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THE GOTHIC REVIVAL CHARACTER OF ECCLESIASTICAL STAINED GLASS IN BRITAIN

At the outset of the nineteenth century, commissions for new pictorial windows for cathedrals, churches and secular settings in Britain were few and were usually characterised by the practice of painting on glass in enamels. Skilful use of the technique made it possible to achieve an effect that was similar to oil painting, and had dispensed with the need for leading coloured glass together in the medieval manner. In the eighteenth century, exponents of the technique included William Price, William Peckitt, Thomas Jervais and Francis Eginton, and although the exquisite painterly qualities of the best of their windows are sometimes exceptional, their reputation was tarnished for many years following the rejection of the style in Britain during the mid-nineteenth century.¹

The similarity to contemporary oil painting was strengthened by the practice of copying paintings of religious subjects, and painters such as Benjamin West and Joshua Reynolds supplied original designs for Francis Eginton of Birmingham, who made windows for cathedrals at Salisbury, Lichfield and St Asaph, although in many cases his work has been moved or lost.² His window of Christ contemplating the Crucifixion of 1795 survives at the Church of St Alkmund, Shrewsbury and is a theme with similarities to his window of 1800 for St Asaph Cathedral, now at the Church of St Tegla, Llandegla. Both depict the youthful Christ, although the figure in the window at Shrewsbury appears to be a copy of the figure of Mary in the *Assumption of the Virgin* by Guido Reni

(1637), which has caused some confusion over the subject of the window [Fig. 1].³

The scene at Shrewsbury is painted on rectangular sheets of glass, although the large window is arched and its framework is subdivided into lancets. The shape of the window demonstrates the influence of the Gothic Revival for the design of the new Church of St Alkmund, which was a Georgian building of 1793–1795 built to replace the medieval church that had been pulled down. The Gothic Revival was well underway in Britain by the second half of the eighteenth century, particularly among aristocratic patrons who built and re-fashioned their country homes with Gothic features, complete with furniture and stained glass inspired by the Middle Ages.

Windows painted with layers of enamel paint suffered from a reduction in transparency, and to introduce more light and stronger colour, glass painters looked back to the medieval styles and methods of making stained glass, reintroducing coloured glass into their designs, and augmenting the painterly techniques of artists such as Thomas

¹ For an overview of this period see S. BROWN, *Stained Glass: An Illustrated History*, London, 1992, pp. 120–125.

² For the work of Francis Eginton see 'Glass Painters of Birmingham, Francis Eginton, 1737–1805', *Journal of the British Society of Master-Glass Painters*, 2, 1927, no. 2, pp. 63–71.

³ Among others, Nikolaus Pevsner perceived the figure as female, and some have interpreted it as a figure of Faith or Hope. N. PEVSNER, *The Buildings of England: Shropshire*, London, 1958, p. 256. The figure stands over the cross with the cup of suffering also shown below, and shares similarities with the standing figure of the young Christ made by Eginton for St Asaph, amid cherubs toying with the instruments of the Passion. It is unlikely that a large east window at an Anglican church would have depicted the Virgin Mary as a principal subject at this date when Roman Catholicism was still officially suppressed by the British state. Pevsner's comment on the window's being 'not at all unattractive, however much one must object to the lack of any principles of design', is suggestive of the lingering distaste for the technique even in the mid-twentieth century.





1. Francis Eginton, *Christ Contemplating the Cross*, 1795, Shrewsbury (Shropshire), Church of St Alkmund, east window. Photo: M. Crampin

Jervais and Francis Eginton with the application of silver stain. This approach can be seen in the work of William Peckitt, such as his late eighteenth-century Old Testament figures located in the south transept of York Minster, which use coloured glass to outline the figure and some of the surrounding decorative detail. Eginton's window at St Alkmund's employs no decorative detail, with the sky and background extending across the whole window, but Peckitt's figures stand within decorative architectural niches. The painted arches are Renaissance rather than medieval but the use of pointed or cusped arches, whether imposed by the stonework or added in the design, became a regular feature of stained glass design by the second quarter of the nineteenth century.

The adoption of Gothic motifs and the loosening of the Georgian pictorial style characterises much of the stained glass made for churches during the first forty years of the nineteenth century. Martin Harrison singles out Thomas



2. David Evans, *St John the Evangelist, St John Baptist and St Peter*, c. 1820, Berrington (Shropshire), Church of All Saints, east window. Photo: M. Crampin

Willement, J.H. Miller and Betton & Evans as artists representative of this transition, although the survival rate of their works is poor, as many of them were replaced by new windows that conformed to the prevailing fashions in the second half of the nineteenth century.⁴ Windows by David Evans of Shrewsbury, especially later works, survive in the town where he worked, in the surrounding areas of Shropshire, and across the northern half of Wales. Evans initially worked in partnership with John Betton, before taking sole control of the firm in 1825, and Betton & Evans restored and made copies of a wide range of medieval and Renaissance stained glass.

David Evans' original work demonstrates stylistic variety and technical skill. Few of his windows of the 1820s in a late Georgian style have survived, but a well-preserved example can be found in the east window at Berrington, Shropshire [Fig. 2]. The three saints stand with a clouded background behind them, and the tracery lights above are filled with cherubs and heraldry in a style that does not clearly match the figures below. The garments worn by the figures are composed of large areas of coloured glass, cut to outline the cloaks and robes,

⁴ M. HARRISON, *Victorian Stained Glass*, London, 1980, pp. 15–17.



3. David Evans, *St Peter, St John and St Paul*, 1840–1843, Bangor (Gwynedd), Cathedral, formerly part of the east window. Photo: M. Crampin

while the backgrounds have the vestige of the rectangular glass panels familiar from the work of both Peckitt and Francis Eginton. Evans' figures of 1840 and 1843 for the east window at Bangor Cathedral are designed and painted in a similar chiaroscuro manner [Fig. 3], although carefully modelled Gothic niches, with white glass canopies heightened with silver stain, surround the figures in preference to the stormy backgrounds that are found at Berrington.⁵

Small biblical scenes of 1841 by David Evans from the east window of the Church of St Giles, Wrexham survive in the church, although they were removed from their original position in about 1914. In contrast with the figures at Bangor and Berrington, they suggest a sixteenth-century

⁵ These windows were funded by public subscription and presented as a mark of esteem and respect for Revd J.H. Cotton, on his elevation from vicar to dean of the cathedral in 1838. Despite being removed by the architect George Gilbert Scott when the cathedral chancel was restored in 1873, considerable public support ensured that they were reset in windows at the west end of the cathedral (Dean Cotton had died relatively recently, in 1862). See letters published in *North Wales Chronicle*, 12 October 1872, p. 7. For the dating of the windows see: M. CRAMPIN, 'The Date and Arrangement of Bangor Cathedral East Window', *Stained Glass from Welsh Churches*, 2014, <https://stainedglasswales.wordpress.com/2015/09/10/the-date-and-arrangement-of-bangor-cathedral-east-window> [retrieved 19 October 2019].



4. David Evans, *Scenes from the Gospels*, 1843, Cressage (Shropshire), Christ Church, east window. Photo: M. Crampin

style, employing silver stain and the restrained use of enamel colour. The medallions are currently set in plain glass surrounds, although it is likely that they were originally surrounded by brightly coloured geometric borders such as those in a similar style of 1843 at Cressage in Shropshire [Fig. 4]. In these small scenes we can appreciate Evans as an inventive copyist, adapting recognisable works of the old masters as well as the work of more contemporary artists. This includes the Christ from Raphael's *Transfiguration*, which was a figure regularly reproduced in nineteenth-century stained glass, and Rubens' *Descent from the Cross* (1612–1614), as well as William Hamilton's *Christ and the Woman of Samaria*, of c. 1792.

Evans also translated Raphael's *Transfiguration* and Rubens' *Descent from the Cross* as large scenes for other windows. The *Descent from the Cross*, from the second of Rubens' great altarpieces for Antwerp Cathedral, is reproduced in the east window of 1842 for the Church of St Chad, Shrewsbury, and flanked by copies of the outer panels of the altarpiece, which are compositions that he also reproduced in other windows at Llangollen and Penrhyn Castle in north Wales. The window follows Rubens' chiaroscuro approach and owes nothing to the Gothic



5. David Evans, *The Adoration of the Magi*, 1846, Church of St Mary, Shrewsbury (Shropshire), detail of the east window of the Trinity Chapel. Photo: M. Crampin

Revival, set behind a Venetian arch and Corinthian pillars.⁶ In this and other windows, such as the three chancel windows of 1844 for Christ Church, Welshpool, no decorative borders have been added, but at the Church of St Mary, Shrewsbury, a medieval church dating mainly to the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries, large scenes are framed by architectural borders, which are more characteristic of the Gothic Revival, although the ornament is more Renaissance than medieval. Evans again draws on contrasting sources: *The Adoration of the Magi* is a copy of a sixteenth-century window from a monastery at Aerschot, Belgium, restored by Evans with new glass for Rugby School chapel,⁷ while the scene of Christ blessing children adapts the composition by the Nazarene artist Friedrich

Overbeck, broadening it out across three lights [Fig. 5]. At West Felton, Shropshire, a set of six post-Resurrection scenes with fully coloured backgrounds are contained within the window lights but have elaborate coloured medieval canopies over each scene, creating an uneasy relationship between the Gothic architectural framing and the scenes themselves, which are more reminiscent of sixteenth-century Flemish and German stained glass.

The use of coloured glass to achieve bright and transparent colour was a method familiar to David Evans from his work restoring medieval and Renaissance stained glass. Evans demonstrated his ability to reproduce earlier styles when required to do so, and the work of Betton & Evans in replacing the late fourteenth-century east window of Winchester College Chapel in 1821 with their own copy is well known.⁸ Evans restored important examples of medieval stained glass, such as the fourteenth-century east window now at the Church of St Mary, Shrewsbury, and the fifteenth-century glass at the Church of St Laurence, Ludlow, supplementing the medieval glass with his

⁶ Remarkably, for a window that characterises pre-Gothic Revival nineteenth-century stained glass, it replaced an earlier window by Francis Eginton, made only about fifty years previously.

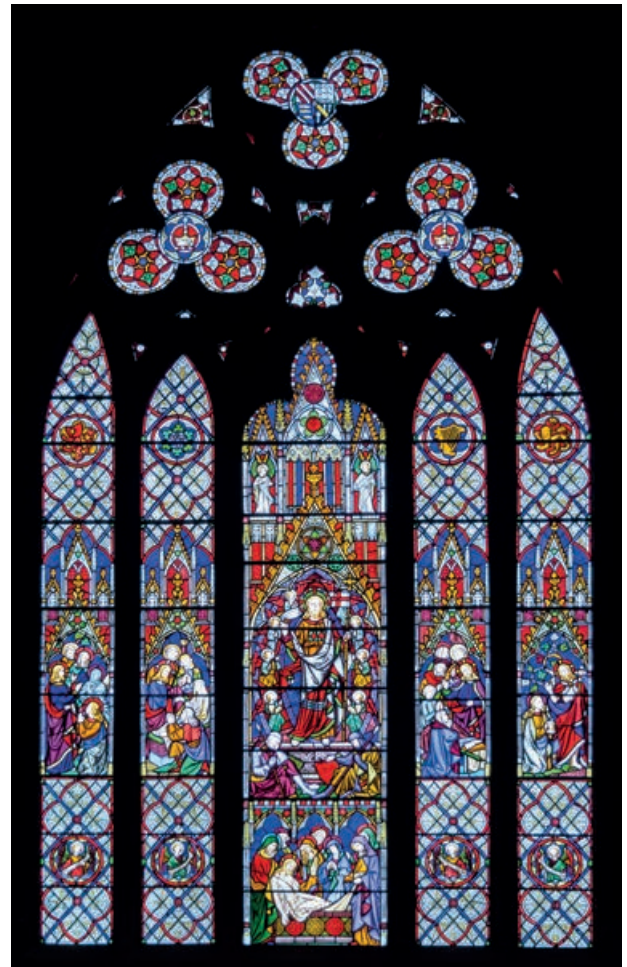
⁷ I am grateful to Aidan McRae Thomson for the identification of the source of this image. Nikolaus Pevsner incorrectly identifies the original as by Murillo in *The Buildings of England: Shropshire*, London, 1958, p. 255.

⁸ M. HARRISON, *Victorian Stained Glass*, pp. 16–17 (as in note 4).

own work in the same style. Given this knowledge of medieval stained glass, his use of pictorial models from no earlier than the sixteenth century, instead of medieval exemplars, for his new commissions can clearly be understood as an artistic choice, and suggests that his own medievalism remained largely superficial.

By the 1840s an increasing number of stained glass artists were responding to both an increase in demand for stained glass for churches and to the demand for more thoroughgoing medieval styles. The decision to build the new Houses of Parliament in a Gothic style helped to bring the style from the realm of eccentric medieval enthusiasts and connoisseurs into the architectural mainstream, and the young architect and designer Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin assisted the architect Charles Barry with much of the design of the building, and particularly the fittings, including designs for stained glass that were made by John Hardman of Birmingham and Ballantine & Allan of Edinburgh.⁹ Pugin's extensive artistic output, alongside his polemical writings arguing for a return to medieval styles, were to have a transformative effect on British architecture, particularly for the design of churches.

The second quarter of the nineteenth century also saw a new phase of the Gothic Revival in architecture that adopted a more literal, archaeological approach to medieval models, which was more earnest and less playful, and arguably less original as it sought precedent and accuracy.¹⁰ The adoption of a more scholarly approach to Gothic Revival architecture was made possible by the classification of Gothic architecture by Thomas Rickman, whose *An Attempt to Discriminate the Styles of English Architecture* was first published in 1817.¹¹ Rickman's work, alongside further illustrated works on Gothic architecture, provided architects and critics with a succession of defined and dateable medieval styles, from the Norman (or English Romanesque), to Perpendicular Gothic. Architects were able to select from these styles and Pugin seized on the Gothic, what he termed 'pointed', as the architectural style most suitable for English church architecture. An apologist for both Gothic architecture and Catholicism (he became a Roman Catholic in 1834), he attacked the 'Classical', or 'Pagan', influence on contemporary architecture and the pluralism of architectural influences from the ancient world. Pugin regarded these architectural styles as embodying their religion – heathen temples built for



6. John Hardman & Co., designed by A.W.N. Pugin, *The Resurrection with Scenes from the Gospels*, 1850, Chester Cathedral, south choir aisle. Photo: M. Crampin

idolatrous worship – which rendered them unsuitable for Christian architecture.¹² This belief went beyond ecclesiastical architecture and design, and he argued that a national, 'Catholic', architecture, based on 'pointed' design, should supplant Classical or Baroque architecture because 'we are Englishmen'.¹³ The son of a French immigrant, he sought to resist an encroaching European uniformity of style, observing that: 'a sort of bastard Greek, a nondescript modern style, has ravaged many of the most interesting cities of Europe; replacing the original national buildings'.¹⁴

Pugin designed many stained glass windows for his buildings and undertook further commissions for churches and cathedrals. The design of these windows followed his preference for stained glass design of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and were made to his design

⁹ For Pugin's stained glass and the decoration of the Houses of Parliament see S.A. SHEPHERD, 'Stained Glass', in *Pugin: A Gothic Passion*, ed. by P. Atterbury, C. Wainwright, New Haven and London, 1994, pp. 195–206, and also other chapters in the volume.

¹⁰ For an introduction to the period see chapters four and five of M. ALDRICH, *Gothic Revival*, London, 1994.

¹¹ M. ALDRICH, 'Thomas Rickman's Handbook of Gothic Architecture and the Taxonomic Classification of the Past', in *Antiquaries & Archaists: the Past in the Past, the Past in the Present*, ed. by M. Aldrich, R.J. Wallis, Reading, 2009, pp. 62–74.

¹² See for example, A.W.N. PUGIN, *The True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture: Set forth in Two Lectures Delivered at St. Marie's, Oscott*, London, 1841, pp. 45–51.

¹³ *Ibidem*.

¹⁴ *Ibidem*.



7. John Hardman & Co., designed by A.W.N. Pugin, *Scenes from the Passion of Christ*, 1850, Cambridge, Chapel of Jesus College, detail of the east window. Photo: M. Crampin

by artists including William Warrington, Thomas Willement and William Wailes, before he persuaded his friend and collaborator, John Hardman, to establish a stained glass studio where his windows could be made according to his instructions.¹⁵ While Pugin acknowledged that the 'art of glass painting' arrived at 'its greatest perfection'

¹⁵ See S.A. SHEPHERD, *The Stained Glass of A.W.N. Pugin*, Reading, 2009.

in the early sixteenth century,¹⁶ he also perceived the decline of stained glass in the following decades, coinciding with the decline of pointed architecture, when scenes 'were unconnected in form with the stonework and appeared to pass behind the mullions'. He also describes the mistake of treating 'the panes of windows like pictures or transparencies with forcing lights and shadows'.¹⁷ His criticism of the pictorial chiaroscuro technique, typical of the work of academic oil painting and reflected in the work of glass painters from Thomas Jervais to David Evans, was made on moral grounds, as he held it obscured the natural transparency of glass.

The figures and scenes in stained glass designed by Pugin are confined within the window lights, and the compartmentalisation of scenes and figures required varying amounts of decorative surrounds, which were composed of architectural frameworks and geometric patterns. This can be seen in the window made by John Hardman & Co. to Pugin's design at Chester Cathedral, with crocketed and coloured architectural niches placed over the six scenes, and grisaille patterns above and below in the outer lights, punctuated by roundels depicting angels and symbolising the four nations of the British Isles, while floral patterns occupy the trefoils in the tracery above, which is effectively integrated into the overall design [Fig. 6]. Some of Pugin's earlier designs for stained glass are closer to the style of the fifteenth century, such as the windows made in 1838 by William Warrington for the Chapel of St Mary's College, Oscott, whereas his design for the tall slender windows in the east wall of the Chapel of Jesus College, Cambridge, is reminiscent of some of the earlier thirteenth-century windows at Chartres Cathedral [Fig. 7]. The formal layout of the windows, with scenes placed in roundels suspended in brightly coloured geometric foliate patterns, was also adopted in windows by David Evans, such as in his east window at Cressage, although in contrast Evans' medallions use no coloured glass, and are reminiscent of Flemish roundels of the sixteenth century.

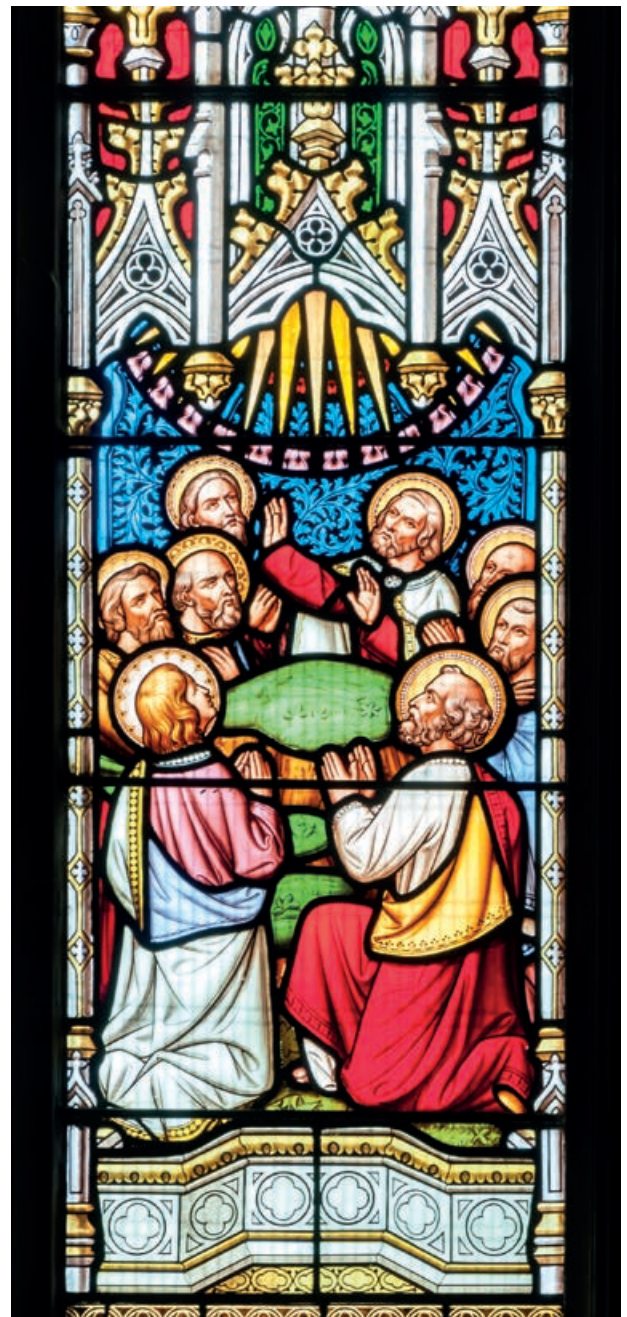
Pugin's approach to stained glass design met with the approval of the influential Cambridge Camden Society (founded in 1839 and reformed as the Ecclesiological Society in London in 1845), and the society's views were expressed through its journal, *The Ecclesiologist*. Among the first remarks on stained glass published in *The Ecclesiologist* in 1843, the writer stresses the importance of 'ornamenting the spaces between the mullions' and adds that 'filling a whole window with one large picture, as at King's College chapel [Cambridge], is a sign of the debasement

¹⁶ A.W.N. PUGIN, *Contrasts; or, a Parallel between the Architecture of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries, and Similar Buildings of the Present Day; Shewing the Present Decay of Taste*, London, 1836, p. 4.

¹⁷ A.W.N. PUGIN, *The Present State of Ecclesiastical Architecture in England*, London, 1843, p. 84 (reprinted from Pugin's second article published in the *Dublin Review*, 23, February 1842).

of the art.¹⁸ While the article commended recent windows by Thomas Willement and William Warrington as ‘equal in all respects to the best works of antiquity’, earlier windows were criticised as failing to conform to medieval models: ‘the dignity and grandeur of the symbolised saint and vested bishop were succeeded by youthful and comely portraits in elegant attitudes and large red and blue mantles. Instead of ornamenting glass, we converted it into canvas.’¹⁹ The large mantles are suggestive of David Evans’s figures, and a window by Evans for Ely Cathedral was singled out for criticism because of its lack of ‘affectation of antiquity’. The ‘figures are so completely *modern*, ‘too large and over-finished, and are spoiled by being shaded; for the ancient artists “never attempted shading in painting glass”, but represented faces, naked limbs, the folds of the vestments, &c, by simple lines.’²⁰ David Evans took the trouble to respond to *The Ecclesiologist*, but only complained that the ‘enormous cost’ of the window was £310, and not £500 as reported.²¹

The arguments and preferences of A.W.N. Pugin and the Ecclesiological Society set the tone for much of the stained glass being commissioned for churches in Britain in the middle years of the nineteenth century.²² The revival of medieval styles was also encouraged by clergy and patrons influenced by the Oxford Movement, who were also known as Tractarians. The Oxford Movement sought to restore elements of pre-Reformation liturgy and theology to the established Anglican church, and encouraged the furnishing of churches with decorative and figural art. Tractarian patrons and their architects were consequently most likely to ornament their new or restored churches with stained glass, and looked to medieval models as a way of reconnecting with the Middle Ages. In addition to conforming to Gothic tastes, stained glass designers and makers sought patrons through membership of influential societies. Frederick Preedy, who was unusual as an architect who also made his own stained glass, gained commissions by joining the Ecclesiological Society,²³ and Nathaniel Lavers joined in 1856.²⁴ Joseph Bell gained not only patronage through his membership of the Bristol and West Architectural Society, but also access to their library, enabling him to study the growing number of



8. William Wailes, *The Ascension*, c. 1856, Mold (Flintshire), Church of St Mary, detail of the east window. Photo: M. Crampin

¹⁸ *The Ecclesiologist*, 3, 1843, p. 17.

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, pp. 16–17.

²⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 17.

²¹ *The Ecclesiologist*, 4, 1845, p. 292.

²² For a more detailed account of the importance of A.W.N. Pugin, the Ecclesiological Society and other key figures to the development of stained glass in the period, see chapter one of J. CHESHIRE, *Stained Glass and the Victorian Gothic Revival*, Manchester, 2004, pp. 1–32.

²³ M. KERNEY, *The Stained Glass of Frederick Preedy (1820–1898): A Catalogue of Designs*, London, 2001, p. 7.

²⁴ W. WATERS, *Angels & Icons: Pre-Raphaelite Stained Glass 1850–1870*, Abbots Morton, 2012, p. 126.

books and articles that would help him render Gothic ornament more accurately.²⁵

The appeal of the Middle Ages was further popularised by the success of the Medieval Court at the Great Exhibition in London of 1851, arranged by A.W.N. Pugin with the help of his collaborators including John Hardman. Presenting a vision of medieval art and design, the Court was described in *The Builder* as ‘a whole of great completeness, and considerable excellence’, while the *Illustrated London News* hailed it as the ‘best harmonized

²⁵ J. CHESHIRE, *Stained Glass*, pp. 114–119 (as in note 22).



9. N.W. Lavers, designed by Alfred Bell, *The Resurrection*, c. 1855, Aberporth (Ceredigion), Church of St Cynwyl, east window. Photo: M. Crampin

display of art and skill' at the exhibition.²⁶ There was an unprecedented interest in the medieval past in Britain during the 1840s and 50s, which was reflected in political thought, literature and a wide range of visual culture.²⁷ The Great Exhibition also brought the work of European exhibitors of stained glass to public attention in London, and the stained glass on display was stylistically diverse. *The Ecclesiologist* declared that the best stained glass was that exhibited by French artists such as Alfred Gérente,

²⁶ *The Builder*, 21 June 1851, p. 383; 'The Medieval Court', *Illustrated London News*, 20 September 1851 (Exhibition Supplement), p. 362. For Pugin's Medieval Court see A. WEDGWOOD, 'The Medieval Court' in *Pugin: A Gothic Passion*, pp. 237–245 (as in note 9); J. ALLEN, 'A.W.N. Pugin, Stained Glass and the 1851 Medieval Court', *True Principles* 5:1, 2016, pp. 11–28.

²⁷ See for example M. ALEXANDER, *Medievalism: the Middle Ages in Modern England*, New Haven and London, 2007; J. PARKER 'Imagining the Middle Ages', in *Art & Soul: Victorians and the Gothic*, ed. by J. Parker, C. Wagner, Bristol, 2014, pp. 7–39.

Antoine Lusson and Charles Marechal, with its mastery of medieval styles.²⁸

The effect of this increased ecclesiastical and popular medievalism was that the majority of windows that were commissioned for churches in the 1850s were reminiscent of the stained glass of the later twelfth to the earlier fourteenth centuries, as found in the northern cathedrals of France and in England. This can be seen in the predominant style of the major stained glass firms in Britain, such as John Hardman & Co. (Birmingham), Michael and Arthur O'Connor (London), Ballantine & Allen (Edinburgh) and William Wailes (Newcastle), as well as the burgeoning number of studios about which we know much less, such as William Holland (Warwick), Forrest & Bromley (Liverpool), William Miller, Edward and Thomas Baillie, and those of members of the Gibbs family (all based in London).

The medievalism of the work of these artists and studios is evident in a variety of ways, especially in contrast with the late eighteenth-century work by Thomas Jervais and Francis Eginton. Relatively small pieces of coloured and white glass were leaded together and these lead lines were integral to the design of the windows, in contrast to the reliance on coloured enamels painted on rectangular panes of glass. The decorative framework of the windows frequently made use of geometric designs, and coloured medieval architectural Gothic canopies. Further research is needed to appreciate the range of sources that were appropriated for the scenes and figures, and the extent to which they were original to their nineteenth-century designers, although many are clearly reminiscent of medieval convention. For example, scenes of the *Ascension* often show just the feet of Christ at the apex of the design, or sometimes only the patch of grass on which Christ stood before being taken up to heaven [Fig. 8], a convention that can be found from the mid-thirteenth century at Le Mans Cathedral to the early sixteenth century at Fairford in Gloucestershire. Scenes of the *Resurrection* often betray medieval influence not only in the manner in which Christ steps out of the empty tomb, holding a cross or the gonfalon with the red cross of the *Resurrection*, but also the tomb itself, which is invariably a medieval chest tomb, rather than one cut into the hillside, from which the stone has been rolled away [Fig. 9].²⁹ Similarly, the soldiers who sleep or crouch in fear below, so often part of the medieval image, are rendered as medieval knights rather than Roman soldiers. Trees are frequently drawn in a stylised form, and in a window designed by Frederick Preedy, the whale from which Jonah emerges is characteristic of a creature from a medieval bestiary [Fig. 10], as are many of the lions that were used to symbolise the apostle Mark.

²⁸ *The Ecclesiologist*, 12, 1851, p. 182.

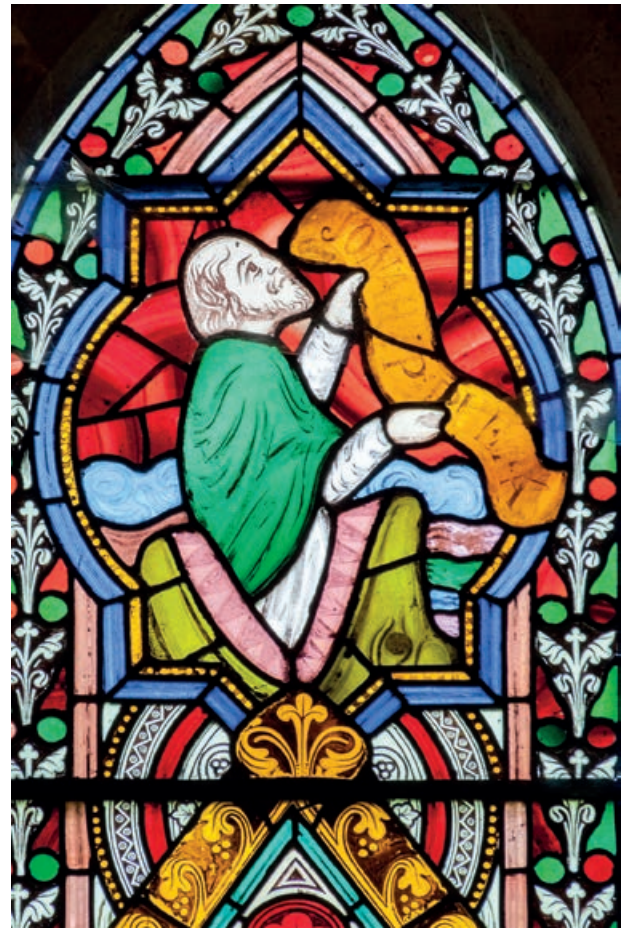
²⁹ The image is best known in the fresco by Piero della Francesca (c. 1490), but earlier examples, including many from Britain, may be found in wall painting, alabaster and stained glass.

These medievalising characteristics – the use of the mosaic style, architectural borders, and medieval iconography – can be found in varying degrees in the majority of stained glass windows made for churches in the third quarter of the nineteenth century. Further distinctive characteristics were the distinctive colouration of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century stained glass – blue, red, green and ochre – and the avoidance of too much modelling of figures or of a sense of perspective in favour of a simplified, two-dimensional draughtsmanship. The imitation of the flat medieval draughtsmanship typical of stained glass prior to the mid-fifteenth century did not always produce satisfactory results, and critics complained about the awkward attempts of glass painters to imitate what was regarded as inferior medieval drawing predating the Renaissance.³⁰

The Gothic Revival character of so much stained glass made for churches in the 1850s contrasts with the stylistic variety that was on display at the Great Exhibition.

Chance Brothers of Smethwick exhibited stained glass ‘in all conceivable styles’,³¹ and even Hardman’s stained glass in the Medieval Court included late medieval styles in order to demonstrate the development of medieval stained glass into the sixteenth century.³² The rich variation of approach to glass painting is harder to discern in ecclesiastical commissions of the period, even though studios were clearly capable of producing windows in a wide range of styles. The exhibitors were keen to attract commissions for civic and domestic stained glass, as well as for churches, and the breadth of stained glass made at the time for these secular contexts remains in need of much further research and publication.

One of the associate jurors for stained glass at the Great Exhibition was Charles Winston, whose *An Inquiry into the Difference of Style Observable in Ancient Glass Paintings, especially in England, with Hints on Glass Painting* was the first study of the styles of medieval stained glass published in England.³³ Winston concurred with the prevailing view that the mosaic style was ‘the only true system of glass painting’, as opposed to the dependence on enamels, while promoting the use of what he called ‘Perpendicular’ and ‘Cinquecento’. This style was typified by the windows of King’s College, Cambridge and the windows in the Lady Chapel of Lichfield Cathedral that were originally made for the Abbey of Herkenrode, and Winston encouraged the use of this style of stained glass as a starting point for the development of the art of stained glass in the



10. Frederick Preedy (design), *Jonah and the Whale*, c. 1851, Merthyr Mawr (Glamorgan), Church of St Teilo, detail of the east window. Photo: M. Crampin

mid-nineteenth century.³⁴ This went against the prevailing view of *The Ecclesiologist*,³⁵ as did his advancement of George Hedgeland, who received several prestigious commissions in the 1850s including the east window of Jesus College Chapel, Oxford, and the west window of Norwich Cathedral.³⁶ The style of his work closely matches windows by David Evans, and his six main scenes at Norwich are subject to the same awkward divisions of figures by the window mullions across three lights that mar David Evans’ *Adoration of the Magi* at the Church of St Mary,

³⁰ See for example J. ALLEN, *Windows for the World: Nineteenth-century Stained Glass and the International Exhibitions, 1851–1900*, Manchester, 2018, pp. 90–92.

³¹ *The Ecclesiologist*, 12, 1851, p. 184.

³² J. ALLEN, *Windows for the World*, p. 46 (as in note 30).

³³ C. WINSTON, *An Inquiry into the Difference of Style Observable in Ancient Glass Paintings, Especially in England, with Hints on Glass Painting*, London, 1847.

³⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 268. The windows from Herkenrode were restored and installed by John Betton in the first decade of the nineteenth century, around the time that David Evans had joined him as an apprentice, and the style of these windows must have been influential on him.

³⁵ *The Ecclesiologist*, 10, 1849, p. 93. In diverging from the ecclesiological position, Jim Cheshire has suggested that Winston may have sought to be deliberately provocative, *Stained Glass*, p. 18 (as in note 22).

³⁶ For the mixed reaction to the west window of Norwich Cathedral, see A.C. SEWTER, ‘The Place of Charles Winston in the Victorian Revival of the Art of Stained Glass’, *Journal of Stained Glass*, 24, 1961, p. 86.



11. Ballantine & Allan, *The Annunciation to the Shepherds and Ascension*, c. 1856, Northop (Flintshire), Church of St Eurgain and St Peter, north aisle. Photo: M. Crampin

Shrewsbury. The theatrical and faintly Rubens-esque artificiality of some of their figures and scenes is paralleled in windows by contemporary firms such as Ballantine & Allan, Forrest & Bromley, William Holland and John Toms, but by the 1850s most figures and scenes were safely contained within colourful elaborate Gothic canopies. Sometimes these canopies were treated in a three-dimensional manner utterly alien to that of Pugin, and occasionally the borders were more Renaissance than Gothic, an indicator of the influence of sixteenth- or even seventeenth-century models, but the inclusion of some kind of Gothic canopy or geometric or floral ornament was suggestive of a token Gothicism.

A reluctance to embrace the 'Cinquecento' style was partly due to its association with the stained glass that had been made immediately preceding the Reformation in England. Although Tractarians had sought to recover elements of an English Catholic past, it was a past rooted safely in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, prior to what was regarded as the excesses of the Catholic Church

that necessitated the Reformation. An entrenched suspicion of and some hostility to the Roman Catholic Church remained among many Anglicans, who were conscious of A.W.N. Pugin's conversion as well as that of the leading Anglican Tractarian, John Henry Newman, who was received into the Roman Catholic Church and ordained a priest in 1845. As John Hardman was also a Roman Catholic, this limited the appeal of his firm to Anglican patrons who were not well disposed towards the Oxford Movement, whereas the firm was a natural choice for High Church Tractarians. Even these allegiances were tested in the wake of the anti-Catholic protests in 1851, with the result that the firm of the Irishman Michael O'Connor, who was also a Catholic, and that of John Hardman, lost out on the commission for the memorial window for Queen Adelaide at Worcester Cathedral.³⁷ In contrast, Hardman's were naturally favoured by Roman Catholic patrons, who were increasingly commissioning stained glass for their new churches in the wake of the renewed confidence resulting from Catholic Emancipation in 1829 and the restoration of the Roman Catholic hierarchy in 1850. These windows were frequently characterised by the same preferences for medieval design that influenced stained glass in Anglican churches, although there was a slightly increased tendency to import stained glass from the continent, which resulted in a slightly broader range of styles.

Continental makers occasionally gained high profile commissions in Britain in the 1850s, such as the windows made by Henri and Alfred G erente for Ely Cathedral. Their flat Romanesque style was in complete contrast to the set of windows made by Max Ainmiller of the Royal Bavarian Stained Glass Manufactory (K onigliche Glasmalerei-Anstalt), Munich, for Peterhouse College, Cambridge, in 1855, executed in a virtuoso painterly 'pictorial' style. The same firm was commissioned to make a series of windows at Glasgow Cathedral, which were undertaken with the close involvement of Charles Winston. In private correspondence Winston described Henri G erente as merely 'an *injurious imitator* of old glass' and not an artist,³⁸ whereas he ranked the Munich artists as superior to any of the glass painters in England, Scotland or France at the time. Their use of decorated borders and the avoidance of excessive enamel paint accorded with the instructions of Winston, although the choice of a foreign maker and their style attracted considerable controversy.³⁹ While

³⁷ The commission passed to the safely Protestant local architect Frederick Preedy, whose design was painted by George Rogers and installed in 1853. See M. KERNEY, *The Stained Glass of Frederick Preedy (1820–1898): A Catalogue of Designs*, London, 2001, p. 8.

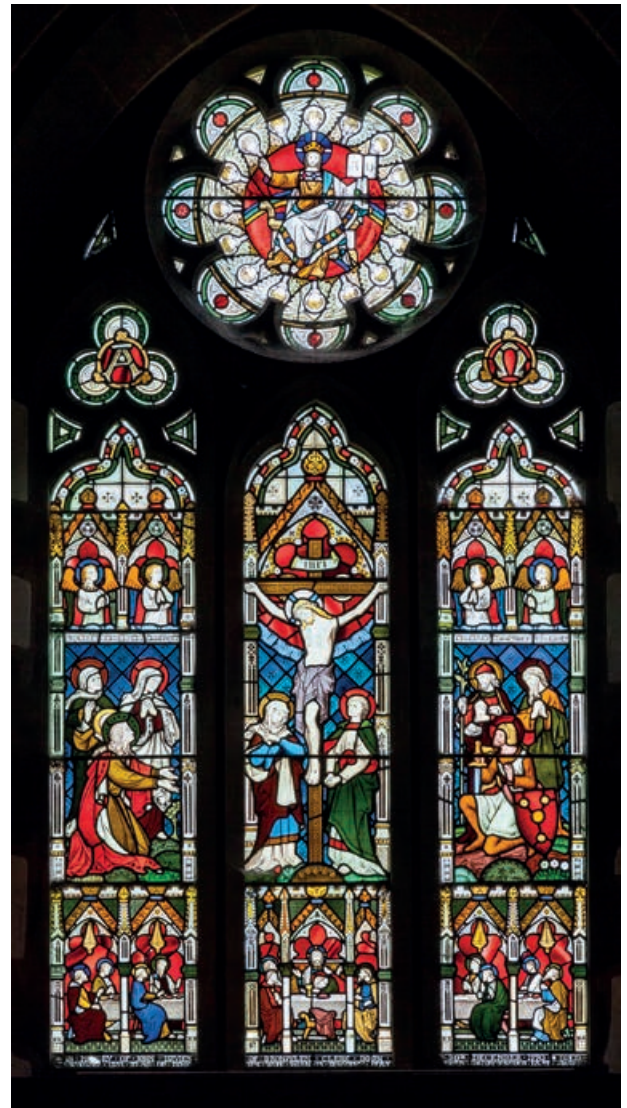
³⁸ Quoted in J. CHESHIRE, *Stained Glass*, p. 49 (as in note 22).

³⁹ A.C. SEWTER, 'The Place of Charles Winston', pp. 86–90 (as in note 36). By contrast, Charles Winston had previously criticised the work of the 'Munich school' for their use of the 'Mosaic Enamel system', and their reduction of the brilliancy of modern glass through the coating with white enamel, C. WINSTON, *An Inquiry*, p. 256 (as in note 33).

it was difficult not to admire the exquisite glass painting, critics felt that their design did not suit the medieval architecture of the cathedral. Writing in the *Glasgow Herald* in reply to a letter by Winston, the art historian Professor Thomas Donaldson praised the windows at Peterhouse College Chapel, but described the ‘revolting’ contrast of the new windows with the architecture of Glasgow Cathedral. ‘The Bavarians’, he writes, ‘have refined artists, of a certain school, and accomplished draughtsmen, but they do *not* understand Gothic architecture.’⁴⁰

The medieval or Gothic Revival design of most churches helped to ensure that most ecclesiastical stained glass continued along a medievalist trajectory into the second half of the nineteenth century, and a Gothic sensibility remained entrenched among many practitioners of the medium in Britain for another hundred years. This Gothic character developed and diversified, but the arguments over style in the 1840s and 50s set the tone for the majority of stained glass windows commissioned for churches into the 1870s, when designers began to soften the bright colour palette and move away from the predominance of Romanesque, Early English and Decorated stained glass towards a variety of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century styles. The reluctance to design scenes across the window lights became more relaxed and even William Wailes, who had tailored their work to suit ecclesiastical patrons since the 1840s, arranged twelve scenes in four tiers across the nine-light west window at Gloucester Cathedral in 1859.

Alongside the leading firms supplying stained glass for churches, new designers entered the market during the 1850s and 60s, forming partnerships and setting up their own studios. The majority of these new firms, such as Lavers & Barraud, Clayton & Bell and Heaton, Butler & Bayne, largely conformed to the prevailing preferences for ecclesiastical stained glass established in the late 1840s, adopting aspects of the design and details of the earlier medieval styles, while injecting their own artistic innovations, demonstrating better draughtsmanship and a more varied use of colour. These windows effectively use the lead lines to define the design of the window, enhanced with minimal painted detail, and demonstrate a more original approach to iconography and colouration which was applauded by ecclesiastical patrons.⁴¹ Neither was it counter to the path set out by A.W.N. Pugin, whose ‘efforts were directed not towards the reproduction of copies of medieval windows but the creation of original works on the basis of the old principles.’⁴² Clayton & Bell produced well-proportioned windows with scenes and figures that appear at ease under their Gothic canopies. Their east window at Llandinam, Powys, of about 1865, may be to the general design of the architect of the restoration of the church, G.E. Street, and consists of scenes of the *Crucifixion* and the *Last Supper*, arranged across the three lights of



12. Clayton & Bell, *The Crucifixion and Last Supper*, c. 1865, Llandinam (Powys), Church of St Llonio, east window. Photo: M. Crampin

the window, but compartmentalises the groups of figures neatly within the window lights, with a fine *Christ in Majesty* in a roundel above [Fig. 12].

John Richard Clayton made use of medieval exemplars, studying illuminated manuscripts in the British Museum and making drawings of medieval stained glass, and his use of medieval conventions can be seen in his designs of common subjects from the Gospels.⁴³ In this respect he mirrored the growing respect for fifteenth-century Renaissance art that partly defined the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, founded in 1848, and was characteristic of a wider group of artists in the 1850s who were sympathetic to medievalist impulses in art and literature, a few of whom became celebrated designers of stained glass. Nonetheless, manufacturers of stained glass continued to draw on images by a range of artists that became available in volumes

⁴⁰ *The Glasgow Herald*, 15 November 1860, p. 3.

⁴¹ See W. WATERS, *Angels & Icons*, pp. 80, 120 (as in note 24).

⁴² S.A. SHEPHERD, 'Stained Glass', p. 195 (as in note 9).

⁴³ W. WATERS, *Angels & Icons*, pp. 51, 55 (as in note 24).



13. F. Comère & J. Capronnier, *Christ with Disciples on the Road to Emmaus*, 1894, Great Snaith (Yorkshire), Church of St Lawrence. Photo: M. Crampin

illustrating religious art from the middle of the nineteenth century. The figure of Christ from Raphael's *Transfiguration*, used by David Evans in the 1840s, remained popular, as was Raphael's Virgin and Child from the *Madonna di San Sisto*, although these figures were usually surrounded by Gothic ornament. By contrast, other designers such as John Hardman Powell demonstrated a more authentic affinity with medieval religious visual culture, such as his adoption of the sinuous figures of fourteenth-century stained glass, and the use of specific examples of medieval iconography such as the lily crucifixion, which was associated with scenes of the *Annunciation*.⁴⁴

Despite this diversity, there was no return to the eighteenth-century pictorial style for ecclesiastical stained glass and there is little evidence of its use for secular work in Britain either, and work similar to that of the Munich makers at Peterhouse and Glasgow was anomalous. One such exception was the set of windows commissioned in 1870 for St Paul's Cathedral in London, a cathedral

conspicuous for its classicism. The windows were designed in a pictorial style by the German painter Julius Schnorr von Carolsfeld, but met with criticism in the *Art Journal*, and compared unfavourably with a stained glass window designed by Ward & Hughes for the Guildhall in London, commemorating the late Prince Albert. This was commended 'as an actual specimen of true mosaic-glass', not 'the art of the enameller on glass as a ground, but a fine and honest example of what has been appropriately called window-jewellery'.⁴⁵ By contrast, the execution of the windows at St Paul's was judged to be 'admirable', but the method was 'radically faulty and unsound', as well as being 'surrounded by the representation of a gilt picture-frame ... with church-yard cherubs below'. The contrast of the 'honest' mosaic method with the 'unsound' enamelled approach to glass painting accords with the approval of medieval stained glass and its methods on moral grounds, in accordance with the arguments of A.W.N. Pugin and the ecclesiologists in the 1840s. These preferences were reflected in the output of stained glass studios across Britain. Jasmine Allen has suggested that about a quarter of the stained glass exhibits at the Great Exhibition in 1851 were 'pictorial' in style, whereas at the International Exhibition of 1862 this style was almost completely absent among British exhibits, in contrast to continental exhibitors who continued to use the more painterly enamelled technique.⁴⁶ A number of continental makers continued to make stained glass for churches in Britain, notably Jean-Baptiste Capronnier of Brussels and the Munich firm of Mayer & Co. (Mayer'sche Hofkunstanstalt). Mayer's opened an office in London, their work usually Gothic Revival in character, and closer to the work of Hardman's and Ward & Hughes than to that of Max Ainmiller, while Capronnier employed Gothic canopies that were sometimes large and ornate, and sometimes a token gesture to Gothicism over thoroughly pictorial scenes [Fig. 13].

The vibrant work of Clayton & Bell in the 1860s gradually gave way to a darker and subtler palette for scenes and figures from the 1870s, and an increased tendency to replace the sturdy fourteenth-century Gothic canopies with more elaborate white glass ones, heightened with silver stain. A greater use of white glass can be seen in the work of Burlison & Grylls, established in 1868 by former employees at Clayton & Bell, and in the work of Charles Eamer Kempe, who had also worked with Clayton & Bell. John Burlison and Thomas Grylls established their firm at the instigation of the architects G.F. Bodley and Thomas Garner, after they became dissatisfied with the work of William Morris' firm, who had made windows in the 1860s for Bodley at the Church of St Michael, Brighton, the Church of All Saints, Cambridge, and the Church of St Martin, Scarborough. Bodley maintained his regard for Clayton & Bell's work into the later 1860s, but favoured the work of Burlison & Grylls and their 'carefully

⁴⁴ M. SHEPHEARD, 'The Stained Glass of John Hardman and Company under the leadership of John Hardman Powell from 1867 to 1895', PhD diss., Birmingham City University, 2007, pp. 47–48 [<http://www.powys-lannion.net/Shepherd/Hardman.htm>; retrieved 19 October 2019].

⁴⁵ *The Art Journal*, 1 December 1870, p. 375.

⁴⁶ J. ALLEN, *Windows for the World*, p. 88 (as in note 30).

controlled harmonies of subtle yellowy-greens, browns, blues, deep ruby, grisaille and gold, with extensive use of white glass.⁴⁷ Their colours, and use of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century styles, in combination with Thomas Grylls' delicate draughtsmanship, remained a feature of most of their work for a further fifty years, their colours brightening a little in the 1920s until the eventual closure of the firm in 1953. Together with the work of Kempe, this style was influential on many successive makers both in the later nineteenth century and into the 1930s, perpetuated by former employees and associates of both firms following their establishment of new studios [Fig. 14].

Bodley's transition away from early collaborations with Morris, Marshall, Faulkner & Co. to work with Burlison & Grylls suggests that the early work of Morris and his circle was not as far removed from Gothic Revival stained glass as has sometimes been assumed. William Morris was an early exponent of the softer palette that soon became typical of the work of Burlison & Grylls, and the work of both firms contrasts with the contemporary work by Clayton & Bell and Heaton, Butler & Bayne in the mid-1860s in their delicacy and greater use of white glass, either as Gothic surrounds or imitations of medieval quarry patterns. The shift to a subtler colouration was not welcomed by all architects, and following his argument with Morris in the *Ecclesiastical Art Review* in 1878, the architect J.P. Seddon, referred disparagingly to their 'mud colours'.⁴⁸ Working with John Pritchard, Seddon had commissioned artworks from Morris, Marshall, Faulkner & Co. and other Pre-Raphaelites for Llandaff Cathedral in the 1860s and 70s, and by the 1880s Seddon showed a preference for the more colourful stained glass made by S. Belham & Co, and designed by H.A. Kennedy. Similarly, the architect William Burges demonstrated a preference for strong colour, although with the predominant use of white or pale grounds, in the stained glass that was made for him by Saunders & Co.

William Morris and Edward Jones, later Burne-Jones, who became close friends while studying at Oxford, were fascinated by the Middle Ages and their interest in medieval stained glass was instinctive, but the stained glass designed for Morris, Marshall, Faulkner & Co. is less imitative of medieval art than that of many contemporary stained glass firms making work for churches. After the firm was reorganised as Morris & Co. in 1875, Burne-Jones designed nearly all of the firm's stained glass, at a time when his interest in Italian Renaissance artists such as Mantegna and Michelangelo had been stimulated



14. C.E. Kempe, *Virgin and Child with St James, St John and St Winefride*, 1890, Llanfair Dyffryn Clwyd (Denbighshire), Church of St Cynfarch and St Mary, south wall. Photo: M. Crampin

following his third visit to Italy.⁴⁹ The increased aestheticism in Burne-Jones' designs for Morris & Co. was suggestive of a new direction away from the Gothic Revival, shared by others in his circle that designed stained glass, such as Henry Holiday and H.E. Wooldridge, J.W. Brown and G.E. Cook as well as the Scottish artist Daniel Cottier.⁵⁰ The designs of these artists often excluded the usual architectural canopies or geometric borders, or when borders were required, opted for a more generic kind of ornament that was not suggestive of medieval character.

An intentional rejection of the Gothic Revival influence on stained glass was voiced by Henry Holiday, a former pupil and friend of Burne-Jones. He allied the Gothic Revival with the stained glass 'trade', which he saw in

⁴⁷ M. HALL, *George Frederick Bodley and the Later Gothic Revival in Britain and America*, New Haven and London, 2014, p. 158. Bodley's use of stained glass in his churches in the 1860s, his relationship with Kempe, and the establishment of Burlison & Grylls are discussed on pp. 44–47, 63–65, 141–143, 157–159.

⁴⁸ P. CORMACK, *Arts and Crafts Stained Glass*, New Haven and London, 2015, pp. 20–21.

⁴⁹ For the reconstitution of Morris' firm see F. MACCARTHY, *William Morris: A Life for Our Time*, London, 1994, pp. 341–347; for Burne-Jones' third visit to Italy, see F. MACCARTHY, *The Last Pre-Raphaelite: Edward Burne-Jones and the Victorian Imagination*, London, 2011, pp. 225–236.

⁵⁰ Henry Holiday's influence also extended to a number of stained glass firms that he collaborated with, notably Heaton, Butler & Bayne, James Powell & Sons and Saunders & Co., as well as Shrigley & Hunt, whose chief designer Carl Almquist, trained with Holiday. W. WATERS, *Damozels and Deities: Pre-Raphaelite Stained Glass 1870–1898*, Abbots Morton, 2017, pp. 168–335.



15. James Powell & Sons, designed by Henry Holiday, *The Presentation in the Temple*, 1890, Pwllheli (Gwynedd), Church of St Peter, south aisle. Photo: M. Crampin

opposition to the practice of ‘art’, and sought to reintroduce a more natural painterly character to stained glass in place of the two-dimensional and imitative Gothic Revival stained glass that had been in the ascendant since the 1850s.⁵¹ Powell’s maintained an output that has become well known for its Pre-Raphaelite and aesthetic tendencies, although many of their windows also made use of the kind of elaborate Gothic architectural canopies common to the work of Clayton & Bell and C.E. Kempe. The pressures of trade saw cartoons by Holiday and others reused by Powell’s in new contexts, and aesthetic figures by Holiday were placed under Gothic canopies in later uses of his original cartoons, effectively reabsorbing Holiday’s work into the Gothic mainstream [Fig. 15].

Similarly, firms such as Clayton & Bell and Burlison & Grylls, which were founded on Gothic principles, had

sufficiently diversified by the 1880s to make windows redolent of aesthetic influence, particularly female figures representing the three virtues Faith, Hope and Charity. A window by Burlison & Grylls at Llangattock, Powys, even makes use of the three principal figures from Joshua Reynolds’ designs executed by Thomas Jervais for New College, Oxford [Fig. 16].⁵² The celebrity of the figures, which prompted their reuse, and the firm’s willingness to make copies of Reynolds’ figures, suggests that the controversies over the use of Georgian or Baroque models were no longer a barrier to engaging with a range of art historical periods. The figures are nonetheless absorbed into

⁵¹ P. CORMACK, *Arts and Crafts Stained Glass*, pp. 11–12 (as in note 48).

⁵² A further use of the figures in 1889 is illustrated, but unattributed, in L. LEE, G. SEDDON and F. STEPHENS, *Stained Glass*, London, new edition 1989, p. 150. The window is probably the work of T.F. Curtis, Ward & Hughes. Lavers & Westlake used the figures within Gothic canopies in a window at Morwenstow, Cornwall, c. 1900.



16. Burlison & Grylls, *Faith, Hope & Charity*, c. 1886, Llangattock (Powys), Church of St Catwg, chancel. Photo: M. Crampin

the late Gothic idiom of the firm's work, and placed within medieval white glass and silver stained architectural niches, while the castellated towers of the background are typical of sixteenth-century Flemish and German stained glass. As a firm that had epitomised ecclesiastical taste in the 1850s, John Hardman & Co. also demonstrated diversity in their work as the century wore on under the direction of its chief designer and son-in-law of A.W.N. Pugin, John Hardman Powell. In windows such as their transept window of 1884, the scenes from the Life of St Gregory at the Church of St Gregory, Cheltenham, are released from the constraints of the vertical window lights with the four large roundels each divided in half across the four lights.

The majority of stained glass made for churches in Britain from the mid-nineteenth century was usually subject to the various styles of medieval architecture adopted for new and restored churches. The nineteenth-century restoration of medieval churches and the provision of many new Anglican and Roman Catholic churches, particularly in urban areas, was nearly all undertaken by Gothic Revival architects. This proved a great stimulus to stained glass production, but the windows that would be filled, either at the time that the churches were built or restored, or in the succeeding decades, were largely Gothic. This

determined and perpetuated a Gothic character for the majority of windows made for these churches well into the twentieth century.

Architectural historians have written of a Gothic 'survival' perceptible in the seventeenth and even eighteenth centuries,⁵³ and similarly an overwhelming Gothic Revival 'survival' can be seen in twentieth-century ecclesiastical British architecture. The work of G.F. Bodley was arguably responsible for defining the Gothic Revival character of the Anglican Church in England for at least a century,⁵⁴ continued and developed in the churches designed or altered by architects such as Giles Gilbert Scott, Ninian Comper and Stephen Dykes Bower. In twentieth-century church furnishings, this Gothic Revival 'survival' is much more pronounced, and can be seen in the erection of rood screens with imitations of late medieval carvings, the filling of empty niches with carved figures, and particularly in stained glass.⁵⁵ This vast quantity of late Gothic Revival

⁵³ M. ALDRICH, *Gothic Revival*, pp. 35–38 (as in note 10).

⁵⁴ M. HALL, *George Frederick Bodley*, p. 3 (as in note 47).

⁵⁵ Ecclesiastical architecture is rarely included in discussions of the survival of Gothic Revival, with the emphasis usually placed on the interactions between Gothicism and Modernism, see for



17. Geoffrey Webb, *The Parable of the Good Samaritan*, 1936, Llangynwr (Carmarthenshire), Church of St Ceinwr, west window. Photo: M. Crampin

stained glass has often been overlooked by stained glass historians in favour of the contemporary innovations and visual appeal of Arts & Crafts stained glass. Inevitably it became increasingly dated and conservative, with minimal reinvention of the format, but fine glass painting and excellent craftsmanship were recurrent features of work by a multitude of designers and studios such as Edward Frampton, A.L. and C.E. Moore, Robert Newbery, Daniells & Fricker, Horace Wilkinson [Fig. 20], John Jennings, Christopher Powell, Herbert Bryans and Geoffrey Webb [Fig. 17], in addition to the large Victorian firms that continued to make work into and beyond the 1920s. Many First World War memorials are redolent of the imagery of medieval chivalry, with servicemen shown receiving the Crown of Life in medieval armour [Fig. 18], or in the company of military saints St George and St Martin. Many war memorial windows were given to churches as private

example M.J. LEWIS, *The Gothic Revival*, London, 2002, pp. 185–196.



18. Daniells & Fricker, *Soldier Receiving the Crown of Life with St Michael, St George and St Nicholas*, 1920, Aberavon (Glamorgan), Church of St Mary, west window. Photo: M. Crampin

memorials by gentry families, and Mark Girouard has observed that ‘such symbols of chivalry seem a little pathetic [...] [as] the values for which they stood were beginning to crumble round them.’⁵⁶

Aspects of medievalism continued to guide stained glass designers who forsook Gothic canopies and medieval pictorial convention, whether through their admiration for particular medieval exemplars or through their perception of medieval practice and the place of art and craft in medieval society. This was rooted in the medievalism of John Ruskin and William Morris and, following the formation of the Art Workers’ Guild in 1884 and the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society in 1887, became embedded in the philosophy of the Arts and Crafts Movement. Artists such as Christopher Whall, who was elected to the Art Workers’ Guild in 1889, and those that he trained and inspired sought to evoke the qualities of medieval stained

⁵⁶ M. GIROUARD, *The Return to Camelot: Chivalry and the English Gentleman*, New Haven and London, 1981, p. 292.



19. Christopher Whall, Gloucester Cathedral, Lady Chapel windows, 1898–1902. Photo: M. Crampin

glass, creating meaningful references to the past without trying to imitate it. C.R. Ashbee sensed ‘the tenderness, the humour, the sympathy of the Middle Ages’ in the designs by Christopher Whall for the Lady Chapel of Gloucester Cathedral,⁵⁷ and the space around his figures was filled with organic decorative frameworks in place of Gothic canopies, performing the same necessary function of relating figures in stained glass to their architectural environment [Fig. 19].⁵⁸ His influences, alongside Edward Burne-Jones and G.F. Watts, were also some of the fifteenth-century Italian masters that had inspired young English artists of the 1840s and 50s to look back to painting before the time of Raphael.

Other artists who shared the ethos of the Arts and Crafts Movement continued to work in recognisably Gothic styles. The architect Frederick Eden had trained with G.F. Bodley in 1889–1890, and began to make his own stained glass from 1910, in a style similar to that of Burlison & Grylls, but his Gothic Revival convictions did not deter him from joining the Art Workers’ Guild in 1915. Another architect, W.D. Caröe, was elected to the Art Workers’ Guild in 1889, and his work remained thoroughly late Gothic in style, often employing artists to make

stained glass in a fifteenth-century English style, such as Horace Wilkinson.

A further coming together of old and new traditions was manifested in the formation of the British Society of Master Glass Painters in 1921, whose early members included proprietors and past and present designers of the larger stained glass firms, as well as artists who were more closely associated with the Arts & Crafts Movement, such as Paul Woodroffe and H. Gustave Hiller. Their common interest in medieval stained glass is clear in the articles published from 1924 in the *Journal of the British Society of Master Glass-Painters*, while some writers were critical of the ‘horrible, meaningless stuff’ that characterised Gothic Revival glass of the mid-nineteenth century.⁵⁹ Some years later, when bombs rained on British cities in 1940–1941, the *Journal* observed that ‘glass, painted in the last century, has gone. No one can regret the disappearance of some of it.’⁶⁰

⁵⁷ P. CORMACK, *Arts and Crafts Stained Glass*, p. 157 (as in note 48).

⁵⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 164.

⁵⁹ W. MORRIS, ‘The Suitability of Stained Glass as a Means of Decoration in Churches’, *Journal of the British Society of Master Glass-Painters*, 6, 1935, no. 1, p. 30. The writer, William Morris, was unconnected with the more famous Victorian artist, poet and socialist.

⁶⁰ *Journal of the British Society of Master Glass-Painters*, 8, 1941, no. 3, p. 88.



20. Horace Wilkinson, *The Crucifixion with Saints*, c. 1916, Llangammarch Wells (Powys), Church of St Cadmarch, east window. Photo: M. Crampin

Alongside the continuing production of Gothic Revival stained glass by firms such as C.E. Kempe & Co. and Burlison & Grylls in the 1920s and 30s, medieval stained glass exerted a much more nuanced influence on some of the most original artists making stained glass in Britain, such as Karl Parsons, Douglas Strachan, Richard Stubington and Wilhelmina Geddes. Geddes, for example, demonstrated a medievalism that was as deeply rooted as her modernism, drawing on influences that included the stained glass and Romanesque sculpture from Chartres Cathedral, medieval stained glass at York, and Classical sculpture and aspects of Byzantine and Renaissance art, in combination with an interest in the work of some of her contemporaries.⁶¹

The reverence for medieval glass has continued to be shared by nearly all artists working with stained glass, and

the recognition that stained glass, especially for churches, inevitably embodies an intrinsic connection to the medieval past that deserved to be understood and respected. Discussing the 'Art of Stained Glass' in the 1930s, a booklet by James Powell & Sons cites the 'decadent materialism of the Renaissance, a period of luxury and extravagance' as the cause of the decline of stained glass from the fifteenth century, and the 'materialist' use of 'chiaroscuro and perspective'. Following advances in the nineteenth century, Powell's could boast that 'the finest tradition of Stained Glass has been truly rediscovered and is once more a living Art that can compare with the finest medieval work'.⁶² For Powell's, the tradition of medieval stained glass was a crucial source of inspiration for stained glass artists, and for many it still is.

⁶¹ N. GORDON BOWE, *Wilhelmina Geddes: Life and Work*, Dublin, 2015, pp. 2–4, 48.

⁶² J. POWELL & Sons, *The Art of Stained Glass*, promotional booklet, c. 1935, pp. 2–4.