval stage set.\(^{(52)}\),\(^{(53)}\)

The third, equally celebrated, example of historical glass-painting was tragically destroyed by fire in 1832 whilst still on display in rooms in Oxford Street. It is not clear whether Thomas Wilmshurst's representation of 'The Tournament of the Field of the Cloth of Gold' had been intended for a specific domestic or civic setting, but there is reason to believe it had been sold before its destruction. The glass-painting was said to combine the 'exquisitely elaborate finish of miniature paintings,' with 'the general effect of the historical style'.\(^{(40)}\) It was first exhibited in 1830 and later offered for auction as 'a splendid ornament to a palace,
public building or baronial hall'. John Timbs included a description of this celebrated glass-painting in his *Curiosities of London* (1866) and wrote of its destruction as a major loss; if, as was claimed, it had cost the glass-painter nearly £2,000 and taken three years to complete, then this is not perhaps surprising. The window was said to have measured between twenty and thirty foot square and was composed of three hundred and fifty pieces of glass of irregular forms and sizes, contrived to appear as one uninterrupted scene. It was a nostalgic and glittering recreation of the meeting of Henry VIII and Francis I at Ardes, 'that gorgeous congress of chivalry which it well nigh beggared two nations to furnish'.  

Henry was represented on the point of engaging with Marquis de Fleurenenges, whilst Francis was about to encounter the Earl of Devonshire; the tournament was watched from underneath a superb canopy by Cardinal Wolsey, Anne Boleyn, Catherine of France and other attendants. The crowd included a large number of recognisable historical portraits, such as Mary, Queen Dowager of France, Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, the Duke of Buckingham, Thomas Cromwell and the chronicler Edward Hall 'busily engaged in noting down the incidents of the superb political drama'. No detail was spared to make this representation as convincing as possible; Anne Boleyn, then a Maid of Honour in the Royal Court was described as looking 'with eager and ambitious gaze upon the pageant which Wolsey views with ill-concealed aversion and contempt.'

The design for the glass-painting was supplied by Robert Trewthick Bone (1790-1840) who had recently distinguished himself with two paintings of Tudor subject matter exhibited at the R.A: 'Cardinal Wolsey at the Court of Francis I,' (1826) and 'The Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk demanding the Great Seal of Cardinal Wolsey' (1828). The horses were the designs of another Royal Academician, Thomas Woodward (1601-52), who had already earned a considerable reputation for his dynamic representations of animals such as *The Chariot Race*, or *Turks with their
Chargers. Despite its short life 'The Field of the Cloth of Gold,' which constitutes Thomas Wilmshurst's earliest completed work known to date,\(^{42}\) undoubtedly established him as a glass-painter of considerable stature. On the basis of this first success it seems he was able to retain throughout all later changes of taste his early affinity for a pictorial style. The praise awarded to 'The Field of the Cloth of Gold' was unstinted: critics commended the realism of the glass-painter's technique.

The artist has availed himself of the best authenticated pictures extant, in the portraits of his historical personages, into whose features he also manages to infuse what may be supposed to have been the predominant feeling and passion of the moment.\(^ {43}\)

Wilmshurst appears to have excelled himself in recreating the richness and brilliancy of the Tudor costumes.

The materials of the various stuffs - silk, velvet, cloth of gold, etc. are distinguished with the greatest accuracy; and the "sumptuous jewels of the ladies" appear not only real but are evidently of the first water.\(^ {44}\)

'The Field of the Cloth of Gold' was exhibited in a large, first floor room in Oxford Street, decorated and furnished throughout in the Tudor style; for a public now used to the inventive illusionism of the Diorama had grown to expect to full trappings of the art of public spectacle for their shilling admission. Wilmshurst was evidently successful in this respect:

The light is contrived in a most effective manner, and if the spectators look down, as from a gallery, instead of gazing up to it, they might fancy themselves actual spectators of the regal jousting, and wonder not to hear the sounds of the trumpets and the acclamations of the assembled "goodlie companie"... \(^ {45} \)
A number of other documented historical glass-paintings, both portraits and narrative scenes, testify to the popularity of this genre. One such example was offered for sale by Christie in 1811 as suitable for the window of 'any Publick Hall or Library'. It measured four feet four inches by three feet six and a half inches and showed 'Queen Elizabeth Gray, Wife of Edward IV surrendering the Duke of York in the Sanctuary at Westminster'. Episodes in the life of this tragic young Queen offered a particularly versatile range of emotive material for the contemporary painter of British history. This glass-painting can probably be identified as a piece commissioned for the Duke of Bedford's 'Book-Room' at Endleigh Cottage, executed by Samuel Lowe under the instruction of Francis Eginton. It was described in Lowe's catalogue as 'Elizabeth Gray, Queen of Edward IV surrendering the Duke of York to Cardinal Bourchier, and Rotherham, Archbishop of York, after Westall'. The latter had in fact exhibited a painting of this subject at the R.A. in 1800.

Another historical glass-painting by W.R. Eginton was executed for the eccentric Viscount Dudley and Ward of Park Lane: it was described as a copy of a painting by 'Mabuse', depicting 'St Thomas Aquinas performing Mass before Louis IX in the Church at St Denis', and incorporating the portraits of Louis IX, Henry III of England and several members of the Court of France. However, this painting can almost certainly be identified as 'The Mass of St Giles' currently in the National Gallery; although attributed over the last two hundred years to a number of artists beside Mabuse, (Jan van Eyck and Albrecht Durer for example), the painting, which was also owned for a time by Viscount Ward, remains anonymous. The work of Jean de Mabuse or Gossaert (c.1470–c.1533), one of the few masters of the northern Renaissance whom the eighteenth century still remembered, was also frequently misinterpreted as that of Holbein. A major factor in the appeal of this northern primitive painting was
undoubtedly its highly detailed depiction of an authentic gothic interior. The random identification of the portraits of Henry III and Louis IX must also have added greatly to its appeal. Royal portraits above all others continued to attract the connoisseur, a tendency which, not unnaturally, was reflected closely in the general appreciation of stained glass. Nor were such misattributions uncommon. Walpole went to some lengths to acquire for Strawberry Hill, two much damaged panels of fourteenth-century stained glass from the church of St Peter, Bexhill, largely, it seems, because he had believed them to represent King Henry III and Queen Eleanor. Two hundred years later, Le Couteur has proved incontrovertibly that these panels, now restored to their rightful homes, in fact represent Christ and the Virgin Mary.50

The gem of Messrs Hoadley and Oldfield’s 1832-3 exhibition of painted glass in Hampstead Road was a copy of a painting of a Shakespearean subject, ‘The Trial of Queen Katherine’, by George Henry Harlow, which had been exhibited at the R.A. in 1817. The colourful life of Henry VIII and his many wives had continued to provide a rich repertoire of dramatic material for the historical painter, whilst the same popular interest in the royal lives stimulated the revival of Shakespeare’s history plays in the British theatre.51 Harlow’s painting of the trial was also known as ‘The Kemble Family’, for it featured portraits of that celebrated theatrical family in costume in the midst of a performance of Henry VIII in which Stephen Kemble appeared as King Henry, John Kemble as Cardinal Wolsey and Sarah Siddons starred as the tragic Queen Katherine herself.52

It is at Fonthill Abbey, the vast neo-gothic fantasy dwelling of William Beckford that we find the marriage of historical glass-painting with the art of spectacle at its most refined and sophisticated. As a young man Beckford had been captivated by the illusionistic and lighting experiments of de Loutherbourg; some years later he created in the magnificent interiors of Fonthill his own series of theatrically contrived
'coups d'œil'; a succession of internal vistas designed to astonish the viewer with their extraordinary splendour and originality.\textsuperscript{53} Beckford's superlative control of lighting effects and sudden contrasts in the Abbey relied on the extensive use of painted glass; the 'artificial gloom' of long darkened galleries and corridors, opening out onto lofty emblazoned windows 'exposed to the rays of a meridian sun'. The two Egintons between them supplied practically all the painted glass: some, such as that in the Hall and the Oratory, was purely decorative whilst a large amount was devoted to heraldic subject matter. By 1799, Beckford had spent £954 on painted glass from Francis Eginton's workshops; in total he was said to have expended some £1,200 on the windows of the Abbey.\textsuperscript{54} In its distinctively gothic amalgam of elements and richness of detail, the architecture and interior decor of Fonthill evoked associations at once ecclesiastical, domestic and military; 'the religion and chivalry of our forefathers', commented John Britton, 'seems to have been intimately blended'. Whole apartments in the Abbey were devoted to a genealogical display of such lavishness that makes the attempts of the Duke of Norfolk at Arundel seem truly modest by comparison. It is interesting to note that Beckford too had originally planned to build a Baronial Hall which, like that at Arundel, was to be 'commemorative of the obtention and confirmation of Magna Charta'. The Hall at Fonthill was to be decorated with the armorial achievements of all the Barons who put their signature to the Charter; 'for it is a remarkable fact,' wrote John Britton, 'that Mr Beckford or his lady have deduced their direct descent from all the barons of whom any issue are remaining and who are named by Matthew Paris, as assembled on that memorable occasion.\textsuperscript{55}

Other apartments at Fonthill advertised the still more extravagant claims of Beckford's genealogical tree tracing his descent from all the sons of Edward III. One such apartment was King Edward's Gallery, measuring some sixty-eight feet in length, designed to commemorate the
King in his capacity as Founder of the Order of the Garter. A portrait of Edward III, copied from that in St George's Chapel, Windsor, dominated the gallery; each of the seven lofty windows contained armorial glass in the upper lights, supplied by W.R. Eginton, which corresponded to the personality whose portrait hung on the opposite wall.

The painted glass in St Michael's Gallery, executed by Francis Eginton, had been intended to depict the arms of the original Knights of the Order of St Michael from whom, once again, Beckford traced his descent. In the end, however, the windows were richly decorated with a combination of heraldry and historical portraiture with pious and learned associations: the Venerable Bede and Roger Bacon shared one window, Sts Etheldreda and Columba another, whilst the four Fathers of the Church - Sts Jerome, Athanasius, Ambrose and Augustine filled the tracery lights of the southern oriel. The designer of these historical figures was William Hamilton R.A. (c.1750-1801), who had trained as a decorative painter in the studio of Robert Adam: an artist of wide-ranging experience, Hamilton was well known for his book illustrations and his theatrical portraits which have been called 'fine swaggering pieces'.

Hamilton was at the height of his artistic career when he was commissioned to design a series of diminutive figures for painted glass in the tracery lights in the windows of the Oak Parlour at Fonthill. The thirty-two painted glass figures, depicted the first twelve Kings of England following the Norman Conquest and twenty medieval knights in armour; they were begun by Francis Eginton and finished by William Raphael after his father's death.

Beckford was throughout the 1790s one of the major patrons of Benjamin West, not least in the latter's capacity as a designer of painted glass. Although Beckford professed no religious beliefs, a small 'chantry' in Fonthill known as 'Beckett's Passage' was devoted to the memory of the Saint, whose larger than life portrait in painted glass, from a design by West, dominated the whole apartment.
Passage' appears to have been among the first installed in the Abbey: the commission had been given to the London glass-painter James Pearson in 1797. With its solemn mood and grisaille technique, the monumental figure is unusual amongst Pearson's known oeuvre and is closely reminiscent of Richard Greenbury’s seventeenth-century ecclesiastics in the antechapel windows of Magdalen College, Oxford. It is significant that William Gilpin (whom Pearson would surely have encountered through his employment at Salisbury Cathedral in the 1780s) was to express a strong personal preference for this grisaille glass at Magdalen. Benjamin West’s initial design, exhibited at the R.A. in 1799, had depicted Beckett in full colour; it was shown along with a second design of a similar format featuring St Margaret, Queen of Scotland and both were described as 'cartoons for stained glass windows in Fonthill Abbey'. The choice of this female saint was a reference to Beckford’s claim, through marriage in 1783 with Lady Margaret Gordon, to descent from the royal house of Scotland. His wife had died only three years later and the painting may well have been conceived as a memorial to her. Although the commission did not materialise, the glass-painting was to have been executed jointly by James Pearson and Thomas Jervais: the latter died in 1799 and Beckford seems shortly afterwards to have transferred his patronage to Francis Eginton, whose prices were conspicuously lower than those of Pearson.

Had it ever been completed, the 'Revelation Chamber' at Fonthill for which Beckford had drawn up detailed plans would have constituted a unique expression of sublime gothic horror and a suitably lurid and self-conscious memorial for the author of *Vathek*. No blandly chaste mausoleum would satisfy William Beckford: the chamber, intended to house permanently his own and his descendants remains, was possibly inspired by King Emanuel’s tomb in the Cathedral at Batalha. Beckford’s chamber could not be entered by the public but only viewed through an iron grille: it was to be furnished with a series of vast paintings on canvas,
glass, or a combination of both, depicting violent apocalyptic subjects. The plans for the apartment were ultimately abandoned and no glass-paintings appear to have been executed, although West exhibited a number of canvases from Revelation in his 'Dread Manner' at the R.A. in 1798 which may relate to this decorative scheme.61

Another tour de force in the neo-gothic style, Eaton Hall in Cheshire, was begun for the Earl of Grosvenor by William Porden in 1803 but not completed until 1820.62 As at Fonthill, a combination of heraldry and historical portraiture in glass formed an essential component of the interior decoration. The Grosvenors were proud of their descent from Hugh of Avranche, 1st Earl of Chester, who had aided the Conqueror in his invasion of England, and subjects from the Grosvenor family featured large in the embellishment of individual apartments. Here the similarity with Fonthill ends. The latter building was self-evidently ill-equipped for the necessities of daily living, and whereas the Abbey provided a dramatic and theatrical setting to enhance a heterogeneous and highly personalised collection of objets d'art, Eaton Hall was 'to a quite exceptional extent ... a decorators' house'. The gothic style had been selected chiefly for its ornamental potential, its capacity for an ostentatious display of wealth: Porden had been anxious to stress the elitism inherent in the domestic gothic as opposed to the Grecian style:

the expensiveness (of gothic) or the opinion of it being so has prevented it from becoming common ... It, therefore, is preferable on the score of preserving that distinction to Rank and Fortune which it is the habit of the age to diminish ... with regard to splendour it is far superior, and its variety is infinite ... 63

Dr Syntax, whose illustrated Tours of England, enjoyed immense success in the 1820s and 30s, used Eaton as the perfect expression of the
modern land-owner's relationship to his own past. A visit to the Hall prompted a satirical encomium upon the appropriateness of modern domestic gothic, with its archaic resonances, for the homes of ancient families whose feudal dictatorship had been supplanted by a civilised, rational and beneficent rule.

The new rais'd structure should dispense
The stile of old magnificence;
The grandeur of a former age
Should still the wandering eye engage,
And the last Heir be proud to raise
A Mansion as of former days. 64

Eaton Hall was demolished as recently as 1963, but the Bucklers' watercolours have preserved in magnificent detail glimpses of what has been described as 'the most extravagant country house interior' of the day.65 It is evident that painted glass played an integral role in the conception and creation of those lavish and opulent interiors, where the major emphasis was upon style, sophistication and modern comforts. All the painted glass was confined to the upper lights of the windows so as not to interrupt the pleasing views onto the Park. In the Saloon, three lofty windows filled with painted glass admitted 'a subdued light .... and cast over its Gothic character a charm not to be obtained in the absence of this beautiful ornament'.66 These windows contained the arms of the Grosvenors and their alliances and six painted glass figures including William I, Bishop Odo of Bayeux, and Sir Gilbert le Grosvenor, nephew to the Conqueror. The massive 'heraldic lustre' in the Saloon was also embellished with small painted glass shields. The centre window of the Dining Room contained the solitary portrait of the most celebrated of the Grosvenor ancestors - the first Earl of Chester - in full armour. Known as 'Hugh Lupus' because of his bellicose nature, the Earl was commemorated
for his military victories over the Welsh rather than for his acts of barbaric cruelty. Portraits of six other Earls of Chester were to be found in the ante-room windows adjoining the Dining Room. The decorations of the latter apartment displayed 'a pleasing simplicity'; two gothic niches at either end held statues by Westmacott of ancient members of the Grosvenor family. Porden had essentially practical reasons for keeping the painted glass in the Dining Room to a minimum; as he told his patron - 'the Dresses of your Society in times of Gala would suffer like statues and pictures'.

The furnishings of the Drawing Room decorations were particularly lavish, whilst in the windows appeared heads and figures of Grosvenor ancestors including the portraits of the current Earl and his Countess 'in a beautiful brown chiaroscuro'.

All the painted glass appears to have been installed in the principal rooms by 1811 and a number of different glass-painters and designers were responsible. The Saloon figures were designed by the Henry Tresham R.A. (1741-1814); at one time Professor of Painting at the Royal Academy, Tresham's 'flimsy mannered style' (often likened to that of William Hamilton) is generally considered to have been better suited to drawing. The Saloon glass was executed by 'Messrs Davenport of Longport'. John Davenport, of whom little is known, had established a china factory at Stoke and in 1801-2 added glass-painting to his business. Davenport also supplied the glass for the Dining Room and ante-room windows, although the cartoons for the Earls of Chester were provided by the portraitist and illustrator, Henry Singleton R.A. (1766-1839). The glass in the Drawing Room was supplied by 'Messrs Backler and Silk of Newman Street' - a rare reference to the early partner of Joseph Backler: their names only appear together in trade directories during the period 1811-13.

In the extensive use of painted glass, fast becoming a fashionable adjunct to the decorator's art, Eaton Hall was typical of numberless new houses all over the country. Beckford himself confessed to having
selected the gothic style chiefly because it allowed him to emblazon his windows with his own putative genealogy:70 for men of lesser means, equally anxious to prove the antiquity of their ancestry, heraldic glass, both old and new, could supply a family pedigree much more cheaply than a well-stocked portrait gallery. The owners of classical houses were no less attracted by the ornamental potential of this medium. One such example was Porkington Hall - the Grecian-style Shropshire seat of William Ormsby Gore: a dome of painted glass surmounting the main staircase - 'serving equally to ornament and illuminate the interior of the building' - recorded the names, dates, and armorial achievements of each family connection. Other apartments in the house were fitted up in the same manner with heraldic glass which was artificially illuminated at night.71

The vogue for historical glass was not confined to secular locations: there is evidence that the Anglican hostility to religious imagery may have encouraged the introduction of such subject matter into church buildings. A small, but nonetheless interesting, early example of the eighteenth-century cult of genealogy is to be found in the church of Burton Agnes in Yorkshire, where in 1772, William Peckitt provided an heraldic glass-painting for Sir Griffith Boynton.72 The glass fills only the upper section of one small window: it includes two kneeling effigies of Sir Roger de Somerville and his wife Maud, fourteenth-century ancestors of the Griffith family; underneath are two coats of arms belonging to later ancestors and their alliances. Although he did produce a number of historical portraits early in his career, this example seems to have been Peckitt's only excursion into the historical genre specifically intended for an ecclesiastical setting.73 It represents, moreover, the early stages of a national trend which was to gather momentum as the century drew to a close.

The acquisition and installation of the celebrated Herkenrode glass
for Lichfield Cathedral in 1806-8 inspired the commissioning of an extensive programme of modern painted windows. The latter, chiefly heraldic in subject matter, were installed under the enthusiastic supervision of the Reverend William Gorsuch Rowland, a former canon of the Cathedral, with the generous support of the current Dean, John Chappel Woodhouse. In 1818 the Dean donated an entirely new 'Perpendicular' gothic window for the north transept whose glass was intended to commemorate the principal founders and benefactors of the Cathedral over the past centuries.\textsuperscript{74} Such painted glass schemes belong to a well-established medieval tradition of commemorative portraiture. Designs for the eight painted glass figures, which ranged chronologically from Osyth, Anglo-Saxon King of Northumberland, to John Hackett, seventeenth-century Bishop of Lichfield, were provided by John James Hall R.A. (1776-c.1826) from the 'best original representations of these worthies'; the ornamental details in the window were designed by the Reverend Rowland himself. The glass was executed by John Betton of Shrewsbury, (1765-1849) - the first glass-painter ever to receive a knighthood: Betton was assisted in this task by his apprentice David Evans (1793-1862), later his partner and successor.\textsuperscript{75} Although Hall supplied cartoons for the firm of Betton and Evans on other occasions, there is reason to believe he was not the first choice as a designer of the Lichfield window: shortly before his death in 1810 John Francis Rigaud had completed for the Dean and Chapter's inspection a picture of Offa, Anglo-Saxon King of Mercia, which was intended as a cartoon for the new painted window in the Cathedral.\textsuperscript{76}

In Oxford, where the commemorative traditions were still evident in the remains of medieval stained glass and later examples, the revival of historical portraiture went hand in hand with a process of architectural gothicisation in the University. At Magdalen College, where James Wyatt was employed in the early 1790s, the refurbishment of the chapel included considerable expenditure on the provision of further painted glass.\textsuperscript{77} At
Wyatt's personal recommendation, Francis Eginton was commissioned in 1797 to fill the eight windows of the ante-chapel with a combination of heraldry, scriptural subjects and portraiture. The latter included the College's two patron saints, John the Baptist and Mary Magdalen, as well as Kings Henry III and VI, William Waynflete, William Wykeham, Bishop Fox and Cardinal Wolsey - all founders of Oxford Colleges. From Eginton's correspondence with the College it seems that the glass-painter himself was entrusted to provide designs for this programme: a number of unsigned pen and wash drawings in the College archives represent his alternative proposals for filling the ante-chapel windows - the designs varying according to the costs of execution. The accomplished sepia-coloured figures display an unusual 'baroque sense of movement' and 'a mannerist elongation' - a style of draftsmanship which may well owe something to the influence of Benjamin West, with whom Eginton was already professionally associated. A further watercolour drawing for a gothick painted window in Magdalen College, currently in the library of the R.I.B.A., basically repeats the format of Eginton's designs but incorporates a small representation of a 'Noli me Tangere' in the upper central light above a figure of the Magdalen. The latter design has been attributed to J.A. Repton although there is no further evidence of this architect's involvement in the new glazing programme. Eginton's windows were fully installed by 1799 when the final payment was made. Although in keeping with the other painted glass in the Choir, Eginton's sombre-tinted 'claro scuro' glass was never widely popular: it was said to cast 'a feverish hue' over the interior of the chapel and was removed during the mid nineteenth-century restoration of the building; it has subsequently disappeared without trace.

All over the country, glass-painting ministered to the expanding cult of ancestry. At Brockley, in Somerset, for example, the windows of this small rural church were filled by W.R. Eginton with a memorial scheme.
depicting heraldry, ecclesiastical figures and ancestors of the donor family. The Smyth-Piggotts claimed descent from Edward I, whose portrait is included in the three light window of the Piggott chapel (a family pew in the church) between those of Nicholas and Dorothy Wadham, founders of the Oxford College, and from whom the family also traced their descent. Another window contains a portrait of Edward the Confessor whilst a further ancestral figure can probably be identified as Thomas Coward, Recorder of Winchester at the time of Queen Anne. In the nave, Archbishop Chichele of Canterbury, William of Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester and Thomas de Mowbray share a three light window.

A further example of this genre of glass-painting, fortunately still extant, is to be seen in the large east window of Charles Barry's Holy Trinity, Islington - a splendid Commissioners' Church in a late gothic style. The painted glass, 'of an antique character and design, in perfect accordance with the building' was executed in 1829 by Thomas Willement. The format of the window is quite simple: the lower tier is dominated by the Royal Arms and the side compartments are filled with ornamental mosaic glass incorporating various cyphers; the upper section contains a substantial effigy of a man in sixteenth-century costume kneeling underneath an architectural canopy. An inscription identifies him as Richard Cloudesley, 'a parishioner of Islington of pious memory' who in 1517 had donated the land upon which the present church was built: 'to perpetuate the memory of so great a benefactor to the parish the feoffees of the said estates have caused this window to be thus embellished.' In 1829 the multi-talented Thomas Willement (1786-1871), was still better known as an heraldic expert, author of Regal Heraldry... (1821) and Heraldic Artist to George IV. He is nevertheless a personality of seminal importance in the development of early nineteenth-century English glass-painting, not least because his career spanned so many years and witnessed so many fundamental aesthetic changes.
Willement began glass-painting in 1812, when the eighteenth-century pictorial traditions were still omnipotent; it was his glass which eventually supplanted the scheme of quintessential 'picture windows' in St George's Chapel, Windsor. Willement not only outlived Pugin by some twenty years but he saw the gradual demise of the ecclesiological system in which his own work had been fostered.

The Cloudesley window appears to have established Willement as an historical portraitist on glass of some standing.86 His exceptional talents as a scholar and a craftsman were quickly recognised. 'It was fortunate for Mr Barry' wrote one perceptive critic of this window, 'that an artist existed possessed of sufficient antiquarian knowledge to execute such decorations in a correct style'.87 It is precisely this growing awareness of a 'correct style' in the application of antiquarian knowledge to the visual recreation of historical subject matter, which demands investigation and which forms the basis of the rest of this chapter.

II. Antiquarian Sources

So far we have concentrated on the iconography of historical glass-painting and the way in which this reflected closely the thematic and ideological preoccupations of the rapidly expanding school of British history painting. The following section will examine the sources and models used by painters on glass and on canvas alike in their reference to the past.

For much of the eighteenth century, the standard sources for artists and designers engaged in such tasks were literary: a growing number of published histories of England provided details of the battles, trials, partings and sacrifices which were the mainstay of this genre of painting. The greatest popular historian of the eighteenth century was undoubtedly
David Hume (1711-76) whose *History of England from the Invasion of
Julius Caesar to the Revolution of 1698*, first published between 1754 and
1762, was the country's first 'national' history and ran into numerous later
editions. Hume's works were dominated by the general trends of
rationalist thinking common to the Enlightenment: his strongly moral
perspective and emphasis on expressions of faith, courage and patriotism,
were immensely popular with the reading public and had enormous cultural
influence. Artists turned to Hume for guidance on the fundamental
details of historical events and his authority on such matters retained its
primacy well into the nineteenth century: James Lonsdale's design for the
'Magna Carta window' at Arundel was absolutely faithful in terms of the
personalities present to Hume's written account of the event. As the
century progressed, however, it had become increasingly common for such
histories to incorporate engraved illustrations highlighting particular
scenes with a dramatic tableau; these illustrated volumes, a new and vital
source of artistic patronage, were the prelude to historical painting in the
'Grand Manner'. Perhaps the most important scheme of patronage for
British History painters at the end of the eighteenth and early nineteenth
century was Robert Bowyer's publication of Hume's *History* which appeared
in nine folio volumes between 1793 and 1806. The commissioned
paintings were exhibited in Bowyer's Gallery in Pall Mall and the hundred
or so illustrations, designed to 'rouse the passions, to fire the mind with
 emulation of heroic deeds, or to inspire it with detestation of criminal
actions', did much to mould the popular view of British history. The
artistic repercussions of the scheme were considerable and it is not
perhaps surprising to find amongst the names of artists employed by
Bowyer, those of Henry Tresham, John Francis Rigaud and William
Hamilton, all of whom, as we have seen, were awarded major commissions
to provide designs for painted glass.

Before long, the desire for accurate visual information about the past
began to supersede the imaginative primacy of the written word. The paintings which had hung in Bowyer's Historic Gallery - those vague anachronistic enactments of historic dramas conceived almost entirely in emotional terms - were rapidly to appear outdated and inadequate. The sudden expansion of antiquarian studies in England throughout the second half of the eighteenth century had important consequences for the visual representation of history as new and rigorous standards of pictorial accuracy began to be demanded of the artist. The achievement of such standards was made possible, from the 1770s onwards, by the publication of a number of fully illustrated, thoroughly researched volumes produced by scholars on specialist aspects of British history. These monographs constituted the bed-rock of the early phase of the Gothic Revival, enabling the study of medieval history to progress from dependence on the imagination to the validity of observable fact; they provided not only prolific visual data and learned discussions on matters of antiquarian interest, but also methodological tools whose potential for wider application was quickly recognised.

An essential work of reference for any artist wanting accurately to depict the medieval past was Francis Grose's *Treatise on Ancient Armour and Weapons*, (1786), illustrated by numerous examples of original armour: the author also confessed to having consulted tomb sculpture, ancient seals and painted glass, 'but these', he added, 'as sparingly and cautiously as possible ...'. Grose's publication constituted the standard authority on all aspects of military life from earliest records down to the seventeenth century; not until the 1820s was it finally superseded by the researches of Sir Samuel Rush Meyrick whose personal collection of arms and armour was famous throughout Europe.

The most important single contribution to antiquarian studies in the eighteenth century was probably made by Dr Joseph Strutt, an engraver by profession, who constructed for the benefit of the public 'a picture of
everyday life in England from the Anglo-Saxon down to the Tudor age. The contemporary mania for royal portraits was fed by the publication in 1773 of his Regal and Ecclesiastical Antiquities of England, which contained representations of all the English Monarchs from Edward the Confessor to Henry VIII. What made Strutt’s individual contribution so impressive was his artful plundering of authentic medieval manuscript collections in the British Museum and Bodleian Library and his illustrative use of such original sources. His Complete View of the Manners, Customs, Arms, Habits etc. of the Inhabitants of England, (1774-6) presented the reading public with an unbroken series of medieval illuminations for the first time; equally valuable was his Complete View of the Dress and Habits of the People of England, (1796-9) which provided the first systematic and documented history of English costume. As Strutt himself was quick to point out, his was not an original method; earlier in the century Bernard de Montfaucon, the great French antiquary, had also utilised manuscript material for his Histoire des Monumens de France.

Although no major study of Joseph Strutt has yet been carried out, his importance to the development of medievalist research is undeniable. From the start he saw his works as ‘useful to the artist as well as pleasing to the curious’: his accurate facsimiles would ‘remove in considerable degree the former obscurity’ enabling his readers to ‘come at the truth of antiquity’. Strutt was not, however, personally interested in aesthetic questions of style or draftsmanship.

Though it must be granted, that these drawings are frequently very rude and uncouth in their appearance, it cannot be denied but that with all their defects they convey a much clearer and juster idea of the habits and manners of the people they represent, than can be formed from the most finished and elegant description.
What Strutt and his antiquarian contemporaries cannot have fully comprehended at the time was how, as artists, designers and the educated public at large gradually became familiarised with authentic medieval artefacts, they were unconsciously developing a stylistic as well as a typological discrimination which was fundamentally to alter their whole perception of medieval art.

Monumental sculpture had for many years been regarded as providing the best preserved likenesses of royal, noble or 'illustrious persons'. John Weever's *Funerall Monuments* appeared as early as 1631, whilst Francis Sandford's *Genealogical History of the Kings of England 1066-1677* (1677) was fully illustrated by images from the royal tombs. Similarly, George Vertue's engraved portraits of the kings and queens of England for Tindal's translation of *The History of England* by Paul de Rapin-Thoyras were largely derived from their tomb effigies, amongst other ancient sources. Then, in 1786, appeared the first volume of *Sepulchral Monuments in Great Britain applied to illustrate the History of Families, Manners, Habits, and Arts... from the Norman conquest to the 17th Century*. Its author, Richard Gough, was the Director of the Society of Antiquaries and this impressive publication was profusely illustrated with engravings by contemporary artists. The young Blake, in his capacity as apprentice to the engraver James Basire, had, through Gough's patronage his first formative contact with gothic art amongst the monuments of Westminster Abbey.  

Whereas Weever's predominant interest in monumental sculptures had lain in the historical personalities and events with which they were associated, Gough not only perceived their aesthetic value but also the necessity of establishing a scholarly context for their future preservation. Vertue's roccoco engravings could not be described in any sense as accurate transcripts of medieval artefacts, but the illustrations to the *Sepulchral Monuments* were by comparison faithful to the original. Even these were rapidly made to seem crude and inaccurate next to the magnificently
detailed and competent draftsmanship of Charles Alfred Stothard, whose *Monumental Effigies of Great Britain* began to appear in folio edition in 1811. It is hard not to see the latter's tragic death in 1821 as somehow powerfully expressive of the new and zealous urge towards authenticity accompanying the reappraisal of medieval art. Stothard fell fatally from a ladder whilst copying the stained glass portraits of Sir William Ferrers and his wife from the east window of Beer Ferrers Church in Dorset; he hit his head on a tomb and was found some hours later by the Rector who had come to check on his progress.  

More general publications on aspects of British art and architecture also began to appear at this time; foremost were Grose's *Antiquities of England and Wales* (1773-6), Gough's *British Topography* (1780), and John Carter's magisterial *Ancient Specimens of Sculpture and Painting in England* (1780-94). These were supplemented by the first comprehensive surveys of individual medieval buildings, such as James Bentham's *History, ... of Ely Cathedral* (1771), J.C. Murphy's *Plans ... of the Church of Batalha* (1795) and John Milner's *History, ... of Winchester Cathedral*, (1798).  

Such weighty tomes were not only an essential component of the library of every gentleman who professed an interest in gothic, but they provided an exhaustive repertoire of architectural and ornamental details for the potential artist or designer. In 1763, the *Gentleman's Magazine* began regularly to publish articles on various aspects of gothic architecture; the study of indigenous antiquities was encouraged towards the end of the century by the closure of the Continent and the demise of the Grand Tour, whilst the two learned publications of the London Society of Antiquaries, *Vetusta Monumenta* (1747-) and *Archaeologia* (1770-) had already begun to show an expanding interest in British, as opposed to classical, remains.  

It remains then to be seen exactly *how* this concentrated mass of antiquarian data was excavated and reused by the artist or designer. It
has been suggested that in the preparation of his painted glass figures of Sir Roger and Maude de Somerville, for Burton Agnes church, Peckitt had referred to a drawing made in 1604 by Thynne of a fourteenth-century brass memorial to Sir Roger; this brass was formerly in the church itself but had been destroyed during the Civil War and the drawing was included in a vast illustrated family pedigree compiled by Thynne for Sir Henry Griffith. Peckitt clearly felt no compunction to reproduce the medieval image and took only the most generalised details of Sir Roger's armour and heraldry from Thynne's drawing. The latter shows a recumbent effigy at prayer, his crossed feet resting on a lion: Peckitt chose to represent Sir Roger in a fully three-dimensional manner, kneeling opposite his wife; the knight's shield, depicted at the head of the brass, has been transferred by Peckitt to his shoulder and he now wears a somewhat improbable helmet. Both figures cast substantial shadows on the wall behind them and their faces exude a plump and genial piety. Peckitt's rather stolid draftsmanship belongs firmly to a pre-archaeological tradition of medieval representation: although his figures may well owe something to the small emblazoned drawings in Thynne's Pedigree, they are also reminiscent of Hollar's engravings for Sandford's Genealogical History or those illustrating the works of Bernard de Montfaucon. Nor, in 1772 — one year before the appearance of Joseph Strutt's first publication — is this surprising; the works of Bernard de Montfaucon and Sandford were still widely used in this country as a visual authority on all matters medieval.

By comparison with Robert Adam's near contemporary designs for the decoration of the chapel at Alnwick Castle, Peckitt's handling of medieval imagery could be seen as distinctly precocious. The new chapel at Alnwick, seat of the Dukes of Northumberland, was the culmination of an extensive programme of rebuilding begun in the 1750s: the creation of a series of interiors displaying an exotic and eclectic amalgam of neo-medieval and
classical forms made Alnwick one of the most influential buildings north of the border in the dissemination of the gothic style. The plaster ceiling in the chapel was modelled on the vault of Kings College Chapel, a pattern echoed in the carpet below. The largest window was modelled on the great east window of York Minster and filled with a vivid display of ornamental and heraldic glass for which the Adam brothers had supplied designs. Farington, who visited the Castle some years after its completion, noted that the chapel side walls were decorated in a combination of stucco and paint, panelled with 'the whole pedigree of the Percy's made out, shewing them to be descended from Charlemagne - from Manfreid an illustrious Dane of the year 850 - and from the Count of Hainault'. Although the wall decorations themselves have long since disappeared, one of Adam's fictive 'window' designs in a stucco frame remains in the Soane Museum. It incorporates an ornate genealogical 'tree' between two architectural niches containing historical figures intended to represent two ancient members of the Percy family; the niches terminated in pinnacles supporting small classical 'statues'. On the basis of their shields and Farington's description the two figures can probably be identified as Josceline de Lovaine and his wife, Agnes de Percy. Josceline was son of the Duke of Brabant and a descendant from Charlemagne the Holy Roman Emporer; his sister had married Henry I of England. Josceline's marriage in c.1168 to Agnes, the only surviving heiress of the Percy family, had saved the line from extinction. Tradition held that Josceline had continued to bear as his own paternal crest 'a blue lion rampant', rather than adopt his wife's crest - 'field azure, 5 mill-pykes'. Adam was clearly not at all concerned to create a sense of period accuracy; habited in a vaguely sixteenth-century suit of armour and vaguely Elizabethan ruff, Josceline and his lady - whose dress is still more fancifully archaic - are essentially exercises in the 'Gothick-Picturesque' school of historical costume; both figures might well have
stepped off the stage in a David Garrick production of Shakespeare. Roy Strong has demonstrated in the career of Benjamin West, who became a member of the Society of Antiquaries in 1792, the emergence of the 'Artist-Antiquarian' whose scholarly attention to details of costume and background - though occasionally lapsing into anachronism - differentiates him from his contemporary exponents of the 'Gothick-Picturesque'. West's reliance as an historical painter on the research of Joseph Strutt has been identified in his paintings of Edwardian subjects for Windsor Castle; similarly, it was Strutt's authority on medieval costumes to which Thomas Stothard referred in his celebrated painting of 'The Canterbury Pilgrims'. It seems likely that Stothard's design for the 'Battle of Neville's Cross' window at Brancepeth was also reliant upon Strutt for details of armour and weaponry. In terms of general composition, however, Stothard appears to have drawn upon a somewhat wider range of his experience of late medieval and renaissance art: Benjamin West's stirring scenes from the life of Edward III, produced throughout the 1780s and 90s, may themselves have provided Stothard with direct inspiration, as may the engraved scenes of combat in the Chronicles of Enguerrand and Monstrelet; Johnes's translation of the Chronicles had been published whilst Stothard was employed as drawing master to the Colonel's daughter at Hafod.

Strong has also convincingly demonstrated the impact upon the 'Artist-Antiquarian' of the publication of Walter Scott's novels (themselves profusely illustrated) from 1814 onwards. This should perhaps be seen as an essentially symbiotic relationship, in which writers attempting to construct an historical setting were able to draw upon a vast reservoir of antiquarian data, already conveniently translated by artists into portable visual imagery. The revival of authentic literary sources, the writings of Chaucer, Spenser, and Shakespeare, for example, was reflected equally in the art and the literature of the day. It is
interesting to recall that Strutt had himself attempted to write an historical novel set in fifteenth-century England, finished after his death by Walter Scott himself. Nor is it surprising that Thomas Wilmshurst's huge painted glass spectacle of 'The Field of the Cloth of Gold' should have appeared in its magnificent Tudor stage set in the same year in which G.P.R. James's celebrated novel covering this period, Darnley; or the Field of the Cloth of Gold, was eagerly received by the public.

Wilmshurst's glass-painting, an extended exercise in the art of historical research, was a product of the same fascination with portraiture and archaeological reconstruction of detail which had led J.S. Copley to devote thirteen years to his famous canvases of 'Charles I demanding ... the Five Impeached Members'. A sixteen-page 'Historical Outline' accompanying the exhibition revealed the numerous literary authorities to which the glass-painter had referred. Since he had witnessed the event personally, Edward Hall's Chronicles of England, first published in 1548, were regarded as the most reliable source of information, as were the French versions of events drawn up by Montfaucon and the Marquis de Fleurenge; other respected authors such as Holingshed, Shakespeare, and Thomas Rymer, also provided valuable vestigial details. At least forty-five of the figures included in the glass-painting were portraits, instantly recognisable as copies after Hans Holbein; a numbered key enabled the major personalities to be accurately identified, if necessary, from the arms on their shields and surcoats. The fortuitous discovery by Queen Charlotte of a large number of drawings in a bureau at Kensington Palace had led to the publication of imitations of Original Drawings by Hans Holbein in the Collection of His Majesty, for the Portraits of Illustrious persons in the Court of Henry VIII... (1792). Its author was James Chamberlaine, Keeper of the King's drawings and medals, and the engraver responsible was Francesco Bartolozzi. Chamberlaine was also assisted by Edmund Lodge whose own vast visual compendium,
Portraits of Illustrious Personages of Great Britain (1821-34), drawn from the portrait galleries of the great houses of England, was rapidly to become the *vade mecum* of all artists who wished to people their canvases with faces from the past. With the help of these artistic and historical aids, therefore, Wilmshurst was able to create in his glass-painting a convincing montage of authentic portraits and costume reproductions.112

At Fonthill, William Beckford had set aside an apartment for the creative use of architects and designers involved in the construction and ornamentation of the Abbey; the room contained amongst other things 'a collection of the rarest books and prints, illustrative of ancient costume'.113 Here, under Beckford's supervision, William Hamilton no doubt conceived the designs for the painted glass in the Oak Parlour which he executed shortly before his death in 1801. Despite its preservation intact in a national museum, this series of thirty-two designs has never been closely examined.114 The small, dapper figures in their historical costume are magnificent evocations of the classical training which underlay Georgian draftsmanship; despite their miniaturised scale these are highly competent delineations of the human form. Cumulatively, the designs provide an invaluable instance of the artistic appropriation and interpretation of antiquarian material. In some cases Hamilton himself indicated the model he was using, but the origin of all his designs can be located amongst a relatively small range of sources. The twelve kings of England, for instance, (7868/1-12) are acknowledged to have been copied from the programme of royal statues on the celebrated fifteenth-century Choir screen at York Minster.115 The costumes of the originals are reproduced fairly accurately; Hamilton did little more than add a touch of ermine here and there, re-establish a missing sword or sceptre, and adjust the folds of drapery. Far more subtle is his reinterpretation of the distinctive late medieval figure style in a contemporary pictorial idiom: 
this process involved the naturalization of the proportions of head, hands and feet, the taming of the extravagance of beard and hair, the homogenization of facial expression, and the general smoothing out of the bulky and manneristic lines of the originals. Although it is likely that Hamilton would also have seen the medieval statues themselves, they were well known from engravings and descriptions published in John Carter's *Ancient Specimens* in 1790. Many of the characteristics of Hamilton's designs noted above seem, in fact, to derive directly from Carter's own artistic interpretation. This is particularly noticeable in the figures of William the Conqueror, King Stephen, and Edward III, where Carter has already begun the process of dignifying and subduing their somewhat wild and unruly appearance.

The same publication by John Carter contains the engraving of a large, mutilated early thirteenth-century effigy in the Priory Church of Great Malvern; this provided the model for an unnamed knight included by Hamilton in the Oak Parlour series (7888/27). Exactly why this anonymous figure should have been included is unclear: perhaps it was simply selected on the basis of Carter's statement that the tomb 'is certainly the most ancient date of any now remaining in this kingdom'. The recumbent knight, lost from the knees downwards, holds a 'marcel de fer' and a large buckler and wears rudimentary chain-mail: Hamilton restored the missing sections, animated the pose and expression, and otherwise brought the effigy to life. The neighbouring design, (7888/28) representing Albericus de Vere, second Earl of Oxford, derives similarly from a sculptural source - the Earl's own effigy, constructed of painted wood and formerly in Earls Colne Priory, Essex. The tomb had been destroyed in the 1730s and the engraving published in Gough's *Sepulchral Monuments* was in fact executed from a drawing made by Daniel King in the seventeenth century. The original tomb showed the recumbent Earl praying, with two angels at his head and a dog under his feet: Hamilton's
characterisation reveals incidentally the historical prejudice of his age, for de Vere, known as one of the 'evil counsellors' of King John, is represented as a somewhat furtive looking character, nervously fingering his sword belt. Despite the fully pictorialised treatment of the figure, the slight rotation of the hips and shoulders is still reminiscent of the cross-legged pose of the original sculpture.

The famous brass memorial to Sir Hugh Hastings, (d.1347) in Elsing Church, Norfolk, provided the model for both the figure of Sir Hugh himself (7888/17) and for that of his nephew, Lawrence Hastings, Earl of Pembroke, who was depicted as one of eight original relatives in the side shafts of the architectural canopy (7888/18). Richard Gough had described the brass in the Sepuchral Monuments, whilst Carter's Ancient Specimens included engravings of the whole brass and of the figure of Lawrence Hastings. Between 1781, when Carter took an impression of the brass and 1819, when John Sell Cotman published his Sepulchral Brasses of Norfolk, the latter figure was removed from the brass by 'the misguided zeal of an antiquary' and has never been recovered. The two-dimensionality of the brass medium has undergone a complete metamorphosis in Hamilton's fully modelled and painterly interpretation. Although the details of the armour are fairly accurate copies, Sir Hugh has been altered from a praying position to a relaxed standing pose in which he turns slightly to the left, as if listening to his nephew. The artist has retained, however, with superb subtlety, something of the formal values of the medieval brass, presenting the slight 'S' bend and the forward thrust of the left knee in the guise of a contrapposto attitude. A graceful gothic curve is equally detectable in the figure of Sir Lawrence, whose alert pose, essentially a copy of the original, Hamilton has interpreted as that of a man in animated conversation.

Sir William de Tracey (d.1174), traditionally regarded as responsible for the murder of Archbishop Thomas Beckett, is shown by Hamilton with
sword raised (7888/22); that of his neighbour, Sir Hugh Marville, another of the conspirators, remains as yet unsheathed (7888/21). Both figures are derived from a reconstruction of a medieval panel-painting depicting the murder of Beckett which had hung over the tomb of Henry IV in Canterbury Cathedral. A highly coloured engraving published in Carter's *Ancient Specimens* in 1786 is likely to have provided the model for Hamilton's designs: apart from omitting the feather from Marville's helmet, he appears to have reproduced closely the details of armour and heraldry and even the characteristic moustaches of the two knights. Of all the Oak Parlour glass, only the latter two figures of Marville and Tracey have so far been located by the present author. They survive in a staircase window, in a geometric setting of coloured glass, in Newstead Abbey, Nottinghamshire, former home of Lord Byron. The Abbey was acquired and heavily restored by Colonel Thomas Wildman in 1817 and the glass was likely to have been purchased by the latter at the celebrated Fonthill sale of 1823.

The figures of Prince Arthur (d.1502) and Sir Reginald Bray, Privy Counsellor to Henry VII are adaptations of their donor portraits in the early sixteenth-century stained glass of Malvern Priory (7868/19-20). By the late eighteenth century, these two were the only remaining figures in the window in good condition, and as such were widely admired. Engravings had appeared in Strutt's *Complete View...* and Carter's *Ancient Specimens* in 1790, with a description by William Bray. In both designs Hamilton has transferred the figures from their devotional position, to a standing pose. No doubt in response to William Bray’s published comments on the reproduction, he has even gone so far as to improve upon the authenticity of Carter’s engraving by differentiating between the spurs of the two men.

Numerous other instances of the artistic plunder and adaptation of antiquarian material amongst the schemes discussed can be cited.
small, undated sketch by Thomas Stothard currently in the Victoria and Albert Museum can be identified as Edward, the Black Prince, and may relate to the series of royal and noble portraits he designed for the windows of Bancepeth Castle. Images of the Black Prince, one of the most popular of all historical personalities were not hard to find in the late eighteenth century. Strutt's *Regal and Ecclesiastical Antiquities*, for instance, reproduces a medieval illumination showing Edward III giving his son the conquered provinces of France, in which both figures are attired in full armour. Prince Edward also appears in the recently discovered mural paintings of St Stephen's Chapel, Westminster, which were drawn by John Carter for the Society of Antiquaries and published in 1795. The best known representation of the Black Prince was undoubtedly his tomb effigy in Canterbury Cathedral which Charles Stothard had recently engraved for the *Monumental Effigies*. For the portrait of Joan (d.1366), wife of the Black Prince, it seems equally likely that Stothard would have referred to Strutt's engraving of a fourteenth-century illumination in the British Library - the only original representation of the 'Fair Maid of Kent' known to that scholar. There can be no doubt that the portraits of Ralph Neville, first Earl of Westmorland, and of his wife, Joan Beaufort (which have fortunately survived) are taken from their own monumental effigies. Although Stothard probably saw the original sculptures, he would also have known the engraving in Richard Gough's *Sepulchral Monuments* showing the tomb of Neville (d.1425) and his two wives in Staindrop Church, Durham.

Artists, unless they were willing to brave the stern onslaught of increasingly informed criticism, could no longer afford to remain ignorant of the latest antiquarian data. When Henry Singleton drew up his designs of the Norman Earls of Chester for the windows of Eaton Hall, he would surely have turned to the sixteenth-century stained glass portraits originally in Brereton Hall in Cheshire but, in the early years of the
nineteenth century, at Aston Hall near Birmingham.\(^{127}\) The crowned figures of the two Saxon and seven Norman Earls are thought to date from the 1570s; they stand in full armour under renaissance-style arches and are distinguished from one another by their coats of arms and subtle differences of posture. Strutt had earlier engraved this magnificent series of historical portraits;\(^{128}\) it is far more likely, however, that Singleton would have consulted William Fowler's accomplished engravings of seven of the Earls and a separate engraving of Hugh Lupus, published in full colour in 1807. The life of 'the indefatigable and laborious Mr Fowler' of Winterton (1761-1832) a self-taught artist, engraver and antiquary, has been curiously neglected by scholars: between 1798 and 1829 he published a large series of engravings of Romano-British and medieval remains, including important specimens of stained glass, each of which was hand-coloured by himself or members of his family.\(^{129}\) Fowler, who was acquainted with many of the leading glass-painters, antiquaries and artists of the period, was known as 'the King of facsimilists';\(^{130}\) his engravings were considered by many to be the most accurate and accomplished reproductions of ancient art yet produced. One prophetic admirer told him:

Your works will become very valuable: I never see anything like your drawings of stained glass windows. I wish you had ever undertaken to paint glass yourself, quite in the old style.\(^{131}\)

Whilst there are clearly intellectual and qualitative differences between Hamilton's designs for painted glass in the Oak Parlour at Fonthill and Peckitt's memorial window in Burton Agnes of a quarter-century earlier, neither artist, in dealing with medieval subject matter was concerned to create the effect of an authentic medieval window.\(^{132}\) The Victorians found it hard to forgive them for this indifference, but ancient
stained glass, like tomb sculpture and monumental brasses, provided factual, rather than aesthetic lessons for the late Georgian glass-painter. As we have seen, the interest in and appreciation of medieval artefacts by no means implied complete approbation of the style in which they had been executed. It is in fact a commonplace of the 'Gothick' movement as a whole that its exponents were essentially critical of the art of the past and believed they could, and indeed, should, improve upon it. The Oak Parlour painted glass, together with all of that in Fonthill, was entirely in accordance with contemporary estimation of both the worth and the limitations of gothic art; it formed a fitting decoration to a building constructed mainly on a series of selective and parodic illusions of the past.

In the painted windows of Brockley Church, however, it is clear that something of a watershed in the handling of historical material has been reached. The somewhat clumsy figures of Mowbray and Edward I betray all too clearly their sculptural origins, all the faces are rendered in a distinctly contemporary manner and there is considerable attention to detail and surface modelling. Nevertheless, these glass-paintings embody a deliberate and precocious archaism of style and create a non-naturalistic effect which cannot be dismissed as mere artistic incompetence. By contrast, the burnished, suave figure of the 'Knight of Penrhyn' in Penrhyn Castle - which may have been executed over a decade later - is still firmly anchored to the pictorial and romantic tradition of medieval representation. The latter is also historically inaccurate: the knight is said to represent Tudor Trevor, a tenth-century ancestor of the owners of the Castle whilst his banner belongs to Llywelyn ap Griffith, who lived some three hundred years later. The most accomplished 'medievalising' figures in Brockley Church are those of Archbishop Chichele, Bishop William of Wykeham and Edward the Confessor (whose head is a modern replacement): the abstract treatment of the shallow
niches and the flattened figure-style seem to point to the use of authentic medieval stained glass models. It is tempting to see this development as a direct result of W.R. Eginton's handling of the fifteenth-century figural stained glass at All Souls' College, Oxford. The association is strengthened by the fact that the tiled plinths supporting a number of the figures at Brockley are close replicas of those in the All Souls' glass. The portraits of Edward the Confessor and Henry Chichele also feature in this medieval programme and, whilst neither of the Brockley portraits could be described as direct copies, the treatment of both figures, as well as that of Wykeham, suggest that Eginton was consciously drawing upon the All Souls scheme. The large seal hanging from Wykeham's belt is the 'Great George', probably drawn from Elias Ashmole's definitive work The History of the Order of the Garter (1672): its conspicuous inclusion provides further proof of the glass-painter's growing confidence and inventiveness in the handling of antiquarian material.

Of the remaining historical figures in the windows of Brockley Church, those representing Dorothy and Nicholas Wadham can be identified as copies of two portraits, both dating from 1595, which commemorate the founder of Wadham and his wife. The panel-paintings, currently in the Warden's Lodgings at Wadham, are half-length portraits only; Eginton had therefore to improvise the lower halves of the figures - a task not altogether successful in the case of Nicholas Wadham. The figure of Thomas Coward was also likely to have been copied from a painted source: the portrait collection at nearby Brockley Hall certainly included a painting by Lely, of the Recorder of Winchester.

An essential difference between the historical figures at Fonthill and those at Brockley, seems to be the proximity of the glass-painter, in the latter case, to his artistic models. Eginton the Younger, no less than his father, will always be remembered for his large-scale derivative essays in the 'picture window' style; however, his
versatility and dexterity in the handling of original medieval material, which has no real parallel in his father's oeuvre, also deserves to be appreciated. In c.1815-17, he had been commissioned by the Earl of Breadlabane to execute a large glass-painting for the newly built Baron's Hall in Taymouth Castle, one of the largest and most magnificent of all neo-gothic castles north of the border. The window, which remains in situ, measures twenty feet by fourteen feet and features a combination of heraldry and large-scale portraits of the first ten Lairds of Glenorchy, beginning with Colene Campbell (d.1480), in full historical costume. The figures standing in three tiers, surround a huge central coat of arms and were said to have been copied from 'an illuminated missal in his Lordship's possession'. This can be identified as the famous 'Black Book of Taymouth', a late sixteenth or early seventeenth-century manuscript account of the descent of the family, begun though not concluded, by William Bowie, the 'family notary and pedagogue to the grandsons of Sir Duncan Campbell, 7th Laird of Glenorchy'. The small illuminated figures accompanying the narrative have been somewhat arbitrarily attributed to the Scottish portraitist, George Jamesone (1586?-1644), much patronised by the eighth Laird; in addition to his numerous portraits of the family, Jameson executed in 1635 'ane greit genealogie brod pantit of all the lairds of Glenurchy and of those that ar come of the house of Glenurchy.' It is, however, somewhat difficult to believe that the crudely drawn, somewhat misshapen, historical figures in the 'Black Book of Taymouth' are from the hand of the artist whom Walpole glowingly described as 'the Vandyck of Scotland'. Eginton felt free to reinterpret the clumsy portraits in a highly polished and elegant style. The figures, vividly reminiscent in their assured and naturalistic poses of the Oak Parlour series at Fonthill, stand in varied attitudes on broad
ornamental bases framed by eccentric rococo-gothick canopies. As at Fonthill, the use of antiquarian material has been entirely subordinated to the requirements of contemporary taste.

The deliberate archaic effects which Eginton was able to achieve at Brockley were largely the result of a subtle combination of pot-metal colours, silver stains and enamel paints. Not only did he incorporate broad areas of pot-metal glass into his designs but he even went so far as to simulate the use of lead with bold, black painted outlines. This has a flattening effect which moderates and simplifies the more painterly qualities of his draftsmanship. As in medieval stained glass, formal and abstract values predominate over the creation of plastic effects. This should not be seen as implying that Eginton was intending at this late stage in his career to revert to a medieval aesthetic of glass-painting: it is precisely the stylistic tension created by his artistic training in a contemporary pictorial idiom and his increasing susceptibility to antiquarian influences which makes his work essentially 'gothick'. It is appropriate that the Brockley windows are the last documented works W.R. Eginton executed as a glass-painter before his retirement to Worcester after 1826/1827.

Willement's near contemporary window in Holy Trinity, Islington, cannot be so easily classified using the same somewhat simplified criteria. The glass-painter’s conscientious study of late medieval English stained glass is evident in the architectural and ornamental features of the window as well as in the kneeling donor portrait. Willement, although only eight years younger than W.R. Eginton, nevertheless belonged to a quite different generation of glass-painters. He was not only technically a more competent craftsman than the latter but he was already fundamentally committed to the mastery of the revived principles of medieval glass-painting. Nor, by this date, as the next chapter will demonstrate, was Willement entirely alone in his aspirations.
Notes: Chapter 3


10. A near contemporray historical exercise are the ancestral portraits at Audley End by Biagio Rebecca, now regarded as the earliest example of the Jacobean revival. R.J.B. Walker, 'Biagio Rebecca at Audley End', Connoisseur, 139 (Jan. 1957), p.164; Croft-Murray, 2, p.54, 258.


12. C. Wright, The Antiquities and Description of Arundel Castle, Brighton 1817, pp.120–1. A copy of Reni's 'Aurora' by E. M. Pearson was recorded at Arundel by Dallaway, p.288. James Pearson and Thomas Jervais are also said to have supplied untraced glass for Arundel; Wynne, 'Stained Glass in Ireland', p.2. The 2nd edition of Wright's History of Arundel (1818) p.55, also records glass by Richard Hand.

13. The window is described in an anonymous review cited by Aitken, p.40. The Duke's self-portrait provoked the elderly Horace Walpole's satire, Correspondence, 12, p.205.

15. Wright, pp.23-4.


17. Wright, (1817) p.25.


21. 'The Norfolk Window', p.88. The original picture apparently went to Ham Lacy, in Hertfordshire. The window was also engraved by one Radcliffe of Birmingham; MS list of works executed by Francis Eginton, compiled by W.R.Eginton, c.1830. Birmingham City Art Gallery, p.4.

22. The death of the 11th Duke in 1815 interrupted the completion of the Hall. Most sources agree that 8 figures in as many windows were ultimately executed; J. Dallaway, History of the Western Division of Sussex, 2 vols, London (1815-1832), 2, p.189, states that 12 were filled and Aitken, p.40 made 16. Lowe, Works, p.1, claimed to have executed 6 figures under Francis Eginton's direction whilst William Raphael, Works, p.8 claimed responsibility for the portraits of Sir Roger Bigod and William de Roos.

23. Correspondence, 8 (1965), p.111, letter to Leslie of July 16 1834. In 1818 Constable had himself been given an historical commission to paint a panel depicting a Norman knight in full armour for the staircase of Malverne Hall. He did not find the task simple: ibid., 10 (1966), pp.56-64. See G. Reynolds, Later Paintings and Drawings of John Constable, 2 vols, Yale 1984, 2, pl.126.


25. Girouard, Chap. 7, 'The Eglinton Tournament'.


27. Catalogue of Pictures Painted on Glass ... at Mr Backler's Stained Glass Works ...., London 1817, pp.6-7.


31. I have not been able to see these fragments myself. Mr Gavin Cole, engaged on a full-scale study of the history of the Castle before his death, had recorded the remains of its painted glass and described the 'Neville's Cross' window as 'almost totally smashed. One panel impossible to mend the other two 50% missing. They were walked on by a caretaker in 1978 (and possibly by others at an earlier date'). Letter of 25 Oct., 1984 from G. Cole to Michael Archer, cited by kind permission of the latter.


35. Located in Willement's 'Drawings of Modern stained Glass', B.L. Add. MS 34.873, design no.8 f.8. Girouard, pl.47, p.43 reproduces part of this, or an identical, engraving.

36. V.&A. Museum, Dept. of Prints and Drawings, B5a. no.1682.

37. B.L. Add. 34.872, ff.149-151, p.79.

38. Tradition held that before the Battle, Queen Philippa rode through the ranks of soldiers and exhorted every man to do his duty, and to take revenge on these barbarous ravagers: Nor could she be persuaded to leave the field, till the armies were on the point of engaging ...'. D. Hume, History of England ..., 8 vols, Dublin 1788, 2, p.441. West had exhibited a painting of Queen Philippa at the Battle of Neville's Cross in 1793.


40. Exhibition Catalogue, 1830: Wilmhurst, 'Notes ... on Stained Glass'.

41. Extract from The Times, April 5, 1830.

42. His window for St George's Church, Liverpool was not completed until 1832 although the design had been commissioned as early as 1826.

43. The Times, April 5, 1830.

44. ibid

45. Morning Post, April 5, 1830. Military scenes were commonly exhibited as Dioramas; see also the 'Panstereomachia of the Battle of Poitiers' shown in London in 1826. Altick, p.215.

46. V.&A. Museum Library, Picture Catalogues, 3, no.19, collection of Charles Small Pybus, of Great George St., sold 9 March 1811, p.6. item no.13.

47. Lowe, Works, p.2. Its measurements were given as 4' 5" x 3' 5".

48. W.R. Eginton, Works, p.12. Eginton also lists a figure of William I 'from a picture by Tresham' which he executed for Grand Duke Nicholas of Russia: ibid, p.7. F. Eginton had also worked for Lord Dudley; he supplied a window showing the Four Elements after Cipriani. Gents. Mag., 75 (1805) i, p.606.

51. Harlow's painting may also have constituted a thinly veiled reference to the 'trial' of Queen Caroline due to her husband's notorious infidelity; proceedings to discover whether there were sufficient grounds for a divorce had begun in 1813. I owe this suggestion to Dr J. Bate.

52. The *Lady's Magazine*, 1 (1834) pp.363-4, discusses this exhibition. See also the catalogue for the 1832 exhibition in Wilmshurst's *Notes ... on Stained Glass*.


56. H. Hammelmann and T.S.R. Boase, *Book Illustration in 18th Century England*, Yale 1975, pp.48-9. For further details of Hamilton's career see, T.S.R. Boase, 'Hacket and Bowyer', *JWCI*, 26 (1963), pp.152-3. Hamilton also exhibited at the RA in 1800, 'La Madonna della Gloria: part of the design to be executed in stained glass for the great window of Fonthill Abbey'. This cannot be identified amongst the glass known to have been executed.

57. Von Erffa & Staley, pp.400-401. See also Millard F. Rogers, 'Benjamin West and the Caliph: two paintings for Fonthill Abbey', *Apollo*, (June 2 1966) pp.420-5. The figure of Thomas Beckett, which measures aprox.12" x 3" 6", was sold in 1823 and is now in the Lord Mayor's Chapel, College Green, Bristol.

58. Gilpin, p. 61. James Wyatt, the architect of Fonthill, who was instrumental in Beckford's choice of glass-painters had been employed in the early 1790s on the restoration of Magdalen College Chapel: T.S.R. Boase, 'An Oxford College and the Gothic Revival', *JWCI*, 18 no 3. (1955), pp.145-68. The Magdalen grisaille glass was widely admired in the 18th century: the Warden and Fellows of All Souls College had stipulated that new painted glass for their chapel by John Lovegrove was to be in 'chiara oscura ... of a tint and colour similar to the windows of Magdalen College Chapel': Wardens MS 35, All Souls College, 3 April 1773. Lovegrove's glass, replaced in the 1870s, appears to have been entirely ornamental; see Cooper's 1817 drawing of the e. end, A. Vallance, *The Old Colleges of Oxford*, Oxford 1912, p.46. Greenbury's glass in Magdalen had been transferred in 1741-2 from the antechapel to the choir; Gilpin's praise could include the 2 windows in the choir executed by William Price in c.1762 showing the Apostles and also of 'chiara oscuro'. For this glass see J.R. Bloxam, *The Magdalen College Register*, 2 (1857), pp.clxxv-clxxix.

59. Von Erffa & Staley, p.400. West painted 2 colour versions: Beckford retained the smaller, *ibid*, p.103; the larger constituted the cartoon for the window. Another painting by West of 'St Michael and the Falling Angels' was exhibited at the RA in 1797 as a design for a window at...
60. For Beckford's response to Pearson's proposed charges, see The Farington Diary, 3, p.912, 1 Nov.1797. Pearson did, however, supply a considerable amount of 'bordures and mosaics' for Fonthill; Rutter, Fonthill, p.15; Storer, Fonthill, pp.11-12.

61. Von Erffa & Staley, p.388. The authors identify the 4 companion designs as 'John Called to write Revelation'; 'The Woman Clothed with the Sun'; 'The mighty Angel Standeth upon the Land and the Sea'; 'The Beast Rises out of the Sea'. The shapes of the first 2 designs in particular suggest they may have been intended for transfer to glass: the painting of St Michael (see n.59) may also have been associated with this scheme. An important precedent to West's work in the expression of the biblical sublime has been recognised as J.H. Mortimer's 'Death on a Pale Horse' of 1775. A small-scale painted glass copy of Mortimer's canvas was in Leatherhead Church, Surrey, until the 2nd War, along with a companion copy of his 'Saul and the Witch of Endor'. Both are now in the Y.&A. Museum. (Information kindly supplied by Michael Archer) See N.D. Ziff, 'Mortimer's "Death on a Pale Horse"', Burlington Magazine, 112 (Aug. 1970), pp.531-3.


63. Letter from William Porden to 2nd Earl Grosvenor, ibid., - I, p.305.

64. Second Tour of England, 2 vols, London 1826, 2, p.164. 'Dr Syntax', the peripatetic school-master, was the creation of William Combe (1741-1823) who was employed by Ackermann and wrote the texts for the histories of Westminster, Oxford and Cambridge published by the latter.


66. Ibid., p.2.


68. J.P. Neale, Views of the Seats of Noblemen and Gentlemen ..., London 1822, 1, (unpaginated) 'Eaton Hall'.

69. He was at one time in partnership with Thomas Lakin whose Receipts ... for Porcelain, Glass Painting and Staining were published in 1824. Knowles, 'Glass-Painters - II', p.399. The Eaton Hall commission is therefore the first identified work in painted glass by Davenport.

70. The Farington Diary, 6, p.2283, Mar.29 1804.

71. Neale, 3 (1823), 'Porkington Hall'.


73. For Peckitt's historical portraits, see Brighton, 'William Peckitt'. Examples of his historical glass intended for a domestic setting can still be seen in the Library of Hinchingbrooke House. Ibid., 'Enamel Glass-Painters', pp.336-8. Another figure of a knight by Peckitt was made in 1782 for Bretton Hall, Yorkshire. The glass survives, along with 7 other panels, in an octagonal lantern over the Painted Hall. The knight wears black armour and stands underneath a sapling, he holds a shield and a tilting lance. Ibid, pp.515-16. I am grateful to Dr Brighton for furnishing extra details of this commission.

75. For Betton & Evans, see Knowles, 'Glass-Painters - I', pp.328-9, 336. Harrison, pp.75-6. the figures in the window comprised St Cedd, 7th-century Bishop of York; King Offa of Mercia; King Stephen; Roger de Clinton, 12th-century Bishop of Lichfield; King Richard I; King John; Bishop Walter de Langton d.1321; Bishop John Hackett. The disposition of figures is just discernible in J. Storer's History & Antiquities of the Cathedral Churches of G.B., 4 vols, London 1814-9, 3, pl.3. By the end of the 19th century, this painted glass had been transferred to the Guildhall in Lichfield. A.B. Clifton, The Cathedral Church of Lichfield, London 1898, p.71. The s. transept had been glazed around the same time with religious figures, also by Betton & Evans; Lockett, 'Joseph Potter', p.39.

76. Pressly, p.139.


78. The somewhat complicated 18th and 19th-century history of the chapel's glazing is laid out in Bloxam, pp.xcii-ccvii. The relevant archives are in MS 735 in the College Monument Room (see also n.58 above). Having restored the great 'Last Judgement' in the w. window, Eginton was then given a commission to fill the antechapel windows.

79. Located in the Old Library, Magdalen College: Brown, designs 10-13. Eginton's own suggestions concerning the designs are located in letters 6-9, Nov. 1793 - Jan. 1795. MS 735.


82. Woodforde, Somerset, pp.241-2. Woodforde suggests Eginton's work dates from 1824-29; J. Rutter, Delineations of Somersethshire, London 1829, p.33, implies the glass was complete by this date.

83. Review by Edward John Carlos, Gents. Mag., 99 (1829) i, pp.406-7. See also C. Carr, 'Commissioners Churches', pp.134-5. Carr sees Willement's achievement 'in a subordinate artistic role' as 'actually more important than Barry's architecture. Insofar as the ... window survives, it all the more deserves an acknowledged place in the history of Regency art.'

84. A group of preliminary designs for the window by Willement shed interesting light on its evolution. B.L. MS Add. 34.871, no.1, f.1 - shows a scene of 'The Crucifixion' extending across 3 upper centre lights and below it a kneeling figure in a surcoat, reminiscent of the donor portrait of Prince Arthur in Malvern Priory Church (1502-3). In design no.5, f.2, the figure is now identified as Cloudesley and wears civilian dress of the early 16th century; 'The Crucifixion' has been replaced by a large armorial. In design no.33, f.12, (more or less as executed) the position of the figure and the royal arms have been reversed and the religious ciphers and ornaments are much simplified; the costume of Cloudesley, however, differs substantially from the executed version.

85. A full-length biography of Thomas Willement is a desideratum. For further details of Willement's career see C. Wainwright, 'Devington Priory, Kent - I', C.L., 150 (Dec. 9 1971), pp.1650-5; - II, (Dec.16 1971), pp.1716-9. idem., Thomas Willement's Stained Glass Windows in the Choir Aisles', Report of the Society of Friends of St George and the descendants of the Knights of the Garter, 5 no.3 (1971-2), pp.105-118. See also BL. MS Add. 52413: 'Rough Sketch of Works executed in Stained Glass By T.W. FSA from 1812-1845. This is supplemented by his Works Executed in Stained Glass, published 1840. A large number of Willement's own designs for painted glass are contained in B.L. MSS Add. 34.871-3, 'Drawings of Modern Stained Glass', vols 1-3. Willement also wrote an historical essay entitled 'Chronological Illustrations
of the Art of Staining and Painting on Glass in England, most carefully drawn and coloured from
the best existing examples of each period.' B.L. MS Add. 36.588.

86. The majority of Willement's painted glass prior to 1828 seems to have been heraldic or
ornamental. In 1829 he supplied the following historical glass: for Samuel Rush Meyrick at
Goodrich Court, a whole length portrait of Meyric ap Llewellyn 'Esquire of the body to Henry VI';
for Samuel Palmer of Nonsuch Park, portraits of Henry VIII and Queen Elizabeth; and ancestral
portraits for Sir R. Gresley of Drakelow. Works Executed, p.24, 27, 28


90. Strong, p.50.

91. For Strutt's importance to the history of manuscript collecting see A.L.N. Munby,


93. Ibid., Preface. A reviewer of Strutt's Regal and Ecclesiastical Antiquities, commented, 'while
the historian and antiquarian may be gratified by this publication, the admirer of Fine Arts will
be struck with the observation "how narrow the province of taste must have been in the times

94. D. Bindman, Blake as an Artist, Oxford 1977, pp.12-13; idem, 'Blake's "Gothicised
Imagination" and the History of England', in William Blake, Essays in Honour of Sir Geoffrey
Keynes, M.D. Paley and M. Phillips eds., Oxford 1973. For the other artists/engravers involved
see Gough's Preface, pp.10-11.

95. Charles Alfred, b.1786, was the second son of Thomas Stothard. Charles' widow published a
brief memoir of his life in 1823.

96. The earlier publications of William Dugdale, for example, (Monasticon Anglicanum, 1655-
73), or John Dart (Westmonasterium, 1742; History ... of Canterbury Cathedral, 1726)
should also be noted. The first attempt at a complete survey of English cathedrals was made in the
early years of the nineteenth century by the topographer, John Britton, a personality of seminal
importance in the transitional phase of the Gothic Revival. J.M. Crook, 'John Britton and the
pp.98-119.

97. This tendency is demonstrated in the polemical defence of gothic architecture by Carter in
the 1790s: J.M. Frew, 'Gothic is English: John Carter and the Revival of the Gothic as England's

98. Brighton, 'Enamel Glass-Painters', pp.474-5. For Thynne's drawing see H.S. London and
R.H. D'Elboux; 'The Lost Brass of Sir Roger Somerville of Burton Agnes, Yorks.', Trans.
Monumental Brass Soc., 8 pt.6, (Mar. 1949) pp.1-4. The Pedigree is illustrated in H.S.
Trans., 29 (1949) p.33.

99. In 1762, W. Montague mentioned to Walpole he had suggested Sandford's Genealogical
History as a design source for a rose window his sister had commissioned for her parish church.
Correspondence, 10, p.11. As late as 1818-9, when Constable was asked to design a Norman
Knight for Henry Grosvenor Lewis at Malverne Hall, it was suggested he refer to 'Montfacon' for the correct costume, (see n.23 above). The scholarly advice Constable sought sheds fascinating light on the wider artistic use of antiquarian source material. Lewis suggested as a possible parallel for Constable's design, the figures recently produced by Eginton for the Barons Hall at Arundel. Constable's panel at Malverne Hall was in fact sandwiched between 2 windows filled with heraldic and ornamental glass made by Samuel Lowe.


102. The Farington Diary, 5, p.1621, Sep. 5 1801. He described the Castle as 'more like a building designed in imitation of such an one of ancient date ... the decoration or finishing I thought to be in very bad taste, loaded and crowded without the least simplicity...'. The stucco decorations were said to have been modelled 'after the great church in Milan', F. Grose, A Description of Alnwick Castle in Northumberland extracted from the "Antiquities of England and Wales", London 1776, p.18. The design for the wall panel dated 1777 is currently in the Soane Museum: vol. xxxix, no.19. (A rough pen and ink preliminary sketch has also survived). A large colour reproduction of the former published by Girouard, pl.11, is mistakenly described as a design for the e. window of Alnwick Chapel. T.F. Dibdin, A Bibliographical Antiquarian and Picturesque Tour in the Northern Counties of England and in Scotland, 2 vols, London 1838, 2, pp.1030-1, described the Percy genealogies as 'to the left, those which are pushed up to the time of Charlemagne; to the right, those from Hotspur downwards ...'. For the wide-ranging claims of the Percy genealogy, many of which have been proved erroneous, see W.D. Longstaffe, The Old Heraldry of the Percys, Newcastle 1860.

103. G. Tate, History of Alnwick, 2 vols, Alnwick 1866, 1, p.113.

104. The impact of the historical and antiquarian revival on British theatre deserves a full-length study: Strong, pp.49-60, briefly outlines this development. See also a review of J.R. Planché's Dramatic Costume of Shakespeare's Historical Tragedy of King John .... in the Somerset House Gazette, 2 (1824), pp.223-5. Charles Kemble's reform of costume is seen as a parallel to Benjamin West's archaeological paintings of Edward III. Planché supervised the costumes in Kemble's revolutionary revival of King John, 'the whole of the Dresses and Decorations being executed from indisputable authorities such as Monumental effigies, Seals, Illuminated MSS etc'. The playbill listed the medieval authorities referred to; these included King John's effigy, his Great Seal and silver cup owned by the Corporation of Kings Lynn, also 'the works of Camden, Montfacon, Sandford, Strutt, Gough, Stothard, Meyrick'.

105. Strong, pp.80-5.

106. Ibid, p.58. Anna Bray stated 'the artist, assisted by his son Charles, collected from manuscripts of the time of Chaucer, preserved in the B.M. from Monuments, effigies etc. his authority for the armour of the knight and all other dresses'. 'Reminiscences of Stothard', pt. ii, p.756.

107. The drawings of medieval subjects on which Stothard was working towards the end of his life show the increasing sophistication of his handling: at least 2 of the scenes deal with Edwaridian subjects, one (Bennett, 'Thomas Stothard', pl.176; BM Album 199*6.b.14*) is particularly reminiscent of 'The Battle of Neville's Cross'. The influence of C.A. Stothard on his father should also not be underestimated. In 1815, the former was appointed historical draughtsman to the Society of Antiquaries, and in c.1818-19 began his copies of the rediscovered 13th-century murals in the Painted Chamber at Westminster Palace. P. Binski, The Painted Chamber at Westminster, London 1968, pp.25-9.
108. Strong, p.52. It was entitled Queenhoo-Hall.


110. See Wilmshurst, 'Notes on ... Stained Glass.'

111. For Bartolozzi's 'improvements' upon Holbein in copying, see A. Tuer, Bartolozzi and his Works, London 1885, pp.79-86.

112. It is likely Wilmshurst also consulted contemporary pictorial versions of the event. The best known painting at Hampton Court, had been copied for the Society of Antiquaries by E. Edwards and engraved in 1774 by James Basire. O. Millar, The Tudor, Stuart and Early Georgian Pictures in the Collection of HM, 2 vols, London 1963, 1, pp.55-6. & 2, pl.11.

113. Storer, Fonthill, pp.11-12.

114. V.A. Museum, Dept of Prints and Drawings, 7888/1-32 / D4b. The designs are organised in 16 pairs; each figure in a single cusped light stands on a black and white tiled floor. Most are identified by name on the design. My numbering system will follow that adopted by the cataloguer, who has, incidentally, omitted no. 5.

115. At this time the figures were believed to date from the reign of Henry V. Now they are generally attributed to the final quarter of the 15th century. L. Stone, Sculpture in Britain: The Middle Ages, 2nd ed., London 1972, p.220. The series was extended in c.1802 with the figure of Henry VI by Michael Taylor; the medieval statues were extensively restored in c.1810 by Frances Bernasconi. An earlier instance of the antiquarian usage of this screen was Walpole's request that William Peckitt should be paid to sketch 'the exact faces of Henry IV and Richard III' from their statues. Correspondence, 1, p.146. Letter to Mason, 20 July 1768.

116. John Milner, describing the statues, noted a discrepancy between written accounts of the kings' appearance and their visual representation, and concludes 'we have before us, his (the sculptor's) knowledge of their portraits at the time he flourished'. Anthony Pasquin incidentally described Hamilton as a copyist as 'the most ingenious pittor I ever knew': Williams, Royal Academicians, pp.135-4.

117. Ancient Specimens, published 1788, and described simply as 'a tomb on the south aisle of the Choir'.

118. Vol.1, pl.Ix, p.36. King's drawings were owned by Horace Walpole.

119. Cotman, pp.xxi-xxii. The guilty antiquary was John Fenn who intended to 'get it more securely fixed'. Cotman therefore reproduced Carter's engraving, and 'in copying, a mistake has been made in the shield, which should have born Hastings quartering Valence ...'. All the brass is now missing from below the knees.

120. Pl. oppos. p.57, published 1786. 'Account of the Murder of Thomas Beckett by Milner - engraved from the restored drawing of the defaced parts of the original painting on board, hung against the columns at the Head of the tomb of Henry IV in Canterbury Cathedral, copied in its present state in a former drawing, both of which are now in the possession of Richard Bull Esq.'

121. These panels were not included in the general sale of 'valuable ancient stained glass' from Fonthill on 2 Oct. 1823, although this included some modern glass. The transaction may well have taken place privately: the Wildmans had been bankers to Beckford.
122. I have identified the remaining designs by Hamilton, and their sources as follows:

788831: 'A Knight in armour from the skreen in Exeter Cathedral'. From the lower tier of the sculptural programme on the w. front of the Cathedral: Carter, Ancient Specimens, fig. 13, pl. oppos. p.69.

788832: 'A Statue supposed to be the father of Bishop Grandison from Exeter Cathedral': Carter, fig. 23, pl. oppos. p.70.

788815: 'Sir Hugh Bardolph 1205'. From his tomb effigy at Banham Church, Norfolk: Gough, Sepulchral Monuments, 1, pl. x and xi, p.34.

788816: 'Sir Jn Montacute'. From his tomb in Salisbury Cathedral: Gough, 1, pl. xiii, fig. 2, p.41.

788819–20: 'Figures from the Tomb of Edmund Crouchback': Carter, plate pp.21–3, published 1783. According to his identification of the painted figures these 2 represent: (19) Raimond Berglinhieri, father to Queen Eleanor, or Charles of Valois and (20) Roger de Clifford.

788813: 'Robert Fitzhamon 1107'; 788814: 'Robert Consul, Earl of Gloucester, natural Son to Henry first'; 788823: 'Gilbert di Clare Earl of Clare Gloucester and Hereford Abbey Church Tewkesbury'; 788824: 'Thomas Despencer Earl of Gloucester beheaded at Bristol 1400'. The last 4 figures are taken from the 14th-century stained glass in the Choir of Tewkesbury Abbey; Carter, pp.23–4 & pp.32–3, published 1790.

788825: 'Sir Brian Stapleton 1365'; (pencil correction on the mount - 'Sir Bryan Stapleton d.1436 see Catman vol.1, pl.22'). Taken from the brass of Sir Bryan and his wife Cecilia, in Ingham Church, Norfolk: Gough, 1, p.xiv, p.119.

788826: 'Sir John Harsicke 1384'. From his brass in Southacre Church, Norfolk: Gough, 1, pl. lviii, p.146.

123. V.& A Dept. of Prints and Drawings, D4b/1681. This can probably be identified as one of the 'two knights in armour' which were sold with the Battle of Neville's Cross, 'a design for a stained window', by Messrs Christie and Manson on June 17, 1834. Catalogue of Sketches and Pictures ... of Thomas Stothard, esq. R.A. Deceased... Day 1, item 24. Item 19 was also entitled 'design for a painted window etc ...'.


125. Regal and Ecclesiastical Antiquities, 1793, pp.69–70 and pl.xxxv. The ms was Nero D VII, Cotton Library, B.M. The Countess of Kent was buried in Greyfriars Church, Stamford, destroyed at the Reformation.

126. Vol. 2, pl.xxix, p.81 (drawn by Carter). C.A. Stothard had also drawn these figures some time before his death in 1821; they were etched by C.J. Smith and published by Stothard's widow in Monumental Effigies, oppos. p.68

127. Ridgway, p.13. The figures were advertised for sale at auction in 1817 and some are currently in Stoneleigh Abbey, Warwickshire.

128. A number of Strutt's engravings, including that of the Brereton glass, were re-published in Cheshire Antiquities, Roman, Baronial and Monastic: C. Hulbert ed., Shrewsbury 1838.

129. These were published as Coloured Engravings of the Principle Pavements ... etc. in Great Britain, 2 vols, Winterton 1804. For a biography see The Correspondence of William Fowler, J.T. Fowler ed., (privately printed) 1907, pp.5-17. P.G.B. Binnall, 'William Fowler: Artist & Anmityquary', JBSMG-P, 2 no.4 (1928), pp.176–82.


132. It is perhaps dangerous to make such comparisons on the assumption that the fully painterly style of Hamilton's designs was reproduced closely by Francis Eginton (and later, by William Raphael). However, there seems no reason to believe Eginton's treatment of the glass differed in this case from any other commission in his career, which were all carried out in a distinctively contemporary pictorial fashion. Equally, on the basis of Beckford's wider patronage of painted glass at Fonthill, there is no reason to doubt that the Oak Parlour windows were executed in the 18th-century tradition of enamel painted glass with little or no use of lead.

133. M. Lewis, *Stained Glass in North Wales up to 1850*, Altrincham 1970, p.118. The figure is in the small turret off the Library, accompanied by portraits of Bishop Hervey of Bangor (1092-1190) and Angharad, wife of Tudor Trevor: despite the archaeologically correct details of Norman architecture shown in the background all the figures are treated in a fully pictorial fashion. Lewis attributed the glass to David Evans.

134. F.E. Hutchinson, *Medieval Glass at All Souls College, London*, London, 1949, pp.42-5. This glass - a series of kings, archbishops and doctors of the Church - was originally in the Old Library; it was transferred to the ante-library and thence in 1819-20 to the antechapel and was substantially restored in the 1870s by Clayton & Bell.

135. The brooch worn by Edward the Confessor at Brockley is similar to those of Henry V and John of Gaunt at All Souls. The heavily embroidered vestment of the unidentified bishop at Brockley is likewise reminiscent of the glass in the choir at All Souls. The figures of Chichele and Henry VI had been engraved by Bartolozzi in 1772; in 1792 Carter had reproduced the figure of John of Gaunt for his *Ancient Specimens*. Kings Alfred and Athelstane had been engraved as early as 1678 for portrait illustrations to Spelman's *Aelfredi Magni Anglorum Regis Vita*.

136. Jackson, p.6, 8, and plates.


138. For the architectural history of the Castle, begun in c.1801 but not finished until c.1828, see A.J. Rowan, 'Taymouth Castle, Perthshire - I', *C.L.*, 136 (Oct. 8 1964), pp.912-6; - II, (Oct.15 1964), pp.978-81. I am grateful to Prof. Rowan for his comments on this commission. The Baron's Hall was intended as the principal reception room in the Castle and contained all the family portraits: Macaulay, pp.194-8.

139. W.R. Eginton, *Works Executed*, p.10. Eginton's bill for the window amounted to £1,387. 5s. 6d. in 1815: Scottish Record Office, Breadalbane Papers, GD112/20/4. The heraldry in the window is identified in GD112/20/4. Other painted glass in the Castle included '12 figures painted on Ground Glass for 2 Gothic Lanterns' supplied in 1815 by John Naish and Son, (Glass Manufacturer); also a window depicting St Cecilia, costing £630 and supplied in 1824 by William Collins. I am grateful to Ian Gow for communicating this information.

140. 'The Black Book of Taymouth' was first published in 1855 with a preface by C. Innes. The 9th and 10th Lairds of Glenorchy were probably copied from paintings at Taymouth. For details of Jamesone's career, see J. Bulloch, *George Jameson, the Scottish Vandyke*, Edinburgh 1885.

142. Anecdotes, 1, p.346. Although Walpole cites the 'Black Book of Taymouth' (p.348) he does not mention the illuminations as amongst Jamesone's oeuvre.

143. Harrison, p.16, however, chooses to see the alternative designs prepared by Willement for the Cloudesley window as evidence that in this case 'his decision to adopt a medieval style was a relatively lightly taken aesthetic one ...'.
Chapter 4

From Gothick to Gothic Revival
c. 1760–c. 1840

I. The Critical Development

Although the taste for pictorial glass-painting had attained an unprecedented popularity by the end of the eighteenth century, it had continued to provoke a considerable amount of controversy. Criticism hardened and intensified as time went by; new questions began to emerge in the appraisal of both modern and ancient painted glass which revealed that the growing dissatisfaction with picture windows was intimately bound up with the developing ideology of the Gothic Revival itself.

It is not perhaps surprising that Jervais' celebrated glass-painting in New College, the cynosure of so much public interest in the medium, rapidly become a touchstone in this many-sided critical debate. In 1782, before the painted glass was yet fully installed, it was made the subject of a long eulogy by Thomas Warton, the Oxford Professor of Poetry. 1 Like many of his poems, Warton's verses on Reynolds' window are constructed round the opposition of two modes of perception or feeling, two conflicting aesthetics of emotion. First, is the poet's own romanticised vision of the medieval past.

But chief enraptured have I loved to roam,
A lingering votary, the vaulted dome,
Where the tall shafts that mount in mossy pride.
Their mingling shadows shoot from side to side;
Where elfin sculptors, with fantastic clew,
O'er the long roof their wild embroidery drew;

Where SUPERSTITION with capricious hand
In many a maze the wreathed window plann'd,
With hues romantic ting'd the gorgeous pane,
To fill with holy light the wondrous fane; (17-26)

The gothick fantasy is summoned by the poet only to be dispelled by the sudden, dazzling spectacle of the painted glass Virtues.

Those native portraitures of Attic art,  
That from the lucid surface seem to start;  
Those tints that steal no glories from the day,  
Nor ask the sun to lend its streaming ray;

...  
The feature blooming with immortal life:  
The stole in casual foldings taught to flow,  
Not with ambitious ornaments to glow; (47-56)

Warton sets the sophisticated naturalism of the new window against the crude artistry and incoherent effects of the ancient stained glass surrounding it; he claims to have been utterly seduced from his admiration of medieval art by the classical perfection, the abstract idealism, of Reynolds' 'chaste Design'.

Thy powerful hand hath broke the Gothic chain  
And brought my bosom back to truth again;  
To truth, by no peculiar taste confin'd,  
Whose universal pattern strikes mankind;  
To truth, whose bold and unresisted aim  
Checks frail caprice, and fashion's fickle claim;  
To truth, whose charms deception's magic quell,  
And bind coy Fancy in a stronger spell. (63-70)

Some critics have interpreted these verses as the ingenuous expression of an aesthetic conversion, a genuine renunciation by the poet of his 'fairy dream'; but such an exposition surely misses the point. Although he was a distinguished classical scholar, Warton's interest in the medieval past was to continue to inspire his whole literary career: he not only wrote the first major history of English poetry but has been described
in literary terms as a forerunner of English romanticism and a 'pioneer of the medieval revival'. Warton was also a respected member of that diverse and influential circle of men of letters, clerics and antiquarians which included Thomas Gray, Richard Hurd and Horace Walpole and whose shared interests mark a significant step in the intellectual progress of the Gothic Revival. As Warton himself made clear, the ode addressed to Reynolds was not composed with publication in mind; it was essentially a personal exercise in the 'Mock Heroic' vein whose inflated language and elaborate conceits were designed to display the wit and virtuosity, rather than the integrity, of their author. These were talents well-suited to a future Poet Laureate and, as is apparent from his good-humoured reply, Reynolds was neither deluded nor offended (as is sometimes claimed) by Warton's somewhat obsequious flattery.

You have ... feigned marvellously well, and have opposed the two different styles with the skill of a connoisseur, yet I may be allowed to entertain some doubts of the sincerity of your conversion. I have no great confidence in the recantation of such an old offender ...

Reynolds' greatest concern was that his own name should be included in the poem in case it should be thought that the 'Artist' to whom it was addressed was a reference to Jervais, the humble glass-painter! For this reason, it seems, a second edition, with some minor alterations, was produced.

Despite its fulsome rhetoric, Warton's ode constitutes an important document of the early Gothic Revival. The poem dresses up, without entirely concealing, some of the more serious and controversial issues surrounding contemporary attitudes to the treatment of medieval buildings. Ultimately, it matters less whether Warton is committed to the 'classicist' or the 'romantic' view of Reynolds' designs, than that he perceives the essential conflict between the two; that he can suggest
through vivid metaphors the dissonance created in the antechapel by the juxtaposition of two contradictory aesthetics. His contrast of the old with the new raises the important question of stylistic congruity, or the lack of it, between a highly naturalistic, contemporary mode of glass-painting and the gothic architecture it is intended to embellish. Warton's final stanza, with its somewhat unconvincingly neat resolution, only serves to accentuate the tendentious quality of the whole poem.6

ARTIST, tis thine, from the broad window's height,
To add new lustre to religious light:
Not of its pomp to strip this antient shrine,
But bid that pomp with purer radiance shine:
With arts unknown before, to reconcile
The willing Graces to the Gothic pile. (101-106)

By the 1780s, Warton was by no means alone in his perception of such aesthetic conflicts. Horace Walpole could see no reconciliation between the west window and its ancient surroundings: 'the old and the new', he asserted bluntly, 'are as mismatched as an orange and a lemon, and destroy each other'.7 John Byng, more fastidious perhaps in his criticism, saw nothing at all 'chaste' in Reynolds' design and regarded the installation of the scantily clad Virtues as a major error of Taste.

I must own I preferred the Old high-coloured paintings and their strong, steady Shade, to these new and elegant-esteemed Compositions ... These twisting emblematical figures appear to me half-dressed languishing Harlots.8

Once again, it was the inappropriateness of the painted figures to their location which jarred most of all: 'no doubt', Byng concluded, with pointed deference,' men of Skill have been consulted, who determined them to be of the Collegiate and Gothic taste, else they never have been introduced into
this beautiful old Chapel.'

Comments such as these indicate above all a growing critical awareness of the limitations of pictorial glass-painting in the context of recently restored or gothicised buildings. A new quality of discernment had entered the appreciation of this art form, a governing sense of the need for aesthetic congruity, which was to become as important – if not more so – than the individual achievements of the glass-painter. These were the grounds on which William Gilpin objected to the new glass at Salisbury: 'the gloom of a painted window in an old cathedral is pleasing', he concluded, 'but I should desire only ornamental scrawls.'9 Warton's and Byng's sharp stylistic discriminations, on the other hand, anticipate the opinions of the arch-critic John Carter and the strident campaign he launched against the alterations in St George's Chapel, amongst other places. Carter's main object of attack in the latter building was Jervais' 'Resurrection' in the east window which 'from the enormity of its size and the prodigious vacuity ... it stands in, entirely acts at variance with the contour of the whole interior.10 Such a design, he adds, 'in any other building, on a Roman or Grecian plan, would have done honour to the painter and high praise to the suggester of producing to the world so vast a specimen of coloured glass.' This was certainly not a disinterested recommendation for it was well known that Carter was no lover of the 'Heathen School' of architecture.11

Although John Carter represents an extremist view he was not alone in recognising that there was a style of architecture more suited to the display of large-scale picture windows: a wider population was becoming increasingly conscious of the need to improve upon the recent past with regard to the decoration of gothic buildings. It was a realisation which signalled the rejection of those eighteenth-century academic canons which had dominated the art of glass-painting for so long. When John Francis Rigaud was commissioned to provide cartoons for a new window in
Lichfield Cathedral, he discovered that his stylish and essentially classical style of draftsmanship - so popular in the commercial heyday of Boydell's and Bowyer's Galleries - could no longer satisfy the exacting requirements of the contemporary ecclesiastical patron. Not only did Rigaud lack essential antiquarian skills to clothe his figures with historical accuracy, but, as he confessed to his son, 'the fear is that I shall think too much of Grecian elegance, as they call it, and beauty of form; not enough of Gothic style. It is the fault found with my Offa; though very much admired and commended ...' Rigaud's rejected design for the painted window - a portrait of the Saxon King Offa - was one of the last works the aged artist completed before his death in 1810.

The strongest contemporary criticism of pictorial glass-painting undoubtedly originated with those who felt a genuine admiration for medieval stained glass. One of the few real connoisseurs in this period was the artist John Constable.

All the modern glass I have yet seen makes me sick, "it is but new wine in old bottles." The antient *Gothick* glass is very rare - that from Albert Durer and the Century onwards is the most common & rich (like Kings College) but still not equal in taste to the Gothick glass.¹³

Constable's personal preference was, in 1821, remarkably precocious: at least another twenty years were to pass before A.W.N. Pugin and the Cambridge Camden Society jointly established the High Gothic period as the universal standard of excellence in stained glass. The true connoisseur of 'antient Gothick glass', as opposed to the more painterly specimens of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, was still a distinctly rare species in the Georgian era. For the majority, interest in ancient stained glass did not automatically preclude admiration for its modern equivalent and the estimation of older glass was still largely confined to its value as
portraiture or genealogical reference. The slowness to appreciate medieval glass in any wider sense was largely a result of ignorance: with the exception of Walpole's historical commentary in his Anecdotes of Painting and short articles in the Gentleman's Magazine, there was in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries a noticeable dearth of scholarly information on the ancient art of glass-painting. This lacuna is even more striking by comparison with the abundance of fully illustrated material on medieval architecture and sculpture produced during this period. Antiquarian draftsmen like John Carter and William Fowler did engrave a number of the better known and better preserved specimens of medieval and Renaissance glass, but objective aids to typological and chronological discrimination, (the equivalent, for instance, of Rickman's illustrated handbooks on gothic architecture), were not to appear in this country until the late 1840s.¹⁴

A search for real commitment, consistency or refinement in the appreciation of gothic stained glass in a period of such eclectic tastes and loose stylistic definitions must prove, on the whole, unprofitable. The attitudes of Richard Colt Hoare (1758-1838), antiquarian, historian, archaeologist and artistic patron will sufficiently demonstrate this point. On a visit to York in 1800 he commented on the beauty of the ancient Minster windows in which he detected some modern glass introduced by 'that old artist, Pickett [sic] of York'.¹⁵ To Colt Hoare the contrast at the time only demonstrated 'how much finer the effect is produced by the sober tints of the old than the more gaudy colours of the new ...'. On other occasions, where the means of direct comparison between the old and the new were not available, he expressed unqualified admiration for the latter. Moreover, only three years earlier Colt Hoare had commissioned from J.M.W. Turner a watercolour of the interior of the Lady Chapel of Salisbury Cathedral, as recently 'improved' by James Wyatt. The painting was one of a series intended as an illustration to Colt Hoare's projected history of
Wiltshire and its central feature, dramatically illuminated by a shaft of light, was Eginton's new picture window of 'The Resurrection' surmounted by Pearson's 'Raising of the Brazen Serpent'. Yet Colt Hoare was also during these years a major patron of John Carter, the fierce opponent of Wyatt's drastic 'improvements' at Salisbury and elsewhere. In 1804, the superb furnishings of the new 'Roman' library at Stourhead were brought to completion with a large lunette representing the contemporary art of pictorial glass-painting at its most sophisticated. The window, which still remains *in situ*, depicts three groups of figures selected by Colt Hoare from Raphael's 'School of Athens' in the Vatican, exemplifying various facets of ancient philosophy.

Whilst it did not appear to undermine the sincerity of their convictions, even the taste of the most adamant of gothic enthusiasts and the most vociferous of critics, does not bear too close a scrutiny. The Roman Catholic Chapel of St Peter in Winchester, built in 1792 for Bishop John Milner to John Carter's designs, demonstrates the looseness of interpretation applied to 'gothic' as a stylistic term. Surprisingly little attention has been paid by modern scholars to St Peter's Chapel, although it was clearly a building of some importance to the early history of the Gothic Revival and has recently been restored. The Bishop was extremely proud of his 'beloved chapel', and saw it as essentially faithful to the principles of the 'Pointed Style'.

If the ... Chapel ... really has the effect of producing a certain degree of those pleasing and awful sensations, which many persons say they feel in entering into it, the merit is entirely due to the inventors of the Gothic style of building, and of its corresponding decorations in the middle ages ...

The interior decorations of St Peter's, with their lavish combination of renaissance and medieval forms, reveal Milner as a considerable patron of
modern glass-painting. At the east end a vast pinnacled altar-piece incorporated a copy of the Bishop's favourite picture - 'The Transfiguration' by Raphael - surmounted by a painted glass representation of the Holy Dove in a pierced quatrefoil. Another large painted window over the entrance, the work of James Cave of Winchester, is said to have contained thirty different subjects representing 'the mutual relation of the old and new law'. Although typological subjects had been executed throughout the seventeenth century, this particular genre of glass-painting disappeared in the following century; the St Peter's Chapel window seems to have been amongst the earliest revived examples of this essentially medieval format. The altar-table in the Chapel supported a large, elaborate tabernacle modelled on the west end of York Minster, whilst a painted chiaroscuro scene of 'The Deposition of Christ', supposedly after Domenichino, took the place of an altar-hanging. Over the doors, 'rich with Gothic carving', were canopies supported by 'gilt cherubs' and the same inappropriate motifs ornamented the gothick canopies of the six mullioned windows in the nave. Five of these were filled with painted glass, 'richly ornamented with figures, standing upon pedestals (sic) under gorgeous canopies, of the most renowned saints or kings, who heretofore flourished in Winchester... On the blank wall opposite hung six, large canvas-paintings in ornate frames simulating gothic canopies; the chiaroscuro subjects, 'selected for instruction', were ornamented at the base with 'gothic work': the canvases themselves constituted a bizarre series of pictorial capriccios in which well-known scenes from Le Moine, Holbein, Poussin, and Raphael, were transferred to the setting of St Peter's itself. A number of other windows in this ornate chapel also contained some kind of stained or painted glass.

Well into the nineteenth century, the greatest obstacle to the appreciation of ancient glass was an enduring prejudice against the perceived crudity of medieval art. Such a view did not necessarily preclude
a vague sentimental attachment to the medium as an emblem of a pious but essentially primitive, age. One such romantic (who can perhaps be identified as the glass-manufacturer and painter William Collins) punctuated his account of the early history of glass-painting with flights of grave-yard rhetoric.

The moon, in a cloudless sky, shedding her beams through the painted glass, on the dim shrines and fugitive memorials of the dead, in the immense nave of a church, formed an imposing combination with the glimmering altars of the Deity and a martyrdom or mournful story of the Passion, vividly depicted in an elevated compartment of the window.

As the essay proceeds, however, it becomes apparent that the author's admiration for the aesthetic effects of medieval stained glass in no way implies a willingness to perpetuate its techniques. The 'old defects' of joining with lead the separate pieces of glass, the 'crude attempts at delineation' and the ignorance of anatomy, perspective and chiaroscuro, all belonged to a benighted and superstitious bygone age: the superior talents of the Pearsons, Jervais, Eginton and Backler, the writer asserts, had rendered such specimens both inadequate and ludicrous.

Modern glass-paintings, requiring neither super-human eyesight nor esoteric hagiographical knowledge, were doubtless more accessible to the lay person. Nevertheless, there is plenty of evidence that the general public was rapidly becoming interested in both old and new examples: the Gentleman's Magazine, for instance, provided a conspicuous forum for critical discussion and debate, whilst from the early years of the nineteenth century this position was shared with periodicals such as The Literary Gazette, The Magazine of Fine Arts, The Monthly Magazine and Ackermann's Repository of Arts. Generalised discussions of glass-painting were also a marked feature of that tidal wave of topographical literature.
which in the later Georgian period encouraged the wider appreciation of the country's medieval heritage. From the incidental remarks of itinerant writers like William Gilpin, Richard Warner, Thomas Pennant and Arthur Young, (whose sage disquisitions on the cultivation of turnips are interspersed with commentaries on gothic architecture), we derive some impression of the medley of opinions on the art of glass-painting, both past and present, and the various conflicts and contradictions of aesthetic judgement which characterise this transitional phase in its history.

By 1827, when Thomas Garbett published his penetrating enquiry into the alterations in Hereford Cathedral, this somewhat amorphous criticism of contemporary picture windows had crystallised into the advocacy of a clearly defined, alternative style of glass-painting; one which was both truer to the ancient principles of the medium and more sensitive to its architectural setting. Garbett's discussion of the colossal 'Last Supper' in the Cathedral's east window focuses with uncompromising directness on the differences between the modern and the medieval practice.

How far the artist ... has studiously and judiciously followed the ancients, or caught the contagion of the moderns; how far he has consulted the character and unity of Gothic architecture or sacrificed it to a well executed imitation of a national piece, will be best understood by examining the window as it now appears not simply as a work of art, but as an appendage to the choir.26

His judgement contains an implicit condemnation of those modern glass-paintings which disregarded or violated the window's architectural form. The medieval artist, Garbett suggests, would have attempted to preserve the harmonious proportions of the choir and introduced two tiers of small-scale, niched, scriptural figures with heraldry or ornamental devices in the upper lights. Had a narrative subject matter been selected, 'the assemblage of figures, however numerous, would have been rendered
subordinate not only to the tracery, but to the usual accompaniments of pictorial illustration'. Backler's 'Last Supper' at Hereford was, in 1823, the last great ecclesiastical picture window in a fully renaissance idiom to be commissioned for an English cathedral; but its future was even then under threat. An alternative choice - fashionable in a different way - was already available: the revival of an ancient style of glass-painting, which Thomas Garbett was to prescribe with such authority, was well underway.

II. Windows 'in the ancient style': Imitation and Invention

The popular view of the middle ages was fed by two main literary currents in the second half of the eighteenth century: the point at which the dual impulses of romanticism and antiquarianism coincided, with tragic result, is demonstrated by the brief and hectic life of the young poet, Thomas Chatterton (1752-70). Hoping to acquire an influential patron, Chatterton wrote to Horace Walpole in 1769 to inform him of his recent discovery of several 'Curious Manuscripts' by one Thomas Rowley, a monk of St Mary Redcliffe, in Bristol. He included in his letter a prose essay entitled 'The Ryse of Peycteynge yn Englade, wroten bie T. Rowlie in1469 for Mastre Canyng': it described the introduction into England of the 'connenynge Mysterie of steinynge Glasse' by one 'Afflem a Peynter' who lived in the reign of King Edmund.27 In Chatterton's counterfeit history the impulse towards revivalism is revealed at its most zealous and uncompromising: even Walpole, for all his later protestations to the contrary, seems to have hesitated at first in pronouncing Rowley's manuscripts a forgery. Not content with tame literary parody, the type of 'antique minstrelsy' produced by Thomas Warton and his school, Chatterton's recreation of the medieval past was an attempt to escape into a fantasy world delineated with such verisimilitude that it challenged the validity of historical fact. On a more prosaic level, his fascination with the history of painting and in
particular the 'connenge Mysterie of steinyng Glasse' was symptomatic of
general resurgence of interest in this ancient art form, and reflected the
real uncertainty surrounding its medieval origins.

Whilst visiting Paris in the summer of the same year, Walpole may
well have seen an exhibition of a glass-painting by an obscure Englishman
- Robert Scott Godfrey. The latter's portrait of Louis XV, 'peinte dans le
goût des anciens vitraux des églises', was enthusiastically reviewed by
the Press: 'les couleurs en sont belles, très-vives et très-solides;' it was
reported, 'on y trouve toutes celles qu'on employait autrefois, les jaunes,
orangées, rouges, pourpres, violettes, bleus, vertes de différentes
nuances ...'. Apart from the execution of an heraldic panel for William
Peckitt's new west window in Exeter Cathedral and some restoration work
on the medieval glass in the east window, no examples of Godfrey's
craftsmanship in this country are known: it is all the more intriguing,
therefore, that his work should have been thus feted abroad. The glass-
painter had emigrated in 1767 at the encouragement of the Comte de
Guerchi, the French Ambassador, having been promised he would find ample
opportunity in that country to revive this much neglected art. Godfrey's
hopes of employment in Paris were, however, rapidly disappointed. He
clearly met with considerable hostility from native glass-painters who
were unable themselves to find sufficient employment and, despite
attempts to win royal patronage with his portrait of the King, he was
offered only some minor restoration work in the ancient windows of Notre
Dame, the Sainte Chapelle and Versailles Chapel. Godfrey's plaintive
begging letters, sent to the Director of the King's Works, are a testament
to the failure of his ambitions: 'apres avoir sacrifié ma fortune en France,
je me vois obligé d'y languir avec ma déplorable famille depuis cinq années
consécutives et me vois réduit a la plus affreuse misère.'

Why, one wonders, despite this early promise, did Godfrey's career as
a glass-painter meet with such conspicuous failure in France? The reason
perhaps lies in those descriptive words - 'peinte dans le goût des anciens vitraux des églises'. The claims of Godfrey himself and of his supporters that he had, through patient research and experimentation, revived and even surpassed the achievements of medieval glass-painters should not be taken too literally. His main success, it seems, was in the unusually vivid tonal qualities of the colours of his glass which displayed 'toute la transparence et l'éclat dont elles sont susceptibles'.32 This was an accomplishment which most glass-painters of the period seem to have been anxious to claim for themselves: whilst the draftsmanship of medieval glass might be widely viewed with distaste, the superiority of the 'ancients' in the production of brilliant, jewel-like colours and the failure of modern glass-painters to rival their success, was a subject for general regret. Moreover, although the picture window taste demanded a smooth surface and uninterrupted outlines, there is evidence to show that pot-metal colours were back in general use, in small quantities, in this country by the late seventeenth century. Henry Gyles, for instance, was manufacturing his own coloured glass and making considerable use of copper ruby in particular long before the technique is usually claimed to have been rediscovered.33 He was clearly proud of his home-made materials -

such as I shou'd be glad to be imploied in to make draperies for figures as large as the life in hystory worke for windows: and if I had incouragement, could make large quantities of suche glass, but ... I have none ... and ... the charge is so great to make this glass that my poore abilities will not allow me to do it to lay waist by me.34

Contrary to Dallaway and later writers' assertions, what was lacking at this time was not so much the expertise to make whole windows out of pot-metals, but the incentive and, ultimately, the finances to do so. By
1735, popular attitudes were little changed. John Barrow, author of *Dictionarium Polygraphicum, or the whole Body of Arts Regularly Digested*, extolled the singular beauty of medieval stained glass which far exceeded the effects achieved by modern glass-painters, not so much because the secret of making those colors is entirely lost; as that the moderns won't go to the charge of them, nor be at the necessary pains, by reason that this sort of painting is not now so much in esteem as it was formerly.35

Although their function remained essentially subordinate, glass-painters continued throughout the eighteenth century to supplement their usual enamels and stains with vivid pot-metal colours which showed to great advantage in the depiction of draperies. As the following advertisement by Joshua and William Price demonstrates, such a combination of technique was frequently used to justify the claim to a 'revival' of an ancient art form.

> Whereas the ancient Art of Painting and Staining Glass has been much discouraged by reason of an Opinion generally received, That the Red Colour (not made in Europe for many years) is totally lost: These are to give Notice, that the said Red and all other Colours are made to as great a degree of Curiosity and Fineness as in Former Ages by William and Joshua Price, Glasiers and Glass Painters ... 36

Such a claim was in no way incompatible with the execution of painted windows in the fully contemporary pictorial manner for which the Prices were celebrated. We may assume that Robert Scott Godfrey's characteristic techniques of glass-painting also made conspicuous use of pot-metal colours, and that his financial difficulties arose from the general lack of enthusiasm in France for this technique; his skills in handling pot-metal colours were thus only regarded as useful in the restoration of older glass.
In England, by 1769, 'le goût des anciens vitraux des églises' might be roughly interpreted as 'gothic' - an adjective which by this date implied a rather more sophisticated appreciation of medieval stained glass than the 'reviv'd' techniques of colouring claimed by the Prices. The term 'gothic' as applied to eighteenth and early nineteenth-century painted glass is, however, susceptible of a wide variety of definitions, all of which need to be examined; whilst for the glass-painter of the Georgian period the 'gothic' style represented but one mode of execution amongst a highly versatile professional repertoire.

With its repetitious diaper ornament and gilt rococo flourishes, the mid eighteenth-century painted glass of Shobdon Church in Herefordshire, is surprisingly well suited to its light, elegant architectural setting. The church, built by an unidentified architect, has been described as 'the unique and precious instance of ecclesiastical architecture of the gothic revival untouched by historicism'. The painted glass, formerly in the east window and now in a free-standing screen, has recently been attributed to William Price the Younger and was probably installed by 1756 - the date of the church's completion. The remaining windows are glazed with a simple trellis of coloured glass designed (but not perhaps executed) by Price, although the heraldic roundels in the north and south transepts can be attributed to him with greater certainty. Although it is not unlikely that Price would have seen plans and designs for the church's interior decoration, his painted glass harmonises with its setting more by virtue of the bold and elaborate handling of ornament than by conscious echoes of motif. With its jewel-like patterning, concern for symmetry and relief effects, Price's characteristic 'Mosaic work' has but tenuous connections with authentic medieval forms: it differs little from the ornamental vocabulary which he had already employed in the eastern windows of Great Witley Church - the epitome of Italian baroque.
architecture - where, incidentally, his designs looks equally at home. Even Walpole, who had employed Price extensively in his own 'little Gothic castle', went so far to praise the glass-painter's talent for 'ornaments and mosaic' as 'equal to the antique, to the good Italian Masters'. When *in situ* the vivid colours and intricate design of the painted windows must have set off the delicate white and blue decor of Shobdon church to perfection. The east window now houses an unsympathetic sombre-toned Edwardian glass-painting.

If Price's craftsmanship at Shobdon demonstrates the design potential of non-figural painted glass, then William Peckitt's work of over a decade later for the first Lord Braybrooke in the Chapel at Audley End shows a radically different alternative to the embellishment of a gothic interior. With its pointed arches and pink plaster ceiling, Hobcraft's Chapel lacks something of the rococo frivolity of Shobdon Church - a fact reflected and reinforced in the choice of painted glass decorations. At the height of his career, in 1770-2, Peckitt supplied a 'Last Supper' for the east window and an 'Adoration of the Magi' for the north transept. The cartoons for these picture windows were supplied by the Italian-born Biagio Rebecca then working with Robert Adam on the decoration of other apartments in Audley End. The bold, linear design of 'The Last Supper' which remains *in situ* is self-evidently renaissance in inspiration: the figures of Christ and the Apostles, dressed in vivid robes and set against a backdrop of vaguely classical architecture, exude a massive and monumental gravity. Any gothic effects in the window are achieved solely through the delicate cusping of the wooden tracery which both softens the severity of the grid-like mullions and relieves the stridency of the enamel colours. The same effect was achieved in Peckitt's 'Adoration of the Magi', an ingenious design constructed in three sections but reading as one continuous narrative stretching round the transept windows. The latter painted glass has not survived but a watercolour by Rebecca currently in
the Library at Audley End reveals that the setting of this scene was even more conspicuously classical. The designs of both glass-paintings exploit the essential symmetry of the Hobcraft's new window forms, using their rigid parallel lines to create both convincing perspectival and relief effects.

Even within the strict confines of a Mullioned window the spatial organisation of Rebecca's 'Last Supper' is noticeably more confident than the gothic design produced a few years earlier by Robert Adam, for the new church of Croome D'Abitot, Worcestershire. The Croome designs are the first of only two known schemes for painted glass by Adam; they probably date from c.1763 when the fittings of the church were completed although there is no evidence that the glass itself was ever executed. Adam's instincts as a classical artist are evident in his subordination of the window form to a rigidly symmetrical composition. The lower tiers incorporate a 'Last Supper' stretched to an uncomfortable length to bridge all six lights; this is surmounted by four classically draped Evangelists on simple podia; in the centre, two angels kneel before an antique mask - a motif derived from the Adams' celebrated decorative repertoire. The central feature of the tracery, a large 'rose' design, contains figures of the twelve apostles radiating out from the centre. For the latter Adam seems to have derived some inspiration not from authentic medieval models but from rather more recent painted glass in a genuine medieval setting: the rose is strongly reminiscent of Joshua Price's window in the north transept of Westminster Abbey.

Nevertheless, the painted glass for Alnwick Castle Chapel, which Robert Adam designed in conjunction with his brother James, shows his flair for elaborate ornament at its most characteristic and unrestrained. The glass for three windows in the chapel was executed by James Pearson in c.1774-80 but was removed during a drastic mid Victorian restoration of the Castle; one rough design for the largest window, said to have
been modelled on the fourteenth-century stone structure of the Perpendicular east window of York Minster, remains in the Soane Museum.\textsuperscript{46} There is little in Adam's design for the glass, however, to suggest a medieval source: the flowing forms of the stonework inspired a rich and intricate floral composition, mainly executed in green, yellow and purple - 'shapes which in the tracery above shot themselves like green rockets with big floral heads into the glory of peacocks' tails'.\textsuperscript{47} Painted glass of such ornamental and colouristic complexity would doubtless have been executed entirely in enamels and stains. Most of the decorative motifs, interspersed with escutcheons of arms belonging to the Percy 'family, are clearly adapted from the Adams' own repertoire of lively classical ornament - then at the height of its popularity. Despite this fact, the integration of ornament and heraldry with the window structure seems to have been remarkably harmonious.

Heraldic forms which could be combined with decorative motifs provided a cheaper, simpler, and more versatile alternative to pictorial or figural subjects and constituted a popular formula for painted glass in both medieval and modern settings.\textsuperscript{48} James 'Athenian' Stuart's design for a new reredos and altar for St George's Chapel represents a spectacularly unsuccessful attempt to master the decorative repertoire of the gothic style.\textsuperscript{49} The reredos, a complex pinnacled structure incorporating fictive tracery and windows, is surmounted by a vast circular window of painted glass embellished on the outer rim with heraldry; floral patterns and a large representation of St George and the Dragon fill the rest of the window, whilst the central motif is an over-large Garter badge enclosing the Royal arms. Since no supporting stone tracery is shown, Stuart presumably intended there to be no interruption to the design; the lead and ironwork were likewise to be concealed from sight. The effect of this vast painted glass Catharine Wheel - whose scale alone justifies the label of a 'monstrous essay in Georgian Gothick' - would not, one feels, have
satisfied John Carter. Not surprisingly, perhaps, neither the reredos nor its accompanying painted window were executed.50

The art of heraldic glass-painting in enamels in the hands of artists like W.R. Eginton reached a new level of sophistication and popularity in the late Georgian era: such decorations were much in demand for the newly built or gothicised homes of the expanding middle classes, and the revival of interest in heraldry and genealogy in general brought considerable dividends to the contemporary glass-painter. However, it is in his reproduction of that archetypal medieval format, the standing figure beneath an architectural canopy, that the eighteenth and early nineteenth-century glass-painter came closest to his ancient model. Although largely supplanted in the sixteenth century by the increasing artistry of narrative religious windows, the use of this medieval format had never completely disappeared. The seventeenth-century painted glass in the chapel of Lincoln College, Oxford by Abraham Van Linge incorporates some of the most sophisticated specimens of this type; later seventeenth-century canopies, still distinctly gothic in feel, can be seen over the original figures of King Ina and Bishop Ralph de Salopia in the west window of Wells Cathedral.

In 1736-40, William Price the Younger 'new made' the five windows on the south side of the choir in New College, Oxford; these depict figures of saints under fourteenth-century style canopies and bases of varying form.51 Price was attempting, as far as the exigencies of current taste permitted, to make his work harmonise with the medieval stained glass remaining in the chapel: all the architectural details were copied fairly closely from the old glass which his work supplanted and Price even re-used fragments of the original canopies. Despite its elegant baroque figure-drawing and heavy chiaroscuro effects, Price's painted glass is, for its time, a comparatively sensitive rendering of a medieval idiom. His sombre-toned glass is in some ways more successfully 'gothick' than that
of William Peckitt whose garish Old Testament figures of forty years later were intended to correspond, 'tho in a regular manner, with those opposit'. After much deliberation, the Warden and Fellows of New College, (perhaps at Peckitt's own recommendation) had commissioned Biagio Rebecca to provide the cartoons for these windows, the subjects of which were taken, as directed, from the medieval glass in the antechapel. The canopy-work, executed from Peckitt's own designs, is an exotic interpretation of the original glass: the turreted pinnacles, smooth, rounded forms and brilliant white and gilt decorations even evoke oriental associations. However, as one Fellow made clear, the glass-painter's inventiveness did not meet with the full approval of the College.

I am sorry to say that the shrine-work of your Niches is not of that pure gothic I could wish, bearing too much resemblance to those grotesque designs which should never be admitted into any serious compositions.  

Much importance was attached to the architectural details of these painted windows; in the case of the figures the main stipulation was that they should be clothed in 'long flowing garments which add great dignity to them'. Rebecca's designs, conceived in a conspicuously Raphaellesque idiom, did not escape criticism from his fastidious patrons but there was no suggestion at the time that his chosen figure style conflicted in any way with the overall format of the painted glass.

The epitome of eighteenth-century gothic glass was undoubtedly the former west window of Exeter Cathedral, executed by William Peckitt in c.1767. In its day, this was widely regarded as one of the finest specimens of modern glass-painting and was one of the few Georgian examples in an English cathedral to outlive Queen Victoria. The vast Decorated Gothic window might have presented insurmountable
difficulties for a less versatile glass-painter, however Peckitt made no attempt to subordinate the elaborate medieval structure to the demands of a single narrative design. Instead, he utilised and enhanced its ornamental potential through a judicious arrangement of elements: the main lights were filled with standing figures of the Evangelists and Sts Paul and Peter, the central niche of the latter - the patron saint of the Cathedral - being somewhat wider than the rest. These Italianate figures stood under fancifully pinnacled canopies and pedestals of a rococo-gothick form quite unlike those Peckitt was to produce for New College. The spaces at the head and foot of each light were filled with elaborate armorials and the remainder of the window was embellished with arms, mosaic ornament, and a variety of royal and religious insignia inventively adapted to the tracery. The preponderance of heraldry in the window was partly a design and partly a financial expedient: each subscriber, drawn from the nobility and gentry of Devon and Cornwall, paid for his own arms to be included in the window whilst the rest was defrayed by the Dean and Chapter and the Bishop of Exeter. Immediately after its completion, a second public subscription was set up to fund an engraving of the new window. It was widely considered that Peckitt’s success was due in no small measure to his use of Thornill’s cartoons. Nor, it seems, was the glass-painter entrusted with the designs for all the heraldry; he was helped in this task by one ‘Mr Hakewill’ whilst the arms of West Saxony were actually the work of the elusive Robert Scott Godfrey.

The Exeter window, with its conservative figure-and-canopy format and accompanying gothic ornaments, was evidently more acceptable to Victorian taste than the majority of Georgian glass-paintings. For, despite its baroque figure style and crude enamel colours, this glass was sympathetic to its medieval setting in a way which many contemporary picture windows were not. At Ely Cathedral, with complete disregard for the narrowness of the Early English lancets, the ‘Committee of Taste’
responsible for designing a new east window had persisted in squeezing in a renaissance-inspired representation of 'The Nativity'. The unsatisfactory nature of such a design may well have been a contributory factor in the failure of this scheme.

Even in the case of new windows, like that in Alnwick Castle Chapel, where basic outline and tracery forms were modelled explicitly on celebrated medieval examples, no obligation was felt to complete the archaeological exercise with an appropriate style of painted glass. Indeed, admiration for the architectural forms of medieval windows, whose tracery patterns were adapted to all manner of decorative purposes by the craftsmen of the gothic, preceded the general appreciation of ancient glass by many years. When the choir of St Asaph's Cathedral was rebuilt in c.1780, the original eastern lancets were reconstructed on the model of the thirteenth-century tracery in the west window of Tintern Abbey, a focal point of gothic sentiment for ancient ruins. The painted glass which Francis Eginton executed for this new window some twenty years later, however, made few concessions to its neo-medieval setting: an arrangement of heraldry relating to the subscribers was combined with three subjects from the Passion of Christ executed entirely in accordance with contemporary pictorial taste. The central scene, showing 'Christ Contemplating his Future Suffering', was modelled closely on the celebrated 'Allegory of the Passion' by Francesco Albano (1578-1660) in the Guise collection at Christ Church, Oxford. It includes cherubs disporting gleefully with the symbols of Christ's martyrdom against a background of classical remains. Eginton's glass was removed in 1864; a portion of the latter scene was transferred to the church of Llandegla and some of the armorials were retained by St Asaph's.

For all its merits, the west window of Exeter Cathedral nevertheless represents a manifestly non-archaeological approach to the gothic style: it would be difficult to prove that Peckitt had referred to authentic
medieval stained glass models in the preparation of his designs. Indeed, until the end of his life he seems to have remained largely uninfluenced by the conspicuous traditions of ancient craftsmanship in his native city. The first two or three decades of the nineteenth century witnessed a gradual transition from the generalised and stylised gothic idiom practised by Peckitt and his contemporaries to a more accurate use of medieval ornament based on the observation of specific ancient examples. This process was accompanied by increasing experimentation with pot-metal colours, which, although the leadwork was rarely permitted to interfere with the design, were by now considered an essential ingredient in such painted windows. The burgeoning public interest in antiquarianism not only gave glass-painters the incentive to examine authentic specimens of medieval art but allowed them less licence to interpret the gothic style in an original and unscholarly fashion. However, this corrective taste was not yet applied to the conventions of figure drawing, for the widespread popular prejudice against medieval draftsmanship was much slower to disappear. The compromise, as glass-painters attempted to exploit the growing taste for antiquarianism, without renouncing their hard-earned and sophisticated pictorial achievements, resulted in a new and fashionable version of 'gothic'.

Joseph Backler's much admired east window for Macclesfield Church, exhibited in 1821 at his London gallery, epitomised this new trend. The six niched figures of Christ, Moses and the four Evangelists were still firmly in the eighteenth-century academic tradition; that of Christ was said to have been copied from an unspecified painting by Benjamin West, whilst the remaining figures were described as 'after some old Master'. However, the niches in which the figures stood were 'imitated from a celebrated screen in York Cathedral': the fifteenth-century choir screen, with its royal statues and elaborate ornament had thus continued to provide some kind of focal point in the development of antiquarian studies.
The conventional gothic format of the Macclesfield window had already been employed with great success by Backler for the new church of St Dunstan's-in-the East, London. Until the Second War, the five-light east window retained its monumental canopied figures of Christ and the Evangelists standing over those of Moses and Aaron - thus typifying the Law and the Gospel.64 Windows such as these, combining a sophisticated, painterly figure style with 'learned' medieval allusions in the architectural and ornamental trimmings, seemed to satisfy the taste of the majority who found true gothic draftsmanship unpalatable. Even the discerning critic and architect E.J. Carlos, who saw the scholarly deficiencies in Backler's handling of the idiom, regarded the latter's work in St Dunstan's as a great improvement on the picture window taste.

Though this work may suffer by comparison with the work of antiquity in the same material, how preferable it is to the modern heathenish personifications of the Virtues, or the Graces; or an open pointed arch, containing a scriptural representation degraded by a Jack o' Lantern contrivance, attracting the surprise, but never gaining the admiration of the spectator! 65

Carlos was not alone in his aesthetic aversion to the ubiquitous 'pagan' Virtues and Graces. By this date, glass-painters were exploiting the exceptional versatility of Reynolds' designs - whose simple format offered ample scope for gothicisation whilst losing nothing of their appeal as elegant figure studies. The twin lancets of the east window of Papplewick Church in Nottinghamshire, for instance, provided an ideal situation for Francis Eginton's copies of 'Faith' and 'Hope'; he also added a lower gothic border with quatrefoil decoration which has almost entirely disappeared. The prototype window with its paper-chain canopies had, of course, indicated the potential for such adaptation but as the taste for gothic increased, even more elaborate and inventive adaptations of
Reynolds' designs appeared. The former east window of Fareham Church, Hampshire, built in c.1834-7 in a 'Commissioner's Gothic' style, is one such example. The painted glass, removed in c.1902 to the three-light western window, incorporates copies of 'Faith', 'Charity' and 'Hope' under gilded gothic canopies with a gothic base; the upper lights contain heraldry and other ornaments. This fragile glass has been much repaired but the usual attribution of the figures to one 'Thomas Jeavons of Windsor' in c.1770-90, and the canopies, heraldry, etc. to the restoration of J.A. Edwards of Winchester in c.1835, seems untenable.66 'Jeavons' is clearly an error for 'Jervais' and there seems little reason to doubt that the window is wholly the work of Edwards and dates from c.1835. As late as 1855, glass-painters were still able to find scope in Reynolds' designs for inventive medievalisation according to the more rigorous dictates of current ecclesiological thinking: a neo-gothic version of 'Charity' was re-interpreted in a fourteenth-century idiom by Messrs. James and John King for the east window of the church of St Gregory in Norwich. The figures, executed entirely in pot-metals in a flattened and stylised manner, have been given more appropriate archaic costumes and ornamental setting; the model is, nevertheless, unmistakeable.67

Other celebrated pictorial designs were also subjected in the 1820s and 30s to the vogue for cosmetic gothicisation. Willement's east window for St George's, Tyldesley, an impressive neo-gothic Commissioner's Church, incorporates a scene of 'Christ Bearing the Cross' copied from the altar-painting in Magdalen College Chapel, Oxford.68 By the addition of a solid Perpendicular canopy, border, Latin inscription and armorial, this well-known subject appears in a convincingly late medieval guise, sandwiched between two heraldic lights. The original picture, (in Willement's day widely attributed to the seventeenth-century Spanish artist, Luis Morales), with its rough, barren setting, offered clear scope for such an aesthetic transformation. Willement, who was subsequently to
make further use of this painting,\textsuperscript{69} omitted the background details of Calvary and the attendant crowd, whilst the dimly glimpsed gateway is here re-defined as the entrance to a medieval fortress, complete with portcullis. Despite its acknowledged Counter-Reformation origins, the painting was immensely popular in this country: it was displayed at the east end of Magdalen Chapel in a heavily classical baldacchino. Pugin was later to use this picture in just such a classical setting as an example of what a high altar should not be.\textsuperscript{70} Wyatt, on the other hand, in an unexecuted design for the eastern wall, had envisaged the painting as the central focus of a dramatic gothic screen whose architectural details were derived from Bishop Waynflete's chantry chapel in Winchester Cathedral.\textsuperscript{71}

Such gothicised picture windows were still highly fashionable at the end of our period. One of the more ingenious examples is the apocalyptic east window of Redbourne Church, in which Danby's brooding scene of destruction appears framed by a Decorated canopy of stunning intricacy. The composite east window of Upwell Church in Norfolk, executed in \textsc{c}1837 by the copyists Messrs Hoadley and Oldfield, elicited both praise and condemnation in equal measure.\textsuperscript{72} The glass comprised in the centre light, a 'Descent from the Cross' after Spagnoletto; on the left was a copy of the celebrated 'Christ Bearing the Cross' and to the right was a 'Noli Me Tangere' after Mengs' painting in All Souls Chapel, Oxford. All three scenes were surmounted by canopies modelled overtly on the late fifteenth-century stained glass in Fairford Church, Gloucester, whilst the emblems in the tracery lights were taken from the windows of King's College Chapel, Cambridge.

The essential ambiguity of popular attitudes to medieval glass in this transitional period, was summed up in 1821 by a writer in the \textit{Magazine of the Fine Arts}. 
Although the old stained glass windows are admirable in detail, and brilliant in colour, they are in very few instances grand or striking in effect as pictures. The borders and ornaments are often far more attractive than the historical compositions.\(^{73}\)

The same critic was nevertheless quick to commend the convincingly gothic effects of Charles Muss's historical recreation of the Battle of Neville's Cross which united the richest pot-metal colours - their leadwork ingeniously concealed - with a suitably correct drawing style.

The resemblance of this work to some of the best specimens of ancient stained glass, as well in its extraordinary beauty and brilliancy of its colours, as in its strong outlines and its total want of aerial truth, is so strong, that a very good judge might easily mistake it for a real ancient painting.\(^{74}\)

As we saw in the previous chapter, glass-painters of the later Georgian period were much more likely to refer to a wide variety of medieval sources in different media to create their 'ancient' effects. This point is vividly demonstrated by the two unattributed gothic panels executed in enamels, stains and pot-metal glass, in the Burrell Collection and originating from Vale Royal Abbey in Cheshire.\(^{75}\) They commemorate two events concerned with the thirteenth-century foundation of the Abbey and in the absence of documentary evidence, have been dated somewhat arbitrarily to c.1200. In one panel, Edward I, when Prince of Wales, having been in danger of shipwreck on his return from the Holy Land is shown vowing to the Virgin Mary he would found a convent of Cistercian monks. In the second, King Edward is granting the charter of the Monastery to the first Abbot, John Champneys: through an open arch, a bishop is shown in the act of consecrating the newly built abbey. These glass-paintings are an ingenious amalgam of medieval elements welded into coherent pictorial designs which obey the non-perspectival laws of gothic draftsmanship.
The motif of King Edward I, for example, is drawn from one of his royal seals: he sits in a plausibly thirteenth-century interior although the hangings behind his throne are of a much later design. A fifteenth-century manuscript illumination surely provided the inspiration for the kneeling abbot and monks. Similarly, in the second panel, whilst the Virgin and Child seem to be derived from a late-medieval Continental manuscript, the boat, fish, and devil below would not look out of place in a twelfth-century bestiary.\(^7\) In both panels, the hot colours and vivid stains are entirely un-medieval in effect and the rustic border of renaissance ornament strikes a bizarre and inappropriate note. Nevertheless, as rare extant examples of gothic pastiche in painted glass, these are exceptionally fine specimens.

The eclectic borrowing and free adaptation of antiquarian sources continued throughout the period in question; by the 1820s, however, a growing appreciation of ancient stained glass had opened up more scholarly possibilities in the interpretation of the gothic style. The east window of Worthenbury Church in Flintshire, by Betton and Evans, is worth close analysis on many counts: the painted glass, which probably dates from c.1823, is a composite arrangement of medieval fragments with modern heraldic and ornamental elements. Much of the medieval glass has been identified as remnants of the fourteenth-century Jesse from Winchester College, which Betton and Evans had recently been employed to 'restore'.\(^7\) For present purposes, the major interest of this window is the inclusion of four historical portraits which are clearly copies of extant medieval stained glass. The figure identified as Sir Roger Puleston (d.1294) is in fact copied from the celebrated painted glass effigy of Sir William de Bardwell (d.1434) in Bardwell Church, Suffolk: the inscription at the base and the heraldic details have been altered in the modern version. The figure of St Leonard is taken from a panel of glass formerly in a prebendal house at Durham and now in the Cathedral itself. Both medieval
specimens had been engraved by the antiquarian William Fowler and published as coloured prints in 1805 and 1806 respectively.

The potential of these prints as models for modern work was evidently widely recognised. The chancel windows of Ditchingham Church, Suffolk, contain three further copies of Sir William de Bardwell - also re-identified by a change of heraldry:78 interestingly, these panels are also said to date from 1822. Whereas Betton and Evans used a sophisticated combination of pot-metals and stains, the anonymous glass-painter of the Ditchingham panels used only a deep, metallic silver stain on opaque white glass. It is clear that the Worthenbury window was intended to appear, as far as possible, like the jumbled remains of authentic medieval work from different periods. To increase the illusion, the fictive fragments included a number of heads, at least one of which - copied from a medieval figure in Merton College Chapel - is derived from a well-known source. However, the creation of such deliberately antiquated windows was by no means a phenomenon of the later Georgian period. The chancel of Preston-on-Stour, a medieval church practically rebuilt for the antiquary James West, features two windows executed by William Price in 1754. The central figures are surrounded by a collection of heads enclosed in a diaper ornament and whose disparate nature has led Michael Archer to suggest that Price was attempting 'to foster an illusion that they were fragments of ancient glass': such an effect would be entirely in keeping with Edward Woodward's sophisticated gothic interior.79

For the first two or three decades of the nineteenth century the single figure and canopy remained the most popular format for gothic painted windows. Another leading exponent of this style in its transitional phase was Joseph Hale Miller (1777-1842), a London glass-painter who had started work as an engraver. Although tantalisingly little is known of Miller's career, he was clearly a figure of seminal importance in the revival of glass-painting.80 One of his earliest known commissions was
for the Perpendicular east window of St George's in Doncaster, a work which was singled out for praise by the Victorian glass-painter, William Warrington, in his History of Stained Glass (1848). Miller's window, Warrington asserted, 'will in many respects even now vie with most modern productions.' The new glass, costing nearly a thousand guineas and commissioned in 1822, was filled with a great number of canopied figures of the Apostles, Evangelists and Prophets in varying sizes: it seems to have won unqualified contemporary approval with a style of glass-painting at once modestly traditional and fashionably novel. "Compared with this",enthused Thomas Dibdin, 'how tame and impotent are the productions of Egginton!' It is possible, at least, that Thomas Garbett had this celebrated example in mind when he delivered his strictures on executing modern painted glass for an ancient setting. However, as Warrington himself made clear, Miller's antiquarian talents were subject to the limitations of his time and his figure work still tended conspicuously towards 'the portrait style of painting': this was not perhaps surprising from a craftsman who, as we shall see, was gaining wide experienced in the restoration of Renaissance glass.

If the work of Backler and Miller provide the yardstick of late Georgian handling of gothic then once again it is that of Thomas Willement which reveals most conspicuously their deficiencies. The latter's east window for Butleigh Church in Somerset represents something of a high watermark in the pre-Victorian revival of a medieval style of glass-painting. It features standing figures of the Virgin Mary, Christ and St John the Evangelist under elaborate Decorated-style canopies, surrounded by appropriate ornament. Although it could never be mistaken for a medieval window, the striking archaism of the figure drawing and accuracy of architectural detail, combined with an almost exclusive dependence on pot-metal glass, would appear to suggest a work of considerably later date than 1829. Willement was undoubtedly the first
glass-painter in a neo-gothic idiom to recognise that authenticity of effect lay not in the ornamental details alone, nor even in the use of pot-metal colours, but only in combination with the revived medieval conventions of draftsmanship. Willement was, moreover, one of the first glass-painters who was also a scholar and whose wide knowledge of ancient stained glass continuously informed and inspired his own craftsmanship. His dedicated emulation of the practice of medieval artists anticipated by some years - albeit in less visionary and polemical fashion - the aesthetic and religious crusade of the Roman Catholic architect, Augustus Welby Northcote Pugin (1812-51).

Some of the earliest figure and canopy glass designed by Pugin still remains in the chapel at St Mary's College, Oscott - the seminary which was to become a central focus for the latter's influence throughout the Catholic Church in England. The chapel glass was executed in c.1837-9 by the young William Warrington (1786-1869) - a former pupil, incidentally, of Thomas Willement. The two side windows at the eastern end feature the twelve Apostles, holding scrolls and appropriate symbols, standing under Decorated style canopies: miniature donor portraits are incorporated in the bottom of the windows. Although Warrington's vivid pot-metal colours and flattened figure style strive to create a convincingly medieval effect, the treatment of the faces in particular still seems to our eyes much closer to the traditions of canvas, than of glass-painting. The figure of St Bartholomew is in fact derived from a German altar-painting, a late medieval work of the Cologne school acquired earlier in the century for the Alte Pinakothek in Munich. Several of the remaining figures in these two windows are copied directly (their scrolls excepted) from the apostles of the anonymous fifteenth-century Heisterbacher Altar-piece, also in the Munich collection. Such models were, moreover, entirely in keeping with the Continental origins of much of the chapel's furnishings, supplied by Pugin himself.
The period 1820-40 witnessed both a great increase in the number of new windows executed in this country and considerable experimentation with archaic styles of glass-painting. Thomas Willement's east window for Cockayne Hatley Church is a striking departure from the mainstream of glass produced at this time, not least in its multi-subject format. The six, small, narrative scenes from the life of Christ were said to be modelled 'after antient designs': the window vividly demonstrates Willement's widening repertoire of Continental visual sources - in this case the artistic models seem to be northern European and date from the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century. The jigsaw effect and feverish pot-metal colours detract somewhat from the design itself, but Willement's studied attempts to reproduce a Continental figure style are commendable. However, at its installation in 1829, the Cockayne Hatley window - a bold experiment in a new taste - appears to have gone unnoticed by the critics. Once again, Willement was conspicuously ahead of his time: the glass at Oscott, whose designs reflected Pugin's own admiration for late medieval northern art, was installed almost a decade later but it was heralded by the Press as an unrivalled and innovative modern production. In Pugin's employ, Warrington's reputation as a glass-painter reached an unprecedented height and his works were compared favourably with the most celebrated examples of late medieval art.

The style of the painting, as well as its character and costume, resembles that of the most splendid of the ancient missals; the works of Hemmebrick, Durer, Van Eick and others of the school considered the most appropriate to Gothic architecture.

The central eastern window in Oscott Chapel, ablaze with rich colour, was singled out for particular praise: it depicts a large, late fifteenth or early sixteenth-century Flemish-style Virgin and Child; the
figures, crowned and draped in gorgeously decorated garments, are surrounded by attendant saints of considerably smaller dimensions and angels who crowd into the outer lights. The background of this resplendent scene is irradiated with a glory emanating from the Virgin in alternate rays of red and gold. At least one of the pictorial models to which Pugin referred can be readily identified: the two female saints flanking the Virgin are once again derived from the St Bartholomew altar-painting at Munich, a simple change of symbol having transformed St Agnes into St Catharine.91

Pugin, however, rapidly grew dissatisfied with Warrington's services and denounced the glass-painter peevishly as 'a wretched pirate'.92 He was apparently no more successful in his collaborative relationship with Thomas Willement which began fitfully in about 1839. Willement was by this date well established as a craftsman and a designer, as well as a scholar of some repute. Much earlier in his career he had been employed by William Beckford to provide border designs for the tall lancet windows in the Great Hall of Fonthill Abbey. He took as his model the foliated ornament in some of the oldest stained glass known to remain in this country - the genealogical windows in the choir clerestory of Canterbury Cathedral, dating from the late twelfth century, whose intricate borders had in many cases survived almost intact. Rough pencil sketches relating to these designs for Beckford, washed in with faint colours, have survived.93 The painted glass for the Hall at Fonthill is said to have comprised 'six large Windows of rich Mosaic Ornaments and Arms etc.' and was executed by Francis Eginton; however William Raphael appears to have completed the commission after his father's death in 1805.94 This instance of the copying of early gothic glass was exceptional: in general it remained the most neglected of all historical styles and some years were to elapse before Willement himself returned to this idiom in a serious manner. By that date, the decorative potential of early medieval glass had been more
widely recognised. In c.1837, the east window of the new Chapel of the Holy Ghost at Newtown on the Isle of Wight, built in an Early English style, was filled with ornamental painted glass designed by the architect Charles Edwin Gwilt ‘in a style appropriate to the character and apparent age of the building ...’. The window, whose intricate mosaic patterns incorporated heraldry and other emblems, was executed by an unknown glass-painter in a mixture of pot-metals, flashed glass and stains: on the basis of this work, the designer received a commission from the Bishop of Winchester to execute similar windows ‘in the national style of the thirteenth century’ for the medieval church of Calbourne on the island.

Some of the most striking interpretations of thirteenth-century figural glass can still be seen in the east windows of St John the Baptist in Weston-Super-Mare, and the chapel of Lytes Cary Manor, in Somerset: both sets of painted glass have frequently been mistaken in the past for authentic early medieval specimens but documentary evidence proves the Weston glass is by Thomas Willement. The church at Weston is a Georgian structure in a late gothic style; the chancel was rebuilt in c.1837 and the glass is said to have been donated at that time by Bishop Henry Law of Wells (1824-45). The tracery and the borders of the five-light east window are filled with a somewhat haphazard arrangement of heraldry and other fragments, the majority of which appear to be modern, but apparently incorporating older pieces from the private collection of Bishop Law. Willement’s panels are set into clear glass in the main lights: scenes from the life of David (in medallions) alternate with scenes from the life of Christ (largely in square panels); each scene incorporates a Latin inscription in a rather gawky and uneven script. Those panels dealing with the life of David are cruder in effect but incorporate more pot-metal colours than the others, which rely exclusively on stains and blue pot-metal for the background.

The glass in the medieval chapel at Lytes Cary was installed by Sir
Walter and Lady Jenner in 1912 and its earlier history is somewhat vague: the panels are said to have been originally in a window in the north transept of the neighbouring church of Charlton Mackrell. The compositions of 'The Nativity' and 'Presentation of Christ', 'The Entry into Jerusalem', and 'Last Supper' in Weston Church are identical to those at Lytes Cary; however, all the panels in the latter location have been modified to create a dense arrangement of medallions filled in with a simple foliate ornament. The slightly cambered inscriptions appear to have formerly encircled the roundels - as they still do at Weston - an alteration probably carried out when the glass was transferred. Even allowing for restoration, however, the leadwork in both sets of panels where comparison is possible, follow almost identical patterns, suggesting they were originally made from the same cartoons. Common to all these panels are the distinctive effects of cosmetic antiquation: the painted glass has been deliberately pitted and smeared in places to achieve the appearance of real age - an exceptionally early instance of what was to become a popular practice amongst glass-painters in revived medieval styles, although severely condemned by the Ecclesiologists in the next decade.

In a western window in the church of St Nicholas, Hurst, Berkshire, are two large roundels of stained glass depicting 'The Last Supper' and 'The Adoration'; these were said to have been part of an original scheme in the east window which was damaged when it was moved in the 1840s to make way for a new window by Charles Hudson. There is no doubt that these two panels, also by Willement, are derived from the same cartoons which produced the glass now at Lytes Cary and Weston.

It has not proved possible to isolate any single medieval source used in these cartoons: the compositions seems to be a skilful distillation of various early gothic models, both English and Continental, an expression of Willement's close technical and stylistic observations of a wide range of ancient glass. Willement established himself in the 1840s as the leading
glass-painter in a revived Early English style: in \( \sim 1242 \) he was given the
prestigious commission to execute glass for the eastern lancets of the
meticulously restored Temple Church in London. Yet again, a number of the
medallions in the central light featuring events in the life of Christ are,
with only minor modifications, clearly based on those earlier cartoons
discussed above.\(^{103}\)

To turn from the rather crudely fashioned examples of thirteenth-
century pastiche in Lytes Cary and Weston-Super-Mare to the glowing
clarity of Willement’s glass in the Great Hall of Penrhyn Castle, is to
experience something of a shock. Although dated 1835, these two ground
level, medallion-style windows are both qualitatively and technically
superior to those apparently later specimens. The painted glass in Penrhyn,
a masterpiece of the early Norman revival in England, serves not only an
ornamental but an important archaeological function: the bold geometric
forms and rich tones (with minimal evidence of antiquation) are in keeping
with the pristine newness of the Hall; whilst Willement’s stylised
ornament reiterates and reinforces the massive round-headed arches and
Romanesque motifs of Thomas Hopper’s stupendous architectural
repertoire.\(^{104}\) The dappling of coloured light on the stone floors and
walls, supplemented by sky-lights let into the vault, contributes to the
quasi-ecclesiastical ambience. Twenty-four medallions featuring the
signs of the Zodiac and Labours of the Month are set into an elaborate
background of lush thirteenth-century ornament. Since no strictly Norman
examples of stained glass were known to have survived in England,
Willement selected as his model the earliest Continental specimens. This
particular combination of iconography, calls to mind the cosmological
scheme in the thirteenth-century west rose of Notre Dame, Paris; once
again, however, the individual visual sources used by Willement have so
far eluded precise identification.

Willement’s magnificent ‘Zodiac’ windows in the Great Hall should be
seen in the wider context of his attempts at Penrhyn to render a
pre-gothic style in painted glass. The renewal of interest in Norman
architecture sprang directly from the Gothic Revival and the continuing
quest for chronological definitions of style.105 Until the 1840s, it
remained, however, a minor and distinctly neglected mode of building: its
weight, gravity and massiveness of detail were generally seen as
uncongenial to modern British taste. Penrhyn stands as a splendid but
fairly isolated testament to the caution with which the style was
regarded by the majority of architects. Willement’s writhing dragons and
animal masks interlaced with foliage in other windows in the Great Hall
and adjoining passage are derived from the formal repertoire of
Romanesque sculpture, ivories and metal-work: his blending of vigorous
zoomorphic and abstract geometrical motifs creates a novel, yet erudite,
interpretation of the Norman style. Particularly noticeable in the upper
lights of two windows of the Great Hall are two stocky figures of armed
knights on horseback against a foliate background. Willement was making a
topical and scholarly allusion to a major archaeological discovery: these
figures are copies of the ‘Lewis Chessmen’, a set of carved walrus ivory
chesspieces, generally dated from the mid to the late twelfth century,
discovered in 1831 and acquired for the British Museum.106

An interesting comparison with Thomas Willement’s work are the
series of heraldic lunettes currently in the Library and Drawing Room at
Penrhyn; the coats of arms relate to the past owners of the Castle and to
the ruling dynasties of Wales and the painted glass has been attributed on
stylistic grounds to David Evans (c.1837).107 The ornamental motifs in
this glass are essentially unarchaeological and painterly interpretations
of a Norman decorative repertoire, incorporating gothic details such as
fleurons and Evans’ own characteristic fern diaper background.108
Thomas Willement's work in Penrhyn Castle heralds a new and distinct phase in the developmental history of British glass-painting: it seems to indicate a line of demarcation where the old laxity of gothick begins to yield finally to the new rigour of revived gothic; where pictorial achievements are subordinated to the dictates of architectural setting and where imitation supersedes invention as the key to artistic success. The whole spectrum of medieval styles, both early and late, had now been made accessible to the contemporary artist in glass. Neither the Penrhyn windows, nor the roundels in Lytes Cary or Weston-Super-mare, could be described as slavish copies of existing glass; nevertheless, an important scholarly precedent had been introduced in the attempt to create a convincing sense of chronological verisimilitude.
Notes: Chapter 4

1. Verses on Sir Joshua Reynolds’s Painted Window at New-College, Oxford, Thomas (1728-90), was the brother of Joseph Warton, Headmaster of Winchester, at whose personal request Reynolds had agreed to design the new window. Woodforde, New College, p.41.


4. The poem appeared anonymously in 1782 with a note stating it had been published only because it had been 'incorrectly circulated in manuscript.'

5. Letter of May 13 1782, Woodforde, New College, pp.53-4. Lines 65-70 of Warton's poem are undoubtedly intended as a reference to Reynolds's own theories of 'Ideal Beauty': the necessity of understanding the 'genuine habits of nature, as distinguished from those of fashion'. Discourse III, (1770), p.47.


8. The Torrington Diaries, Containing the Tours throughout England and Wales of the Hon. John Byng, later 5th Viscount Torrington between the Years 1781 and 1794, C.B. Andrews ed., 4 vols, London 1934-8, 1, 54. His comments could be interpreted to mean that he preferred either the medieval stained glass in the chapel or the work by Price and Peckitt, to that of Jervais. Pugin's opinion of the w. window, incidentally, echo Byng's: 'two-thirds ... consists of dirty brown clouds, under which are representations of some women, having the appearance of third-rate actresses, but who are dignified with the designation of the Cardinal Virtues.' Mr Pugin's Third Lecture on Ecclesiastical Architecture', The Catholic Magazine, 3 (1839), p.33.

9. Gilpin, p.61. (i.e. 'scrolls').


13. Constable, Correspondence, 12, p.80, letter of Nov. 3 1821 to Bishop John Fisher. The latter incidentally acquired 'a cabinet picture-after West' from Eginton's manufactory. Lowe, Works, p.1.
14. The 1st edition of Winston's Inquiry appeared in 1848. William Warrington whose History of Stained Glass was published in the same year, acknowledged the former to be 'the only work which has yet appeared with any pretensions to be a complete treatise on the varieties in the style of painted glass'.

15. Thompson, pp.152-3.


18. The window cost £525: ibid., p.149. Although payment was made in 1804 to Francis Eginton, the glass was said to have been executed 'during his long and severe illness' by his son and son-in-law: Gent's Mag., 75, (1805), ii, p.606.


21. See also below n.88.

22. The subjects are described fully by Milner. The architecture in 'Jeremiah Weeping amongst the Ruins' was copied from the local church of St Mary Magdalen. James Cave was one of the three sons of William Cave of Winchester, a local painter who did much work free of charge for the Chapel. B. Carpenter Turner, 'A Notable family of Artists: the Caves of Winchester', Proc. Hampshire Field Club & Archaeol. Soc., 22 (1961) pt.1, pp.30-5. James Cave was also a watercolourist who exhibited at the R.A.

23. Milner, pp.240-1. Did this historical programme perhaps provide some inspiration for the later and better known commemorative schemes of Georgian glass in the windows of Magdalen College Chapel, Oxford, and Lichfield Cathedral?

24. The 'Chapel Accounts' mention payment in 1793 to 'Messrs Underwood & Co London for a Fanlight with stained glass' of £3. 3s. Bogan, p.19. Eginton's manufactory also supplied a quatrefoil glass-painting depicting the Holy Trinity for the back of the gallery. Milner, p.246. Two other w. windows contained 4 'ovals' displaying the 4 Doctors of the Latin Church. Other side windows contained emblems of Faith, Hope and Charity, and various armorial devices.


27. The letters are reproduced in vol.16 of Walpole's Correspondence, pp.101-118. See also, E.R. Waserman, 'The Walpole-Chatterton Controversy', Modern Language Notes, 54 (1939),
28. Mercure de France, 97, i (July 1769), p.52.


31. ibid., p.103. Godfrey worked in Paris with a glazier named William Brice (d.1768) who appears to have been English-born. W.J. Drake, A Dictionary of Glass-Painters & 'Glasyers' of the 10th to 18th Centuries, New York 1955, p.22.

32. Mercure de France, p.52.


34. ibid., appendix 11/24, p.680, letter of Mar. 4 1698 from Gyles to Ralph Thoresby.

35. 2 vols, London, 1, p.5.


38. Archer, 'Stained Glass at Erddig' p.262.


40. For Audley End chapel see McCarthy, pp.168-9; J.B. Williams, Audley End: The Restoration of 1762-97, Chelmsford 1966, pp.23-31. As can be seen from the outside, the 2 gothic windows in the chapel are in fact wooden insertions, placed inside the old 17th century stonework, which do not interrupt the architectural harmony of the exterior.

41. Brighton, 'Enamel Glass-Painters', pp.465-7. The windows were in situ by 1772. The 'Adoration' is unlocated; it has been suggested by Dennis King that fragments may be in the chapel of St Mark's College, Audley End, and Polesworth church, Suffolk.

42. Dept. of Prints and Drawings, Y.& A. Museum, London. A.80, 3436.4, 5. The latter design apparently relate to the e. window (a reredos is depicted below); the glass features only simple motifs such as a sunburst and moon.

43. See G.W. Beard, 'Robert Adam at Croome Court', Connoisseur, 132 (July-Dec.1953), pp.73-6. In addition to the Y.&A. designs, Beard refers to other 'early coloured drawings' for the church windows, formerly at Croome itself; I have been unable to locate the latter designs.

44. Nor did Adam's gothic repertoire seem substantially to develop: the small figures surmounting the niches in the Percy family tree for Alnwick Chapel (1777) are still reminiscent of the Evangelists in the window for Croome Church.

45. Macaulay, p.75.

46. Vol. xxix no. 18, Soane Museum. See also, A.C.S. Dixon, The Restoration of Alnwick Castle,

47. Macaulay, p.75.

48. Two of Peckitt's major cathedral commissions were for heraldic glass: the e. window for Lincoln Cathedral (1762) was his largest single work. Brighton, 'Enamel Glass-Painters', pp.359–61. In 1791 he supplied an e. window for Ripon Cathedral. Ibid., pp.558–62. Much heraldic glass was also commissioned for the Cathedrals of Worcester and Lichfield during the later Georgian period.


50. A further design by Stuart for a classical altar-piece was chosen instead, though replaced in less than 15 years by Emylyn's gothic work.


52. Letter from J.H. Thorpe to Peckitt, April 2 1774. Ibid, p.33. The same basic canopy and pedestal design is found over Peckitt's figure of St Peter in the s. transept of York Minster (1768). The other 3 figures, Moses, Abraham and Solomon - whose niches are in the New College format - date from 1793.

53. Letter from Jeremiah Milles to the Warden of New College, April 10 1772. Ibid, p.29.


58. After Raphael 'and other famous Masters of Painting'; Baylis, p.103.


61. Lewis, p.16, pls. 65, 66.


64. The rest of the window featured symbols such as the ark of the covenant, the golden pot of manna and the golden censer. Willement owned a print of this window (B.L. Add. MS 34. 873 no.111 f.39) The pre-War state of the e. window can be seen in G. Cobb, The Old Churches of
65. Gents. Mag., 91 (1821), i, p.37. Another critic was less indulgent towards the new e. window. 'The prevailing colour is a brick-dust red; and the principal characters ... are gifted with angry countenances. The windows ... should have been filled with simple patterns of leaved tendrils, such as the sketch-book of Mr Miller has furnished for many noble buildings both antient and modern.' Ibid. p.299.


67. Haward, pl.85. James (1804-65) and John King (1807-79) took over the firm from their father between 1845 and 1850. Ibid., pp.197-8, 209-11.

68. B.L. Add. MS. 34.871, designs 35-37, f.13. The window was executed in 1825.

69. B.L. Add. MS 34.871, design no. 32 f.12 shows 'Christ Bearing the Cross' in a renaissance-style setting, above 3 allegorical figures.

70. Contrasts, or a Parallel between the Noble Edifices of the Middle Ages and Corresponding Buildings of the Present Day; Shewing the Present Decay of Taste, London 1840. The altar-piece illustrated is that of Hereford Cathedral in 1830 with Backler's 'Last Supper' faintly visible above.


73. 'Exhibitions of Stained Glass', p.189.

74. Ibid., p.190.

75. Burrell Reg. no. 45/103 and 104. The early history of the glass is still a mystery. Yale Royal was bought in 1616 by the Cholmondely family who extensively altered the earlier mansion. Some of the armorial glass now at Yale Royal was noted by William Cole in 1755 at Utkinton Hall, home of the Done family; it was moved to Yale Royal in 1778. The 2 panels in question were formerly in 1st floor windows in the Salon. Extracted from J.P. Rylands & R. Stewart-Brown, The Armorial Glass at Yale Royal, Spurstow Hall, Utkinton Hall, and Tapory Rectory, Cheshire. The Genealogist, NS 38 (1921), pp.61-70. The wings of Yale Royal were remodelled by Thomas Cholmondely, later Lord Delamere, in the late 18th or early 19th c.

76. I am grateful to Miss Janet Backhouse and Dr P.G. Lindley for their advice on the question of sources.

77. Lewis, pp.95-7, pl.68. See below, Chap. 5, p.243.

78. Haward, p.197, 275-6. See also the painted glass copies of medieval brasses at Yelverton and Newton (Suffolk); Ibid. pp.278-9.


81. p.69.

82. Dibdin, 1, p.126, ascribes the window erroneously to William Miller.


84. Willement was to work briefly as a glass-painter for Pugin from c.1839-42; glass in the living rooms at Alton Towers, Staffs, and in the Chapel at St John's Hospital was the result of this collaboration. By his own account, Works Executed, p.41 Willement had already produced a considerable amount of glass for Alton Towers in 1834. Pugin announced in a letter to the Earl of Shrewsbury in Feb. 1842 that he would never work with Willement again. P. Stanton, 'Welby Pugin and the Gothic Revival', (unpublished Phd thesis, University of London, 1950), p.276.

85. Harrison, p.17. Warrington's collaboration with Pugin seems to have begun in c.1837 and ended in c.1842, after which time Pugin relied almost exclusively on William Wailes of Newcastle. Egs of Warrington's glass can be seen in Pugin's St Marie's, Derby (1830) and St Chad's, Birmingham, (1840).

86. 'St Bartholomew between SS Agnes and Cecilia', illust. Masterpieces from the Alte Pinakothek at Munich, Arts Council, 1949 (supplement), pl.13a. The painter was active c.1485-1510.


88. W. Greaney, Catalogue of the Pictures, Wood-carvings, Manuscripts, etc. in St Mary's College, Oscott, Birmingham 1880, pp.21-34. In 1837 Pugin was appointed Professor of Ecclesiastical Architecture and Antiquities at Oscott. It is interesting to note that Bishop John Milner was the 1st Vicar Apostolic of Oscott and its 2nd founder under the title of St Mary's College. The chapel at Old Oscott, (some 2 miles away) was described as being -

of a rather French conventual model, with a would-be Grecian sanctuary adorned with classical pilasters supporting a pediment over the altar. Within the space enclosed by the pilasters was a painted window representing our Blessed Lady trampling upon the serpent's head; and on either side of this... were two smaller windows, the predominating colour of which was an odious opaque yellow, so much like a gigantic dose of rhubarb and water that I could not look at it without feeling squeamish.

'History of St Mary's College, Oscott', The Oscotian, 6 (July 1887), p.177. The glass-painting may well have been 'The Woman Clothed with the Sun' to which Samuel Lowe refers to (Works, p.2) and was probably commissioned by Milner for the Chapel. The latter designed over the sacristy a little chapel where Mass was said every day. Milner also purchased a 'Cabinet Picture' of Christ displaying his Heart from Lowe.

89. R.N. Cust, Some Account of the Church of Cockayne Hatley, Beds., London 1851. p.7. The 2 lower scenes in particularly seem to show the influence of Durer's 'Passion' designs; whilst the angels in the tracery look French. The glass was presented by the Rev. Henry Cust for whom Lowe had earlier provided a window containing 'heraldry, gothic ornaments and mosaic'. Works, p.2. I am grateful to Dr H. Wayment for his comments on this window.


91. Harrison also regards the Oscott window as 'a milestone in the history of the revival' (p.18). He sees the influence of the 'Tree of Jesse' window (c.1522) in the church of St Etienne,
Beauvais, which Pugin sketched on a tour in 1837.


93. B.L. Add. MS 34.873, designs 69, f.27; 71, f.28; 73, f.29; 81 f.31.

94. Gents. Mag., 75 (1805) i, p.483. W.R. Eginton recorded '3 mosaic and heraldic windows in the Entrance Hall', in his published list of works, dated 'Birmingham, May 21 1823' currently on display in Birmingham City Art Gallery. In 1812, Storer, Fonthill p.18, noted 3 windows on the left side of the Hall filled with painted glass, 'the borders in imitation of a very ancient specimen in Canterbury Cathedral'. Rutter, Fonthill, p.25 described the Hall windows in 1823 as 'filled with panes of matted glass of a lozenge form having each a quatrefoil in outline upon it, surrounded by a richly coloured border of foliage. In the tracery are armorial badges'. These he attributed solely to W.R. Eginton.

95. Gents. Mag., NS10 (1838) ii, p.172. The window was destroyed in the 2nd War.

96. Ibid. Gwilt, son of the better known architect, George Gwilt the Younger, was apparently a promising architect who died young. A competition design for a window by C.E. Gwilt intended for Westminster Palace, was exhibited in 1844; it featured the first 8 kings of England following the Norman Conquest. Builder, 2 (1844), p.235. Grisaille glass in a 13th-century style remains in the e. window of Calbourne Cathedral; this may well be by Gwilt.


98. E.E. Baker, The Parish Church of Weston-Super-Mare, Weston 1910, pp.21-2. The author writes that 'the vignettes are said to be thirteenth century work'.

99. The subjects are (from top to bottom, left to right):
1. 'The Entry into Jerusalem'. 2. 'David removing a Lamb from the Lion's mouth'.
3. 'The Last Supper'. 4. 'David playing before Saul'. 5. 'The Presentation'. 6. 'David and Goliath'.


101. William Warrington was particularly criticised for being 'a great practitioner in the dirty school of glass-painting'; Ecclesiologist, 10 (1850), p.84. See also 'New Old Stained Glass', Builder, 9 (1851) p.208.

102. Murray's Berkshire Architectural Guide, J. Piper & J. Betjeman eds, London 1949, p.131. I am grateful to Mr Rodney Hubback for informing me of this glass. Willement recorded the execution in 1838 of 'the upper parts of two windows' in Hurst Church; B.L. Add. MS 52.413, p.19. Willement's sketch for the window (or a section of it) including a roundel of 'The Adoration', is in B.L. Add. MS 34.871. design no. 87, f.25.

103. See S. Smirke, 'An Account of the Temple Church', Wesle's Quarterly Papers, 2 (1844); W. Burge, The Temple Church, An Account of its Restoration and Repairs, London 1843. The church was badly bombed in the Second War but a description of the glass as can be found in T.H. Bayliss, The Temple Church, 3rd ed., London 1900, pp.26-9. An engraving of Willement's glass in the 3 eastern lancets, drawn and zincographed by R.H. Essex (1842) is in B.L. Add. MS 34.
873, design no. 147, f.50. See especially 'The Adoration', 'Annunciation to the Shepherds', 'Last Supper' and 'Entry into Jerusalem'.


108. See also 2 painted windows by Willement lighting the carved stone staircase, designed in strong relief to simulate the effects of blind arcing. The exotic effect of the columns columns, like that of the staircase as a whole, is rather less suggestive of Norman than Arabic or Byzantine architecture. Their designs may have been inspired by a slightly earlier example of Neo-Norman glass in Brancepeth Castle whose rebuilding by Patterson anticipates Hopper's handling of the idiom by some years. The landing of the main staircase at Brancepeth is now partitioned by a glass screen created from painted glass from different parts of the Castle. The upper section is cleverly designed to stimulate an open clerestorey with a gallery and stone flagged floor. The piers, arches and cushion capitals of these fictive 'windows' are decorated with Norman-inspired motifs, heavily shaded in bold relief. The glass, (by W. Collins 1821–4), with its trompe l'oeil effects appears to be a permanent architectural feature - a stone facade intersected by 2 rows of windows and a glass–paned door. A photograph of this screen is held by the N.M.R., BB/8747.
Chapter 5

Collectors, Connoisseurs and the Aesthetics of Restoration

Until the beginning of the nineteenth century, the acquisition of ancient stained glass was largely the pursuit of scholars and antiquarians; well-known private collectors included learned figures such as William Stukeley, William Cole, Horace Walpole and Richard Gough - all of whom displayed their glass prominently in the windows of their own home. John Byng, later Lord Torrington, represented yet another type of eighteenth-century collector, the aristocrat-enthusiast, who had unlimited leisure to explore remote country churches and glaziers' shops in search of ancient specimens. All these men shared a common desire to arrest the continuing process of neglect and destruction. By the end of the century, however, the overall picture had altered considerably. The collecting of ancient stained glass, once regarded as an esoteric and even a crypto-Catholic taste, had now become a fashionable middle-class pursuit. Not surprisingly, the emergence of this new taste in the early years of the nineteenth century was to have important repurcussions for the development of contemporary glass-painting in Britain.

It is a commonplace that the vast ecclesiastical depredations on the Continent in the wake of the French Revolution opened up a new and lucrative channel for the acquisition of ancient glass, amongst other church furnishings. This aspect of the history of Georgian glass-painting has received much incidental attention from scholars investigating the origins of the plentiful foreign glass now in this country. The key figure in the dispersal of imported glass was the German-born John Christopher Hampp (d.1825), a weaver and merchant who had settled in Norwich. Hampp was not the first person to realise the commercial opportunities in the sale of foreign glass, but the potential for such a large-scale operation was entirely unprecedented. Hampp, together with his partner,
William Seth Stevenson (1784-1853), a Norwich bookseller and publisher, apparently exercised a virtual monopoly over the import trade in glass; a view which is supported by the survival of much documentation relating to his business activities. The two men made several extended trips abroad after the Peace of Amiens in 1802, visiting France, Germany, the Netherlands and possibly Switzerland. On their return, they exhibited and sold their acquisitions at public auctions in London and Norwich. Hamp evidently controlled the business side of this partnership, whilst Stevenson, the more learned of the two, seems to have regarded these Continental trips as something of an antiquarian crusade. He was shocked by the evidence of the growing dilapidation of ecclesiastical buildings, particularly in Rouen, where he found many churches used indiscriminately as stables and warehouses: their fine stained glass windows which he had much admired on a former visit were 'every day ... breaking into shivers, from the pressure of the bales, which these mercantile Gaits were perpetually piling up against them, without compunction'. Stevenson clearly felt it necessary to defend his actions in having removed so much of this glass - a fact which not only indicates his awareness of the ethical considerations but is also, perhaps, a reflection of the fast increasing market value of this commodity.

The act of securing a portion of these admirable paintings from further injury, by their removal to a country where their merits were appreciated and their subjects reverenced, was surely one that deserves a less obnoxious appellation than that of pillage, with which it has been branded in the work of a certain English Antiquary ... I am not ashamed of avowing a participation in the employment of taking many of these tasteful donations of Catholic bounty from their mouldering frames, and packing them up ... for a voyage to England. The Jacobin vendors of these brittle reliques, did not part with them for nothing ...
difficulty, often for the mere cost of boarding up the empty windows afterwards. Many Englishmen abroad in the early nineteenth century must have acquired extremely valuable specimens in the casual speculative manner described by the Rev. William Shepherd in his journal of a visit to France made in 1814.5

In general, English collectors of this period showed a marked preference for Continental glass of the sixteenth century; such examples were suitably ancient in appearance and yet sufficiently naturalistic in technique to satisfy the aesthetic requirements of contemporary taste. The same admiration for pictorial qualities in glass-painting can be seen in the evaluation of English examples. The stained glass in Fairford Church (c.1500) along with that in King's College Chapel, Cambridge (1515–c.1547), was one of the few indigenous schemes which continued to attract widespread public praise long after 'mosaic-style' glass-painting in general had fallen into disfavour. Not only had the Fairford windows survived much as they were on the eve of the Reformation, but their scriptural subjects were still widely believed to have been designed by that most celebrated of northern painters, Albrecht Durer. This attribution, which was perpetuated well into the nineteenth century, is thought to have originated with Van Dyck.6 In 1788, King George III himself, whilst staying at Cheltenham, had made a special visit to Fairford to see the glass which had 'for ages, been the Admiration of all Europe': as in the case of King's College Chapel, the success of the Fairford windows as a pictorial drama was seen as a result of the clever handling of the lead-work - 'so admirably disposed among the dark shades as not to be easily discovered'.7

Perhaps the most celebrated importation of glass during this period were the sixteenth-century windows from Herkenrode Abbey in the old principality of Liege, which had been aquired by Sir Brooke Boothby of Ashbourne.8 The stained glass was shipped over during the Peace of
Amiens and subsequently sold to Lichfield Cathedral for only £200. It was ultimately installed by the Shrewsbury-based firm of Betton and Evans in seven windows of the Lady Chapel and two in the east wall of the choir ambulatory; various remaining fragments went into other windows in the Cathedral. In the Lady Chapel the newly acquired Renaissance glass replaced Eginton’s picture window of 'The Resurrection' which had been in place for less than a decade: Eginton himself, along with a number of other assistants, was apparently employed to help in this massive task of installation. Nobody, it seems, expressed regret at the exchange. The Herkenrode windows with their sophisticated draftsmanship and brilliant colours have, since the date of their insertion, been generally regarded as the finest examples of Continental Renaissance stained glass in this country.

A considerable proportion of the stained glass imported during this period went into the windows of private homes. Ancient specimens were often installed as integral design features used to convey a sense of antiquity and give an added authenticity to a recently built or gothicized ancestral home. Thus, in 1811 the Duke of Bridgwater purchased from Hamp p a large amount of sixteenth-century German glass for the chapel of his newly completed home - Ashridge Park in Hertfordshire, built to the neo-gothic designs of James Wyatt. Much of this glass, depicting a mixture of Old and New Testament subjects, is believed to have originated from the Cistercian abbey at Mariawald and the Premonstratensian Abbey of Steinfeld. The Ashridge programme should perhaps be seen as an attempt to emulate those large-scale schemes of ancient religious glass in established country houses such as The Wyne in Hampshire, or Hengrave Hall in Suffolk.

An alternative method of integrating ancient glass into a domestic setting was demonstrated by Lord Bagot, who installed French glass acquired at a sale in London in the medieval cloisters of his seat,
Blithfield Hall in Staffordshire: similarly, the twelve cloister windows of Toddington Manor, Gloucestershire (begun 1819), were given a suitably monastic air by the display of an extensive collection of Continental glass dating from the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries. Lord Jerningham, a prominent Roman Catholic, went so far as to build a purpose-built chapel at Costessey Hall, Norfolk, whose twenty-one two-tiered windows were intended to hold his sizable collection of English and foreign glass: this had been built up with the help of his two sons, one of whom was a high-ranking official in the Austrian army. Other purchasers of ancient glass were content to see their acquisitions grace the windows of a parish church or local cathedral. The west window in Ely Cathedral is partly constituted of a gift by Bishop James Yorke (1781-1808) of two panels of sixteenth-century French glass bought at auction in London representing scenes from the Passion of Christ. Two further panels in the same window, given at a later date by the Bishop’s son-in-law, deal with the legendary life of St John the Evangelist. The origins of the latter have been traced to the church of St Jean in Rouen which was demolished in 1816/7 – its extensive programme of stained glass having been removed by Hampp some years previously. The current homogeneous appearance of the west window of Ely is deceptive: in 1853, the sixteenth-century glass was re-arranged, restored and skilfully extended to fill the whole window. The four panels on the right-hand side are all in fact Victorian reproductions of a Renaissance style of glass-painting by Charles Clutterbuck (1806-61); their faded tones have been deliberately made to harmonise with those of the older specimens.

The Earl of Carlisle’s generous gift to York Cathedral of a large seventeenth-century window from St Nicholas’ Church in Rouen was commemorated in the Gentleman’s Magazine by an outline engraving. The pictorial effects of this glass-painting – a representation of The Salutation – were, once again, singled out for particular commendation.
from the roundness and boldness of the figures which are as large as life and the richness of colouring it is esteemed by those who are conversant with the works of that master to be the design of Sebastiano del Piombo... the great favourite of Michelangelo Buonarotti...

In 1808, however, the glass was cut in two in order to facilitate its installation in the south aisle of the choir; it was then given an elaborate architectural surround so that it would harmonise better with its medieval setting. This cosmetic gothic work was executed by James Pearson - an interesting example of the widening application of his long established painting and glazing skills. The architectural frame around 'The Salutation' was removed early in the present century, although the arms of the Earl of Carlisle - also by James Pearson - still remain in the window.

Conspicuous evidence of the Georgian taste for Continental glass also survives at Wells Cathedral. In 1813, when the seventeenth-century painted glass in the west window was damaged by a storm, it was decided to remove the upper central lights (thought to have contained a representation of 'The Transfiguration') and install some newly acquired panels of Continental glass.16 Four of these panels feature scenes from the life of St John the Evangelist; they belong to the same series of glass from St Jean in Rouen which was dispersed by Hampp and part of which, as we have seen, eventually made its way into Ely Cathedral: (others, incidentally, were for a time in the collection of Lord Jerningham at Costessey Hall). The Rouen glass was installed in Wells Cathedral by W.R. Eginton who also supplied three new figures of standing saints under gothic canopies to complete the window: these were St Andrew, placed at the summit of the window, and Sts Bartholomew and Paul who were installed at the bottom underneath the Continental panels.17 A scale drawing by Eginton of his proposed treatment of the central light remains
in the possession of the Dean and Chapter; it also shows Eginton's insertion of a Latin inscription beneath 'The Decollation of St John' which served both to fill space and to integrate the Continental glass with the modern figures. This somewhat ill-assorted assemblage of sixteenth, seventeenth and early nineteenth-century pieces was allowed to remain in the west window until 1926. A rather different approach to the introduction of alien glass was demonstrated at Southwell Minster in c.1818. In this year, Henry Gally Knight, a local M.P., donated four panels of sixteenth-century glass acquired in a pawnbroker's shop in Paris and said to have come from the Temple Church in that city. The four lights, depicting 'The Baptism of Christ', 'The Raising of Lazarus', 'The Entry into Jerusalem' and 'The Mocking of Christ', were installed in the eastern lancets of the Minster where they remain to this day. First of all, however, the panels had to be restored and extended to fit their new situation. In contrast to the strategy adopted at Wells Cathedral, the intention here was to create an overall homogeneity and uniformity of effect, as if the glass was original to its setting.

Although this discussion has concentrated so far on Continental specimens of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, it is important to stress that a certain amount of early medieval glass was also imported from France during the Revolutionary period. Such glass, which was not yet widely popular in this country, nevertheless found its way into the hands of a number of keen private collectors. A prominent figure in the dispersal of medieval French glass appears to have been Alexander Lenoir, who was responsible for preserving many of that nation's threatened art treasures both during and after the Revolution. As Director of the newly founded Musée des Monuments Français in Paris, Lenoir was empowered to remove a substantial amount of ancient stained glass from buildings subsequently razed, gutted or occupied by the Republican armies; among the most important specimens Lenoir rescued were twelfth and thirteenth-century
glass from the churches of St Denis and Saint Germain-des-Près in Paris. Not all this glass was put on display; there is evidence that Lenoir sold off some of the collection before and after the closure of the Musée in 1815 to English dealers and most notably to Hampp. The intermediary in this process was Tailleur, the restorer who worked for Lenoir at the Musée. Lord Jerningham of Costessey Hall, whose taste in stained glass was particularly eclectic, thus became the owner of four thirteenth-century panels from St Germain des Pres which he had acquired directly from Hampp. The foreign glass currently in the chapel windows of Raby Castle, Durham, includes narrative scenes and border pieces from the 'Infancy of Christ' window in the north ambulatory of St Denis. Although it is yet to be established how and when this glass arrived at the Castle, it seems likely that it was among the glass from this celebrated church known to have been sold by Lenoir to Hampp in 1802/3.

As William Warrington was perhaps the first to point out in 1848, the expanding taste for imported glass of all periods generated important changes in the medium itself. Above all, it created a demand for technical dexterity and aesthetic sensitivity from contemporary glaziers and glass-painters who had to be prepared not only to install ancient and fragile specimens, but also to adapt them to their new environment, frequently supplying extra glass of their own making. Joseph Hale Miller, for instance, who was responsible for the repair and installation of the Renaissance glass at Ashridge Park and at Southwell Minster, seems to have gained valuable early experience in numerous commissions of this nature. At Southwell, he was required to extend the tops of the four panels of French glass: various inventive measures were taken, with varying degrees of success, to disguise the lines of connection; in the lancet representing 'the Entry into Jerusalem', for example, they are partly integrated with the branches and foliage of a tree in the foreground. Miller was also employed by Lord Jerningham in c1805-10 to work on the
glass at Costessey Hall: here he was required to replace earlier, clumsy repairs carried out in unvitrified oil colours on ground glass which were no longer considered adequate as restorations. Another craftsman widely employed in the installation of foreign glass in the early nineteenth century was Samuel Yarington of Norwich (1781-1846). He appears to have begun his career working with Hamp and was responsible for releading the imported glass before its re-sale.23 Yarington later became the leading local glazier in the field: by 1812, the published advertisements of his talents included the phrase - 'ancient stained glass windows reglazed and the defective parts restored, with the nicest attention to the original'.

Restoration skills were not, of course, by any means a new requirement of Georgian glass-painters. William Peckitt, for instance, had been employed by York Minster in 1757 to repair sections of the fourteenth-century glass in the west window: the heads of all the ecclesiastical figures in the lowest row are in fact eighteenth-century replacements.24 The limitations of Peckitt's fundamentally unarchaeological approach to restoration are self-evident: his contemporary-looking, enamel-painted heads are not only unmistakeable amongst the medieval figures but they bring attention to his own rather weak powers of draftsmanship. It is, nevertheless, reassuring to see that despite the recent restoration of the west window, these eighteenth-century insertions are now seen to have an historical value of its own and have been allowed to remain.

Peckitt's treatment of the medieval glass indeed seems relatively sensitive and harmless when compared with the extensive cosmetic restorations of the kind carried out on the sixteenth-century glass now in St Margaret's, Westminster.25 William Price the Younger had been employed to restore this window when it was installed at Copt Hall near Epping. Price not only inserted new work of his own at this time but
overpainted and re-fired substantial parts of the glass: the result, in the words of a modern scholar, 'has been to modify, if not to falsify, the style of the original, and to give the glass an opacity which no amount of cleaning can relieve'.

Very little public attention was paid to restorations of older glass in the eighteenth century. Nor was it seen as a particularly noteworthy aspect of a glass-painter's professional career. The first major restoration scheme to be given substantial coverage was the Winchester College Chapel glass in the 1820s. Over the years this case has acquired a certain notoriety because of the restorers' treatment of the ancient glass entrusted to them. The glass-painters responsible were Sir John Betton and his partner David Evans who had already earned a considerable reputation in the field for their handling of the Herkenrode windows some years earlier. In 1821 the partners were given the task of restoring the east window of the College Chapel depicting a Tree of Jesse. If they had begun with the intention of simply cleaning the decayed fourteenth-century glass and restoring it 'to its original brilliancy', then they soon discovered it was far beyond repair. Lacking the expertise and technical equipment of modern restorers, they had little option but to make a complete copy of the whole window from cartoons based closely on the original designs. A few fragments of the original glass were retained and given back to the College but the rest was simply disposed of to private collectors; it has been suggested that the high costs of making such a careful copy may well have necessitated such a drastic move. However, when their own work was finally seen by the public it was widely hailed as a great success: 'perhaps there is not another example to compete with it throughout the kingdom', wrote one enthusiastic reviewer. Although Betton and Evans' vivid, rather crude pot-metal colours fail conspicuously to reproduce the tonal effects of the medieval glass, it is doubtful whether many people realised at the time these were
not the original figures. Another critic in the *Hampshire Chronicle* confidently informed 'all lovers of antiquity and admirers of the art of Glass Staining' that the east window had simply been 'retouched and restored with great fidelity and recovered and brought back to what it was when it was originally painted'.

Meanwhile, the Warden and Fellows of the College were sufficiently happy with, or sufficiently ignorant of, what had been done to commission Betton and Evans to 'restore' the side windows of the chapel.

A considerable amount of the medieval glass dispersed by Betton and Evans in the 1820s has subsequently been located in various parts of Britain and re-acquired by the College; it was restored in 1951 and made up into one complete window installed in Thurber's Chantry Chapel. Easy comparisons may thus be made between the original glass and the modern copies. Although it is tempting to pass harsh judgement on Betton and Evans for their treatment of the medieval glass, it is equally important to see their actions through Georgian, and not modern, eyes. It was clearly not a crude business transaction carried out only with an eye to profit, for the medieval glass would have had a relatively low re-sale value in the 1820s. In disposing of the original glass in piecemeal fashion to known collectors Betton and Evans may simply have believed this was the best way of ensuring its future preservation. They themselves re-used portions of the glass in c.1823 in a window for Worthenbury Church, Flintshire, incorporating both old and new work. There is even evidence that other glass-painters of the period were influenced by Betton and Evans' work. In 1828 James Edwards of Winchester provided a new east window for the church of St Thomas in Portsmouth; his painted glass, replaced in 1894, included two figures copied from the newly 'restored' windows in Winchester College Chapel.

Ironically, the high profile given to the Winchester 'restoration' in the 1820s sprang directly from the changing aesthetic evaluation of medieval
glass. This process was undoubtedly helped by increasing public familiarity with ancient specimens of the art: even a humble parish church in a remote part of the country might now boast a first-rate example of Continental glass-painting donated by a local collector or patron. From this time on, proportionately greater publicity was given to large schemes of restoration. The extensive repair of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century-glass in St Neot's Church, Cornwall, carried out in c.1626-30, is one such example. The restoration was supervised by the London architect and glass-painter, John Pike Hedgeland, and the work was executed by John Nixon (1802-57) and Benjamin Baillie (1786-1864). The Rev. Henry Grylls, who had initiated the repair, ensured that a detailed written record was made: Hedgeland's account was published with an introduction by a well-known Cornish antiquary and illustrated with sixteen colour plates showing the old windows in their restored state. The work at St Neots involved considerable repainting and refiring of the much decayed medieval glass: where restoration was impossible, four completely new windows were substituted. In these cases, Hedgeland seems to have made a serious scholarly effort to find suitable models, adhering, wherever possible, to the subjects of the originals. 'The Last Supper' in the east window, for instance, was based on a fifteenth-century German wood-cut in Der Schatzbehalter - a collection of Bible illustrations published in 1491 and preserved in the British Museum. 'The character of this print', Hedgeland affirmed, 'was considered to accord with the general style of the windows better than representations of the same subject given by the great masters.' Hedgeland's approach to restoration differed in a fundamental way to that of Betton and Evans: whereas the Winchester windows were intended to look as clean and new and well-preserved as possible; the substituted glass at St Neot's was deliberately antiquated with spots of acid - pitted and smeared in order that it should blend more easily with its ancient neighbours.
Although carried out over a decade later, John Dixon’s treatment of the fifteenth-century stained glass in St Peter Mancroft, Norwich (1837-40), seems to show little advance on the restoration techniques of Betton and Evans. When Dixon, a local ‘plumber glazier, house and ornamental painter’, was commissioned to restore the east window of the church he subsequently removed portions of the medieval glass and replaced them with sophisticated copies of his own making, including a large figure of St Peter which is now lost. The same treatment was accorded to other windows in the church. It is not known where Dixon acquired his skills as a glass-painter in a late medieval idiom but it is likely that he had gained considerable experience through handling and installing ancient glass for private collectors. In c.1840 he was employed for work of this nature by William How Windham at Felbrigg Hall, Norfolk: it is revealing that Windham’s collection of English and foreign glass included three fifteenth-century pieces from the east window of St Peter Mancroft and nine copy panels of glass in that church executed by Dixon himself.

Thus, by the late 1840s the art of restoring glass had become the art of reproduction: it was no longer sufficient simply to patch, mend and rearrange older glass in order to disguise its deficiencies. Modern practitioners were now required to imitate not only the ancient glass-painter’s style and compositions but also his colouristic, textural and tonal effects. In some cases, as we have seen, the pursuit of verisimilitude led him to attempt to simulate even the effects of ageing and decay. However, the modern restorer was still hampered greatly by the inadequacy of the materials at his disposal. It was not until 1849 that the first scientific experiments into the constituents of medieval stained glass were carried out by chemists under the supervision of Charles Winston. The results of their experiments were subsequently applied to the manufacture of modern glass and used in the process of restoration; Joseph Bell, for instance, employed the new ‘antique’ glass in c.1852-3 in
his repair of the great fourteenth-century eastern 'Jesse' window in Bristol Cathedral.39

Nowhere are the technical skills and scholarly dedication of early Victorian restorers perhaps better illustrated than in the treatment of the medieval windows in Canterbury Cathedral. The Austin family, who were glaziers to the Cathedral, exercised a virtual monopoly over its ancient glass from the first quarter of the nineteenth century until c.1970: for our purposes the most important member was George Austin Junior who began work in the late 1840s until his retirement in 1862.40 By the late 1840s, following the dictates of current ecclesiological thinking, the twelfth and thirteenth-century windows of Canterbury Cathedral represented some of the most widely admired specimens of medieval glass in this country. In an attempt to restore these much mutilated windows to something like their former splendour, Austin executed copies of early medieval stained glass, so sophisticated in their techniques and effects that few were capable at the time of distinguishing between the modern versions and the original specimens. Even a discerning scholar and craftsman such as N.H.J. Westlake (1833-1921) was deceived by the fidelity of Austin's glass to its ancient prototypes: Westlake used what he thought was a thirteenth-century medallion of 'The Crucifixion' from the Canterbury Corona to illustrate his History of Design in Painted Glass, unaware that it was in fact a skilful Victorian addition to the window dating from 1854.41 Only the analyses of the last few decades carried out by scholars, scientists and craftsmen have been able to establish the true date of much of the glass handled and restored by Austin.42 By Austin's time, it was by no means uncommon practice amongst restorers in this country and in France to amass considerable collections of ancient glass: these specimens were used primarily as working models by the glass-painters, but tempting opportunities for dealing and an increase in market value soon led to the dispersal of such private collections.43
The unrestricted freedom given to glass-painters to remove medieval specimens and to install modern copies, sometimes disposing of the decayed original altogether, can be seen as a consistent feature of the period c.1760–c.1840. If, however, we take Peckitt’s heads in the west window of York Cathedral as the starting point for our enquiry then it is clear that by the latter date a fundamental re-evaluation of medieval glass, as well as a vast technical development in the aesthetics of restoration has taken place.
Notes: Chapter 5


3. *Journal of a Tour through Part of France, Flanders and Holland, including a Visit to Paris and a walk over Part of the Field of Waterloo made in the Summer of 1816, Norwich 1817*, p.32.

4. *Ibid*.


7. *The Times (Universal Register)*, July 12 1788, p.3.


9. Vanden Bemden & Kerr, p.194. The reference is to one 'Eggiintone' who assisted in 1804-5. Since Francis Eginton is known to have undergone a long illness in the last year of his life, this could refer to his son, William Raphael.


11. The glass in The Vyne was probably introduced only in the late 17th or early 18th century by Edward Chute (d.1722); it seems likely to have come from the Chapel of the Holy Ghost near Basingstoke. H. Wayment, 'The Stained Glass in the Chapel of the Vyne', *National Trust Studies*, 1980, pp.35-47.


13. M. Drake, *The Costessey Collection of Stained Glass*, Exeter 1920. The chapel, since dismantled, was built by J.C. Buckler; the glass was dispersed in 1918.

14. The history of this window is fully discussed in the present author's forthcoming publication,'The Stained Glass of Ely Cathedral', in the *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society*.

15. 76 (1806) i, p.401.

17. The figures of Sts. Paul and Bartholomew were transferred to the clerestorey in the s. transept in 1926. St Andrew has not survived.

18. The four panels from St Jean were transferred to the s. choir transept. The glass dealing with the life of St John the Baptist, said to have come from Cologne, was installed in the e. clerestorey of the n. transept.


22. Ibid.


29. Cited by Le Couteur, p.70.


31. Lewis, pp.95-7. See above p.216.


34. Description and Etchings of the Painted Windows of the Church of St Neot in Cornwall Restored in the Year 1829, London 1831.

35. Ibid., p.9.


41. 4 vols, London 1881, p.102 see pl.lx.


43. *Idem*, '19th Century Restoration'.
Chapter 6

Glass-Painting and the Neo-Classical Revival

'Little advantage has hitherto been taken by our modern architects, of Stained Glass', wrote John Britton in 1827, 'as if it were an absolute incongruity in classical design'. By this date, however, Britton's opinion was already patently at odds with the facts. Not only was there a well-established precedent for the use of modern painted glass in neo-classical architecture, but a clear perception of a subject and style appropriate to such a location already existed. It is worth recalling that many quintessential Georgian picture windows were executed expressly for non-gothic style buildings and, whatever their perceived demerits, these glass-paintings never provoked the impassioned arguments which attended the installation of similar works in medieval or neo-medieval locations: clearly, a somewhat different set of criteria continued to govern both the patronage and reception of pictorial-style windows. A considerable stimulus to the demand for non-gothic painted glass was provided by the sudden rash of church-building on a large scale (in London in particular) as a result of the Commissioners' Act of 1818, whilst the gradual easing of the ancient strictures against the use of religious imagery in churches undoubtedly contributed to the burgeoning popularity of painted glass in general. Above all, perhaps, the prolonged manufacture and appreciation of pictorial-style glass should be seen in terms of the parallel development of the Greek Revival, which reached the zenith of its favour and influence in the 1820s, and of the concomitant demand for an 'appropriate' genre of architectural decoration. Architects themselves played an important role in fostering the popularity and advertising the merits of the medium: C.R. Cockerell, for instance, believed that painted windows were better suited to Anglican church interiors than either altar-paintings or mural decorations.
The construction of the Protestant Church in particular precludes the possibility of showing to advantage the best performances of the painter ... in our grey climate this artificial glow of colour is essential. What might it not add to St Paul's. In the midst of a smoky city how much more effectual a decoration than the works of Thornhill or even those of a Reynolds or some equally (sic) able and spirited projector ... 4

In 1823, the proposed donation of an altar-painting to St Mary's, Wyndham Place, a recently completed Commissioners' Church built by Robert Smirke, was rejected by the Vestry in favour of the installation of three new picture windows. 5 Only the altar window - an 'The Ascension of Christ' based on Raphael's 'Transfiguration' - seems to have been installed: according to Thomas Dibdin, the church's first Rector, it was executed by W.R. Eginton. 6

The changing fortunes of a number of celebrated picture windows show the extent to which the art of glass-painting had become embroiled in the 'Battle of the Styles'. In 1814, after it was ousted from its original position in the medieval Lady Chapel of Lichfield Cathedral, Francis Eginton's 'Resurrection' was acquired by the parishioners of St Chad's, Shrewsbury, for the paltry sum of £60. 7 This handsome Grecian-style building, designed by George Steuart (1790–2), has been described as 'one of the most original churches in the country': it constitutes a large circular nave, rimmed by a wide gallery, with a shallow chancel. The glass was placed in the centre of the Venetian altar window where it was flanked by two new side panels crudely painted in oils to match the opaque effects of enamelled glass. Its acquisition was to some extent a practical move, for the broad window had formerly 'admitted a glare of light so painful as to induce the necessity of obscuring it by a green blind'. 8 When, somewhat later in the century, attempts were made to relocate the 'Resurrection' window from Salisbury Cathedral - 'it being desirable to preserve the window as a memorial of Sir Joshua Reynolds' - the Dean and
Chapter had no doubt where Eginton’s work should go. ‘The character of the painting’, they pronounced, ‘renders it only suitable to a church in the Palladian style’ — a comment indicative of the low esteem in which the works of Wren and his craftsmen were held by many ecclesiologically-minded Victorians. Nor do any parishioners appear to have been willing to adopt the dispossessed painted window: by this date it seems such ‘washy transparencies’ were widely considered unworthy even of a classical setting.

Francis Eginton’s baroque-style triptych window for St Paul’s in Birmingham, however, still remains in its original location despite a thorough Victorian restoration of the building: the glass functioned as a huge altar-painting, logically integrated into the ornamental design and classical structure of the whole eastern wall. The same was true of many other picture windows installed in non-gothic situations which were to enjoy a relatively long life: Charles Muss’s ‘Deposition’ at the east end of St Bride’s, Fleet Street, for example, was not replaced until the end of the nineteenth century, whilst Pearson’s celebrated ‘Agony in the Garden’ in St Botolph’s, Aldersgate, (rebuilt by Nathaniel Wright in 1781), has survived to the present day. The single, round-headed east window in St John’s Church, Hackney, (Spiller, 1797-1813) rising above a plain Roman reredos inscribed with the Commandments, was by far the most conspicuous feature in an otherwise austere Anglican interior. The painted glass, providing a theatrically visual backdrop to the liturgical drama, featured a large representation of ‘The First Day of Creation’, executed in c.1811 by W.R. Eginton from a design by Robert Smirke R.A, and framed by a wide border of classical style ornament. This picture window survived both the rigours of Victorian taste and the bomb blasts of the Great War, only to fall victim to the Blitz; its remaining fragments were not finally removed until 1956. Though spurned increasingly by the architects of the early Gothic Revival, it was apparent that
pictorial-style glass was in no danger of imminent obsolescence. In 1830, David Evans was commissioned to execute three copies of Renaissance paintings for the apse of the new classical church of St Michael in Shrewsbury; these represented 'La Notte' by Correggio, Reni's 'Annunciation' and 'The Presentation' by Rubens - pictures still as popular then with the British public as they had been a half century earlier. All three windows, 'perfect gems of the art', were said at the time to 'add much to the solemnity of the interior of this sacred edifice ...'. As late as 1842, a copy by Edward Holder of 'Christ Bearing the Cross' was installed in the east window of St James, West Hackney - a Grecian-style Commissioners' Church built some twenty years earlier by Sir Robert Smirke. The two flanking compartments contained niched figures of Sts Peter and Paul, after Raphael.

We have seen how Reynolds' New College Virtues were frequently employed by glass-painters as prototype designs for gothick windows; it was soon evident that, without any need for further adaptation, they were equally suited to the decoration of a neo-classical interior. A large-scale set of the Virtues and three of the Graces were reproduced in c.1816-7 by W.R. Eginton for Great Barr Chapel near Birmingham - then a simple seventeenth-century building with round-headed windows. The church (now known as St Margaret's) was completely rebuilt by G.G. Scott in the mid nineteenth century, but the six windows from this programme have fortunately been salvaged and are now in the Birmingham City Art Gallery. When in situ these graceful feminine figures must have formed a perfect complement to the picture window at the eastern end representing 'An Angel Conducting the Spirit of a Child to Heaven'; this had been executed in c.1800 by Francis Eginton and constituted the central feature of an elegant classical altar-piece, flanked by marble urns and surmounted by cherubs' heads. The glass was modelled closely on a popular painting by the Reverend Matthew William Peters (1742-1814), an
artist renowned for his risqué representations of scantily clad women (which had earned him the title of 'the English Titian') and sentimental portraits of children.\(^{19}\) The only clergyman of the Church of England ever to achieve the distinction of becoming a Royal Academician, Peters' works were open to the charge of profanity and in 1790 he was obliged to renounce his artistic career for good. Nor were his religious paintings, 'most of which depicted the souls of the departed clothed in forms of most material solidity', considered any less provocative. As Peter Pindar, (alias John Wolcot) put it,

> Dear Peter! who like Luke the saint,  
> A man of Gospel, art, and paint,  
> Thy pencil flames not with poetic fury;  
> If Heav'n's fair angels are like thine,  
> Our bunks, I think, O grave Divine  
> May meet in t'other world the nymphs of Drury.\(^{20}\)

These verses were inspired by a visit to the Royal Academy exhibition of 1782 at which the 'Angel Conducting the Spirit of a Child' was displayed: it seems altogether appropriate that Pindar's satire should seem to echo John Byng's near contemporary indictment of the 'half-dressed languishing Harlots' in New College antechapel. By 1820, however, the Empire style was in full swing and even the most respectable women in society were now wearing their hair 'à la Diana' and dressing unashamedly 'à la Grecque' in diaphanous, dampened garments which revealed and emphasised the natural contours of the body.

Now that the *c unsturieres* have availed themselves of the Grecian Costume, the true standard of taste; now that they have had recourse to the artist and the antiquary ... what elegance has appeared! Unconfined even to the statues of antiquity, the genius of dress roves in endless variety ... and the whole habitable world is ransacked for bodily ornament.\(^{21}\)
Far from waning under the critical impact of the emerging taste for gothic, the aesthetic appeal of Reynolds' 'Virtues', with their explicit antique allusions, appears to have increased markedly during the period c.1610-40. In 1637, figures of 'Faith', 'Hope' and 'Charity' were acquired from Messrs. Hoadley and Oldfield for the apsidal windows of Hawksmoor's St George-in-the-East, a church which was gutted in the Second World War. As late as 1844, figures of 'Faith' and 'Hope' flanking a representation of Christ were executed for the apsidal windows of the city church of St Clement Dane, rebuilt by Sir Christopher Wren. A wide painted glass riband of stylised rosettes and scroll motifs bordered these figures, echoing the elaborate seventeenth-century polychromed 'Fret-work' on the vault and arches at the eastern end. The painted glass, supplied by William Collins, was removed and relocated in a north-west window in c.1897-8. The main reason for this move, it seems, was because the large orb in Christ's hand bore too great a resemblance to a cricket-ball, thus causing 'irreverent and improper remarks to be uttered'.

The term 'classical' as applied to painted glass throughout the period in question is susceptible of a variety of definitions and covers a wide repertoire of Greek, Roman and Renaissance forms. It must include simple figural examples such as the monumental window signed by William Collins and dating from c.1816, which remains in the gallery of St Paul's Church, Deptford (consecrated in 1713). The antique references in this glass-painting are unmistakeable: the figure of St Paul is shown in a contrapposto attitude standing under a simple Roman arch, he wears sandals and a heavy cloak drawn around him in the manner of a toga. Another glass-painting by William Collins once filled the altar window in All Saints, Poplar, a so-called 'Wren style' church consecrated in c.1823. It portrayed a single figure of Christ in the act of preaching, standing on a plinth inscribed with the Lord's Prayer; the whole was enclosed in a rich
decorative border. The design was said to be somewhat awkward - 'there is not height in the window to admit the figure ... and be graceful', wrote one critic dryly, 'and it is doubted whether the artist is not left-handed.' Simple, unobtrusive ornament provided another 'classical' alternative; the three eastern windows of Wren's Christ Church, in Newgate Street, for instance displayed painted glass in a 'mosaic pattern' likely to have been installed in c.1834 when the chancel was restored. J.P. Gandy's Grecian-style Chapel of St Mark, North Audley Street (1826), retained until the present century its altar window of lilac-coloured glass bordered by a Greek honeysuckle design, enriched with stars and a central crucifix. The two outer lights of the Venetian east window of St George-the-Martyr, Southwark (1734-6) contained similar late Georgian ornamental glass: a narrow purple border with a creeping foliate design in each division enclosed a circular medallion of floral motifs and arabesque work. This decoration bore some resemblance to the ornament bordering the three eastern windows in the church of St Peter, Walworth, which were supplied by Collins in c.1824. These round-headed windows, each containing a central cartouche enclosing a religious scene painted in chiaroscuro, were bordered by white and yellow Greek acanthus motifs. The central scene depicted 'Christ Crowned with Thorns', after Carlo Dolci, flanked by 'The Charge to St Peter' and 'Peter's Release', after Raphael. The latter two glass-paintings were the gift to the church of its architect, Sir John Soane himself.

Soane's gift to St Peter's, his first church building, was not simply an expression of his personal taste for contemporary glass-painting, but also, as we shall see, a direct reflection of his wider professional practice. During the course of his career Soane had acquired a considerable reputation for his creative use of painted and coloured glass: John Britton went so far as to claim that he was something of a pioneer in his experimentation with 'this truly valuable accessory'. Although Soane's
use of this medium was distinctive and original, he was only one of a number of Georgian architects working in a neo-classical idiom who were clearly fascinated by its aesthetic potential. The painted glass in the mausoleum at Brocklesby Park, Lincolnshire, built by Wyatt between 1787 and 1794 for the Earl of Yarborough as a memorial to his first wife, is integral to the splendid effect of the whole building. Based closely on the Temples of Vesta at Rome and Tivoli, the mausoleum (which fortunately remains more or less intact), is magnificently decorated throughout with classical friezes and free-standing sculpture. The first of its two storeys is dominated by Joseph Nollekens' white marble statue of Sophie Pelham; this stands directly underneath the coffered top-lit dome containing painted glass executed by Francis Eginton to a design by Robert Smirke R.A. At the perimeter of the window cherubs' heads encircling a glory float among clouds and survey the elegant monument below. It is as if the dome were open to the sky and yet, as one contemporary visitor noted, the glass obstructs all glaring light from above, and diffuses a gloomy shade over every part below, which inspires the mind with reverential awe.

Was Wyatt's wide-ranging interest in the painted glass medium perhaps stimulated by the spectacular transparent lighting effects created in the Pantheon - his earliest and most dramatic creation in the classical idiom? 'There has been a masquerade at the Pantheon', Horace Walpole reported excitedly in May, 1772 -

which was so glorious a vision that I thought I was in the old Pantheon, or in the Temple of Delphi or Ephesus ... All the friezes and niches were edged with alternate lamps of green and purple glass, that shed a most heathen light, and the dome was illuminated by a heaven of oiled paper well painted with gods and goddesses ... 

Francis Eginton was probably responsible for the painted glass in yet another classical mausoleum by James Wyatt, built some time after 1783.
This octagonal structure in the grounds of Cobham Park was intended to house the body of the 3rd Earl of Darnley and his Countess, but was never in fact used for this purpose. The ground floor of the mausoleum, complete with marble pillars and a pedimented reredos, was to have housed the tombs whilst the first floor room constitutes a low circular chapel whose coffered dome is balanced on the heads of four segmental lunette windows. A design for the interior section of the Cobham mausoleum shows that these windows formerly contained vividly coloured glass of an Adamesque delicacy and intricacy. Similar painted glass is still to be seen at Dodington Park, Gloucestershire - Wyatt's last major commission in a classical style - in one of the elegant wrought-iron fanlights bridging the 'Imperial' staircase; the grisaille designs echo the antique motifs in the surrounding plasterwork.

A definition of 'classical' painted glass must also include some important examples in non-ecclesiastical locations. In secular terms, one might see Francis Eginton's lunette at Stourhead after Raphael's 'School of Athens', with its severe lines, structured composition and lucid colouration, as essentially integrated with the spatial and decorative forms of Colt Hoare's 'Roman' Library. This room has been described as a 'composition of squares and segmental curves': the carpet is modelled on a mosaic pavement and even Chippendale's furnishings, in an avant-garde Egyptian style, contribute something to the ambience of 'solid grace' and classical harmony. One of the most celebrated secular buildings in a neo-classical style was Carlton House, whose extravagant and opulent interiors were created and recreated for the Prince Regent between 1783 and 1814. The palace's barbarous destruction in 1826-7 was perhaps 'one of the greatest losses in royal and architectural history'. Fortunately, Charles Wild's detailed watercolours, first published in Pynes' Royal Residences (1818), have preserved some record of these lavish interiors. Even so, it is not generally recognised how much contemporary painted
glass, of a wide-ranging nature, was executed for this magnificent building. One of the most striking features of the earliest building phase was the oval-shaped staircase which rose majestically through two floors and was top-lit by a glazed dome. The latter contained richly coloured painted glass modelled on Raphael’s *grotteschi* designs in the Vatican Logge - a ready repertoire of classically inspired motifs offering infinite possibilities for adaptation in different media. This glass was installed under the supervision of the Prince Regent’s architect, Henry Holland (d.1806) - one of the seminal figures in the creation of the ‘Regency Style’ with its characteristic blend of Graeco-Roman detail and a designer with a strong feel for the aesthetic potential of painted glass. The adjacent skylight in the gallery at the head of the stairs also contained painted glass of similar Raphaelesque ornament, whilst the ceiling itself was decorated with an elaborate gothic fan-vault unashamedly combined with antique detailing. The Carlton House glass may well have been instrumental in disseminating a new fashion in this medium: Peckitt’s Commission Books record that in 1792 he provided ‘an engraved window of coloured glass after Raphael’s ornament’ for John Lister Kaye of Denby Grange in Yorkshire. This ‘pedigree window’ was supplied in a sash frame where its decorative elements were combined with armorials, roses, and other ornamental borderings. Some years later W.R. Eginton also recorded the provision of a painted window ‘from the Vatican’ for the conservatory of a private patron in Sidmouth, Devon.

A rather more sombre specimen of neo-classical glass-painting can still be seen in the medieval church of St Martin-cum-Gregory, York, in William Peckitt’s memorial window to two of his daughters. The cool-toned Georgian work, which dates from c.1796, is sandwiched rather insensitively between two lights containing the remains of fourteenth-century stained glass. A female figure personifying the Resurrection points to the spirit of a small child which ascends towards
heaven: the figures represent Anna, Peckitt's youngest daughter who died in 1765 in her first year, and Charlotte, who died in 1790, aged twenty. The histrionic pose and white, flowing garments of the latter – which are somewhat clumsily articulated – are clearly derived from the traditions of neo-classical tomb sculpture: details such as the skull, funerary urn and open book displaying a biblical text reinforce these direct sculptural allusions, as does the simulated marble base with its 'engraved' Latin epitaph and grisaille ornamental surround. A classical urn constitutes the central feature of another window in the same church, partially executed in 1796 by Peckitt's widow, Mary, as a memorial to her husband. The urn rests on a plinth under which the epitaph is displayed; the rest of the window is filled a geometrical arrangement of plain coloured glass which, it has been suggested, was left by Peckitt in his workshop at his death.

In the absence of a great many extant examples, it is important not to overlook the documentary evidence for glass-painting in a non-gothick idiom. One of Francis Eginton's earliest commissions is said to have been a large 'classical design' measuring some eight feet by three feet comprising a figure of St James with a border of rich purple and black 'Vitruvian Scroll'. This window had apparently been intended as 'a specimen' for a Spanish or Portuguese market but it was said to have been acquired some years later by that great cleric and patron of the arts, Frederick Hervey, Earl of Bristol and Bishop of Derry, for one of his episcopal palaces in Ireland. However, this has not proved possible to trace: Downhill, in County Londonderry, the Earl's favourite residence, was largely destroyed by fire in the mid nineteenth century, whilst Ballyscullion, his second home, was never fully completed and was dismantled in 1813. Francis Eginton is also recorded as having executed a glass-painting of 'Apollo and the Nine Muses' for the Duke of Norfolk's gothic Library in Arundel Castle where it was to have ornamented and screened a window overlooking a courtyard. Even if the commission was
completed before Eginton's death in 1805 it seems never to have been installed. Some years later, however, a glass-painting of the same classical subject was displayed by Joseph Backler at his own works in London; this exhibition included the 'Great Norfolk Window' showing the signing of Magna Carta, which was destined for the Barons' Hall of Arundel Castle. The catalogue entry for the 'Apollo and the Nine Muses' window explained that 'the originals, in 1814, formed a part of the Sculpture galleries of the Louvre': one of the antique models can probably be identified as a Roman sarcophagus formerly in the Capitol Museum but removed by Napoleon and displayed briefly in the Louvre before its return to Rome. The documented career of Eginton the Younger shows that the demand for secular painted glass in a directly classical idiom was maintained well into the later Georgian period. He recorded the execution of medallions of Jupiter, Apollo, Mars, and other classical figures, 'with infant genii supporting symbols or attributes of each', for the staircase windows of Colt House in Clifton, home of Mr Charles Daubeney; an ornamental window for a library featuring the heads of Apollo and Mars, and another window of similar subject matter intended for a private drawing-room.

The high-point of classicism in painted glass is still to be seen in its original location at Uppark in Sussex, formerly the seat of Sir Harry Fetherstonehaugh. The window was executed in c.1813 by a London glass-painter, William Doyle (of the firm of Underwood and Doyle) to the designs of the architect John Aday Repton. The latter was then working with his father at Uppark on the remodelling of the seventeenth-century Dining Room. The painted glass has survived in the Service Lobby - also a Repton addition - where it screened an unscenic exterior view: at night the glass was theatrically back-lit with Argand Lamps. When the doors of the adjacent Dining Room were thrown open, the painted window was dramatically reflected in the mirror at the opposite end: its classical
design not only enhanced the decor of the Dining Room but contributed to a carefully articulated aesthetic effect created by mirrors set obliquely in niches 'to catch chance reflections of park and interior and cast them about the room'.

Correspondence between Sir Harry and Humphry Repton relating to this painted glass not only reveals the extent to which the latter controlled the design process but throws an interesting light on the architect's scientific interest in colour and shadow theories.

I first considered the effect of light and colour -- both by day and candlelight for which reason the white ground glass forms the basis and the principle object will be a few figures in clair obscure on a white panel just the height of the eye -- these will be taken from a pure classical model -- as my son has made some sketches from the marbles imported from Athens by Lord Elgin ... there is a man at Underwoods who can transfer the outlines on a white panel ...

Georgian taste for antique sculpture was thus ingeniously coupled with an experimental delight in the use of painted glass. The upper section of the window incorporates a roundel of Continental Renaissance glass depicting a scene of revelry, acquired through the firm of Underwood and Co. Such a subject was ideally suited to the convivial pleasures of the Uppark Dining Room where the Prince Regent himself was a frequent visitor. The roundel is set in coloured glass in a simple radiating pattern of classical motifs, whilst the whole is bordered by a gilt 'flowing rinceau' design which continues down into the square base of the window. This is composed of white glass edged with a thin blue border and embellished with a frieze-like grisaille design showing seated or standing figures in relaxed and elegant attitudes, deep in conversation. Humphry Repton clearly gave much thought to the colours of the window: 'I have observed', he wrote to Sir Harry, 'the white roughed glass gives most light and is in harmony with green -- the orange goes well with the blue but they give less light ...'
The grisaille figures are modelled, with some modification, on three distinct elements of the east frieze of the Greek Parthenon. The central scene is taken from what is now known to depict a gathering of gods - identifiable by their gestures and attributes - attending a sacred ceremony: Hermes, the Messenger (whose boots have been misrepresented by the glass-painter) with his travelling hat in his lap; Dionysos, god of fertility and wine, whose left hand formerly held a *thyrso*; Demeter, goddess of corn, holding the torch with which she searched for her daughter in the underworld; and Ares, god of war. The two sets of flanking men are part of the general Panathenaic procession, but their exact identity is still uncertain. Quite apart from its theatrical lighting effects, the new window at Uppark must, in 1813, have enjoyed a considerable novelty value: the original sculptures, which had begun to arrive in England from 1806 onwards, had been moved from Lord Elgin’s house in Park Lane to temporary accommodation at Burlington House. Artists, connoisseurs, and others still had to apply for permission to sketch or simply to see the marbles which were not acquired by Parliament for the British Museum, and thus not seen by the general public, until 1816.

Humphrey Repton clearly delighted in such small-scale opportunities to put his versatile creative talents to use. 'I find more amusement', he wrote, 'in drawing a Lamp or inventing a Paper Hanging - than in designing a palace or planning a church ...' Nor was the Uppark example his first experiment in drawing up designs for an ornamental window. In 1808 he had been commissioned by the 6th Duke of Bedford to build the Thornery (or 'Moss House') - a rustic thatched lodge entwined with roses and creepers standing in a wild and romantic situation in the grounds of Woburn Abbey. The building, designed for picnics and other informal social occasions, consists of a vaulted sitting room above with a tiled kitchen in the semi-basement. Despite its simple exterior, the Thornery was fully
furnished with 'Rustic Seats', sofas, mirrors and a black marble chimney piece; the walls were painted with delicate frescoes of flowers and trellis work and the doors retain their original coloured glass panels. Over the fireplace a large circular painted glass window remains in situ; its design - a radiating floral pattern of coloured glass around a central roundel of Renaissance stained glass - is strongly reminiscent of the Uppark window. From 1812 onwards both Reptons were working at Sheringham Hall in Norfolk: John Adey (no doubt with his father's help) supplied a design for the staircase window - of which nothing but the ornamental border has survived. A watercolour sketch in the Sheringham Red Book shows that the pale blue border, etched with arabesques, originally surrounded a grisaille figural scene similar in effect to the Uppark window and, as far as it is possible to ascertain, also derived from a sculptural source. The staircase window was flanked by two classical statues in niches; once again, the painted glass in the lower sash was intended to hide a less than Picturesque view to the yard below. Further specimens of the Reptons' work is to be found in the main vestibule at Uppark - lit by a series of lunettes of floral designs in coloured glass edged with a blue border of Greek acanthus motifs. The hall is also top-lit by a small central dome: the simple geometric design of alternating clear and coloured glass casts bold shadows on the stone floor beneath.

This feature, no less than the dramatic lighting and mirror effects in the Dining Room at Uppark, seems to suggest something of the architectural influence of Sir John Soane and his skilful manipulation of 'the interplay of sunlight and shadow and reflected space' - a talent which is nowhere more vividly and ingeniously demonstrated than in the architect's own eccentric house-cum-museum in Lincoln's Inn Fields. The genesis of Soane's experiments with coloured glass can, however, be traced back to an earlier phase of his professional career: the Doric entrance vestibule which he added to Bentley Priory in 1798 was, for
instance, lit by windows filled with bands of coloured glass; at Tyningham House, Bucks (1792-7), the glazed lantern of the first floor tribune still retains its original panes of coloured glass. The acquisition and rebuilding of his second 'country' home, Pitzhanger Manor, Ealing, in 1800 gave Soane even greater opportunities to exploit the picturesque effects of coloured glass. All that remains today in the last mentioned building are some panes of tinted glass in the front door fanlight. The building accounts for Pitzhanger, which have fortunately survived, include a number of entries made between 1801 and 1803 to the purchase of both plain and coloured glass. Messrs. Underwood and Doyle were major suppliers of coloured glass to Soane during this period, as indeed throughout his later career. Soane also appears to have purchased Continental stained glass from the same source, for, in 1801 he records payment to Mr. Doyle of £4 8s. 'for German glass to new window in the old Eating Room'. One interesting reference to glass at Pitzhanger concerns the mysterious 'Greenhouse' built by Soane but for which no designs appear to exist. This building, which was demolished in 1901, was apparently used as a conservatory with 'vines and odiferous plants', and also as a gallery for the display of Soane's growing collection of antique sculpture, urns and vases: it was a simple classical structure with plain brick piers separated by full-length sash windows decorated with coloured glass and running the length of the west front of the house. Its lighting effects must in many ways have anticipated those Soane was to create at Lincolns Inn Fields.

Soane's experimentation with the aesthetic effects of stained and tinted glass was partly an attempt to simulate a southern light - the projection of warm colours adding a lustre to the cool surfaces of marble, plaster and stone. His preoccupation with 'la lumiere mysterieuse', the expressive manipulation of light and shadow and delight in concealment and surprise, was a response to current theories of the Picturesque in architecture. Soane's inventive use of multiple mirrors and oblique vistas
was also, surely, a reflection of that much more general fascination with
the 'arts of illusion' which was expressed in so many ways and at all
levels of society during the Georgian period - a taste which had been
highly instrumental in promoting the art of glass-painting. It is this
wider, poetic and romantic context in which Soane's 'classical' use of
glass should be regarded. As David Watkin has pointed out, both Soane and
J.M.W. Turner shared a common creative preoccupation with the drama of
reflected and diffused light and displays of spatial ingenuity.61 The two
were, moreover, personally acquainted: in 1804, Turner had sent Soane an
aquatint after one of his own watercolours depicting the interior of the
Brocklesby Park Mausoleum with its spectacular toplit dome which he had
painted in c.1798.62 Turner produced a further watercolour for use as an
illustration to one of his perspective lectures in 1818 on 'Light, Shade and
Reflexes'.63

It was in his descriptive account of Soane's house in Lincoln's Inn
Fields, and inspired directly by that architect's example, that John Britton
first articulated the idea of a genre of painted glass particularly
appropriate to classical-style buildings.

When employed in lanthorn and skylights, or in side windows
immediately beneath a ceiling, it will be sufficient if the glass be
simply stained of such a hue as shall appear most suitable to the
situation; but in other cases, the windows might either be of merely
an ornamental pattern, Etruscan or Greek, from ancient paterae and
vases, or might exhibit small groups in the style of antique
bassi-relievi, or camaeux ... Arabesques, or mosaic patterns might be
employed thus with excellent effect, so as to heighten rather than
destroy the classical air of an apartment, and in that case there
might be as much variety of splendid colours as in Gothic windows.64

Many of these design suggestions, as we have seen, had already been put
into practice by contemporary glass-painters. Soane's use of both figural
and ornamental painted glass at Lincolns Inn Fields, however, shows that
he was concerned with much more than questions of mere aesthetic congruity. Although little of the original glass has survived, a close reconstruction of its appearance is possible: soon after Soane's death in 1837, the first curator of the Museum ensured that each window was recorded in a series of diagrammatic watercolours. These seem to have been executed by William Watson, (a glazier whom Soane had employed at the Bank of England) with the help of one William King. The general disposition of this glass in door panels, sash-windows, lanterns and fanlights, was not only crucial to the effect of the objects which Soane wished to exhibit, but also to the spatial organisation of the whole house whose 'walls are treated as diaphanous membranes which grant alternative views to contiguous spaces ...' This treatment is effectively demonstrated in the Picture Room - lit originally by a skylight of etched white glass with bands of coloured ornament; here Soane's ingenious folding walls, hung with paintings, open out to reveal in voyeuristic fashion Richard Westmacott's plaster statue of a Nymph.

The effect of this beautiful statue is greatly enhanced by the singularity of its position and by the deep glow of stained glass in the window behind it: - It has, in fact, almost the appearance of being suspended in the air.

This nebulous space opens out to great contrasting effect onto the sombrely lit Monk's Parlour on the floor below, containing Soane's collection of medieval stone and wood carvings. This apartment, too, was formerly embellished with ancient stained and painted glass most of which was destroyed in the Second War. The 'richly storied' bay window filled with twenty chiaroscuro religious panels in coloured glass settings was vividly reflected in the mirror opposite. Soane was well aware that glass could be used thus, selectively, to give aesthetic emphasis to a particular room or architectural space. In c.1832, he installed a painted
glass copy of Reynolds' 'Charity', supplied by William Collins, in the newly made 'Tivoli Recess'; here it was accompanied by a collection of Flaxman's bas-reliefs and a number of antique casts. Engravings show that the window (which was destroyed during the War) had a deep border and base of classical ornament, fragments of which survive in the Museum. Soane found many ingenious ways to exhibit his sizable collection of older stained glass dating back to the sixteenth century; the Breakfast Parlour, for instance, still contains its octagonal lantern light enriched with eight scriptural scenes in painted glass. On the ground floor, the communicating door between the hall and recess displays a number of specimens of stained and enamelled glass which flood the entrance with tinted light. In acquiring and displaying such ancient specimens Soane was, of course, following a well-established tradition of connoisseurship: no other collector of the period, however, seems to have had such a heightened sense of the potential of stained glass as a vehicle for original and dramatic lighting effects.
Notes: Chapter 6

1. The Union of Architecture, Sculpture and Painting: Exemplified by a Series of Illustrations, with a Descriptive Account of the House and Galleries, of John Soane, London 1827, p.17.

2. For the expansion of building as a result of the 'New Churches Bill' see Carr, 'Commissioners Churches'; M.H. Port, 600 New Churches, London 1961. J. Summerson, 'The Church and the State', (Chap.16), Georgian London, London 1945. The majority of the London Commissioners Churches were Grecian.


5. Carr, 'Commissioners Churches', p.135 & n.127 citing the Vestry Minutes records that the glass—paintings were the gift of an unnamed artist; T. Smith, however, states they were erected through a private subscription at a cost of £250: A Topographical and Historical Account of the Parish of St Mary-le-Bone, London 1833, p.104.

6. Dibdin, 1, p.126. W.R. Eginton's 'Ascension' in St Edmund's, Salisbury, was apparently very close to that in St Mary's. Gents. Mag., 100 (1830), i, p.408.

7. Owen & Blakeway, 2, pp.251-2. The 'Resurrection' was replaced in 1842 with the current window by David Evans which had been commissioned 6 years earlier; nothing further is known of Eginton's work.


11. Muss's work was replaced in the late 19th century by a 3-light window also featuring the 'Descent from the Cross' (though not after Rubens) and attendant saints. Godfrey, p.43.


13. E. & W. Young, London's Churches, London 1986, p.121. An engraving of the interior with the window in situ is published in J.M. Crook, The Dilemma of Style: Architectural Ideas from the Picturesque to the Post-Modern, London 1987, pl.44. The window was said to have been installed in 1816 at a cost of £1,000; it was heavily restored after damage during the Great War. F.C. Heward, St John-at-Hackney, London 1935, pp.22-3.

14. Gents. Mag., 101 (1831) i, pp.594-6. These were installed at the expense of Rev. W.G. Rowland who had been intimately involved with the installation of the Herckenrode glass in Lichfield Cathedral.

15. Ibid. pp.595-6. The church is now used as a Free Masons Hall. N. Pevsner, The Buildings of England: Shropshire, Harmondsworth, 1958, p.264, records that one of the original apsidal windows, 'The Presentation', remains in a s. window.

16. Gents. Mag., NS18 (1842), ii, p.517. The windows were in situ in 1908; see Bumpus, 2,
17. On the s. side were 'Hope', 'Charity' and 'Prudence'; on the n. were 'Fortitude', 'Temperance' and 'Justice'. W.R. Eginton, Works, pp.14-15. The figures of 'Charity' and 'Justice' are currently on display in the Birmingham Art Gallery; the others await restoration. For the Chapel, see R.D. Woodall, The Great Barr Story, Sutton Coldfield 1951, p.17.

18. Illust. Shaw, 2, opp. p.106. The window, which was installed for Sir Joseph Scott, cannot be traced although Aitken (p.39) recorded surviving fragments in Great Barr Hall whence it had been removed when the church was rebuilt. It was a memorial window; the face of the child was a portrait of Miss Mary Scott; W.R. Eginton, 'MS List', p.3.

19. See V. Manners, Matthew William Peters R.A., London 1913, p.19. 'The Angel Conducting the Spirit of a Child', was painted in 1782 for Lord Exeter and is still at Burleigh. Gillray published a caricature of this celebrated painting in 1805; ibid., p.43 n.6. A second copy on glass was made by F. Eginton in 1792 for Aston church, as a memorial window to Letitia Dearden, described as 'A Resurrection of a Damsel'. The sentiment seems to have appealed to the Victorians since the window was allowed to remain in the church and was only removed in recent years due to vandalism. It was originally installed in the e. window of the s. aisle but was moved in c.1883 to the n. side of the organ chamber and is currently in an extremely damaged condition in store behind the organ.

20. The Works of Peter Pindar Esq., London 1830, 'Lyric Odes to the Royal Academicians', Ode XII.


22. Civil Engineer & Architects' Journal, 1 (1837), p.156. the windows were still in situ in 1908 when Bumpus noted them (2, p.31.


24. A drawing by Collins for the Deptford window was exhibited at the R.A. in 1816: A. Graves, R.A. Exhibitions 1769-1904, London 1905, p. 112. The glass was restored by Francis Skeat in 1974; I am most grateful to Mr Skeat for his help with the history of this window.


27. Gents. Mag., 99 (1829) ii, p.394. Gandy, it is worth recalling, was a pupil of James Wyatt (1780-94), and later in his career worked for John Soane.

28. A.V. Peatling, Ancient Stained and Painted Glass in the Churches of Surrey, F.S.Eales (ed), Guildford 1930, pp.85-6. The author dates the glass to c.1815-25; this may well be the glass which Backler is known to have executed for St George's; Godwin; 'On the present state of the art of glass-painting', p.217

29. Peatling, p.65; Carr, 'Commissioners Churches', p.131 & n.110; The Times, (Mar.1 1825). See also ibid., 26 July, 1824, for comments on the engraved passion flower motif which occurred in the border around the central window. All the glass was destroyed in the 2nd War.


32. T. Espin, *A Description of the Mausoleum at Brockleysby Park*, Boston 1812, p.2. The format of Eginton's glass is reminiscent of James Pearson's circular e. window for the church of St Giles in Cripplegate (1791) which was gutted in the 2nd War: J.J. Baddeley, *An Account of the Church and Parish of St Giles, Without Cripplegate*, London 1883, p.35.


34. James Wyatt's designs for Cobham Park Mausoleum, 'Section of the Chapel and Mausoleum', Soane Museum, 47/10 21, no 4, 1782.

35. C. Hussey, 'Dodington Park - II', *C.L.* 120 (Nov. 29 1956), p.1232. The ironwork of the fanlights and the staircase banisters were supplied in 1812. The former chapel at Dodington Park - now the village church - was built by Wyatt in c.1807; its 3 top-lit domes (a central oculus and 2 smaller ones) still contain painted glass apparently contemporary with the building. In the central oculus hovers a holy dove surrounded by a glory which radiates out towards a pattern of vaguely classical inspiration at its perimeter: the same ornament is to be found in the 2 smaller domes. Photographs of this glass are held in the N.M.R., London; the central oculus is illustrated in Crook, *Greek Revival*, pl.21. For the chapel see C. Hussey, 'Dodington Park - II', p.1230.


38. The glass-painter Richard Hand (died c.1816), is said to have executed unspecified works for Carlton House, W.G. Strickland, *A Dictionary of Irish Artists*, 2 vols, London/Dublin 1913, 1, pp.447-8. For a summary of Hand's career, see M. Wynne, 'Stained Glass in Ireland', pp.105-10. W.R. Eginton supplied much armorial glass for Thomas Hopper's gothic conservatory at Carlton House of 1807: *Works*, p.7. Payment for various decorations was made in 1804 to Matthew Cotes Wyatt, including a 'large transparent window' for the old Dining Room; Colvin, 6, p.313, n.2. In 1813, Underwood and Co. received £339 15s 6d for a 'Gothic window richly painted with arms, ...' and a further £858 10s 9d for 'three Gothic windows' of armorial glass; these were executed for Nash's new gothic Dining Room. The Carlton House glass was apparently salvaged when the building was demolished, Jeffry Wyattville was apparently asked to find a home for it. D. Linstrum, Sir Jeffry Wyattville, Architect to the King, Oxford 1972, p.35.


45. 'Les Muses Sarcophage' in *la Salle des Empereurs; Notice des Statues, Bustes et Bas-Reliefs de la Galerie des Antiques du Musee ... Ouverte pour la Premiere Fois le 18 Brumaire an 9*, Paris 1814, pp.34-5. See also, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Antique Statues ... that existed in the Louvre, at the time the Allies took Possession of Paris in July 1815*, Edinburgh 1816.


50. Francis Underwood and William Doyle of Holborn were major suppliers of painted, stained, plain and coloured glass. In 1776 they provided the skylight for the oval Saloon at Stowe and in c.1805 - glass for the bookcases in Soane’s ‘Saxon’ Library: they supplied glass to John Soane himself. The firm were also specialists in glazed metalwork, eg. for Col. Thomas Johnes at Hafod; Bray, p.56.

51. P.S. to letter dated Jan. 5 1813. An unexecuted design for the same window is currently at Uppark; though differing little overall from the finished version, its base section featured a scene of armed combat.


53. Letter to Sir Harry Fetherstonehaugh, Hare Street, Oct. 6 1813. Uppark, letter no.5. In c.1793 Repton designed a monument for Babworth church, Notts., as a memorial to Mrs Simpson of Babsworth Hall. The Coade stone monument incorporated a glass-painting of *The Resurrection* and was situated over the altar against the e. window. Anna Seward described its design as ‘poetically fanciful’; *Letters, 1784-1807*, 6 vols, Edinburgh 1811, 3, p.238. The monument was removed or destroyed during a late 19th-century restoration of the church, although the base has survived; the Huntington Library is said to own a drawing of the monument by Edmund Esdaile although this has not been located.


55. This similarity was pointed out by M.D. Drury, *C.L.*, (corr.), 173 (June 16 1983), p.1648. There is, however, no record of the installation of this glass in the Thornery building accounts (A. Cirket, 'The Building known as the Thornery, Woburn Park', Beds. County Record Office, CRT, 130 W08 25).


Arundell. He added a domed sanctuary terminated by a large segmental window above the altar: this was filled with painted glass by F. Eginton representing the Trinity, cherubs and a glory.


60. According to S.G. Feinberg, Sir John Soane’s Museum, London 1980, p.11, this started out as a simple balcony and was enclosed by glass; A.T. Bolton implies the Greenhouse was never actually built; ‘Houses of the late 18th century: Pitzhanger Manor Ealing - II’, C.L., 45 (Feb. 22 1919), p.211. However, it is clearly visible in a photo of the w. front in c.1900, illust. E. Leary, Pitzhanger Manor, London 1986, p.16. The ‘stained glass’ for the Greenhouse was supplied by Messrs. Crossfield and Hole; P.M. ‘Accounts’, Jan. 21 1803, p.31. The plain glass was supplied by ‘Messrs. Thomas & Philip Palmer, Window Glass Cutters etc., of 118, St Martin’s Lane, Charing Cross’, (descendants of George Palmer, the glazier who supplied Walpole with stained glass in the 1760s). P.M. ‘Accounts’, Nov.15-20, 1802, p.28; Jan. 21, 1803, p.31.


68. See Thornton, ‘Gorgeous Hues’, fig. 5, p.1979. The fragments are apparently ‘executed in oil paint ... simulating porphyry with an ormolu border’. In a letter of 24 April 1989 to the present author, Mr Thornton points out that his previous dating of Collins’ window to 1829 was incorrect. The window must have been installed between 1832, when Soane’s first Description was published, and 1836 the date of the next Description. Soane’s payment to Collins of £95 0.0. in 1832 for a ‘stained glass window’ would seem to refer to the ‘Charity’ panel.

69. Soane also displayed reproductions of ancient glass, eg. the biblical figures originally in the S. Drawing Room, one panel of which was dated 1825. A.T. Bolton, A Description of the Residence of Sir John Soane. Architect, Oxford 1920, p.97.
Chapter 7

Dairies, Temples and Palaces: the Decorative Taste for Painted Glass.

One of the most interesting manifestations of the strong decorative appeal of painted glass was its subsidiary use in smaller buildings which - like the Thornery at Woburn - were intimately connected with, but architecturally distinct from, the house itself. Of such buildings the dairy seems in particular to have attracted this form of embellishment. By the end of the eighteenth century, the maintenance of dairies had become a highly fashionable pursuit amongst aristocratic women who were, like Marie Antoinette, seduced by the picturesque and Arcadian associations of cheese and butter-making. The predominantly feminine nature of this vogue was reflected in the elegant and costly manner in which Georgian dairies, despite their essentially functional purpose, were fitted out; it was, for instance, quite common for the building to incorporate a small sitting room or verandah. The taste also, incidentally, created a considerable source of patronage for the contemporary glass-painter.

In 1803, the ground floor of the octagonal 'Tower of the Winds', at Shugborough, in Staffordshire, was converted into a fancy dairy for Viscountess Anson: the Tower - formerly surrounded by water and reached by a Chinese bridge - had been built by James Stuart in 1764 as one of a group of Athenian monuments in the Park. The conversion was carried out by Samuel Wyatt (1737-1807) who put in marble settling shelves for cream and installed four ground-floor windows filled with coloured glass executed by Francis Eginton. Despite vandalism of recent date, this glass has survived in situ: the diamond-shaped panels with strips of blue, green, amber and red glass in each window are surmounted by a large floral motif. These windows are typical of painted glass in such locations: often stylistically neutral - its forms abstract, geometrical and generalised in
treatment - it was intended primarily to provide a vivid decorative emphasis. Coloured glass also served a more functional purpose in the dairy - minimising the level of sunlight which penetrated the interior. Plain, yellow-tinted glass panels thus enliven the door and windows of the dairy at Uppark, a simple, classical structure built against the wall connecting the house to the stables and whose shady porch, complete with seats, was intended for use as a kind of summer house. (Sir Harry Fetherstonehaugh, incidentally, married his head dairy-maid in 1825 when he was aged over seventy!) The Uppark dairy was probably designed by Humphrey Repton, whose use of painted and coloured glass in the house itself has already been commented upon. Repton may also have been responsible for the decorative glass in the octagonal gothic dairy at Corsham Court, Wiltshire, where he worked with John Nash for Paul Cobb Methuen in c.1798: the elaborate pinnacled dairy is, in fact, one of the few remaining architectural features at Corsham which resulted from this early partnership. The deep colours of this glass, (purple cross-hatched with gold and framed in blue), cast a rich light off-setting the cool stone interior. The coloured glass in the gothic bath-house at Corsham, originally built by 'Capability' Brown, may also date from Nash's alteration of the building. The changing room on the first floor contains a simple tracery window with blue and yellow ornamental glass, and, interestingly, some fragments of fifteenth-century stained glass.

One of the most unusual dairy buildings in England is to be found at Sezincote, in Gloucestershire - formerly the home of Sir Charles Cockerell, a 'Nabob' who had acquired his wealth in India. Humphrey Repton was yet again involved, albeit peripherally, in the designing of this house, which was built by Charles's brother, the architect Samuel Pepys Cockerell. Begun in c.1805, Sezincote's 'Hindoo' facade represents a curious synthesis of late Georgian neo-classical architecture with Indian exoticism. The extravagant orientalism of the house and gardens extends
to the out-buildings, including the ornate 'Moorish' dairy with its scallop-arched windows, fretted walls and central terracotta fountain. Nor is it surprising, in such a Picturesque context, that much use was made of coloured glass. This was unfortunately removed from the dairy in recent years and much of it has been lost; originally the windows contained enamel-painted panels featuring rural subject matter such as cows, horses, ploughs and hay-carts. These were arranged together with panels of floral designs in a setting of orange and purple glass; they created an effect which, if not conspicuously oriental, was without doubt strikingly decorative.

Although the vogue for chinoiserie in England had undoubtedly passed the zenith of its popularity by c.1760, it saw a brief but distinct reflooding in the later Georgian period. This resurgence has sometimes been attributed to the personal patronage of the Prince Regent himself, whose youthful taste for exoticism had been nurtured 'under the shade of the pagoda in Kew Gardens'. One building in particular seems to bear witness to the aesthetic influence exerted by the Regent's taste. The ornamental dairy next to the pond in the grounds of Woburn Abbey was built by Henry Holland some time after 1787 for the 5th Duke of Bedford who, with his brother, was a close acquaintance of the Prince Regent. The German Prince Puckler-Muskau, who visited Woburn in 1826, described the octagonal dairy as

a sort of Chinese temple decorated with a profusion of white marble and coloured glasses; in the centre is a fountain, and round the walls hundreds of large dishes and bowls of Chinese and Japan porcelain of every form and colour ... the windows are of ground glass, with Chinese painting, which shows fantastically enough by the dim light ...

The interior is decorated with imitation bamboo and fretwork and the
ubiquitous trellis-work on the exterior is continued into the rectangular design of the painted windows: each section of these contains either a small figure in a fanciful chinois costume, or a mythological bird, flower or butterfly. The delicate, highly stylised vignettes are painted on clear glass rimmed with gold and black, creating an effect at once simple and elegant. The glass-paintings, which are dated 1795, bear the signature of the Swiss-born artist Jean-Theodore Perrache (b. 1744) who, in addition to his glass-painting skills, was a miniaturist on enamel and ivory. He had come to London in 1784 and was appointed Painter in Ordinary to Princess Charlotte. Little is known of Perrache's later life and career but he is said to have died in poverty; his best known works as a glass-painter (and for which he was never, apparently, paid), were executed for the Prince Regent at Carlton House. The figural designs in the Woburn dairy windows are copied directly from plates in Sir William Chambers' seminal Designs of Chinese Buildings, Furniture, Dresses, Machines and Utensils, published in 1757. Chambers claimed that some of these designs were drawn from life, whilst others were 'copied from the paintings of Siou Sing Saeng, a celebrated Chinese master, whom, when I was at Canton, I employed to paint on glass all the Chinese dresses'. Two or three others, he admits, were copied from 'some well executed models' he had discovered in this country. The other details of the windows at Woburn - the birds, flowers and butterflies - are much in the light, playful, 'confectionary' idiom of Jean Baptiste Pillement (1728-1808), the originator of a virtually international style of ornamental motifs in the eighteenth century. Pillement was particularly noted for his mannered chinese designs, inspired in their turn by the rococo chinoiserie of Antoine Watteau. His motifs, intended 'a l'usage des dessinateurs et des peintres' were widely reproduced and rapidly adopted by craftsman and artists for all manner of decorative purposes, including textile and tapestry designs and painted porcelain. It is indeed with the latter medium that the Woburn windows,
with their delicacy of detail and fresh colours, seem most closely allied.
Nor is this entirely coincidental, for the decor of the dairy was largely
designed to set off the Duke of Bedford's magnificent collection of
oriental porcelain.

Whilst employed by the Duke of Bedford at Woburn, Henry Holland was
also working for the Prince Regent on the decorations of the Chinese
Drawing Room at Carlton House. The lavish furnishings of this
apartment were transferred to the Rose Satin Drawing Room when the
ground floor was remodelled some years later. Wild's watercolours of the
interiors of Carlton House did not appear until 1819, by which time most
of Holland's work had been completely altered: it is tempting,
nevertheless, to speculate whether the glass-paintings at Carlton House
for which Perrache was never paid, had been intended for this oriental
Drawing Room whose walls and ceiling are known to have been abundantly
embellished with chinois figures and landscapes.

The creation of Carlton House was contemporary with that of the
Royal Pavilion at Brighton, rebuilt for the Prince Regent by Henry Holland
in 1786-7 as a modest neo-classical villa and enlarged by the same
architect in 1801-2, but ultimately remodelled by John Nash in 1815-21
as an oriental fantasy. Few buildings can have roused more
controversial aesthetic debate than the Royal Pavilion with its fantastic
silhouette of onion-shaped domes, soaring minarets and Saracenic arches.
The battle still rages today between those who regard this architectural
chimera as a mere expression of vulgar opulence and those who are
entranced by the sheer daring and originality of its exotic design. The
building history of the Pavilion and the evolution of its opulent
Indo-Chinese interiors is somewhat complex. The latter were largely, but
not exclusively, the work of the decorative artist Frederick Crace
(1779-1859) who enjoyed the Prince's special favour, and his team of
assistants: Frederick's father, John Crace, (1754-1819) who retired in
1812, had also worked for the Prince at Carlton House and, incidentally, painted the interior decorations of the dairy at Woburn Abbey. The Crace accounts, preserved in the Royal Collection at Brighton along with upwards of three hundred related designs, show that the execution of chinoiserie decorations for the Pavilion interiors began as early as 1802.13

In c.1805 Humphrey Repton was summoned to Brighton to draw up plans for remodelling the exterior of the Pavilion in the 'Hindoos' manner; his proposals were bound in a folio volume entitled Designs for the Pavilion and presented to the Prince Regent.14 Although his designs were ultimately rejected, it is interesting to note that Repton's concept of an oriental decorative style included the extensive use of painted and coloured glass. His proposal for the Dining Room at the Pavilion, (his only interior design), show that the upper sections of the three vast scallop-arched windows were intended to incorporate exotic figural designs in painted glass; each window also has vertical borders of coloured glass in ornamental roundels - their effect dramatised and multiplied by full-length mirrors running down the window jambs.15 The sense of interior lightness and spatial freedom is strongly suggestive of a conservatory or hot-house: indeed, Repton's treatment of the windows vividly recalls S.P. Cockerell's 'Moghul' greenhouse at Sezincote with its cast iron and coloured glass, a building with which Repton was undoubtedly familiar.16 Repton's general theories on the use of coloured glass in domestic buildings, contained in the manuscript accompanying his plans for the Pavilion, can be seen as summarising his later practice at Uppark and elsewhere.

Perhaps more general use may be made of coloured glass in adorning our rooms; by this I do not mean the modern windows painted by Jervis (sic) etc, which are only transparent copies of pictures ... But there is a charming effect of transparency which depends on colour and combination, without the aid of design, and also of design without the aid of colour; ... the gaudy colours of
glass may be kept separate to relieve each other by introducing the most beautiful outlines in clair-obscur on white ground glass, and adding the enrichment of the colouring in the frame which surrounds it ....

Although it was ultimately destroyed by John Nash during his later remodelling of the Pavilion, Holland's 'Glass Passage', installed in 1803, clearly made a strong visual impression upon contemporary visitors to Brighton. It was made entirely of painted glass -

exhibiting the insects, fruit, flowers etc. of the Chinese Country; and when you are within it, it has the appearance of, and literally is, a magnificently painted CHINESE LANTHORN, twelve feet long and eight feet wide, and which on all particular occasions is brilliantly illuminated on the exterior which shews its transparency, and produces an effect too exquisite to be described.

The Prince, who kept a close eye on all aspects of the building programme, was clearly interested in, and encouraged experimentation with, the production of painted glass for the Pavilion. Another notable feature of all the apartments were the numerous painted 'lanthorns' of varying sizes, many designs for which remain amongst the Crace ledgers. These were made of ground glass and square or polygonal in shape; they were cold painted with delicate chinoiserie figures, dragons, birds or ornamental devices and hung with 'chinese tassels' or fringes. Echoes of Holland's famous Glass Passage can be seen in Nash's Corridor on the ground floor which has, 'despite its decoration, something of the same feeling, (and function) as an Elizabethan or Jacobean Long Gallery'. The Corridor, with its pink and blue decorations and painted scroll-work, formerly displayed statues of China-men in the niches on the walls and was hung with brightly coloured lanterns: at either end were mirrored doors which, when closed, created 'an almost magical illusion, the perspective appearing
interminable. A large horizontal skylight filled with painted glass and measuring twenty two feet in length opens up the Corridor, relieving the heaviness of its riotous decor. The glass displays intricate, writhing chinoiserie forms and ornamental devices: in the centre is Lin-Shin - the mythological God of Thunder, surrounded by his drums whilst the imperial five-clawed dragon is represented in the outer sections. The skylight was brilliantly illuminated at night from the outside - probably with the aid of the newly patented Argand Lamps, which were also employed for lighting the many lanterns in the Pavilion.

The north and south staircases leading off the Corridor are lit by horizontal skylights of painted glass: in one, the Imperial dragon is shown entwined by a serpent and surrounded by flying bats whilst the northern light depicts the Chinese royal bird, the Fum. The visitor is led up the stairs to the north and south past a window of three lights depicting full-sized Chinese figures in fluttering robes. Although these figures have since been altered and much overpainted, they were originally modelled on well-known engravings of chinois subjects. One of the female figures, for instance, depicts a 'Chinese Nun' taken from Chambers' Designs of Chinese Buildings. The central figure in the north window which depicts a Chinese comic actor dressed as a warrior is adapted from William Alexander's lavishly illustrated Costume of China (1805) and the central figure in the south window may also have been derived from the same source. Alexander was draughtsman to the first British Embassy to China in 1792-4, an event of considerable significance to the later Georgian revival of chinoiserie: his wide artistic influence is evident in other aspects of the decorations at Brighton, namely the exotic wall-paintings in the Music Room whose basic elements are once again drawn from The Costume of China.

The Music and Banqueting Rooms are, without doubt, the most lavishly decorated State apartments in the whole Pavilion; that
unmistakeable tincture of barbarism which many visitors found, and still find, all too oppressive, is much in evidence in the latter room with its gigantic painted serpents, flying dragons and lotus-shaped gasoliers suspended threateningly from the great domed ceiling. The Music Room is illuminated by a clerestorey of elliptical windows filled with glittering yellow and purple glass displaying moths, dragons, serpents and other mythological forms. One must imagine the exotic effect of this painted glass - which was intended to be back lit - together with that of the delicately painted lustres, when the curtains were drawn at night and the Prince was entertaining his guests with music. Likewise, the lozenge-shaped clerestorey windows in the Banqueting Room displaying vivid oriental devices would have played their part in the visual drama orchestrated around the magnificent low-hanging crystal gasolier with its pendent lotus flowers of tinted glass.

It is difficult to see the decorations of the Royal Pavilion as anything other than festive; it was a building designed not for solitary recreation but for glittering display, lavish and uninhibited social entertainment. Neither the exterior or interior were intended to embody a strictly archaeological interpretation of Indian or Chinese forms; above all the building captures and communicates something of the crude and opulent vitality of orientalism. The painted glass in the Pavilion, strikingly situated and ingeniously lit, is undoubtedly an integral part of the building's novel and spectacular effects, its bizarre extravagance of colour and exotic forms.

Whilst it is tempting to see the history of British glass-painting during the Romantic period predominantly in terms of the origins and development of a revived medievalist aesthetic, it is important to remember that the medium was also widely involved in the interpretation and dissemination of historical styles. The examples discussed in the
preceding two chapters provide evidence of the growing versatility of the glass-painter in adapting his work to the changing requirements of architectural setting and the vagaries of public taste: they also demonstrate that such stylistic diversification had become an essential condition of his professional success.
Notes: Chapter 7


3. *Gents. il.: .. 75* (1805) il, p.606. Francis Eginton also provided 'a large staircase window' of armorials and mosaic glass for the house and a painted glass window of 'St John in the Wilderness after Rubens, for Shuckborough (sic) Church. *Ibid.*


8. *Pressly*, p.108. J.F. Rigaud exhibited at the R.A. in 1799 a half-length portrait of John Theodore Perrache; the glass-painter's furnace appears in the background and he points at one of his own painted windows taken from an original design by Rigaud. Perrache, the father of Mrs Jamieson, continued to exhibit miniatures on enameled and ivory at the R.A. until 1821.


15. For Repton's design, see G. Carter et al, *Repton*, pl.93, p.94.


17. This section was omitted from the published book, but the MS - cited Morley, p.59 - is in the Royal Library, Windsor. Repton's designs for the conservatory at Wimpole Hall (c.1809), also feature heraldic and ornamental glass. The conservatory, which led off Soane's new Book Room, was demolished in c.1953 but a number of drawings and plans are displayed in Wimpole Hall itself.


20. The lanterns were supplied by the Crace firm. Edward Orme incidentally, singled out these 'transparent' lanterns at the Pavilion for praise (p.61).


24. The glass for the 'eyebrow' windows in the Music Room was executed in 1818; 12 guineas were paid to Messrs. Underwood and Foyle (sic) for 'working drawings' for the 8 windows. Crace Ledgers, p.94. Morley, p.209, design no. 242.
Conclusion

The years covered by this study witnessed a metamorphosis in the techniques, style and function of British glass-painting: in the broadest sense these changes were brought about by the gradual readoption of 'mosaic' methods of manufacture, which supplanted the pictorial methods characteristic of Georgian painted windows. This thesis has attempted to chart the gradual transference of taste from one mode of glass-painting to another - a process accompanied by significant shifts in the public perception of the medium and in the self-image of the glass-painter.

By the end of the eighteenth century, having declined rapidly in public favour after the Reformation, the art of glass-painting had been regenerated by the efforts of a handful of skilled craftsmen and had reached a new peak of popularity. Although it had not yet recovered the full sanction of the Anglican Church, the medium was enjoying a comfortable and highly profitable position as a sister art of canvas-painting. Using the same approved academic models as the painter in oils and borrowing his sophisticated pictorial techniques, glass-painters were able to share in the growing adulation awarded to British artists. However, there was a price to pay for this continuing artistic dependency. Divorced from its own medieval origins and brought into the arena of public exhibitions, the art of glass-painting had become increasingly secularised and de-sanctified: it had lost to a great extent its intrinsic connection with architecture and, by the late eighteenth century, had come to be regarded by many as a mere species of visual entertainment.

The emerging taste for gothic brought with it a powerful lobby of critical opinion. Painted windows, admired on display in London show-rooms, made a radically different impression when installed in medieval or neo-medieval interiors. The problems experienced were not simply technical: the whole issue of aesthetic harmony between painted glass and its architectural setting was brought into question.
Pictorial-style windows with their obtrusive naturalism were fundamentally unsuited to gothic interiors - a deficiency which critics like John Carter were quick to exploit. In their desire to keep abreast of the growing taste for things medieval, glass-painters soon began to absorb the latest antiquarian data into their repertoire: the result, though widely admired, was essentially a compromise with the new impulse - a 'gothick' style of glass-painting which translated medieval subject matter into a contemporary pictorial idiom. The artistic models used by the glass-painter or his designer were increasingly derived from authentic sources, made available to him through the researches of scholars and antiquarians; however, since medieval draftsmanship was still perceived by the majority as crude and alien, there was still the compunction to 'improve' upon the style of the original. Gradually, under the powerful influence exerted by the Gothic Revival, the public became familiarised with true specimens of medieval art: the concomitant change in taste brought about a re-evaluation of the merits of contemporary glass-painting. By 1840 the aesthetic revolution was almost complete. The very qualities of medieval stained glass which had been denigrated in the eighteenth century were now those which were most admired. Victorian glass-painters diligently copied ancient specimens as artistic training exercises just as Academy students had drawn from antique casts.

This study ends at the point where old-style antiquarianism, the pursuit of scholars and gentlemen, has begun to engage with the developing science of ecclesiology - the passion of the High Church Victorian Clergy. The foundation, in 1839, of the Cambridge Camden Society and the establishment of Gothic as the only acceptable style of Christian architecture marks a clear watershed in the history of British glass-painting. Serious questions were now being raised about the morality of present day society as reflected in its art and architecture and as compared with the productions of the middle ages. Victorian
glass-painters, caught up in this all-pervasive atmosphere of religiosity, found themselves occupying a very different ideological position to that of their Georgian predecessors. Once banished by the Church of England, but now given full sanction as an ecclesiastical art form, glass-painting had again become inextricably bound up with the doctrinal and ethical principles of the Christian faith.

A church is not as it should be until every window is filled with stained glass, till every inch of floor is covered with encaustic tiles, till there is a Roodscreen glowing with the brightest tints and with gold, nay, if we should arrive at perfection, the roof and wall must be painted and frescoed. For it may be safely assumed that ancient churches in general were so adorned …

(J.M. Neale, Church Enlargement and Church Arrangement, 1843)
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