

THE GLASGOW SCHOOL OF ART

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GLASS PAINTING IN SCOTLAND, 1830-70

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Ph.D thesis

submitted to the University of Glasgow
from the Mackintosh School of Architecture, Glasgow School of Art

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To my father

Gilbert Edward Rush (1923-69)

Volume One

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ABSTRACT

This is a thesis in two parts. Chapters one to four examine the circumstances of the stained glass revival in Scotland while chapters five to eight identify the particular character of nineteenth century Scottish glass painting up to the 1870s.

The opening question is whether or not by the early nineteenth century glass painting was truly an art in decline and this discussion leads into the investigation of the significance of progress in the glass industry to the stained glass revival. This line of questioning continues with the identification of the pioneers of the stained glass revival in Scotland, re-assessing the contribution of James Ballantine and introducing William Cooper. The initial demand for stained glass in Scotland is explored through reference to genealogy, antiquarianism and High Church practice.

Edinburgh offered unique opportunities for apprentice glass painters to acquire an art education and this thesis moves on to discuss how this influenced their approach to glass painting, focussing upon the career of Francis Wilson Oliphant. It argues that the commissions which shaped the future direction of Scottish glass painting were the rebuilding of the Houses of Parliament and the re-glazing of Glasgow Cathedral where, in both cases, German glass painting was nominated as the approved artistic model. As it was eventually decided that the new windows for Glasgow Cathedral should be designed and executed by the *Königliche Glasmalereianstalt* of Munich, thesis concludes with a demonstration of the subsequent German influence upon Scottish glass painting.

ABBREVIATIONS

BL	British Library
ECL	Edinburgh City Libraries
GCA	Glasgow City Archives
GUL	Glasgow University Library
ML	Mitchell Library
NCL	Newcastle Central Library
NLS	National Library of Scotland
PRO	Public Records Office
RSA	Royal Scottish Academy
SRO	Scottish Records Office

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INTRODUCTION

Research for this thesis began with the investigation of the significance of James Ballantine, of Ballantine & Allan, Edinburgh, as a pioneer of the nineteenth century stained glass revival in Scotland. The stained glass revival in England can be explained as a response to the expression of national identity through the revival of Gothic architecture and the emerging science of ecclesiology. As Scotland, however, is a predominantly Presbyterian country with a relatively modest Gothic heritage, this thesis necessarily begins with a fundamental questioning of the demand for stained glass within such a seemingly adverse cultural climate. Although much diminished, the art of glass painting was still practised in post-Reformation England but, given its absence in Scotland, some explanation must be found as to where Ballantine & Allan recruited skilled practitioners.

Ballantine & Allan was established as a house painting business in 1828 and expanded to include glass painting c1839/40. William Wailes of Newcastle, identified as a pioneer of the stained glass revival in England, established his glass painting business in 1836. The figurative stained glass produced by these two contemporary firms is, however, very different. The linear thirteenth century style and iconographic content of English stained glass of the 1840s and 1850s, and the stained glass produced by Wailes in particular, can be explained through reference to the dictates of the *Ecclesiologist* (first published by the Cambridge Camden Society in 1841).¹ William Bell Scott's description of Wailes's chief draughtsman at work, the Edinburgh born Francis Wilson Oliphant, points to the incongruity of traditional stained glass and Scottish religious belief –

*'Here was the Scotch Presbyterian working-artist ... cursing his fate in having to elaborate continual repetitions of saints and virgins, - Peter with a key as large as a spade and a yellow plate behind his head, - ... yet by constant drill (sic) in the groove realising the sentiment of Christian art ...'*¹²

The naivety of Ballantine's statement in his *Treatise on Painted Glass* (1845) that – *'Symbolism is, no doubt, found to be an interesting and attractive study by those whose taste and inclination leads them to devote their time and attention to such pursuits ...'*¹³ demonstrates how little he understood what was driving the English stained glass revival. It was the frustration of working with Ballantine & Allan on the stained glass windows for the new House of Lords which led A.W.N. Pugin to persuade his Roman Catholic friend John Hardman to expand his metalworking business in Birmingham to include stained glass in 1845.

The guidance document sent to the *Königliche Glasmalereianstalt* (Royal Bavarian Stained Glass Manufactory) of Munich in 1857, whose designers were presumably Roman Catholic, in preparation for the re-glazing of Glasgow Cathedral demonstrates how, beyond mere ornamental detail, the imitation of mediaeval stained glass had no place in Presbyterian Scotland -

'It must not be forgotten that Glasgow Cathedral is a temple dedicated to the religious services of the Established Church of Scotland.... a Protestant Presbyterian Church. According to the principles and practice of this Church, no representations in painting or sculpture are anywhere admitted for religious purposes. The services are very simple; there is no pomp, no symbolism, and there is the greatest repugnance to the symbolism of Rome. You must

*therefore avoid in every case using any symbol adopted in Roman Catholic Churches. Thus you will not use any sacred monogram, any symbol of Jesus Christ, or of His Birth, Passion, or Death: You will not use any symbolism of the Virgin Mary, of the Holy Trinity, or of any persons of the Godhead, or the Agnus Dei, the Dove; the symbols of the Evangelists, in short any emblem or symbol whatever. You will place no nimbus or aureole around the heads of any saintly person represented; apostles must not be distinguished by keys, swords, pilgrims' staves, scallop shells, nor are any to be clothed in the costume of the Roman hierarchy. No representations of God the Father, of the Holy Trinity, of the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary as the Mother of God, nor any direct representation of the Saviour will on any account be admitted.'*⁴

Scotland, therefore, had to find a stained glass identity all of its own and preferred academic discipline and classical beauty to mediaeval tradition. In order to understand the aesthetic ambition of Scottish glass painters, this thesis investigates their artistic training and the projects which shaped the direction of the Scottish stained glass revival, namely the new Houses of Parliament, Westminster and the re-glazing of Glasgow Cathedral. In her thesis *Glass Painting in Britain c1760- c1840: a revolution in taste*, Sarah Baylis has written a very eloquent account of what she calls the 'aesthetic revolution' in English glass painting. She concludes that by 1840 –

*'The very qualities of mediaeval 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.'*⁵

This thesis argues that, in Scotland, the aesthetic revolution never took place and that there was, in fact, a stylistic continuity from the first stained glass to reappear in Scotland during the Regency period produced by William Raphael Eginton of Birmingham through to the Aesthetic windows of the 1870s and 1880s produced by Daniel Cottier and Stephen Adam. There is not one single known example of a figurative window designed by a Scottish glass painter for a Scottish church in an archaeological style. When the English architect and antiquarian Edward Blore was asked to supervise the commissioning of heraldic stained glass for Crom Castle, County Fermanagh, Ireland in the late 1830s, he rejected designs by William Cooper of Edinburgh in favour of those by the heraldic artist, glass painter and fellow antiquarian Thomas Willement of London on the grounds of authenticity.

While there is no evidence that Scottish glass painters studied mediaeval examples, plentiful evidence can be found of their attendance at the Trustees' Academy in Edinburgh and their study of the antique. The only figurative illustrations in Ballantine's *Treatise* are copied from the antiquarian William Fowler's *Engravings of Principal Mosaic Pavements* (1804) and these are accompanied by a revised version in a more 'elevated' style. [Image 59] The design of the first figurative windows known to have been commissioned for a Scottish church, Greyfriars Church, Edinburgh (1857), is highly academic. Here, Ballantine & Allan either copied directly from the Nazarene artist Julius Schnorr von Carolsfeld's *Bibel en Bildern* or adapted Raphael's tapestry cartoons. As Dean Peacock of Ely Cathedral (Dean from 1839-58) commented to Charles Heath Wilson, Secretary of the Glasgow Cathedral Painted Windows Committee on the choice of the *Königliche Glasmalereianstalt* and the academic style of the new windows –

*'I think you have chosen wisely for a great cathedral in Scotland, where the exquisite figures and well drawn pictures will be much more adapted to the national taste than imitations of mediaeval works; you have no associations to contend with...'*⁶

Identifying the differences between the Scottish and English stained glass revival has also shown that, by focussing on ecclesiology, studies of the latter have ignored an alternative line of development in English glass painting. From the Regency period through to the Aesthetic movement there was always a place for stained glass windows designed in an academic style such as George Hedgeland's monumental west window for Norwich Cathedral depicting the *Life and Moses* and *Transfiguration* (1853). What did not change from the eighteenth to the nineteenth century was that while the sublime sensation of mediaeval stained glass thrilled the modern imagination, the modern intellect failed to connect with mediaeval drawing and sentiment. Mediaeval colour and design principles married to academic drawing were the basis of the search for a modern style of glass painting which, arguably, began with the re-glazing of Glasgow Cathedral. This was difficult to achieve and, as the architect George Gilbert Scott remarked with reference to a comment by Charles Winston regarding the re-glazing of Glasgow Cathedral, it became – '*... a fairly open question whether a person will choose reasonably good art united with erroneous principles, or sound principles wedded to a grotesque art.*'⁷ Given how central Scott was to the mainstream Gothic Revival and his close association with the glass painters Clayton & Bell of London, his distaste for their '*... morbid love of queer antiquated drawing ...*' is somewhat surprising.⁸

The most significant advance in the stained glass revival was the transition from a pictorial to a mosaic approach to design and execution. So far, no study of the stained glass revival has discussed the material difficulties which had to be overcome before this development could take place. This thesis argues that stylistic change was not merely a matter of aesthetic choices and opens with an investigation into the state of the glass industry in the first half of the nineteenth century. More has been learnt about the stained glass revival from economic studies of the glass industry and parliamentary reports than art historical discussions. The unpublished writings of the Edinburgh glass painter William Cooper, introduced in this thesis, confirm the interdependence of the stained glass revival and progress in the glass industry.

It has been easy enough to find letters written by Scottish glass painters. Using these, this thesis corrects assumptions made about careers and attitudes. Quotes are used freely as means of allowing glass painters such as Ballantine and Oliphant to speak with their own voice and getting closer to the reality of nineteenth century glass painting.

¹ *Thoughts on Stained Glass*, Ecclesiologist, Vol.III (1844), pp.16-20 and 107-111 and Vol.XV (1854 - new series Vol. XII), pp.33-6.

² Scott, W.B., Autobiographical Notes of the Life of William Bell Scott and Notices of his Artistic and Poetic Circle of Friends, 1830 to 1882, 2 vols., ed. Minto, W. (London: James R. Osgood, McIlvaine & Company, 1892), Vol.I, p.190.

³ Ballantine, J., Treatise on Painted Glass shewing its applicability to every style of architecture, (London: Chapman & Hall and Edinburgh: John Menzies, 1845), p.24.

⁴ GUL: MS Euing 33, pp. 80-81. Transcription of the specifications sent to Maximilian Ainmiller by Charles Heath Wilson (undated).

⁵ Baylis, S., 'Glass Painting in Britain c1740-c1840: a revolution in taste', unpublished Ph.D. thesis, (University of Cambridge: 1989/90), p.289.

⁶ Quoted in *Painted Windows in Glasgow Cathedral*, Ecclesiologist, Vol. XXIII (1862), p.105. Not found in the Euing Collection held at the University of Glasgow Library.

⁷ Scott, G.G., Personal and Professional Recollections, ed. Stamp, G., (Stamford: Paul Watkins, 1995), p.223.

⁸ Ibidem.

1. THE NINETEENTH CENTURY STAINED GLASS REVIVAL: RESTRICTION AND ENCOURAGEMENT

The necessary rebuilding of the Houses of Parliament following the fire of 16 October 1834 prompted the Government to reconsider state patronage of the arts, including glass painting. State patronage impacted directly upon glass painting in Edinburgh in the 1840s when the fledgling studio of Ballantine & Allan was awarded the commission to design and execute the stained glass windows for the new House of Lords. The unhappy story of this commission, described in Chapters Three and Six, illustrates a parting of the ways with English glass painters pursuing the imitation of mediaeval glass painting while their Scottish counterparts persisted with Regency pictorialism. This aesthetic shift in English glass painting, however, was made possible by fundamental developments in the window glass industry, namely the revived manufacture of coloured window glass, or *pot metal* glass. State patronage of the arts extended as far as investigating and correcting economic hindrances and the repeal of the excise duties on glass manufacture in 1845 was a turning point in the artistic development of glass painting. It is important to understand that the poverty of materials in the Regency period did not lead to a decline in skill. When assessing the claims of mid-nineteenth century glass painters, James Ballantine (1808-77) among them, to have revived a lost art, new materials must not be confused with technical practice.

In 1836 the Parliamentary Select Committee on Arts and their Connexion (sic) with Manufactures reported that –

*'The glass duties have fettered the Arts in their endeavours to restore painting on glass, in which (contrary to common belief) we are able to surpass the artists of former times.'*¹

They were aware that the stained glass revival was bound up with the Gothic Revival and that problems had been encountered. They were unclear, however, as to the exact nature of these problems. It was not, as they thought, the art of painting on glass that was in decline but the manufacture of pot metal glass itself. As a mediaeval stained glass window is essentially a *mosaic*, a good selection of pot metal glasses was the first requirement of the truly revivalist nineteenth century glass painter. The revived manufacture of pot metal glass was initiated in France and Germany but heavy import duties meant that the new Continental pot metal glasses were financially beyond the reach of British glass painters. In Britain itself, excise duties on glass manufacture and attendant regulations inhibited experimentation with new technical and chemical processes, including the manufacture of pot metal glass. After the repeal of the excise duties on 5 April 1845, however, the British glass industry rapidly caught up with its foreign counterparts, as the catalogue of the Great Exhibition of 1851 testifies -

'[Glass] ... is beginning to assume an extraordinary degree of importance in the present day. Yet few manufacturers have, until within a very recent period, made so small an amount of progress. Every process of the manufacturer having been beset with the stringent regulations considered to be necessary to enforce the due observance of the Excise laws, no exemption being permitted even for the purposes of experiment or improvement, it is scarcely a matter of surprise that the production of glass remained in a poor and imperfect state both as a manufacture and as a philosophical problem. The same causes now no longer existing, a vast amount of

progress has been made both in the extension of the applications of this product, and also in the processes of its manufacture.' ²

Duties on imported glass were also repealed in 1845.

The Select Committee's choice of witness to plead the case of glass painting was a curious one: John Martin (1789-54), china painter, artist and one of the most technically adventurous glass painters of the Regency period.³ Martin had no suspicion that the pictorial style of glass painting he had laboured to perfect would soon be denounced as debased by the archaeologists and largely abandoned. Neither did the Select Committee and when, five years later, a further Select Committee on the Fine Arts referred to his evidence while questioning the artist William Dyce (1806-64) on 28 May 1841 as to the present state of the art of glass painting they were taken aback by his derisory response (see below pp. 7-8).

1:1 THE DEMISE OF COLOURED WINDOW GLASS MANUFACTURE

One of the most significant contributions to the decorative arts in the nineteenth century was the revived manufacture of pot metal glass. The demand for it began with the Gothic Revival in the second half of the eighteenth century but it was not until the 1850s that the British glass industry able to meet this adequately. Serious experimentation with the manufacture of pot metal glass can be dated from the repeal of the excise duties on glass manufacture in 1845.

On account of the impenetrable secrecy within the glass industry, Britain traditionally imported either window glass itself or the skills necessary to its manufacture. Following the razing of its industries by the invading French army in 1633, immigrant glass workers began

arriving in England from Lorraine as early as 1567 and settled in the Weald. Devastation of the woodland necessitated, in 1615, a royal decree making it illegal to fire a glass furnace with wood and the immigrant glass workers removed to the coal mining areas of Stourbridge and Newcastle.⁴ It was they and their descendants who, possibly, supplied seventeenth and eighteenth century English glass painters with a limited palette of inferior pot metal glasses. Frequent reference is made to the manufacture of pot metal glass at Stourbridge, the original source being Dr. Richard Pococke who recorded in 1751 -

*'... came to Stourbridge: famous for its glass manufacture which is here coloured in the liquid in all colours, in their several shades, and if I mistake not, is a secret they have here.'*⁵

In his thesis, *The Enamel Glass Painters of York, 1585-1795*, Trevor Brighton refers to the claims of the eighteenth century glass painters William and Joshua Price (1672-1722) and John Rowell (1689-1756) to be able to produce a range of pot metal glasses.⁶ As these claims are ambiguous it is probably not unfair to suggest that Brighton is mistaken in his interpretation of them. In the light of similar claims by Martin a century later, they probably refer to no more than the mastery of enamel painting and staining. There is some evidence, however, that Henry Gyles of York (1645-1709) resorted to making his own pot metal glass and William Peckitt of York (1731-95) certainly did.⁷

1:2 JOHN MARTIN AND REGENCY GLASS PAINTING

The development of glass painting using the surface techniques of staining and enamelling has been described elsewhere but it is

relevant to the purposes of this thesis to introduce new material relating to the work of Martin and some of his contemporaries.⁸ Regency glass painting is further discussed in Chapter Four.

The Select Committee on Arts and their Connexion with Manufactures wanted to ascertain to what extent the lack of development in the art of glass painting was related to patronage and the artistic education of glass painters. Martin believed contemporary glass painting to be superior to that of the mediaeval period in that, through the use of stains and enamels, it had become equivalent to canvas painting. He went as far as to say that, with greater patronage -

*'... glass-painting must have surpassed all other branches of art in splendour, as it is capable of producing the most splendid effects, far superior to oil-painting or water-colours, for by the transparency we have the means of bringing in real light, and have the full-scale of nature as to light and shadow, as well as to the richness of colour, which we have not in oil-painting nor in water-colour.'*⁹

The importance of *transparencies* to the development of glass painting in the late eighteenth century is discussed in Chapter Four. Martin's oil paintings are essentially *sublime* and glass painting interested him as a means of heightening melodramatic lighting effects, particularly that of fire through the use of red stain. Glass was a canvas to be painted on rather than a medium in its own right. When asked to comment on the state of the art of glass painting he replied -

'We carry it to a much higher pitch than the ancients, except in one particular colour, which is that of ruby, and we come very near to that. We can blend the colours and produce the effects of light

and shadow, which they could not do, by harmonizing (sic) and mixing the colours in such a way, and fixing by proper enamelling and burning them, that they shall afterwards become just as permanent as those of the ancients, with the additional advantage of throwing in superior art.'¹⁰

In September 1806, Martin followed his friend Charles Muss (1779-1824) from Newcastle to London to start a new career as a china painter.¹¹ Muss set up his own china and glass business and trained Martin as a china painter. When Muss went bankrupt in 1809 both he and Martin were taken on by the vessel glass manufacturer William Collins of 227 Strand, supplier to George III and the Royal Family.¹² As both the china painter and the glass painter worked with glass-based enamels, skills learnt in one trade were easily transferred to the other. Martin's career as a full-time glass painter ended late in 1811 or early in 1812 when his fellow workers objected to his being employed on the grounds that he had not served the required apprenticeship.¹³ Muss became Enamel Painter to George IV and specialised in copying Old Master canvas paintings onto glass and when he died in 1824 Martin completed his unfinished works on behalf of his widow.¹⁴ These were possibly included in an auction of Muss's works held on 19 and 30 November 1824.¹⁵ Martin also told the Select Committee of *highly finished* glass paintings executed for Lord Ennismore but the subsequent history of these is unknown.

The only surviving glass painting attributed to Martin is a version of his celebrated oil painting *Belshazzar's Feast* which is now at Syon House, London.¹⁶ The original *Belshazzar's Feast* was exhibited at the British Institution in February 1821 and caused a sensation. Collins bought it and exhibited it as a public spectacle at his premises at

343 Strand. Richard Redgrave (1804-88) recorded how the paying public were drawn by a smaller version painted on plate glass - *'This was shown in the Strand, inserted in a wall so that the light was really transmitted through the terrible handwriting: the effect was startling, yet it was surely more allied to drama than to art.'* ¹⁷

Although Martin had left Collin's employment years before, he is thought to have executed the copy.¹⁸

George Hoadley and Anthony Oldfield specialised in copying sublime paintings onto glass.¹⁹ They exhibited ten glass paintings at 209 Regent Street in 1837, including versions of *The Fall of Nineveh* and *Joshua Commanding the Sun to Standstill* by Martin and *Opening the Sixth Seal* by the Irish painter Francis Danby. On 28 March, 1837 William Collins exhibited glass paintings executed by Hoadley & Oldfield at 357 Strand, including *Belshazzar's Feast* and *Joshua Commanding the Sun to Standstill* by Martin. ²⁰ The east window of Redbourne Church, Lincolnshire, (c.1840) could be one and the same as Hoadley & Oldfield's version of Danby's *Opening the Sixth Seal* and is a staggering example of the technical ability of the Regency glass painter. It is composed of six rectangular panes of crown glass painted in enamels and stains. Fiery red stain is the perfect vehicle for the realisation of the Apocalypse and the glass painting is far more terrifying than the original canvas painting (now in the National Gallery of Ireland). [Image 1]

The Redbourne window was installed a few years before Dyce was called before the Select Committee on the Fine Arts. When asked to comment on the present state of the art of glass painting his reply indicated how the availability of pot metal glass was encouraging certain architects, artists and glass painters to re-think the function of a stained glass window -

'It is not in a high state at present but it seems to be on the advance; the art of making the colour seems to be understood sufficiently well it seems to me that the defect in this country is the want of a proper understanding of the sort of design applicable to painted glass. The more real a representation becomes, the less natural it is as a painted window, for the idea of a window is destroyed'.

His lack of interest in Martin's work as a model is tangible -

'Does not Martin paint in painted glass? - Yes.

*Are there no works of his on glass extant? - I should suppose there are.'*²¹

Exactly what Dyce was implying by the 'idea of a window' is discussed in Chapter Five with reference to the so-called *true principles* of glass painting.

1:3 INJURIOUS EFFECTS OF THE EXCISE DUTIES AND REGULATIONS ON GLASS MANUFACTURE AND TRADE

The Government did not need Martin to point out to them that the excise duties were restricting both the development of the glass industry itself and the uses to which glass could be put. In 1833 they had appointed a Commission of Inquiry into the Excise Establishment and the Management and Collection of the Excise Revenue, the thirteenth report of which, published in 1835, was dedicated to glass.²²

The Thirteenth Report of the Commissioners of Inquiry into the Excise Establishment is lengthy, complex and difficult to unravel: the

witnesses contradict each other and the summaries misrepresent their evidence. Nonetheless, it is highly informative. It opens with a chronological account of the relevant Acts of Parliament beginning with 6 and 7 W. and M. (William and Mary, no dates given) and ending with 2 and 3 W.4 (William IV, no dates given).²³ Act 19 Geo. 2, (George II, no date given) introduced duties levied by weight on the glass melted or *fluxed* ready for manufacture and the act 17 Geo. 3 introduced different rates of taxation according to the type of glass manufactured: plate, flint, broad, crown, German sheet and bottle glass.²⁴ Differences were determined by ingredients, process of manufacture and thickness of the finished glass. Experimentation with coloured window glass manufacture does not get a mention and this is indicative of the primary interest of the Regency glass painter in the pictorial possibilities of staining and enamelling. The only comment upon the effect of the excise duties upon glass painting was made by Arthur Aikin, Secretary to the Society of Arts, called on 14 March 1835.²⁵ It is clear that he understood glass painting to be primarily a process of staining and enamelling and it was probably his praise for Martin that led to the artist being called before the Select Committee on Arts and their Connexion with Manufactures five months later.

Aikin pointed to the problems glass painters were having in securing glass suitable for staining and enamelling and that the excise duties inhibited the necessary experimentation. His information came from Collins and he described how glass painters sought out, at great expense, old plate or crown glass because they were more able to withstand repeated firings in the kiln. Plate glass, being cast rather than blown, could be made substantially thicker, and therefore stronger, than any other type of glass. The batch ingredients for crown glass fluxed at a relatively high temperature and so, conversely, the finished glass was less likely to soften in the glass

painter's kiln. The batch ingredients for the new cylinder glass, known as *German sheet*, fluxed at a lower temperature and the metal remained malleable in warm conditions in order to allow for the extra manipulation required by the manufacturing process. Another factor which Aikin did not consider was the exchange of vegetable alkalis, namely *kelp* (calcined seaweed), for industrial mineral alkalis as the fluxing agent and that this had reduced the susceptibility of glass to stains (see below). So poor was the Commissioners' (or their transcriber's) understanding of the subject that they summarised Aikin's evidence incorrectly, saying that repeated firings were necessary to temper the base glass ready for staining and enamelling not that the composition of the base glass needed to be hard -

*'This inferiority of the modern productions, Mr. Aikin attributes to the impediments arising from the Excise restrictions, to the repeated applications of heat or other processes, varying according to circumstances, which may be required during the preparation of the glass, in order to bring it to the proper texture for bearing the process of enamelling, and especially the requisite degree of hardness.'*²⁶

What was actually required was experimentation with what is today known as *staining sheet* and equally difficult to come by, namely, a modern glass coated or *flashed* on one side with a glass made from a vegetable alkali.

EXCISE DUTIES ON GLASS BETWEEN 1800-1845

A glass manufacturer paid three excise duties. Firstly, an annual payment for a licence to manufacture glass, a payment being required for each furnace in operation. Secondly, a payment on the

weight of all the molten glass prepared. Thirdly, a payment on the weight of all glass manufactured in excess of the calculated weight of the molten glass (glass is heavier when hot).²⁷ Obviously, taxing glass by weight at the initial stage of manufacture discouraged experimentation. If an experiment failed, the manufacturer could recover neither the production costs nor the tax paid. In the case of crown glass, it was estimated that excise duties were equal to twice or more the prime cost of production and tripled the selling price.²⁸ When the excise duties were repealed the Treasury lost £450,000 per annum in revenue.²⁹ Meanwhile the price of window glass more than halved and only strong manufacturers prevailed.³⁰

FLINT GLASS

The flint glass category included '*...all enamelled, stained, or paste glass, and of all phial glass.*'³¹ Flint glass is the generic term for soft glasses which flux at a relatively low temperature on account of their lead content.³² Exactly what 'enamelled' and 'stained' meant in this context is unclear but could have been: coloured glass for making enamels or flint glass decorated with enamels; objects or sheets made of coloured glass; or objects or sheets coloured with stains. Coloured enamels were made from highly fusible lead glass mixed with metallic oxides which was then cooled, ground, mixed with a medium, applied and fired.³³ Coloured flint glass must have been made into sheets for decorative purposes as Acts 7th and 8th Vict. prohibited the manufacture of sheets more than six inches long and four inches wide.³⁴

Plate and flint glass were initially the most heavily taxed at 18s 8d per hundredweight (17 Geo. 3) with an extra levy for glass manufactured exceeding the estimate. Although the levies on

other types of glass steadily increased, the act 51 Geo. 3 reduced that on flint glass to 2s.9d per hundredweight.

Each category had also by this time become subject to different restrictions, however, and those on flint glass were made more cumbersome. Any glass melted had to be used up before six o'clock on Saturday evening, *working out the pots*, and manufacturers had to declare and obtain a license for every cooling chamber, *annealing lear*, in use.³⁵ The Act 6 Geo. 4 increased the levy on flint glass to £12.10s per one thousand *avoirdupoise* (sixteen ounces to the pound).³⁶ If the manufacturer produced more than fifty percent again of the estimated weight of glass he was liable to pay a further levy of 6d per pound weight.³⁷ Act 3 W. 4 reduced the levy yet again to 20s per one hundred pounds *avoirdupois* and set the excess limit at forty percent. From c.1815, however, flint glass was the only category to be taxed according to the weight of fluxed metal in the pots while all the others were taxed only according to the weight of the finished glass.³⁸ When the Commissioners asked Robert Lucas Chance -

'In the case of charging by the gauge of the pot, you are of the opinion that system is very prejudicial to the making of experiments?'

he replied that it was.³⁹

PLATE GLASS

Martin persistently deviated from the Commissioners' questions about the state of the art of glass painting to complain about practical hindrances. As he wanted to use glass as a canvas, he ideally required sheets of glass of adequate size and thickness to

work on. He wanted to paint on plate glass but this was very expensive. Moreover, as Aikin had already explained to the Excise Inquiry -

*'Now plates of that kind, with elaborate work on them ... require to go into the oven or stove nearly as many times as there are different colours, and therefore the hazard of cracking and of melting is very much increased ... and it not unfrequently (sic) happens, from this very cause, that after an artist has employed several months upon a piece of glass, the last time that it is taken out of the fire it may crack, and all his labour be lost.'*⁴⁰

Patrons were unwilling to pay for the cost of failed experiments and the risk of financial loss inhibited the development of painting on plate glass.

Martin complained that the excise duties were -

*'... the greatest obstacle. We intended to make experiments on plate glass; I did, and succeeded with it, but the expense of plate at that time, in consequence of the heavy duty, finally put an end to those experiments, as we could neither afford to purchase such expensive glass, nor to erect larger annealing kilns, for if not properly annealed the glass is liable to fly. I believe I was the only person who made experiments on plate glass; they were supposed to be successful, only I could not afford to carry them on ...'.*⁴¹

Should the excise duties on glass manufacture be repealed, Martin could see cathedrals and public buildings filled with glass paintings executed on plate glass and was quite confident that he had established - *'... a mode which has been and will remain in use as long as glass-painting is an art.'*⁴²

In 1835 there were only two plate glass works in Britain: the British Plate Glass Company at Ravenhead, Lancashire (active from 1776) and Cookson & Cuthbert of South Shields, Newcastle (active from c.1815). Competition between them had reduced the price of plate glass by more than fifty percent.⁴³ Twenty-six years earlier when Martin began working for Collins, however, the largest plate of glass available cost more than £200.⁴⁴ The cost of plate glass reflected the recruitment of specially trained workers, the building of a large casting hall and wastage of approximately fifty percent of the glass metal due to the clumsiness of the casting and rolling processes.⁴⁵ Glass metal was transferred from the pots to cisterns for further fining and these were then winched over to the casting table. If a cistern broke, as frequently happened, duty on the estimated weight of the glass was not returned. The final duty on plate glass before repeal was £3 per hundredweight.⁴⁶

CROWN AND GERMAN SHEET GLASS

'... we are ... surrounded by excisemen, and yet we make experiments continually, of which they are as ignorant as the man in the moon.' (Robert Lucas Chance)

As crown glass was used by glass painters for staining and enamelling and the development of German sheet coincided with that of pot metal glass, this category deserves closest attention. The witness called before the Commission was Robert Lucas Chance whose company, as Chance & Hartley and later Chance Brothers & Company, led the way with experiments into coloured window glass manufacture. When asked if he had any complaint against the excise duties and regulations, he contradicted the flint glass manufacturers by replying -

'No; I think it is unexceptionable; we can make any experiments we think fit without any interference on the part of the Excise; we are one of the most experimental houses in the trade.' ⁴⁷

Unlike the flint glass manufacturer, Chance Brothers were only charged duty on the weight of the finished glass. Apparently from 1812 -

'... though they [the Excise officers] gauge the pots and gauge the metal, they make no compare with the glass charged with duty.' ⁴⁸

In effect they were free to do what they like with glass prior to it being locked up in the annealing lehr and could throw away the glass from a failed experiment without incurring any fine or duty.

What general conclusions can be drawn from such contradictory evidence? Seemingly, the excise regulations slowed down the whole process of manufacture and incurred extra costs by wasting the glass workers' time and limiting hours of production, as one manufacturer complained bitterly -

'Our business premises are placed under the arbitrary control of a class of men to whose will and caprice it is most irksome to have to submit, and this under a system of regulations most ungraciously inquisitorial. We cannot enter into parts of our own premises without their permission. We have in the course of the week's operations to serve some 60 or 70 notices on these, our masters.' ⁴⁹

Four excise officers were in constant attendance at Chance Brothers, another one oversaw the packing of glass for export and all of these were monitored by an area supervisor for collusion.⁵⁰ Notices

announcing the different stages of manufacture at which the excise officers' presence was mandatory, were printed by the thousands.

1:4 THE REVIVAL OF POT METAL GLASS MANUFACTURE IN FRANCE AND GERMANY

In France and Germany the *raison d'être* of the glass industry was the supply of window and mirror glass, and eventually painted glass, for royal building programmes. Consequently, with the support of both the monarchy and the state, it was the French and the Germans who were the first to experiment with pot metal glass manufacture.

In the 1830s and early 1840s there is evidence that at least one Scottish glass painter relied upon pot metal glass manufactured in France.⁵¹ This was imported by the glass merchants and glass painters Claudet & Haughton of 89 High Holborn, London.⁵² The French glass manufacturer Gustave Bontemps began using his friend Claudet to export window glass and shades in the 1820s.⁵³ That Claudet was also a friend of John Lucas Chance might explain the connection between Bontemps and Chance Brothers. In 1848, Bontemps came to England as a political exile and assisted Chance Brothers with their pioneering experiments with coloured window glass manufacture, the results of which were exhibited at the International Exhibition of 1851.

FRANCE

The aesthetic shift in glass painting from pictorialism to the revival of the stylised drawing and mosaic composition of the middle ages evolved in France with England following sooner after. The key

protagonists of the stained glass revival in France were, among others, were: the architects Viollet-le-Duc (1814-79) and Jean-Baptiste Lassus (1807-57); the ecclesiologist Adolfe Napoleon Didron (1806-1867); the technicians Alexandre Brogniart (Director of the Royal Porcelain Manufactory at Sèvres), Gustave Bontemps (Director of the Choisy-le-Roi Glass Manufactory) and M. Reboulleau; and the glass painters and brothers Henri (1814-49) and Alfred Gérente (1821-68) together with their associate Antoine Lusson of Mans (active from 1836).

Didron was the Director of a glass painting studio at 13 rue Hautefeuille, Paris and the founder editor of *Annales Archéologiques* (1844-65). The first volume of *Annales Archéologiques* features articles on glass painting by both Didron and Lassus.⁵⁴ Subscribers were rewarded with a coloured lithograph of the *Vie de la Vierge* window for Notre Dame de la Couture, Mans, designed by Henri Gérente and executed by Lusson.⁵⁵ Thomas Willement's (1786-1871) scrapbooks are evidence that English glass painters not only subscribed to *Annales Archéologiques* but also followed the activities of French glass painters closely.⁵⁶ These contain coloured lithographs of the *Vie de la Vierge* window and the east window from Saint Germain Auxerrois, Paris, referenced as having both been received with Volume I. ⁵⁷ Also included are extracts from *Manufacture de vitraux compose par M. Didron* and an English publication *Specimens of Stained Glass by Lusson and by Gérente of Paris*. ⁵⁸

Catherine Brisac comments that Viollet-le-Duc -

'... fit exécuter de nombreuses verrières neuves pour les édifices qu'il venait de restaurer ...' ⁵⁹

He patronised the Gérente brothers. Between 1847 and 1848, for example, Henri restored the famous thirteenth century *L'arbre de Jesse* window at the abbey church of Saint Denis, Paris, under Viollet-le-Duc's direction as Master of Works. A presumably prized addition to Willement's scrapbooks was a coloured tracing of a border of a window in Saint Denis signed HG [Henri Gérente], for Mr Willement.⁶⁰ Alfred Gerente took over as Master Glazier at Saint Denis from 1849-54 and also worked for Viollet-le-Duc and Lassus at the Cathedral of Notre Dame, Paris from 1861 to 1865. Volume IX (1868) of Viollet-le-Duc's *Dictionnaire raisonné de l'Architecture française* was dedicated to *Vitrail*.⁶¹

The English periodical the *Ecclesiologist* followed the careers of these architect archaeologists with great attention. Although partly explained by their mother being English by birth, the Gérente brothers owed their employment in England to the *Ecclesiologist's* approval of their faithful reproduction of early medieval styles of glass painting. The reviewer of the painted glass section of the Great Exhibition felt compelled to put national loyalties to one side in their praise of the boldness of the French archaism -

*'The department of painted glass is particularly interesting, as the first occasion in which our own artists and those of foreign countries have been brought into direct and palpable competition. Truth compels us to state that, always classing by themselves the joint productions of Mr Pugin and Mr Hardman, ... France bears away the bell over England. There are, putting the above named out of the question, no five of our artists who can be compared with MM Gérente, Maréchal, Lusson, Thevenot and Thibaud in their respective styles ...'*⁶²

Henri designed two windows for the south transept of Ely Cathedral (1846) before his death from cholera in 1849. The *Ecclesiologist* praised their mediaeval richness of colour and translucency, and the clarity of the outline drawing -

*'Both of the windows are excellent, but the second peculiarly so, from the exquisite harmony of colour pervading the whole composition. The dominant hue is blue, which forms the ground of the panels. The drawing is bold and clever, and the whole window sparkles and seems to emit light. Red being the tone of the adjacent one, the two set each other off most happily.'*⁶³

His work there was continued by his brother and Lusson from 1850 to 1853.⁶⁴ The relationship between the Gérente/Lusson windows and the design of the east window by the Scottish born glass painter Francis Wilson Oliphant a decade later is discussed in Chapter Five. Charles Heath Wilson's interest in Ely Cathedral as a model for the re-glazing of Glasgow Cathedral, both primarily thirteenth century structures, is discussed in Chapter Seven. When researching an appropriate style of glass painting, Wilson consulted the writings of the antiquarian F. de Lasteyrie and corresponded with Alfred Gérente.⁶⁵

In France and Germany experiments with pot metal glass manufacture were a logical outgrowth of the porcelain industry. Porcelain manufacture required advanced high temperature furnace technology and the understanding of the behaviour of metal oxides as colouring agents for glazes. The manufacture of hard-paste porcelain, coloured glazes and glass have their roots in alchemy, particularly in the use of gold as a colouring agent, as the story of Johann Friedrich Böttger (1682-1719) and the establishment of the

Meissen manufactory in 1710 under Augustus the Strong, Elector of Saxony and King of Poland, demonstrates.⁶⁶

The Sèvres manufactory enjoyed the patronage of King Louis Phillippe and his family. Brogniart began to experiment with adapting enamel painting techniques developed for the decoration of porcelain to glass as early as 1802. By 1824 he was experimenting with pot metal glass manufacture and, four years later in 1828, set up a glass painting department.⁶⁷ Commissions for the royal palaces in the 1840s strengthened this department and Viollet-le-Duc assisted as a designer.⁶⁸ Brogniart's attempts to manufacture pot metal glass were beset with failure and the results did not satisfy the archaeologists. Royal patronage could, however, be more of a hindrance than a help and Gustave Bontemps made better progress at the privately owned Choisy-le-Roi glass manufactory.⁶⁹ Bontemps was a chemical engineer and recorded his experiments with pot metal glass manufacture in several valuable publications.⁷⁰

URGENT NECESSITY: VANDALISM AND RESTORATION

In France, the restoration of mediaeval religious buildings, the development of an archaeological style of glass painting, *le vitrail archéologique*, and the revival of pot metal glass manufacture were interdependent, as Brisac explains -

*'... restaurer d'abord et recopier ensuite. Les deux activités étaient intimement liées et cette idée sur la profession de maître-verrier s'est développée depuis en France.'*⁷¹

Churches were closed from the Revolution until 1801 and their vandalised stained glass windows left to deteriorate. With the return of religion to everyday life came the appreciation of traditional

church architecture, strengthened by regret for the wanton damage. A positive outcome of the vandalism was the establishment by the state of *Le Service des Monuments Historiques* (historic buildings), a division of which was *Le Service des Édifices Diocesains* (cathedrals).

In a letter of 1838 to Brogniart, Didron described the parallel restoration of mediaeval religious architecture and stained glass. Together with Lassus, he had made a study of the iconography, styles and materials of mediaeval stained glass and aimed at reproducing them as faithfully as possible -

'Le(sic) crois que la peinture sur verre est un besoin de notre époque et qu'il est nécessaire de restaurer les fenêtres des édifices comme on restaure l'architecture. Associé à M.Lassus mon ami, j'ai donc voulu, moi qui m'occupe depuis sept ans de vitraux sous le rapport des sujets qu'ils représentent et des effets qu'ils donnent, reproduire soit quant à ses sujets, soit quant à leur coloration, exactement ce qui s'est fait à toutes les époques, surtout aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles qui sont pour nous les plus belles époques de la peinture sur verre ...'.⁷²

He believed that restoration was reforming the art of glass painting in that it was encouraging the rejection of pictorialism in favour of a return to mediaeval tradition – *'C'est de la mosaïque que l'on doit faire et non des tableaux.'*⁷³

ADOLFE NAPOLEON DIDRON

The repair of mediaeval stained glass windows or their replacement with a modern equivalent was inhibited by the lack of suitable pot metal glass. From 1838 Didron wanted to set up a glass painting

studio and requested the support of the Sèvres manufactory.⁷⁴ His later comment that the Sèvres colours were, unlike mediaeval colours, thin and insipid probably explains why nothing came of this proposed collaboration despite Brogniart's insistence that he could supply what was required even for the restoration of La Sainte Chapelle -

*'J'ai dit vingt fois aux archéologues: donnez-nous tels dessins que vous voudrez, aussi mauvais que ceux de la Sainte-Chapelle, et comme nous avons les verres teints dans la masse qu'avaient les anciens, que nous avons des couleurs de moufle aussi simples, aussi laides que celles de cette époque, et, en outre, une infinité d'autres, nous exécuterons tous vos dessins et bien d'autres.'*⁷⁵

Didron preferred to work with the chemist Reboulleau.⁷⁶ In 1839 they realised the first archaeological French painted glass window. This still remains in the axial chapel of Saint Germain Auxerrois, Paris. [Images 2 and 3] It is a traditional mosaic of coloured glasses with minimal use glass paint and no use of enamel. Those responsible attempted to imitate the iconography, drawing style, composition, execution and materials of a thirteenth century model, the *Passion* window in La Sainte-Chapelle (1243-1248).⁷⁷ [Image 4] The window project was part of a programme of restoration supervised by Lassus who, as mentioned, shared Didron's interest in mediaeval stained glass. Didron was responsible for the iconography, the cartoons were drawn and executed by Louis Steinheil and Reboulleau made the glass.⁷⁸

Brisac quotes Didron's nephew as saying in 1889 that -

*'The appearance of this window was a milestone for the specialised world of those interested in the renaissance of stained glass.'*⁷⁹

Although the colours were comparatively strong, the glass was still too transparent and it was left to the English in the 1850s, under the direction of Charles Winston, to reproduce the texture and density of mediaeval glass.

The competition to restore the windows of La Sainte Chapelle was won by Henri G rente in 1847 but, in the event of his death in 1849, the work was finally undertaken by Lusson and Mar chal de Metz. The thirteenth century painted glass was considered, both in France and Britain, to be the apogee of European glass painting and for a while was carefully imitated. The *Ecclesiologist* followed the restoration of La Sainte Chapelle closely and Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin toured the works with Didron in 1844. In return, Didron and G rente attended the opening of Pugin's Saint Giles, Cheadle, on 3 September 1846 as the guests of Lord Shrewsbury and there is evidence that G rente visited Pugin's home at Ramsgate.⁸⁰

GUSTAV BONTEMPS, CHANCE BROTHERS AND NEW COLOURS

'No one alive knew more than he about every branch of glass manufacture, whether in theory or practice.' (James Frederick Chance)⁸¹

From as early as 1828 Chance Brothers and Bontemps were in dialogue concerning aspects of glass manufacture of interest to them both: lenses, German sheet glass and pot metal glass.⁸² When Chance Brothers began experimenting with German sheet glass manufacture in August 1832, Bontemps assisted them with the recruitment of French glass blowers.⁸³ The British glass industry being so underdeveloped in comparison to the French, what Bontemps initially stood to gain from such professional generosity is unclear.

The mutual friendship of Robert Lucas Chance, Claudet and Bontemps may offer some explanation.⁸⁴

James Chance wrote to Bontemps in 1844 with some urgency expressing concern that, without his immediate assistance, a competitor might seize the market for pot metal glass -

*'We shall therefore require your instructions both as to mixtures and manipulations necessary for obtaining all the chief colours.'*⁸⁵

Fortunately for Chance Brothers, after the French monarch Louis Philippe abdicated and fled to England in February 1848, it became expeditious for Bontemps to follow him. While, on 16 April, the Socialists demonstrated on the streets of Paris demanding the end of capitalism and a co-operative system of labour, Bontemps was in Birmingham negotiating terms with Chance Brothers. His exact political position is unclear, but, being the Director of a large and profitable manufactory, he must have represented all that the Socialists were opposed to. He agreed to supervise the manufacture of coloured, ornamental and optical glasses at Spon Lane. Although he received a share of the profits generated by these products, he did not enter into partnership with Chance Brothers but preferred to be paid a salary of £500 a year. His contract ran from July 1848 to the end of 1854 when, the Republican Party having been suppressed and the Second Empire established on 2 December 1852 under Napoleon III, he presumably felt that it was safe to return to France.⁸⁶

The competitor that Chance Brothers were so afraid of was probably the Wear Glassworks in Sunderland which was owned by their former partners, the brothers James and John Hartley. As is described in Chapter Three with reference to the Scottish glass painter William Cooper's possible connection with Chance, when

Robert Lucas Chance took over the Spon Lane Glassworks in 1824, he brought their father, John Hartley senior with him from the Nailsea Glassworks in Bristol. In 1830, John Hartley senior and Robert Lucas Chance visited the Choisy-le-Roi manufactory. Two years later, James Hartley actually worked at Choisy-le-Roi in order to study the manufacture of German sheet glass.⁸⁷ While he was there, he may well have also studied how to colour window glass. When John Hartley senior died in 1833, his sons went into partnership with Chance. The partnership was dissolved in November 1836 and they went into competition with Chance, opening the Wear Glassworks in 1837. They became, and remained throughout the twentieth century, the leading pot metal glass manufacturers in Britain.⁸⁸ As described in Chapter Three, when Cooper went bankrupt in 1841 his premises were sequestrated to the Hartleys to pay off monies owed which suggests that the Wear Glassworks had become a major supplier of window glass to Edinburgh.

Bontemps explained the significance and complexity of oxidation and reduction to Chance Brothers. He had discovered that an increased range of colours could be obtained from the known colouring agents. The colour generated by a metal changes according to its state of oxidisation. Oxidation can be controlled by careful manipulation of furnace conditions, causing the metal either to gain or lose oxygen, *oxidisation* and *reduction*. Most important of all was his experimentation with the manufacture of traditional copper and gold rubies which were stable in the glass painter's kiln.

At the International Exhibition in 1851 both Chance Brothers and James Hartley & Company introduced the results of their experiments:

*'Coloured glass is produced by adding, to the ordinary glass mixtures, the oxides or carbonates of certain metals, thereby causing such an atomic arrangement that one or more rays of a pencil of light are reflected. It is usual to ascribe one particular colour to a particular metal - say blue to cobalt, green to copper; but Bontemps has shown that all the colours of the spectrum may be produced by any one of the ordinary metals, which he ascribed to the degree of heat to which the mixture or colouring metal is subjected. Iron, copper, cobalt, manganese, gold, and uranium are the metals used in colouring glass; and these bases, in combination with various proportions of oxygen, produce all the coloured glass in general use.'*⁸⁹

By the 1920s, Chance Brothers were able to offer a more complete explanation as to why red window glass was so difficult to make -

' In general the colours given by various oxides when melted in normal types of glass under oxidizing conditions correspond to those of the salts of the higher oxide ... When a reducing mixture is used instead of an oxidizing mixture completely different colours are obtained. Thus, a copper glass made under strongly reducing conditions gives the well known ruby which forms the basis of most of the flashed rubies which are manufactured ... The essential difference between oxidized and reduced glasses is that the oxidized batches give a coloured silicate, whereas the reduced glasses give colours which are due to the scattering of light by ultra-microscopic particles of either the oxide or the element itself. This difference is the cause of most glassmakers' troubles in the manufacture of coloured glasses A coloured silicate is very stable, subsequent treatment of an oxidized glass does not modify the colour; but this is far from being the case with coloured glasses made under reducing conditions. Most of these reduced mixtures are

*colourless at the high temperatures existing during the found, and some of them remain colourless when cooled down to room temperature. The colour due to the ultra-microscopic particles can be developed, however, if the temperature of the glass is maintained at an appropriate value. Such is the case with selenium, copper and gold rubies. Because of this slow development of the colour, control is relatively difficult, as there is no maximum which may be developed and no state of completion is reached. The particle size continues to increase as long as conditions are stable, and this means that in practice the glass goes through a series of changes from colourless ruby, and finally to opal. It is necessary therefore, not only to develop the colour, but to stop development before opalescence appears.'*⁹⁰

Chance Brothers had also been busy perfecting the manufacture of *flashed* glasses, the process that Peckitt had experimented with some half a century earlier. A globe of coloured glass was *gathered* onto a blow pipe and then a second *gathering* was made of white glass. What was finally obtained was a sheet of white glass with a thin layer of coloured glass on one side. If, on cooling, the metals contracted at different rates the glass was liable to fracture. Mastery of the manufacture of *flashed* glasses was particularly important in the case of copper ruby. As a through-coloured sheet of copper ruby glass transmits almost no light and appears black, it is of no use to the glass painter.

The progress of the stained glass revival in France has been mapped out in such detail as it was the major point of reference for English and Scottish glass painters. It was the very different character of German glass painting, however, which became the model upheld in Scotland in the mid-nineteenth century.

GERMANY

As in France, development of glass painting in Munich was initiated by the royal patronage of a porcelain manufactory. Michael Sigmund Frank, a trained porcelain painter, was appointed glass painter to the Royal Bavarian Porcelain Manufactory at Nymphenburg on the outskirts of Munich in 1818. King Ludwig I instructed him to experiment with coloured window glass manufacture at the state owned Benediktbeuren Glassworks. The royal commission for a large window for Ratisbon Cathedral in 1827 marked the emergence of the *Königliche Glasmalereianstalt*, the Royal Bavarian Stained Glass Establishment as an active department of the Royal Bavarian Porcelain Manufactory. In 1832 Maximilian Aismiller (1807-70) replaced Frank, being appointed Technical Director in 1837. He had studied architecture and ornamental design at the Munich Academy before entering an apprenticeship at Nymphenburg. In 1851, shortly before the *Königliche Glasmalereianstalt* began work on the new windows for Glasgow Cathedral, it was bought by Aismiller and he proceeded to run it, to a certain extent, as a private enterprise. So central was he to its successful operation that when the *Königliche Glasmalereianstalt* closed following his death in 1870.⁹¹ By 1840 he had mastered the manufacture of every shade of pot metal glass -

*'Aismiller's contemporaries were full of praise for his double flashed [two different colours seamlessly merging and very useful for skied backgrounds] glass and his shades and hues in glass 'appropriate' to any type of face or age. From the 1840s onwards every colour of pot metal glass was available.'*⁹²

Aismiller was, perhaps, a match even for Bontemps. In 1850 Chance Brothers sent the Frenchman to Germany with the commission,

amongst others, to research German methods of making coloured glasses, particularly ruby glasses that would remain stable in the glass painter's kiln.⁹³

1:5 DEEP COLOUR AND LOW TONE, COLOURED WINDOW GLASS AFTER 1862

'... a debt of national gratitude is due to Mr. Winston for his long persevering and successful efforts to revive the rich colours and low tone of ancient glass.' (Apsley Pellatt) ⁹⁴

One further development in the manufacture of coloured window glass, the introduction of so-called *antique* glass, is particularly relevant to the final chapter and conclusion of this thesis which deals with the commissioning of stained glass windows for Glasgow Cathedral from the *Königliche Glasmalereianstalt*. The story of Charles Winston's (1814-63) contribution to the development of antique glasses is well known through his lecture *On a Revived Manufacture of Coloured Glass used in Ancient Windows*, published after his death in *Memoirs Illustrative of the Art of Glass Painting* (1865).⁹⁵ A more detailed account was extracted from his correspondence with Charles Heath Wilson (1809-82), Secretary of the Glasgow Cathedral Painted Windows Committee, to form part of the *Biographical Memoir* which introduces *Memoirs*. Winston acted as consultant to the re-glazing of Glasgow Cathedral and he and Wilson discussed the advantages of using antique glass at length.

Winston was a barrister by profession based at Lincoln's Inn, London but, while growing up within a clerical family in Hampshire, he had developed an antiquarian interest in mediaeval stained glass. His subsequent contribution to the archaeological study of mediaeval

stained glass, and so the nineteenth century stained glass revival, was considerable. In 1838 Winston began work upon a stylistic analysis of mediaeval stained glass, the *Inquiry into the difference of Style observable in ancient Glass-paintings* (1847). This was modelled upon Thomas Rickman's pivotal stylistic analysis of mediaeval architecture which provided the Gothic Revival with a terminology. *Memoirs* assembles the more significant of his lectures given to the Archaeological Institute and the Royal Incorporation of Architects.

Winston maintained that, historically, the stylistic development of glass painting had been a direct response to the technological development of window glass manufacture. The ever increasing tendency towards naturalism in glass painting from the late fifteenth century onwards necessarily compensated for the perfect but insubstantial nature of the glass available. The faithful revival of earlier styles of glass painting was dependent upon the retrieval of the material power of mediaeval stained glass. As will be discussed in Chapter Six, this revival was underpinned by the philosophy of *true principles*, as Winston expressed it, the belief in -

'... the additional beauty imparted to any sort of decoration by mere force of its having been executed in conformity with its own peculiar mechanical and intrinsic conditions...'.⁹⁶

As glass is essentially translucent, it was argued that glass painting should be a celebration of translucency. As glass paint is opaque, dense shading was impermissible. Winston was dissatisfied, however, with the colour generated by modern pot metal glasses, insisting that it was too weak and glaring to be left unmodified by surface painting. The less perfect the base glass the greater its intrinsic tonality and only when pot metal glass of mediaeval quality was

again manufactured could a more linear and less tonal style of glass painting be successfully adopted. As he explained to Wilson -

'The style of your ornamentation must, in my opinion, be regulated by the texture of your material; for if there is one point more thoroughly established than another in point of fact, it is that in ancient glass the style of the ornamentation and treatment of the material varied with the texture of the material. And this was artistic enough, because a powerful material neither required, nor indeed would show, any very delicate ornamentation or soft shading; whereas a weaker sort of glass required more painter's manipulation to give it force; and paintings executed in it in the same simple way as the earlier ones would have looked thin and miserable....

The Germans, being artists, and knowing how very pellucid is the ordinary material, have used more shadow in their glass-paintings than one sees in any old glass painting; and perhaps they have gone a little too far in this respect ...'.⁹⁷

The decision to commission the new windows for Glasgow Cathedral from the *Königliche Glasmalereianstalt* on account of their artistic capability meant that any plan to have windows which were authentically thirteenth both in style and material quality had to be abandoned. Transparency was sacrificed to art.⁹⁸ The eventual arrival of antique glass in Scotland led to changes in the practice of glass painting and the condemnation of the German windows.

ANTIQUÉ WINDOW GLASS

The decade between the Great Exhibition of 1851 and the International Exhibition of 1862 was also that during which both the re-glazing of Glasgow Cathedral and Winston's experiments with the

manufacture of antique glass took place. Reporting on the stained glass exhibited at the International Exhibition of 1862, the glass manufacturer Apsley Pellatt (1791-1863) commented -

'While ... most of our Continental neighbours exhibit windows of inferior material, fully equal or superior in artistic merit to their painted windows of 1851, the English, availing themselves of the superiority of the antique glass, excel their exhibits of 1851. The Exhibition of 1862 may be considered so far as a triumph over that of 1851...'

He went on to explain how the colour quality of mediaeval window glass was determined as much by physics as chemistry -

'The principal difference between ancient and modern glass windows arises from the latter being brighter and of a higher key than the ancient, while it (sic) has less tone and richness the agreeable blending and harmonizing effect of ancient glass ... owes its chief charm to the retention of the striae and small bubbles in the body of the glass. The constituents of such glass have been perfectly vitrified, and the colours fully developed; but being less transparent than when thoroughly fined ..., it becomes less dazzling and more subdued. To succeed in making striated and bubbly-coloured glass ... the fining process must be arrested during the latter part of the fusion, by reducing the heat of the metal to a sufficient consistency for working before the bubbles and striae are fully driven off: great attention is necessary on the part of the manufacturer to reduce the temperature of the furnace just at the right time to prevent the metal becoming too clear. This imitation of the ancients constitutes the chief improvement, since 1851, as regards the vitrified material... Pot-metal blues, greens and rubies, &c., by this system of embodying in the mass the hindrances to the too free passage of the light, are far

superior in effect to those of the ordinary, cheap, modern, clear, bright-coloured glass.'⁹⁹

LESS EFFICIENT FURNACE CONDITIONS

The manufacture of *antique* glass required the deliberate reversal of technological progress. Well *fined* glass is glass that has been heated to a temperature high enough, over 1000 degrees centigrade, to drive off all the air trapped by the viscosity of the glass metal and to dissolve the raw materials thoroughly. The maximum temperature achieved by a mediaeval wood fired glass furnace was no more than 1000 degrees centigrade. Air bubbles, seeds, and threads of thicker glass metal, *striae*, remained in the finished glass. These refracted light.

The development of coal fired glass furnaces in Britain significantly improved the quality of window glass. From 1615 British manufacturers were required by law to use coal as fuel and this led soon after to the invention of the *reverberatory* coal fired furnace accommodated within a cone chimney.¹⁰⁰ The flames reverberated back from the *crown*, the arched roof, of the furnace over the melting pots arranged on a raised sill around the fire. This arrangement was developed so that the glass metal was less likely to be contaminated by smoke. Covering the pots also helped to prevent both this and soot dropping into the pots from the crown and causing spots in the finished glass. A single upward movement of air was necessary to the supply of oxygen necessary for the coal to burn efficiently and generate the required degree of heat, and to remove noxious gases from the working area between the furnace and the cone. Air entered via underground flues which emerged directly under the furnace. When the doors were closed and the flues opened, the cone became a highly efficient chimney.¹⁰¹

IMPURITIES

All mediaeval glass was tinted by impurities present in the raw materials used in its manufacture, particularly by traces of iron and manganese which generate green and purple respectively. As Pellatt explained, re-introducing impurities was a significant factor in reproducing the colour quality of mediaeval window glass –

*'... impurity is equally necessary for the successful imitation of the ancient glass, in attaining the same depth of colouring, and the absorption of the rays to be found in the coloured glass of the thirteenth century: it, therefore, seems anomalous that the inferior fuel, for melting the materials, also that the metals, sand and alkali possessed by the ancients, which were less pure than those used by the moderns, should have furnished greenish white, and pot-metal coloured glass, so exactly suited to produce the best effects for pictorial windows.'*¹⁰²

The manufacture of pure white glass requires a sand which is low in impurities in itself and has been carefully washed. By the mid-eighteenth century specialist glass manufacturers, for example the British Cast Plate Glass Manufacturers at Ravenhead, Lancashire, were shipping quality sand from the quarry at Lynn, Norfolk. This was fine, white and low in iron oxide. Alum Bay on the Isle of Wight was another source of quality sand.¹⁰³ The leading nineteenth century glass manufacturers identified more accessible deposits of quality sand and secured a cheap supply by buying the land.¹⁰⁴

As mentioned, potash was the traditional alkali used for window glass making and this is high in manganese. In Britain, another equally impure vegetable derived carbonate of soda, *kelp*, was used (see

below pp.38-41). The introduction of the Leblanc process, however, guaranteed a cheap supply of sulphate of soda or *salt cake*, an industrially produced and relatively pure alkali. Pilkington and Chance found it expedient to manufacture their own.¹⁰⁵

WINSTON AND POWELL

It is testimony to the post-1845 climate of experimentation in the glass industry that, in respect of the manufacture of window glass of mediaeval quality, the British by-passed the French. The glass makers Powell & Son of Whitefriars, London began experimenting with the manufacture of antique glass in 1850. These experiments were initiated and paid for by Winston. As Lincoln's Inn was close to Powell & Son's glass works, he and his scientific friends were able to supervise the experiments.¹⁰⁶

Winston referred to '*... the enormous difficulties which a totally different existing form of furnace and different fuel from that formerly used ...*' which had to be overcome before Powell & Son could manufacture antique glass successfully.¹⁰⁷ By 20 April 1856 they were making antique blue, ruby, several but not all kinds of green, yellow, white and several shades of purple.¹⁰⁸

Winston gleefully reported to Wilson -

'We have beat the French glass-makers so hollow that it is quite laughable, and one of their chief glass-painters has actually ordered some glass of -, an incontestable proof of English superiority. I am not surprised, for, in the first place, I went to better chemists than those employed in these matters in France; and, when we came to work the matter synthetically, I had the good fortune to obtain the service

of a first-rate chemist, who took up the matter as an amateur, like myself...' .¹⁰⁹

In 1850 Winston, in search of glass *soft* rather than *raw* in colour, began paying a chemist, Dr. Medlock of the Royal College of Chemistry, to identify the chemical composition of medieval glass.¹¹⁰ Winston first offered Medlock's findings to Chance Brothers but, presumably because Bontemps had his own agenda for experimentation with coloured window glass manufacture, they were not interested.¹¹¹ Powell & Son sought to simplify the manufacture of antique glass with a view to lowering production costs. Although Winston was scathing about the results, there was undeniably a demand for the cheaper antique glass. Winston's antique glass, with its authentically mediaeval texture and tone, was worth the trouble and expense for the sensitive restoration of mediaeval windows, such as the *Dean's Eye* window at Lincoln Cathedral, but the alternative still offered the designers of new windows a significantly better material to work with than formerly available.¹¹² It was easier to imitate, however, and Powell & Son, to Winston's gratification, soon found that they had competition -

'Messrs. Hartley, of Sunderland, and Messrs. Lloyd & Summerfield, of Birmingham, have also produced antique glass. This glass is striated, bubbly, and gelatinous ...' .¹¹³

1:6 ALKALI

'It is ... of great importance to make a proper selection of glass for the purposes of staining and painting, as one kind will assimilate more freely with one colour than another.' (William Cooper)¹¹⁴

The legacy of the revived manufacture of pot metal glass and the subsequent 'aesthetic revolution' is the overlooking of the technical achievement of Regency glass painters. The terms *stained glass* and *glass stainer* have been passed down from the Regency period when coloured window glass was hard to come by and the glass painter was dependent upon surface techniques, namely stains and enamels. As the availability of a wide range of pot metal glasses has marginalized the art of glass staining, modern conservators struggle to match the technical achievements of Regency glass painters. Keith Barley of York recently published an account of the conservation of the east window of Redbourne Church, referred to earlier -

'Damage and loss of various sections of the windows provided the challenge and opportunity to undertake trials to emulate the high quality application of ruby, amber and yellow stain in conjunction with layered enamel colours on one piece of glass.' ¹¹⁵

He identifies that the problems he encountered were due as much to differences in the chemical composition of modern glasses as to that of stains themselves -

'From a conservator's standpoint the range of commercially prepared silver stains available to us today will happily give us a range of colours from a pale primrose to a deep amber. However, if we are to match successfully the quality and control of stains ranging from the pale lemon to red produced during the late 18th and early 19th centuries, we need the help of chemists and glass makers. We will require the production of a high strength stain and a clear sheet glass of chemical composition best suited to receive a silver stain. Specifically, this means the manufacture of a silver sulphuret of antimony and the production of a staining sheet which

is either of the kelp type or contains a suitable proportion of silver within the glass.' ¹¹⁶

What Barley means by *high quality application* of glass stains is perfectly clear and brilliant, rather than muddied, yellows, oranges and reds and minute gradations in tone from one to another.

That this thesis pays any attention to the practice of glass staining at all is due to the identification of William Cooper as a glass painter active in Edinburgh in the 1830s and the finding of an intriguing fragment of correspondence pasted into a copy his *Glass Cutter's and Glazier's Manual* (1835).¹¹⁷ This Memorandum will be referred to again in Chapter Three which deals with Cooper's career but is quoted here as an explanation of the focus of much of this chapter. A client required circles of red window glass 26 inches in diameter. As explained above, at this time large sheets of red window glass were only being manufactured in France and were prohibitively expensive. The alternative was to stain a sheet of clear window glass red. As the predominant method of window glass manufacture in Britain was the *crown* method, the spinning or *flashing* of circular *tables*, even obtaining a sheet of clear glass 26 inches square was problematic on account of the *pontil* mark at the centre of the table. Over and above the problem of size, crown glass was not necessarily of a chemical composition receptive to red stain. As Cooper explained -

'A circle 26 In:(sic) Diameter (if we suppose it a Square) takes a table 63 In diameter to cut it - A Circle 24 In diameter takes a 57 In: table to cut it - The usual size of Crown glass tables made is 50 In: diameter and about 10lb weight - and it is with extreme difficulty that a man can flash or bear the weight of a table 63 In (sic) diameter nearly double the weight when red hot - The circles 24 In diameter will

*therefore be stronger and better made every way - Mr Murdoch must be misinformed that Oakey of London stains glass from German Sheet - he gets the glass from France - coloured & flashed in the sheet - and at a very high price - besides the triple import duty - I have imported & tried German glass but it will only produce a pale yellow and no Crown glass made in this country (which is much more durable) will produce a red to suit you - unless made from Orkney Kelp - and only one manufacturer in England Mr Lamb - does so - and he makes this glass purposefully for staining to order - so that we would require timeous notice. Should you be pleased to favour us with an order for the new Circles.'*¹¹⁸

This thesis does not begin to attempt a scientific investigation of the behaviour of glass stains but it does offer new information regarding the art of glass staining in the 1830s and 1840s, and, in particular, the significance of a base glass made with kelp (calcined seaweed). Most of this information has been found while researching Cooper's career and trying to understand his pre-occupation with red stain, both of which will be discussed in Chapter Three.

Alkali was important to highly vitrified and so transparent window glass as it lowered the melting point of the sand (silica) from 1720 degrees centigrade to as low as 900 and increased fusion. It also reduced the viscosity of the fused silica. Traditionally the alkali used was beechwood potash (potassium carbonate). The removal of the English glass industry from the Weald to the north east in the early seventeenth century presumably brought it closer to abundant supplies of kelp, rich both in sodium and potassium. Certainly by the early nineteenth century, kelp was the standard alkali used by the British glass industry, even by inland glass works such as Chance Brothers and Pilkington Brothers.¹¹⁹ In 1832, however, Chance began experimenting with cheaper and purer industrial alkalis,

sodium carbonate and sulphate, products of the recently developed *Le Blanc Process* (the conversion of common salt into sodium carbonate).¹²⁰ Pilkington began using *saltcake* (sodium sulphate) in 1837.¹²¹

Henry Chance commented in 1856 on the haphazard simplicity of early glass making and the control afforded by progress -

*'... kelp was used in combination simply with sand - the kelp containing soda and potash, and furnishing the lime necessary for the composition of the glass. But the glass thus produced was of very variable character, arising from the uncertain quality of the kelp, and also of a very inferior colour ...'*¹²²

Chance identifies the importance of soda, potash and lime naturally present in kelp. Lime is essential to all glass making. Excessive alkali increases the solubility of the glass.¹²³ The addition of moderate percentage of lime, approximately ten percent, corrects this but too much, however, has the reverse effect. It is the potassium naturally present in kelp which is, seemingly, the lost ingredient which determines the susceptibility of glass to red stain.

As William Hampton, a chemist working for Chance Brothers in the 1920s and already quoted above, confirmed:

*'It may be said that no two bases give exactly the same colour with any colouring oxide, but in general, the differences due to the use of different bases are small, except when the alkali is changed from soda to potash. This change is the most important of all those that can be made under commercial conditions of manufacture.'*¹²⁴

When, in the mid 1830s, Chance wished to manufacture glass *stained in the sheet* it was necessary for them to re-introduce *kelp frit*.¹²⁵

Glass stains were introduced in the early fourteenth century and have been consistently in use until the present day.¹²⁶ They allow two colours to be used on a single piece of glass and, accordingly, naturalistic detailing by eliminating the lead lines unavoidable in a mosaic of coloured glasses. Although they are applied to the surface of the glass and fired at relatively low temperatures, unlike enamels, they are transparent and permanent. The colour value of red stain, like all red coloured window glasses, is generated by a metal in a *reduced* state in suspension in the glass, in this case silver. Stains were fired in a small kiln, a *muff*, at a moderate temperature, 540-560 degrees centigrade. As glass staining did not require a furnace, a glass painter could colour whole sheets of glass by this method on his own premises.¹²⁷

THE KELP INDUSTRY IN SCOTLAND

As this thesis is concerned with the development of glass painting in Scotland it is not inappropriate to draw attention to the symbiotic relationship of the glass and kelp industries in the early nineteenth century. Henry Chance was well aware of the repercussions of progress in the glass industry upon the rural Scottish economy -

*'The preparation of kelp for this purpose [glass making] employed a large population on the northern shores of Scotland and west of Ireland, and the abandonment of this material plunged whole districts into idleness and misery.'*¹²⁸

The pioneer geologist Hugh Miller, born in Cromarty in 1802, describes how his father died tragically in 1807 when his ship was lost in a violent storm. The ship was heavily laden with kelp bound for the Leith Glass Works at the time -

'The kelp trade had not yet attained to the importance which it afterwards acquired before it fell before the first approaches of Free Trade; and my father, in collecting a supply for the Leith Glass Works, for which he occasionally acted both as agent and shipmaster, used sometimes to spend whole months amid the Hebrides, sailing from station to station, and purchasing here a few tons and there a few hundredweights, until he had completed his cargo. In his last kelp voyage he had been detained in this way from the close of August till the end of October ...'.¹²⁹

Preserved among the Scottish Court of Session Productions are documents providing evidence of the escalation of kelp production referred to by Miller. Between 1811 and 1847 Ranald George MacDonald of Clanranald was selling kelp from Canna, Eigg, Moidart, Arisaig, South Uist and Benbecula in Edinburgh, Glasgow, Greenock and Liverpool.¹³⁰ There was a soda works at Bahirva on Barra active from 1836 to 1839 and owned by one Colonel Roderick MacNeil, in partnership with Harold Littledale of Liverpool.¹³¹ The log book of the *Naughton*, a schooner belonging to James Black, a ship master based at Peterhead, records cargoes of kelp being transported from Loch Evort, Loch Callion and Loch Maddy to Hull and Liverpool in 1814 and 1815.¹³² The supply of kelp to the Dumbarton Glass Works from Orkney is discussed in Chapter Three.

In the first half of the nineteenth century the aesthetic freedom of British glass painting was severely restricted. All those connected with it, from the humble glazier to the eminent antiquarian or art

historian, were preoccupied with the vagaries of glass manufacture and believed that progress necessarily had to begin in the glass-house. Awareness of this is essential to understanding the aesthetic advance of the stained glass revival.

¹ Report from the Select Committee on Arts and their Connexion (sic) with Manufactures, No.9, Part 2, p.viii, Parliamentary Session 4 February-20 August 1836, (London: 1836).

² Official Descriptive and Illustrated Catalogue of the Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations, 1851, (London:1852), p.697.

³ Martin was called on 17 August 1835. Report from the Select Committee ..., No. 5, pp.63-7, Parliamentary Session 14 July-4 September 1835 (London: 1835).

⁴ McGrath, R. and Frost, A.C., Glass in Architecture and Decoration, 2nd ed.,(London: Architectural Press, 1961), pp.39-40 and Newton, R. and Davison, S., Conservation of Glass, (London: Butterworths, 1989), pp.43-4.

⁵ Pococke, R., Travels in England (1751). Pococke's observation is quoted in Powell, H.J., Glassmaking in England, (Cambridge: 1923), p.117 and Woodforde, C., English Stained and Painted Glass, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1954), p.52.

⁶ Brighton, J.T., The Enamel Glass Painters of York, 1585-1795, 3 vols.,(unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of York, 1978), p.264.

⁷ Brighton, J.T., Op. cit., pp.237-8 and 238 note 1 and Henry Gyles: virtuoso and glass painter of York, York Historian, Vol.IV, (1984), pp.14-15. For Peckitt see The Principals (sic) of introduction into that rare but fine and elegant art of painting and staining of glass (unpublished, 1793). This is held by the York City Art Gallery. Also Patent No. 1268 (22 November 1780).

⁸ For the development of glass painting using stains and enamels see Woodforde, Op. cit. and Archer, M., Enamels, Stained Glass, Issue 1(1996), pp.9-10.

⁹ Report from the Select Committee ..., No. 5, pp.65. See note 3.

¹⁰ Ibidem.

¹¹ For Muss see Glass Painters, 1750-1850, Part 2, Journal of the British Society of Master Glass Painters, Vol. XIII, No.2 (1960-61), pp. 403-4.

¹² Balston, T., John Martin (1789-1854): his life and works, (London: Duckworth & Co. Ltd, 1947), p.27.

¹³ Ibidem, p.28.

¹⁴ Ibidem, p.79.

¹⁵ Ibidem, p.31. Cites J.Britton and G.Godwin, Churches of London, Vol. II (London: 1839).

¹⁶ Ibidem.

¹⁷ Ibidem, pp.55 and 58. Cites Redgrave, R., A Century of Painters of the English School (1865).

¹⁸ See evidence of Arthur Aikin, Secretary to the Society of Arts, Appendix No.30, Thirteenth Report of the Commissioners of Inquiry into the Excise Establishment: Glass, (London: H.M.S.O., 1835)], pp.118-9.

¹⁹ See Glass Painters, 1750-1850, Part 2, Journal of the British Society of Master Glass Painters, Vol. XIII, No.2 (1960-61), p.394.

²⁰ Balston, Op. cit., pp. 112 and 144.

²¹ Report from the Select Committee on the Fine Arts, (London: 18 June 1841), pp.30-31.

²² See note 18.

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- ²³ Thirteenth Report..., pp.3-10. References given by Barker, T.C., Pilkington Brothers and the Glass Industry, (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd, 1960) have been found not to correlate with the original.
- ²⁴ See Appendix for the properties of different types of window glass and the relative sizes yielded by different methods of manufacture.
- ²⁵ See note 18.
- ²⁶ Thirteenth Report..., pp.51-2.
- ²⁷ McGrath and Frost, Op. cit., p.43.
- ²⁸ Thirteenth Report..., p.29.
- ²⁹ Barker, Op. cit., p.98, n.18. Cites The Times, 14 April 1845.
- ³⁰ Ibidem, p.97, n.8. Cites Economist, 19 July 1845.
- ³¹ Thirteenth Report..., pp. 10-11.
- ³² The term dates from the invention in 1674 by George Ravenscroft of a imitation of Venetian *crystallo* glass using ground flint fluxed with lead (Patent No.176, 16 May 1674). Eventually flint was replaced with sand. Lead produces a glass with a high refractive index which is also soft enough to allow for cutting and faceting to enhance its innate brilliancy.
- ³³ See Newton and Davison, Op cit, pp. 96-7 and 100 and McGrath and Frost, Op. cit., p.326.
- ³⁴ See Winston, C. On the Selection of a Style (notes), Inquiry into the difference of Style observable in ancient Glass-paintings, especially in England, with Hints on Glass-painting. By an Amateur, 2 vols., (Oxford: John Henry Parker, 1847), p.308.
- ³⁵ Thirteenth Report..., p.6, Statutes Relating to the Glass Duties.
- ³⁶ Ibidem, pp.7-10.
- ³⁷ Ibidem, p.8.
- ³⁸ Ibidem, p.131-8. Appendix 33, Evidence of R.L. Chance. Chance was called on 2 May 1835. He refers to a change in the method of taxation of crown glass taking place twenty years before 1835 but cites an act of 1812.
- ³⁹ Ibidem, p.132.
- ⁴⁰ See note 18.
- ⁴¹ See note 3.
- ⁴² Ibidem.
- ⁴³ Thirteenth Report...,p.40.
- ⁴⁴ Ibidem, p.44.
- ⁴⁵ Ibidem, pp. 41-2. Waste was allowed for by the Excise laws.
- ⁴⁶ Ibidem, p.56.
- ⁴⁷ Ibidem..., p.132.
- ⁴⁸ Ibidem.
- ⁴⁹ See McGrath and Frost, Op cit, p.43. The name of the manufacturer is not given and scanning of the Thirteenth Report ... has failed to identify them.
- ⁵⁰ Thirteenth Report..., p.132.
- ⁵¹ SRO: CS 279/530. State of the debts due by William Cooper & Co.. State of the affairs of William Cooper & Co. 1841.
- ⁵² They exhibited examples of their glass painting at the Great Exhibition of 1851. Section III, Class 24, Exhibit 74, Official Descriptive ..., p.706 and Ecclesiologist, Vol. XII (1851), p.184.
- ⁵³ Chance, J.F., A History of the Firm of Chance Brothers & Company, (London: Spottiswoode, Ballantyne and Company, 1919), p.6.
- ⁵⁴ Didron, A.N., Peinture sur verre, Annales archéologiques, Vol.I (1844), pp.150-151 (see also pp.iv and 147). Lassus, J.B., Peinture sur verre, Annales archéologiques, Vol. I (1844), pp.14-21. For Lassus see Leniaud, J.M., Jean-Baptiste Lassus, 1807-57, (Paris:1980). Didron was editor of Annales Archéologiques from 1844. The author does not claim to have read all the French texts cited but has referenced them for the benefit of future researchers.

- ⁵⁵ See Brisac, C., Viollet le Duc, cartonnier de vitraux, Actes du Colloque International Viollet le Duc, (Paris:1980), p.201, n.22. The author is grateful to Catherine Brisac for making this available to them.
- ⁵⁶ Willement's eight scrapbooks are held by the British Library: MS ADD 34866 ff.
- ⁵⁷ BL: MS ADD 34867-8.
- ⁵⁸ BL: MS ADD 34872. Didron, Adolphe Napoleon and Thibaud, Emile, Manufacture de vitraux compose par M. Didron (Paris: 1850) and Specimens of Stained Glass by Lussou and by Gérente of Paris, (London: Day & Son, 15 November 1852).
- ⁵⁹ '... he had numerous new windows made for the buildings he had recently restored ...'. Brisac, C., Viollet le Duc ..., p.203.
- ⁶⁰ BL: ADD 34867-8.
- ⁶¹ Le Duc, Viollet, Vitrail, Dictionnaire raisonné de l'architecture française, (Paris: 1868), Vol. IX. See also Johnson, J.R., The Stained Glass Theories of Viollet le Duc, Art Bulletin, (Paris:1963), p.352.
- ⁶² Ecclesiologist, Vol. XII, (1851), p.182.
- ⁶³ Ecclesiologist, Vol. VII, p.159.
- ⁶⁴ Henri designed the two lower windows in the south transept depicting the *Life of Moses* and the *Life of Abraham*.? Alfred and Lassus completed the two upper windows depicting the *Life of Abraham* and the *Life of Noah*.
- ⁶⁵ Wilson, C., Glasgow Cathedral Painted Windows: interim report to the subscribers to the painted windows of Glasgow Cathedral. ML: T-TH1/52/2. Wilson most likely consulted Lasteyrie, F. de, Histoire de la peinture sur verre, 2 vols, (Paris: 1838-7) and Quelques mots sur la theorie de la peinture sur verre (Paris: 1852). For other writings by Lasteyrie see Evans, David, A Bibliography of Stained Glass, (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1982), p.99. GUL: MS Euing 37, p.80, Alfred Gérente to Wilson, 26 May 1857.
- ⁶⁶ See Gleeson, J., The Arcanum, (London: Bantam Books, 1998).
- ⁶⁷ Brisac, C., Viollet le Duc ..., pp.8 and 198. Cites - Brogniart, A., Les couleurs obtenus des oxides metallique et fixées par la fusion sur les different corps vitreux, (1802) and Memoire sur la peinture sur verre, (Paris: 1829).
- ⁶⁸ Brisac, C., Viollet le Duc ..., p.199. Painted glass was commissioned for Royal Chapels at Dreux (1840-1843) and Amboise (1847), and Saint Flour Cathedral (1844).
- ⁶⁹ Ibidem, p.198.
- ⁷⁰ Bontemps, G., La peinture sur verre au XIXe siècle, (Paris: 1845) and Guide du verrier (Paris:1868).
- ⁷¹ '... first restore and then reproduce. The two activities used to be closely linked and this conception of the profession of the master glass painter has since developed in France...'. Brisac, C., Le vitrail archéologique en France au XIXe siècle: modeles and transpositions ...(undated), p.2 and p.2 n. 8
- ⁷² 'I think that there is a need for glass painting today and it is necessary to restore the windows of buildings in the same way as the architecture. Having given my attention to stained glass windows for seven years in respect of the subjects they represent and their effect, I wanted, along with my friend M. Lassus, to reproduce whether in their subjects or in their colours, exactly what had been done during all these periods, especially in the 12th and 13th centuries, which for us were the most beautiful periods for glass painting ...' Didron to Brogniart, 13 February 1838, Sèvres Manufactory Archives. See Brisac, Le vitrail archéologique..., pp.1-2 and p.2 n. 7.
- ⁷³ 'It is mosaic that we must make not paintings.' Didron, A.N., Peinture sur verre, Annales Archéologiques, Vol.I (Paris: 1844), p.147. See Brisac, Le vitrail archéologique..., p.1.
- ⁷⁴ Brisac, Le vitrail archéologique..., p.1.
- ⁷⁵ 'I told the archaeologists twenty times: give us the designs that you want, be they as crude as those from La Sainte Chapelle, and since we have the glasses coloured in the body that the ancients had, and that we have enamel colours as basic and as harsh as the colours of that time, and, moreover, an endless variety

of them, we will execute all your designs and many more.' Cited by Bontemps, G., Guide de verrier, p.709. See Brisac, Actes..., pp. 198-9.

⁷⁶ Reboulleau, M., Nouveau manuel complet de la peinture sur verre (Paris: 1843) (edition anastique L. Laget, Paris, 1977).

⁷⁷ See Grodecki, L. Les vitraux de Notre-Dame et de la Sainte-Chapelle de Paris, Department de la Seine No.1, Corpus Vitrearum Medi Aevi: France, Vol.I, (Paris: C.V.M.A., 1959), pp. 86-88.

⁷⁸ Brisac, C., A Thousand Years of Stained Glass, (London and Sidney: MacDonald & Company, 1986), p.146. (In Actes ... Brisac cites Troche, N.M. Vitraux de Saint Germain-Auxerrois a Paris, Revue Archéologique, 1846, Vol. III, p.413.)

⁷⁹ Ibidem.

⁸⁰ See Belcher, M., A.W.N. Pugin: an annotated critical bibliography, (London and New York: Mansell Publishing Ltd, 1987), pp. 87-9. Cites Opening of a Catholic chapel at Cheadle, Staffordshire, Morning Post (3 September 1846), pp.5-6.

⁸¹ Chance, J.F., Op cit, p.50.

⁸² Ibidem, p.5.

⁸³ Ibidem, p.6-7.

⁸⁴ Ibidem, p.6.

⁸⁵ James Chance to Bontemps, 9 December 1844. Chance, J.F., Op. cit., p.187 and p.187 n. 3.

⁸⁶ J.F. Chance, Op cit, p.50 and p.50 n.2. The agreement between Chance Brothers and Bontemps dates from 15 April 1848.

⁸⁷ Ibidem, pp.5-6.

⁸⁸ Ibidem, pp.20-21.

⁸⁹ Official Descriptive ..., p. 704.

⁹⁰ Hampton, Dr. W., of Chance Brothers, Coloured Glasses, Journal of the Society of Chemical Industry, (16 March 1928).

⁹¹ Vaassen, E., The Makers of the Munich Glass: The Munich Royal Glass Painting Works, Glasgow Cathedral Lecture Series, No.5 (Glasgow: Society of Friends of Glasgow Cathedral, 1996), pp.2-4.

⁹² Ainmiller's painted window for the Parliament Hall in Edinburgh and an unknown water colour sketch by Wilhelm von Kaulbach of 1867: The Inauguration of the College of Justice in 1532, (Unpublished paper, original in German) pp. 50-51. I am grateful to Elgin Vaassen for giving me a copy of this translated into English.

⁹³ Chance, J.F., Op. cit., p.54 and p.54 n. 2.

⁹⁴ Pellatt, A., On Stained Glass. Jury Reports of the Exhibition. Builder (11 October 1862), p.735. Quoted in Winston, C., Memoirs Illustrative of the Art of Glass Painting, (London: John Murray, 1865), p.13.

⁹⁵ First published in Transactions of the R.I.B.A., (1852), and then Winston, C., Memoirs..., pp.176-185.

⁹⁶ Winston, C., Memoirs..., p.50, Letter XXIV, Winston to Wilson, 22 September 1861.

⁹⁷ Ibidem, p. 38, Letter XVIII, Winston to Wilson, 18 August 1857.

⁹⁸ Ibidem, p.36, Letter XVII, Winston to Wilson, 15 August 1857.

⁹⁹ Pellatt, A., Op cit, p.735. Pellatt owned the Falcon Glassworks Southwark, London (founded in the seventeenth century) which specialised in the manufacture of decorative glass. He lectured on glass manufacture and published Curiosities of Glass Making (London: 1849).

¹⁰⁰ Barker, Op cit, p.35 n.28. Cites Hartshorne, A., Old English Glasses, (1897), pp.413-414.

¹⁰¹ Ibidem, pp.33-6.

¹⁰² Pellatt, Op. cit., p.736

¹⁰³ Barker, Op. cit., pp.33, 33 n 3 and 4, and 129.

¹⁰⁴ Ibidem, p.129 and Chance, J.F., Op cit, pp.34-5, 89-90, 110 and 127.

¹⁰⁵ Barker, Op. cit., pp.129-132 and Chance, J.F., Op cit, pp.9, 18, 34-5, 39, 40, 90, 198-9, 202, 204, 207-9, 213 and 215.

¹⁰⁶ Winston, C., Memoirs..., pp.10-11. Letter III, Winston to Wilson, 20 April 1856.

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- ¹⁰⁷ Ibidem, p.10. Letter I, Winston to Wilson, 21 March 1856.
- ¹⁰⁸ Ibidem.
- ¹⁰⁹ Ibidem.
- ¹¹⁰ Ibidem, p.182.
- ¹¹¹ Ibidem, p.10. Letter III, Winston to Wilson, 20 April 1856.
- ¹¹² Ibidem, pp.222-230.
- ¹¹³ Pellatt, A., Op. cit., p.735. Also Winston, C., Memoirs....,p.20. Letter II, Winston to Wilson 4 February 1856.
- ¹¹⁴ Cooper, W., Crown Glass Cutter and Glazier's Manual, (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1835), p.105.
- ¹¹⁵ Barley, Keith, Trials and Observation in the Use of Silver Stain, Stained Glass, Issue 1 (1996), p12.
- ¹¹⁶ Ibidem, p.13.
- ¹¹⁷ This is in the possession of the National Library of Scotland.
- ¹¹⁸ Cooper, W., Memorandum, 19 March 1838.
- ¹¹⁹ St Helens Crown Glass Company, 1826-9; Greenall & Pilkington, 1829-49, Pilkington Brothers, 1849-94.
- ¹²⁰ Chance, J.F., Op. cit., p.9 and 9 n. 2.
- ¹²¹ Barker, Op. cit., p.130.
- ¹²² Chance, H., On the Manufacture of Crown and Sheet Glass, Journal of the Society of Arts, (15 February 1856), pp.222-3.
- ¹²³ Sodium and hydrogen ions are exchanged forming sodium hydroxide which lies as a hygroscopic salt on the surface of the glass.
- ¹²⁴ Hampton, W., Coloured Glasses, Journal of the Society of Chemical Industry (16 March 1928).
- ¹²⁵ Chance, J.F., Op. cit., p.19.
- ¹²⁶ According to Winston, the earliest known British example of yellow stain is the early fourteenth century Saint Catherine Window in the North Aisle of the Nave of York Minster. The exact date of this is unknown. Winston, Memoirs...., p. 261 n..1.
- ¹²⁷ Newton and Davison, Op. cit., pp. 99-100.
- ¹²⁸ Chance, J.F., Op. cit., p.223.
- ¹²⁹ Miller, H., My Schools and Schoolmasters, or the story of my education, (Edinburgh: B & W Publishing, 1993), p.22. First published in 1854.
- ¹³⁰ SRO: CS 96: 2452. See Scottish Record Office: Court of Session Productions c. 1760-1840, List and Index Society, Special Series, Vol. XXIII, (1987), p.225. The Court of Session was the supreme civil court of Scotland. Some productions were never returned or claimed.
- ¹³¹ SRO: CS96: 4274-6. See List and Index Society...., p.506.
- ¹³² SRO: CS96: 404, 51 pp. See List and Index Society...., p.245.

2. GLASS PAINTING IN SCOTLAND IN THE MID-NINETEENTH CENTURY: TRADE OR ART?

'Scotland is the country where self-education abounds, and where mental powers in all walks of life assert themselves in spite of fate or fortune.' (William Bell Scott)¹

A study of the stained glass revival in Scotland must focus on the person of James Ballantine, the proprietor of a large house painting business in Edinburgh which was established c.1828 as Ballantine & Allan and expanded to include glass painting approximately ten years later. Chapter Three discusses the logistics of Ballantine's glass painting enterprise while Chapter Four explores his commercial incentives. Firstly, however, did glass painting allow him to pursue more personal ambitions? The nineteenth century discrimination between trade and art and the uncertain status of glass painting is pertinent to much of this thesis. This chapter argues that Ballantine used glass painting and vernacular poetry in the manner of Robert Burns to achieve a social status in Edinburgh which, with the notable exception of David Ramsay Hay, was denied to the house painter.

It is beyond the scope of this thesis to explain the Scottish respect for self-education in socio-economic terms. Evidently, however, in Edinburgh, being born into poverty did not necessarily deny the talented social acceptance. Ballantine sought admittance to an inner circle of artistic celebrities, a number of whom began their careers as house painters. These were Ballantine's inspiration, and, in certain cases, his allies. Ballantine was too much of a pragmatist to abandon house painting but, as Lord Henry Cockburn (1779-1854) wittily remarked, by actively promoting glass painting as a fine art,

and through his literary activities, he – ‘... made business feed the Muses and the Muses grace the business.’² By recruiting academic artists as designers of stained glass windows he gained status as the proprietor of an artistic establishment.

Particularly significant to Ballantine's rise were Sir William Allan, David Roberts (1796-1864) and David Ramsay Hay (1798-1866). Sir William Allan was Ballantine's tutor at the Trustees' Academy, Edinburgh and his importance as a teacher is discussed in Chapter Five with reference to the artistic education of Francis Wilson Oliphant. He was the son of a shore master in Alloa and began his artistic career as an apprentice coach painter. He graduated from the Trustees' Academy to the Royal Academy Schools in London, being elected Member in 1835. In Edinburgh, he was elected Member of the Royal Scottish Academy in 1829 and President in 1837. His appointment as *Limner to the Queen for Scotland* in 1842 earned him a knighthood. Roberts was the son of an impoverished shoe-maker who, on completing his apprenticeship with the Edinburgh house painter Gavin Beugo in 1815, worked as a house painter but spent 1816 and the early part of 1817 painting scenery for a travelling circus. In 1818 he completely abandoned house painting for scene painting and pursued this well paid career until 1830. Although he finally became celebrated as an intrepid traveller who introduced the British public to southern Spain and the Middle East through dramatic paintings, in the 1820s he had already caused a sensation in Glasgow, Edinburgh and London as a scene painter.³ Bypassing the Royal Scottish Academy's own school, he was elected Honorary member in 1829. When the Royal Academy in London elected him Member in 1858, the Royal Scottish Academy awarded him a silver medal. Hay was one of Roberts' fellow apprentices and transformed the status of house painting in Edinburgh, being singled

out as the first 'intellectual' house painter. Although Hay could have had little formal education, he made a name for himself as a proponent of aesthetic theory. He was patronised by Sir Walter Scott who, in March 1820, offered him the interiors of Abbotsford as an early house painting commission. Hay's account of his work there is included in the sixth edition of *The Laws of Harmonious Colouring adapted to Interior Decorations with observations on the practice of house painting*.⁴ He was in partnership with George Nicholson for seven years but broke away in 1829 after a serious dispute over a patent for damask wallpaper. With the Edinburgh New Town to practise upon, he elevated house painting into an art form.⁵ Hay published the following works on aesthetics:

The Laws of Harmonious Colouring Adapted to House Painting, (1828)

Original Geometrical Diaper Designs, (1844)

The Principles of Beauty in Colouring Systematized, (1845)

First Principles of Symmetrical Beauty, (1846)

A Catalogue Raisonné of the Works of D.R.HAY, F.R.S.E., (1849).

Their correspondence shows that, from at least as early as the 1850s, Roberts, Hay and Ballantine were close friends. ⁶ Roberts was twelve and Hay ten years older than Ballantine respectively. As Roberts lived in London from January 1823 until the end of his life, exactly when the friendship between Ballantine and himself developed is uncertain, but, presumably, not during their brief encounter at the Theatre Royal in 1822 (see below, p.52).

2:1 JAMES BALLANTINE: A SELF-MADE MAN

'In the fullest sense of the word, it may be said that James Ballantine was a self-made man.' (Obituary)

Ballantine was born in West Port, Edinburgh on 6 June 1808 and died in the city at *Warrender Lodge* on the 19 December 1877 aged 69 years, after suffering what was described as 'recurring paralysis of the brain', presumably a series of strokes.⁷

APPRENTICESHIP TO ARCHIBALD CLELAND

Ballantine's father, a brewer, died leaving his ten year old son to support his wife and three older daughters.⁸ The apprenticeship most suited to his evident artistic talent was that of a house painter. Among Ballantine's future acquaintances Sir William Allan, Roberts, Hay and Horatio M'Culloch were apprenticed to house painters or decorative painters and their early experiences must have been very similar.

Roberts foresaw that his memoirs, published in 1866 as *The Life of David Roberts R.A.*, might be an inspiration to '*... young artists who may be similarly situated with me ...*'.⁹ Given that Ballantine edited Roberts's memoirs, it is particularly appropriate to use them to gain an insight into the formative years of his own career.

All Ballantine's obituary has to say regarding his apprenticeship is that – '*He was apprenticed to a house painter in the city under whom he is said to have speedily become a proficient craftsman.*' His own single known reference to his apprenticeship avoids mentioning his

master by name but makes much of his introduction to Roberts and scene painting -

'In the autumn of 1822 I had the honour of being colour boy to Mr Roberts in the Theatre Royal, Edinburgh. I had just entered my apprenticeship as an ornamental house-painter with the person who executed the painting work of the theatre, and supplied colour for the scenes; and having evinced some aptitude for art, I was selected as likely to be useful to Mr Roberts.' ¹⁰

Roberts began working for William Henry Murray, brother of Harriet Siddons and Manager of the Theatre Royal, in 1820 for a salary of £2 per week, but had to find and pay for his own colour boy.¹¹

As Ballantine acknowledges how, at fourteen years of age, his master actively encouraged his artistic talent, it is important to identify him. Being told that his master was responsible for the redecoration of the Theatre Royal in 1822 has proved to be a sound lead. A play-bill advertising the subsequent re-opening of the theatre on Saturday 16 November 1822 identifies him as being one Mr. Cleland, an *ornamental painter* who was, seemingly, proprietor of a substantial business -

*'The Audience Department of the
THEATRE ROYAL, EDINBURGH,
Having been
ENTIRELY REPAINTED AND DECORATED,
It will
RE-OPEN FOR THE WINTER SEASON,
This present Evening, Saturday, November 16. 1822,
When will be performed Goldsmith's Comedy of*

SHE STOOPS TO CONQUER

THE DECORATIONS OF THE THEATRE,

designed by Mr. David Roberts, of the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane, and executed under his direction, by

Mr. Cleland, ornamental painter, Hanover Street, & Mr. Elder, carver & gilder, Leith Street, and numerous assistants.

The roof painted by Mr Cleland - the ornaments in front of the boxes by Mr Elder.

The grand central gas lustre has been entirely repaired and enriched under the direction of Messrs Rankin and Co. Leith Walk.

THE NEW CRIMSON CURTAIN AND ARCHITECTURAL DROP SCENE,

designed by Mr. David Roberts, and executed by him and his assistant. ¹²

Little else is known about Cleland. From 1817 to 1818 an Archibald Cleland is listed in the Edinburgh Post Office Directory trading as a painter at 15 Hanover Street. Interestingly, by 1832 his name is replaced by that of Ballantine & Allan. If this is one and the same as the Archibald Cleland painter cited in the Edinburgh Sasines, he died c. 1826 when Ballantine's apprenticeship had several years still to run and someone else must have taken over his business on behalf of his widow until 1830 or 1831.¹³ It seems likely that he was, as the latter Cleland was married to a Margaret Nicol and an acting family of that name was the mainstay of the Theatre Royal.¹⁴ At the end of the performance of Goldsmith's *She Stoops to Conquer* on 16 November the unveiling of Roberts' new drop scene was heralded by Miss M. Nicol performing *A Favourite pas Seul*.

Like many trades at that time, house painting was dangerous to the health, as Roberts's description of the cellar of Beugo's paint shop confirms – *'The smell of this dungeon, after being shut up all night, was very nauseous, and often made me ill; but here I had to grind colours all day long till eight at night ...'*.¹⁵ Roberts's fellow apprentice Hay died of premature senility which might have been caused by his growing up in such a toxic environment. To save on wages, Beugo employed more apprentices than men and worked them hard. They were paid 2s per week in their first year, with an annual rise of 6d. The length of the working day was determined by the hours of daylight: 6am to 8pm for eight months of the year but only 9am to 4pm in the winter. The apprentices started earlier than the other employees and it was Roberts' responsibility to open up the paint shop. The only hours available for self-education were winter evenings when Roberts read whatever books were available to him in the local library and practised his drawing. Apparently, Beugo was a tempestuous and violent master and Ballantine may have fared better under Cleland.¹⁶

Robert's records how important the theatre was to his artistic education once his apprenticeship was over and he occasionally had money to spare -

*'My knowledge of art was chiefly derived from the scenery of the Edinburgh Theatre Royal, as seen from the shilling gallery. I knew little of the ancient and still less of the modern masters scarcely a night passed on my return from the theatre without my having made sketches of what I had seen.'*¹⁷

As will be discussed in Chapter Four, Ballantine's own early introduction to the theatre and his evident love of it, arguably, also

formed his artistic imagination. The few months Ballantine spent with Roberts at the Theatre Royal must have been an exciting interlude in the drudgery of his apprenticeship. William Leighton Leitch (1804-83) was Roberts's colour boy at the Theatre Royal in Glasgow and it was, seemingly, a sublime experience -

'I ... was sent to the theatre with a small pot of colour after passing through a mysterious confusion of dark labyrinths, ascending stair after stair, a trudging along a platform of (interminable length) surrounded by quantities of unearthly-looking machinery, I at last reached a place where on a monstrous frame was stretched a sheet of canvas like the mainsail of a ship, in front of which stood Roberts busy painting.' ¹⁸

There was no work at the Theatre Royal in Edinburgh during the summer of 1822. Trying his luck in London, Roberts signed a contract to start work at the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane, on the first of January 1823 and was given leave of absence to return to Edinburgh until then. The autumn season at the Theatre Royal closed on 02.11.1822 and the winter season opened just two weeks later on 16.11.1822. It was during these two weeks that the theatre was redecorated and Roberts executed the new drop scene. The unveiling of this was something of a publicity stunt, the public having been worked up into a state of suspense by a competition announced on 16 August, the prize being an item of silver plate worth 50 guineas -

'To the Public. - It having been suggested that a NEW DROP SCENE, depicting some great NATIONAL SUBJECT, would be a handsome and appropriate ornament to the Edinburgh Theatre - The Proprietrix respectively submits the following Propositions to the Scottish Artists,

as she (feels) the design and execution ought, as a just compliment, to rest with them.'

The only specification was that – '*... an Architectural Design, commemorative of the Achievements of Scotland, in ARTS, SCIENCES, and WAR, be the subject of the SCENE.*'¹⁹

ART EDUCATION

Wishing to improve his drawing skills, Ballantine sought admission to the Trustees' Academy in Edinburgh and, more boldly, attended anatomy classes at the University.²⁰ The importance of the Trustees' Academy, the first Government funded school of design in Britain, to the artistic development of glass painting both in Scotland and England is discussed in Chapter Five in relation to the career of Francis Wilson Oliphant. The surviving records offer little with which to reconstruct Ballantine's brief time there other than that he was admitted on 6 February 1827, towards the end of his apprenticeship.²¹ The memoirs of his fellow pupil in the Antique Class, William Bell Scott (1811-90), however, paint a sympathetic portrait of the young Ballantine bravely embarking upon a programme of self-education and suggest that, at this stage, his artistic ambitions tended mainly towards poetry -

'... a man gifted by nature and born to master circumstances. He was apprentice to a decorative house-painter, but by his own determination, not a determination to leave his branch of trade but to cultivate his taste, had qualified himself to find admission to the Trustees' School of Art He was shy towards his fellow-students, but nearly always had books in his pockets or lying beside him, both of which peculiarities attracted me to him, notwithstanding the powerful

odour of oil paint. Finding he walked homeward the same way as myself, we were quickly friends and confidants. This was James Ballantine. By and by he produced his poetry, which was in the vernacular, like Burns's: a choice of language which has been an insurmountable barrier to every one else, so far as cultivated public is concerned. He afterwards published a novel or two, descriptive of the national character ...'.²²

2:2 PROSPERITY

Ballantine married Henrietta Miller (1816-1896), the daughter of Alexander Miller and Katherine Ballantine who lived in Old Cumnock, Ayrshire. Her mother's name implies that Henrietta and her husband were cousins.²³ Nothing is known about her contribution, if any, to her husband's success other than that she gave him two sons, Alexander and James, to assist him loyally. The census for 30 March 1851 lists Ballantine as being aged 42 years old, Henrietta as 34, their daughters Margaret and Catherine as eleven and five, and their sons Alexander and James as ten and one.²⁴ Margaret died in 1877, shortly before her father who left her daughter, Henrietta Hutchinson, one fifth of his estate.²⁵

The 1841 census found the couple living at 106 Lauriston Place, not far from West Port where Ballantine was born, but by 1845 they had moved to the attic flat above Ballantine & Allan's prestigious premises at 42 George Street.²⁶ By 1853 they were the owners of Warrender Lodge, a substantial villa on the far side of the Meadows, in the angle of Argyle Place and Warrender Park Road, and clearly outlined, together with its orderly gardens, on contemporary Ordnance Survey maps.²⁷ Henrietta died at 7 Warrender Park Road in 1896 by which

time *Warrender Lodge* must have been demolished to make way for the tenements of Marchmont, under construction from the late 1870s.

Alexander (1841-1906) became his father's partner in 1860, the firm's name changing to Ballantine & Son. Perhaps because his health was failing, in 1874 Ballantine made Alexander and James co-partners in his business. Seemingly, this was when 40 George Street was acquired and the firm's activities divided into glass painting at number 42 under Alexander, and house painting at number 40 under James. The sons bought the respective premises and their father's share of stock-in-trade and assets. His estate was valued at £10, 244, 9s. 11d with an additional estate of £1,961,9s 7d.²⁸

Reconstructing Ballantine's home life is not particularly relevant to this thesis. Suffice it to say that correspondence with absent friends, particularly Roberts, describes a comfortable and generous household. For example, when Roberts notified Ballantine of his intention to visit Edinburgh in September 1862 he received the welcoming reply -

*'I hope to see you here in a very few days and my wife ... bids me say that we will be very much delighted and will feel very much honoured if you will take up your quarters in Warrender Lodge during your stay in Auld Reekie. We will keep you very quiet and you shall do as you like and I shall dander with you when and where ye like.'*²⁹

Returning to Scotland forty-five years on from his student days at the Trustees' Academy, Bell Scott took his London friends, the painter Alma Tadema and his wife, on a surprise Sunday visit to *Warrender Lodge*. They found Ballantine conservatively prosperous with a fine carriage standing at his door and characteristically hospitable.

Although, to Bell Scott's embarrassment, the bohemian Tademas needed to be introduced, they –'... stayed and lunched, the addition of four guests not incommoding the ample family table.'³⁰

2:3 LITERARY FAME

Although today Ballantine commands interest as a glass painter and his writings receive little or no attention, this was not the case in his own life time, as his obituary explains -

*'It is, indeed, chiefly as a writer of simple lyrics and vigorous ballads that Mr Ballantine has won his way to the hearts of his countrymen. Many of his pieces are of a semi-humourous character, displaying great knowledge of the habits and virtues as well as the failings of the humbler classes of his countrymen, which he paints with great spirit and no small picturesqueness.'*³¹

Having a keen sense of national identity, he wrote in vernacular Scots and was Secretary of the Burns's Society, compiling the *Chronicle of the Hundredth Birthday of Robert Burns* in 1859. At many a public event Ballantine made his presence felt by standing up and reciting, for example, at a Royal Scottish Academy dinner held in honour of Roberts and his fellow scene painter Clarkson Stanfield (1774-1858) on 2 October 1858. On this occasion, he was rewarded by a toast from Noel Paton who paid tribute to -

*'... those old poets who commenced, and the gifted men who continued, and are still continuing, those immortal strains on account of which Scotland takes such a high rank in the world.'*³²

Ballantine's association with the Theatre Royal, Edinburgh, having begun as the scene painter's colour boy, it must have given him great satisfaction to see his work performed there. Seemingly, he wrote plays as a means of getting his songs performed on stage. Dibdin describes *The Provost's Daughter* which opened on 20 October 1852 as an operetta punctuated by ballads. Likewise, *The Gabertunzie Man* which opened on 7 June 1858 was studded with lyrics ... of acknowledged beauty. Ballantine found freemasonry useful to his advance in life, and when the Duke of Atholl, who was also Grand Master Mason of Scotland, graced the performance of the latter on 23 June, the lead actor – '*... delivered an address specially written for the occasion by Brother Ballantine.*'³³

Bell Scott was resident in Newcastle in the 1850s, having been appointed Headmaster of the Government School of Design there in 1845. He invited Ballantine to cross the border in 1854 not to educate his students in the art of glass painting but to lecture to the Literary and Philosophical Institution on traditional Scottish song. Apparently, although invited to lecture often, so far only the Literary and Scientific Institution of Edinburgh had been privileged to hear him speak on the subject. Ballantine accepted the invitation but insisted upon the support of Mr. Mackenzie, the lead violinist at the Theatre Royal, and native singers, as -

*'The illustrations could not be effectively given but by some such vocal and instrumental ... as I had here. Scotch and especially Jacobite Scotch songs cannot be sung but by natives of Scotland.'*³⁴

Ballantine continued to write into old age and has left behind him the following literary works:

Various early songs, poems and prose sketches published in *The Scotsman*.

The Gabertunzie's Wallet, (Edinburgh: 1843 - published in monthly instalments)

The Miller of Deanhaugh, (Edinburgh:1843)

Poems, (Edinburgh: 1856)

One Hundred Songs with Music, (Edinburgh: 1865)

Lilas Lee, and other Poems, (Edinburgh:1871)

2:4 INFLUENTIAL FRIENDS

Ballantine's change in status between two events which took place on either side of his securing the commission to design and execute the stained glass windows for the new House of Lords (see Chapters Three and Six) is interesting. On 19 October 1842, Roberts' friends and admirers in Edinburgh held a public dinner at Barry's Hotel, Queen Street in honour of his safe return from Syria and the Holy Land.³⁵ The Chairman of the dinner was Lord Henry Cockburn and the Steward was Sir William Allan. Although the architects and artists called upon to officiate, namely David Bryce, Hay, David Octavius Hill, Robert Scott Lauder and Horatio M'Culloch, later all numbered among his close acquaintance, Ballantine was a mere paying guest hard pressed to afford a ticket.³⁶ The situation was very different at a similar dinner held at the Royal Scottish Academy on 1 or 2 October 1858 to mark Roberts being awarded both a silver medal and the Freedom of the City of Edinburgh. This time Ballantine was distinguished from among the thirty-four people who attended, along with Hay, Bryce, Hill, Noel Paton and Sam Bough, by special mention in the press reports.³⁷ Ballantine had also been among the select few

invited to witness the award ceremony on 22 September in the City Chambers.³⁸

Lord Cockburn's eulogy to Roberts at the 1842 dinner must have played upon the ambitions of the struggling Ballantine. He made a number of telling comments indicative of the nineteenth century equation of *art* and edifying message and the importance of this to the development of glass painting is discussed in Chapters Five and Six. House painting, being concerned primarily with conventional decoration, ranked very low among the arts, if it qualified at all. Painting and poetry, however, having the moral power to '*... elevate and refine the public mind by putting the purest and most intellectual pleasures always within their command...*' ranked at the top. In his rise from house painter to artist, Roberts had demonstrated the '*... power of better feelings...*' and, as scene painting and travel painting were both novel and *honourable*, his *eminence* could not be challenged. Meanwhile, if he had remained a house painter, he might well have died in obscurity.³⁹

DAVID ROBERTS AND DAVID RAMSAY HAY

It is much easier to like Ballantine the friend and amateur poet rather than Ballantine the proprietor of a glass painting studio. His careful reports to Roberts on the health of their mutual Edinburgh friends are touching.⁴⁰ Hay's declining health made him an infrequent correspondent and, after a worrying silence, Roberts resorted to Ballantine who, apparently, was visiting Hay daily, for news. Roberts subsequently confessed to Hay with a teasing play on Ballantine's Scottish affectations -

*'... I wrote to Jeemy Ballentine to tell me how my earliest and ever truest friend was and in doing This I knew it would give offence but ... it made me glad to learn you were as well as those who know you could wish, ... I was satisfied.'*⁴¹

In August 1863 Roberts made what was to be his last visit to Scotland and Ballantine accompanied him on a visit to the now seriously declining Hay. As a businessman, however, as will be seen, Ballantine was bullying and belligerent in his determination to secure commissions.

Ballantine sought Roberts's assistance with two significant projects: stained glass windows for the Museum Room in the Scott Monument (installed 1855) and the re-glazing of Glasgow Cathedral. Three letters of 1854 from Ballantine to Roberts survive concerning the former. Ballantine had proposed to the City Council that the Museum Room should be glazed with stained glass but had made little progress with securing the commission. If Roberts, the celebrated artist, was known to be the designer of the windows, however -

*'... the Town Council may renew their courage to the sticking point, and resolve to pay for stained glass windows although they are generally infernally not nithered.'*⁴²

Ballantine was delighted with Roberts's sketch designs which he translated into working drawings himself. Through Roberts, his experiments with glass painting would be taken seriously and prestigious commissions would follow -

'I feel confident my dear Roberts that in after times when the true principles of medieval art are better understood that the part of the

*Scott Monument which will be most admired will be ye painted glass windows designed by David Roberts and executed in glass by Jamie Ballantine.'*⁴³

Ballantine was perhaps alluding to the architectural competition of 1836 when Roberts's design for the Scott Monument lost to that of George Meikle Kemp (1795-1844). The brief was for a gothic structure and the Roberts' interior would have resembled that of the La Sainte Chapelle, Paris which he later proposed as the model for the painted decoration of the Museum Room. Ballantine thought that naming Hay as the painter would secure the necessary approval for Roberts's proposals -

*'I approve also heartily with respect to the decoration of the room itself I know La Chapelle and that must be the model. We must however set our foot into the stirrup with the glass first after which will get our friend D.R. to come on with his share behind us on the crupper.'*⁴⁴

Roberts's designs were executed and are still in place. The windows depict Saint Giles and Saint Andrew together with the arms of the City of Edinburgh and Scotland.⁴⁵ [Image 5] Soon after their success with the Scott Monument, Ballantine called upon Roberts again to help him secure the commission for the re-glazing of Glasgow Cathedral. Unravelling the complex history of the re-glazing is a work in progress and Chapter Seven discusses the broader issues as understood so far. Material relating to Ballantine's involvement is still coming to light and the exact reasons for the acrimonious outcome are as yet unclear.⁴⁶

The re-glazing followed the restoration of the time-ravaged fabric of Glasgow Cathedral. While the restoration was directed by Her

Majesty's Office of Works and Public Buildings, the re-glazing was an independent initiative. The art collector Archibald McLellan, in his capacity as a former chairman of the Glasgow Dilettanti Society, was the first to call for the restoration of the Cathedral in his published lecture *Essay on the Cathedral Church of Glasgow* (1833).⁴⁷ This included the bold proposal, in Presbyterian Scotland, that the 'gorgeous colouring' of stained glass would enhance the interior. If it ever existed at all, the mediaeval stained glass in the Cathedral windows was destroyed during the Reformation. The east window, however, was re-glazed with simple ornamental stained glass in the early nineteenth century and this, together with a prospective west window, were sketchily illustrated in Dr. Cleland's *Proposals* (1835) for the restoration of the Cathedral and Billing's *Baronial and Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Scotland* (1845).

McLellan's proposal was finally acted upon by Sir Andrew Orr.⁴⁸ As Lord Provost of Glasgow (1854-7) he prevailed upon the Office of Works in November 1855 to pay for a new east window. On 21 February 1856 he announced that he had commissioned a design for a window to be paid for by himself, the City Council would pay for the west window and he had found subscribers for the two large transept windows and fifteen others.⁴⁹ A self-congratulatory account of his endeavours formed the substance of Orr's address to the first meeting of the Subscribers, called on 26 August 1856: he had wished to see not just the east window replaced by another in '*... a higher style of art...*' but all the windows in the cathedral enlisted in an aesthetic crusade.⁵⁰

Ballantine claimed a share of the credit for having initiated the re-glazing. According to him, it was Robert Matheson (1808-77), principal architect to the Office of Works in Scotland (1851-77), who,

in 1855, first proposed to the Government that they replace the east window and so encourage the wealthy citizens of Glasgow to subscribe to a re-glazing project. Matheson asked Ballantine both for an estimate and a design for the new window. During a chance encounter in the Cathedral, it was Ballantine who suggested to Orr that he donate a window. When Ballantine presented Orr with a design for this, he was asked for further designs for the four largest windows, the Lord Provost intending to use these to entice subscribers.⁵¹ Ballantine notified Orr of the completion of these further designs in a letter dated 12 August 1856 and, with strategic timing, attempted to secure his claim to future commissions by publishing it in the *Glasgow Herald* four days before the first meeting of Subscribers.⁵² He also published an outline of the proposed subjects of the windows in no less a periodical than the *Art Journal*.

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Ballantine was an arch-strategist when it came to seeking commissions, a favourite tactic being to present potential clients with ideas that they themselves had initially proposed. His letter to Orr suggests that the latter had raised the question, among others, of the importance of employing eminent artists as designers as Ballantine was at pains to stress that, in preparing the designs for the four largest windows in Glasgow Cathedral, he had been assisted by Roberts and the architect John Thomas (1813-62). Charles Heath Wilson, Headmaster of Glasgow School of Art, had written to Orr on 23 February 1856 insisting that eminent artists be employed, perhaps prompting the latter to discuss possibilities with Ballantine. Later that year Wilson was appointed Secretary to the Glasgow Cathedral Painted Windows Committee (see Chapter Seven) and, judging Ballantine to be a very inferior artist, successfully thwarted his ambitions to have his work installed in a Scottish national

monument.

Orr found himself caught between Ballantine and Wilson and his behaviour towards the former was, perhaps, not entirely honourable. Before being prevailed upon by Wilson and testing the opinion of the more influential of the Subscribers, in particular the eleventh Duke of Hamilton, he had been perfectly satisfied with Ballantine's capabilities, sending the design for his own window to London for authorisation on 12 February 1856. Moreover, the Glasgow Corporation Minutes record that the design was highly approved of by the Government.⁵⁴ The unfortunate Orr extricated himself from this uncomfortable situation at Ballantine's expense, announcing that -

*'... his name had been thus used without his sanction, by parties writing to the newspapers, and putting forward their particular views and wishes for employment this had been done, not only without his sanction, but in the face of his express desire to the contrary.'*⁵⁵

On 1 June 1857 the Glasgow Cathedral Painted Windows Committee published a report stating their intention to employ, solely, the *Königliche Glasmalereianstalt* of Munich.⁵⁶ Ballantine had certainly prepared one, and maybe two, designs for the east window, the Government's gift to Glasgow Cathedral. When he received a letter from the Office of Works saying that they agreed to the east window being designed and executed by the *Königliche Glasmalereianstalt*, in accordance with the wishes of the Committee, Wilson gleefully commented – *'This letter completely extinguishes the pretensions of the Ballantine party ...'*⁵⁷

Ballantine attempted, through the Glasgow art collector John

Houldsworth, to find an alternative way of realising his ambitions. A letter from Ballantine to Roberts commenting on the break up of Houldsworth's art collection following his death in 1859 is evidence of the mutual regard between artist, glass painter and patron -

*'Young Henry Houldsworth the oldest son of our late friend is a fine clever fellow but delicate. He is wintering in Egypt at present. With the exception of him I don't know much of the family. Only if I had been one of the number I would have laboured hard to have kept together the best ... gems collected by such a father, as you say his loss to art will not easily be filled up and I don't think it likely that among the eating and drinking brother Lords of Glasgow many patrons of art are to be expected for a long time yet.'*⁵⁸

Houldsworth was among the Subscribers to the re-glazing of Glasgow Cathedral and had been allocated window twelve in the nave.⁵⁹ Independence of taste, national pride or personal loyalty, or all three, prompted him to ignore the resolution of the Subscribers to act in unison and be ruled by the Committee (see Chapter Seven). Whether he approached Ballantine or vice versa is unclear, but Ballantine set to work on and completed Houldsworth's window. If Roberts, whose paintings were central to Houldsworth's collection, assisted with the design it would explain the latter's wilfulness. As Thomas had designed both the family mausoleum on the Glasgow Necropolis and the interiors of Houldsworth's house at I Park Terrace, Glasgow, he may also have been involved.⁶⁰

The future of Houldsworth's window became a vituperative battle between Ballantine and Wilson's conflicting ambitions. Encouraged by his initial success with the Government, Ballantine tried to by-pass Wilson by sending the design for Houldsworth's window direct to the

First Commissioner of the Office of Works for authorisation. Since the election of the Glasgow Cathedral Painted Windows Committee on 26 August 1856, however, the agreed procedure was that designs were first approved by them and then sent to London. According to Wilson, the Commissioner must have assumed that the Committee had already seen the design and was tricked by Ballantine into authorising it -

*'There can be no doubt that Lord John Manners was misled with signing the design for Mr Houldsworth's window, not however by that gentleman. The First Commissioner escaped from his dilemma by requiring that the Cartoons of the Window when shown to him should be referred to the Committee. They were not however and the window was proceeded with, with the formalities agreed upon and was necessarily rejected. It was a very indifferent work.'*⁶¹

It was left to Henry Houldsworth to attempt to fulfil his father's intentions but Wilson, the Committee and the Government, however, held fast.⁶² When, Ballantine wrote to the Office of Works asserting his right to install the window so that its merits be fairly judged by their representatives and, in turn, questioning the right of the Committee to dictate to the Government, his letter was passed on to the Committee for comment. Orr's response, as Chairman of the Committee, illustrates the precarious status of the nineteenth century glass painter with artistic pretensions. When they became troublesome, educated artist reverted to ignorant tradesman and disdain for commerce was a convenient excuse for brushing them aside -

'The Committee on the Cathedral Windows have not at any time had any correspondence with that person - and, as regards Mr.

*Houldsworth's Window, as he is not a principal, but merely the tradesman employed, he certainly cannot require the Government to allow him to erect the Window I do not think it necessary to take any notice whatever of Mr. Ballantine's statements as to the proceedings of the Committee...'*⁶³

Such treatment must have been hard for the man who had proposed in the *Art Journal* that the re-glazing '*... be executed under the superintendence of one artist [namely himself], that unity of purpose and harmony of connection may be attained...'*, confident in his hopes of being appointed.

Ballantine used Hay's reputation to recommend Ballantine & Allan for the commission to design and execute the stained glass windows for the new Houses of Parliament. In so doing, as described in Chapter Three, he found himself publicly accused of gaining the commission through 'interest'. The competition of 1843-4 to select a glass painter is discussed in Chapters Three and Six. Ballantine busied himself with preparing a treatise on the aesthetics of glass painting, its declared intention being to demonstrate '*... that Glass Painting is a medium for expression worthy of the energies of genius ...'*, so introducing himself as a man of 'taste' rather than a mere tradesman.⁶⁴ Uninvited, he sent a copy to Charles Locke Eastlake (1793-1865), Secretary to the Royal Commission on the Fine Arts which was responsible for awarding the commission (see Chapter Six). Ballantine made strategic reference to the evidence given before the Select Committee on the Arts and their Connexion (sic) with Manufactures: the detrimental effect of the excise duties on glass manufacture, the educational value of history painting as a public art and schools of design. Hay's aesthetic theories were laboriously applied to a stylistic analysis of mediaeval glass painting. Discussion of proportional

geometry, nature, and colour harmony is used to argue for a re-appraisal of mediaeval glass painting, and its contemporary adaptation, as high art. In a footnote, Ballantine innocently observes

*'For ample and satisfactory explanations of the principles on which this and the following general rules are founded, the reader may consult Mr. D.R. Hay's Laws of Harmonious Colouring, the best practical treatise on the subject extant. Having mentioned that gentleman's name, I cannot forego this opportunity of offering my humble testimony to the fine discriminating taste manifested in his various works on form, colour and ornamental design. Indeed, I should find it difficult to say how much I owe, in matters relating to art, to the perusal of these excellent productions, and the enlightened conversation of their talented author.'*⁶⁵

In 1836 Hay was called before the Select Committee whose report referred to him, not without condescension, as *'...an intelligent practical witness...'*⁶⁶ He described himself as being a house painter, decorator, and gilder. He was called on account of the Select Committee's interest, firstly, in the Trustees' Academy as a model for national schools of design and, secondly, his writings on aesthetics for the self-instruction of the artisan. As will be discussed in Chapter Five, he was critical of the Trustees' Academy in that it directed its students towards the fine arts and its teaching was *'... not calculated to produce designers for ornamental works.'* Apparently, the artisan gained little benefit from learning to draw by copying casts of antique sculpture and ornament. He informed the Select Committee that he had recently published a programme of instruction in the third edition of *Treatise on Colouring* and argued for the importance of books as well as institutions as a means of educating artisans, some of whom could be expected to use their

leisure time productively and apply themselves to reading.⁶⁷ The Hay programme began with the drawing of simple geometric forms by hand and progressing to curves before commencing drawing from nature with the study of large leaf forms.⁶⁸

An example of Ballantine's forced application of Hay's aesthetic theories to the analysis of mediaeval glass painting, which is far removed from genuine archaeology and scholarship, is as follows -

'ORNAMENTAL PAINTED GLASS OF SECONDARY POINTED ARCHITECTURE

*... we find, that, in accordance with certain fixed rules of proportion they elongated, intersected, diversified, and arranged, rectangular, triangular, and curvilinear figures, and made these harmonious geometric combinations their leading points for colour. They were thus enabled with certainty to produce a pleasing general effect, and to fill up the detail according to their own fancy, with an imitation of the common weeds, flowers, and plants they found growing around them. The ornamental glass of this period is, therefore, characterised by a rich, juicy freshness, as well as an easy play of elegant outline, and graceful proportion.'*⁶⁹ [Image 6]

The Ecclesiologist commented perceptively that Ballantine's analysis required '*... greater development, and (we should fancy,) more extensive study of ancient examples ...*' in order to gain validity.⁷⁰ To compare Ballantine's treatise with Charles Winston's *An Inquiry into the Difference of Style Observable in Ancient Glass Paintings* (1847) would be unfair in that the latter was the product of many years of archaeological study (see Chapters Five and Seven). Reference to the latter does, however, identify Ballantine as a

product of the specific cultural climate in Edinburgh rather than the broader stained glass revival.

The intelligence of Hay's evidence can be measured by the correspondence of his drawing programme to the preliminary stages of that introduced by William Dyce (1806-64) as Director of the first Government School of Design in London (appointed 1840).⁷¹

EDINBURGH ALE

Edinburgh Ale is the title of a photograph or calotype which shows Ballantine drinking with David Octavius Hill (1802-1870). [Image 7a] Despite a successful career as a painter, Hill is celebrated more as a pioneer photographer.⁷² In 1845 he moved to *Rock House* on Calton Hill, Edinburgh and there, with the technical assistance of Robert Adamson (1821-48), began experimenting with photography as a tool for portrait painting. Hill's genius for telling composition and lighting has bequeathed an informative collection of portraits of Ballantine and his contemporaries. Ballantine, pen in hand and, perhaps, tongue-in-cheek, chose to be represented as a poet in the Byronic manner, complete with Roman hair cut and melodramatic drapery. [Image 7b] Hill was also a close friend of Roberts, Lord Cockburn and Paton, and, as the long serving Secretary to the Royal Scottish Academy, a powerful ally for Ballantine.

Apparently, Stephen Adam (1848-1910), one of Glasgow's most significant glass painters, entertained his friends with stories of the colourful people he had met during his apprenticeship in Edinburgh, claiming that -

*'Ballantine's studio was the haunt of many eminent men, such as David Bryce, the architect; James Grant, the novelist; Sir Noel Paton, several of the Lords of Session, Horatio McCulloch, and that genius among Bohemians, Sam Bough.'*⁷³

Did Ballantine claim his place among such innovators as Hill, Paton, M'Culloch and Bough through the novelty of glass painting or was he just a convivial and entertaining host?⁷⁴ Did the conversation dwell upon experiments with new styles of painting and new media, or rather their shared interest in traditional culture? The following tribute to Hill could well be true of Ballantine -

*'... his manner in society was blithe and genial and he sang a capital song, not infrequently entertaining his companions with ballads of his own composition ... his social qualities secured him a hearty welcome in every circle he entered.'*⁷⁵

Hill provided landscape illustrations for *The Poetical Works of the Ettrick Shepherd* (1838) and *Land of Burns* (1840) published by John Blackie of Glasgow; Paton, as mentioned, was evidently interested in traditional Scottish song; and the landscape painter Sam Bough (1822-78) was as much admired as a violinist and a singer as he was a painter. Bough was born in Carlisle and came to Edinburgh in 1855 when he was thirty-three. Like Roberts, he was the son of a shoe maker and began his artistic career as a theatrical scene painter, working in Manchester and Glasgow. In 1856 he was elected Associate of the Royal Scottish Academy but his drinking habits kept him waiting for full membership until 1875. The landscape painter Horatio M'Culloch (1805-67) was yet another to have begun his artistic career as an apprentice house painter. He was born in Glasgow but

moved to Edinburgh 1838 when he was elected a full member of the Royal Scottish Academy (elected Associate in 1834).

Being landscape painters, Bough and M'Culloch were of little direct use to Ballantine, but, after Roberts's death, he collaborated with the figurative painters Paton and Robert Herdman (1829-88) on at least one stained glass project, the re-glazing of Saint Giles Cathedral, Edinburgh. Of necessity, this thesis closes with the re-glazing of Glasgow Cathedral but a comparison of the two projects would, no doubt, prove interesting and informative. In both cases the re-glazing was part of a comprehensive programme of restoration. Paton and Herdman assisted with the new windows for the choir of Saint Giles Cathedral which were executed between 1874 and 1877 under the latter's supervision.

Herdman, the son of a minister and graduate of the University of Saint Andrews, was elected Associate of the Academy in 1858 and Member in 1863. Early in his career he illustrated Scottish history and songs before developing into an accomplished history painter whose works served – '*... as a moral preceptor or a patriotic stimulus...They tell their stories well and appeal to the finer instincts of humanity.*'⁷⁶ The importance of history painting to the development of glass painting in the nineteenth century is discussed in chapters Five, Six and Seven. Herdman's *Crucifixion and Ascension* window (1877) in the choir of Saint Giles Cathedral is a fine example of narrative glass painting but cannot more than mentioned in this thesis being too late in date.

As President of the Royal Academy and Royal Limner, Sir William Allan was at the centre of Edinburgh's artistic elite. Soon after being knighted in 1844, he moved to the prestigious address of 72 Great

King Street and his house was, apparently – ‘... frequented by the people best worth knowing in the northern capital...’. A surviving note (unfortunately undated) to Allan apologising for not being able to attend a social function is quoted here by way of a conclusion to confirm that, through his own and very personal artistic endeavours, Ballantine himself eventually became one of those ‘best worth knowing’ in Edinburgh -

‘Dear Sir

Allow me to return you thanks for your kind invitation for this evening and to express regret that owing to the unexpected arrival of a friend from England, who leaves in the morning, I will not be able to avail myself of your proposed hospitality.

Yours very gratefully and respectfully- James Ballantine⁷⁷

¹ Scott, W.B., Autobiographical Notes of the Life of William Bell Scott and Notices of his Artistic and Poetic Circle of Friends, 1830 to 1882, 2 Vols., ed. Minto, W. (London: James R. Osgood, McIlvaine & Company, 1892), Vol. I, p.81.

² Obituary of James Ballantine, The Scotsman, (Wednesday 19 December 1877), p.7.

³ van der Merwe, P., Roberts and the Theatre, David Roberts, ed. Guiterman, H. and Llewellyn, B. (Oxford and London: Phaidon Press and Barbican Art Gallery, 1986), pp.27-44.

⁴ See Wainwright, C., The Romantic Interior, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1989), pp.167-8, 177, 180, 188-9, 200, 251. Hay, D.R., The Laws of Harmonious Colouring adapted to Interior Decorations with observations on the practice of house painting, 6th ed. (1847), pp.181-3.

⁵ Gow, I., The First Intellectual House Painter, The World of Interiors (May, 1984). I am indebted to Ian Gow's research into Hay's career and such publications as Gow, I., The Northern Athenian Room: sources for the Scottish Interior, Review of Scottish Culture, (1989), pp.1-11.

⁶ NAL: MS 86.jj.16. Twelve letters from Hay to Roberts (1835-38); EUL: Special Collections, DC2, 58-59, two volumes of Hay's letters.

⁷ Ballantine's Obituary.

⁸ Ibidem.

⁹ See Ballantine, J., The Life of David Roberts, R.A., (Edinburgh: 1866), pp.vii-viii.

¹⁰ Ibidem, p.17, note.

¹¹ Ibidem, pp.17 and 19. For Murray see under Harriet Siddons (1783-1844), Dictionary of National Biography, XVIII, (1967/8), p.194.

¹² ECL: Edinburgh Theatre Royal playbills, 1821-6. Collected by Mrs David Nicol of Dalgety Manse c.1867.

¹³ Ballantine, J. *The Life...*, p.3. Roberts recorded that he was apprenticed to the house painter Gavin Beugo when he was 14 years old and was bound to him for seven years.

¹⁴ *Edinburgh Sasines*, 14 February 1826, No.7890 - MARGARET NICOL, relict of Archibald Cleland, Painter, Edinburgh, seised, Feb.4.1826, - in the eastmost half Flat second door up stairs of a Tenement of Houses with a Cellar in ST. ANTHONY'S PLACE, Port Hopetoun, par.St. Cuthberts;- on Disp. by George Bookless, Glazier, Edinburgh, Apr.25.1825. P.R.1103.87

19 March 1830, No. 13897 - PETER and ROBERT CLELAND, children of Archibald Cleland, Painter, Edinburgh, siesed, Mar.16.1830, - in the eastmost half Flat second door up stairs of a Tenement of Houses with the Cellar in ST. ANTHONY'S PLACE, being part of the lands of Orchardfield, par.St. Cuthberts;- on Disp. by Margaret Nicol, relict of the said Archibald Cleland, their mother, Mar.4.1830.P.R.1268.3.

The play bills collected by Mrs David Nicol regularly list a Mrs and the Misses M. and J. Nicol.

¹⁵ Ballantine, J., *The Life...*, p.4.

¹⁶ *Ibidem*, pp.3-5.

¹⁷ *Ibidem*, *The Life...*, pp.7-8.

¹⁸ *Ibidem*, p.16. Leighton Leitch, W., *Recollections*, (1865).

¹⁹ ECL: Edinburgh Theatre Royal playbill, 16 August 1822. The proprietrix of the Theatre Royal was the actress Harriet Siddons (1783-1844), wife of the actor Henry Siddons (1774-1815) and sister to William Henry Murray. Henry Siddons, with the assistance of Sir Walter Scott, became proprietor of the Theatre Royal in 1809. After his death his wife and her brother administered the theatre together. See *The Dictionary of National Biography*, (1967-8), XVIII, p.194.

²⁰ *Ballantine's Obituary*.

²¹ The surviving records of the Trustees' Academy are held by the SRO. See Chapter Five.

²² Scott, W.B., *Op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 81-2.

²³ Johnston, W.T., *Glass Painters and Stainers and Including Some Glass Engravers, Dictionary of Scottish Artists*, Part 4, (Privately produced CD Rom, undated). See under James Ballantine.

²⁴ ECL: 1851 Census Returns for 42 George Street, Edinburgh, ff.733/2 and 6.

²⁵ SRO: SC/70/1/187 (29 January 1878). Will registered 24 December 1877.

²⁶ SRO: Sasine No. 5077 (29 September 1845) - 'James BALLANTINE, House Painter, Glass Stainer and Japanner, Edinburgh, seised, Sept. 23. 1845, - in the fourth Storey from the ground and the Garret or Attic Flat above the same of a Tenement of Dwelling Houses with Cellars on the south side of GEORGE STREET, Edinburgh; - on Disp. by James Ballantine and George Allan, House Painters, Glass Stainers and Japanners, Edinburgh, Apr. 17.1845; - and HENRIETTA MILLER, his spouse, seised, eod.die, in liferent of said subjects, propriis manibus of the said James Ballantine.'

²⁷ Grant, J., *Old and New Edinburgh*, II, p.348, III, pp.29 and 78. SRO: Sasine Nos. 4858 (23 August 1853) and 2945 (27 August 1857)

²⁸ Ballantine's will.

²⁹ NLS: MS 2257.f.326. Ballantine to Roberts, 11 September 1862.

³⁰ Bell Scott, *Op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 206-7.

³¹ Obituary.

³² NLS: MS 7723. Scrapbook given to Mrs Henry Bicknell, Roberts' daughter. *The Courant*, (2 October 1858).

³³ Dibdin, J.C., *The Annals of the Edinburgh Stage: with an account of the rise and progress of dramatic writing in Scotland*, (Edinburgh: 1888), pp. 446 and 465.

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- ³⁴ NLS: MS 11000, f.12. Ballantine to Bell Scott, 25 September 1854.
- ³⁵ NLS: MS 7723.
- ³⁶ NLS: MS 7723. Ballantine's reply to his invitation.
- ³⁷ NLS: MS 7723. The Courant and The Daily Scotsman, Saturday 2 October 1858.
- ³⁸ NLS: MS 7723. The Daily Scotsman, 22 September 1858; Presentation of the Freedom of the City to Mr. Roberts, R.A., Edinburgh News, 2 October 1858; The Times, 1 October 1858; Edinburgh News, 2 October 1858; The Daily Express, 30 September 1858.
- ³⁹ NLS: MS 7723. Public Dinner to David Roberts, Esq., R.A., Edinburgh Advertiser, 21 October 1842.
- ⁴⁰ NLS: MS 7723. Ballantine to Roberts 5 and 10 October and 15 November 1854; MS 2257, f.322. Ballantine to Roberts, 2 January 1861.
- ⁴¹ Roberts to Hay, 14 July 1860. See Sim, K., David Roberts R.A. (1796-1864): a biography, (1984), p.300.
- ⁴² NLS: MS 7723. Ballantine to Roberts, 5 October 1854.
- ⁴³ NLS: MS 7723. Ballantine to Roberts, 10 October 1854.
- ⁴⁴ Ibidem.
- ⁴⁵ For contemporary reviews see Art Journal (1857), p.21 and The Builder, XIV (1856), p.644.
- ⁴⁶ George Fairfull Smith is uncovering valuable material while researching art patronage in Glasgow in the nineteenth century.
- ⁴⁷ McLellan made his money as a coach builder and property developer, and served Glasgow as a town councillor and Deacon Convenor of the Trades House. See Gallie, E., Archibald McLellan, Scottish Art Review, V, No.1 (1954), pp.7-12.
- ⁴⁸ GCA: C1.167. Council Act Book (November 1853-July 1858), pp. 367-8 and 429. I am grateful to Dr. George Rawson's search through the GCA for information relating to the re-glazing of Glasgow Cathedral.
- ⁴⁹ GCA: Minutes of meeting on 21 February 1856, Glasgow Corporation Minutes, Council Act Book, November 1853-July 1858, pp.429-31. I am grateful to Dr. George Rawson for this reference.
- ⁵⁰ GUL: MS Euing 33, pp.13-22, Orr's address to the Subscribers, 26 August, 1856.
- ⁵¹ Glasgow Herald, 1 December 1859, p.2. I am grateful to George Fairfull Smith for this reference.
- ⁵² Glasgow Herald, 22 August 1856, p.4f.
- ⁵³ Art in the Provinces, Art Journal (1 October, 1856), p.32.
- ⁵⁴ GCA: Minutes of meeting on 21 February 1856, Glasgow Corporation Minutes, Council Act Book, November 1853-July 1858, pp.429-31.
- ⁵⁵ Art in the Provinces, Art Journal (1 November, 1856), p. 350.
- ⁵⁶ GUL: MS Euing 33, pp.32-4.
- ⁵⁷ GUL: MS Euing 33, pp.276-7. Alfred Austin to Sir Andrew Orr, 5 July 1858 and note by Wilson.
- ⁵⁸ NLS: MS 2257.f.322. Ballantine to Roberts, 2 January 1861.
- ⁵⁹ GUL: MS Euing 33,p.62, Meeting of the Glasgow Cathedral Painted Windows Committee, 4 January 1860.
- ⁶⁰ See Fairfull Smith, G., The Fine Arts in Glasgow, Missionary of Art: Charles Heath Wilson (1809-82), ed. Rawson, G., (Glasgow: Foulis Press, 2000), p.43 and p.43 note 69; Furnishing and Plinishing for 1 Park Terrace, Glasgow: a little known commission designed by John Thomas (1813-62), Furniture History, XXXIV (1998), pp.266-78.
- ⁶¹ GUL: MS Euing 33,p.219. William Stirling of Keir to Lord John Manners , 1858, note by Wilson.
- ⁶² ML: T-TH 1/52/4. Correspondence between the Committee of Subscribers and the Chief Commissioner of Her Majesty's Works and Public Buildings, in reference to a proposed deviation from the Report and Plans as agreed to by all the Subscribers to the Painted Windows, 2 December 1859 to 16 February 1860.

⁶³ ML: T-TH 1/52/4, p.7. Orr to Alfred Austin, 2 February 1860.

⁶⁴ Ballantine, J., Treatise on Painted Glass, shewing its applicability to every style of architecture, (London: Chapman & Hall, Edinburgh: John Menzies, 1845), p.3.

⁶⁵ Ballantine, J., Treatise..., p. 25 note.

⁶⁶ Minutes of Evidence and Appendix, Session 1836, Report from the Select Committee on Arts and their Connexion with Manufactures, Part 2 (16 August, 1836) p.iv.

⁶⁷ Report from the Select Committee..., pp.41-2. Hay, D.R., The Laws of Harmonious Colouring Adapted to House Painting, (first published 1828).

⁶⁸ Minutes of Evidence and Appendix, Session 1836, Report from the Select Committee on Arts and their Connexion with Manufactures, Part 2 (15 June, 1836) pp.37-42.

⁶⁹ Ballantine, J., Treatise..., p.15.

⁷⁰ Reviews, Ecclesiologist, V, (1846), pp.194-5.

⁷¹ Carline, R., Draw They Must: a history of the teaching and examining of art, (1968), pp.77-80.

⁷² Hill was elected an Associate of the Royal Scottish Academy in 1826 and a Member in 1829.

⁷³ Obituary of Stephen Adam, Glasgow Herald, (24 August 1910), p.6.

⁷⁴ For a full account of the lives and discussion of the artistic achievements of these painters see Caw, J.L., Scottish Painting Past and Present, 1620-1908, (Kingsmead Reprints, 1975. First published 1908).

⁷⁵ Obituary of David Octavius Hill, Scotsman, (18 May 1870).

⁷⁶ Caw, J.L., Op. cit., p.174-5.

⁷⁷ Ibidem, p.110. NLS: MS 6294, f.135.

3. PIONEERS

'... it was not until the formation of the Edinburgh firm of Ballantine & Allan in 1837 that the revival of Scottish stained glass properly began.' (Michael Donnelly)¹

The stained glass 'revival' both in England and, to a lesser extent, in Scotland is generally understood as the adoption of the philosophy of *true principles*, namely the return to mediaeval practice. It was the transition from a pictorial to an architectural approach to glass painting in response to the Gothic Revival and not, as explained in Chapter One, the rediscovery of the secrets of a lost art. Certainly, James Ballantine played an important part in the stained glass revival in Scotland but does he qualify as a pioneer? Although he fought hard to open up a Scottish market for stained glass, highly competent glass painters were active in Edinburgh before him.

John Alder Knowles has argued for the continuous practice of glass painting in England from the Middle Ages through to the early nineteenth century, allowing that:

*'... it is true glass-painting as an art probably reached its lowest ebb at the middle of the eighteenth century...'*²

That painted glass for Scottish Episcopal churches and Gothic Revival country houses was imported from England in the second decade of the nineteenth century suggests that glass painting in Scotland was then not so much 'at a low ebb', as non-existent. The first Episcopal churches in Edinburgh to be fitted with painted glass were Saint John's, Princes' Street (William Burn, 1815-18) and Saint

Paul's, York Place (Archibald Elliot, 1816-18). In both cases the painted glass was supplied by William Raphael Eginton of Birmingham (1778-1834) at the time of construction.³ Given the absence of glass painting skills in Scotland, the obvious but mistaken assumption has been made that Ballantine trained as a glass painter in England prior to Ballantine & Allan expanding into glass painting c.1840.⁴ Their first known commission was new windows for the Chapel of George Heriot's Hospital, Edinburgh (see Chapter Four).⁵ By 1845 Ballantine & Allan claimed to have twenty-five or more glass painters of their 'own training'. If Ballantine himself was not a skilled glass painter, as seems likely, training must have been undertaken by a nucleus of skilled recruits. In fact, so far unrecognised, the migration of glass painting skills to Edinburgh from England began in the early 1830s and Ballantine & Allan did not have to look beyond their own city for glass painters.

From 1833 the *Edinburgh Post Office Directory* includes a *Trades Directory* and the all-embracing category of *Glass Manufacturers* introduces glass stainers and painters active in Edinburgh immediately before Ballantine & Allan expanded into glass painting. Three names appear and, pertinently, disappear: William Cooper (1831-40), Robert Carse (1832-4) and Edward Hunt & Co. (1833-4). In the late 1830s, therefore, redundant glass painters were looking for work in Edinburgh. Cooper was the most prestigious of the three with premises at 14 Elm Row and then 18 Picardy Place and two royal warrants.⁶ Little is known about Carse who had premises at 68 Abbeyhill. Hunt who had premises nearby at 57 Abbeyhill is known to have executed heraldic stained glass for Millearne Abbey (see below).⁷ The elusive William Henry Brown (1784-1870) who executed stained glass for Sir Walter Scott is mentioned in Chapter Four. Thomas Oliphant of 8 Shakespeare Square is discussed in Chapter

Five. Michael Donnelly nominates an Irishman, William Cairney as the technical pioneer of glass painting in Glasgow. Cairney arrived in Glasgow from Cork in 1828 and established a glazing and glass staining business, supported by his sons William and John, at 85 Candleriggs and 55 Montrose Street.⁸ John Cairney was an important link with the city of York where the survival of the mediaeval stained glass in the Minster had demanded the continuous presence of glass painters. Francis Barnett moved his glass staining and painting business from York to 101, Constitution Street, Leith in 1853.⁹

3.1 BALLANTINE & ALLAN: GLASS PAINTING STAFF

Donnelly is aware that the technical improbability of Ballantine & Allan's expansion to include glass painting requires explanation, but hurries past the question – *'During the 1820s he [Ballantine] learnt the craft of glass painting - probably in an English studio - and in 1837 launched his own firm in Carrubers [sic] Close off High Street.'*¹⁰ In respect of time and place, he has been misled by Ballantine's obituary of 1877 which states that – *'About forty years ago, Mr Ballantine commenced business in Edinburgh, along with a partner, under the firm of Ballantine & Allan The original premises were in Carrubbers Close.'* The firm of Ballantine & Allan was, in fact, established in 1828 with premises at 63 North Bridge and is first listed in the Edinburgh Post Office Directory as trading from that address in 1829.¹¹ Most likely this was a shop window premises on a commercial street with workshops and stores accessed from the lane behind, Carrubbers Close. Ballantine & Allan were house painters and glaziers only and it would be more than ten years before they expanded into glass painting. It is possible, however,

that their glazing business included elementary glass staining and etching.

Ballantine was admitted to the Trustees' Academy as an apprentice house painter on 6 February 1827. He established his own business, therefore, immediately on completing his apprenticeship, leaving no time for a sojourn in England. If he had trained as a glass painter in England this would surely have been mentioned in his obituary but this tells a different story -

'In this art, as in so many other matters, our spirited townsman was to a great extent his own teacher. Hampered as he was at first with practical difficulties, his methods were no doubt crude enough; but as demand increased, he extended his observations and improved his mode of working ...'

Ballantine & Allan's glass painting department was not 'hampered' for very long as, in 1843, they successfully entered the competition to design and execute the stained glass for the new Houses of Parliament (see Chapter Six).¹² On 2 March Ballantine & Allan dispatched from their premises at 15 Hanover Street, Edinburgh, as required, a sample panel intended to demonstrate technical proficiency and this was subsequently described as - *A beautifully painted subject, fine in colour...*¹³ Altogether six of the entrants were 'noticed' by the judges but it was Ballantine & Allan who, in July 1845, were awarded the preliminary commission to design and execute stained glass for the twelve windows in the House of Lords. In the event, the windows were designed by A.W.N. Pugin (1812-52) and only executed by Ballantine & Allan, their own cartoons having been rejected by the architect of the new Houses of Parliament, Charles Barry (1795-1860). The latter was, however, more than

satisfied with the execution of the windows and when, in September 1850, Ballantine & Allan sought payment for their rejected cartoons, he supported their claim -

*'... as the work is well executed I have every reason to believe that Messrs Ballantine & Allan are the losers by it, in a pecuniary point of view, I should be glad to hear that some further compensation were afforded them in consequence'*¹⁴

The stained glass Ballantine & Allan designed and executed for Heriot's Hospital c.1840 is of a simple mosaic pattern. They proposed, however, to fill the windows of the new House of Lords with ninety-six figures resplendent in historical costume. Ballantine could not have first trained himself and the number of workers required to execute these in four years. One of the unsuccessful competitors, signing himself *Justice*, voiced his scepticism in *The Builder*, accusing Ballantine & Allan of being nothing more than glaziers, which until recently they had been, who had deceived the Fine Arts Commission and would subcontract the work to German glass painters -

'Will not the public, if not the exhibitors, be astonished, when I tell them that the whole of the windows that are to be filled with painted and stained glass are given to Messrs. Ballantine and Allan, Edinburgh, glass-cutters, entirely through interest. The public are not aware of the trouble, difficulty, and the great expense of getting up stained glass: taking the exhibitors upon an average, the cost was not less than 50l. each. Six were officially appointed, of whom B. and A. were one, and who have now got the whole with no practical knowledge of glass painting. We shall now have foreign glass to decorate the new Houses instead of English; and I defy the

commissioners to know but what is done on the premises, - the tedious process and the quantity required could not be executed in the time: the commissioners are hardly aware that there are not many more than fifty journeymen glass-painters to be found'.¹⁵

It is Ballantine & Allan's reply which is astonishing -

'With regard to 'Justice's' gratuitous assertion, that a pressure for time will compel us to have recourse to the importation of foreign glass, instead of using home manufactured, we beg to say, that 'Justice' may keep himself easy on that head, as we have a sufficient number of first-rate hands to meet any exigency of the kind he alludes to, should such exigency arise, which we do not at all anticipate.

'Justice' closes the paragraph in his letter that applies to us with the assertion "that there are not many more than fifty journeymen glass painters to be found," in the world, we presume he means to say. If this really be 'Justice's' belief, it will rather surprise him to learn that we, ourselves, employ, chiefly of our own training, more than half the number he mentions, and can at any time double that number, if required.'¹⁶

Before considering how Ballantine & Allan trained a workforce of more than twenty-five, their claim to such a large staff must be verified. Justice challenged the Fine Arts Commissioners '*... to know but what is done on the premises ...*' and only a reconstruction of Ballantine & Allan's premises can confirm their production capacity in the mid 1840s.

3:2 BALLANTINE & ALLAN: GLASS PAINTING FACILITIES

6 and 92 ROSE STREET

Only a year after establishing themselves at 63 North Bridge in 1829 Ballantine & Allan moved to 92 Rose Street.¹⁷ They moved again to 15 Hanover Street in 1831 and also acquired premises at 6 Rose Street. Records of the purchase and sale of the Rose Street premises, in 1832 and 1845 respectively, show them to have been small and inconvenient.¹⁸ As Ballantine & Allan sold them to the glass painter Andrew Thom in 1845, they may have been equipped for glass staining and painting on a modest scale, supplementing the premises at 15 Hanover Street.

15 HANOVER STREET

Ballantine & Allan, seemingly, occupied the basement of 15 Hanover Street. As this had been the address of Archibald Cleland, seemingly, Ballantine took over his former employer's business. There is no record of either Cleland or Ballantine & Allan buying premises at 15 Hanover Street. Between 1829 and 1833 the modest shop premises on the ground floor and in the basement belonged to one William Denniston.¹⁹ William Denniston was presumably a relative of Robert Denniston, *house painter*, listed as trading from 15 Hanover Street and whose name disappears as that of Archibald Cleland appears in 1816-17.²⁰ Both Cleland and Ballantine & Allan may have rented the premises from William Denniston. In 1833 the ground floor shop was occupied by one John Lees, and so Ballantine & Allan could only have occupied the basement.

Had *Justice* inspected the 15 Hanover Street (or 6 Rose Street) premises his suspicions would have been verified: it is difficult to imagine Ballantine & Allan working on the windows for the House of Lords and, at the same time, operating as house painters there.

42 GEORGE STREET

Ballantine & Allan's final move to the most prestigious commercial street in Edinburgh, George Street, was vital to their hopes of work at the new Houses of Parliament.²¹ The move was in progress by 4 September 1844 when, while still operating at 15 Hanover Street, Ballantine & Allan applied to the Dean of Guild Court for planning permission to improve and extend their new premises. Drawings for '*...a tenement of three stories for workshops on the ground behind...*' explain the confidence with which they replied to *Justice's* scepticism. Without question, they now had ample accommodation for fifty glass workers to execute the windows for the new House of Lords.

Alterations to the elevation were an architectural advertisement of Ballantine & Allan's ambitions. The ground floor, at least, was already being used as a shop as, while the original *serliana* doorway remained in place, the original window had been opened up and encased by a projecting glass frontage with a shop door. Ballantine & Allan extended the glass frontage across the width of the building, opening up the *serliana* doorway and introducing a second shop door. The plain upper windows were given more presence by the addition of wooden mouldings and, as Ballantine and his family were to occupy the second and attic floors, the attic skylights were enlarged into dormer windows. [Image 8].

Frustratingly, the site of the workshops at the rear is now filled by a recent building of similar plan. The workshops were housed in a rectangular three-story building, each floor measuring approximately 25 by 60 feet. Direct access from the ground floor of the George Street building to the first floor workshops was gained through an intermediate structure carried by iron beams and columns. At this time Ballantine & Allan were running both a house painting and glass staining business from the same premises and it was not until 1874 when Ballantine divided the business between his sons that the house painting business moved into 40 George Street.²² The carefully compartmentalised activity a visitor observed in the 'admirably equipped' workshops behind 42 George Street in 1890 may have been ongoing, however, since the 1840s -

*'The premises have a fine entrance and impress the visitor with a sense of their suitability to the purposes of the business. After passing down a handsome corridor, access is gained to a large hall with windows all round and an excellent arrangement of seats. This hall is used for fitting up large cathedral or other stained windows to ensure their being in a thoroughly finished and satisfactory condition before they are sent out of the establishment. The hall is also sublet to the Architectural Association, which body holds its periodical lecture meetings here. From the corridor, already noticed, another door leads to the workrooms. These comprise three spacious flats, admirably equipped in all parts, and devoted to - (1) The drawing and painting of designs and cartoons; (2) the cutting out of glass; (3) the painting of glass; (4) the staining kilns; and (5) the lead-glazing department, where all the window work is pieced together. The operations and processes associated with each of these departments are of the most interesting character, and employ executants of the highest skill and talent.'*²³

In November 1869 Ballantine applied to the Dean of Guild Court for permission to enlarge a *serliana* window at the rear of the George Street building into what appears to have been a five panel plate glass screen. The room concerned may have been the '*...large hall with windows all round...*'. for viewing completed stained glass windows.

Vehicular access to the workshops was from Rose Street Lane and there was a wide doorway in the east wall through which materials must have entered and completed windows passed out. The work areas were amply illuminated by numerous Gothic windows and these, together with other quasi-religious details such as crosses serving as finials on the south gables, advertised the nature of the manufacture within. [Image 9]

3:3 WILLIAM COOPER

'My observations are founded on facts and practice ...' (William Cooper)²⁴

If any of the glass stainers active in Edinburgh in the early nineteenth century can be nominated as a pioneer of glass painting in Scotland, it is William Cooper.

Justice believed that Ballantine & Allan would have the windows for the new House of Lords secretly executed for them in Germany. Given that Ballantine & Allan were house painters and glaziers before they expanded into glass painting, his scepticism is understandable. Glass merchants, crown glass cutters and glaziers trading in Edinburgh in the early nineteenth century are known to

have mastered glass staining, with varying degrees of success, among other elementary processes of decorative glazing. Glass staining, however, is only one of the many skills necessary to the artistic practice of glass painting and, as this was supposedly in decline, where did Ballantine & Allan find the glass painters they needed?

Cooper was active in Edinburgh as a glass merchant, crown glass cutter and glass stainer between 1831 and 1841.²⁵ That he was appointed Glass Stainer to both King William IV and Queen Victoria suggests, however, that he was more than a provincial tradesman.²⁶ Before and after trading in Edinburgh, Cooper worked in the inter-related window glass and alkali industries and, evidently, understood the chemical composition and physical behaviour of glass as well as anyone at that time. Whereas Ballantine's claims to have done so are open to question, Cooper was, without doubt, qualified to train a team of proficient glass stainers and painters. Chapter Four identifies that substantial stained glass schemes at George Heriot's Hospital, Edinburgh (1839) and Taymouth Castle (1841) were designed and executed by Cooper and are cited here as evidence of the number and skill of his workers. Whereas Ballantine was interested in the artistic potential of glass painting, Cooper was pre-occupied with perfecting technical and decorative processes. When Cooper and Ballantine's interests merged, however, the result was the foundation of a highly skilled and artistically ambitious Scottish school of glass painting.

BIOGRAPHY OF WILLIAM COOPER

There is no evidence to suggest whether or not Cooper was resident in Edinburgh before 1831. His family was Orcadian and he was probably born on the north-east coast of Scotland. He offered the following explanation for his preoccupation with the value of kelp as an ingredient in glass making -

*'I have given more than ordinary attention to kelp from the circumstance of my grandfather William Cooper being the first to introduce the manufacture of it from Orkney to this coast at Fraserburgh and Cairnbulg about eighty years ago, & which has carried on to some extent there for a number of years.'*²⁷

Embarrassed by the failure of his business in 1841, he left Edinburgh and, by 1846, he was working in Birmingham. Using notepaper headed the *Birmingham Plate and Crown Glass Works, Smethwick* he petitioned the then Prime Minister, Sir Robert Peel, to become the first to subscribe to a comprehensive manual of glass manufacture, *The History and Manufacture of Glass*.²⁸ Perhaps, however, he was pursued by failure as, by March 1850, he had moved to America, via Aberdeen, asking for correspondence to be directed to his New York banking house.²⁹ Thereafter, he disappears from view.

COOPER'S WRITINGS AND CORRESPONDENCE

Cooper has left a trail of uniquely informative writings and correspondence behind him, dating from 1835 to 1849:

- *The Crown Glass Cutter and Glazier's Manual* (1835).

- *Memorandum to an unknown client (19 March 1838).*
- 14 letters to John Creighton of Crom Castle, County Fermanagh, Ireland.
- Letters to John Home Drummond relating to Millearne Abbey, Perthshire (September 1836 to April 1838).
- Three letters to James Todd, Secretary of the Royal Scottish Society of Arts relating to the presentation of examples of *Stained Glass executed in a New Style under recent patents* (presented 27 February 1839).
- Two essays submitted to the Royal Scottish Society of Arts - *William Cooper's New Invention in Glass Blowing 1845-49. More particularly adapted to Sheet Glass, Shades and Carbouys (sic). With a few practical observations on the Glass Trade* (8 February 1849) and *Glass used for Staining and Enamelling* (12 February 1849).
- *Glass, Encyclopaedia Britannica, (seventh edition).*

The clarity of his technical explanations confirms that he had first-hand experience of glass manufacture. On occasion, his love of glass in itself infuses these with poetry, for example, his description of the flashing of a crown glass table -

*'The workman, taking great care to preserve, by a regular motion, the circular figure of the glass, proceeds to whirl it round with increasing velocity, until the aperture, now diminished to a ring of only a few inches in diameter, suddenly flies open with a loud ruffling noise, like the rapid unfurling of a flag in a strong wind ...'*³⁰

WILLIAM COOPER AND EDINBURGH

The first evidence of Cooper trading in Edinburgh is a listing in the Edinburgh Post Office Directory for 1831. Between 1831 and 1841 he is listed variously as an agent (1831-32 only), a glass merchant, a crown glass cutter, a glazier and a stained glass manufacturer (from 1832). In 1838 Cooper went into partnership with another William and a James Cooper and traded under the name of William Cooper & Company. His trading area was Scotland (Aberdeen, Alva, Dundee, Falkirk, Glasgow, Greenock, Largo, Newton Stewart and Stirling), Ireland and Liverpool.³¹

The arena of the Edinburgh glass trade, both window and table glass, was Leith Walk. It was dominated by William Bailey of the Midlothian Glassworks, Portobello (from 1824), John Ford of the Holyrood Flint Glassworks, South Back of Canongate (from 1835) and the Ranken family.³² Initially, Cooper had commercial premises at 14 Elm Row but the award of a royal warrant in 1834 merited his purchase of more prestigious premises at 18 Picardy Place diagonally opposite. The terrace which forms the north side of Picardy Place was built c.1803-9 as town houses, each with three storeys, an attic and a long garden behind. It has been radically altered since then but it was evidently once very fine -

*'...designed as a long palace-front with a five-bay Ionic pilastered centrepiece, the middle bays set forward beneath a pediment. Pavillions with pedimented windows in the middle of the first floor, nicely connected to the adjacent streets with a splay to Union Place and a bow window to Broughton Street The houses were built for well-to-do people, and some rather standardised plasterwork of late Adam type can still be seen in the main rooms.'*³³

To what extent 18 Picardy Place had already been converted from a town house to a commercial premises with separate domestic accommodation is unclear. Sasine No. 7022 dated 18 January, 1837 states that 18 Picardy Place '*...has recently been in part converted by the said William Cooper into a Shop and Wareroom and dwelling house above the same with separate entrances...*', which implies that the whole premises had previously been used as a house.³⁴ It must have cost Cooper at least £1300 to convert 18 Picardy Place as, immediately after buying it, it was signed over to a William McKenzie as security on a loan for that sum.³⁵ The drawing prepared as part of Cooper's application to the Dean of Guild dated 18 February 1835 to upgrade the shop front is evidence of his pride in his royal warrant. He constructed a projecting full-length shop window surmounted by the royal coat of arms. The new shop front was fashionably neo-classical in style with acanthus leaf and key pattern details. A three-quarter glass door gave access to the shop while a wooden double door led to domestic accommodation on the upper floors. As gas was still a novelty in 1835, the two tall cast iron gasoliers on plinths would have drawn attention to the premises in the evening. [Image 10] To what extent the generous back garden of 18 Picardy Place, with access from Broughton Street Lane, was used for workshops and stores is unclear.

By 5 October 1839 Cooper had also purchased extensive commercial premises in the Water of Leith village: a 'range of houses' and a 'detached house' but at no point does he explain what they were used for.³⁶

BANKRUPTCY

On 27 February 1839 Cooper presented his recently patented 'embossed' glass to the Royal Scottish Society of Arts.³⁷ Just over two years later, however, on 13 May 1841 William Cooper & Company declared itself bankrupt and the three partners petitioned for the sequestration of their estates.³⁸ Company and individual debts were satisfactorily cleared and Cooper was granted a discharge on 18 March 1842.³⁹

Cooper was financially insecure throughout the 1830s. As shown, he borrowed heavily from McKenzie to purchase 18 Picardy Place and asked him for a further £300 in 1836.⁴⁰ Other loans may have followed to finance the development and registration of his patent. Cooper was slow to realise any potential profits from this, two years elapsing between it being granted on 10 January 1837 and its presentation to the Royal Scottish Society of Arts. Whatever professional status was gained from working for the landed gentry was counteracted by their inherent contrariness and aversion to paying tradesmen. Cooper boldly pointed out to John Creighton (later Lord Earne) of Crom Castle, Fermanagh, Ireland what indulging aristocratic whimsy cost the conscientious tradesman -

*'I am really at all times more desirous to please a gentleman than to pocket profits ... by a new and useful art & I must candidly say that I lose money by this contract for this reason.'*⁴¹

Increasing financial constraint brought about by experimentation and expansion, however, soon forced Cooper to be more deferential -

'We are sorry to refer to this and certainly would not do so otherwise - but we have some pressing payments this week & the remittance for the stained glass would be esteemed a great favour - the writer has had to pay £500 for patents & besides the purchase of his premises & rebuilding for manufacturing.'⁴²

When William Cooper & Company's assets were investigated in 1841, Creighton's name was entered on a list of *Bad and Doubtful Debts* next to the sum of £10-10. Also entered was the name of the Earl of Mar's agent, William Cunningham, who absconded with £10-2-10 owed to Cooper. The Earl himself was entered on the hopeful list of debts owing against the modest sum of £3-10-4. Most seriously, the Marquis of Breadalbane owed £230 and this entry allows the two windows in the Banner Hall at Taymouth Castle to be attributed to Cooper.⁴³

Cooper went into partnership c.1839 with a James Cooper who lived near Liverpool but the £600 he invested in the company did not save it.⁴⁴ By 14 March 1840 Cooper was in serious financial difficulty and signed over his premises at both 18 Picardy Place and the Water of Leith to James and John Hartley, owners of the Wear Glass Works at Bishop Wearmouth, County Durham (see Chapter One) as security against a debt of £800.⁴⁵ On the sequestration of William Cooper & Company in 1841 the Hartley brothers claimed £1800 (four fifths approximately of the real sum).⁴⁶ His debts to a crown glass works at Warrington, Cheshire operating as Clare, Haddock & Brown and then Clare & Brown were even more serious.⁴⁷ Clare, Haddock & Brown (1828-38) claimed a mere £46 from William Cooper & Company but an incredible £4200 from Cooper himself. Clare & Brown (1838-42) also claimed £526 from William Cooper & Company and £440 from Cooper himself. A

Donald Fraser (1802-1869) is listed in the Edinburgh Post Office Directory as operating at 18 Picardy Place as a glass stainer from 1841 to 1846 but his connection with either Cooper or the Hartleys, if any, is unclear.⁴⁸

WILLIAM COOPER AND THE WINDOW GLASS INDUSTRY

The *Memorandum* Cooper wrote to an unknown client in 1838, quoted in full in Chapter One, describes his meticulous testing of the way different glasses responded to stains. His essay *Glass used for Staining and Enamelling* written 11 years later demonstrates that his understanding of the factors involved reached as far as the glass house itself. It can be assumed, therefore, that he was more in control of the process of glass staining than the average Edinburgh glazier. In order to gauge the knowledge Cooper brought to the practice of glass staining and painting in Edinburgh more precisely, it would be helpful to know where he was before 1831. While it is known that he joined the Birmingham Plate and Crown Glass Works in the mid 1840s, where Cooper was before 1831, however, must be deduced from his writings.

In a letter concerning the dispatch of crown glass to Crom Castle dated 22 April 1838 Cooper states – '*... we did not pack the glass here but sent direct from our works in England ...*'.⁴⁹ The proprietorial use of 'our' suggests that Cooper was at least an agent for, and even a partner in, an English glass works, the most likely candidate being Clare, Haddock & Brown. Passages in his *Manual* of 1835 suggest that he had worked in a glass works as a *mixer* adjusting batch ingredients -

' ... the mixing room, the apartment ... where ... the materials, the sand and the kelp powder, are carefully proportioned, generally in the degree of one part of the former to two parts of the latter, and mingled together according to the judgement of the mixer, an operation which requires great care and experience.'

Following the repeal of the excise duties in 1845, the Birmingham Plate Glass Works expanded into crown and sheet glass production.⁵⁰ The bankrupt Cooper offered them the necessary expertise. His essay *Glass used for Staining and Enamelling* seems to have been written from within the glass industry in that it gives the exact recipes for the types of glass required to achieve different colours of stain. He claims to have been intimately involved with their manufacture -

*'The Mixture for Light Sheet or the market sheet is (sic) which I have made for years & without any exception was pronounced to be the best in the market in the point of colour and quality of metal, by the method of founding given.'*⁵¹

Cooper was obsessed with the problems of successfully staining glass red. Chapter One refers to the importance of *hard* glasses to Regency glass painting and explains why crown glass was preferable to sheet. By 1849, it was becoming apparent that the repeal of the excise duties would inevitably lead to mass production. Excited though he was by progress, Cooper found himself pleading for the continuation of the traditional manufacture of crown glass in order to safeguard the technique of glass staining. He argued that – *For pictures and ornaments, where glass is required to produce a good red, and to stand repeated firings, Crown glass made from Orkney kelp is the best.* Apparently –'....

good orkney (sic) Kelp alone or a mixture of Orkney and West Highland Kelp is to be preferred to Irish Kelp, the inferior quality of which is chiefly owing to the careless method of preparing and burning it.' - which presumably meant that Orkney kelp had a higher potassium content.⁵²

Although it was probably merely the expansion of an affluent city which led Cooper to set up business as a glass merchant in Edinburgh, like Ballantine & Allan after him, he identified a further commercial opportunity in the increasing demand for stained glass. Was he also drawn by the easy availability of the best staining glass ever manufactured?

THE DUMBARTON GLASS WORKS

The use of Orkney kelp at the Dumbarton Glass Works is the so far unrecognised explanation as to why their glass was so sought after by glass stainers nationally. George Godwin remarked with regret in 1840 that - *Glass, as now made for ordinary purposes is ill-suited for painting on. A few years ago, admirable glass for the art was obtainable from a factory at Dumbarton, which is now not in operation.*⁵³ Even in Scotland, the significance of the Dumbarton Glass Works has now been forgotten, but in the early nineteenth century it monopolised the Scottish market. It began producing crown glass on 19 April 1781 and between 1814 and 1826 it produced 92.5% of all the crown glass made in Scotland (equal to 34.5% of the total English output) and on five occasions during these years it was the only Scottish producer.⁵⁴ There is evidence that between 1804 and 1808 James Stewart of Burgh, Orkney, supplied kelp not only to the Dumbarton Glass Works but also the Northumberland Glass Company and the Southwick Crown Glass

Company in Sunderland. The Mr. Lamb Cooper refers to in his *Memorandum* as being the only manufacturer still using Orkney kelp in 1838 was a partner in the Northumberland Glass Company. Among the shipmasters Stewart paid to transport his kelp were James and Archibald Miller, one of whom was probably Hugh Miller's father (see pp.42-3).⁵⁵

That Cooper advertised himself as an *agent* for the year 1831-32 only may have had something to do with the closure of the Dumbarton Glass Works.⁵⁶ It went into receivership on 3 July 1832, having ceased operation when the proprietor, Jacob Dixon senior, and his son, Jacob Dixon junior who had complete charge of the crown glass manufacture, died within a day of each other in an epidemic in September 1831.⁵⁷

Cooper judged Dumbarton crown glass to be the best window glass on the market, being both easy to cut and susceptible to stain -

*' ... in certain localities where a cheap Kelp can be easily procured, we think that the old mixture of Kelp and Sand is the best, and in the end the cheapest. We have never seen better Crown Glass, nor better cutting glass, than the old Dumbarton Glass made from kelp, which was celebrated for its superior quality in all quarters of the globe ... '.*⁵⁸

In his *Manual*, he refers to a mystery partner of the Dumbarton Glass Works with familiarity and considerable respect -

'A very extensive crown-glass manufactory in the west of Scotland has, on account of the lamented death of some of the principals,

*been lately struck from the list of working establishments. A good many years since, one of the partners of this house, in a spirit somewhat similar to that which induced Peter the Great of Russia to leave his state at home and come to England to work as a common carpenter in the naval dock-yards of that kingdom, went to, and wrought as an ordinary journeyman glassblower in several crown-glass houses in England. The result of this determined and extraordinary zeal was, that the house in which the gentleman alluded to was interested became unrivalled for the excellence of its crown-glass. The fame of its manufacture spread far and wide, and its prosperity was proportioned to its reputation.'*⁵⁹

This was John Hartley senior and the explanation for the Dumbarton Glass Works, glass manufacture in Smethwick, Birmingham, and the Wear Glass Works all featuring in Cooper's writings and correspondence might be a long-standing relationship with the Hartley family.

John Hartley (d. December 1833) was an Englishman from Harborne, south-west of Birmingham.⁶⁰ Records of the Dumbarton Glass Works show that he was an Assistant Manager from 6 March 1806 and a Managing Partner (one of three) with one share in the business from 1 August 1809.⁶¹ He officially retired on 1 January 1816 but, in fact, returned south to work for the crown glass works at Nailsea, near Bristol.⁶² Sometime later in 1828 he entered into partnership with his colleague from Nailsea, Robert Lucas Chance, at the Spon Lane Glass Works, Smethwick, his sons James and John junior also joining the firm. On their father's death in 1833, the brothers also became partners with Chance and for three years the firm was known as Chance & Hartley's.⁶³

Following his bankruptcy and before joining the Birmingham Plate and Crown Glass Works, did Cooper work briefly for Chance Brothers & Company? There must have been a tradition of Scots working for Chance & Hartley/Chance Brothers & Company, initially redundant workers from Dumbarton, as the terrace of workers' houses was called *Scotch Row*. Allowing for the difference in spelling, Cooper could have been the supervisor of Chance Brothers & Company's Staining and Ornamental Departments -

*'In March 1839 charge of the (alkali) works was entrusted to Mr Carpenter; afterwards a Mr. Cowper, whose duties extended to the Stained and Ornamental departments, was engaged as chemical adviser.'*⁶⁴

In his essay *Glass used for Staining and Enamelling* he commented with more than a note of sarcasm -

'It may suit the purpose of the great alkali maker, after realising profits from the sale of soda, and patent "washing powders" to make glass from the refuse of his manufactory and to sell it to others for the same purpose; but those glass makers who do not make their own alkalis, and in certain localities where a cheap kelp can be easily procured, we think that the old mixture of kelp and sand is the best, and in the end the cheapest.'

The development of Chance Brothers & Company's vast and noxious alkali works at Oldbury began in 1835.

As the pieces of Cooper's story begin to fit together, his activity as a glass stainer in Edinburgh in the 1830s can be seen as having been intimately bound up with the development of glass manufacture.

3:4 WILLIAM COOPER AND BALLANTINE & ALLAN

After the failure of William Cooper & Company in 1841, the glass stainers and painters working for them would have been free to participate in Ballantine & Allan's expansion into glass painting. Evidence that they did so centres on the person of Andrew Thom who, as described more fully below, was working for Cooper as a designer in 1837. In 1845 Thom bought premises on the fourth floor of 6 Rose Street formerly owned by Ballantine & Allan.⁶⁵ There is no mention in the Post Office Directories, however, of Thom working as a glass painter under his own name and the Sasine related to the purchase suggests that he was living at 6 Rose Street with his wife. Thom may have been directing glass painting for Ballantine & Allan and required to be within call of their workshops which opened onto Rose Street Lane. Among Cooper's more senior glass stainers was the journeyman James Lamb who, when Cooper went bankrupt in 1841 established his own business at 5 Market Place, Stockbridge.⁶⁶ In 1855 a James Lamb, aged eighteen years, was serving as an apprentice glass stainer to Ballantine & Allan. As the younger Lamb was living at 1 Market Place, the older Lamb was, presumably, his father and, possibly, working as a journeyman for Ballantine & Allan.

Progress made with the manufacture of pot metal glass, particularly copper ruby, after 1845 devalued the skills of glass staining and enamelling. Cooper's essay *Glass used for Staining and Enamelling* is a poignant justification of his life's work.⁶⁷ Ironically, Royal Scottish Society of Arts sent it to Ballantine for comment who, rather than acknowledging the debt glass painting in Edinburgh owed to Cooper, lightly dismissed what he had to say as common

knowledge. Given that Ballantine's own knowledge was only some ten years old and, arguably, passed on from Cooper, this was conceit fostered by success.⁶⁸

3:5 GLASS STAINING, PAINTING AND EMBOSSED AT 18 PICARDY PLACE

Careful sifting out of references to commissions, technical processes and workers from Cooper's *Manual*, correspondence and bankruptcy documents confirms the scale and complexity of activity at 18 Picardy Place in the 1830s. One of the bankruptcy documents of 1841 is particularly informative as it includes an inventory of William Cooper & Company's *Shop Furniture & Stock in Trade* after sequestration.⁶⁹ It identifies different departments within a single premises and lists their remaining contents, so providing the *mise en scene* for references to technical processes found elsewhere. Conversely, Cooper's writings and correspondence, particularly the *Manual* and patent, elucidate the uses of the objects listed.

DESIGN

Cooper was more interested in mass production than art and sought to adapt decorative techniques developed in the ceramics industry to glass.

Altogether eighteen finished items with further random pieces, 'A Lot of stained Glass - 10s', were listed as being on display in the Show Room. The only indication of the technical complexity of each item and the possible inclusion of pot metal glass is the

estimated value. Bottom of the range were '2 Sashes with Stained Glass - 10s', in the middle a 'Partition containing Stained Glass Borders & panes - £4' and at the top a 'Stained window - £6'. The most curious products listed were '2 Glassmaps - £1'.

At 18 Picardy Place there was no such thing as an art department and Cooper's clients were seemingly satisfied with plagiarised designs. Cooper declares the architectural framing of a design for a three light gothic window illustrated in his *Manual* to have been borrowed from Christ Church College, Oxford while the figure he has introduced within it is a copy of William Peckitt's figure of *Saint Peter* in the south transept of York Minster.⁷⁰ [Image 11] At least one of Cooper's employees, the Andrew Thom who possibly later worked for Ballantine & Allan, was nurtured as a designer, if only of heraldry. When Thom was sent to London receive the architect Edward Blore's (1787-1879) instructions for heraldic stained glass for Crom Castle (see below), Cooper wrote to Creighton -

*' ... by your desire I have ordered an artist of mine who drew our plans a clever young man - to wait on Mr Blore at London ... '.*⁷¹

When Blore found Thom's drawing lacking in authenticity and dismissed him as being no more than a coach herald painter, Cooper retaliated to Creighton -

*'If you wish it I shall send you specimens of the same young mans drawing & designing and workmanship - Certainly not to be excelled in London.'*⁷²

COPYING

Reading Cooper's patent for 'ornamented embossed' glass shows that his ambitions for glass painting were commercial rather than artistic: the mass production of topographical vignettes. His inspiration was transfer printed blue and white earthenware.

DAVENPORT'S AND COOPER'S PATENT PROCESSES

Eighteen copper plates and two steel plates were found in the Show Room, together with a printing press in the Glaziers' Room, at 18 Picardy Place. These copper plates were the masters for Cooper's patent 'embossed' glass designs. His patent was a mechanical development of a manual imitation glass engraving process patented in 1806 by John Davenport (b. 1765 and retired 1830).⁷³ Davenport was first and foremost a ceramics manufacturer and mass produced transfer printed earthenware at a pottery at Unicorn Bank, Longport, Burslem, Staffordshire (established 1794). His flint glass works (established 1801) was adjacent to this.⁷⁴

It was the method of engraving the copper plates used for printing the transfers themselves which was the basis of Davenport's patent method for imitation engraved glass. Copper plates were sized with a mixture of turpentine and resin which then received a charcoal tracing of the design to be engraved.⁷⁵ Davenport was interested in by-passing the laborious process of engraving onto glass. He experimented with applying a coating of finely ground soft glass in a binding mixture of sugar dissolved in water onto the surface of the glass. Sugar, rather than more tenacious oil, gum or resin, responded to moist air breathed onto the area being worked, softening enough for it to be removed using a pointed instrument.

When fired, the ground glass fused with the glass surface. Firing was arrested at a point of semi-vitrification so as to leave the ground opaque in contrast to the clear glass revealed beneath. Rare surviving examples of Davenport's engraved flint table glass, thought to have been manufactured between 1806 and 1810 and no later than 1815, afford the nearest glimpse of the delicacy of Cooper's 'embossed' glass and explain his costly perseverance with this problematic product.⁷⁶

Cooper accelerated Davenport's patent process by experimenting with removing the sugar coating mechanically using a pantograph or a geometrical pen.⁷⁷ As the pantograph was able to increase or decrease scale, it could be used for tracing maps on to panes of glass. For broader strokes Cooper used stencils, also traced from the original design using a pantograph, the moistened coating being removed through the stencil with a bristle brush. Stencils were further used for applying enamel or stains to coated or uncoated glass. The glass grinding mill found in the cellars of 18 Picardy Place together with the crystal grinding stones found in the Stainers' Room would have been used for preparing the coating.

Finally, Cooper looked past the engraving of copper plates to the transfers they were being used to print. Transfers printed onto thin tissue paper from the copper or steel plates, or wood blocks or lithographs, were applied to Davenport's patent coating on glass, in the same way as they were applied to unglazed earthenware. The tissue paper was pressed, coloured side down, onto the coated glass. Different under-glaze ceramic colours were used for different areas: black, brown, deep blue or purple. The paper was left on until the ink dried into the ground. On firing, the colour and ground became a permanent enamel. The tracing and drawing machines

and stencils were used to add finishing touches to the transfer printed glass. Transfers could be lithographed and the stone found in the Glazing Shop and the ten pieces of Arbroath stone found in the cellars may have been used for lithograph printing. Initially, production was not as fast and technically perfect as Cooper would have liked. Although invited to do so as early as June 1837, it was not until 27 February 1839 that he finally exhibited his patent embossed glass to members of the Royal Scottish Society of Arts.

SUBJECTS

No claim is made for the artistic invention of Cooper's patent 'embossed' glass. The late eighteenth century Romantic pastoral mood became a prosaic interest in topography, views, in the early nineteenth century and illustrated books on architecture and travel became increasingly popular. Illustrations engraved for popular books, and none were more popular than Scott's *Waverley Novels*, were published as separate collections, for example, *Illustrations of the Waverly Novels*, (published in 1833).⁷⁸ As the Registration of Designs Act was not introduced until 1842, ceramics manufacturers were able to copy these illustrations on to white earthenware and guarantee themselves a best seller. Cooper's patent was an attempt to do the same with flat glass. Given that the copying machines Cooper used for his *patent embossed* glass were normally used for copying designs onto copper plates, copper plates may have been engraved at 18 Picardy Place. Being a resident of Edinburgh, Cooper did not need Davenport to introduce him to Scott, but Scott's *Illustration Series* was one of Davenport's best selling lines in 1836, the time when Cooper was developing his patent.⁷⁹

This is the background to the products referred to in Cooper's letters to Creighton -

'Some time ago you expressed a wish for enamelled glass (or what you call muffed glass). We send largely to Ireland of this kind and now send you samples - of ornamented embossed glass - Landscapes & maps - the price of workmanship will likely induce you to order a quantity -

Should you wish Castle Crom executed on glass as a landscape say in dozens for distribution we are able to meet your views as to price...'

And -

'- you at one time expressed a wish for some of our patent embossed glass which is very beautiful & chaste & much in demand for noblemen & gentlemens (sic) houses - our terms are very moderate & the work laves in Ireland - 4/6 to 5/ a square foot strong thick glass. We have also landscapes Loch Katrine - Loch Lomond abbotsford (sic)etc - for windows used as blinds...'.⁸⁰

Exactly what 'windows used as blinds' were is explored in Chapter Four.

GLASS CUTTING

Cooper published a manual for crown glass cutters which is still reproduced today, as if it was anonymous. This testifies to his experience and fastidious practice as a glass cutter, and, importantly, his inclination to teach. The *glazing bench* in the

Glazing Shop and the *glazing board* in the Lead Workers' Room would have been specially designed by Cooper and similar to those described and illustrated in the *Manual*.⁸¹ An apprentice glass cutter at 18 Picardy Place was taught that glass was a precious commodity to be used with economy -

'The glass cutter must not only be able to handle his diamond well, but he must learn to cut to advantage; he must cut methodically and judiciously, that there may be as little waste as possible.'

Glass cutters were given the naturally formed point of a large diamond, a *spark*, to work with. This could completely cut through thin crown glass but thicker glasses required careful touches of a hot iron to open up the score drawn by the diamond.⁸²

It was the demand for geometric glazing for churches, ornamental cottages and staircases in the earlier stages of the Gothic Revival that was the vehicle of Cooper's glass staining and painting enterprise. Cooper argued persuasively that the luxury of stained and painted glass became '*... within the reach of very moderate circumstances ...*' if used sparingly to highlight geometric glazing predominantly filled with inexpensive clear or frosted glass.⁸³ The portfolio listed in the inventory would have held, among others, the designs illustrated in the *Manual*, ranging from simple diamond or lozenge quarries to close adaptations of the complex patterns devised by Walter Gedde, glazier to Elizabeth I, and illustrated in his *Booke of Sundry Draughtes* (1615).⁸⁴ As an example of the plainest diamond lattice glazing, Cooper illustrated the new east window of Saint Giles Cathedral, Edinburgh, reconstructed by William Burn between 1829 and 1833 (Cooper gives the date of the window as 1832) implying that he executed it.⁸⁵

Cooper encouraged the would-be leaded glazier to study the mediaeval grisaille windows at York Minster. Ballantine & Allan evidently did just that as the design of one of their early commissions, the east window of Renfield Street United Presbyterian Church, Glasgow (1848 – see Chapter Eight) was based on the thirteenth century grisaille window in the north transept of York Minster, the *Five Sisters* (1260).

An apprentice at 18 Picardy Place was taught how to draw geometric shapes of all kinds on a glazing board which served as a *cartoon*. As Cooper explained, accurate drawing and precision cutting were essential to regularity of effect. The glazier beginning a leaded window -

*'... must prepare, by drawing the shapes and sizes of the panes on a board, (and it is here understood that the intelligent glazier is capable of drawing geometrical figures correctly, when such are required) and to these he must conform in cutting he must first outline the full dimensions of the window, and then line it off to the pattern required, shaping the panes accordingly Great accuracy must be observed in cutting the panes, or a very irregular panel will be produced; as those lines that ought to be parallel or otherwise, will not be correctly so, which will greatly injure the appearance of the work.'*⁸⁶

The pattern illustrated as plate 14, accompanied by Cooper's blithe reassurance that *'... although apparently more elaborate, the glass is easily cut ...'*, would have to have been drawn out with particular care. It is an adaptation of Gedde's Plate 78. Cooper adapted another of Gedde's patterns, Plate 85, for the two vast

Perpendicular gothic windows in the Banner Hall at Taymouth Castle. [Images 12-15]

STAINING AND ENAMELLING

It would have been easy for Ballantine & Allan to acquire recipes for glass stains and enamels but applying them successfully would have been a different matter. In 1827, the year before they went into business as house painters and glaziers, Nathaniel Whittock published the exhaustive *Decorative Painter and Glazier's Guide*, part three of which includes recipes and instructions for glass staining and painting.⁸⁷ Cooper maintained, however, that such guides were of little assistance to the would-be glass painter -

*'It is not thought advisable to enter at greater length here into the details of the process of glass painting and staining all such details would be nearly useless for any practical purpose, there being scarcely a possibility of either communicating or acquiring such a knowledge of the art of glass painting or staining as would enable any person to practice it successfully. Nothing but personal observation and long experience can do so. And thus it is, that all the printed directions and instructions for the prosecution of the art, of which there is no lack, are found to be almost wholly useless when attempts are made to act upon them. In short, to those who have no knowledge of the art, no written instructions could be of any avail ...'*⁸⁸

Both Cooper and Ballantine & Allan executed stained glass for the Chapel at George Heriot's Hospital, Edinburgh in the late 1830s, this being the latter's first known commission (see Chapter Four). Ballantine & Allan's work is elementary in comparison to Cooper's.

The former's designs are Elizabethan style *knots* executed as a mosaic of pot metal glasses and yellow stain. [Image 16] Cooper's windows are heraldic and are masterpieces of glass staining and enamelling. [Image 17] Some of the coats of arms include vignettes executed in enamels with the delicacy of porcelain painting. [Image 18] Five or six years later, however, Ballantine & Allan proved themselves to be remarkably competent at glass staining and painting. A commission contemporary with their involvement with the new Houses of Parliament was that of windows for Mount Auburn Cemetery, Boston, America (c 1845).⁸⁹ The east window features an adaptation of *Night* by, at that time, the celebrated Danish artist Bertel Thorvaldsen (1770-1844).⁹⁰ The feathers of the angel's wings flicker with red fire while the clinging drapery is softly tinted with purple and pink enamel. [Image 19]

The heraldic stained glass Cooper executed for Crom Castle between 1836 and 1837 was one of Cooper's more problematic commissions and his extensive correspondence with Creighton affords a valuable insight into the number of glass stainers and painters he necessarily employed.⁹¹ Crom Castle was designed by Edward Blore and constructed by the Edinburgh builder Charles McGibbon.⁹² Cooper had worked with McGibbon at least once before, at Millearne Abbey, Perthshire, where, probably, a contract for a small quantity of 'best' crown glass for the principal windows grew into another for stained glass.⁹³ It was McGibbon who recommended Cooper to Creighton and verbally negotiated the commission. On 11 January 1841 the house, with the exception of the west wing, burnt down, but was immediately rebuilt to Blore's original specifications by the Dublin architect John Sudden. No trace of Cooper's work has survived.

Heraldic glass was commissioned for the seven light bay window and the pair of two light windows in the staircase hall of Crom Castle to screen the view of the service court. There was to be a different Creighton shield, encircled by a border of roses, shamrocks and thistles emblematic of the family's national origins, in each upper light. This border was also repeated along the outer edges of each light. Cooper researched the Creighton arms and prepared drawings but, in the event, on the insistence of Blore, Thomas Willement (1786-1871) of London, revised and executed the shields.⁹⁴ Willement was an antiquarian and herald as well as a glass painter.⁹⁵ Given that Willement worked to his drawings, it was unfair that all remained for Cooper was the outside border. Furthermore, Creighton being anxious that Willement would not work to scale and the shields would not fit within the outside border, Cooper's commission was reduced to the outside border for the lower sashes only. The finished windows, the upper sashes temporarily filled with plain crown glass, were shipped to Glasgow by canal and then on to Belfast by steamer, on 22 November, 1837.⁹⁶ After the fire in 1841 Willement replaced the shields and provided a new setting.⁹⁷ With the exception of the central light of the bay window, the present Lord Earne has replaced Willement's stained glass and hung the coats of arms on wires in front of plain glazing. These, however, suggest what Cooper's border and unexecuted shields would have looked like. [Image 20]

The necessary sequential firings of the red and yellow stains Cooper used for the roses in the border (Willement used a ruby pot metal) caused him to complain to Creighton -

*'Staining glass is a very tedious & very expensive process ...'*⁹⁸

Cooper's letters to Creighton describe a workshop running at full capacity to complete only the minor part of the full commission, the outside border. He estimated in July 1837 that it would take nine glass stainers working together to complete approximately eighty-four feet of the border for an unspecified deadline. This was probably intended to be earlier than the actual shipment of the windows in November, Creighton's indecisiveness causing delay. Cooper wrote to Creighton on 8 May, 1837 -

*'You instructed me long ago to be going on with the other part of the work & I have prepared the glass & materials accordingly -& that no time may be lost & I shall do everything possible with Nine men staining to suit your time ...'*⁹⁹

As Cooper was confident that he could complete the full commission, the 11 shields being even more complicated than the border, his potential team of glass stainers and painters must have been more than nine. The number of glass stainers Cooper required to execute the borders and tracery lights for the two windows in the Banner Hall at Taymouth Castle must have been larger again. [Image 21] Four of Cooper's glass stainers are known by name. Andrew Thom and James Lamb have been mentioned already. The remaining two, J McKechnie and William Dale, were listed along with Lamb as having submitted 'preferable claims for wages' in 1841 which implies that they were full-time employees.¹⁰⁰

Stains and enamels were prepared especially for each commission with fastidious care. The items found in the Stainer's Room at 18 Picardy Place were those necessary for grinding, heating and proportionately mixing the materials used for glass stains and enamels. Ground soft glass was used as a *flux* for enamels and the

'2 *Chrystal Stones for grinding Mill*' were for the glass grinding mill found in the cellars. That there were five *grinding stones* together with five *mullars* and two *mortars* evidences that this was busy room. Stains and enamels were mixed on a large *silver stone*, as particles of dust or grit collected from an ordinary stone would have spoilt them. The three *easels* may have been table easels for glass painting.

FIRING

Cooper's experience of glass manufacture afforded him, and those he trained, singular control over the firing of stains and enamels. He understood furnaces and kilns, the proper selection of glasses for staining and enamelling and their behaviour when subject to heat. Consequently, he was more successful, and so could afford to be more technically adventurous and fastidious, than his Edinburgh rivals.

The generous capacity of the Kiln House at 18 Picardy Place implies that Cooper employed a number of kiln operators. As he understood the principles of the traditional crown glass furnace well enough to redesign it, providing himself with an efficient *muffle* kiln for firing stained and enamelled glass would have been a small affair.¹⁰¹ There were two large kilns and one small kiln, seemingly wood fired, in the Kiln House at 18 Picardy Place, each with eight *plates* for laying the glass on. This confirms the continuous manufacture of stained and enamelled glass and the simultaneous progress of different commissions.

In 1817 Sir Walter Scott, referring to heraldic glass for the window in his *Armoury at Abbotsford* (see Chapter Four), wrote biblically of the

capricious behaviour and vulnerability of stained and enamelled glass in the kiln -

'... you may be sure I shall be most anxious to hear that 'my father's arms Old Harden's Crest' have escaped from the furnace as Shadrach, Meshach & Abednego of yore ...'.¹⁰²

The firing of stains at 18 Picardy Place was not such a haphazard affair and the Crom Castle commission was a success, the stains developing to their full effect -

'We do hope that the uniformity (sic) Brilliancy of Colouring will recommend itself ...'.¹⁰³

The flawless translucency and equal intensity of Cooper's staining is demonstrated by his coats of arms for the chapel at George Heriot's Hospital. [Image 22]

John George Home Drummond of Millearne Abbey, Perthshire (remodelled 1826-1831 and since demolished) would have done better to trust Cooper alone to execute heraldic glass for his new gothic interiors and avoid Edward Hunt & Company of 57 Abbey Hill. Evidently Hunt did not understand the proper selection of glasses for staining, or how to judge the firing of stains, as well as Cooper. Trying to stain a heraldic shield composed of a yellow cross and red waves, he failed to get the red stain to take sufficiently and balance the vibrancy of the yellow -*'This box encloses the remainder of your stained glass we could have wished the red had been a little deeper the glass is rather hard & has resisted the stain ...'.¹⁰⁴* Another written apology from Hunt accompanying a further consignment of heraldic stained glass

explains that delivery was delayed because pieces either broke or were spoilt in the kiln. Two attempts at a pelican's head had been necessary, the stain having been over fired to a dark matt at the first attempt. Other replacement quarries were to be sent later -

'The delay of your stained glass was owing to accidents which are very liable in the kiln. there is (sic) two of the diamond pieces wanting. I have four over the number which will be sent for spare ones you will find 2 pieces with the Pelicans Head one of these being rather dark.'

LEADING

Cooper preferred have lead milled on the premises which indicates both fastidiousness and scale of production. Evidently, he needed to supply himself with a large quantity of quality lead at a low cost. His detailed description, with illustrations, of the construction and mechanism of lead moulds and lead mills in his *Manual* suggests that these were made to his specification.¹⁰⁵ In 1841 Cooper owed wages to two lead workers, Robert Moire and William Fife.¹⁰⁶ Two leadmills were found in the Lead Workers Room.

Citing Cooper's experience of the glass industry does not sufficiently explain his technical success as a glass painter. As with Ballantine & Allan, Cooper was a link in a chain rather than an isolated pioneer. Given the contiguity of glass painting and ceramic painting, it would be no surprise to find that Cooper brought up skilled enamel painters, transfer printers and kiln operators from the north Staffordshire ceramics industry.

¹ Donnelly, M., Glasgow Stained Glass: a preliminary study, (Glasgow: Glasgow Museums and Art Galleries, 1981), p.5.

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- ² Knowles, J.A., *Continuity of the Art of Glass Painting in England*, Builder, Vol. CXXIII, (21 July 1922), p.97.
- ³ Eginton, W. R., List of Works, (Birmingham: 1823).
- ⁴ Edinburgh Post Office Directory, (1839-40), p. 7.
- ⁵ Records of Heriot's Hospital, Vol. XXVI, pp.311-13, 480 and 501.
- ⁶ Edinburgh Post Office Directory (1833-4), p.176 and (1835-6), p.184.
- ⁷ Ibidem), p.176.
- ⁸ Glasgow Post Office Directory (1830-1).
- ⁹ Scotland of Today: Edinburgh, its capital, and the east coast ports of Leith, Dundee, and Aberdeen. Businessmen and mercantile interests, wealth and growth. Historical, statistical, biographical, (London: Historical Publishing Company, 1890), p.175.
- ¹⁰ Donnelly, M., Glasgow Stained Glass..., p.5.
- ¹¹ ECL: qYTT 320. Ledger dated 1828-30. Edinburgh Post Office Directory, (1829-30), p. 11.
- ¹² The competition was announced on 16 June 1843 and the submission date was the first week of March 1844.
- ¹³ The Builder, Vol. II, No. 66 (11 May 1844), p.236.
- ¹⁴ PRO: Works 11, 7/12 (1850-51). Bary to Cole, 10 July 1851.
- ¹⁵ *Decoration of the New House of Lords*, The Builder, Vol. III, (1845), p.435.
- ¹⁶ *Glass Painting at the House of Lords*, The Builder, Vol. III, (1845), p.518.
- ¹⁷ Edinburgh Post Office Directory
- ¹⁸ SRO: Sasine No. 1505 (7 May 1832). The premises consisted of three rooms, a closet and a kitchen on the fourth floor of the tenement.
- ¹⁹ Petition by William Denniston to the Dean of Guild court re 15 South Hanover Street,
30 March 1829 and 3 September 1833.
- ²⁰ Edinburgh Post Office Directory (1815-16), p.70 and (1816-17), p.52.
- ²¹ SRO: Sasine No. 5518 (11 December 1849) - JAMES BALLANTINE AND GEORGE ALLAN, *House Painters, Glass Stainers and Japanners, Edinburgh, get Ren. Dec.3 1849, by the Royal Society of Edinburgh, of a Piece of ground and House thereon with 2 Necessary Houses on the ground behind the same and Cellarage in front of said House on the south side of GEORGE STREET, Edinburgh, - and of £2000, in Disp. Apr.1. 1845 (vide 4 s no. 4440) P.R. 1845.148.*
- ²² See Chapter Two.
- ²³ Scotland of Today..., p.114.
- ²⁴ NLS: Acc. 4534/122. Cooper to James Todd, Royal Scottish Society of Arts, 12 February 1849.
- ²⁵ Edinburgh Post Office Directory, (1831-41).
- ²⁶ PRO Chancery Lane, London: LC3/70 and LC5/243. Appointments from 1830 to 1837, p.112 and Tradesmans' Appointments August 1837 to October 1840, p.213. No details of these appointments are given.
- ²⁷ NLS: Acc. 4534/122. Cooper to Todd, 12 February 1849. This letter is addressed 53 Union Place, Aberdeen. Cairnbulg is a small community east along the coast from Fraserburgh.
- ²⁸ BL: Add. 40583 f.242. Cooper to Peel, 29 January 1846. The History and Manufacture of Glass cannot be traced.
- ²⁹ NLS: Acc. 4534/122. A copy of James Ballantine's report to the Royal Scottish Society of Arts on Cooper's essay *Glass used for Staining and Enamelling* was sent to him via 'Messrs Strachan & Scott - Bankers - William Street New York' in March 1850. See note 57.
- ³⁰ Cooper, W., Crown Glass Cutter ..., p.32.
- ³¹ SRO: CS 279/530. State of Debts due to Wm Cooper & Co., State of the affairs of Wm Cooper & Co. Stained Glass manufacturers Edin.r as at 11 June 1841 made up by the Interim Factor in terms of the Statute.

32 Edinburgh Post Office Directory

33 Gifford, J., McWilliam, C. and Walker, D., The Buildings of Scotland: Edinburgh (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1984), pp.430-1.

34 SRO: Sasine No. 7022 (18 January 1837).

35 SRO: Sasine No. 1835 (3 June 1835).

36 SRO: Sasine No. 10081 (5 October 1839).

37 NLS: Acc. 4534. Cooper to Todd, 15 June 1837 and Cooper to the Royal Scottish Society of Arts, 27 February 1839.

38 SRO: CS 279/530. Petition to the Lord Ordinary of the bills for the sequestration of estates by William Cooper & Co. and the partners as individuals, 13 May 1841.

39 SRO: CS 279/530. Petition by Cooper to the Lord Ordinary of the Bills of the Bill Chamber for discharge from the state of bankruptcy.

40 SRO: Sasine No. 6149 (3 May 1836).

41 PRO Belfast: D 1939 27.25. Cooper to Creighton 30 December 1837.

42 PRO Belfast: D 1939 27.25. Cooper to Creighton 22 April 1838.

43 SRO: Acc. CS279/530. State of Debts due to Wm Cooper & Co.

44 SRO: Acc. CS279/530. State of the affairs of James Cooper and Act and Warrant Discharging James Cooper 17th November 1841.

45 SRO: Sasine Nos. 10,509 (16 March 1840) and 10,671.

46 A bankrupt could petition for discharge of debts having paid four fifths of the sum owed within eight months of the sequestration of their estate, if the creditors agreed. SRO: CS 279/530, State of the affairs of Wm Cooper & Co. ... states that the company owed £2638.

47 SRO: CS 279/530. State of debts due by W. Cooper & Co., State of the affairs of Wm Cooper & Co I am grateful to Janet Hill, Area Librarian at Warrington Library for searching through local directories for the following information - Clare, Burdy & Company, 1824-5; Clare, Haddock & Browne, 1828-3; Clare & Browne, 1838-41.

48 Edinburgh Post Office Directory (1841-6).

49 PRO Belfast: D 1939 27.25. Cooper to Creighton, 22 April 1838.

50 Chance, J.F., Op. cit., pp.61-2.

51 NLS: Acc. 4534/122. Cooper to Todd, 12 February 1849.

52 Ibidem.

53 Godwin, G., *On the present state of the art of glass painting in England and France, and on the necessity for efforts in its favour*, The Civil Engineer and Architect's Journal (July 1840), pp. 217-9 and 219 note.

54 Between 1814 and 1830 the capital of the Dumbarton Glass Works was estimated as being £98,400 in comparison to the £20,000 of the Saint Helen's Glass Company in 1830. See Barker, Op. cit., pp. 68-70.

55 SRO: CS96.1729, pp. 132, 134, 136, 140, 142, and 144. See List and Index Society ... p.154. For Lamb see Barker, T.C., Op. cit., p.71.

56 Edinburgh Post Office Directory. (1831-2), p.40.

57 Fleming, A., Scottish and Jacobite Glass, (Glasgow: 1938), p. 161.

58 NLS: Acc. 4534/122. Cooper, W., Glass used for Staining and Enamelling, (12 February 1849).

59 Cooper, W., Crown Glass Cutter ..., p.16 note.

60 Brodie, W. Sunderland Notables: natives, residents and visitors, (1894), pp.450-59.

61 SRO: CS.96/1357. Court of Session Productions. Dumbarton Glass Works. Balance Book 1804-1815, pp. 48, 71 and 80. The author's attention was first drawn to this by Logan, J.C., 'The Dumbarton Glass Work Company, c.1777-c.1850.' Unpublished Ph.D. thesis (University of Strathclyde: 21-1806, 1970-71).

62 Ibidem, Balance Book 1815-1822, p.13.

63 Chance, J.F., Op. cit., pp.20-21.

64 Ibidem, p.35.

⁶⁵ SRO: Sasine No. 5076 (29 September 1845) - ANDREW THOM, Glass Stainer, residing in Rose street, Edinburgh, seised, Sept. 23.1845, - in the fourth Storey from the ground of the Wester half Tenement of land with a Cellar, on the north side of the back street (Rose street) of the south Building Plot of the New Town of Edinburgh, next to St. Andrew Square, on Disp. by James Ballantine and George Allan, House Painters, Glass Stainers and Japaners, Edinburgh, April 17.1845 - and MARGARET McNAIR, HIS SPOUSE, seised, eod. die, in liferent of the said subjects, *pro-priis manibus* of the said Andrew Thom.'

⁶⁶ SRO: Sasine No. 7022. When Cooper surrendered 18 Picardy Place to a Charles Morton, 'James Lamb, Journeyman Glass Stainer, 18 Picardy Place' was his witness.

⁶⁷ Cooper, W. Glass used... .

⁶⁸ NLS: Acc. 4534. Ballantine to Todd, 20 October 1849.

⁶⁹ SRO: CS 279/530. Shop Furniture & Stock in Trade, State of affairs of Wm. Cooper & Co.

⁷⁰ Cooper, W., Crown Glass Cutter..., p.74 and plate 17.

⁷¹ PRO Belfast: D 1939 27.25. Cooper to Creighton, 18 February 1837.

⁷² PRO Belfast: D 1939 27.25. Cooper to Creighton, 26 April 1837 and 22 May 1837.

⁷³ Patent No. 2946 (4 July, 1806). Davenport, J., Ornamenting glass in imitation of engraving and etching.

⁷⁴ Locket, T.A., Davenport Pottery and Porcelain, 1794-1887, (Newton Abbot, David & Charles, 1972).

⁷⁵ Robert Copeland, Spode's Willow Pattern & other designs after the Chinese, Cassell Ltd, 1980, p.21.

⁷⁶ There is an example on display at the Georgian House, Charlotte Square, Edinburgh (The National Trust for Scotland).

⁷⁷ Patent No. 7270 (10 January 1837). Cooper, W., An Improved Method of Executing Ornaments, Devices, Colours or Stains on Glass.

⁷⁸ Hughes, G.B., Victorian Pottery and Porcelain, (London: Country Life Ltd, 1959), pp.32-33.

⁷⁹For this and similar examples see Milbourn, M. and E., Understanding Miniature British Pottery and Porcelain, 1730 to the present day, (Woodbridge: Baron Publishing/Antique Collectors' Club, 1983), pp. 92-97.

⁸⁰ PRO Belfast: D 1939 27.25. Cooper to Creighton, 10 January 1838.

⁸¹ Cooper, W., Crown Glass Cutter ..., pp.35-36.

⁸² Ibidem, pp. 89 and 95.

⁸³ Ibidem, p.101.

⁸⁴ Ibidem, plates 13-16, pp. 71-5.

⁸⁵ Ibidem, plate 12 and p.73.

⁸⁶ Ibidem, p.79.

⁸⁷ Whittock, N., The Decorative Painter and Glazier's Guide, (London:Isaac Taylor Hinton, 1827)

⁸⁸ Cooper, W., Crown Glass Cutter..., pp.105-6.

⁸⁹ See Bigelow, J., A History of the Cemetery of Mount Auburn, (Boston and Cambridge: James Munroe & Company, 1860), p.58.

⁹⁰ This design was specified by Mount Auburn Cemetery in a letter dated 14 June 1845. I am grateful to Meg Winslow, Curator of the Historical Collections of Mount Auburn Cemetery for this information.

⁹¹ Jackson Stops, J., Crom Castle, County Fermanagh I, Country Life, (26 July 1988). John Crighton became the third Earl of Earne in 1842. Cooper spells the name Creighton.

⁹² Other Edinburgh contractors of significance were Hog, Lithgow & Company, house painters and decorators, and William Totter, cabinet makers and upholsters, 9 Princes Street.

⁹³ Receipts dating from 1820 to 1831 survive among the MacIntyre Manuscripts (private) from David MacGibbon & Son for payment for building work at Millearne Abbey. MacIntyre MSS No. 24 (25 October 1832). John George Home Drummond owed Cooper £23.3s for small items of stained glass and crown glass. I am grateful to Dr James Macaulay for this information.

⁹⁴ NAL: 86.Y.39. Willement, T., Account of Works in Stained Glass, (London:1840). Willement was Heraldic Artist to George IV and Artist in Stained Glass to Queen Victoria.

⁹⁵ See Harrison, M., Victorian Stained Glass, (London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1980), p.84.

⁹⁶ PRO Belfast: D 1939 27.25. Cooper to Creighton, 22 November 1837.

⁹⁷ Ibidem. Creighton's Account Book (undated).

⁹⁸ PRO Belfast: D 1939 27.25. Cooper to Creighton. 30 December 1837.

⁹⁹ PRO Belfast: D 1939 27.25. Cooper to Creighton, 8 May 1837 and 22 November 1837.

¹⁰⁰ SRO: CS279/530. State of debts due by W. Cooper & Co., State of the affairs of Wm Cooper & Co. ...

¹⁰¹ NLS: MS 4534/122. Cooper to Todd, 12 February 1849 – *'It is remarkable that the old construction of Crown glass furnaces (I mean the principle) has remained stationary for the last century I may send you an improved construction of Furnaces whereby fuel is economised & better metal is produced.'*

¹⁰² Letters of Sir Walter Scott, ed. Ed. Grierson, H.J.C., 12 vols. (1932-7), Vol.IV, p.529. Scott to Daniel Terry, 26 September 1817.

¹⁰³ PRO Belfast: D 1939 27.25. Cooper to Creighton, 22 November 1837

¹⁰⁴ Macintyre MSS No. 28. (24 January 1833). E. Hunt & Company to Home Drummond.

¹⁰⁵ Cooper, W., Crown Glass Cutter ..., pp. 76-78.

¹⁰⁶ SRO: CS279/530. State of debts due by W. Cooper & Co., State of the affairs of Wm Cooper & Co. ...

4. BALLANTINE WATCHING AND WAITING

Chapter Three explored 'how' glass painting skills were introduced to Edinburgh in the early nineteenth century. In order to understand fully the early years of the Scottish stained glass revival, it is important to ask 'why', in a predominantly Presbyterian country with no use for ecclesiology, there was a revived interest in the medium. This chapter presents stained glass as essential scenery in the theatres of the sublime, feudalism, antiquarianism and 'high' church practice and James Ballantine as an interested spectator waiting for a commercial opportunity.

4:1. GOTHIC GLOOM: THE SUBLIME ASSOCIATIONS OF STAINED GLASS

'... all edifices calculated to produce an idea of the sublime, ought rather to be dark and gloomy ...' (Edmund Burke)¹

In the Regency period the sublime 'gloom' transmitted by stained glass was experienced imaginatively through literature and artificially through the theatre more than in reality. Accordingly, literature and the theatre had an important part to play in stimulating the demand for stained glass and the development of glass painting.

LITERATURE

Since the middle of the eighteenth century, principally following the publication of *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* (1757) by Edmund Burke (1729-97), the emotional, imaginative and intellectual responses to

landscape and architecture, divided into the categories of the Sublime, the Picturesque and the Beautiful, had been the subject of philosophical debate. Burke explained that –

*' ... whatever is in any sort terrible, or is conversant about terrible objects, or operates in a manner analogous to terror, is a source of the sublime; that is, it is productive of the strongest emotion which the mind is capable of feeling.'*²

Stained glass had a two-fold attraction to those in pursuit of the Sublime: the obscurity it generated allowed the imagination freedom to play and, being traditionally heraldic, it was directly associated with a violent past.

As the archaeological study of stained glass was in its infancy, antiquarian and topographical studies could only describe surviving windows through reference to literature and landscape painting. In his antiquarian study, *Specimens of the Ancient Sculpture and Painting*, John Carter (1748-1817) included the following description of the interior of Saint Cross Hospital, near Winchester –

*'Were ... William of Wickham, to rise from that beautiful monument which encloses his remains ... he would find that his venerable Cathedral had undergone very few changes in the lapse of four whole centuries, and that his beloved college had hardly suffered any at all. He would there receive the "dim religious light" through the same historic glass which he provided.'*³

The idea of William of Wickham arising from his tomb apart, it was the physical darkness of the interior of the cathedral which would

have led the Regency imagination, with just enough trepidation, into the social and spiritual darkness of the past.

Burke argued that '*... darkness is more productive of sublime ideas than light*'.⁴ Under the heading *OBSCURITY* he commented with reference to the description of Death in the second book of *Paradise Lost* –

*'No person seems better to have understood the heightening, or of setting terrible things, if I may use the expression, in their strongest light by the force of a judicious obscurity, than Milton.'*⁵

The now stereotyped literary description of the obscurity generated by stained glass as '*dim religious light*' is, in fact, a quote from *Il Penseroso* (1645), a celebration of melancholy, spiritual gloom, by John Milton (1608-74) –

*'But let my due feet never fail
To walk the studious cloister's pale,
And love the high embowered roof,
With antic pillars massy proof,
And storied windows richly dight,
Casting a dim religious light.'*

John Britton (1771-1857), one of the editors of the 1838 edition of Carter's *Specimens ...*, began compiling *The Cathedral Antiquities of Great Britain* in 1814.⁶ The text of *The History and Antiquities of the Metropolitan Church of York* (1819) does not support the fastidious archaeology of the engraved drawings, some of which were by no less a scholar of Gothic architecture than Augustus Charles Pugin (1762-1832). Despite these being carefully detailed in the engraved

drawings, Britton is concerned only with the picturesque effects generated by the stained glass windows and their literary associations –

*'On entering the nave, from the west end, the vastness of its dimensions produces an imposing and even awful effect; and the mildly glowing lights which its "storied windows" diffuse, tinge every part with a delightful warmth, like the empurpled atmosphere of a fine summer evening.'*⁷

According to Burke - *'Greatness of dimension, is a powerful cause of the sublime'* - and - *'Infinity has a tendency to fill the mind with that sort of delightful horror, which is the most genuine effect, and truest test of the sublime.'*⁸ The low light levels generated by stained glass allowed the Regency imagination to exaggerate the dimensions of a gothic cathedral: arcades marched away into darkness and roof vaults melted into the shadows.

The Reverend James Dallaway wished to see a more archaeological and less emotional response to mediaeval stained glass, arguing that the scientific study of heraldry was –

*'... the means by which topography is rendered interesting: for, however necessary the embellishment of learned commentaries or philosophical enquiries maybe to its perfection, simple facts, incontrovertibly ascertained, must form the ground work.'*⁹

For those who did take a closer look, however, stained glass with its knights and coats of arms brought to mind the violence of the Age of Chivalry. As the Edinburgh philosopher the Reverend Archibald Alison (1757-1839) described in his *Essays on the Nature and*

Principles of Taste (1790) with reference to ancient (including Milton) and contemporary poetry –

*The awful forms of gothic superstition, the wild and romantic imagery, which the turbulence of the middle ages, the Crusades, and the institution of chivalry have spread over every country of Europe, arise to the imagination in every scene ...*¹⁰

Authors and poets made melodramatic use of the associations of stained glass. Sir Walter Scott's descriptions of landscape and buildings reflect the characters who inhabit them and in *Ivanhoe* (1819), for example, the differences between the Saxon and Norman strongholds are highly significant. Cedric the Saxon gazes upon the heraldic stained glass in his prison in the Norman castle of Torquilstone and reflects that it was because his race had allowed itself to become '*... enervated by Norman arts ...*' that it '*... fell under Norman arms ...*', chivalry and the attendant science of heraldry being introduced to England from France with the Norman Conquest.¹¹ Moonlight, stained glass and heraldry was a heady mix, most famously exploited in the poem *Saint Agnes Eve* (1819) by John Keats (1795-1821). The coloured light transmitted by winter moonlight shining through a heraldic window transforms Madelaine at one and the same time into a mediaeval saint and a bloody victim of feudal enmity.

TRANSPARENCY, ASTONISHMENT AND REGENCY THEATRE

*The passion caused by the great and the sublime in nature, when those causes operate most powerfully, is Astonishment; and astonishment is that state of the soul, in which all its motions are suspended, with some degree of horror.*¹²

The Regency theatre's experiments with transparent media and projected light were an important contribution to the development of glass painting. Transparencies, back-lit varnished silk painted with translucent and opaque colours, and coloured lighting effects were the vehicle of illusion and astonishment. Manipulation of light allowed the sublime associations of subjects such as ruins and crags to be amplified by naturalistic effects of sunrise, sunset and moonlight.

While, in 1819, Elizabeth Terry was working on transparent window blinds and then stained glass for Sir Walter Scott's *Abbotsford*, her father, Alexander Nasmyth (1758-1840), was designing topographical scenery for a melodramatic adaptation of Scott's novel *The Heart of Midlothian* staged at the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden, London. The scenery was painted by the celebrated Grieve family, with whom the young A.W.N. Pugin was to work between 1829 and 1832.¹³ The play was adapted for the stage by Elizabeth's husband, the actor Daniel Terry, who played the part of David Deans.¹⁴ The architecture and landscape of Edinburgh afforded Nasmyth a range of sublime subjects upon which to experiment with astonishing effects. One reviewer commented that the scenery was –

*'... beautiful beyond description; and we should suppose not surpassed in any theatre in Europe ... we have seen nothing on the stage so rich, graphic and masterly as the first scene of Salisbury Crags, and Arthur's Seat, Dean's cottage, Holyrood Palace and Garden, the Council Chamber in the Palace, and Muschat's Cairn, a gloomy defile of rocks by moonlight.'*¹⁵

In 1820 Nasmyth, together with David Roberts, again designed topographical scenery for *The Heart of Midlothian*, this time an adaptation by Thomas J. Dibdin appropriated by the Theatre Royal in Edinburgh. The scenes were: the Church of Saint Anthony in ruins, Edinburgh by moonlight and at sunrise, the Grassmarket, Parliament Close, Edinburgh Castle, and Craigmillar Castle. According to *The Scotsman* newspaper - '... the scenery was splendid ... as A MERE EXHIBITION, it was worth all the money paid for admission to the Theatre'. The play ran for 38 nights to packed houses.¹⁶

Nasmyth's astonishing effects of moonlight and sunrise would have been achieved using transparencies. Transparent back-lit scenery, allowing for such effects as moonlight, sunrise, sunset, fire and lighted windows, dates from the late seventeenth century. In the inventive hands of the painter Philippe de Loutherbourg (1740-12) and the Grieve family, however, transparencies were used to unprecedented effect.¹⁷

De Loutherbourg, artist to Drury Lane Theatre from 1773-81, experimented with projecting light through transparent coloured silks onto the stage. For *A Christmas Tale* (Drury Lane Theatre, London, 1773) he placed –

' ... different coloured silks in the flies [above the proscenium] or sidescenes which turned on a pivot, and, with lights behind, which so illumined the stage, as to give the effect of enchantment ...'¹⁸

On a smaller scale and to more sublime effect, in his model theatre, the *Eidophusikon*, which had a stage six feet wide and eight feet deep, he replaced the coloured silk with stained glass. De Loutherbourg astonished audiences with his *Eidophusikon* on at

least three occasions: in 1781, 1786 and 1787 and, maybe also, in 1782.¹⁹ John Morley has already suggested that the Eidophusikon may '*... have helped the growing interest in stained glass ...*' and it is interesting that the young William Beckford (1760-1844), who put stained glass to dramatic use in Fonthill Abbey, Wiltshire, was an admirer of de Louthembourg.²⁰ The scenery of the Ediophusikon included four transparencies. For moonlight de Louthembourg used the latest technology, an Argand lamp, contained within a tin box with a one inch aperture '*... which being placed at various distances from the back of the scene, gave a brilliant or subdued splendour to a passing cloud.*'²¹ It was in his presentation of Milton's *Paradise Lost* in 1786, seen by W.H. Pyne (1769-1843), writer and painter, that de Louthembourg fully experimented with coloured glass as a means of projecting sublimely hellish light onto the miniature stage. Pyne recorded –

*'The effect of coloured glasses before the lamps were fully displayed; which being hidden from the audience threw their whole influence upon the scene, as it rapidly changed, now to sulphurous blue, then to a lurid red, and then again to a pale vivid light, and ultimately to a mysterious combination of the glasses, such as a bright furnace exhibits, infusing various metals.'*²²

PAINTING, TRANSPARENCIES AND STAINED GLASS

*'... the attempt of an exact imitation of painting on canvas, as if the subject were merely transfused from one substance or superficies to another, was reserved to the present age.'*²³ (Rev. James Dallaway)

As the term 'transparency' was, seemingly, synonymous for transparent stage scenery, transparent painting and stained glass, it can be suggested that there was an essential relationship between all three. Regency texts frequently refer to stained glass windows as 'transparencies'. John Hope writing in 1913 describes Benjamin West and Jervais' great east window for Saint George's Chapel, Windsor as a 'transparency' but the Victorian windows by Thomas Willement as 'painted glass'.²⁴ What did he understand to be the difference? He was possibly referring to the use of controlled natural light to highlight dramatically or 'relieve' a painting, on varnished silk or glass, achieving the same range of effects as back-lit transparent scenery in the theatre. To be fully appreciated, a transparency was viewed in a darkened space and low light levels were as necessary to the appreciation of a Regency stained glass window as transparent painting or stage scenery.

When Benjamin West (1738-1820), President of the Royal Academy, was commissioned to design stained glass windows he was interested in translucency only in so far as it afforded him heightened painterly effects. The melodramatic contrast of light and dark shadow was essential to West's interpretation of historical and religious subjects and painting on varnished silk or glass allowed him to achieve sublime radiance. In 1789 West staged an exhibition of a transparent painting at his house in Windsor celebrating George III's return to health and active government in 1789, no doubt as a political gesture. This is thought to have been a transparent adaptation of his canvas painting *The Recovery of His Majesty in the Year 1789*. Apparently - *'In the centre was a striking likeness of the King, the eye of Providence was seen above, diffusing a light over the features.'*²⁵

The exhibition of transparent painting on glass in London prior to installation afforded maximum publicity for a commission outside the capital. It was exhibited as a novelty and the theatrically managed lighting guaranteed a sensational response. Thomas Jervais (d. 1801/2) exhibited the *Nativity* for New College Chapel, Oxford, designed by Sir Joshua Reynolds (1723-92), in 1783. Writing to the poet William Mason (1724-97) Walpole described the sublime management of light –

'Jarvis's (sic) window from Sir Joshua's Nativity is glorious. The room being darkened, and the sun shining through the transparencies, realises the illumination that is supposed to be diffused from the glory, and has a magic effect.'

What Jervais had not allowed for was that, in the normal all-around lighting conditions of a religious interior, too much light would be reflected off the heavily painted inner surface of the glass and the effect of chiaroscuro would be considerably reduced. Later in 1783, Walpole reported his disappointment on seeing the Jervais/Reynolds windows once installed to the Countess of Ossory – *'I went to my passion Oxford and saw Sir Joshua's "Nativity." But alas! it is just the reverse of the glorious appearance it made in the dark chamber in Pall Mall.'*²⁶ Dallaway observed that –

'... stained windows are seldom seen to advantage, at least to all the advantage of which they are capable. When placed in Gothick churches, they are usually inspected under a glare of sun, or nearly obscured, and seldom but for a short period. But to have its real effect, a stained window should be occasionally looked at for several hours, when light is fading away in the evening, and the

*tints are blended by slow gradation into softness and true harmony of colouring ...*²⁷

To make sure that Francis Eginton's (1737-1805) new east window was seen to advantage, the Dean and Chapter of Lichfield Cathedral darkened the surrounding windows. Carter's complaint that, in so doing, they had given the window '*... an effect like some exhibition transparency ...*' confirms that the Regency expectations of stained glass, even those of a Dean and Chapter, were theatrical rather than architectural.²⁸

George III commissioned a design for the east window of Saint George's Chapel at Windsor Castle c.1782 from Benjamin West and by 1796 this and three other new windows in the north and south aisles had been installed.²⁹ Work on a fifth, the west window, was never completed. The execution of the windows was begun by Jervais with the assistance of his pupil Forrest, the latter continuing alone following the former's death in 1801 or 1802.³⁰ In 1786, George III ordered the tracery of the east window to be removed - '*... and its place filled with a huge transparency by West depicting the Resurrection.*'³¹ The measurements of West's cartoon for east window (1786) are recorded as being 36 feet high and 28 feet wide.³² It was divided into three large compartments only, the *Resurrection* in the centre with *Saints Peter and John Running Towards the Sepulchre* and *The Three Marys Going to the Sepulchre* on either side. So as to prevent light from the clerestory windows being reflected off the inner surface of the great east window, the two adjacent to it on each side were '*... solidly closed up, the spaces between the mullions being fitted with plates of tin with very indistinct heraldries painted upon them ...*' and the third along on each side '*... was filled by painted glass of the dingiest tone, the*

pattern of the ornaments on the tin plates being continued ...'.³³ In effect, George III converted the chapel into a darkened theatre with an illuminated transparent back-drop.

Having no divisions at all, the unfinished great west window, the *Crucifixion* (begun 1797), would have been even more like a theatrical back-drop. The cartoon was 36 feet high and 28 feet across (1000 square feet approximately) and, at the time, the cartoon was claimed to be the largest picture in the world (an unfinished squared watercolour drawing survives in the Chapter Library, Windsor).³⁴ After ten years, in 1807, the window was still incomplete and the glass painter, Forrest, was in an '*... ill state of health which he seems to have injured by close application.*'³⁵ He died sometime that year and, his wife failing to complete the window, the glass was stored until 1846.³⁶ That both Jervais and Forrest died on the job confirms that the Regency imagination attempted to push the medium of stained glass beyond its proper limits.

Peter Thornton has observed that while much has been written on the architect John Soane's (1753-1837) experimental use of light to transform mere building into an art form, little attention has been paid to the fact that this was often coloured or 'tinted'.³⁷ Soane assimilated ideas from painting, using light to generate mood or '*those fanciful effects which constitute the poetry of Architecture.*'³⁸ His ideas were influenced by the French architect Nicholas Le Camus de Mézières who proposed that manipulation of light gave a building a 'character' that was either mysterious or gloomy.³⁹ In his eighth public lecture as Professor of Architecture at the Royal Academy (appointed 1806) Soane advocated that –

*'The architect will do well to examine and reflect on the different modes adopted by painters of introducing light into their studios. The 'lumière mystérieuse', so successfully practised by the French artists, is a most powerful agent in the hands of a man of genius, and its power cannot be too fully understood, not too highly appreciated. It is, however, little attended to in our architecture, and for this obvious reason, that we do not sufficiently feel the importance of character in our buildings, to which the mode of admitting light contributes in no small degree.'*⁴⁰

In his commentary of the interiors of Lincoln's Inn Fields, London (1792-1824), Britton congratulates Soane on being the first to identify a use for stained glass distanced from traditional religious or heraldic associations and appropriate to 'modern' architecture. As with his description of the effects generated by the mediaeval stained glass at York Minster, once again he describes the atmospheric lighting effects generated by introducing sheets of glass stained yellow into the lanterns, sky-lights and side windows placed high over the hallways and galleries through reference to the Picturesque. Spaces that would otherwise have appeared cold and unwelcoming, as those filled with Soane's collection of antique marbles certainly would, were diffused with a 'sunny glow' which rivalled the '... amber hue of a warm summer evening atmosphere...'. [Images 94 and 95] Was Soane attempting to suggest a Claudian play of evening light upon the ruins of antiquity? As the *Penny Magazine* reported –

'On a summer evening, when beams of the sun are playing through the coloured glass, lighting up every object in the two apartments [Dining Room and Library] with gorgeous hues, and looking towards

the trees and shrubbery of Lincoln's Inn Fields, one might almost be cheated out of the belief of being in the heart of London.' ⁴¹

Yellow panels were interspersed with those decorated with classical motifs or subjects – *'Etruscan or Grecian, from ancient paterae and vases ... small groups in the style of antique bassi-relievi, or camaïeux, on semi-opaque ground of somewhat darker hue than the figures.'* ⁴²

The staged illumination of mausoleums by James Wyatt, for example the Yarborough mausoleum, Brocklesby, Lincolnshire (1787), and Soane can be seen as a three-dimensional realisation of transparent painting or the freezing of a theatrical scene. On entering, the viewer stands in the dark and gazes upon funerary sculpture or monuments illuminated by golden light falling from a hidden source above. As Howard Colvin describes the experience with reference to Noel Desanfans's first mausoleum by Soane at Charlotte Street, London (1807), – *'... one shared the space with the dead ... the sense of mystery was maintained by a separation akin to that between auditorium and stage.'*⁴³ The form of the architecture itself and the lighting replace a more overt use of the symbolism of death. Soane's use of glass stained yellow to light Desanfans's second mausoleum, in which Sir Francis Bourgeois and Mrs Desanfans are also buried and is incorporated into the Picture Gallery at Dulwich College (1811-12), was possibly intended to suggest divine glory or presence. [Images 96 and 97]

MORE GOTHIC GLOOM

*'Painters had to be familiar with the Gothic style much employed in melodramas ...'*⁴⁴

Monk Lewis's melodrama *Castle Spectre* staged in 1797 has been identified as the first gothic melodrama.⁴⁵ As Morley observes, the Regency fantasy of the *baronial hall* began in the theatre -

*'The theatre both reflected and initiated fashion; it had the advantage of being ephemeral and cheap, and could play the same enterprising role in introducing styles in interior decoration as did garden buildings in architecture. It attracted outstanding talent, both in design and acting. Fancies could be indulged, exotic and singular schemes could be created without fear of ridicule or waste, archaisms [such as baronial halls] could be recreated within the sanctuary of historical drama.'*⁴⁶ [Image 23]

The sublime associations of stained glass allowed for dramatic licence and the creative use of antiquarian study. William Capon (1757-1827), architect and artist for the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane, under John Philip Kemble (1757-1823), specialised in designing baronial and Tudor halls. His sketchbook filled with careful antiquarian studies of Norman and Gothic architecture was put to creative use, the windows of the period of Henry VI in a church in Kent appearing on stage as those of a Tudor hall.⁴⁷ A critic reviewing Weber's *Oberon* (Covent Garden, 1826) was enough of a scholar of stained glass to identify art historical inaccuracy -

*'The glitter of the last scene [Hall of Arms in the Palace of Charlemagne by the Grieves and Lupinos] is chiefly produced by the flashing of polished armour of all kinds - We apprehend that the exquisitely painted windows are an anachronism.'*⁴⁸

The significance of A.W.N. Pugin's experiences backstage at the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden, is discussed by Lionel Lambourne.⁴⁹ Although he was already familiar with Gothic buildings in both England and France, scene painting would have been Pugin's first taste of the lighting of a Gothic interior. Heraldic stained glass featured prominently in the sets designed by the Grieves, assisted by Pugin, for Shakespeare's *Henry VIII* presented at Covent Garden in 1831. A painting entitled *The Trial of Queen Katherine, Henry VIII* by Henry Andrews recording one of the set designs shows a beautiful transparent back cloth with sunlight filtering through the arcades which flank two large heraldic windows.⁵⁰

An inventory of the scenery in store at Covent Garden Theatre, London, made in 1829 in preparation for a sale which never took place, included eight transparencies designed and executed by the Grieves for the *Hall of Chivalry*, a scene within the 1819 production of *Harlequin and Don Quixote*, being illustrations of the origin of chivalry. Church and chapel interiors were equally popular. Kemble and Capon were both antiquarians and they conspired to open the newly enlarged theatre in 1794 with a spectacular stock of Gothic scenery. The opening scene of the first production, an oratorio, was a '... Gothic Cathedral, with illuminated stained glass windows, &c. in exact costume.'⁵¹

THE PANORAMA AND DIORAMA

Transparencies contributed to the illusion of the Panorama and, more particularly, Diorama (through-view). The first Panorama, invented by the Edinburgh artist Robert Barker in 1787, was constructed on the Mound, Edinburgh in 1788 and later frequented by the young David Roberts.⁵² A series of views were painted onto a

continuous flat surface around a circular auditorium. The audience remained stationary while the scenery rotated around them.

In the Diorama, invented by 1822 by Louis-Jacques Mandé Daguerre (1787-1851) and Charles Bouton and first experienced in Paris, the audience was rotated while the continuous scenery was stationary. Back-lit transparencies, painted with both transparent and reflective opaque colours, allowed for astonishingly naturalistic atmospheric effects and perspectives. Daguerre's London Diorama, designed by Augustus Charles Pugin, was constructed at 7 Park Square in 1823. Windows illuminated the transparencies, transparent coloured screens being placed in between as required.⁵³ Early Gothic transparencies presented were *A Chapel in Canterbury Cathedral* (1823) and *Interior of Chartres Cathedral* (1824).⁵⁴

4:2 FEUDALISM, GENEALOGY AND WILLIAM RAPHAEL EGINTON'S SCOTTISH COMMISSIONS

*The glamour of the Great Hall, with its armour and antiquarian paraphernalia, bewitched the Regency mind, which busied itself in both devising new and renovating old.*⁵⁵

The first stained glass to be commissioned for Scottish churches and houses since the Reformation, as identified so far, was designed and executed by William Raphael Eginton, of Birmingham (1778-1834). The context of his most important Scottish commissions was the baronial hall.

Eginton published and circulated various lists of works executed and these show clearly that his career developed in response to the demand for heraldic stained glass by noblemen imaginatively exploring their feudal past and declaring their sense of nationhood.⁵⁶ The latest of the surviving lists of works, dated May 21 1823, gives precedence to rank, beginning with George IV, and includes a description of a window for the Duke of Norfolk -

'Baron's Hall, Arundel Castle; Portrait full length of the Right Hon. Lord Surrey, as Sir Roger Bigod, in the Costume of the time of King John of England, and of Lord Howard as William de Roos.'

The window was scenery for the theatrical celebration of the sixth hundredth anniversary of the signing of Magna Carta on 15 June 1815. Eight hundred guests were invited to partake of a suitably baronial feast and the Duke would have received them dressed in a suit of armour if one could have been found which was in good enough condition.⁵⁷ The precedent for this was the celebration Saint George's Day at Windsor Castle in 1805 where twenty-five Knights of the Garter feasted on a 'baron' of beef in Saint George's Hall.⁵⁸

The 1823 *List of Works* shows that 45 out of the total 75 commissions were for domestic stained glass and that 13 of these were for Scottish patrons. Eginton's career ran parallel to that of Walter Scott (1771-1832) whose novels encouraged the Scots to seek their identity in a Romantic past. The increase in aristocratic incomes following the Clearances and the introduction of extensive sheep farming was also significant.⁵⁹ It was most likely Eginton's work at Fonthill Abbey which brought him to the attention of the Scottish aristocracy. Through his mother, wife and the marriages of his daughters, Beckford was allied

to three aristocratic Scottish families, those of Hamilton, Gordon and Douglas.

FONTHILL ABBEY

*'He was asked if the painted glass at Fonthill remained when he sold it, he replied - "It was made for the building and went with it; it was appropriate there, and nowhere else. Mine is a family of some standing, and I had the quarterings properly executed. The Heralds' traced me up to a Norman cobbler - there they stopped." This was a joke upon the name of Oliver de Crespin, steward of Normandy, to whom his mother's ancestry were traced.'*⁶⁰

Fonthill Abbey, designed by James Wyatt (1746-1813), was the most truly sublime of the early Gothic Revival houses.⁶¹ The construction of this vast house was ongoing from 1796-1818 but, fittingly, never finished. Beckford built a Gothic Abbey not, primarily, as a suitably religious shrine for his unrivalled collections or as a sublime allusion to the nearby ruins of a medieval friary but because, by his own confession –

*'The Gothic windows and compartments afforded him opportunities to blazon and introduce arms of the various great families that did & had existed in Europe from which his daughters are descended or to which they are allied.'*⁶²

As mentioned (p.123), Eginton ordered his 1823 *List of Works* according to the rank of the clients concerned. Beckford was merely the son of Alderman Beckford, Lord Mayor of London from 1763 until his death in 1770, and so, despite the unprecedented scale of Eginton's work at Fonthill Abbey, mention of it is relegated to the

category of 'ESQ'. Beckford sought to dignify a fortune made through trade with the West Indies by re-inventing his family pedigree and through alliance with the Scottish aristocracy. He married Lady Margaret Gordon, one of his daughters, Susan Euphemia, married the 10th Duke of Hamilton, to whom he was related on his mother's side, and the other became the Marchioness of Douglas.⁶³ His memoirs record –

'It was a singular thing to notice in his conversation the contest between his consciousness of truth and his tendency to favour the obsolete notions of ancestral merit from such pretensions. At Fonthill the Bedfords, Latimers, Gordons, and all connected with them collaterally had their arms in the window (sic).''

Re-inventing his ancestry was, however, a game Beckford had played since childhood, John of Gaunt being an historical figure particularly attractive to him - *'It was a hobby he rode at Fonthill, aided by his old favourite (sic) the Abbé Maquin. The Heralds' Office people aided his fancy.'*⁶⁴ The Abbé Maquin was a topographer and heraldic artist resident at Fonthill Abbey.⁶⁵

Beckford's teasing of the aristocracy through his questionable behaviour while using his fortune to prove himself a gentleman of exquisite taste invited curiosity as to what the interiors of Fonthill Abbey looked like. Eastlake records how the twelve-foot high wall around the perimeter of the estate not only kept unwelcome hunting parties but also the public at bay. The *Gentleman's Magazine* enflamed public curiosity by giving credence to even the wildest speculations.⁶⁶ Beckford was a recluse and the highly gothic night time spectacle he prepared for the visit of Lord Nelson and Lady Hamilton on 23 December 1800 was the first and last occasion

on which the Abbey's interiors were open to view until it was sold in 1822.⁶⁷ This one event was, however, enough to immortalise the sublime sensation of Fonthill Abbey and to enhance the reputations of the artists associated with it.

So that he had something more to show Lord Nelson and Lady Hamilton than the shell of the half-finished Abbey, Beckford had driven work forward on one of the two long axial galleries, Saint Michael's Gallery. This was so named '*... because the proprietor intended to have its windows painted with the knights of that Order, from whom he traces his descent.*'⁶⁸ Likewise the Saint Edward's Gallery, still incomplete ten years later, was so named because Beckford claimed, falsely, to be descended from all the sons of Edward III.⁶⁹

The programme of heraldic stained glass for Saint Michael's Gallery and the Oak Parlour was designed by William Hamilton R.A. (1751-1801) and executed by Francis Eginton assisted by his son William Raphael.⁷⁰ The death of Francis Eginton in 1805 and the publication of his obituary in the *Gentleman's Magazine* brought the full extent both of his achievement and Beckford's pretension to the attention of the general public. The roll call of noble figures executed was as seemingly infinite as the 112 feet long gallery itself.⁷¹

Fonthill Abbey was sold to the millionaire Mr Farquhar in 1822.⁷² The exhibiting of the house by James Christie in preparation for the auction of its contents was the sensation of the year, attracting thousands of visitors. It also allowed the interiors to be recorded by the topographical and antiquarian historians John Britton and John Rutter. Rutter confirms that when Francis Eginton died the stained

glass for the King Edward's Gallery, Octagon, Western Hall and Oratory was completed by William Raphael Eginton.⁷³

TAYMOUTH CASTLE, PERTSHIRE

Taymouth Castle, Perthshire, as rebuilt by John, fourth Earl of Breadalbane (1762-1834), was Fonthill Abbey's closest Scottish rival. Breadalbane, unlike Beckford, had both wealth and genuine ancestry. The rebuilding of Taymouth Castle cost him over £30,000.⁷⁴ Running sheep over his extensive estates, however, was bringing the earl £40,000 per annum to which could be added his wife's income of £3000.⁷⁵

In 1806, and after several false starts, Breadalbane contracted two Scottish architects, the brothers Archibald (1761-1823) and James (d.1810) Elliot, to demolish and rebuild the family's ancestral castle which dated back to c.1550. Archibald promoted their practice in London while James took responsibility for their Scottish projects. As Breadalbane was primarily resident in London at the time, he discussed the rebuilding of Taymouth Castle with Archibald who then passed his instructions on to James by letter. Their correspondence survives and shows that Breadalbane took a controlling interest in the detailing of the interior. After deliberating for two years (1807-9), Breadalbane eventually commissioned a complete Gothic interior from the highly sought after Italian plasterer resident in London, Francis Bernasconi.

Breadalbane's earliest discussions with the Elliots as to the decoration of the interior of Taymouth Castle included the obtaining of stained glass. In 1807 James advised against the purchase of a miscellany of antique stained glass soon to be auctioned at Christie's, London.⁷⁶

The Revolution allowed the plundering of France's heritage and, subsequently, antique stained glass was easily obtained through the London auction houses and dealers.⁷⁷ Instead, a 20 by 14 feet stained glass window displaying the Breadalbane's genuine descent from 'the ten first Lords of Glenorchy' was commissioned for the Baronial Hall, the main reception room and family portrait gallery, c. 1 November 1813.⁷⁸ Eginton submitted an account on 6 November 1814 but further panels with full-length figures were asked for. A list of the coats of arms included in the window was drawn up in November 1841, presumably in preparation for some of them being copied by William Cooper for one of the windows in the new Banner Hall. [Image 24] Breadalbane numbered among his ascendants the twenty persons and families of: Villiers; Stirling of Keir; Stewart; Grey Duke of Kent; Campbell of Argyll or Lochow; Ruthven; Halyburton; Douglas, Earl of Angus; Patrick Lord Sinclair; Stewart Earl of Athole (sic); Campbell of Glenorchy; McIntosh (sic) of Glenorchy; Colquhoun; Gavin; Graham, Earl of Menteith; Seton; Campbell of Loudoun; Cavendish; Rich; and Robertson of Strowan.⁷⁹ It was not until after the last of three meetings in London, in April, June and July of 1815, presumably to discuss the detailing of the figures, that the window was completed and dispatched. Eginton's final account, submitted on 1 August 1815, was for the daunting sum of £1387-5-6. Given the cost of the window, the idea of it being transported '*...by coach in boxes...*' from Birmingham via Leeds, Newcastle and Edinburgh, is alarming.⁸⁰ It did, however, arrive safely and remains as evidence of Eginton's calibre as a glass painter. [Images 25 and 26]

Although glass painters were in short supply in the early nineteenth century, and, seemingly, non-existent in Scotland, being resident in London allowed Breadalbane the luxury of 'shopping around'. He seems to have played one glass painter off against another,

sweetening them with false promises. Eginton's accounts suggest that he was preparing drawings for the window for the Baron's Hall from 1 November 1813 but there is also documentary evidence that William Collins (see Chapter One) was approached regarding this window sometime before 14 March 1814 when he wrote to Breadalbane -

*'I regret exceedingly that any circumstances should occur to prevent my executing the window for the Baron's Hall - which I so fully expected but the appointment was ... (expired ?) on Saturday by your Lordship(sic) intimation that you hoped soon to give me an opportunity of executing other windows when I shall be happy to use every Effort in my power to merit a continuance of your Lordship's favours'*⁸¹

This letter suggests that Breadalbane was considering a more extensive scheme of stained glass at Taymouth Castle and this is supported by Collins' announcement in the London newspaper *The Globe* on 24 June, 1813 that he was about to execute windows for the Earl of Beadalbane.⁸² Collins was, in fact, commissioned to design and execute a large window depicting *Saint Cecilia* for Taymouth Castle which was either never installed or is now missing.⁸³ He submitted an account of £630 for this window on 20 September 1813 and received payment on 12 March 1814 but, as he presumed to keep possession of it until he had been paid, he might have antagonized Breadalbane.⁸⁴

JAMES GILLESPIE GRAHAM

'... of all the Scottish architects of his generation, it is Graham alone who consistently produces thrilling interior experiences there is

still a great deal to learn ... about quite what made Gillespie Graham tick as an artist.' (Ian Gow)⁸⁵

It was Lady Mary Lindsay Crawford of Crawford Priory in Fife (completed in 1813) who was the first to commission a large and complex stained glass window from William Raphael Eginton. Leaving the phenomenon of Fonthill Abbey aside, this commission raises the question of the significance of the architect James Gillespie Graham (1776/7-1855) to the development of glass painting in Scotland. Two more of Eginton's most important Scottish commissions were for clients also employing Gillespie Graham to transform their country houses: Lord Macdonald of Armadale Castle on the Isle of Skye (1814-22) and William Hay of Duns Castle, Berwickshire (1818).

In 1809 the architect David Hamilton of Glasgow was employed by Lady Mary to add a 'Gothick Hall' to the existing Crawford Lodge of 1758.⁸⁶ Her romantic imagination seems to have been better matched, however, by that of Gillespie Graham who completed Hamilton's Hall and moved on to transform the existing house into a Gothic priory.⁸⁷ The hall, 'Earl John's Hall', as she called it, was Lady Mary's idea.⁸⁸ As Lady Mary was the last of a direct ancestral line, her brother the twenty-first Earl of Crawford having died in 1808 without an heir, it was to be a theatre for the quasi-religious re-enactment of her family's feudal past. Was it Gillespie Graham, however, who sourced the stained glass for the hall? A 19 by 14 feet window was commissioned from Eginton for the west end of the Hall with a portrait of Ignatius Loyola (after Van Dyck) and heraldry. The choice of Ignatius Loyola (c. 1491-1556) who was leader of the Society of Jesus and identified with the Counter-Reformation and the restoration of Catholicism, was a curious one. As Gillespie Graham had himself commissioned a portrait of Ignatius Loyola from Eginton

for the Library of his house in Albany Street, Edinburgh (date unknown), he may have recommended both the glass painter and the choice of subject to Lady Mary. He is not thought to have been a practising Catholic but his wife, Margaret Graham of Orchill whom he married in 1815, certainly was. He is known to have attended both Saint George's Episcopal Chapel in York Place (castellated Gothic by James Adam, 1792-4) and 'Saint Mary's Church', the Catholic cathedral, when resident in Edinburgh.⁸⁹ Lady Mary may, however, have been merely a follower of fashion. The copy of Eginton's *List of Works* held by the Birmingham Central Library has been annotated: the original printed version lists that Princess Charlotte of Wales and Saxe-Cobourg commissioned a '*Figure of a Bishop in ancient Costume, after Vandyke*' but this was corrected by hand to '*Ignatius Loyala*'.

The stained glass windows Eginton designed and executed for Crawford Priory, Armadale Castle and Duns Castle were as large and complex as the window at Taymouth Castle. The Armadale Castle window was 21 feet by 10 feet 6 inches and included a 7 feet high portrait of *Somerted, King of the Isles* while the Duns Castle window depicted *Saints Basilius and Crysillus* 'after Domenichino'.⁹⁰

4:3 ANTIQUARIANISM

The stained glass windows at *Abbotsford* (1812-32), built by Sir Walter Scott near Melrose, Roxburghshire do not compare in scale or complexity to those William Raphael Eginton designed and executed for the Scottish nobility. Although they are armorial, for Scott they were primarily an antiquarian curiosity, another trophy in his private museum.⁹¹ He sought stained glass not to parade his

ancestry so much as to add a finishing touch to his house and compliment his collections. Like Horace Walpole (1747-97) at Strawberry Hill, he wanted '*... to gaze on Gothic toys through Gothic glass.*'⁹² The modesty of the stained glass at *Abbotsford* made it, rather than Eginton's work, the precedent for domestic stained glass in Scotland.

Abbotsford was conceived as an 'ornamental cottage', the picturesque transformation of a modest farmhouse. Although it outgrew itself and acquired the features of Scottish castles and abbeys, it never became one, remaining '*a variety of snugg (sic) accommodation.*'⁹³ Finding the Hall disappointingly deficient in greatness, John Ruskin described it as being '*... about the size of a merchantman's cabin, fitted up as if it were as large as the Louvre, or Ch. Ch. hall Oxford ...*'⁹⁴

The furnishing of the interior of *Abbotsford* was a playful conspiracy between Scott and a group of accomplices, all based in London: Daniel Terry (1780?-1829), Edward Blore and George Bullock (d.1818). Scott's literary fancy was realised by those who offered '*... to employ their wits & their pencils ...*' on his behalf.⁹⁵ Aware of the limitations of local builders and craftsmen, he accepted that the interior must be furnished from London.⁹⁶ Reconstructing the story of the stained glass gives an insight into the demand for it in Scotland at that time and the problems of supply.

Terry, an architect turned actor, was Scott's principal accomplice. Once Terry began working at the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden, he was able to act as Scott's London agent. It is evident from their correspondence that Terry, at times in consultation with Blore and Bullock, made Scott's decisions for him.

The widespread use of painted window blinds in the early nineteenth century suggests that they were a makeshift answer to a demand for stained glass. Initially, Scott considered commissioning some from Terry's wife, Elizabeth Nasmyth. The designing of these was nothing more than a whimsical 'do it yourself' affair, the subjects playfully chosen to appeal to Scott's antiquarian interests. On 15 July 1815 Terry wrote to Scott –

*'Mrs Terry is at length returned to her easel our visitors are departed & quite singular labour is again embarked upon we have upon the frames three transparencies the designs of two are already outlined & are armour clad men in appropriate landscapes for the third we are yet undetermined & should like to know if there be PARTICULAR ARMOURIAL BEARINGS trophies or anything pertaining to any familiar subject, which would please you to ornament your cottage museum with, if there be pray describe or sketch it in any rough way and the best shall be done with it.'*⁹⁷

A year later Terry refers to these 'transparencies' as window blinds - 'I will now take my leave neither your sketches of the scenery of *Guy Mannering* nor the window blinds for *Abbotsford* are forgotten with the restored health of the artist [now the mother of Scott's godson, *Walter Terry*] they will be proceeded with.'⁹⁸

It is significant that stage scenery and window blinds were referred to in the same paragraph. Terry adapted Scott's novels for the stage, Scott referring to them with a suitably sublime twist as 'the art of Terryfing'. His adaptation of *Guy Mannering* was first performed in London on 12 March 1816 and opened in Edinburgh on 25 February 1817, starring Mrs Harriet Siddons.⁹⁹ A painted window blind was

stage scenery in miniature as David Roberts' memories of the time he was working as a scene painter at the Theatre Royal in Edinburgh in the early 1820s (see Chapter Two) confirm -

*'I had furnished my snug little house from my earnings consisting of 37s 6d per week from Mr Murray for I paid 2s 6d a - week for my colour-boy off the 40s. I received, and the price of an occasional picture or transparent window blind, which I painted and sold cheap.'*¹⁰⁰

The importance of the illusionism of stage scenery and painted window blinds to the development of glass painting in Scotland is confirmed by the future career of Roberts's colour boy, James Ballantine.

When Blore came to Scotland to make topographical sketches of Melrose Abbey for the Duke of Buccleuch, Terry introduced him to Scott.¹⁰¹ This seems to have been a turning point in the attitude towards stained glass for *Abbotsford*, the idea of theatrical window blinds being dropped for the real thing.

Scott's friend James Skene of Rubislaw (1775-1829), lawyer, laird and amateur artist, had suggested linking the existing farmhouse to adjacent service buildings by the addition of a series of new rooms. Blore translated Skene's plan into a house and when, in December 1816, Scott abandoned Skene's plan in favour of another by William Atkinson, he continued to advise on the elevations. Having an antiquarian's eye for authentic detail, Blore's most important contribution to *Abbotsford* was the traditional Scottish roof line '*... which delighted in notch'd gable ends and all manner of bartizans*'.¹⁰² When he died at the remarkable age of 92, Blore left

behind him 48 volumes of antiquarian drawings including a catalogue of ancient English castellated and domestic architecture.¹⁰³

After Blore's first visit to *Abbotsford* in November 1816, Scott wrote to Terry that it had been decided that his new dining room was to have three windows of which the south window was '*... to be Gothic, and filled with stained glass.*'¹⁰⁴ In the same letter Scott commands - '*Do not let Mrs. Terry think of the windows till little Wat is duly cared after.*'¹⁰⁵ This suggests that Blore discussed the possibility of obtaining stained glass with the Terrys, Mrs Terry volunteering to design and maybe even execute it, at one and the same time reducing costs and guaranteeing the end result.¹⁰⁶

Scott's debate with Blore must have explored the question of obtaining ancient stained glass for *Abbotsford* as a month later he asked Terry –

*'Do you think a commodity of real old stained glass can be picked up in London? I don't much like the modern staining. I mean of course within reasonable compass, for all these matters will draw hard on my pocket.'*¹⁰⁷

In 1819, however, 'modern' stained glass was installed in the *Armoury* to cast an appropriately sublime light over Scott's 'Gothic toys'. [Image 27]

Blore, as well as being a topographical illustrator, was also a scholar of heraldry. *Abbotsford* initiated his future career as a country house architect and, as his career progressed from illustration to architecture, he established friendships with other antiquarian

scholars with a related interest in heraldry and glass painting, namely Thomas Willement and Charles Winston. During the second building phase of *Abbotsford*, Blore was employed by the celebrated collector and scholar of arms and armour Samuel Rush Meyrick (1783-1848) as the architect to Goodrich Court, Hertfordshire (1828-31).¹⁰⁸ Inspired by Scott's *Provincial Antiquities and Picturesque Scenery of Scotland* (for which Blore made all the architectural drawings) and a visit to *Abbotsford* in 1822, Rush Meyrick had originally planned to restore the ruined Goodrich Castle.¹⁰⁹ Like Walpole and Scott, Rush Meyrick wanted to create a theatrical setting for his 'Gothic toys', his own collection of arms and armour. The heraldic stained glass in the windows of the entrance hall and staircase at Goodrich court were one of Willement's earliest commissions for stained glass.¹¹⁰ William Cooper's commission to design and execute armorial stained glass for Crom Castle under Blore's direction (see Chapter 3) was a future consequence of Scott and Blore's stained glass debate. Blore's fastidious antiquarianism explains his rejection of Cooper's designs and insistence that Willement be employed instead.

It was Blore who advised Scott as to the detail of the coats of arms to for one of the windows in the Armoury. In November 1816 Scott wrote to Terry –

*'About my armorial bearing: I will send you a correct drawing of them as soon as I can get hold of Blore; namely - of the scutcheons of my grandsires on each side, and my own. I could detail them in the jargon of heraldry, but it is better to speak to your eyes by translating them into coloured drawings, as the sublime science of armoury has fallen into some neglect of late years, with all its mascles, buckles, crescents and boars.'*¹¹¹

By the end of March 1817 Blore, had supplied the necessary details but Scott, to his frustration, was left to colour in the drawings, if not make the drawings, himself.¹¹²

The fashionable London upholsterer Bullock was, for Scott, the oracle of 'taste'. While Bullock was at Abbotsford in September 1817, Scott reported excitedly to Terry – '*Bullock has siezed upon the room hitherto call'd the Boudoir for an armoury & threatens mighty things. I have so much real ancient armour as will fill it compleatly (sic).*'¹¹³ As Bullock died in 1818 it was left to others to realise his vision but *A Design for an Arrangement of an Armoury now erecting at Abbotsford* (dated 1818) by his assistant Richard Hicks Bridgens (1785-1840) is probably a close approximation. [Image 27] The design is highly theatrical: the drapery half drawn across the archway dividing the Armoury makes it read as a proscenium arch while the suits of armour on either side of it are occupied. The rich glow cast by the stained glass in Henry Stisted's painting *Sir Walter Scott in his Armoury* (1826) suggests that it was always intended to function as a theatrical transparency viewed through the archway. [Image 28]

A further antiquarian touch was added to the stained glass in the form of copies of the so-called *Stirling Heads*. Scott wrote to Terry on 26 September 1817 -

*'I do not know whether I should thank you or scold you for the heads; they form positively too valuable a present for they are scarce & in the finest order & must have cost you both expence (sic) & trouble.'*¹¹⁴

William Blackwood had just sent Scott a copy of his recently published book *Lacunar Strevelinse: A Collection of Heads, etched and engraved after the carved work which formerly decorated the roof of the King's Room in Stirling Castle*.¹¹⁵ Terry had some of the the *Stirling Heads* copied onto glass, presumably by his wife, and Scott wrote to him on 29 October 1817 suggesting that they belonged in the Armoury.¹¹⁶ The heads of Margaret Tudor, James V of Scotland and others survive in the Armoury window overlooking the front court. Although Terry informed Scott early in 1818 that the Armoury windows were finished, seven months later Scott wrote to complain - *'The window of the armoury is still wanted & is one of our few desiderata*.¹¹⁷ Terry replied reassuringly a few days later –

'I think you will like your windows with your arms, old abbots knights and the Stirling heads with their coloured borders and ornaments I assure you they cut a very lightsome and gay figure & will throw a beautiful light upon the room.¹¹⁸

By April 1819 the windows had arrived.¹¹⁹

The Armoury has two windows, one overlooking the river Tweed and another overlooking the entrance court. The former is a two light window with four compartments in each light surrounded by a stained border of gothic tracery and a running leaf motif edged with red. Five of the eight painted panels are now missing. The *Stirling Heads* survive in the four-light window (two main lights and two smaller rectangular lights at the top) overlooking the entrance court. Each of the two main lights is filled with plain lattice surrounded by a traditional vine leaf border edged with emerald green and, at the top, a roundel containing one of the *Stirling Heads*. Two small

rectangular upper panels do not have the vine leaf border but contain similar roundels. [Images 29 and 30]

The first window is executed in glass paint, coloured enamels and yellow stain. Although the range of enamel colours and stains used was narrow and firing, therefore, would have been straightforward for an experienced glass painter, the stain is blotchy and dull and the glass painting crude. The second window is executed in glass paint and yellow stain. Here the stain is an even and translucent lemon yellow and the glass painting is minute and delicate.

It remains to be established who executed the stained glass in the Armoury at Abbotsford.¹²⁰ Daniel and Elizabeth Terry were not the first Regency husband and wife glass painting team. Mrs Pearson (d.1823), wife of James Pearson, specialised in copying paintings and cartoons by Raphael onto single pieces of what was presumably plate glass.¹²¹ Dallaway mentions a Mrs Lowry who - '*... promises considerable eminence in glass-staining, when improved by practice.*'¹²² When Mr Forrest died in 1807, Mrs Forrest attempted but failed to complete the west window of Saint George's Chapel, Windsor.¹²³

Abbotsford was an important early commission for the celebrated and innovative Edinburgh house painter David Ramsay Hay (see Chapter Two). In the 1840s he recalled how Scott –

'...abominated the common-place daubing of walls, panels, doors, and windows-boards, with coats of white, blue or grey ... He desired to have about him, wherever he could manage it, rich, though not gaudy hangings, or substantial old-fashioned wainscot work , with

no ornament but that of carving, and where the wood was to be painted at all, it was done in strict imitation of oak or cedar...'.¹²⁴

Scott was recreating feudal hospitality not through the pageantry of the Baronial Hall but through the warm fabric and lighting of a traditional interior.

4:4 HIGH CHURCH PRACTICE: GEORGE HERIOT'S HOSPITAL, EDINBURGH

The renovation of the interior of George Heriot's Hospital Chapel took place between 1834 and 1840. As the stained glass is relatively simple, coats of arms and Elizabethan-style 'knot' work, it has been overlooked that it is the earliest example of its use in a Presbyterian place of worship. It is also a further example of the connection between James Gillespie Graham and the stained glass revival in Scotland. The renovation of the Chapel was highly significant to the careers of both William Cooper and James Ballantine: Cooper formed an association with Gillespie Graham while Ballantine & Allan secured what was possibly their first stained glass commission.

CHRONOLOGY

George Heriot died in 1624 and the building of the Hospital began four years later in 1628 to designs by William Wallace, principal master mason to the Crown from 1617. Building continued slowly until c.1700, leaving the interior of the Chapel incomplete. When the interior was finally completed c.1790 it was stylistically at odds with the Chapel itself. An engraving of 1827 shows the Chapel as having a neo-classical lining with *gothick* touches.¹²⁵ The

renovation the interior of Chapel was initiated on 30 December 1833 in response to the urgent necessity of replacing the plaster ceiling which had become dangerous.¹²⁶ In 1833 the Governors were considering both what style and range of interior decoration would be worthy of and compatible with the essentially Jacobean chapel.

On 31 October 1834 Gillespie Graham, gratuitously, presented designs for a new interior for the Chapel to the Governors.¹²⁷ At the following meeting, on 27 November 1834, the Governors authorised the new ceiling, stage one of Gillespie Graham's proposed renovations, and thanked the architect for his trouble.¹²⁸ It was almost another year, 3 September 1835, before the Governors considered proceeding further with Gillespie Graham's proposed renovations.¹²⁹ The Committee of Superintendence were instructed to consider how they should proceed and its report, drafted on 5 October 1835 was read at the Governors' Meeting on 12 October 1835. As the Chapel had been unfit for use at least since work on the new ceiling had begun in late 1834, the Committee of Superintendence recommended prioritising work essential to the reoccupation of the chapel.¹³⁰ Gillespie Graham's proposed painting of the ceiling in imitation of oak, a new oak entrance door, oak pulpit and carved oak stalls were among the improvements considered priorities by the Committee. The proposed 'ornamented canopies' for the stalls, understandably, could wait. Altogether, stage one of the renovation was estimated by the Superintendent of Hospital Property as costing £820. There was no mention of stained glass. Despite the Committee's reasonable historical arguments, the Governors had a soundly Presbyterian idea as to appropriate expenditure on the renovation of the Chapel. A cost of £820, together with the cost of constructing the new ceiling, for stage one was too much. A maximum cost of £1000 for stage one

and any subsequent fittings and furnishings was agreed upon by a narrow margin of 19 to 15 accompanied by vehement protest. Gillespie Graham was asked to modify his proposals.

In late 1837 Gillespie Graham began discussing '*... some additional work ...*', namely stained glass, gas sconces and varnishing the oak fittings with the Superintendent of Hospital Property.¹³¹ Gillespie Graham's proposals were presented to the Governors on 27 November, 1837 who then asked for both a review of the cost of the renovation of the Chapel so far and an estimate of the cost of proposed work. The Committee reported that the cost of the renovation was already £1524.8.5, exceeding the agreed budget by more than half, with the new oak entrance door still to be executed. Gillespie Graham's proposals together with the new oak entrance door were estimated as costing £260.¹³² The Governors, however, seem to have come to terms with Gillespie Graham's proposals and sought merely to advise the Committee, which had always supported him, rather than dictating to it.

The Committee reported to the Governors that they had seen a partial sketch design for a stained glass window by Gillespie Graham and a sub-committee was investigating the expense of commissioning '*full designs*' for this and an alternative design '*... of a plainer description ...*'. The Governors deliberated upon the subject and their final decision was carried by only one vote. Seemingly, it was the potential cost of stained glass rather than its religious connotations that they objected to. The Committee was authorised to commission two plans and specifications from Gillespie Graham on the understanding that the cost of these did not exceed £25. Cooper, known to the Governors and Gillespie Graham through his glazing work at the Hospital, was also to be requested to prepare -

'... a plan and estimate of the expense, the plan to be in keeping with the chapel ...' (this must be kept in mind when attributing the stained glass windows in the Chapel). Cooper later disputed the Governors' assumption that he would do so at his own expense.¹³³

Also on 2 November 1838 Gillespie Graham's two alternative designs and specifications for the stained glass windows were presented to the Governors. The Governors preferred the more elaborate Design No.1. There is no mention of Cooper's 'plan'. Estimates had been taken in and Cooper's, being the lowest by a substantial margin, was accepted on the *'... the express understanding that it included the glazing of all the Windows in terms of the plans and specifications.'*¹³⁴

On 21 October 1839 the Governors appointed a special Committee to discuss with Gillespie Graham the sensitive question of *'... altering the pulpit ...'*¹³⁵

Finally, on 9 January 1840, Ballantine & Allan enter the Minutes as glass painters, replacing Cooper who had proved problematical. They and not Gillespie Graham designed the remaining two Chapel windows and submitted an account of £21.13.4 for working drawings.¹³⁶

GILLESPIE GRAHAM, A.W.N. PUGIN AND GEORGE HERIOT'S HOSPITAL CHAPEL

The first report on the renovation of the Chapel was drafted by one John Craig of what was known as the Ordinary Committee and read to the Governors on 30 December, 1833.¹³⁷ They recommended that the Chapel *'... be renovated in a style worthy of*

the building of which it forms so conspicuous and interesting a portion.' As their arguments were well thought out, they seem to have been discussing this question informally for some time. Gillespie Graham certainly took part in the exploratory discussions of the Ordinary Committee as a dialogue between him and Craig was summarised in the report. Gillespie Graham had asked Craig who the Hospital's architect was and – *'... offered upon the explanation that there was no appointment of any Architect for the Hospital his gratuitous services in preparing a design for the restoration of the chapel ...'*. On 27 November 1834 the Governors remitted consideration of the renovation of the Chapel to the Committee on Superintendence of Hospital Property.¹³⁸ The first report of this committee lists Gillespie Graham as being among those present at a meeting on 5 October 1835.¹³⁹ The Superintendent of Hospital Property was responsible for obtaining estimates for work under consideration and for supervising the work once authorised by the Governors and was in regular dialogue with Gillespie Graham.

There is no doubt that Gillespie Graham's declared benevolent interest in the 'prosperity' of George Heriot's Hospital was genuine.¹⁴⁰ At the same time he was, however, self-seeking. The Heriot's Trust had become a major landowner in the city. The Hospital's accounts show that in 1836 Gillespie Graham was acting as property developer for the estates owned by the Heriot's Trust in the western New Town of Edinburgh.¹⁴¹ The renovation of the Chapel was an opportunity for him to promote the Gothic style and his own architectural ambitions. The Ordinary Committee's recommendation that the Chapel be renovated *'... according to the principles of design which characterize the Architecture of the Elizabethan period ...'* can be taken as Gillespie Graham's own.¹⁴² The renovation of the interior of the Chapel in the Jacobean style

was a continuation of Gillespie's Graham's stylistic experiments at New Murthly Castle, Perthshire (c.1827-1832). While in London in 1827 and 1829, guided by his new acquaintance Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin, Gillespie Graham made studies of Elizabethan and Jacobean architecture in preparation for the design of New Murthly Castle, explaining that -

*'... I visited and studied at Hatfield and several other Houses of the Reign of James the 1st. Murthly being a model of Burleigh Hatfield etc. made me most anxious to have a grip of the true character of that style of Building ... and shall now find no difficulty in preparing all the interior decorations of Murthly in proper style ...'*¹⁴³

The Ordinary Committee's reasonable arguments that the appropriate renovation of the interior of the Jacobean Chapel would fulfil the intentions of the architect by making it a feature of the building, harmonise interior and exterior, pay suitable tribute to George Heriot, and be a demonstration of Scottish nationalism, arguably, disguised Gillespie Graham's High Church leanings (see p.145).¹⁴⁴ The Chapel was used for family worship and his proposed renovations were an attempt to beckon Scottish Presbyterians towards what Pugin described as the '*... solemn grandeur of the great churches erected by our Catholic forefathers in the days of faith - the days of their glory*'.¹⁴⁵

It was the Reverend John Lee (179-1859), a Doctor of Medicine and later Principal of the University of Edinburgh (appointed 1840), who exposed him, protesting against Gillespie Graham's proposed furnishings and decoration saying '*... it appears to be absurd to introduce the form, unless it be intended as a hint ... that it would be an improvement to revive the substance.*'¹⁴⁶ The Reverend

Lee's lengthy protest against Gillespie Graham's proposals was submitted to the Governors on 26 October 1835. Had he perceived Pugin standing behind Gillespie Graham? Pugin was received into the Catholic Church on 6 June 1835 and began preparing *Contrasts: or a parallel between the noble edifices of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and similar buildings of the present day; shewing the present decay of taste soon afterwards*. This highly controversial book was published on 4 August 1836. Pugin was to lecture the students of Saint Mary's College, Oscott, a Catholic school and seminary, in 1838 - 'Do not consider the restoration of ancient art as a mere matter of taste, but remember that it is most closely connected with the revival of faith itself.'¹⁴⁷ Pugin's voice also echoes in Gillespie Graham's stated intention that the completed chapel '... will prove a specimen of Gothic Architecture not unworthy of the artisans of this or a former period'.

Reverend Lee's condemnation of the Episcopal churches of Saint John's, Princes' Street and Saint Paul's, York Place, and Saint Mary's Church, the Catholic cathedral which, as mentioned, was attended by Gillespie Graham, highlights their significance as vehicles of change –

'The superfluous expenditure contemplated in this resolution gives too much countenance to a practice which all sober minded men have condemned, in consequence of which more money has been thrown away on three churches in this City within the last twenty five years than might have sufficed to complete at least double the number in a manner better adapted for public use and in much better taste.'

Stained glass may have been included in his general condemnation of '... gorgeous devices and ambitious associations

...'. Given that absence of hierarchy was central to the ethos of the Presbyterian Church, Reverend Lee was primarily offended by the proposed '*... luxury of stalls ...*', traditionally introduced to enhance the dignity of high ranking clerics. The intended canopies for the stalls, estimated as costing £938, no doubt added to his outrage.¹⁴⁸ While admitting that George Heriot and Dr. Balcanqual belonged to a time of Episcopalian Ascendency under William Laud (1573-1645) as Archbishop of Canterbury (appointed 1633), he argued that, since then, worship in the Chapel had conformed to Presbyterian practice and the proposed furnishings were –

*'... altogether unsuitable and incongruous in any place of worship connected with an ecclesiastical Establishment which has on various memorable occasions expressed the strongest disapprobation of all such ornaments and appendages of churches as may justly be regarded as the badges of prelatical distinctions ...'*¹⁴⁹

The appeasement of Reverend Lee was not recorded, but Gillespie Graham, evidently, won the battle of the stalls. When, however, the Committee of Superintendence was again asked to discuss the stalls with Gillespie Graham, Reverend Lee and his supporters were temporarily drafted onto the Committee.¹⁵⁰ After a suitable interval, Gillespie Graham introduced the controversial subjects of stained glass and decorative metalwork to the Superintendent. His strategy was evidently one of gradual persuasion. On 27 November 1837 the Superintendent '*... laid before the Governors the communications he had had with Mr. Gillespie Graham respecting some additional work required for completing the Chapel.*'

WAS PUGIN DESIGNING FOR GILLESPIE GRAHAM?

The Minutes of the Governors' Meetings show that designs Gillespie Graham made for the Chapel included, at least, the furniture (stalls, arm chairs, benches and the pulpit); the brass sconces for the gas lights and, presumably, the candelabra; and the stained glass in the south oriel and north windows. [Image 31]

The furniture for the Chapel was executed by 'The Heirs of William Trotter'. Alexandra Wedgwood and James Macaulay have identified the drawings for the pulpit to be by Pugin.¹⁵¹ What about everything else? The relevant time gaps between drawings being requested and presented were sufficient for Gillespie Graham to wait upon drawings being sent north by Pugin.

Pugin delivered his third lecture on ecclesiastical architecture to the students of Saint Mary's College, Oscott, sometime before it was published in January 1839 (referring to Pugin's diaries, the possible dates of this lecture are 17 November 1837; 23 February 1838; 26 November 1838).¹⁵² It was devoted to the subject of stained glass. Pugin's first stained glass window design was the east window in the chapel at Oscott, executed by William Warrington early in 1838. At the time it was considered to be '*... one of the finest efforts of the art of staining on glass which has been seen in this or probably any other country for a very long period.*'¹⁵³

Returning to George Heriot's Hospital Chapel, stained glass was first referred to in the Minutes of the Governor's Meetings on 4 January, 1838.¹⁵⁴ On 15 March, 1838 Gillespie Graham was asked to provide two alternative working drawings, one '*... according to the sketch Mr. Gillespie Graham has already given ...*'¹⁵⁵ These were presented

on 2 November 1838, together with relevant specifications and three estimates '*... which had been taken in by Mr. Graham's directions ...*'.¹⁵⁶ Gillespie Graham acknowledged payment of £31-10 '*For preparing designs and Cartoons for the Stained Glass Windows of the Hospital according to agreement with Mr. Dobson (Superintendent of Hospital Property) ...*' on 13 November 1838.¹⁵⁷ Seemingly, Gillespie Graham had asked the Superintendent to approach William Wailes of Newcastle (1801-81). In 1838 Wailes had only just diversified from running a grocery business to glass painting. His name does not appear in Pugin's diaries until 1841 when he replaced Warrington as Pugin's glass painter. For the next four years he executed Pugin's designs for stained glass. Was it perhaps through the Edinburgh glass painter Francis Wilson Oliphant (1818-59) that Gillespie Graham knew of Wailes as early as 1838 (see Chapter Five)?

The heraldic stained glass Pugin designed for Captain Hibbert of Bilton Grange, Warwickshire, in 1847, executed by John Hardman & Co., is compositionally close to the design of the Chapel windows executed by Cooper. In both sets of windows the background is filled with stained diamond quarries bearing an elongated 'h' and the foliate borders around the arms is similar. The same masonic coat of arms can be found in the windows of Pugin's house at Ramsgate. The composition of the Chapel windows with coats of arms set within stained diamond quarries is essentially fourteenth century and unusually archaeological for the late 1830s. [Images 32-35] In the absence of more windows of this date designed and executed by Cooper to refer to, it is impossible, however, firmly to attribute the design of the Chapel windows to Pugin. In this respect the loss of Cooper's heraldic windows for Crom Castle is all the more to be regretted.

WILLIAM COOPER AND GEORGE HERIOT'S HOSPITAL CHAPEL

The history of Cooper's involvement with the renovation of the George Heriot's Hospital Chapel further explains his imminent bankruptcy. He failed to profit from the commission and twice found it necessary to apply to the Governors for payment over and above that agreed in his contract. He also successfully challenged the accepted practice of designs being asked for but not paid for. In all of this he had the support of Gillespie Graham. Cooper made a mistake when estimating for the work, calculating for 36 rather than 72 coats of arms, the labour intensive elements of the windows.¹⁵⁸ So he said, but his explanation is difficult to believe given that he was provided with clear working drawings and specifications. Rather, did his inexperience of executing so large a commission lead to a serious underestimation of material and labour costs? His assertions that the stained glass was executed '*... in a superior manner ...*' echo his letters to John Creighton of Crom Castle and suggest that he was again setting himself technical challenges which he found difficult to overcome. If he had doubled his original estimate of £196 he would have lost the commission to William Wailes who estimated the work at £274. As discussed in Chapter Three, Cooper's windows are technically far more complex than those executed by Ballantine & Allan.

Heriot's Hospital is another example of the essential connection between Cooper and the Edinburgh builders, David McGibbon and his son Charles to add to Millearne Abbey, Perthshire (1823-38), and Crom Castle. Charles McGibbon was paid for masonry and carpentry related to repairs and improvements at the Hospital in 1830, 1831 and 1832.¹⁵⁹ Cooper's name first appears in the Hospital

accounts in 1835 as a supplier of crown glass and likewise in 1836 and 1837.¹⁶⁰ In 1839 Cooper was paid £215.8.0 for stained glass, including £19.8 for 'extra work' over and above his original estimate of £196.¹⁶¹

What effect did working with Gillespie Graham and Pugin have upon Cooper? Were his experiments with glass staining and painting given impetus by the architect's interest in the medium? Gillespie Graham's house in Albany Street was a short walk from Cooper's premises in Picardy Place. It would be interesting to have the letter Gillespie Graham wrote to the Governors supporting Cooper's request for payment over and above his estimate. That Gillespie Graham should risk writing such a letter suggests at least a close interest in Cooper's experiments and even a degree of responsibility for the costs incurred.¹⁶² Although the Governors of Heriot's Hospital lost patience with Cooper and commissioned stained glass for the remaining two windows in the Chapel from Ballantine & Allan, as seen, Gillespie Graham went on to work with Cooper at Taymouth Castle.

BALLANTINE & ALLAN AND GEORGE HERIOT'S HOSPITAL CHAPEL

Until Ballantine & Allan were paid for working drawings for the stained glass in the Chapel, there is no indication in the Minutes of the Governors' Meetings or the Hospital Accounts that their house painting activities included glass painting or even glazier work.

The first mention of them in the Minutes of the Governors' meetings, in 1836, demonstrates the variety of work undertaken by a house painter. The Hospital tower was under scaffold and, while access was relatively easy, it had been decided to have the weathercock,

ball and rod repainted and regilded. Ballantine & Allan tendered for the job.¹⁶³ The Hospital Accounts suggest that by 1836, eight years after they were established, Ballantine & Allan were still inconsequential house painters in Edinburgh. That year they were paid a lowly £8.0.11 for 'Painter Work' and £11.3.0 for 'Oil and Mastic' in comparison to the £89.13.5 paid to Norrie & Son also for 'Painter Work'.¹⁶⁴ It is interesting, however, that Ballantine & Allan were present at George Heriot's Hospital during the completion of stage one of the renovation of the chapel. They did not tender for varnishing and painting the Chapel and on 15 March 1838 the job was given to David Ramsay Hay.¹⁶⁵

The Minutes of 2 November, 1838 show that Gillespie Graham did not direct the Superintendent of Hospital Property to ask Ballantine & Allan to tender for the job of executing the stained glass windows.¹⁶⁶ That on 9 January 1840 the Governors authorised that Ballantine & Allan should be paid £21.13.4 '*... for working drawings for the stained glass windows of the chapel ...*' marks a remarkable change in status.¹⁶⁷ Ballantine's inconsequential career as a house painter, in the city which was transforming house painting into a fine art, took a dramatic upward turn once he embraced glass painting. Was he watching and listening at George Heriot's Hospital? Did the debate as to the appropriate furnishing and fitting of the Chapel suggest glass painting to him as a creative career move? Whatever, when Cooper proved troublesome to the Governors, Ballantine stepped forward to take his place and complete the remainder of the stained glass commission.

¹ Burke, E., *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful*, 2nd edition (1759), Part 2, Section 15.

² Burke, E. *Op. cit.*, Part 1, Section 7.

- ³ Carter, J., Specimens of the Ancient Sculpture and Painting now remaining in this Kingdom from the earliest period to the reign of Henry ye VIII consisting of Statues, Basso relievos, Brasses &c. Paintings on glass and on Walls &c., (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1787), p.42.
- ⁴ Burke, E., Op. cit., Part 2, Section 14.
- ⁵ Burke, E., Op. cit., Part 2, Section 3.
- ⁶ Eastlake, C.L., A History of the Gothic Revival, (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1872), pp.84-5.
- ⁷ Britton, J., The History and Antiquities of the Metropolitan Church of York, 2nd edition ? (London: M.A. Nattali, 1836), p.48. A.C. Pugin drew the Five Sisters window in the north transept (Plate XXVIII) and F. Mackenzie the great east window (Plate XXV).
- ⁸ Burke, E., Op. cit., Part 2, Sections 7 and 8.
- ⁹ Dallaway, Rev. J., Inquiries into the origin and progress of the science of heraldry in England, (London: 1803). p. 355.
- ¹⁰ Alison, Rev. A., Essays on the Nature and Principles of Taste, (Edinburgh: 1790).
- ¹¹ Scott, Sir W., Ivanhoe, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), p.227.
- ¹² Burke, E., Op. cit., Part 1, Section 7.
- ¹³ Rosenfeld, S., Georgian Scene Painters and Scene Painting, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), p.88. John Henderson Grieve (1770-1845) arrived at Covent Garden in 1806/7, followed by his son Thomas (1799-1882) in 1817/18 and son William (1800-44) in 1819/20. A.W.N. Pugin's diaries show that he and William Grieve were lifelong friends. See Lambourne, L., Pugin and the Theatre, Pugin a Gothic Passion, ed. Atterbury, P. and Wainwright, C., (London: Yale University Press, 1994), p.41.
- ¹⁴ This particular run of Terry's adaptation opened on 17 April, 1819 and last 15 nights. See White, H.A., Sir Walter Scott's Novels on the Stage, (Oxford University Press, 1927), pp. 62-4.
- ¹⁵ Rosenfeld, S., Georgian...., p.89. Unidentified Theatre Museum cutting.
- ¹⁶ The Scotsman, (26 February 1820). White, Op. cit., pp. 64-5.
- ¹⁷ Rosenfeld, S., Georgian...., pp.55-9.
- ¹⁸ Ibidem, pp.58-9. Angelo, H., Reminiscences, Vol.II, p.326.
- ¹⁹ Rosenfeld, S., A Short History of Scene Design in Great Britain, (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1973), pp. 92-3.
- ²⁰ Morley, J., Regency Design, 1790-1840, (New York: Harry N. Abrams Incorporated, 1993), p.100.
- ²¹ Rosenfeld, S., Georgian...., p.62. (Pyne, W., Wine and Walnuts, (1823), Vol. I, p.302). The Argand lamp was invented by Aime Argand of Geneva (1755-1803) c.1782. On account of the supply of air to the wick being controlled, it burnt with a steadier and brighter flame than other oil lamps.
- ²² Rosenfeld, S., Georgian...., p. 61. (Pyne, W., Op. cit., Vol. I, p. 303).
- ²³ Attributed to Dallaway, Rev. James, Progress, &c. of Stained Glass in England, Gentleman's Magazine, Part 1, (1817), p.314.
- ²⁴ Hope, W.H. St. John, Windsor Castle; an Architectural History, Vol. II, (London: Country life, 1913), p.429.
- ²⁵ Von Erffa, H. and Staley, A., The Paintings of Benjamin West, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1986). (V and A Cuttings, Vol. II, p.495a, Extract of a letter from Windsor, 23 March).

- ²⁶ See Knowles, J.A., Exhibitions of Glass-Paintings in London, Notes and Queries, 13th Series, Vol. CXLVI, No.47, (May 24 1924), pp.375-7. Walpole's Letters, (1891), Vol. VII, p.228 and Vol. VIII, p.406.
- ²⁷ Dallaway, Rev. J., Observations on English Architecture, (London: 1806), p.290. Dallaway gives a good contemporary account of the Reynolds and Jervais window in New College Chapel, Oxford, pp.284-5.
- ²⁸ Carter, J., Pursuits of Architectural Innovation, No. 34, Gentleman's Magazine, No. 71, Part 1, (April 1801), p.312.
- ²⁹ All the following information on West's window designs for Saint George's Chapel, Windsor, unless otherwise indicated, has been taken from Erffa and Staley, Op. cit..
- ³⁰ Dallaway, Progress ..., p.315.
- ³¹ Hope, W.H. St. John, Op. cit., p.426. Hope refers to 'An Account of all the great works which have been executed in St. George's Chapel, Windsor from the year 1782 to ye end of 1792' which survives at Windsor.
- ³² An account dated 1801, Windsor Chapter Library. The oil study for this window was exhibited at the Royal Academy, London in 1783.
- ³³ Hope, W.H. St. John, Op. cit., p.429. Willement, Thomas, An Account of the Restoration of the Collegiate chapel of St. George, Windsor, (London:1844), pp.6-10.
- ³⁴ An account dated 1801, Windsor Chapter Library. The oil study for this window was exhibited at the Royal Academy, London in 1797.
- ³⁵ Windsor Guide; containing a description of the town and castle; the present state of the paintings and curiosities in the Royal Apartments; an account of the monuments, painted windows, &c. in St. George's Chapel ..., (1807), pp.73-4.
- ³⁶ The glass was subsequently installed as the great east window of Saint Paul's Cathedral, Calcutta. It was blown out in a cyclone in 1864.
- ³⁷ Thornton, P., Lit Up with Gorgeous Hues: more light on Soane?, Country Life (19 December 1985), Vol. CLXXVIII, No. 4609, pp.1978-1980). See also Thornton, P., The Soane as it Was (and Will Be), Apollo, vol. DXXXI, April 1990, p.228.
- ³⁸ Soane, J. Description of the House and Museum on the North Side of Lincon's Inn Fields, (London: 1835-6 – Soane Case 67), p.54.
- ³⁹ See Watkin, D., Sir John Soane: Enlightenment thought and the Royal Academy lectures, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p.214. Quotes - Le Camus de Mezieres, Le genie de l'architecture; ou l'analogie de cet art avec nos sensations, (Paris: 1780), p.43.
- ⁴⁰ Ibidem, p.598.
- ⁴¹ The House and Museum of John Soane, Penny Magazine, (November 30 1837).
- ⁴² Britton, J., The Union of Architecture, Sculpture and Painting exemplified by a series of illustrations with descriptive accounts of the house and galleries of John Soane, (London: 1827), p.17.
- ⁴³ Colvin, H., Architecture and the After-life, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1991), p.360.
- ⁴⁴ Rosenfeld, S., Georgian..., p.120.
- ⁴⁵ Rosenfeld, S., A Short History..., p.97.
- ⁴⁶ Morley, J., Op. cit., p.223.
- ⁴⁷ Rosenfeld, Georgian... p.150 and Scene Designs of William Capon, Theatre Notebook, (July 1956), Vol.X, pp.118-22.
- ⁴⁸ Rosenfeld, S., Georgian..., pp.94-5. (Unidentified Theatre museum cutting).

- ⁴⁹ Lambourne, L., Op. cit..
- ⁵⁰ Ibidem, p.39.
- ⁵¹ Rosenfeld, S., Georgian...., pp.21 and 44. (Thespian Magazine, (March, 1794), Vol. III, p.127).
- ⁵² Ibidem, p.155. (Gernsheim, H. and A., L.J.M. Daguerre, (London:1956), p.13).
- ⁵³ Ibidem, p.156.
- ⁵⁴ Lambourne, L., Op. cit., p.36.
- ⁵⁵ Morely, J., Op. cit., p.326.
- ⁵⁶ Eginton, W.R., Short Account of some of the works executed in stained glass by William Raphael Eginton, (Birmingham: 1818) and List of Works, (Birmingham: May 21 1823).
- ⁵⁷ Wainwright, C., Op. cit., p.25 and p.25 note 93. (The Howard Papers, ed. H.K.S. Causton (1862), pp.486-7). Joseph Backler exhibited made a window depicting King John Signing Magna Carta for Arundel Castle c.1817. See Knowles, J. A., Exhibitions ...
- ⁵⁸ Girouard, M., The Return to Camelot: Chivalry and the English Gentleman, (New Haven and London:Yale University Press), 1981, p.24.
- ⁵⁹ See Macaulay, J., The Gothic Revival, 1745-1845, (Glasgow and London: Blackie & Son Limited, 1975), p.6.
- ⁶⁰ Redding, C., Memoirs of William Beckford of Fonthill, author of 'Vathek', II, (London: Charles J. Skeet, 1859), Vol. II, p.151.
- ⁶¹ For the building history of Fonthill Abbey see Ely, J.W., The Genesis and Evolution of Fonthill Abbey, Architectural History, (1980), XXIII, 40-51.
- ⁶² Farington, J., The Diary of Joseph Farington, ed. Garlick, Kenneth and Macintyre, Angus, (1979), Vol. VI, p. 2283 and Wainwright, C., Op. cit., p.144.
- ⁶³ Wainwright, C., Op. cit., p.115. Redding, C., Op. cit., Vol. II, pp.106-8 and 153.
- ⁶⁴ Redding, C., Op. cit., Vol. II, pp.148-154.
- ⁶⁵ Ibidem, p.89.
- ⁶⁶ Eastlake, C.L., Op. cit., pp.62-3.
- ⁶⁷ Redding, C., Op. cit., p.123-4 and Wainwright, C., Op. cit., pp.128-9.
- ⁶⁸ Britton, J., Illustrations Graphical and Literary of Fonthill Abbey, (1823), p. 53 and Wainwright, C., Op. cit., p. 129.
- ⁶⁹ Rutter, J., Delineations of Fonthill and its Abbey (1823), p.113 and Wainwright, C., Op. cit., p.115.
- ⁷⁰ See Wainwright, C., Op. cit., p.129. Coloured cartoons of 12 post-Conquest kings of England and 20 knights in armour for the Oak Parlour survive in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. For Francis Eginton see Aitken, W.C., Francis Eginton, Birmingham and Midland Institute Archaeological Section Transactions and Reports, (1872), pp. 27-43, Glass Painters of Birmingham, Journal of the British Society of Master Glass Painters, Vol. III, pp. 69-71 and 134-5 and Glass Painters 1750-1850, Journal of the British Society of Master Glass Painters, Vol. XIII (1959-63), p.406.
- ⁷¹ Gentleman's Magazine, (April 1805), p.387.
- ⁷² See Wainwright, C., Op. cit., pp.136 and 144.
- ⁷³ Rutter, J. Delineations p. 55.
- ⁷⁴ For the complete building history of Taymouth Castle see Rowan, A., Taymouth Castle, Perthshire., Country Life, Vol. CXXXVI, (8 and 15 October, 1964).
- ⁷⁵ Simond, L., Journal of a Tour and Residence in Great Britain, During the Years 1810 and 1811, by a French Traveller, Vol. I, (1817), pp. 395 and 408. Simond

quotes Pennant, T, A Tour in Scotland, 1769, (1790). See Macaulay, J. The Gothic Revival, pp.6, 194 and 194 and note 71

⁷⁶ SRO: GD.112/20/Box 1/15/6. James Elliot to Lord Breadalbane, Tuesday 14 July, 1807 re the suitability of antique glass to be auctioned by Christie's.

⁷⁷ See Knowles, J.A., Exhibitions....

⁷⁸ Eginton, W.R., List ... 1823, p.1.

⁷⁹ SRO: GD.112/20/Box 4/19. 'November, 1841 - Coats of Arms emblazoned on the painted window of the Room called at present the Barons Hall ...'.

⁸⁰ SRO: GD.112/20/ Box 4/12/83 and GD.112/20/ Box 4/12/84.

⁸¹ SRO: GD.112/20/Box 4/12/37-38. William Collins to Lord Breadalbane, 14 March, 1814.

⁸² Knowles, J.A., Exhibitions..., p.376.

⁸³ SRO: GD.112/20/Box 4/12/34. Account from William Collins to Lord Breadalbane, 20 September 1813.

⁸⁴ SRO: GD.112/20/Box 4/12/37-38

⁸⁵ Gow, I., Pugin and Trotter, Caledonia Gothica: Pugin and the Gothic Revival in Scotland, Architectural Heritage VIII, The Journal of the Architectural Heritage Society of Scotland, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1997), p.67.

⁸⁶ SRO: GD 142/2/10/2. Lady Mary Crawford Lindsay to Hugh Hamilton. 12 March 1810.. See Macaulay, J., The Gothic Revival, p.235 n.45.

⁸⁷ Only after 1825 was James Gillespie known as James Gillespie Graham. In that year his father-in-law William Graham of Orchil died and he assumed his wife's family name. See Macaulay, J., James Gillespie Graham and A.W.N. Pugin: some Perthshire connections, Caledonia Gothica: Pugin and the Gothic Revival in Scotland, Architectural Heritage No. 8, The Journal of the Architectural Heritage Society of Scotland, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1887), p.24

⁸⁸ SRO:GD 142/2/10/1. Lady Mary Crawford Lindsay to Hugh Hamilton 13 February 1813. See Macaulay, J., The Gothic Revival, p.235 note 50.

⁸⁹ Macaulay, J., Gillespie Graham and A.W.N. Pugin ..., p.24.

⁹⁰ Eginton, List...1823, pp. 2-3.

⁹¹ For Scott's ancestry see Girouard, M., Op. cit., p.31.

⁹² Scott quoted this satirical comment on the collections at Strawberry Hill in his introduction to the 1821 edition of Walpole's The Castle of Otranto.

⁹³ Grierson, H.C., Letters of Sir Walter Scott, (1932-7), 12 vols, Vol. IV, p.301. Scott to Joanna Baillie, 26 November 1816.

⁹⁴ Wainwright, C., Op. cit., p. 148 and 148 note 3. (Ruskin, J., The Works of John Ruskin, Library ed., ed. Cook, E.T. and Wedderburn, A. (1909), Vol. XXXVI, pp.16-17. Ruskin to J.C. Loudon, September 1838).

⁹⁵ Grierson, J.C. Op. cit., Vol. IV, p.337. Scott to Terry 28 December 1816.

⁹⁶ In the event, two items of furniture for the Library were made locally by Joseph Shillinglaw of Darnick: the consulting desk and the Gothic library desk. See Wainwright, C., Op. cit., p.193.

⁹⁷ NLS: MS 3887.f.88: Terry to Scott, 15 July 1815.

⁹⁸ NLS: MS 3887.f.52: Terry to Scott, 11 July 1816.

⁹⁹ Grierson, J.C., Op. cit., p.217 note 2.

¹⁰⁰ Ballantine, J., Life..., p.19.

¹⁰¹ Wainwright, C., Op. cit., p.156 and 156 n.67.

¹⁰² Grierson, J.C., Op. cit., Vol. IV, p.333. Scott to Terry, 28 December 1816.

- ¹⁰³ Colvin, H., A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects, 1600-1840, (London: John Murray, 1978), p.116.
- ¹⁰⁴ Grierson, J.C., Op. cit., Vol. IV, p.289.
- ¹⁰⁵ Ibidem, p.290. Scott to Terry, 12 November 1816.
- ¹⁰⁶ The Dining Room as built only has one window and there is no evidence that this was ever filled with stained glass
- ¹⁰⁷ Grierson, J.C., Op. cit., Vol. IV, p.339. Scott to Terry, 28 December 1816.
- ¹⁰⁸ Rush Meyrick published A Critical Enquiry into Antient Armour, as it existed in Europe but Particularly in England, 3 vols (1824). Engraved Illustrations of the Antient Arms and Armour, from the Collection of Llewelyn Meyrick LLB, FSA, After the Drawings and with the Descriptions of Dr Meyrick, By Joseph Skeilton FSA, 2 vols (1830). He revised the display in the Horse Armoury at the Tower of London (c.1826) and the armour collection at Windsor Castle (1828), being rewarded with a knighthood in 1832.
- ¹⁰⁹ See Wainwright, C., Op. cit., p.244 n.29.
- ¹¹⁰ NAL: 86.Y.39. Willement, T., A Concise Account of the Principal Works in Stained Glass ... (1840), p.14.
- ¹¹¹ Grierson, J.C., Op. cit., Vol. IV, p.290. Scott to Terry November 1816.
- ¹¹² Ibidem, p.423. Scott to Terry 28 March 1817.
- ¹¹³ Ibidem, IV p.526. Scott to Terry 26 September 1817.
- ¹¹⁴ Ibidem, IV, p.527. Scott to Terry, 26 September 1817.
- ¹¹⁵ Ibidem, IV, p.519. Scott to Blackwood, 21 September 1817.
- ¹¹⁶ Ibidem, V, p.3. Scott to Terry 29 October 1817.
- ¹¹⁷ Ibidem, IV, pp.78 and 190. Scott to Terry 8 February 1818 and 11 September 1818.
- ¹¹⁸ NLS MS 3889.f.192: Terry to Scott, 16 September 1818.
- ¹¹⁹ Grierson, J.C., Op. cit., Vol. V, pp.363-4. Scott to Terry 18 April 1819.
- ¹²⁰ Research into the stained executed for the Hall by William Henry Brown of Edinburgh is a work in progress.
- ¹²¹ Knowles, J.A., Exhibitions ..., p.375-6.
- ¹²² Dallaway, Rev. J., Observations ..., pp.287-8.
- ¹²³ Erffa, H. and Staley, A., Op. cit., Catalogue no.356, p.362 and 362 note 3.
- ¹²⁴ Hay, D.R., The Laws of Harmonious colouring adapted to Interior Decorations with observations on the practice of house painting, 6th ed. (1847), Appendix, pp.181-3. Wainwright Op. cit., p.167 and 167 n.119.
- ¹²⁵ See Bedford, F.W., History of George Heriot's Hospital, (1859), p.369.
- ¹²⁶ George Heriot's Hospital, Minutes of the Governors' Meetings, (30 December 1833), Vol. XXVI, p.311.
- ¹²⁷ Ibidem, (31 October 1834), Vol. XXVI, p.480.
- ¹²⁸ Ibidem, (27 November 1834), Vol. XXVI, p.501
- ¹²⁹ Ibidem, (3 September 1835), Vol. XVII, p.48.
- ¹³⁰ Report of the meeting Committee of Superintendence, 5 October 1835, included in Minutes.... (12 October 1835), Vol. XVII, pp.76-82.
- ¹³¹ Minutes.... (4 January 1838), Vol. XXVIII, p.206.
- ¹³² Ibidem.
- ¹³³ Ibidem, (15 March 1838), Vol. XXVIII, pp. 257-8.
- ¹³⁴ Ibidem, (2 November 1838), Vol. XXVIII, p.431.

- ¹³⁵ Ibidem, (21 October 1839), Vol. XXIV, p.114.
- ¹³⁶ Ibidem, (9 January 1840), Vol. XXIV, p.145.
- ¹³⁷ Ibidem, (30 December, 1833), Vol. XXVI, pp.311-12.
- ¹³⁸ Ibidem, (27 November 1834), Vol. XXVI, p.501.
- ¹³⁹ Report of the meeting Committee of Superintendence, 5 October 1835, included in Minutes...., (12 October 1835), Vol. XXVII, p.76.
- ¹⁴⁰ Minutes...., (14 November 1836), Vol. XXVII, p.427.
- ¹⁴¹ SRO: GD. 421/5/351 and GD. 421/5/351/18. Accounts with MacRitchie, Bayley & Henderson, WS, 1836.
- ¹⁴² Minutes...., (30 December 1833), Vol. XXVI, pp.311-12. At this time the Elizabethan and Jacobean styles were thought of as late gothic.
- ¹⁴³ SRO: GD 38/2/77: Gillespie Graham to John Stewart of Dalguise, 29 September 1829.. See Macaulay, J., *James Gillespie Graham and AWN Pugin: some Perthshire connections*, *Caledonia Gothica: Pugin and the Gothic Revival in Scotland*, Architectural Heritage VIII, p.29.
- ¹⁴⁴ Minutes...., (3 September 1835), Vol. XXVI, p.480.
- ¹⁴⁵ Minutes...., (7 June 1838), Vol. XXVIII, p.341. 'Same day the Governors authorized the Chapel to be used for the morning and evening family worship as formerly.' Pugin, A.W.N., *First Lecture on Ecclesiastical Architecture*, Catholic Magazine, new series 2 (April 1838), p.201.
- ¹⁴⁶ Minutes...., (26 October 1835), Vol. XXVII, p.92.
- ¹⁴⁷ Pugin, A.W.N., *Second Lecture on Ecclesiastical Architecture*, Catholic Magazine, new series 2 (June 1838), p.337.
- ¹⁴⁸ Minutes...., (12 October 1835), Vol. XXVII, p.78.
- ¹⁴⁹ Ibidem, (26 October 1835), Vol. XXVII, p.93.
- ¹⁵⁰ Ibidem, 4 January 1837, XXVIII, p.207.
- ¹⁵¹ William Trotter died on 16 August, 1834 having willed that his business be continued as 'The Heirs of William Trotter' to protect the interests of his youngest son, Charles Trotter, a minor of 16. See Gow, I., *Op. cit.*, p.64. These survive as part of two volumes of working drawings now in the National Monuments Record, Scotland.
- ¹⁵² Pugin, A.W.N., *Third Lecture on ecclesiastical architecture*, Catholic Magazine, No.3 (January and February 1839), pp.17-34 and 89-98.
- ¹⁵³ Birmingham Journal, 16 January, 1838. See Shepherd, Stanley, *Stained Glass, Pugin: a Gothic passion*, ed. Atterbury, Paul and Wainwright, Clive, (Yale University Press: New Haven and London, 1994), p.195.
- ¹⁵⁴ Minutes...., (4 January 1838), Vol. XVIII, p.206.
- ¹⁵⁵ Ibidem, (15 March 1838), Vol. XXVIII, p.258.
- ¹⁵⁶ Ibidem, (2 November 1838), Vol. XXVIII, pp.431-2.
- ¹⁵⁷ SRO: GD.42/5/330/21.
- ¹⁵⁸ Minutes...., (13 February 1840), Vol. XXIV, p.179 and (12 March 1840), Vol. XXIV, pp.204-6.
- ¹⁵⁹ SRO: GD.421/5/5. Abstract of Account of George Heriot's Hospital for the Year Ending at 31st December 1833, p.4.
- ¹⁶⁰ GD.421/5/5. Abstract of Account of George Heriot's Hospital for the Year Ending at 31st December 1835, p.3. Abstract ... 1836, p.3. Abstract ... 1837, p.3.
- ¹⁶¹ Abstract...1839, p.5.
- ¹⁶² Minutes...., (13 February 1840), Vol. XXIV, p.178.

¹⁶³ Ibidem, (14 September 1836), Vol. XXVII, p.428.

¹⁶⁴ SRO: GD.421/5/5. Abstracts of accounts for George Heriot's Hospital for the years ending 31 Dec.1836, pp.3 and 6.

¹⁶⁵ Minutes... (15 March 1838), Vol. XXVIII, p.256.

¹⁶⁶ Ibidem, (2 November 1838), Vol. XXVIII, p.431.

¹⁶⁷ Ibidem, (9 January 1840), Vol. XXIV, p.145. See also - SRO: GD.421/5/5. Abstracts of accounts for George Heriot's Hospital for the years ending 31 Dec. 1840, p.5.

5. ARCHAIC TRUTH AND GOOD ART

'The rich glories of the early glass, our artists in the same material have to emulate. We ask from them stained glass that shall be as true to the material and to its proper use, as true also as works of Art, as the very finest remains that yet linger in York, or triumph in the clerestory of Cologne. Still we must have stained glass of our own, - the work of our own times, - the expression, too, of the Art-feeling and Art-capacity of our own times. In a word, we seek for artists' works, - deep thoughts, that is, and ardent affections, conveyed by hands at once trained in the school of ennobling discipline and free to expatiate in the glorious liberty of Art.' (Art Journal)¹

Chapter Four identified the early demand for stained glass in Scotland, ending with the pivotal commission for new windows for the Chapel of George Heriot's Hospital. These windows mark the acceptance of stained glass by the Presbyterian Church and new opportunities for glass painting as an art. The three final chapters discuss the more mature expectations of glass painting in Scotland in the 1840s and 1850s, tracing a triangle from the Trustees' Academy of Design in Edinburgh in the 1830s, to the new Houses of Parliament in the 1840s, and back to Scotland and Glasgow Cathedral in the 1850s. They attempt to show that in Presbyterian Scotland the development of glass painting was determined by that of the fine arts and not, as in England, by ecclesiology. The celebrated 'aesthetic' or 'artistic' stained glass executed in Glasgow in the 1870s and 1880s was the flowering of an academic style of glass painting which had been nurtured in Edinburgh since the 1840s.

Francis Wilson Oliphant (1818-59) occupied a unique place among British glass painters active in the 1840s and 1850s in that his work was

a synthesis of the technical practice of mediaeval glass painting, academic figure drawing and composition, and the dramatic narrative of history painting. Accordingly, his work resolved the ideological dilemma inherent in the revival of a mediaeval art form in a century preoccupied with the achievements of the Italian Renaissance, particularly the work of Raphael and Michelangelo. Visits to the cathedrals and churches of Europe to study mediaeval glass painting followed six years art training at the Trustees' Academy in Edinburgh. Oliphant alone of British glass painters was qualified to take part in the experiment at Glasgow Cathedral to establish a 'modern' school of glass painting which sought both the brilliant colour of mediaeval windows and the academic discipline of contemporary painting. So far Oliphant's career has not been evaluated in relation to the art training he received at the Trustees' Academy. This chapter attempts to show its significance to Oliphant's career and, in doing so, also explain the foundation of a distinctly Scottish school of glass painting.

5:1 THE MOULDING OF AN EDINBURGH GLASS PAINTER

*'I fancy I am about the first regularly bred artist who for the last 20 years has given himself to this branch - though I am glad to think I am not now the only one ...'*²

OLIPHANT AND BALLANTINE & ALLAN

The significance of the Trustees' Academy to Oliphant's career has been passed over because of the mistaken association of Oliphant with Ballantine & Allan.³ Associating the two suggests that when William Wailes (1801-81), proprietor of a new glass painting establishment in Newcastle, recruited Oliphant and others from

Edinburgh in the late 1830s and early 1840s what he required were skilled technicians unavailable in his own city and that it was Ballantine & Allan's reputation that drew his attention to the Scottish capital.

Wailes tendered for the commission to execute the new windows for the Chapel at George Heriot's Hospital, Edinburgh early in 1838. The earliest windows known to be designed and executed by Ballantine & Allan are in the same building and date from c.1840. As Oliphant left Edinburgh for Newcastle in late 1838, it is chronologically implausible that Wailes recruited Oliphant from Ballantine & Allan as a trained glass painter.

Wailes began experimenting with glass painting as an adjunct to his grocery business in 1836.⁴ The story goes that he *'... got hold of Oliphant, built a kiln in his back shop, introduced himself to Pugin, and in a few years had a hundred men busily at work, with commissions more than he could manage.'*⁵ In 1856, Oliphant himself, trying hard to demonstrate to Charles Heath Wilson that he was qualified to design and execute the new windows for Glasgow Cathedral, wrote that until 1845 he had *'... designed for and conducted the works of W.Wailes of Newcastle which I might almost say I set going ...'*⁶ What Oliphant set going were the new painting workshops in Grey Street, Newcastle, Wailes having sold his grocery business at 19 Mosley Street. Wailes announced in the local press on 30 May 1840 that *'... he has fitted up extensive premises, near the GREY COLUMN, with the intention of devoting his undivided attention to the execution of STAINED GLASS in all it branches.'*⁷ The Grey Street workshops cannot have served the growing demand for Wailes' stained glass as they were exchanged the following year for others in Bath Lane.

Even if Ballantine & Allan were well established as glass painters by late 1838 when Oliphant left Edinburgh for Newcastle, it does not explain why Wailes should look as far as the Scottish capital for trained glass painters as they were available in Newcastle itself. Wailes' reputation as a pioneer, like that of Ballantine, does not survive examination of the development of glass painting in Newcastle in the early nineteenth century. A Newcastle and Gateshead Trades' Directory for 1838, the year Oliphant joined Wailes, lists the names and addresses of three other glass stainers and painters, all of whom had been in business for some time: John Gibson at Marshall's Court, Newgate Street; Robert Lawson at 57 Northumberland Street; and Joseph Price at the Durham Glassworks, Pipewellgate, Gateshead.⁸ Price is also listed as a glass manufacturer making 'coloured glass' which suggests that he had a flint glass works.⁹ Experimentation with glass staining and painting seems to have begun in Newcastle in the mid 1820s. The Corporation of Newcastle commissioned Gibson to make an enlarged copy on glass of a painting of Christ by W. Dixon and the finished work was inserted into the east window of Saint Nicholas Church, Newcastle, (now the Cathedral) on 9 April 1827. The Newcastle public were greatly impressed with the brilliancy of Gibson's colours, particularly the purple and red.¹⁰ As one reviewer pompously explained - *The colours are ... hermetically indurated, without any after-touching; and therefore calculated to maintain their vigour, co-existent with the glass itself.*¹¹ The purple could have been an early pot metal and Gibson, like Cooper, was experimenting with staining large sheets of glass red. The *Tyne Mercury* further explained that previously all that was known in Newcastle was the simpler, cheaper and impermanent process of painting on glass in oil colours sealed by a layer of varnish. As the non-vitrified colours, which were feeble enough in the first place, deteriorated with time, this process was only

suitable for sign writing. Gibson was celebrated as a technical pioneer –

*'... we have now little reason to reckon glass-staining as one of the lost arts. - Mr. Gibson has added considerably to his knowledge on this subject, and we are happy in being able to observe that he bids fair to prove one of the first glass-stainers in this country.'*¹²

Price found the technical experience he needed within the ceramic industry, recruiting Isaac Cartlidge (1782-1832) from Burslem, Staffordshire, c.1819 to work for him as a glass stainer and painter. Cartlidge worked for Price for 12 years, their first executed window probably being the *Annunciation* for the south transept in Saint Mary's Parish Church, Gateshead (lost) which was gifted by Price in December 1819.¹³

Wailes saw his commercial opportunity in the Ecclesiological movement and the demand for painted glass executed on the mediaeval mosaic principle.¹⁴ This required good quality pot metal glass to be successful. The Hartley brothers moved to Sunderland and established the Wear Glass Works in 1837 and Wailes may have seen his opportunity in the local availability of pot metal glass. As discussed in Chapters One and Three, the Hartley brothers were highly innovative and in 1832 James Hartley had spent time in France observing sheet glass manufacture at the Choisy-le-Roi glass works near Paris. The manufacture of sheet glass there included a range of pot metal glasses. Whether or not the Hartley brothers immediately began experimenting with pot-metal glass manufacture at the Wear Glass Works, however, is as yet unknown. Certainly, some 12 years later they were experimenting with the manufacture of antique pot metal glass on behalf of A.W.N. Pugin and Hardman & Company.¹⁵

The source of the confusion regarding Oliphant and Ballantine & Allan is the autobiography of the Pre-Raphaelite painter and poet William Bell Scott (1811-90). Remembering a visit made sometime between 1843 and November 1845, as Headmaster of the new Government School of Design in Newcastle, to Wailes's Bath Lane premises he wrote –

*'Here I found all the stages of art education, from the limited mechanic to the accomplished artist in the person of Francis Oliphant, the principal designer, who drew out the cartoons. He was, I found, from Edinburgh, and like myself had been trained at the Government Trustees' Academy there under my old master Sir William Allan, as some others of the principal workers had also been, all of whom came about me and kept to me all the time of my stay there like a bodyguard ...'*¹⁶

Scott may say that Oliphant and the other 'principal workers' were from Edinburgh but that does not necessarily mean that they had been trained by Ballantine & Allan. Given that Scott and James Ballantine were old friends (see Chapter 2), if there had been a connection he would surely have mentioned it.

Oliphant left Wailes in November 1845 to collaborate with Pugin on the cartoons for the windows of the new House of Lords which, as described in Chapter Three, were executed by Ballantine & Allan.¹⁷ When eleven years later Oliphant gave an account of his career to Wilson for the consideration of the Glasgow Cathedral Painted Windows Committee, he made much of his collaboration with Pugin. He thought it equally expeditious, however, to demonstrate that he shared Wilson's contempt for the troublesome Ballantine and there is no trace of loyalty to a former employer in what he has to say -

'By the bye' he wrote on 11 September 1856, 'just before leaving London (sic) I had a letter sent to me by a gentleman I do not know the letter was extracted from the "Glasgow Herald" and was "from the pen" of Mr Ballantyne who displayed himself in full feather on the old game - it would be sad to think of him being as successful in this instance as in the former [the House of Lords] - I see he alludes as usual to the House of Lords windows - though as I think you know all he had to do with these was merely the spoiling of them - I do sincerely hope your committee will require a better guarantee for the execution of the glass than a flourish like the letter to the Lord Provost - it would surely be a pity if a great work like that of Glasgow was to be given to anyone for their [much] talking'.¹⁸

WILLIAM WAILES AND THE TRUSTEES' ACADEMY

Bell Scott quotes Wailes as saying that he was not interested in sending his apprentices to the Newcastle School of Design - 'He had got his artists, and did not find workmen with art knowledge or proclivities desirable.'¹⁹ There is a suggestion of satisfaction with a rare find and Wailes evidently went to greater lengths to recruit designers than technicians, treating the former very differently to the latter in whom he considered it unwise to awaken any ambition.

As shown, when Oliphant arrived in Newcastle in 1838 glass painters were as abundant there as in Edinburgh but what was unique to the Scottish capital was a thriving Government funded school of design. A Fine Art Society had existed in Newcastle since 1836 but it did not establish an academy until 1839. From the beginning, the academy lacked both funds and direction and matters were not greatly improved when it became the Newcastle Government School of Design in 1843.²⁰ Bell Scott's account of his visit to Wailes's

establishment is a discussion of the value of art education to the development of the decorative arts and his reference to the Trustees' Academy in Edinburgh is significant. In describing how Oliphant and the other 'principal workers' who, like himself, had trained there gathered around him 'like a bodyguard', Bell Scott presents himself and them as equals, as an elite society of artists in the midst of mere artisans. It was the unrivalled reputation of the Trustees' Academy, not Ballantine & Allan, which drew Wailes's attention to Edinburgh as a source of designers. Wailes executed Pugin's designs for painted glass between 1842 and 1845 and it was Oliphant's training at the Trustees' Academy under Sir William Allan that had made him the 'accomplished artist' who could develop Pugin's cursory sketches into working cartoons, no matter how alien the subject and sentiment might be to his cultural background.

Wailes continued to recruit from the Trustees' Academy but in such numbers as to suggest that he was, after all, looking for 'workmen with art knowledge' not just designers. Wilson, as Headmaster of the Government School of Design in Glasgow and with characteristic contempt for the average British glass painter, wrote to Sir John Watson Gordon (1778-1864), President of the Royal Scottish Academy, on 7 January 1854 -

*'I have hunted over the manufacturing districts for men educated in your School, I used to enquire everywhere I found twelve of your Boys or young men in Newcastle in a glass painters (sic) - you may reckon then at what they were worth to the reputation of the School.'*²¹

Exactly when Wilson visited Newcastle and in what capacity is unclear but it could have been during his very brief term as Director of the Provincial Government Schools of Design late in 1848.²²

Presuming that the glass painting establishment Wilson referred to was that of Wailes, and given that by 1851 Wailes was employing 61 men and 11 boys, a significant proportion of his staff must have been Scottish.²³ By 1848, some of the 12 boys or young men referred to may well have been formerly apprenticed to Ballantine & Allan. Certainly, by 1853 the Saint Helen's Glass Company (Pilkington Brothers?) had identified the Trustees' Academy as a source of trained glass painters who could draw. In that year they sent Alexander Christie, the then Director of Ornament, an advertisement for 'glass stainers' which, on being displayed, justifiably outraged those who stood to lose their apprentices before having gaining any benefit from investing in their training.²⁴

Harrison lists the employees, other than Oliphant, whom Wailes recruited from Edinburgh as being: James Sticks, Henry Sticks and A.J.Sticks, John Campbell and William Mein.²⁵ Wailes employed a James Mein (not William Mein) who was a year or two younger than Oliphant and could have trained alongside him at the Trustees' Academy. Mein is listed in the Newcastle census for 1851 as being aged thirty-one, born in Scotland and a glass painter.²⁶ Francis Skeat refers to him as being 'a brilliant glass painter' who was born in Edinburgh c. 1819 and apprenticed to Wailes.²⁷ If it was necessary for Mein to serve an apprenticeship with Wailes at the late age of 19 or 20, Wailes must have recruited him on account of his training as an artist not as a glass painter. By the time William Wailes junior came of age on 16 February 1859, James Mein had become a valued employee, perhaps 'principal designer' in Oliphant's place, as he chaired the celebrations.²⁸ Bell Scott succeeded in persuading the reluctant Wailes to send some of his employees to the Newcastle Government School of Design and in 1845 John Campbell won a prize for drawing from the Antique.²⁹ As Bell Scott, ignoring the rules issued by the Central Government School of Design at Somerset

House, London, was offering instruction similar to that offered by the Trustees' Academy, figure drawing and composition using a collection of Antique casts (see below), Wailes possibly thought that it was no longer necessary to recruit artists from Edinburgh.³⁰ Campbell may, however, have been completing a training begun at the Trustees' Academy and have left Edinburgh with Oliphant. That he was the Chairman at Oliphant's farewell party suggests that they were old friends.

OLIPHANT'S APPRENTICESHIP

Although it is argued above that Wailes recruited Oliphant as a designer not a technician, he was both a trained artist and a trained glass painter, a rare phenomenon in the 1830s. His comprehensive training was probably behind his claim (quoted above) to have worked for Wailes both as a designer and a manager. The years he attended the Trustees' Academy, from 1832 to 1838 aged 13 to 19 years, would have been those of his apprenticeship. The evidence suggests that he was apprenticed to his father, not Ballantine & Allan. Chapter Three identified that a number of glass stainers and painters were active in Edinburgh through the 1820s and 1830s and among these was Thomas Oliphant. Two sets of letters survive which Oliphant wrote in the hope of securing the commission to design and execute new windows for Glasgow Cathedral. From these we know that he *'... was educated to glass painting as a boy in Edinburgh ...'* and *'... was practically trained from a child to glass painting ...'*³¹

Although descended from a Scottish landed family, Oliphant's father was, nonetheless, a tradesman. Oliphant's wife, Margaret Oliphant (1828-97), who was also his cousin, wrote a memoir of Laurence Oliphant of Gask to whom she claimed to be related *'... both by birth on the mother's side and by marriage ...'*³² According to

Margaret, the Oliphants were descended from Walter Oliphant of Kellie in Fife who was believed to have founded Kellie Castle and the family enjoyed the status of baron from 1467-1751.³³ Although Oliphant claimed to be '*...a born scotchman of scotch [sic] descent...*' the Edinburgh census for 1841 states that Oliphant's father, mother and sister, the last being three years younger than him, were not born in Scotland.³⁴ Skeat records that Oliphant himself '*... was born on 31st August 1818, during the temporary residence of his parents at Newcastle ...*' which may point to a long standing connection with the glass industry there.³⁵ Trading as a glass cutter in Edinburgh, Oliphant's father, like Cooper, could have obtained his glass from Newcastle. Only Oliphant's younger brother was born in Edinburgh.

Thomas Oliphant is listed in the Edinburgh census for 1841 as living with his wife Margory and two youngest children at 8 Shakespeare Square, Edinburgh. Aged fifty years, Thomas is described as being a 'glass cutter' while his youngest son James was, at fifteen years old, an 'apprentice glass cutter', as Francis had presumably been before him. Exactly what Thomas Oliphant's work as a glass stainer and painter consisted of is unknown but he must have considered supporting his two elder sons through their lengthy attendance at the Trustees' Academy a worthwhile investment.

JOHN AND FRANCIS OLIPHANT AND THE TRUSTEES' ACADEMY

'... to produce appropriate, accurate, and harmonious design with elevated and correct drawing, the artist in glass requires the same cultivation and personal study, which is demanded from any other artist who produces like results.' (Oliphant) ³⁶

Both John and Francis Oliphant were determined to leave the glass trade behind them and become artists. Seeking admission to the Trustees' Academy was the first step forwards. At that time, only in Edinburgh could the son of a tradesman receive an art education in return for a token fee. John achieved his ambition to become a portrait painter, exhibiting at the Royal Scottish Academy. His portrait of the jovial Wailes is now in the Shipley Art Gallery, Gateshead. Francis, as discussed below, failed in his ambition to become a history painter but contributed significantly to the promotion of glass painting as an art rather than a mere trade.

The Trustees' Academy was the first Government funded school of design in Britain. The Board of Trustees for the Encouragement of Manufactures in Scotland was established in 1727 under the 15th article of the Treaty of Union for the purpose of improving the Scottish economy. Among their initiatives was the establishment of the Trustees' Academy in June 1760 to provide drawing classes for artisans. In 1825 the Board of Trustees opened the Royal institution, now occupied by the Royal Scottish Academy, which provided purpose-built accommodation for the Edinburgh Society of Arts, the Royal Institution for the Encouragement of Arts (a society of wealthy art patrons and collectors) and the Society of Antiquaries, as well as the Board's offices and the Trustees' Academy.³⁷ This glorious building, designed by William Playfair (1790-1857), also provided galleries for the exhibition of the Royal Institution's collection of old Master paintings and contemporary Scottish works. Profits from the exhibition of the Old Master paintings and modern Scottish works were used for the purchase of works of art and books. Students at the Trustees' Academy had access to both the Royal Institution's collection of Old Master paintings and library.³⁸

It is interesting that James Ballantine was admitted to the Trustees' Academy alongside John Oliphant and a James Lamb on 6 February 1827.³⁹ If this James Lamb was one and the same as Cooper's journeyman (see Chapter Three), he and John Oliphant might have encouraged Ballantine's interest in stained glass. Five years later in the March of 1832, John Oliphant was, seemingly, still a student being granted permission to continue for a further year.⁴⁰ In June that year his younger brother was also admitted along with a William Lamb, both being described in the Minutes as 'apprentices to Glass stainers'.⁴¹ Presumably, William and James Lamb were brothers and both employed by Cooper. The Trustees' Academy, therefore, contributed to the design capability of, at least, three glass painting establishments in Edinburgh in the 1830s.

A FAVOURITE PUPIL

Francis Oliphant made the most of every opportunity the Trustees' Academy offered him. He left in 1838 when he had just turned twenty years old, having distinguished himself amongst a small but highly competitive class which, although it included those working in trades such as house painting and heraldic coach painting, was by that time primarily made up of artists, sculptors and engravers.⁴² In 1856 he ventured to remind Wilson that they had encountered each other in Edinburgh almost twenty years before –

'I was ... 6. years at the Trustees Academy where I received several prizes, and on the year when you came to establish an architectural and ornamental class there I was one of your first pupils, and continued to attend until I had to leave Edinburgh, something within a year after joining your class, having obtained in the same season the 1st prize for drawing from the Antique ...'.⁴³

Wilson's class was an initiative to improve the training in Ornament offered by the Trustees' Academy and commenced on 22 November 1837. Oliphant's last 'season' at the Trustees' Academy 'broke up' on 12 August 1838 and, presumably, this was when Oliphant left for Newcastle.⁴⁴ Later in 1856, he wrote to the Edinburgh publisher, John Blackwood, who was acting as an intermediary between him and William Stirling of Keir of the Sub-Committee of the Subscribers to the Glasgow Cathedral Painted Windows which was responsible for the approval of designs, '*... as a youth I was a favourite pupil of the late Sir W. Allan ...*' and that he had been '*... educated as an artist under the late Sir W. Allan and a 1st prize student at the Trustees academy at 19 yrs - (now nearly 20 years ago) ...*'.⁴⁵

Before 1837 the Trustees' Academy only taught 40 students at any one time, with four or five intakes a year and approximately ten candidates competing for each vacancy.⁴⁶ Each candidate was required to submit 'specimens of their talents of drawing' supported by a character reference and, in the case of apprentices, a guarantee of financial support from their masters.⁴⁷ From March 1832 the students were divided between the original Drawing Academy and a new Ornamental Academy, both taught by Allan.⁴⁸ Students, seemingly, could transfer from one academy to the other. From March 1832, the Board of Trustees set aside £24 to be divided between 12 prizes, six for ornamental drawing and six for drawing from casts of Antique statues, *drawing from the round* – *The young men produce the first and the last of their performances during the season, in order that the board may be able to compare their progress ...*.⁴⁹ The Minutes of the Board of Trustees record that Oliphant was admitted to the Drawing Academy but he later won a prize for 'Ornamental Drawing'. The following are the records of his performance at the Trustees' Academy found so far: *Premiums for drawings as recommended to Committee on Prize Drawings by Lord*

Meadowbank - Session 1835 of the Honourable Board of Trustees
Drawing Academy - No. 26. FRANCIS OLIPHANT - 3rd - £2' and on 20
December, 1836 - 'Drawing of the Students of the two Academies ...
- Francis Oliphant - 5th - Ornamental Drawing - £1'.⁵⁰

No doubt because of his vocation, Oliphant was one of 10 students that the Board of Trustees' decided would benefit by transfer from the Drawing Academy to Wilson's new Ornamental class, with the reassurance that they could return once the course of instruction was complete. Whether or not these 10 students solely constituted Wilson's class is unclear. ⁵¹

DRAWING FROM THE ROUND AND LIFE DRAWING

The initial objective of the Trustees' Academy was to stimulate the decorative arts in Scotland by teaching artisans the principles of ornamental design and developing their drawing skills. Students were set to draw fruit, flowers and grotesques. Between 1800 and 1832, however, this objective was lost sight of and the teaching at the Trustees' Academy was modelled on that of the Royal Academy in London (established 1768).⁵² In 1798, the Board of Trustees invited the Scottish born artist John Graham (1754-1817) to return from London to establish a Drawing Academy for artists teaching *drawing from the round* from the Antique and historical composition. The following year the Board of Trustees purchased £50 worth of casts of Antique sculptures for Graham's use.⁵³ The Trustees' Academy was briefly divided into an Ornamental Academy for artisans under John Wood, a draughtsman, and Graham's Drawing Academy. When Wood was dismissed in 1800, having been found to have secured his position under false pretences, the students from the Ornamental Academy joined the Drawing Academy. Teaching was once again conducted by one Master, Graham remaining until 1818.

Graham and subsequent Masters being artists of some reputation and practitioners of academic art theory, the applicants they attracted were predominantly aspiring artists rather than artisans. In his *Tractatus de Pictura* (first published in Latin in 1435), Leon Battista Alberti (1404-72) argued that an artist should aspire to paint *historia*, representations of exemplary events and, in so doing, to elevate the minds and feelings of his fellow men. Alberti's treatise became the basis of academic art theory: *historia* elevated the minds and feelings of the common man; the human form used in *historia* should be idealised; and as the Greeks and Romans most perfectly understood ideal form, the study of Antique sculpture should be the basis of figure drawing. The subject of the *historia* could be taken from Classical mythology and national or biblical history. From Graham's time onwards the Trustees' Academy was teaching painters how to draw and compose the human figure within the discipline of the *historia* rather than teaching artisans how to design figurative ornament. In 1832 Sir William Allan went so far as to introduce an evening Life Class between 6 and 8 pm.⁵⁴ Oliphant just missed the introduction in May 1839 of a course of anatomy lectures given in the Gallery of Casts (see below).⁵⁵

CRITICISM

Bell Scott describes Ballantine as being 'shy towards his fellow students' in the Antique Class at the Trustees' Academy (see Chapter Two). The latter was, no doubt, painfully aware that, as an apprentice house painter merely educating his 'taste', he was outnumbered by students with very different backgrounds and ambitions. His inferior status was emphasised by his attending classes in his working clothes. No matter how willing his fellow students were to accept him, they were kept at bay by the strong smell of oil paint emanating from his person.⁵⁶ That artisans such as

Ballantine had become a minority among the students at the Trustees' Academy did not please the Board of Trustees and, in 1832, the Ornamental Academy was re-instated alongside the Drawing Academy.

Confirmation that by the 1830s the Trustees' Academy had become a drawing school for aspiring painters is plentiful, often taking the form of direct criticism of Sir William Allan. The year Oliphant was admitted, the Board of Trustees had found it necessary to appoint a working committee to investigate the composition and practice of the Drawing Academy. Having studied the consequent report, the working committee –

*'... were clearly of the opinion that the original purpose of instituting the Drawing Academy, was the improvement of those figured Manufactures, or useful arts, in which Drawings and tasteful Designs are requisite: that it is obvious however that ... it has been imagined to be a school for painters, sculptors, & engravers only; almost the whole applications for admissions coming from those artists. That the Committee ... consider it of great importance that ... it should be rendered beneficial to those artizans (sic) who are engaged in the study of the useful arts connected with Drawing, or the figured and ornamental Manufactures: That therefore an advertisement to that effect should be publish'd in the newspapers: and that the Secretary should inform Mr Allan that it is the special wish and desire of the Trustees, that their views with respect to Students of the above description should be particularly attended to, by giving a share of his attention to their instruction, and by adapting examples to their capacities, as well as to the particular branch of Drawing & Design suited to their employment.'*⁵⁷

It was this report that was responsible for the re-instatement of the Ornamental Academy. The objectives of the Drawing Academy, however, remained dominant and artisans admitted to the Trustees' Academy sought to abandon their trade for a career as an artist.

Three years after the re-instatement of the Ornamental Academy, James Skene (1775-1864), Secretary to the Board of Trustees and the Royal Institution, and David Ramsay Hay voiced their criticism of the Trustees' Academy to the House of Commons Select Committee on Arts and Manufactures.⁵⁸ Skene referred to the –

*'... error ... which the academy of the Board of Trustees in Scotland has already fallen into: that is, of neglecting those parts of the study which apply to the useful arts, and dedicating their attention alone to the higher branches: in fact making all the pupils study as artists, and not as men to pursue useful branches of occupation.'*⁵⁹

Hay argued that –

'... the instructions generally given them [students at the Trustees Academy] are adapted to the higher branches of the fine arts, and are therefore not calculated to produce designers for ornamental works.'

When the Select Committee asked 'Then you find that the persons attending the Trustees' Academy aspire to be artists?' he replied 'They do being educated along with those who intend to follow the higher arts.'⁶⁰

Such criticism was behind William Dyce (1806-64) and Wilson's pivotal *Letter to Lord Meadowbank*, written in 1837, and the foundation of the Government Schools of Design. Twenty years

later Wilson described the situation at the Trustees' Academy in the late 1830s and early 1840s to Watson Gordon –

*'When I was there [the Trustees' Academy] Sir William Allan Figure Mr Duncan painting myself ornament, well there was no unity of action, we had in fact 3 Schools & two of them undid what the other did, I taught ornament did all I could to direct the attention of the students to those branches of art in which we are notoriously deficient, after a time they left me to go to Sir William, they never heard another word of decoration or of manufacture, they were not taught the Figure in connection with any branch of ornamental art ... but merely as artists & they of course soon ceased to think of ornament at all.'*⁶¹

THE TRUSTEES' ACADEMY AND THE ROYAL SCOTTISH ACADEMY

Oliphant reminded Wilson that he had been taught by Sir William Allan. Altogether, it is extraordinary that an apprentice glass painter was taught to draw by so eminent an artist. Allan was appointed Master of the Trustees' Academy in 1826 and held the position until 1844. Bell Scott remembered him as *'... a genial and kindly hard-headed man ... not a great painter, but very attentive to us students.'*⁶² Allan's career encouraged his students to dream of fame: on completing his apprenticeship as a coach painter, he rose through the Trustees' Academy and the Royal Academy Schools in London to be elected President of the Royal Scottish Academy in 1837, holding the position for thirteen years.⁶³ He was elected an Honorary Member of the Royal Academy in London in 1835 and was knighted in 1842 when he was appointed Limner to the Queen for Scotland following the death of Sir David Wilkie.⁶⁴

As mentioned, John Oliphant became a successful portrait painter and exhibited regularly at the Royal Scottish Academy while his brother was less realistic, aspiring to become a history painter in the academic tradition. After moving to London in 1845, Francis exhibited a series of paintings at the Royal Academy, most notably, in 1852, *The Dying Interview of John of Gaunt with Richard II*. The religious histories, *The Holy Family* and *Coming Home - the Prodigal Son* were exhibited in London in 1849 and 1853, and the latter at the Royal Scottish Academy in 1855.⁶⁵ Two letters written by the students in Allan's Trustees' Academy class of 1838 identify both the quality of their art training and their collective ambition to become artists recognised by the Royal Scottish Academy. On 2 February 1838, they wrote to Allan in his capacity of newly appointed President of the Royal Scottish Academy thanking him for the gift of tickets for the annual exhibition –

*'We sincerely hope that the mark of favour will not be altogether undeserved on our part, coming, as it does from those, whom we all look up to as the models on which we base our expectations of future fame ...'*⁶⁶

The next day they followed this with a letter to David Octavius Hill, Secretary to the Scottish Academy, forwarded by Wilson, asking that from then on they be automatically granted free admission to the annual exhibition -

'... These ... by the gracious liberality of the Board of Trustees have free access to their collection of Ancient Pictures and, under the Tutorship of your distinguished president, and provided with so splendid a collection of casts, have ample means of refining their taste, and enlarging their knowledge of the grandeur and beauty of the great models of antiquity. Nothing now remains but that the

painters may have the means of studying from the life, and both have free access to your annual exhibition. They have provided themselves with the former, and for the latter they look to the kindness of the Scottish Academy.'

These letters were written after Wilson's appointment as Master of the revised Ornamental Academy in February 1837.⁶⁷ Allan now only taught the Drawing Academy. That Allan's students distinguished themselves as 'the painters' in an institution established for the benefit of artisans is telling. These would have been the students who mostly constituted the first class of the then Royal Scottish Academy School of the Living Model which ran from 24 February to 13 May 1840 and some of whom, by that time, had succeeded in having their work accepted for the annual exhibitions.⁶⁸

THE ROYAL SCOTTISH ACADEMY SCHOOLS

The years that Oliphant attended the Trustees' Academy were, significantly, the early years of the Royal Scottish Academy (established in 1826).⁶⁹ He was caught up in the excitement of the conflict between the Board of Trustees, the moribund Royal Institution and the Royal Scottish Academy over who should be responsible for the training of Scottish artists.⁷⁰ The Royal Scottish Academy believed that the Trustees' Academy should concern itself solely with teaching artisans the principles of ornament and appropriate drawing skills. It became increasingly obvious to ambitious students at the Trustees' Academy, therefore, that the way forward and upward was to graduate to the proposed new Royal Scottish Academy Schools.

Central to the conflict was the Board of Trustees' failure to honour an agreement made in June 1835 to accommodate the new schools which the Royal Scottish Academy considered so necessary to the

future of the fine arts in Scotland within the Royal Institution building. The Royal Scottish Academy presented a memorial to the Board of Trustees and the Royal Institution requesting that, given their shared objective was the promotion of the arts in Scotland, what they considered to be under-used accommodation in the Royal Institution building be made available to them. They requested, firstly, that they have use of the Exhibition Galleries between 1 February and 1 May rent free for their Annual Exhibition and, secondly, accommodation for their proposed Schools of Design, Antique Academy, School of Painting and School for the Living Model. To distinguish the Scottish Academy Schools from those of the Trustees' Academy, the former '*... were intended exclusively for students prosecuting the higher branches of Art.*' A subsequent agreement was signed by Lord Meadowbank (1771-1861), as the representative of the Board of Trustees and the Royal Institution, on 5 June 1835.⁷¹ The Scottish Academy later negotiated access to the Board of Trustees' Gallery of Casts between 10.00 am and 4.00 p.m. and 8.00 to 10.00 p.m.⁷² Ultimately, this agreement broke down. The Royal Scottish Academy never got access to the Gallery of Casts for its Antique Academy and had to wait 20 years until after the building of the National Gallery of Scotland to acquire a permanent home for its School for the Living Model.⁷³

The 1835 Annual Report of the Royal Scottish Academy commented on the limited use to which the Trustees' Academy collection of casts was being put –

'There exists in Edinburgh ... a splendid Gallery of Casts from the Antique ... affording instruction in the higher branches of design ... The studies of the Pupils are under the direction of a distinguished Artist, appointed by the Honourable Board; and, as far as the

system is carried, it is unexceptionable. Its deficiencies exist in the very limited period allowed for study ...'.⁷⁴

The Scottish Academy proposed to make better use of it and the ambitious Oliphant was quick to seize his opportunity, writing to Hill on 13 April, 1836, -

'Sir - aware of the great advantage of studying in the school of the Scottish Academy from the Antique Casts, and being very desirous of so doing,

I respectfully solicit permission to become at present a probationer.'⁷⁵

GLASS PAINTING AND LOW RELIEF

'We have made a science of light and shade, and reduced to a system their beautiful vicissitudes; we have provided canons of regulation for all the arts; not only do we teach the painter how to pose and compose the figure in his pictures, but we guide the hand of simple ornament, and dictate the proportions of a curve, and the tints in a piece of colour. In the midst of these many instructions, however, one branch of internal decoration, and that a most important one, has escaped the authoritative exposition of which it is peculiarly capable. The laws for the successful execution of Stained Glass Windows have become obsolete, and no enlarged and expanded code has yet appeared to replace them.'
(Oliphant, 1855) ⁷⁶

In the above Oliphant rehearses the range of what he was taught at the Trustees' Academy and considers what might be appropriately applied to the development of 'modern' glass

painting. He understood glass painting, like fresco and sculpture in low relief, to occupy a median place between the arts of illusion and ornament and that the way forward was a compromise between the two.

As shown, as a student attending the Drawing Academy, Oliphant would have spent his time *drawing from the round*. On leaving the Trustees' Academy, he was able to apply his study of the Antique with equal readiness to the composition of a history painting or a stained glass window. In 1837, the year Oliphant was awarded first prize for drawing 'from the Antique', the Trustees' Academy published a descriptive catalogue, compiled by Wilson, of the 224 items in its enviable collection of casts. The top lit Gallery of Casts ran the full length of the Royal Institution building (as remodelled in 1832) on the east side of the first floor. Andrew Wilson (b.1780), Master from 1818-26 and Charles Heath Wilson's father, travelled frequently to Italy and was commissioned by the Board of Trustees to secure 'first impression' casts of antique sculptures.⁷⁷ The study of sculpture in low relief was considered to be particularly appropriate to the *historia*, as it demonstrated how to construct a fluent narrative through disciplined outline composition. It was equally appropriate to the design of figurative ornament for fundamentally two dimensional media such as stained glass. Casts of Lorenzo Ghiberti's (1381?-1455) doors for the Baptistry of Florence Cathedral (1403-24 and 1435) had arrived by February 1837.⁷⁸ Other casts of sculpture in low relief included those of works by the celebrated Danish sculptor Bertel Thorvaldsen (1770-1844). For over 40 years, from 1796-1838, Thorvaldsen lived in Rome so as to have access to the antique sculpture upon which his work was modelled.

Skene informed the House of Commons Select Committee on Arts and Manufactures in 1835 that -

'The gallery of casts consists of about one hundred excellent casts of the finest works of antiquity; they have also the Elgin Marbles, and have received a number of presents and legacies of different works of the same character. They obtained the originals from Lord Elgin; a great many of the casts which he had taken at Greece of different buildings, which are now in the collection of the Board of Trustees.' ⁷⁹

The sought after casts of the Elgin Marbles did not arrive until the spring of 1838 and were stored until January 1839, some months after Oliphant had left Edinburgh for Newcastle.⁸⁰ For Oliphant, however, drawing from the round was now a life discipline and he was careful to inform Wilson twenty years later that he had '*... yet never left off the careful study of nature and the Antique.*' ⁸¹ At some point, however, he must have made a careful study of the Parthenon frieze as he cited it in his polemic with Charles Winston waged across the pages of *The Builder* in 1852 - '*How much can be made of a flat surface, the sculptor of the Parthenon frieze has shown.*'⁸² He later fully demonstrated in *A Plea for Painted Glass* (1855) how to apply the lessons of the Parthenon frieze to the design of a figurative stained glass window where the continuity of the wall surface should also be a primary consideration -

'... the Parthenon frieze ... is managed on two planes - the composition forming one, and the flat spaces of marble left between making the other the flat extent of surface is perfectly preserved, yet the relief is all that can be desired; very rich in composition, each figure yet separates itself by its own completeness, and there is no adhesion, no confusion, although the whole depth of relief is not over an inch and half.... there is no perceptible difference of size in the figures the treatment adopted in the frieze is exactly that which

ought to be the rule in glass painting, and which is to be observed in the best specimens. I apply it thus: the depth of space which a figure or group might be supposed to occupy, must not be greater than the action or subject requires: next, the distance and angle of view must be allowed for: and, lastly, in a practical point of view - hold by the nature of the work required, and keep it true to itself ...'⁸³

In the Parthenon frieze (442-438 BC), which depicts the procession of the *Panathenaia*, the two-dimensional front plane is consistently maintained while the third dimension is suggested by foreshortening and graduated relief. The narrative is carried along the frieze by the changing rhythm of still and active figures in sharply cut outline.

Two versions of the *Entombment* can be used to demonstrate Oliphant's ability to apply what he had learnt from the study of *bas relief* to the adaptation of found compositions. Harrison illustrates a panel depicting the *Entombment* from a window designed by Oliphant for Saints Peter and Paul, Seal, Kent in 1856, the year after he began working independently.⁸⁴ [Image 36] Given the amount of time Oliphant spent sketching there (see below), it is tempting to speculate that the composition is an adaptation of that of the *Death of the Virgin Mary* panel in the *Assumption* window (1205-15) at Chartres Cathedral, France. [Image 37] He seems to have selected three of the principal figures and discarded all but two of those in the background, so shrinking the complex composition of the Chartres panel, which includes all 12 Apostles, and heightening the emotional intensity. The figures he selected are: the Apostle drawing the shroud around the Virgin's head; the central Apostle standing behind the couch; the Apostle standing at the end of the couch drawing the shroud over the Virgin's body. The configuration of the heads echoes that of the central figure group in the Chartres panel. Comparison of the two panels demonstrates Oliphant's ability to rework an essentially

two-dimensional mediaeval composition according to the principles of sculpture in low relief. In both panels, the tomb or couch establish a consistent front plane. In the Chartres panel the figures remain at either end or behind the couch and are drawn in silhouette. Oliphant, however, suggests a third dimension by bringing the central Apostle standing behind the couch in the Chartres panel, now Joseph of Arimathea, to the very front of his composition, turning the figure three-quarters away from the viewer and foreshortening the arm and shoulders. The figures of Nicodemus, the Virgin, Mary Magdala, and John are stacked and overlapped in the mediaeval manner behind the tomb. Two of them, however, reach over the tomb and the foreshortening of their arms establishes just enough depth for the action necessary to the *Entombment* to become convincing. Reworking a thirteenth century composition in the style of fifteenth century German glass painting allowed Oliphant more fullness of figure drawing. In the same year, 1856, Oliphant used the same design as a *predella* panel for his depiction of the *Resurrection* in the West window at Saint John the Baptist, Stamford, Lincolnshire. [Image 38] Here the composition is closer still to the Chartres panel with the figures of Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus standing at either end of the tomb. Combining the associated events of the *Entombment* and the *Resurrection* is a Renaissance compositional formula and, with this in mind, Oliphant's depiction of the *Entombment* can also be read as the reworking of an essentially Renaissance or Classical composition in a manner appropriate to a mediaeval medium, stained glass, and setting. Renaissance representations of the *Entombment* ignored Biblical descriptions and followed the balanced compositions around a simple sarcophagus to be found in Roman sculpture in low relief. Oliphant's *Resurrection* is obviously an over ambitious adaptation of Raphael's *Transfiguration*. His borrowings from Raphael's *Entombment* for both the Stamford and the Seal windows are, with the exception of the

figure and dress of Joseph of Arimathea, more subtle and disguised by the exchange of dramatic intensity for quiet pathos. Both of Oliphant's versions of the *Entombment* are, however, fine demonstrations of the principles of the *historia*.

WILLIAM ALLAN AND HISTORY PAINTING

'For a long period the only resident historical painter of his country, and for seventeen years Master of the Trustees' Academy, where he and Wilkie first began their career, Allan has had the opportunity of communicating much of his own enthusiasm to the students of Art in Scotland, and is now surrounded by a numerous body of highly talented professors of his own branch of Art.' (Art Journal, 1849) ⁸⁵

As Bell Scott would have it Oliphant's '*... ambition was to be a painter of history, which ambition was fatal to him.*'⁸⁶ As demonstrated below, his account of the untalented Oliphant dying of a decline induced by his lack of success as a history painter is complacent, spiteful and false. Oliphant's ambition to become a history painter was real enough, however, and not incompatible with his career as a glass painter. This ambition was no doubt prompted by Sir William Allan.

Some thirty years before Oliphant, David Wilkie (1785-1841) and Allan were admitted to the Trustees' Academy under Graham. What they were admitted to was the new Drawing Academy with its classes in drawing in the round from the Antique and historical composition. As an added incentive to students to attempt historical compositions, premiums were offered for subjects specified by Graham, such as the *Escape of Mary Queen of Scots from Lochleven Castle*.⁸⁷ Prevailed upon by Graham, Wilkie and Allan became pioneers of history painting in Scotland.

Between 1805 and 1814, having failed to make a living in London, Allan sought adventure and novelty in Russia.⁸⁸ Once having mastered enough of the Russian language painting portraits in Saint Petersburg, he ventured into the Ukraine and beyond spending time -

*'... amongst Cossacks, Circassians, Turks, and Tartars; visiting their huts and tents, studying their history, character and costume, and collecting a rich museum of their arms and armour, as matières premières for his future labours in Art.'*⁸⁹

The sketches he returned with were the starting point of the history paintings he became celebrated for, being all the more exotic in their accuracy of observation and detail. Allan's promotion of history painting in Scotland was assisted by Sir Walter Scott; directly by creating a market for his work and indirectly through the rise of the historical novel. Scott and others collectively offered a considerable sum for *Circassian Captives* which was then exhibited at Somerset House, London in 1815. The demand for his work now established, Allan was able to turn his attention to Scottish history, executing his celebrated painting *The Murder of David Rizzio* (1833) while Oliphant was one of his students.

5:2 GLASS PAINTING AND HISTORY PAINTING

'... for us, whose religious faith and national glory are equally histories it is no small matter to gain ... a certain scope and space for historical illustrations, a series of brilliant episodes in our walls, by means of which the still brighter episodes of history may gain form and shape to the common eye.' (Oliphant) ⁹⁰

What Oliphant was referring to in the above was the nineteenth century debate concerning the importance of public art, and history painting in particular, to moral education. The nineteenth century sought a secular replacement for pre-Reformation religious painting. The use of history painting, both in fresco and stained glass, in the decoration of nineteenth century Britain's most important public building, the new Houses of Parliament, is discussed in the next chapter. What is discussed here is how the moral supremacy of history painting invited the reconsideration of biblical history and narrative as acceptable subject matter for the decoration of so far unadorned Protestant, and even Presbyterian, churches.

Through May 1840 the Scottish historian Thomas Carlyle delivered a series of six lectures *On Heroes, Hero-worship, and the Heroic in History* in which he identified, in terms of his theory of vital life forces -
'... that given a great soul, open to the Divine Significance of Life, then there is given a man fit to speak of this, to sing of this, to fight and work for this, in a great, victorious, enduring manner; there is given a Hero, - the outward shape of whom will depend on the time and the environment he finds himself in.'⁹¹

Perhaps in response to Carlyle, the *Art Union* published a discussion of the supremacy of history painting on 15 May 1840 which explained that the history painter was required to paint the souls, minds and actions of great men through studied facial expression and attitude. Raphael stood '*... at the head of historical painting ...*' and the would-be history painter must also be one '*... who looked upon mankind with perspicuity, in the highest degree curious and attentive, and had at the same time equal command over his material to make his knowledge effective.*'⁹² The history painter

held up the mirror of the past as an example to the present and, therefore, was uniquely responsible for the moral progress of society.

The year before Oliphant left the Trustees' Academy for Newcastle, Wilkie completed *The Escape of Mary Queen of Scots from Lochleven Castle* (1837), as seen, a subject advocated by Graham some years earlier. The idolisation of Mary Queen of Scots in the nineteenth century was the equivalent of Roman Catholic Mariolatry. As history painters looked back to Raphael's religious narratives as models, the development of history painting out of religious painting became circular; narrative subjects became acceptable to the Protestant Church and even the Presbyterian Church in Scotland. Both secular and religious heroes and heroines took the place of saints. Scott's description of sixteenth century Scottish history in the *The Monastery; A Romance* and *The Abbot* (both published in 1820) as an age of conflict before the long peace, cultural renaissance and empire building under the Tudors that he went on to describe in *Kenilworth* (1821), caught the popular imagination. He was instrumental in the casting of Mary Queen of Scots in the rôle of the '... romantic heroine of a lost cause, the representative of a passionate world dependent upon chivalric loyalty which was to vanish with her own person.'⁹³ Allan's *Mary Queen of Scots Admonished by John Knox* (1822) brought the Protestant man of action and Catholic martyred saint together.

In the context of glass painting in Scotland, it is appropriate that the *Art Union* blamed the poverty of history painting in England (it uses this term even when directly referring to Scotland) on John Knox (c.1514-72) as the father of the religious Reformation – 'Thus the arts were driven from the church - the cradle and great sanctuary of Historical painting - it never can be properly considered as having taken root in England ...'. It is curious that on the same day that the

Art Union article was published Carlyle pleaded for a revision of negative historical portrayal of Knox in his fourth lecture *The Hero as Priest. Luther; Reformation: Knox; Puritanism*. The Art Union credited Benjamin West with founding the modern British school of history painting, including the return of religious painting –

'... when the artist hinted that the noble purposes of historical painting were best shown in depicting the excellencies of revealed religion, the monarch [George III] threw open St. George's Chapel to be decorated with sacred subjects his enlightened, and liberal views on the subject, ... form a striking contrast to the treatment the Art received from the heads of the Church at the same period'

As seen in Chapter Four, West's religious paintings for Saint George's Chapel included cartoons for the windows.

It is one of those ironies of history that the iconoclastic Knox became the subject of Scottish religious painting, including stained glass windows for religious buildings. The year Oliphant was admitted to the Trustees' Academy Wilkie finally exhibited *John Knox Preaching at Saint Andrews* (c.1822, commemorating the sermon delivered in Saint Andrew's Cathedral in 1559, in the face of death threats from the Archbishop, which proved to be a pivotal event in the Reformation). Wilkie also began *John Knox Administering the Sacrament at Calder House* (c.1839, sketch and unfinished panel acquired by the Royal Scottish Academy in 1842). Duncan Macmillan suggests that, through these paintings, Wilkie may have been attempting *'... to vindicate the traditions of the Kirk by creating a religious art which, because it was appropriate to the needs of the new Kirk, would also replace that which had been lost at the Reformation.'*⁹⁴ Alexander Ballantine's adaptation of *John Knox Preaching at Saint Andrews* for a stained glass window in Saint

Giles Cathedral, Edinburgh (1881) carries with it a pleasing sense of the circle of history being completed. Top of the Art Union's list of religious subjects most demanding of the history painter was the *Last Supper*. Wilkie used Leonardo da Vinci's (1452-1519) *Last Supper* (1495-97/8) as the compositional model for *John Knox Administering the Sacrament at Calder House* and in doing so, again, demonstrated how art could appropriately serve the Protestant religion. Further down the Art Union's list was the *Holy Family*, a version of which Oliphant exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1849.

5:3 OLIPHANT AND A.W.N.PUGIN:ARCHAIC TRUTH

'Now, apart from questions purely technical, there are one or two principles which govern this art, and that are also an unfailing test of what is good and true in it, from what is false and therefore bad. The first object in a window is to admit light, and that of course must be preserved in the required measure But next to the obvious consideration of light, a window should be considered as part of the building it is set in; therefore, whatever be its design, an appearance of flatness must be essential By the same rule, perspective pictures or objects represented in full relief, are equally inappropriate, as they pierce the building with holes and destroy its consistency. Windows ... should belong to the wall, and retain the eye within the building.'
(Oliphant) ⁹⁵

So far this account of Oliphant's career has underlined his ambition to be recognised as an artist of the most academic order, a history painter. A successful collaboration, therefore, between Oliphant and Pugin, an intransigent archaeologist, seems unlikely. Nevertheless, their collaboration on the design of painted glass executed by John Hardman & Company of Birmingham between 1847 and 1850 was

highly successful and, beyond this, Oliphant refers to his friendship with Pugin.⁹⁶ What then was the dialogue between them?

Comparison of Oliphant's designs for stained glass windows at the different stages of his career reveals his extraordinary range and versatility. Oliphant's work cannot be identified by superficial stylistic characteristics. He could design, with equal facility, in the thirteenth century style of Chartres or in the style of Raphael. Having given equal attention to the study of mediaeval glass painting, Renaissance masters and the Antique, he understood the shared principles of all three. As shown, the secret of his success as a designer of stained glass windows was his subtle synthesis of the quiet pathos of mediaeval glass painting with the discipline of the Antique.

Pugin's dialogue with Oliphant was based on their mutual appreciation of mediaeval glass painting, both the material used and the so-called *true principles* of its design and execution.⁹⁷ When Oliphant published *A Plea for Painted Glass, being an Inquiry into its Nature, Character, and Objects, and its Claims as an Art* in 1855 the *Ecclesiologist* commented –

*'... it is most satisfactory to find that such sound views and principles are spreading among those whose vocation is the actual cultivation of art, and that they can be expressed so temperately and with such good feeling as by the present writer.'*⁹⁸

Oliphant may have learnt *true principles* from Pugin but his employment of them and feeling, aesthetic rather than religious, for the medium of stained glass was his own. If Oliphant's *A Plea for Painted Glass* and his polemic with Winston across the pages of *The Builder* are compared with the lecture on glass painting Pugin delivered to the students at Saint Mary's College, Oscott, it is evident

that, in the end, Oliphant argued for the *true principles* of glass painting more concisely, more poetically, and so more persuasively, than his teacher, having discovered them with his own intelligent eyes in the cathedrals and churches of Europe.⁹⁹

Oliphant thought that Pugin '*... had an originality about him and fine feeling of colour - that made all his work ... full of attraction*'.¹⁰⁰

Pugin's delight in stained glass as a medium was foremost a delight in the sublime effects of coloured light and its power to awaken religious feeling, as he explained -

*'... such a softened and mysterious light as is produced in a building filled with stained windows, is calculated to awaken those emotions and thoughts, in the hearts and minds of the worshippers, which they should feel and entertain, when within the temples, and before the altars of God.'*¹⁰¹

In both Pugin's lecture and Oliphant's writings stained glass as a vehicle of coloured light is the dominant theme. Both he and Oliphant particularly admired glass painting from the early thirteenth to the early fourteenth centuries where windows were treated as a translucent continuation of the painted wall and the architectural frame. They understood the relationship of the thickness and unevenness of the mediaeval glass, and so refraction of light, to the powerful colour they so admired. They approved of a linear rather than a chiaroscuro painting style which both carried the eye across the surface of the window and maintained the translucency of the glass.

Bell Scott identifies that during his time with Wailes, if not before, Oliphant had '*... by aesthetic proclivities thrown himself into the Gothic revival ...*' and acquired '*... the ability and the knowledge to*

imitate the mediaeval glass of the successive periods of architecture The ability to imitate he owed to the Trustees' Academy. Wailes, to serve his own ends, may have initiated Oliphant's study of mediaeval glass painting by taking him to the Continent. Wilhelm Wailes Strang understood that his grandfather and some of his employees had at one time visited Germany, presumably Munich, '*... for the purpose of gaining knowledge in stained glass production*' and may have studied mediaeval painted glass along the way.¹⁰² Bell Scott comments that Wailes '*... had the greatest delight in grand churches, and had visited many in France ...*'.¹⁰³ It was c.1843, when he was still working for Wailes, that Oliphant spent nine weeks studying in the cathedral and churches of Chartres.¹⁰⁴

VISITS TO THE CONTINENT

Oliphant's 'aesthetic proclivities' developed into a life long programme of study which he considered essential to the proper conduct of his profession -

'It is not everyone who has it in his power to run away to Belgium, Germany, Italy, or France upon every occasion, and it is not by one but by repeated investigations that the principles of an art can be elicited, especially if its development be varied in character and extended over centuries of time.'

It was, seemingly, in Oliphant's power to run away to the Continent upon every occasion. When he challenged Winston's analysis of the artistic character and merit of the sixteenth century windows in Saint Gudule's, Brussels and the latter responded by suggesting that he revisit the windows and discover that he was mistaken in his opinions, that was exactly what he did when returning from a '*... pretty long course ...*' through Germany and Bavaria in the autumn of 1852.¹⁰⁵ In

anticipation of the Glasgow Cathedral commission Oliphant returned to Chartres Cathedral in September 1856, the two cathedrals being of comparable thirteenth century date, and wrote excitedly from there to Wilson -

*'... I think I told you that at one time I stayed here around 9 weeks studying and copying from these very windows - this is my second visit to them since - and you may believe that this time I am not neglecting the opportunity to collect and observe whatever is likely to be of service to me sd (sic) I be applied to by your committee ...'*¹⁰⁶

Other letters Oliphant wrote to Wilson and John Blackwood, Editor of the influential *Blackwood's Magazine*, in 1856 regarding the Glasgow Cathedral commission are evidence that he repeatedly visited the Continent for months at a time sketching in the cathedrals and churches of France, Belgium, Holland and Germany. His claim to Wilson that he had *'... gone more thoroughly into the art than any man in England ...'* was not an idle one.¹⁰⁷

When asked where the best examples of his work could be seen, Oliphant urged Wilson to visit Ely Cathedral and study the east window. This was designed by Oliphant and executed by Wailes in 1857. Oliphant no doubt thought that as it was thirteenth century in style it would confirm that he was eligible to design the new windows for Glasgow Cathedral. The window is a *tour de force*, being composed of over a hundred separate figurative panels. Many of these are recognisable as adaptations of panels from the windows at Chartres Cathedral, for example the *Nativity*. [Images 39 and 40]

HUMAN GRACE AND SACRED STORY

Pugin may have been an intransigent archaeologist but he was enough of a Victorian to wish to 'correct' the mediaeval drawing of the human figure. As he himself had never settled down to mastering life drawing, Oliphant was invaluable to him as a trained artist who was also sensitive to the visual language of mediaeval glass painting.

Writing soon after her husband's death from tuberculosis, Margaret Oliphant clearly identified the dynamic of his collaboration with Pugin, with specific reference to the designing of the windows for the House of Lords –

The glass, though designed by another artist, who had for years before contributed human grace and the interest of sacred story to the unrivalled ornamental framework of the great architect, was still indebted to his personal touch for some of its decorative details ...'.¹⁰⁸

Oliphant's own general account of their collaboration was –

'I designed and drew for the late Pugin for about eleven years that is I designed the figures, himself for the most part undertaking the ornamental decorations as well as furnishing in the first instance the ornamental plan of the whole.'¹⁰⁹

Oliphant wrote to Blackwood that he had *'... set a going what are still the 2 principal works in England viz. Wailes of N'Castle and Hardmans of Birmingham.'*¹¹⁰ Although based in London, Oliphant worked as chief draughtsman for the glass painting department Pugin had persuaded his friend John Hardman to establish late in 1845 at his metalworking premises in Birmingham.¹¹¹ Pugin used the library of his home, *The Grange*, near Ramsgate, as a drawing office and late in

1844 the seventeen years old John Hardman Powell (1827-95), Hardman's nephew, was sent to assist him. In his account of living and working at *The Grange*, Hardman Powell wrote -

*'For some years Francis Oliphant, the chief glass draughtsman, used to come down to (sic) London and rough out his cartoons including those of the Kings and Queens in the House of Lords. He used to be amazed afresh each visit at Pugin's genius for Art, only complaining that it was hard for others that he should always be in the right.'*¹¹²

The purpose-built Cartoon Room in which Oliphant and Powell worked is clearly visible next to the entrance gate of *The Grange* and Saint Augustine's complex in Pugin's water colour *A True Prospect of Saint Augustine's Church Now Erecting at Ramsgate in the Isle of Thanet* which was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1849. [Image 41] Powell confirms Pugin's cursory but energetic and inspired contribution to the design of stained glass, and his reliance on Oliphant and Powell -

*'He had been too hard worked to find time to study the Human figure or the detail (sic) form of draperies, but had a keen eye for what was high in expression, and at pauses in his Architectural work he used to enjoy rushes into the Cartoon room, praising condemning, and roughing out figure [sic] etc. in pencil.'*¹¹³

In 1846 the *Ecclesiologist*, in an attempt at disassociation, criticised the artistic merit of Pugin's mature work. Whatever its underlying motives, and Pugin's answer to it, the article identifies what the windows for the House of Lords might have looked like without the assistance of Oliphant: rich in detail but weak in figure drawing and facial expression. Criticising his illustrations of the *Lives of the English Saints* the *Ecclesiologist* observed -

*The face of S. Edmund is absolutely meaningless, and yet he is depicted kneeling in Archiepiscopal vestments before the altar. He might, but for his position and his vestments, be any one else, be doing anything else. But rich is the dalmatic; and the base of the parclose behind him is painted with whole-length Saints; and the whole is framed in tabernacle work, somewhat rich at the distance ... We lose the face in the figure, the figure in the whole design. It would be rather a tedious, and perhaps a difficult task to design an ideal countenance for S. Edmund; but tabernacle work is soon dashed off.'*¹¹⁴ [Image 42]

Powell, however, records that Pugin regarded his illustrations for the *Lives of the English Saints* as 'extraneous' work and merely a pleasant way of earning extra money after dark when good light was no longer necessary.¹¹⁵

Oliphant wrote to Wilson in 1856 that –

*'... about 10 years ago I came up to London to make the Cartoons for the windows of the House of Lords with Pugin for Sir C. Barry. these (sic) were done full size and complete detail by the late Pugin and myself and were done into glass - all but one - by J. Ballantine of Edin.r ...'*¹¹⁶

John Hardman & Company executed one of the windows for the new House of Lords as a model for Ballantine & Allan to work to.¹¹⁷ A panel depicting *William I* made for this window and possibly rejected has, until recently, lain in store and can now be seen in a window in the Peers' Refreshment Room. As Oliphant's cartoons are lost, this panel is the only evidence of their artistic quality. Pugin and Hardman Powell's surviving sketches for the windows of the House of

Lords support the *Ecclesiologist's* criticisms of the *Lives of English Saints*, namely that the interest is all in the decorative detail. Generally, the drawing of the faces and hands is very poor and foreshortening a problem.¹¹⁸ [Image 43] Oliphant's *William I*, while constrained by the highly decorative drapery, is well drawn. The face is highly expressive while the hands are firm and, together with the arms, properly foreshortened. Although the finished window is a mosaic with only linear not matt shading used for the drapery (with the exception of the ermine), the face and neck are fully modelled. [Image 44]

Having read Pugin's correspondence to Hardman concerning Oliphant, Stanley Shepherd concludes -

*'Pugin was never really happy with him, largely because he was not directly under his eye and was inclined to draw in a 'modern academic fashion'. Nevertheless he was involved with many of the finest productions of the workshop and also earned Pugin's praise for the cartoons he did for St Paul's, Brighton; SS. Thomas and Edmund of Canterbury, Erdington; the Chapel of Magdalene College, Cambridge and elsewhere. Pugin also acknowledged his value in handling the big windows, suggesting to Hardman: 'if we get any of the large windows with groups they must be done by Oliphant but for single figures I think Powell is far the best.'*¹¹⁹

Oliphant was, seemingly, at one and the same time stubbornly resistant to Pugin's wishes and irreplaceable. Shepherd has identified that Oliphant was involved in the design of the west window (formerly the east window) of Saint Cuthbert's College, Ushaw (1847), and that Pugin considered this to be ground breaking. The window is crowded with figures arranged in three bands.¹²⁰ The East window at Erdington Abbey, Birmingham (1850) depicting the *Heavenly Jerusalem* is a remarkable development of the Ushaw composition and Pugin was

even more pleased with it. Three tiers of three-quarter turned figures march towards each other across the surface of the window, the feet of the foremost figures maintaining the front plane. [Image 45] It is hard to identify a mediaeval model for this powerful composition. The only window identified so far that it compares with is, in itself, very unusual. This is the mid-fifteenth century *Orders of Angels* window in All Saints Church, North Street, York, but by the nineteenth century this had been damaged and repaired beyond recognition.¹²¹ [Image 46] This is also a banded composition in three tiers with, in each of the nine panels, an angel leading a group of mortals of corresponding rank to their own. The studied variation of pose in Oliphant's design, however, compares more closely to the *Procession of Maidens* of the Parthenon frieze. [Image 47]

5:4 OLIPHANT AND WILLIAM DYCE

The preliminary discussions relating to the new windows for Glasgow Cathedral show that Oliphant was recognised as being in a class of his own among his generation of British glass painters. As described more fully in Chapter Seven, what the Glasgow Cathedral Painted Windows Committee wanted was to educate the 'taste' of the people of Glasgow through a new form of public art. The new windows were to be an experiment: a synthesis of the *true principles* of glass painting and academic figure drawing and composition. Oliphant was the only British glass painter to be seriously considered, and the first to be considered at all. While Wilson, in his capacity as Secretary to the Committee, was still determining how best to proceed, Oliphant acted as his consultant and intermediary.

Oliphant was encouraged by the 'friendly feeling' with which Wilson had received him in Glasgow and his subsequent letters are

surprisingly familiar.¹²² Wilson and Oliphant corresponded more as one artist to another than as tradesman to client. Wilson consulted Oliphant as to which other British glass painters should be considered and sought his opinion as to the proposed scheme of subjects. Oliphant, the would-be history painter, thought that the proposed scheme was not challenging enough to the artist –

*'I have thought a good deal of yr (sic) scheme of subjects and am convinced that its main features cannot be improved - but am inclined to think you might leave the west and transept windows open for histories, scriptural of course.'*¹²³

Reference to making a cartoon of a prophet to lay before the first meeting of the Committee of Subscribers after Andrew Orr had visited him in London suggests that Oliphant had been asked to consider the design of the north transept window (see Chapter Seven).¹²⁴

Wilson had a very low opinion of the design capability of British glass painters. Before finally deciding to employ the *Königliche Glasmalereianstalt* of Munich, the Glasgow Cathedral Painted Windows Committee deliberated whether or not a collaboration between a British artist and glass painter would yield designs of a suitably artistic standard. It was, seemingly, Hill, as Secretary of the Royal Scottish Academy, who prevailed upon Wilson to commission Dyce to design, at least, the west window. Hill's argument was that national artists should be employed on a public project of such national significance.

Hill drew Wilson's attention to the experimental collaboration between Dyce and Oliphant on the design and execution of a stained glass window for the north nave aisle of Ely Cathedral (1857),

known as the *Choristers' Window*. [Image 48] Dyce's career as a designer of stained glass windows has been sketched by Marcia Pointon but she does not explain how this collaboration came about.¹²⁵ As Oliphant acted as an intermediary between Dyce and Wilson, they must both have regarded him as being more than a mere glass painter. Although Oliphant willingly agreed to collaborate with Dyce, he made sure that Wilson understood that he thought of himself as an artist who, on this occasion, was making a concession -

*'I had some communication with Mr Dyce some ten days ago - he seemed not indisposed to accept an active part in the work, I recommended him to write to you which he has since informed me he did - though I have not yet heard of your reply, however if he is likely to take a leading part in the work I would rather perhaps wait a little, I certainly think him the most proper and best qualified man among our artists for such an undertaking - and I should gladly work with him, and indeed he is the only artist to whom in the matter of painted glass I should feel disposed to play second.'*¹²⁶

Dyce advised Wilson that Oliphant's designs for Wailes and Hardman & Company were the best he had seen and - *'From what I have seen of Oliphant I judge him to be very desirous indeed of [...] an artistic value to his work and he seems very modest.'*¹²⁷ Oliphant would have been disappointed, however, with Dyce's later assessment of him as a talented technician and copyist but a weak designer. He wrote to Hill in 1857 that -

The windows (sic) for Ely Cathedral which I mentioned to you as the joint production of Oliphant and myself is now about finished. One thing is established I think by this experiment viz: that although one cannot trust anything to the design of English glass stainers one may trust a good deal to their powers of execution and copying - I can

see from this that with proper designs and cartoons and under due guidance anything can be done in England - In this particular case the designs have undergone a general deterioration within execution, but I could easily if I could have spared the time, have put all to rights;- and besides the inferiority of the glass is only perceptible when it is compared with the cartoons - and the difference is only about that between a moderately good print and an [oil] panel picture ...'¹²⁸

Both he and the Dean, however, were satisfied with Oliphant, as Dyce wrote to Hill -

*'I forget whether I told you that the Ely window is thought to be a complete success - The dean [sic] wrote me a flattering letter and I learn from Oliphant (the glass painter) that the Dean has written to Wilson about the success of the experiment ...'*¹²⁹

To identify his failings as designer it is necessary to compare the Choristers' Window to another designed Oliphant himself. Dyce's design and Oliphant's *Heavenly Jerusalem* of seven years earlier [Images 45 and 49] are equally crowded compositions. Whereas Oliphant's design works with the architectural frame, Dyce's is constrained by it. As Oliphant's design opens across the window surface, it has momentum and energy. Dyce's figure groups, adapted from early Italian Renaissance painting, are constrained by the architectural frame and look as if they belong elsewhere. It cannot be denied, however, that Dyce was the better artist and Oliphant cannot match his figure drawing. *King David* is represented in both windows and, taking into account that Oliphant was referencing mediaeval glass painting, Dyce's figure has a fluidity and ease while Oliphant's is stiff and the head sits uncomfortably on the neck. The face and hands of Dyce's *King David*, and other figures,

are exquisitely drawn and modelled. All the same, the window is a tribute to Oliphant's technical skill as a glass painter and it is sad that it has suffered so much paint loss. [Images 49-51]

When the negotiations with Dyce broke down and the Glasgow Cathedral Painted Windows Committee returned to considering whether or not to commission Oliphant to both design and execute the new windows, Oliphant wrote to Wilson –

*'... if you want archaic truth and good art, I am most ready to enter the lists - I had hoped as you know - for other help - but am nowise diffident of being sufficient for the occasion - it is still something to be better than what has proceeded us.'*¹³⁰

This statement summarises Oliphant's exceptional qualities as a glass painter: his commitment to the future of glass painting through the unity of sensitive technique with disciplined design.

5:5 OLIPHANT ALONE

'Mr. Oliphant has retired: we wish that he had still persevered, since he could scarcely have failed to have realised his abundant promise of future excellence.' Art Journal (1859) ¹³¹

When Oliphant advised Wilson in 1856 –

'If you want to come to a just idea of what each glass painter produces at this time you would do well to confine yourself to works executed within the last 3. years people die and go away and art is not a recipe that can be handed down like a patent medicine...'

he was, no doubt, thinking that Hardman & Company's recent windows did not compare to those designed by Pugin.¹³² His own heyday, however, lasted a mere three years and he lived only a little longer than Pugin, leaving behind him regrettably little evidence of what he was fully capable of.

Oliphant married his first cousin Margaret Wilson on 4 May, 1852.¹³³ A little more than seven years later, on 20 October 1859, he died from tuberculosis in Rome, aged only 41, leaving Margaret with three children to support, the youngest of whom she was still carrying at the time. Margaret's autobiography affords frustratingly little insight into her husband's working life in London, partly because she had little time to be curious about it. She was busy with her own contribution to the financial support of their home, the writing of novels for which she received £400 each. Also, she was preoccupied with the demands and anxieties of nineteenth century motherhood, bearing six children in seven years and losing three of them. There is an underlying suggestion of exclusion: Margaret gives the impression that painting and glass painting were for Oliphant, although seriously undertaken, light hearted, companionable and male activities. She did not share his interest in painting, however, and there is no suggestion that she even so much as glanced at a stained glass window.

Between 1853 and 1855 Oliphant joined forces with the shadowy glass painter Thomas Wilmshurst (1806-64) but, apart from Oliphant being named as the designer of some of their windows, the logistics of this collaboration are unclear.¹³⁴ They exhibited their design for the east window of Saint Andrew's Church, Plymouth, at the Royal Academy in 1853, giving their working address as 13 Fitzroy Place.¹³⁵

In 1855 the Oliphants moved from their first home in Harrington Square to a larger house at a better address, 7 Ulster Place, near Regent's Park, and it was from here that Oliphant wrote most of the letters quoted above. Oliphant also rented a small house nearby at 14 Salisbury Place, Marylebone and, according to Margaret -

*'... began to have his painted windows executed there under his own superintendence, partly because he was not satisfied with the way in which his designs were carried out, partly with the hope that he might then get into substantial business, instead of precarious artistwork (sic). There was a brightness and hopefulness about the beginning.'*¹³⁶

Oliphant claimed his place among British glass painters by publishing *A Plea for Painted Glass*. The Glasgow Cathedral commission promised to launch his independent career and he did his utmost to secure it. The year before Margaret married she had met Major Blackwood of the Blackwood's publishing house in Edinburgh and her necessarily prolific career as a writer began.¹³⁷ Oliphant took a chance upon the goodwill between the Blackwoods and his wife and asked John Blackwood to recommend him to the Glasgow Cathedral Painted Windows Committee, at least one of its members being a personal acquaintance of his.¹³⁸ Margaret remembered plentiful orders for windows and these are vaguely and randomly identified in Oliphant's letters to Wilson as: Aylesbury Church, Buckinghamshire; Bodiam Church, Sussex; Farringdon Church, Berkshire; Hettering; Market Bosworth; Shirely New Church near Croydon; Stamford, Lincolnshire; and Stokesley, Yorkshire.

There was a simplicity and innocence about their working life - *'We neither of us, I suppose, knew anything about business - so long as we could get on and live, that seemed all one cared for ...'*¹³⁹ The

immature dreamer in Oliphant, however, failed to cope with the discipline and anxieties of running his own business. Sebastian Evans a disaffected Divinity student from Cambridge, briefly and inadvertently became Oliphant's assistant draughtsman before leaving to manage the stained glass department at Chance Brothers, Birmingham, in 1857.¹⁴⁰ Oliphant was evidently attempting to do more than trade as a glass painter and surrounded himself with workers with whom he could converse as fellow artists rather than steady technicians. The attitude of Oliphant's workmen appalled Margaret as they failed to return his good faith and she recalled bitterly - *'the men ... were of the art-workman class, and highly paid, and untrustworthy to the last degree ...'*. By the end 1858 Oliphant was too ill to continue.

Margaret remembered her husband as being one of a community of struggling painters. Glass painting supported his ambitions to become a history painter, at Ulster Place –

*'... he dreamt of work that might go on under his eye and keep our household going, while he might return to his painting, which was the work he loved best. So things went on very brightly for a time. He painted his King Richard picture, which was sold for a tolerable price ...'*¹⁴¹

In Florence, failing to recover his health but still ambitious, he despaired at *'... how far he was from being able to come within a hundred miles ...'* of the Renaissance paintings he saw there.¹⁴²

¹ Visits to art-manufactories. No. 2 - Stained glass, *Art Journal* (1859), p. 39.

² NLS: MS 4119, ff15-16. Oliphant to John Blackwood, 27 October, 1856.

³ See Harrison, M., *Victorian Stained Glass*. (London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1980), p.83 and Donnelly, M., *Glasgow Stained Glass...* p.5.

⁴ Skeat, F., *The Family of William Wailes of Newcastle-upon-Tyne*, *Family History*,

- Vol.II, Nos. 79/80, (December 1980), p.185. Skeat cites a street directory listing Wailes as a grocer, tea dealer, glass stainer and enameller at 19 Mosley Street, Newcastle between 1836 and 1839. Wailes' grandson says 1832, see NCL: Local Biography, Vol.III, p.29.
- ⁵ Bell Scott, W., Op. cit., Vol. I, p. 189.
- ⁶ GUL: MS Euing 39, p.123. Oliphant to Wilson, 1 April, 1856.
- ⁷ Skeat, F., Op. cit., p.187.
- ⁸ Richardson's Newcastle and Gateshead Directory (1838), p.205.
- ⁹ *Ibidem*.
- ¹⁰ A Figure of Christ, executed in stained glass by John Gibson, for the Corporation of Newcastle, from a painting by W. Dixon, and inserted in the East window of St. Nicholas' Church, April 9, 1827, (Newcastle: T. & J. Hodgson, 1827).
- ¹¹ To the Editor of the Newcastle Courant, (9 April, 1827), quoted in A Figure of Christ..., p.5.
- ¹² A Figure of Christ..., p.4. See also Tyne Mercury, (10 April, 1827).
- ¹³ See Leach, A., Joseph Price and his Stained Glass; and the 1848 controversy, Northern Glass Notes, No.1 (privately printed, 1989). Leach takes much of his information from a letter Price wrote to the Editor of the Gateshead Observer (13 September, 1848).
- ¹⁴ Leach, A., Op. cit., p.3 and Bell Scott, Op. cit., Vol.I, p.189.
- ¹⁵ Shepherd, S., Stained Glass, Pugin: a Gothic passion, ed. Atterbury, P. and Wainwright, C., (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1994), p.199 and notes 21 and 22.
- ¹⁶ Bell Scott, W., Op. cit., Vol. I, p. 188. The Newcastle School of Design was established in 1843 and Bell Scott appointed as Headmaster the same year. See Bell, Q., The Schools of Design, (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1963), pp. 101 and 122.
- ¹⁷ Fordyce, T. Local Records; or, Historical Register of Remarkable Events, (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: T.Fordyce, 1867), Vol.I, Part 1, p.200. Oliphant's colleagues entertained him to a dinner on 1 November, 1845 and gave him a chased silver box and a set of drawing instruments to mark his departure for London.
- ¹⁸ GUL: MS Euing 39, p.127. Oliphant to Wilson, 11 September 1856.
- ¹⁹ Bell Scott, W., Op. cit., Vol. I, p.189.
- ²⁰ Bell, Q., Op. cit., pp. 122-4.
- ²¹ NLS: MS 9717 ff. 164-9. Wilson to Gordon, 7 January 1854. Wilson's use of 'your' is misleading: the Royal Scottish Academy and the Trustees' Academy shared the same building but were separate institutions. It was not until 1858 that the Royal Scottish Academy took over the Trustees' Academy life class. See Macmillan, D., Scottish Art 1460-1990 (Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing, 1990), p.204.
- ²² See Bell, Q., Op. cit., p.207.
- ²³ NCL: HO 107/2406 f.288. Newcastle census for 1851- Bath Lane .
- ²⁴ See SRO: NG2/2/5, p.79.
- ²⁵ Harrison, M., Op. cit., p.83. No source given.
- ²⁶ NCL: HO 107/2404 f.272. Newcastle census for 1851.
- ²⁷ Skeat, F., Op. cit., p.201. No source given.
- ²⁸ Fordyce, T., Op. cit., Vol.1, part 2, p.351.
- ²⁹ Skeat, F., Op. cit., p.201.
- ³⁰ Bell Scott, W., Op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 178-9.
- ³¹ GUL: MS Euing 39, p.123. Oliphant to Wilson, 1 April 1856 and NLS: MS 4119, ff 15-16. Oliphant to John Blackwood, 27 October 1856.
- ³² Oliphant, M.O.W., Memoir of the life of Laurence Oliphant and of Alice Oliphant his wife, (1891) Vol.I, p.313. Was there a triangular connection between Gillespie Graham, Oliphant and Pugin? Gillespie Graham was related to the ancient Scottish family of Oliphant through his wife and his daughter Alice married Laurence Oliphant of Gask. I am grateful to Dr. James Macaulay for this information.

- ³³ Ibidem, p.314.
- ³⁴ NLS MS 4119, ff 15-16. Oliphant to John Blackwood, 27 October 1856 and Edinburgh Census for 1841, District 6851, no.15 - 8 Shakespeare Square.
- ³⁵ Skeat, F., Op. cit., p.193.
- ³⁶ Oliphant, F.W., A Plea for Painted Glass: being an enquiry into its nature, character, and objects, and its claims as an art, (Oxford: J.H.Parker, 1855), p.62.
- ³⁷ See Gordon, E., The Royal Scottish Academy of Painting, Sculpture and Architecture, 1826-1976, (Edinburgh: Charles Skilton Ltd, 1976), pp.69-71. The Royal Institution was established as the Scottish Institution in 1818/19 and received its Royal Charter in 1827. For the early history of Royal Institution see Munro, A., Scottish Art and National Encouragement, (Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons, 1846), pp.80-90.
- ³⁸ See View of the Arts of Design in Britain, Section 12, Edinburgh Annual Register, (1816), p.481 and quoted in Appendix 1, Munro, A., Op. cit.; Evidence of James Skene, Report of the Select Committee on the Arts and Manufactures, (1836), Vol.I, pp.83-95; and Gordon, Op. cit., pp.63-9.
- ³⁹ SRO: NG1/2/7, Index to the Minutes of the Board of Manufactures, May 1820-November 1828, p.357, (6 February 1827).
- ⁴⁰ SRO: NG1/2/8, Minutes of the Board of Manufactures, December 1828-March 1837, p.166, (7 March 1832).
- ⁴¹ Ibidem, p.174, (12 June 1832).
- ⁴² Evidence of James Skene, Report of the Select Committee on the Arts and Manufactures, Vol.I, p.85.
- ⁴³ GUL: MS Euing 39, p.123. Oliphant to Wilson, 1 April, 1856. Wilson's ornament class commenced in November 1837 - See Rawson, G. An Officer of Cultivated Mind, Missionary of Art: Charles Heath Wilson, 1809-82, Glasgow: Foulis Press, 2000), p.18.
- ⁴⁴ SRO: NG1/2/9, Minutes of the Board of Manufactures, 1837-43, p.58, (16 May 1838).
- ⁴⁵ NLS: MS 4119, ff. 13-14 and ff. 15-16. Oliphant to Blackwood, 3 October 1856 and 27 October 1856.
- ⁴⁶ Evidence of James Skene, Report of the Select Committee on the Arts and Manufactures, (1836), Vol.I, p.84.
- ⁴⁷ Ibidem, p.86. In the early days, the Trustees' Academy, only taught 20 students at any one time - see Gordon, Op. cit., p.66.
- ⁴⁸ SRO: NG 1/2/8, Minutes of the Board of Manufactures (December 1838-March 1837), p.158.
- ⁴⁹ Report of the Select Committee on the Arts and Manufactures, Vol.I, p.91. See also SRO: NG 1/2/8, Minutes of the Board of Manufactures (December 1838-March 1837), p.158.
- ⁵⁰ SRO: NG 2/2/5, Roll 1 (Dec. 1835) and NG1/2/8, pp.401-2 (20 December 1836).
- ⁵¹ See SRO: NG1/3/25, Board of Manufactures Letter Book December 1833-June 1839, p.248. Board of Trustees to Allan, 15 November 1837.
- ⁵² For a careful discussion of this phase of the history of the Trustees' Academy see Irwin, D. and F. Scottish Painters at Home and Abroad, 1700-1900, (London: Faber & Faber, 1975), pp. 90-97. See also Munro, Op. cit., Appendix No.1, p.2; Gordon, Op. cit., p.67.
- ⁵³ Irwin, Op. cit., p.96. SRO: NG1/1/30, Minutes of the Board of Manufactures, p.72 (26 June 1799).
- ⁵⁴ Gordon, E., Op. cit., p.68.
- ⁵⁵ SRO: NG1/2/9, Minutes of the Board of Manufactures, 1837-43, pp.92 and 114 (12 December 1838 and 22 May, 1839).
- ⁵⁶ Bell Scott, W., Op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 81-2.
- ⁵⁷ SRO: NG1/2/8, Minutes of the Board of Manufactures, December 1828 to March 1837, p.156 (14 February, 1832).
- ⁵⁸ James Skene of Rubislaw, barrister, was appointed as Secretary to the Board of Trustees in 1830. See Gordon, Op. cit., p.16, note.

- ⁵⁹ Report of the Select Committee on the Arts and Manufactures, Vol.I, (1836), p.88.
- ⁶⁰ Report of the Select Committee on the Arts and Manufactures, Vol. II, (1836), p.37.
- ⁶¹ NLS: MS 9717, ff.167-8. Wilson to Watson Gordon.
- ⁶² Bell Scott, W., Op. cit., Vol.I, p.80.
- ⁶³ Sir William Allan, Art Journal, Vol.XI, new series 1, (1 April 1849), pp.108-9, Irwin, Op. cit., p.208 and Gordon, Op. cit., pp.44-6.
- ⁶⁴ Gordon, E., Op. cit., pp.82 and 111.
- ⁶⁵ Graves, A., Royal Academy Exhibitions, 1769-1904, Vol.VI, (London: Henry Graves & Co. Ltd and George Bell & Sons, 1906), p.7
- ⁶⁶ RSA: Students attending the Trustees Academy to Sir William Allan, 2 February, 1838.
- ⁶⁷ The Minutes of the Board of Manufactures for 31 May, 1837 refer to 'the two new classes of Design, to the charge of which they [Dyce and Wilson] were appointed on the 8th February last' but the Letter Books state that Wilson's class did not commence until November 1837.
- ⁶⁸ Soden, J., The Role of the Royal Scottish Academy in Art Education During the Nineteenth Century, Journal of the Scottish Society for Art History, Vol. IV, (1999), p.35.
- ⁶⁹ It did not receive its Royal Charter until 1838 but is referred to throughout this thesis as the Royal Scottish Academy.
- ⁷⁰ For a full account of this conflict see Munro, Op. cit., pp.56-60.
- ⁷¹ Munro, Op. cit., Appendix No.X, pp.34-5. Lord Meadowbank, Alexander Maconochie, was a judge, Director of the Royal Institution, and Commissioner of the Board of Trustees. See Gordon, Op. cit., p.15, note.
- ⁷² Soden, J., Op. cit., p.35.
- ⁷³ Ibidem, p.36.
- ⁷⁴ Ibidem, p.35.
- ⁷⁵ RSA: Oliphant to Hill, 13 April 1836.
- ⁷⁶ Oliphant, F.W., A Plea for Painted Glass ..., pp.1-2.
- ⁷⁷ For a brief history of the collection of casts see Gordon, Op. cit., p.71, note.
- ⁷⁸ SRO: NG1/2/9. Minutes of the Board of Manufactures, 1837-43, p.414 (8 February 1837).
- ⁷⁹ Report of the Select Committee on the Arts and Manufactures, Vol.I, (1836), p.93.
- ⁸⁰ SRO: NG1/2/9. Minutes of the Board of Manufactures, 1837-43, pp.25, 58 and 98 (6 December, 1837, 16 May and 16 January, 1839).
- ⁸¹ GUL: MS Euing 39, p.123. Oliphant to Wilson, 1 April, 1856.
- ⁸² Oliphant, F.W., On the Principles of Glass Painting, The Builder, Vol.X, No. 498 (21 August, 1852), p.532. The Irwins refer to the acquisition of another set of casts of the Parthenon Frieze by the Trustees' Academy in 1816. Irwin, Op. cit., p.96 and SRO: NG1/1/33, Minutes of the Board of Manufactures, p.366 (3 July 1816). By 1852 Oliphant had established himself in London and would have had easy access to the British Museum.
- ⁸³ Oliphant, F.W., A Plea for Painted Glass ..., pp. 42-6.
- ⁸⁴ Harrison, Op. cit., plate 9.
- ⁸⁵ Sir William Allan ... (see note 62).
- ⁸⁶ Bell Scott, W., Op. cit., Vol.I, pp. 188-9.
- ⁸⁷ Irwin, D. and F., Op. cit., p.96.
- ⁸⁸ Sir William Allan ... (see note 62)..
- ⁸⁹ Ibidem.
- ⁹⁰ Oliphant, A Plea..., pp.30-1.
- ⁹¹ Carlyle, T., On Heroes, Hero-worship, and the Heroic in History, (London: James Fraser, 1841), p.186.
- ⁹² Historical Painting in England, Part 1, The Art Union, Vol.II, No.16 (May 15 1840),

- pp.65-6.
- ⁹³ Strong, R., And when did you last see your father ?; The Victorian Painter and British History, (London: Thames & Hudson, 1978), p.131.
- ⁹⁴ Macmillan, D., Op. cit., p.191.
- ⁹⁵ Oliphant, F.W., On the Principles of Glass Painting, The Builder, Vol.X, (31 July 1852), p.483.
- ⁹⁶ NLS: MS 4119, ff.13-14. Oliphant to Blackwood, 3 October 1856.
- ⁹⁷ Harrison has determined from the Hardman archives that Oliphant worked as a second designer to Pugin from April 1848 until November 1850. Harrison, M., Op. cit., p.19.
- ⁹⁸ Mr Oliphant on Painted Glass, Ecclesiologist, Vol.XIII (1855), pp.159-62.
- ⁹⁹ Oliphant, F.W., On the Principles of Glass Painting, The Builder, Vol.X,(1852), pp.483-4, 531-2, 656-7 and 770; The Treatment of Modern Stained Glass, Vol.XIV (1856), p.127. Pugin, A.W.N., Op. cit., pp.19-34 and 89-98.
- ¹⁰⁰ GUL: MS Euing 39, p.126. Oliphant to Wilson, 9 May 1856.
- ¹⁰¹ Pugin, A.W.N., Third Lecture ...
- ¹⁰² NCL: Local Biography, Vol. III, p.29.
- ¹⁰³ Bell Scott, W., Op. cit., p.189.
- ¹⁰⁴ GUL: MS Euing 39, p.123. Oliphant to Wilson (undated).
- ¹⁰⁵ Oliphant, F.W., On the Principles ..., pp. 656 and 770.
- ¹⁰⁶ GUL: MS Euing 39, p.127. Oliphant to Wilson, 11 September 1856.
- ¹⁰⁷ Ibidem, p.123. Oliphant to Wilson, 1 April 1856.
- ¹⁰⁸ Mrs Oliphant, Augustus Welby Pugin, Blackwoods Magazine, Vol. XC, (December 1861), pp. 685. This is a review of Benjamin Ferry, Recollections of A.N. Welby Pugin and his father Augustus Pugin with notices of their works, (London: Edward Stanford, 1861).
- ¹⁰⁹ NLS: MS 4119, ff.11-12. Oliphant to Blackwood, 26 March 1856.
- ¹¹⁰ NLS: MS 4119, ff 15-16. Oliphant to Blackwood, 27 October 1856.
- ¹¹¹ For Pugin's collaboration with Hardman see Shepherd, Op. cit., pp.195-206.
- ¹¹² Powell, J.H., Pugin in His Home, ed. Wedgwood, A., Architectural History, No. 31 (1988), pp.183-4.
- ¹¹³ Ibidem.
- ¹¹⁴ Newman, J.H. and others. Lives of the English Saints, 16 vols., (London: James Toovey, 1844-5); The Artistic Merit of Mr. Pugin, Ecclesiologist, Vol.V (January, 1846), p.16.
- ¹¹⁵ Pugin in his Home, p.182.
- ¹¹⁶ GUL: MS Euing 39, p.123. Oliphant to Wilson, 1 April 1856.
- ¹¹⁷ Port, M.H., The Houses of Parliament, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1976), p.252 and 252 note 17. The Ballantine & Allan windows were destroyed in World War II.
- ¹¹⁸ HLRO: Historical Collection 131. Moulton-Barrett Volume.
- ¹¹⁹ Shepherd, Op. cit., p.198.
- ¹²⁰ Ibidem, p.201 and note 35.
- ¹²¹ A seventeenth century drawing showing this window before it sustained considerable damage is illustrated in Crewe, S., Stained Glass in England, 1180-1540, (London: HMSO, 1987), p.60, plate 45.
- ¹²² GUL: MS Euing 39, p.126. Oliphant to Wilson, 9 May 1856.
- ¹²³ Ibidem.
- ¹²⁴ Ibidem.
- ¹²⁵ Pointon, M., William Dyce (1806-1864): a critical biography, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), pp.66-7.
- ¹²⁶ GUL: MS Euing 39, p.126. Oliphant to Wilson, 9 May 1856.
- ¹²⁷ GUL: MS Euing 34. Dyce to Wilson, 14 May, 1856.
- ¹²⁸ RSA: William Dyce to Hill, 10 September 1857.
- ¹²⁹ RSA: Dyce to Hill, 11 December 1857.
- ¹³⁰ GUL: MS Euing 39, p.128. Oliphant to Wilson, 26 September 1856.

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- ¹³¹ *Visits to Art-manufactories. No.2*, p.39.
- ¹³² GUL: MS Euing 39, p.126. Oliphant to Wilson, (May-September 1856).
- ¹³³ The Autobiography of Margaret Oliphant: the complete text, ed. Jay, E., (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), p.36.
- ¹³⁴ In 1840 Wilmshurst was commissioned to design and execute a large window depicting the Ascension for Saint Botolph's, Bishopsgate, London and is reported as '*...having distinguished himself by some very large works.*' *Modern Glass Painting, The Art Union*, Vol.II (15 December 1840), p.187.
- ¹³⁵ Graves, Op. cit., Vol.VIII, p.304.
- ¹³⁶ Oliphant, M., Op. cit., p.61.
- ¹³⁷ *Ibidem*, pp. 35-6.
- ¹³⁸ NLS: MS 4119, ff.15-16. Oliphant to Blackwood, 27 October 1856.
- ¹³⁹ Oliphant, M., Op. cit., p.63.
- ¹⁴⁰ Oliphant, Francis, W., *Glass Painters 1750-1850, Journal of the British Society of Master Glass Painters*, Vol. XIII, No.2 (1960-61), p.405.
- ¹⁴¹ Oliphant, M., Op. cit., pp.61-2.
- ¹⁴² *Ibidem*, p.70.

6. STATE PATRONAGE OF GLASS PAINTING

To understand the artistic development of glass painting in Scotland from the 1850s through to the Aesthetic windows designed in Glasgow in the 1870s and 1880s, it is necessary to look to England and the decoration of the new Houses of Parliament. The much publicised debate in the early 1840s as to the appropriate decoration of a public building of national significance, the New Houses of Parliament, was continued in Glasgow in the mid to late 1850s in relation to the re-glazing of the newly restored Cathedral. The voices of authority were the same: Charles Heath Wilson (as Secretary of the Glasgow Cathedral Painted Windows Committee), Charles Locke Eastlake and William Dyce. As described in Chapter Two, the Edinburgh firm of Ballantine & Allan came to national attention through their success in the competition to design and execute the stained glass for the new Houses of Parliament. James Ballantine was determined to continue the expansion of the firm through the re-glazing of Glasgow Cathedral. In preparing for these two commissions, it was necessary for Ballantine & Allan to develop a house style which, they thought, conformed to the criteria of those awarding them.

On 29 April 1841 the Government appointed a Select Committee to consider how the rebuilding of the Houses of Parliament following the fire of 1834 might be used as an opportunity to encourage the development of the fine arts. They concluded that the decoration of the new Houses of Parliament was an opportunity to offer state patronage to not only the fine arts, namely painting and sculpture, but also the decorative arts and that a Royal Commission should be appointed both to inform and advise the Government.¹ The Royal

Commission was duly appointed on 30 September 1841 with Prince Albert as Chairman and Sir Charles Locke Eastlake as Secretary. As Charles Barry's (1795-1860) design for the new Houses of Parliament was fifteenth century Gothic, it was a matter of course that stained glass would be required. So far discussion of the importance of the decoration of the new Houses of Parliament to the development of glass painting has only dealt with the collaboration between A.W.N. Pugin and Hardman & Company (introduced in Chapter Five).² It is clear that the Commissioners had little knowledge or understanding of the state of the art of glass painting. Their primary concern was the establishment of a British school of monumental history painting and Barry did not allow their discussion of glass painting to progress beyond how stained glass windows would affect the reading of the proposed fresco decoration. Had they, however, moved on to initiate an inquiry into the art of glass painting as applied to the decoration of a public building, as they did for fresco painting, what would they have decided? Would they have attempted to establish a 'modern' school of glass painting in England? In the event, they had done no more than nominate the glass painters to be employed and outline the subjects for the windows in the new House of Lords before Barry, supported by Pugin and Hardman & Company, by-passed them and assumed control of the stained glass.

Certain questions have yet to be raised regarding the importance of the decoration of the new Houses of Parliament to the development of glass painting both in England and Scotland. Sarah Baylis describes how by the 1840s archaeology had driven out pictorialism in an 'aesthetic revolution'.³ Chapter Five has demonstrated, however, that matters were not so black and white and that many still wanted glass painting to conform to the criteria

of academic art. If the windows of the new Houses of Parliament had been filled with pictorial stained glass would the demand for it have prevailed more strongly against the adverse wind of ecclesiology and the 'aesthetic revolution' been less complete? Would glass painters posing as staunch archaeologists have revealed themselves to be pictorialists at heart? As described in Chapter Seven, Wilson used the term 'revolution' to describe exactly the opposite situation in Scotland in the 1850s and 1860s: the rejection of archaeological glass painting in favour of pictorialism tempered by the philosophy of *true principles*. Did the influence of German or *Nazarene* art upon the development of glass painting in Scotland, however, begin with the Commissioners' consideration of fresco painting as appropriate decoration of the new Houses of Parliament?

6:1 CHRONOLOGY

The Commissioners attempted to 'assist' the Government with the decoration of the new Houses of Parliament by instigating a series of competitions intended to identify those most qualified to be employed. Sub-committees were set up to address particular issues. Competitions for glass painting, arabesque painting, wood carving, metal work and ornamental paving were announced on 16 June, 1843 and as the closing date was the first week of March, 1844, candidates had approximately nine months to prepare.⁴ They were required to present designs for one or two windows, drawn to a scale of two inches to one foot, and to execute a sample panel full-scale, not exceeding six feet along one edge. The preliminary design brief was loose -

'The objects forming the details of decoration may be either figures or heraldic devices relating to the Royal Families of England, or a union of the two, and may be accompanied by borders, diapered grounds, legends, and similar enrichments.'

The entries for the stained glass competition were exhibited at *The Bazaar*, Saint James's Street and King Street, Saint James's, during April and May, 1844.⁵ The ignorance of the Commissioners as to the art of glass painting and their lack of vision for its introduction into the interior of the new Houses of Parliament is evident in their unwillingness to do anything more than recommend the glass painters to be employed –

'... not being at present in possession of sufficient information as to the extent to which ... Painted Glass may be considered desirable in the Palace at Westminster, or as to the precise character of the works which may be required they have thought it expedient in general to enumerate the names only, without further distinction, of the artists whose works have received the commendation of the committee.'

Those nominated were Ballantine & Allan, George Hoadley, Ward & Nixon, Thomas Wilmshurst (1806-80), and William Warrington (1796-1869).

The context of the tighter design brief for the windows for the new House of Lords was the Commissioners' decision in 1844, against Barry's wishes, that the walls of the House of Lords should be decorated with fresco paintings illustrating the relation of the monarch to the Church, Law and State.⁶ They also decided that other forms of decoration should conform to this celebration of the

British political constitution: Barry had incorporated 18 niches for statues in the House of Lords and the Commissioners envisaged that if these should be –

*'... effigies of the principal Barons who signed Magna Charta (sic).... the difference of character as laymen, or as prelates, would afford a picturesque variety of attire, and that the historical analogy would be most suitably attained by placing side by side in the same House of the Legislature, in windows or in niches, the successive holders of Sovereign power, and the first founders of constitutional freedom.'*⁷

The contemporary antiquarian interest in the trappings of history manifest in such publications as Joseph Strutt's *A Complete View of the Dress and Habits of the People of England* (1842) is evident both here and elsewhere. In February 1845, Barry was asked to provide a brief for the nominated glass painters to work to. Barry laid a design before the Committee on Subjects for Stained Glass Windows in House of Lords (appointed in April/May 1845) for a window illustrating the reigns of Edward I, II, and III.⁸ They concluded that royal figures, particularly the Queens of England, would allow a colourful display of rich drapery and proposed that the subjects should be: the Royal Line of England, before the Union of the Crowns; the Royal Line of Scotland, before the Union of the Crowns; and the Royal Line of Great Britain.⁹ Eastlake recommended both this proposal and Ballantine & Allan's estimate of £2,400 to the Treasury on 5 July 1845. Accordingly, Ballantine & Allan were ordered to proceed with designing the windows with the proviso that they use Barry's design as a model.¹⁰ The architect had prevailed upon the Treasury that if he did not approve of the cartoons for the stained glass for the House of Lords presented by Ballantine & Allan these would be substituted by others drawn by an

artist of his own choosing, namely Pugin. As a precautionary and cost effective measure, it was written into Ballantine & Allan's contract that they would meet the cost both of their own cartoons and pay for any necessary substitutes at the rate of £84 each.¹¹ It was at this point that the Barry found the system of competitions favoured by the Commissioners' for the selection of decorative artists counterproductive: while it allowed the Commissioners to address their ignorance of the decorative arts, it threatened the architectural unity of the interior of the new Houses of Parliament.¹² Barry's disapproval of Ballantine & Allan's cartoons was his opportunity to shake off the interference of the Commissioners. Confident in the assistance of Pugin, Barry assumed control of the interior decoration and made the Commissioners redundant, as Eastlake reported to the Treasury -

'... the architect has undertaken, upon his own responsibility, the whole of the decorative work in reference to the several objects comprehended in the said notices, with the exception of stained glass; though even in this branch, the artist recommended by the Commission has been instructed by the architect to adopt his designs instead of following his own conceptions.

That the Commissioners, under these circumstances, have abstained from any further interference with the decorative works in question, and think it their duty to state to the Lords of Her Majesty's Treasury, that they do not hold themselves responsible for the taste, or for the expenditure, of the decorations already adopted, as, for instance, the decorations of the House of Lords now nearly completed: and that, unless otherwise requested by Her Majesty's Government, they do not propose to adopt any other course, in

reference to the decorations not yet commenced, of the description already referred to.'¹³

In the event, judging Ballantine & Allan to be the victims of internal conflict, Barry recommended that they should be compensated to the sum of £100.¹⁴

6:2 THE ROYAL FINE ARTS COMMISSION AND PICTORIAL GLASS PAINTING

The nomination of Hoadley, Ward & Nixon, Wilmshurst, and Warrington was, no doubt, in some measure due to their evident experience. *The Builder's* praise of their competition entries, with the exception of Warrington whose design was heraldic, confirms their pictorial tendencies. Edward Courbould's design for Hoadley, *Edward I entering Westminster having defeated the Welsh*, was '... a painter-like window of very great merit ...'; Hoadley's sample panel depicted a figure '... placed in an artistic manner, less stiffly than glassy pictures usually are...'; Ward & Nixon's sample panel was a '... figure with arms and helmet richly painted...'; Wilmshurst had a 'smooth' painting style; and Ballantine & Allan's sample panel was 'beautifully painted'.¹⁵ The same glass painters were among those noticed by the *Art Union* in 1840 under the heading *Modern Glass-Painting*. In their opinion Wilmshurst had '... distinguished himself by some very large works ...' and Nixon's figure painting was '... certainly second to none in England'.¹⁶ The Commissioners commendation of Hoadley may refer back to John Martin's evidence before the Select Committee on the Arts and Manufactures in 1835 discussed in Chapter One -

'Are the artists who pursue glass-painting now well educated in drawing?

No, the want of that knowledge has helped its decline; Mr. Hedgland, the architect, Mr. Hoadley and Oldfield, are, I believe, the principal glass painters remaining.'¹⁷

Commenting on the effect of the acceleration of the Gothic Revival upon the development of glass painting, Harrison observes that -

'The older, pictorial approach to stained glass, still prevalent in the exhibits at the Crystal Palace in 1851, had, under increasing pressure from the Ecclesiological Society and High Church architects such as Burges, Street and Butterfield, been all but killed off by the time of the International Exhibition held at south Kensington in 1862. In the period between these two Exhibitions, however, several 'pictorialists' had continued to find support.'¹⁸

The pictorialists Harrison has in mind were, namely, Charles Clutterbuck (1806-61), Wilmshurst and George Hedgeland (fl.c.1850-9). Would they and others have found still greater support if pictorial stained glass had filled the windows of the new Houses of Parliament? Would there have been more commissions of the scale and ambition of Dyce's window for the Duke of Northumberland at Saint Paul's Church, Alwick (*Saints Paul and Barnabas Preaching at Antioch*, 1856) or Hedgeland's west window for Norwich Cathedral (*Life of Moses and Transfiguration*, 1853)?

Oliphant's career demonstrates a frustration with pure archaeology and search for a 'modern' style, a compromise between the

philosophy of *true principles* and the artistic challenge of pictorialism. His ability to design convincingly in the style of the thirteenth century must not disguise the fact that when left to his own devices he drew heavily on Raphael and Durer. When this is taken into account, his collaboration with Wilmshurst does not seem so improbable. In the absence of primary sources, it is difficult to disentangle Oliphant's personal inclinations from those of his clients, but as Winston shrewdly and spitefully pointed out in 1856, Oliphant's professed adherence to *true principles* must have been motivated by commercialism as well as ideology and he was -

*'... bound to endorse the current opinions of "the friends of the movement" whose patronage he is now soliciting on his own account.'*¹⁹

Winston probably had in mind *The Ecclesiologist's* favourable review of Oliphant's *A Plea for Painted Glass* the year before. The imperious authority and power to destroy careers of the 'friends of the movement' is illustrated by the contrasting reviews Oliphant and Wilmshurst later received in *The Ecclesiologist* when they were working independently at Ely Cathedral in 1857. Oliphant made full use of his studies at Chartres Cathedral in the thirteenth century style design of the east window with the result that -

'... the window certainly ranks among the most successful reproductions of mosaic glass.'

The reviewer, however, moved on to remark -

'After all this commendation we are sorry to have to criticise the theatrical painted window of our Blessed Lord's Baptism, which has

unluckily been allowed to slip into the east window of S. Catherine's restored chapel. Mr. Wilmshurst, who executed it, has adopted the worst landscape style of thirty years back.'²⁰ [Image 52]

One of the firms Harrison identifies as moving in the mainstream of the High Anglican Gothic Revival was Clayton & Bell.²¹ John Richard Clayton (1827-1913) trained at the Royal Academy and, initially, was ambitious to become a sculptor. He would have been well aware of the progress of the decoration of the House of Lords as he executed models for the wood carvings. The letters he wrote to Wilson in pursuit of the commission to design and execute stained glass for Glasgow Cathedral are surprising in their content. His references to the windows he designed before going into partnership with Alfred Bell (b.1832) in 1855 suggest that mid-nineteenth century glass painters cannot be judged by their commercial products -

'I ... beg to remark that the practice of Glass painting in England as supported by a party in the church (sic) of England, whence my commissions have mostly been derived not having encouraged or even admitted other than archaeological display I consider that in the numerous works I have executed under the influence alluded to I have had so little opportunity of evidencing an art education /such as is very properly demanded in respect to your Cathedral glass/ that I cannot but feel a reluctance to draw your attention to works the style of which would be in opposition to your wishes in respect to the glass for which you would chose an artist....

I have had 7 or 8 years experience in the practice & archaeology of glass painting but from the circumstances referred to ... I have not until recently felt reconciled to the profession.'

Harrison suggests that Clayton & Bell's more inventive and less archaeological designs of c.1860 reflected Clayton's friendship with Dante Gabriel Rossetti (1828-82). Clayton himself offers the further explanation –

*'Lately however better things have appeared in prospect & even the party to which I have alluded are beginning slowly to accord more scope & a fairer ground to art in glass design than has hitherto been the case.'*²²

Perhaps the missed opportunity for the development of glass painting in England in the 1850s, as manifested in the occasional window by Oliphant, was the synthesis of *true principles* and academic figure drawing and composition. Clayton insisted that this was possible given the right encouragement -

*'As artists & practical students of the subject of Stained glass we are satisfied that [a] pictorial system of design in that art is absolutely fatal to the native characteristics of the true materials the effects of which are brilliant & jewel-like and as peculiar to the art as tone & chiaroscuro are to painting. Whilst we however avow these our [maintained conditions] we are not insensible that as yet art has not been wedded to Stained Glass in England, altho (sic) we cannot believe that this union is impossible or incompatible with the individual characteristics of the true principles of Glass design.'*²³

The *Recollections* (1864) of the Gothic Revival architect George Gilbert Scott also, somewhat surprisingly, reveal his disappointment with all the glass painters available to him. He regretted not having the time to investigate the subject of glass painting thoroughly

enough to have an influential opinion. Had he done so, as supplying stained glass for his churches launched Clayton & Bell, could he have been the father of a 'modern' school of British glass painting? He was against both archaeology and pictorialism. What he also wanted was the synthesis of *true principles* and academic figure drawing and composition. He complained that -

'It was vexatious enough that Clayton and Bell, from whom better things might have been hoped, who have produced fine work (as in St. Michael's, Cornhill) should, for the most part, deliberately follow in the wake of the incapables: but it is yet more so, when a society of painters of the highest class [the fledgling Morris, Marshall, Faulkner & Company], having been formed with the express intention of uniting high art with true principles, are found producing works yet still more strange than those of any of their predecessors.

*Let us hope against hope.'*²⁴

Scott considered the *Königliche Glasmalerieanstalt* of Munich to be the most able of the pictorial glass painters but was frustrated by Winston's argument that good art compensated for bad technical practice. Harrison identifies the 'emphatic' German or Nazarene influence upon British pictorial glass painting through the reaction against it, quoting the Gothic Revival architect George Edmund Street's (1824-81) essay *On Glass Painting* printed in the *Ecclesiologist* in 1852 -

'.... to attempt to turn the paintings of men like Hesse (Heinrich von Hesse, Professor at the Munich Academy) or Overbeck (Friedrich Overbeck, 1789-1859) or Steinle (Edward von Steinle, 1810-86) into

glass, is another and very different thing, and can never be successful ...'.²⁵

He does not, however have the opportunity to explore this beyond speculating –

'A possible reason why the work of ... the Nazarenes ... suggested itself as a useful starting point for the designs of the English stained glass men was that the simplified and basically linear nature of the engravings which became available lent itself quite readily to translation into the medium of stained glass.'²⁶

Although this is true (the importance of Julius Schnorr von Carolsfeld's *Die Bibel in Bildern* is discussed in Chapter Eight), the influence of the Nazarene painters upon British glass painting, arguably, began with the media attention given to the decoration of the new Houses of Parliament. Glass painters can be included in the broader group of British history painters whose attention, as William Vaughan explains, was drawn towards the Nazarenes by the controversial interest of Royal Fine Arts Commission in their employment on the decoration of public buildings in Munich, the rumour that Prince Albert had suggested that they also be employed on the decoration of the new Houses of Parliament, their leader Peter Cornelius' visit to London and biographical features and reviews of their work in the *Art Union*.²⁷

6:3 STATE PATRONAGE OF THE ARTS IN MUNICH

'... the decoration of public buildings, with a view to moral or religious purposes, has always been necessary for the formation of a school of historical painting.' (Professor Waagen)²⁸

In his evidence to the Select Committee on Arts and Manufactures in 1835, Professor Waagen, Director of the Prussian Royal Gallery, Berlin, argued that the development of a school of history painting was inextricably linked to the state patronage of didactic art on a monumental scale. The reason why England did not have a school of history painting comparable to that of Germany was because of the lack of opportunity for fresco painting and, therefore, he proposed that the Government offer up the walls of the new Houses of Parliament for experimentation.²⁹ The discussion of history painting as a vehicle of moral and aesthetic education was taken up by the Select Committee on the Fine Arts and the Royal Commission for the Fine Arts. They wanted the interior of the new Houses of Parliament to be both evidence and instrument of the moral character and taste of the British people. Witnesses were called before the Select Committee to describe the decoration of public buildings in Munich with monumental frescoes.

King Ludwig I of Bavaria invited Peter Cornelius (1783-1867) and Julius Schnorr von Carolsfeld (1794-1872) to Munich to establish a school of monumental history painting, the former being appointed Director of the Munich Academy in 1825.³⁰ Cornelius's experiments with fresco painting had begun in Rome c.1810 as a member of a community of German artists collectively known as the *Nazarenes*. In their search for the spiritual and didactic in art, they became latter-day students of Raphael. The monumental style Cornelius and

Schnorr developed in Munich, however, owed more to the works of the mature Raphael and Michaelangelo and, being both derived from and developed for fresco painting, it was essentially narrative. The Select Committee on the Fine Arts called one of their number, Thomas Wyse, a Member of Parliament who had spent some time in Munich, to give evidence as to the moral function of history painting within Bavarian society. He described how he had observed artisans proudly pointing out to their children the episodes from Bavarian history represented in Schnorr's frescoes in the royal *Residenz*.³¹

Although the Select Committee on the Fine Arts was primarily interested in King Ludwig's patronage of fresco painting, they were aware that he had also established a school of glass painting. They questioned Wyse and Dyce, then Director of the Government School of Design at Somerset House in London and who had been to Munich, about this. Wyse told them how King Ludwig had attempted to make the commissioning of stained glass windows fashionable by presenting a number to the Au Church, Munich (Saint Maria Hilf- see Chapter Seven) and prevailing upon the nobility to commission more either for this or other churches they were connected with.³² Both commented that what distinguished the *Königliche Glasmalereianstalt* was that their windows were designed by artists working under Cornelius at the Munich Academy and Dyce, who had seen one of the windows King Ludwig had commissioned for the Au Church in preparation, declared it' ... *quite perfect in style of design, in the colour, and in the whole effect.*'³³

None of this confirms that the Commissioners intended to fill the windows of the new Houses of Parliament with stained glass

designed and executed in Munich or in the Munich style. The rumour that the Government intended to employ German artists at Westminster, however, embraced the stained glass and explains Justice's (see Chapter Two) accusation against Ballantine & Allan –

'We shall now have foreign glass to decorate the new Houses instead of English; and I defy the commissioners to know but what is done on the premises ...'.³⁴

6:4 FRESCO PAINTING AND GLASS PAINTING

In both fresco and stained glass materials and technical processes limit aesthetic possibilities. As both have an essential relationship with architecture, they can be classified as decorative arts. Being the medium of some of the greatest works of Raphael and Michelangelo, however, the nineteenth century never doubted the fine art status of fresco. Indeed, as Dyce explained to the Select Committee, it was understood to test the painter's abilities more severely than any other medium –

'... in fresco a very close degree of imitation is impossible; hence the artist would be obliged to trust to higher qualities for applause, such as correct drawing, correct design, elevation of character, dramatic effect, and so on ...'.

As the designer of a stained glass window did not necessarily execute it, the status of glass painting, meanwhile, remained open to question.

Dyce was interested in both fresco and stained glass as new media suitable for his experiments with didactic art. He explained to the Select Committee how the discipline of fresco painting could set the standard for the other decorative arts –

*'I believe the encouragement of the highest kind of ornamental art would improve the lower kinds of arts of design for industry. We want, in fact, a middle class of Artists; we have only at present Artists of the highest sort, - those who paint pictures; and of the lowest, who make patterns of the worst description for manufactures; we want a middle class who have the knowledge of Artists and the skill of Ornamentists.'*³⁵

The most obvious connection between a fresco painting and stained glass window is that both begin with a cartoon and, consequently, outline drawing is dominant. As both are essentially translucent media, neither allows for chiaroscuro and, therefore, weak drawing and unbalanced composition cannot be disguised by painterly devices. Unlike oil painting, increase in scale does not necessarily imply decrease in artistic quality.

Cornelius and Wyse had discussed how it was the potential scale and inherent legibility of fresco painting which made it effective as a form of public art and vehicle of moral and aesthetic education. The artist had explained that -

'... it was a difficult thing to impress upon the mind of a nation at large a general love of art, unless you were to use as an instrument Painting upon a large scale, and fresco was particularly suited for this purpose; it was not to be expected that the lower classes of the community should have any just appreciation of the delicacies and

finer characteristics of painting in oil, and that they required large and simple forms, very direct action, and in some instances exaggerated expression.'³⁶

Eastlake delivered a report to the Commissioners entitled *Styles and Methods of Painting Suited to the Decoration of Public Buildings*.³⁷ He explained the relationship between legibility and viewing distance. Both the size of the painting itself and its height above the ground mathematically determined the viewing distance: one and a half times the longest dimension of the painting. If this was the vertical dimension, its height from the ground should be added to this. The legibility of a large and elevated fresco, and by association a stained glass window, was dependent upon '*... simplicity, magnitude, and distinctness ...*' achieved by the '*... harmonious relation of entire masses, and the grace of entire forms ...*' as demonstrated by the work of Raphael and Michelangelo.

The Commissioners made no statement as to the correlation between fresco painting and glass painting or that they wanted to promote a British school of glass painting alongside that of fresco painting. Their decision to decorate the new Houses of Parliament with frescoes, however, encouraged the promotion of glass painting as an equivalent art form. The audacious Ballantine, ambitious for the cream of the Westminster commission and having carefully scanned the Parliamentary Reports, included the following observation in the *Treatise on Glass Painting* he sent to Eastlake -

'The want of application of high art to glass painting is at this moment painfully apparent, exhibiting the British School, in so far as the pictorial branch is concerned, in a very humble position indeed It would therefore be well if historical painters would turn their

attention to this branch of art, a branch which presents an endless field for the exercise of the highest order of inventive genius When a knowledge of the leading principles of the art is generally diffused, and its importance fully appreciated, it is to be hoped that the historical painters of Britain will prove that windows, as well as walls, can be treated after a British manner, and in a way to excite the highest emotions.³⁸

6:5 GLASS PAINTING AS PUBLIC ART

Chapter Seven argues that the re-glazing of Glasgow Cathedral became the realisation of the Commissioners' thwarted initiative to find a style of glass painting appropriate to a great public building. Wilson was the link between the two projects, having been sent to the Continent by the Royal Fine Arts Commission in August 1842 to investigate the technique of fresco painting. His detailed report was published in 1843, by which time he had replaced Dyce as Director of the Government School of Design.³⁹ Wilson evidently paid attention to the stained glass windows in the buildings he visited, if only to gauge their effect upon the reading of the frescoes. In Munich, as well discussing the art of fresco painting, he thought it relevant to visit the *Königliche Glasmalereianstalt* and on his return he described what he had seen with unrestrained admiration to the Royal Scottish Society of Arts.⁴⁰ Fourteen years later, as Secretary to the Glasgow Cathedral Painted Windows Committee, Wilson commented –

'I think it is to be regretted that the Westminster Commission did not try to do something to bring the art of glass painting into a healthy

state, but I suppose that the difficulties were insurmountable, as my [friend] Sir Charles Eastlake says that they gave up.⁴¹

In 1847 Dyce began work on a series of frescoes depicting moral virtues for the Queen's Robing Room.⁴² Perhaps because of his evident interest in fresco painting and glass painting in Munich, while the Queen's Robing Room project was still ongoing (it was never completed), the Duke of Northumberland commissioned Dyce to design a new east window for Saint Paul's Church, Alnwick (installed 1856 – Image 53). This was executed by the *Königliche Glasmalereianstalt* and, being considered a success both in Britain and Germany, the collaboration earned Dyce the reputation of being the British artist most qualified to elevate glass painting to a fine art. Given Eastlake's approval both of this window and of Wilson's endeavours at Glasgow Cathedral, it is not unreasonable to suggest that, had the Commissioners been given enough time to explore the subject, windows similar in style and treatment would have been commissioned for the new Houses of Parliament.

Eastlake wrote to Wilson that, despite the number of British glass painters that had entered the Westminster competition, he had –

'... not yet seen a tolerable design from their "botteghe".'

But when an accomplished artist like Mr. Dyce undertakes the design ... the case is different.'

In the same letter he informed Wilson that the Nazarene painter Friedrich Overbeck (1789-1869) *'... expressed himself in great admiration of a design [for] a window by Mr Dyce, which he had seen not long before at Munich ...'*, namely the Alnwick window,

when the two met in Perugia.

Eastlake was generous in his encouragement of Wilson -

*'... you are doing a great good in the position in which you have been placed & I hope the importance of your service & influence will be appreciated. You have courage & perseverance in art & these are qualities as necessary as ability.'*⁴³

The contemporary correspondence of David Octavius Hill as Secretary of the Royal Scottish Academy records that the Glasgow Cathedral Painted Windows Committee judged it to be *'... the finest ... in England and one of the finest in the world ...'* and, for a while, they also considered a collaboration between Dyce and the *Königliche Glasmalereianstalt*.⁴⁴

The Alnwick window serves to illustrate how the lessons learnt from the study of monumental works by Raphael and Michelangelo, as identified by Eastlake, were applied to the design of a stained glass window. The works of Raphael most familiar to British artists were the cartoons for the tapestries depicting the lives of Saints Peter and Paul commissioned by Leo X (1513-21) for the Sistine Chapel in 1515 (Michelangelo finished painting the vault for Julius II in 1512). These had been in the possession of the Crown since they were purchased by Charles, Prince of Wales, later Charles I, in 1623 and had been on public display at Hampton Court Palace (except when George III removed them to Buckingham Palace) since the reign of William and Mary (they were removed to the South Kensington/Victoria & Albert Museum in 1865). Tapestry, like fresco and glass painting, is an essentially decorative art and the starting point of the technical process is a cartoon. Given that Dyce was

designing a window for a church dedicated to Saint Paul, it was appropriate to the commission in itself, over and above the demonstration of 'taste', to quote from the tapestry cartoons.

Sharon Fermor has written a carefully considered account of the tapestry cartoons in which she identifies a narrative method which relates to Eastlake's identification of the relationship between '*... simplicity, magnitude, and distinctness ...*' and '*... harmonious relation of entire masses, and the grace of entire forms...*'. She explains that –

*'Raphael conceived space, not as an object of artistic virtuosity, but as a neutral entity within which figures move or gesticulate, or across which they meet or interact.'*⁴⁵

The space in which the action takes place is shallow and the figures are of equal size irrespective of their position within that space. Space unfolds behind the action, viewed through a window or window-like opening. The Alnwick window owes much to Raphael's *The Death of Ananias*. [Images 53 and 54] In both the composition is reduced to the balancing of independent groups and self-contained figures. The outline of each figure is made more distinct by being assigned a local colour. Blocks of colour are made yet more distinct by juxtaposition of complementaries: the apostles are dressed in yellow and blue or red and green. Colour counterpoint establishes visual links between one group and another. In turn, figures are linked by foreshortening. Acutely foreshortened figures lead the eye into a pyramidal composition with the faces of the apostles at the apex. Raphael and Dyce give each figure a distinct gesture and facial expression indicating action, intention or emotion. Figures are also linked, and the force of the narrative

amplified, by the rhythm of aligned heads and repeated gestures. They gesture away from their bodies and the eye travels from one hand to another. [Images 55-7]

How Dyce's window compares to those designed by the *Königliche Glasmalereianstalt* for Glasgow Cathedral and Ballantine & Allan/Son's later work is dealt with in the following chapters. The only evidence as to what the stained glass windows at the New Houses of Parliament might have been is Ballantine & Allan's proposal for the twelve windows in the House of Lords which they submitted, unsolicited, along with their competition entry.⁴⁶ [Image 58]

Given that they are not known to have designed and executed any figurative stained glass up to this point, their proposal to represent the kings, queens and other players associated with significant periods in the history of Britain, ninety-six figures in all, was highly ambitious. As M.H. Port has already pointed out, it was also a ridiculous parody of history painting which must have invited the laughter of the Commissioners.⁴⁷ What Ballantine & Allan's proposal does demonstrate, however, is the British glass painter's need at this time for model examples to follow. Their figures have a theatricality borrowed neither from history painting nor mediaeval glass painting. Pugin and Oliphant used C.A. Stodhard's *Monumental Effigies of Great Britain* (1817) and Henry Shaw's *Dresses and Decorations of the Middle Ages* (1843) as sources for the final designs and Ballantine probably did the same.⁴⁸

The small scale of Ballantine & Allan's sketches which form part of the proposal makes it difficult to analyse the figure drawing. Ballantine's demonstrations in his *Treatise* of how to 'correct'

mediaeval drawing, however, are probably a close approximation. Ballantine took two illustrations of mediaeval stained glass, complete with lead lines, from the antiquarian William Fowler's *Engravings of Principal Mosaic Pavements* (1804) and transformed them into mannered actors of the Regency stage. [Image 59]

Chapter Eight demonstrates how Ballantine & Allan/Son's design capability developed once they had the model of the German windows at Glasgow Cathedral to follow supported by the availability of such published sources as Schnorr's *Die Bibel in Bildern*.

¹ Report from the Select Committee on Fine Arts, (1841), p. iii.

² See Harrison, M., Op. cit., pp.19 and 26-9.

³ Baylis, S., *Glass Painting in Britain c.1740-c.1840: a revolution in taste*, (University Cambridge, unpublished Ph.D. thesis), p.289.

⁴ Appendix No.14, Second Report of the Commissioners on the Fine Arts, (1843), p.69.

⁵ The Builder, No. 66, (11 May 1844), p.235 and Appendix No.7, Third Report of the Commissioners on the Fine Arts, (1844), p.19.

⁶ Architect's Report as to Internal Decorations, Additions to Building, and Local Improvements, Appendix No.1, Second Report of the Commissioners on the Fine Arts, (1843), p.9- As the fittings for the accommodation required for the business of the house, together with the windows, which are necessary for duly lighting it, leave little space of plain wall, paintings cannot, with good effect, form any part of its decoration.

⁷ Report of Committee respecting selection of persons whose effigies might be placed in the niches in the House of Lords, Appendix No.2, Fourth Report of the Commissioners on the Fine Arts (1845), p.10.

⁸ Appendix No.1, Report of the Committee on Subjects for Stained Glass Windows in House of Lords, (5 May 1845), Fifth Report of the Commissioners on the Fine Arts, (1846), pp.9-10.

⁹ Report of the Committee on Subjects for Stained Glass Windows in House of Lords, (May 5 1845), Appendix No.1, Fifth Report of the Commissioners on the Fine Arts, (1846), pp.9-10.

¹⁰ PRO: Work 11/9/4/5. Eastlake to the Secretary of the Treasury.

¹¹ PRO: Work 11/7/12. Royal Fine Arts Commission to the Treasury, 11 November 1851.

¹² The Houses of Parliament, Port, M.H. (ed.), (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1976), p.246.

¹³ Appendix No.2, Sixth Report of the Commissioners on the Fine Arts (1846), p.9 and Appendix No.8, Seventh Report of the Commissioners on the Fine Arts, (1847), p.21.

- ¹⁴ PRO: Work 11/9/4/1. Barry to Milne, 8 June 1846 and Work 11/7/12. Barry to Cole, 10 July 1851.
- ¹⁵ The Builder, No. 66, (11 May 1844), p.236.
- ¹⁶ Modern Glass Painting, Art Union, Vol. II, (15 December 1840), p.187.
- ¹⁷ Report of the Select Committee on the Arts and the Connexion with Manufactures, (1835), p.66.
- ¹⁸ Harrison, M., Op. cit., p.35.
- ¹⁹ Winston, C., The Style of Modern Glass, The Builder, Vol. XIV (15 March, 1856), p.150.
- ²⁰ Church Restorations - Ely Cathedral, Ecclesiologist, n.s. Vol. XV or Vol. XVIII (1857), pp.196-7.
- ²¹ Harrison, M., Op. cit., p.35.
- ²² GUL: MS Euing 36, p.146. Clayton to Wilson, 25 November 1856.
- ²³ Ibidem: p.147. Clayton to Orr, 24 November 1857.
- ²⁴ Scott, G.G., Personal and Professional Recollections, ed. Stamp, G., (Stamford: Paul Watkins, 1995 - facsimile) pp. 217 and 222-4.
- ²⁵ Street, G.E., On Glass Painting, Ecclesiologist (1852), pp. 237-47.
- ²⁶ Harrison, Op. cit., p.35.
- ²⁷ Vaughan, W., German Romanticism and English Art, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1979), p.22. In the mid 1840s the Art Union ran the series Living Artists in Europe which featured Overbeck (1 January 1844), Cornelius (1 March 1844) and William Kaulbach (1 November 1845).
- ²⁸ The General Object of the Commission Considered in Relation to the State and Prospects of the English School of Painting, Appendix No.2, Report of the Select Committee on Arts and Manufactures, (1835), p.9.
- ²⁹ Ibidem.
- ³⁰ See Vaughan, W., Op. cit., and Andrews, K., The Nazarenes: a Brotherhood of German Painters in Rome, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964).
- ³¹ Evidence of Thomas Wyse, Report from the Select Committee on the Fine Arts, (1841), pp.vi and vii.
- ³² Report from the Select Committee on Fine Arts, (1841), pp.vii-viii.
- ³³ Evidence given by William Dyce, (28 May 1841), Report of the Select Committee on the Fine Arts, (1841), p.32.
- ³⁴ The Builder, Vol. III, (13 September 1845), p.345.
- ³⁵ Report from the Select Committee on Fine Arts, (1841), pp.28-9 and 31.
- ³⁶ Report from the Select Committee on the Fine Arts, (1841) pp.vi-vii. Cornelius first experimented with fresco painting in Rome (1811-19) before returning to decorate public buildings in Munich (1819-40).
- ³⁷ Styles and Methods of Painting Suited to the Decoration of Public Buildings, Appendix No.2, Fifth Report of the Commissioners on the Fine Arts (1846), pp.11-25.
- ³⁸ Ballantine, J., Treatise, p.48.
- ³⁹ Second Report of the Royal Commission on the Fine Arts, (1843), Appendix No.3. 1842 toured Italy and Germany
- ⁴⁰ An abridged version of this lecture was published as Decorative Art in Germany, Art Union Vol V, (1 December 1843), pp.304-7.
- ⁴¹ NLS: MS 4955 F.139. Wilson to Colonel Caldwell, 6 August 1857.
- ⁴² Pointon, M., Op. cit., p.106.
- ⁴³ GUL: MS Euing 36, pp.39-40. Eastlake to Wilson, 1 June 1857.
- ⁴⁴ RSA: Hill to Sir William Gibson Craig, October, 1857.
- ⁴⁵ Fermour, S., The Raphael Tapestry Cartoons (London: Scala Books/V & A Museum, 1996), p.76.
- ⁴⁶ HLRO: 176.
- ⁴⁷ Port, M.H., Op. cit., p.247.
- ⁴⁸ HLRO: 131. These sources are identified on the sketch designs.

7. THE REGLAZING OF GLASGOW CATHEDRAL: A GRAND REVOLUTION

'... glass-painting has been more effectively raised from the mire, and set alongside of and on an equality with the sister arts, by what has been done at Glasgow, than by anything else that I have yet seen in Europe.' (Charles Winston)¹

Discussion of the mid-nineteenth century re-glazing of Glasgow Cathedral by Michael Donnelly and Elgin Vaassen has focused on the unpatriotic choice of a foreign establishment to design and execute stained glass for a Scottish national monument and the controversial technical practice of the *Königliche Glasmalereianstalt*.² At the time, attention was drawn to these issues by the polemics of James Ballantine and the preaching of Charles Winston. This chapter attempts to broaden the discussion of the re-glazing by re-examining these issues within the wider context of the encouragement of glass painting as public art. The re-glazing of Glasgow Cathedral is compared to that of Ely, Lincoln and Norwich Cathedrals in order to assess the quality of vision driving it more accurately. Chapter Six drew attention to the promotion of history painting as appropriate decoration for public buildings, in particular the new Houses of Parliament. Charles Heath Wilson, as Secretary to the Glasgow Cathedral Painted Windows Committee was the person through whom this initiative was transferred to Glasgow. The criteria of effective public art identified by Charles Locke Eastlake were at all times kept in view. Presbyterian ideology was put to one side and figurative stained glass was validated as a vehicle of moral and aesthetic education so that the Cathedral could take on the additional function of an art gallery.

7:1 CHRONOLOGY

On 26 August 1856 the Subscribers to the re-glazing convened for the first time and, following an address by Sir Andrew Orr, Lord Provost of Glasgow, elected the Glasgow Cathedral Painted Windows Committee. In order to secure a window scheme coherent both in subject and design which, accordingly, would 'harmonize' with the 'purity and dignity' of the thirteenth century architecture, they uniformly agreed to be guided by it.³ The members of the Committee, particularly Wilson as Secretary, took their responsibilities very seriously and set about researching both mediaeval and contemporary glass painting. Initially, the Committee considered the viability of employing British glass painters to design and execute the new windows under the direction of a single eminent British artist. Wilson wrote to every British glass painter of note asking them to name the windows that they considered best represented their abilities. The primary candidates were the glass painter Francis Wilson Oliphant and the artist William Dyce.⁴ Oliphant belonged to the emerging generation of British glass painters identified by Wilson as '*... educated as artists, and having considerable, although not mature, powers.*'⁵ Wilson and Dyce corresponded at length during May 1856 only to conclude that the cost of employing the latter as artist-director would be unjustifiably high. This was a trump card Wilson later played to secure the employment of the *Königliche Glasmalereianstalt*: they employed eminent artists as designers as a matter of course and so at no extra cost.

Wilson persuaded Winston to speak to the other members of the Committee directly. At a meeting held on 17 September, after demonstrating the difference between antique and modern pot

metal glasses, he raised the critical issue of the artistic failings of the archaeological school of glass painting and recommended them to 'go abroad' for 'fine works of art'. Wilson inspected the work of the glass painters which had been recommended to him, touring around England and visiting churches and cathedrals in, amongst other places, Leeds, Lincoln, Oxford, Cambridge, Ely, Norwich, London and Liverpool.⁶ When, however, he reported his observations to the Committee on 7 April, 1857 he found himself unable to recommend a single British glass painter.

Subsequently, the Committee found themselves in a dilemma: while having set their sights upon a coherent scheme and being convinced that the only way to secure this was to forbid the Subscribers any choice of subject or design, they had no British glass painter to recommend. Moreover, the choice was limited to those able to cope with such a large commission. The leading voices on the Committee, namely Orr, Wilson, William Stirling of Keir and the 11th Duke of Hamilton, believing that there was no other alternative, finally recommended the controversial employment of the *Königliche Glasmalereianstalt* of Munich in a report circulated to the Subscribers on 1 June prior to a general meeting held on 5 June 1857. As described in Chapter Two, the Government supported the Committee's recommendation by agreeing to commission the east window, their contribution to the re-glazing, from the *Königliche Glasmalereianstalt* and dissenting voices among the Subscribers were successfully silenced. To guarantee coherence of design, on 1 October 1858 the Committee appointed a sub-committee of four, supported by Wilson as Secretary, to approve and sign designs and transact general business.

From this point on Wilson entered into a lengthy and highly detailed

correspondence with the Technical Director of the *Königliche Glasmalereianstalt*, Maximilian Ainmiller. Aware of national discrepancies in the details of mediaeval architecture and, by extension, glass painting, Wilson sent Ainmiller lengthy guidance notes and tracings of English thirteenth century glass painting prepared by Winston. Understandably enough, the German designers were not prepared to become students of Early English architectural detail. Whereas Wilson, with Winston's sanction, was prepared to compromise on this, he challenged any disappointing weakness in the figurative scenes. Eventually, by June 1861 Wilson was familiar enough with the comparative strengths and weaknesses of different designs to make specific requests.

The completed west window was unveiled in November 1859 and this was followed by the Hamilton window on 19/20 April 1860. The re-glazing proceeded steadily until, in February 1861, the Government demanded a reversal of the Committee's decision to employ the *Königliche Glasmalereianstalt* only, possibly to try and appease national opposition. Consequently, the design and execution of the windows in the Sacristy and Lower Church was open to British glass painters. Wilson, however, maintained control and all potential candidates were issued with detailed printed specifications.

7.2 THE NINETEENTH CENTURY RE-GLAZING OF THIRTEENTH CENTURY CATHEDRALS

The Glasgow Cathedral Painted Windows Committee anticipated criticism from both archaeological purists and academic artists so that, when he addressed the Subscribers on 26 August 1856, Orr

warned that – ‘*The eyes of the artists and archaeologists of Great Britain are turned upon us.*’ During the research for the re-glazing of Glasgow Cathedral, Wilson decided that compromise between art and archaeology yielded mediocre results and, while never losing sight of true principles, sacrificed archaeology to art.

The cathedrals of Ely, Lincoln and Glasgow are all, to a greater or lesser degree, thirteenth century structures but the vision driving the re-glazing of each was different. Comparison would afford an insight into the various mid-nineteenth century attitudes to mediaeval architecture and glass painting. The stories behind the re-glazing of Ely and Lincoln Cathedrals, however, are waiting to be told and, given the amount of material to be worked through for Glasgow Cathedral alone, they are merely outlined here.

WINSTON AND A MODERN SCHOOL OF GLASS PAINTING

To a certain extent, the re-glazing of Glasgow Cathedral can be understood as a conspiracy between Wilson and Winston. Their correspondence opened on 21 March 1856, five months before the election of the Committee. Seemingly the two had met sometime before 1856 but their acquaintance had lapsed. Winston was delighted that a high profile art historian was taking a serious interest in stained glass and, furthermore, seeking his advice. He acted as Wilson's voluntary advisor throughout the project, his last letter being dated 15 January 1864.

Winston's interest in the archaeology of mediaeval stained glass did not impinge on his *taste* and appreciation of academic art. Although Winston had studied the archaeology of mediaeval glass more closely than anyone else at that time he believed that those

who insisted ecclesiastical stained glass be strictly archaeological were guilty of preventing the artistic development of the medium. Neither archaeology nor the expression of religious sentiment required regression to the conventional figure drawing and composition characteristic of mediaeval glass painting. Moreover, copying a medieval model disguised the glass painter's inability to draw and compose the human figure correctly. Only when glass painting was required to conform to the criteria of academic figure drawing and composition could development take place.

If the concluding essay of Winston's *Inquiry*, entitled *On the Selection of a Style*, is read alongside Wilson's lecture *Observations on some of the Decorative Arts in Germany and France, and on the Causes of the Superiority of these, as contrasted with the same Arts in Great Britain. With Suggestions for the Improvement of Decorative Art* it is clear that they shared the same vision of the development of glass painting in Britain. Their dialogue focused upon -

- The potential of glass painting to become a form of history painting.
- The conviction that the development of glass painting was dependent upon artists being employed as designers and that professional glaziers and draughtsmen should only be allowed to design pattern work.
- The merits of the work of the *Königliche Glasmalereianstalt*.
- The identification of and respect for the *true principles* of glass painting.⁷

On 9 February, 1856 Winston published the second and final part of an essay entitled *On the Application of Painted Glass in*

Architecture.⁸ It is an interesting coincidence that this was the day Wilson wrote to Orr outlining his proposals for how the re-glazing of Glasgow Cathedral should proceed. These re-iterate Winston's article in the proposal of a synthesis of *true principles* and academic figure drawing and composition, and the identification of the Munich School of glass painting as setting the artistic but not the technical standard -

*'... instead of giving us a series of Windows made up of indifferent imitations of the art of other times, our subscribers will employ eminent artists to make the designs of the historic portions of the Windows, as has been done in the Au Church at Munich, and lately in the Cathedral at Cologne The Art must in every respect be in harmony with the true conditions of Glass Painting; but let its forms be beautiful and true. Let us have no ghastly, staring, distorted prophets and apostles, exciting the ridicule of the thoughtless, and the regret of the seriously disposed.'*⁹

LINCOLN CATHEDRAL

Lincoln Cathedral is, arguably, the finest of all the cathedrals built in the Early English style. Peter Binnall, a former Subdean, has written a very useful account of the nineteenth century stained glass found in the cathedral but does not explore the issues behind the re-glazing.¹⁰ Winston's active involvement, however, ensured that the new windows were typically thirteenth century in every respect other than the figure drawing and, justifiably, he recommended that Wilson use them as a model. Wilson, however, went his own way and, eventually Winston humbly conceded that the re-glazing of Glasgow Cathedral was artistically the more successful -

'In designing windows for mediaeval churches there are but two courses which experience shows are available – either to adopt modern art (and this is the wise course when figures are required), or else to adopt mediaeval art; and I am persuaded that this is only good advice when the donors of the windows will be content with pattern work.

*There is no third course, as I once supposed and advocated ... of getting a modification of mediaevalism by good artists. You entirely convinced me of my error. The Glasgow windows, and also the Alnwick window (by Dyce), are sufficient proofs that I was wrong and you were right.'*¹¹

Had Wilson not had such a powerful vision of his own, however, Glasgow Cathedral might have been filled with windows similar to those of Lincoln Cathedral.

In 1848, Winston gave a lecture on the mediaeval stained glass surviving at Lincoln Cathedral to the local members of the Archaeological Institute which concluded with a brief for the type of stained glass he considered suitable for filling the empty windows.¹² Among the nineteenth century glass painters subsequently employed at Lincoln Cathedral were those closely associated with Winston, namely Ward & Hughes and George Hedgeland, and, seemingly, they worked to Winston's brief. Ward & Hughes' new east window was installed in 1855 and depicts the *Creation and Redemption of Man*. The cost was £1,500 raised by public subscription and both the design and execution were directed by Winston. When Oliphant was consulted by Wilson as to glass painters who might be employed at Glasgow Cathedral, he replied –

*'The only important omissions in your list of glass painters are the names of Willement and Ward Ward of Frith st or Greek st who inherited his business from his uncle. they do a good deal of glass thro Winston which is a character in its way.'*¹³

In the event, when those wishing to commission new windows for the Sacristy of Glasgow Cathedral sought Wilson's advice as to which glass painter they should approach, he recommended Ward & Hughes.¹⁴ The Sacristy windows have much in common with the twelve windows in the north nave aisle of Lincoln Cathedral installed between c.1862-73 and another in the north choir aisle installed after 1859. Hedgeland designed and executed a quantity of stained glass for the south east transept of Lincoln Cathedral which was installed in 1854: nine pairs of Old Testament figures in the clerestory, six scenes from the *Life of Christ* in the triforium and the *Lives of Saints Peter and Paul* in the lancets. [Image 60] He also designed and executed a window in the south nave aisle depicting the *Life of David* which was installed before 1861.¹⁵

Winston promoted the thirteenth century medallion style of window composition because, firstly, it allowed the small scale introduction of figurative scenes and, therefore, the balancing of mediaeval ornament with academic figure drawing and composition, and, secondly, the relatively small size of the pieces of glass and the density of the ornament allowed for maximum richness of colour. He developed a convenient argument to justify the academic revision of mediaeval drawing -

'All antiquaries are agreed that the style of art of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries had a Byzantine origin; that it is derived

immediately from the Greek, and but mediately from the Roman art.... The strongest resemblance is between the archaic Greek and the Early English. In the draperies we constantly recognise the pipe fold, the figure showing its form beneath the clothes, the folds originating in the limbs, not going across them, as in fourteenth-century work; and then again in the ornamental details, in the foliage, there is the Greek handling as plain as can be.'¹⁶

Winston's admiration for the combined artistic and archaeological integrity of Hedgeland's windows for Lincoln Cathedral led him to recommend him to Wilson -

'It is only necessary to see his designs to perceive the enormous superiority of an artist over the herd of glass-wrights. His figures are intelligible, and many of them beautiful - Greek in character, but strictly in accordance with the ornament, which is first-rate thirteenth-century work. I do not mean to say that these windows are perfect models, but only that they are so enormously in advance of everything else (my poor windows are beaten hollow), that I should be most dishonest if I did not declare my conviction that Hedgeland is your man ...'

The figure drawing in these windows is particularly fine but, like Oliphant's, owes more to Raphael and the Parthenon frieze than archaic Greek sculpture. Each scene is set within a narrow plane and demonstrates mastery of different poses and arrangement of drapery. Although the small scale of the figures perfectly accords with tradition, Wilson probably found the lack of legibility across space problematic. The strong colour, however, does harmonise with the strength of the architecture.

Winston was party to the deliberations of the Dean and Chapter on account of his supervision of the restoration of the mediaeval Dean's Eye, the rose window in the north transept.¹⁷ Knowing that Wilson wanted the re-glazing of Glasgow Cathedral to form a narrative sequence, Winston kept him informed as to the progress of the similar project at Lincoln Cathedral –

*'The Dean and Chapter of Lincoln, after much deliberation, the other day adopted a design setting forth the scheme of human redemption, of which I enclose a diagram.'*¹⁸

Seemingly, however, they failed to achieve the desired harmony through coherence of subject as Bishop Trollope complained in 1867 that –

*'... beyond an attempt to delineate the life of Our Lord in the East window, and the persons of some of the apostles in the clerestory, all is confusion.'*¹⁹

NORWICH CATHEDRAL

Winston had previously recommended Hedgeland to the Dean and Chapter of Norwich Cathedral when they were deliberating as to whom to entrust the design and execution of a new west window. Comparison between Hedgeland's windows for Lincoln and Norwich Cathedrals demonstrates the weakness of the marriage of fine art and archaeology, the *third course*, Winston was trying to achieve at the former. The Norwich window, a fine example of Winston's *first course*, is far more successful as a work of public art in that the scale of the figures and the clarity of the composition make it legible along the entire length of the nave. [Image 61]

As at Glasgow Cathedral, decisions as to style and subject of Norwich Cathedral were made by a *committee of taste* who looked to the works of Raphael and contemporary German art as models. This vast window depicts three scenes each from the lives of Christ and Moses and Winston believed it to be -

*'... the only English window, in point of art, which will bear a comparison with the Munich windows - I mean in point of drawing and artistic execution.'*²⁰

ELY CATHEDRAL

'But as to Victorian glass Ely is a mine inexhaustible for those few who for the sake of historical completeness or a somewhat morbid aesthetic curiosity wish to study it.' (Nikolaus Pevsner)²¹

Dean Peacock (Dean from 1839-58) initiated the restoration of the cathedral in 1843 and from 1847 this proceeded under the guidance of the architect George Gilbert Scott. The replacement of the stained glass lost during the Reformation was the preoccupation of Canon Edward Bowyer Sparke, son of the former Bishop.²² He encouraged the donation of windows by commissioning a number himself. Peter Moore has written a description of the stained glass to be found in the cathedral but his prejudice against Victorian stained glass is such that he has never thought to ask the important questions. He lists sixty-one new windows but quotes the then Clerk of Works, J.W. Bacon, as saying that eighty-six new windows were commissioned at a cost of over £10, 000.²³ Wilson's attention was drawn to the re-glazing of Ely Cathedral because his former colleague, Dyce, designed one of

the new windows, the so-called *Choristers' Window* in the north aisle of the nave. [Image 48]

Wilson must have identified closely with Sparke who, as Bacon testified, subjected himself to an -

'... excessive amount of labor (sic) and anxiety in the treatment of the numerous subjects, and the arrangements of divers colors (sic) of many hues demanding an extensive knowledge of Biblical History, the Manners and Customs of the Ancient of many Nations, and the peculiar features of Tribes now scattered over the face of the Earth ...'

Although narrative sequence was important to both, they had a very different vision as to how the windows should function within the space. Ely Cathedral is predominantly a Romanesque structure erected between 1083 and 1189. An Early English choir was erected between 1239 and 1259 and the wooden lantern constructed after its Norman predecessor collapsed in 1322. Canon Sparke attempted to introduce stained glass predominantly thirteenth century in style and, inspired by the purity of the French *vitrail archéologique*, went as far, as mentioned in Chapter One, as employing the celebrated Géroente brothers and Lusson. It was Oliphant's work at Ely Cathedral, both the execution of the *Choristers' Window* and the design of the east window, which recommended him to Wilson. [Images 39] Although, as described in Chapter Five (p.209), Oliphant drew on his studies of the thirteenth century stained glass at Chartres Cathedral for the design of the east window (completed 1857) but, also, worked *'... under the constant superintendence of Canon Sparke ...'* who commissioned it using funds from his deceased father's estate).²⁴

A comparison between the east windows of Ely and Lincoln would clarify Winston's ideas. Winston probably contributed to Oliphant's failure to secure the Glasgow Cathedral commission which, had he known, might have given the latter cause to regret publicly trading insults with the former through *The Builder*.²⁵

7:3 THE CATHEDRAL AS ART GALLERY: WHY THE KÖNIGLICHE GLASMALEREIANSTALT ?

'... before we can hope to meet our neighbours without disadvantage we must employ the painter and the sculptor to complete the edifices which are raised by the skill of our architects, call in the aid of the Fine Arts in commemorating the glories of our country and unite the labours of the artist with those of the historian.' (Wilson)²⁶

Wilson wanted to transform Glasgow Cathedral into a public work of art and the concept of the *historia* (see Chapter Five), and religious history as the supreme subject for the *historia*, is essential to understanding why he considered the *Königliche Glasmalereianstalt* best qualified to realise his plans. He wrote to the sculptor Baron Marochetti in 1857 -

'I feel that if I stood absolutely alone and unaided I would make any sacrifice rather than abandon our great scheme of Bible illustration and instruction for the people: I cannot give up even for an instant my hope of establishing in Scotland a first monument of Religious art, of bringing art back to its high employment, of bringing the minds of the people back to true thoughts of the employment of art.'

It would be to throw away the hopes of years.' ²⁷

Both Wilson and Winston were preoccupied with the question of, as they expressed it, the 'divorce' of the fine and the decorative arts in the nineteenth century. Only when fine artists considered glass painting worthy of their attention could development take place. Their condemnation of British glass painters as mere technicians with little or no understanding of art, understandably, outraged those under attack –

'... It requires however far greater knowledge to produce a work of art, than is possessed by a mere draughtsman, however rapid or expeditious he may be in his execution. If therefore we are anxious to cultivate glass painting as an art, we must encourage artists to practise it, by ceasing to countenance those mere artisans who at present make it their trade, and confine it to the lowest depth of degradation.' ²⁸

Both blamed the faltering of the stained glass revival in Britain on a lack of suitable patronage and looked to the Government to raise the status of glass painting, as it was currently doing with fresco painting, through state commissions.²⁹ Winston pointed to the *Königliche Glasmalereianstalt*, founded by King Ludwig I of Bavaria in 1827 as a department of the Royal Porcelain Manufactory, as a model of what a modern school of glass painting should be -

'At Munich, glass-painting has for years past been carried on as a fine art, by some of the greatest artists in Germany in point of real art, there are no modern glass-paintings in the world to compare with theirs for one moment.' ³⁰

While in Munich in the early 1840s investigating the technical process of fresco painting, Wilson himself thought *Königliche Glasmalereianstalt* worthy of a visit -

'There is a school of glass-painting at Munich, fostered by the King with the utmost care. Professor Hess [Heinrich von Hess], one of the most distinguished of the Bavarian artists, is inspector, and under him there is another accomplished artist, who makes the principal designs and directs the works.

We have here the secret of the superiority of our neighbours in this ...'. ³¹

The other artist Wilson referred to was Professor Maximilian Ainmiller and, along with Hess, the other professors and artists at the Royal Bavarian Academy who designed windows for Glasgow Cathedral were Professor Moritz von Schwind, Professor Johann von Schraudolph, Professor Engelbert Siebertz, Franz Fries, Alexander Strähuber, George Fortner, Heinrich Ainmiller and Claudius Schraudolph.

The Au Church Wilson referred to so often was a new church in Munich where, in the 1830s, the window and walls had been transformed into a single and immensely powerful work of art. As a stimulus to his fledgling glass painting enterprise, King Ludwig I had commissioned nineteen windows and prevailed upon the Bavarian aristocracy to commission the remainder.³² In Wilson's eyes, the Au Church was the perfect model for what he wanted to achieve at Glasgow Cathedral. A later example of the king's patronage was the commissioning of five windows for Cologne Cathedral

(completed 1848).³³

7:4 UNITY OF ARCHITECTURAL EFFECT

The Glasgow Cathedral Painted Windows Committee was acutely aware that the absence of existing stained glass presented them with an unprecedented opportunity to conceive an ideal window scheme. Wilson judged the new window schemes for Ely and Lincoln Cathedrals to be failures on account of their lack of coherence, as he explained to Ainmiller –

*'Members of the Committee who have inspected various churches in England containing modern painted windows have been much impressed by the discordance produced by the glass painters total forgetfulness of unity of Architectural effect in the windows which they have erected, which are of the most varied design and colour: designed wholly irrespectively of each other, and in antagonism to the unity of the Architecture, so that these churches have a resemblance to picture galleries in which art of various descriptions and style are brought together.'*³⁴

Consequently, Wilson and the Committee insisted upon coherence of style and composition and it was this that made the re-glazing of Glasgow Cathedral unique.

Wilson found more unity than variety in the planning of a thirteenth century cathedral and he wanted the design of the new windows to be equally disciplined. Again and again, he found it necessary to explain himself to Ainmiller –

'Our conditions are so simple and easy of execution that I am quite at a loss to understand why they are not adhered to.'

1st. That in all the aisle windows the Figure subjects should be kept on a level line equally distant from the bottom of the windows.

2nd. That the general spacing of the ornaments & figures should harmonize so as to preserve a general unity of architectural effect in the windows.

3rd. That the proportions of the Figures should be regulated by a common scale, in windows of similar or nearly similar proportions.' ³⁵

The plain strength of the architecture was also to be reflected in the style and colour of the new windows: Wilson sought but failed to achieve a 'severe abstract treatment' and 'force of colour' (he was prepared to compromise on force of colour in areas of the building where visibility was an issue).³⁶ His ideas were probably formed from reading Winston who wrote with reference to harmonising the new with the old at Lincoln Cathedral -

'... the colouring which best accords with the sombre character of Gothic architecture is of a cold tone, and that tints the most solid and intense harmonize best with the darkness of an Early English interior...'

The principle that regulates the colouring of an Early English window, by which all nice and prettily graduated tints are excluded, and distinct uniform and forcible colours only are used, is of itself, by reason of its simplicity, an element of grandeur, which ought to be adopted in a work that aims at solemnity of effect.'

And -

*'... severity of style, - that is, the simplicity which suggests no defect, as in Greek art, - is not only attainable in a glass-painting, but seems most in accordance with the principles of the art.'*³⁷

Wilson's insistence upon 'unity of architectural effect' was related to his pre-occupation with the development of glass painting as a form of public art. When considering which glass painter to employ at Glasgow Cathedral, he wrote to Charles Locke Eastlake inquiring how the Royal Fine Arts Commission had addressed the same problem for the new Houses of Parliament.³⁸ Eastlake's criteria for effective public art, 'simplicity, magnitude and distinctness', underpinned Wilson's vision for the re-glazing. He understood stained glass to be, like fresco, a potentially architectonic medium that should enter into a dialogue with its architectural setting. Legibility across space was of paramount importance. Ironically, Wilson found it necessary to instruct Ainmiller in the mechanism of German public art. The German/Nazarene monumental style was essentially narrative. Clarity of composition was achieved through outline drawing, dramatic figure groupings and exaggerated gestures.

Lessons learnt from fresco painting were most apparent in the windows over which Wilson exercised the tightest control, particularly those in the north transept. The most illustrious Subscriber and Committee member was the eleventh Duke of Hamilton and it was probably not insignificant to the decision to employ the *Königliche Glasmalereianstalt* that he was married to Princess Marie of Baden. With the backing of so commanding, cultivated and wealthy a patron, Wilson saw the north transept as the one area of the Cathedral where he could be sure of achieving the effect he wanted. So important to the successful completion of the re-glazing

was the support of the Duke of Hamilton, he set about securing designs by the most eminent of the Munich academicians, Professor von Hess. Wilson was delighted with the result and wrote to Hess that -

*The window executed from your design we believe to be not only the finest modern window in existence but the noblest work of art in glass which has been executed since the time of the great masters ...*³⁹

What made Hess's design so 'noble' in Wilson's eyes? Unlike the Alnwick window, it was not a *tour de force* historical narrative but merely a series of six life size figures, the prophets Moses, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Malachi, and John the Baptist, surmounted by a canopy and tracery. [Image 62] It must have been the dignified but psychologically powerful depiction of the prophet as hero that Wilson so admired. [Image 63] The figures were almost life-size and energetically broke out of their architectural frames. [Image 64] Wilson's belief in the nobility of this window was such that he could not leave the design of the small windows immediately beneath it to chance. Of the designs for other windows he had already examined, those by Strähuber and Fortner had pleased him most. Ainmiller, however, seemed to want to offer equal opportunity to a range of artists and assigned these windows to the overly melodramatic Siebertz. In desperation Wilson beseeched Hess -

*'I ... beg you to exercise your power of supervision as to the windows to be placed under your own, so that nothing may injure your work, but that these small windows may be full of repose, quiet but rich harmonious color (sic). They must indeed form a decorative base subordinate to your window ...'*⁴⁰

Presumably it was Hess's intervention which secured new 'unequaled designs' by Fries.

It was his vision of the smaller windows forming a 'decorative base' to the immense upper window which caused Wilson so much difficulty. In order to achieve 'unity of architectural effect' the figures in both needed to be 'regulated by a common scale' despite the very different proportions of the window openings. Given the height above the ground of the upper window, Hess's figures were necessarily large, conforming to Eastlake's principles of 'simplicity, magnitude and distinctness'. Wilson ingeniously solved the problem of the supporting figures being oversized for their window openings by making them sit down. The small two light Wilson/Fries windows were filled with pairs of male and female Old Testament figures: *Aaron and Miriam, Joshua and Deborah, Gideon and Ruth, Samuel and Hannah*. [Image 65] Wilson explained that the solution had been suggested by no less a scheme than Michelangelo's dramatic ceiling in the Sistine Chapel. [Image 66] Angels replaced the traditional canopies which would have established the lower window openings as a separate scheme. [Image 67] He was certain that deep, rich colour was necessary both to the dignity, dramatic power and legibility of the Cathedral windows and, while disappointed with the insipid colour of the completed windows in general, here he was satisfied in every respect.⁴¹

7:5 TRANSPARENT ART

Bad technical practice was the moral weapon of those opposed to

the employment of the *Königliche Glasmalereianstalt* at Glasgow Cathedral. As described in Chapters One and Five, the archaeological study of mediaeval stained glass had led to the identification of the *true principles* of glass painting: a stained glass window should be integral to the architecture of the building. The *Königliche Glasmalereianstalt* were condemned for their pictorialism and the list of their crimes is a long one:

Designs ignored the architectural framework and broke across window mullions; windows read as openings because of the extensive use of aerial perspective and foreshortening; the use of densely matted glass paint and coloured enamels to facilitate naturalistic modelling and detailing made their windows opaque and lifeless; the softening of highlights by applying white enamel to the back of the glass muted the translucency of the glass; the functional use of lead was disguised by the use of large pieces of glass and hiding lead lines within drapery folds.

Pugin is most closely associated with development of a philosophy of *truth* as applied to both the design and execution of a building and its decoration. The *true principles* of glass painting, however, were most clearly set out by Winston.⁴² What has been forgotten about the re-glazing of Glasgow Cathedral is that Winston and Wilson sought a reform of German glass painting according to the philosophy of *true principles*. In a letter dated 19 March, 1857, Wilson bravely explained to Ainmiller why the British were so critical of windows designed and executed by the *Königliche Glasmalereianstalt*.⁴³ He then challenged Ainmiller to revise the *Königliche Glasmalereianstalt's* technical practice and use of perspective. He had earlier reminded Ainmiller that the *Königliche Glasmalereianstalt* had successfully conformed to British technique

when they executed Dyce's design for Saint Paul's Alnwick. When in 1861 the Government ordered that the remaining windows in the Lower Church of Glasgow Cathedral be filled with stained glass designed and executed by British glass painters, possibly because they were embarrassed by public opposition to the employment of the *Königliche Glasmalereianstalt* and their entanglement with the Ballantine controversy, Wilson prepared a printed list of instructions which echoes Winston's essay and reads like a bible of *true principles*.⁴⁴

Although Wilson had to admit that he '*... found it at last useless to contest to the principles in which the artists were accustomed to design...*'⁴⁵, Winston was convinced of the integrity of new windows for Glasgow Cathedral and his observations are supported by the evidence of the surviving windows themselves -

'Had Ainmuller been allowed to go on in his old way, colouring the glass with enamel colours, and laying the highlights down with enamel, you would have had works beautiful, no doubt, in so far as good drawing and excellent composition could have secured beauty, but which would have tended to an effect entirely at variance with the intention of the builders of the cathedral, since they would have converted the window-openings into, apparently, panels of solid wall, painted in fresco ... But by your insisting upon the use of coloured glass, as the colouring matter, and only allowing of enamel-paint as shadow, and, above all, by retaining clear high lights, works have been obtained which are not likely ever to be mistaken for anything else than painted glass windows. and in this respect the men of Glasgow have read the world a lesson, for which they are entitled to the consideration and gratitude of every one learned enough to appreciate the

additional beauty imparted to any sort of decoration by mere force of its having been executed in conformity with its own peculiar mechanical and intrinsic conditions.'⁴⁶

7:6 PRESBYTERIAN RESISTANCE

'The glass must be occupied with subjects suitable to the simple ritual of a protesting Church – a Church which has a glorious Reformation to illustrate Is it in Munich, of all places even in Germany, that we are to find artists to design subjects suitable to illustrate our Scottish Reformation?' (James Salmon) ⁴⁷

A factor in the nationalistic protest against the employment of the *Königliche Glasmalereianstalt* was the introduction of didactic art into the arena of Presbyterian worship. That the proposal to re-glaze the most important cathedral in Scotland with a complete scheme of figurative stained glass met with no serious ideological opposition is remarkable. Initially, the more staunchly Presbyterian of the Subscribers did object, particularly to the representation of Christ.⁴⁸ The Committee's belief, however, that the *Life of Christ* was the most edifying of all religious histories eventually prevailed, as Wilson reported to Baron Marochetti -

'The feeling to have Scripture subjects is almost universal, it is so amongst those who love art amongst us, not perhaps a large body, but the first in intelligence and others follow because they believe in those who know better. We have a party indeed of timid and narrow minded people, who wish to keeps (sic) things in a retrograde state. They have power for some mischief, but we will not submit to them, they are only too powerful for evil as it is in

Glasgow It is the grandest revolution ever come to by a body of intelligent men ...'.⁴⁹

The relative importance of the re-glazing of Glasgow Cathedral to the general acceptance of stained glass by the Presbyterian Church needs to be qualified. Donnelly suggests that, following the employment of the *Königliche Glasmalereianstalt* at Glasgow Cathedral, it was 'injured national pride' that prompted the appearance of stained glass in Presbyterian churches and cites the windows designed and executed by Ballantine & Allan for Greyfriars' Church, Edinburgh and Sandyford Church, Glasgow.⁵⁰ This interpretation is not, however, chronologically accurate. The re-glazing of Greyfriars' Church was well under way by November 1856 when the Ballantine controversy broke, and cannot be identified as a 'consolation prize' for being excluded from taking part in the re-glazing of Glasgow Cathedral.⁵¹ Indeed, as discussed in Chapter Eight, in early 1857 Ballantine was working on a window for the Lower Church of Glasgow Cathedral. The unadventurous commission Ballantine & Allan received for stained glass for Sandyford Church was most likely due as much to the shared interest of the minister, the Reverend John Ross MacDuff, and his colleague, the Reverend Dr. Lee, at Greyfriars' Church in ecclesiology as the re-glazing of Glasgow Cathedral.

APPEARANCE OF STAINED GLASS IN PRESBYTERIAN CHURCHES

Ballantine & Allan's first known stained glass commission (1839/40) for Heriot's Hospital Chapel has been discussed in Chapter Four. [Image 16] This was followed by a smattering of inoffensive commissions in Glasgow: Gothic pattern windows for Renfield Street Church (1848 by James Brown, now demolished), Saint Matthew

Free Church, Bath Street (1849 by Robert Black and James Salmon senior, now demolished) and Sandyford Church, Kelvinhaugh Street (1854 by J.T. Emmett).

SANDYFORD CHURCH

The furnishing of Sandyford Church is a pleasing story of a progressive minister, John Ross MacDuff, gradually persuading his congregation to agree to kneeling for prayer, standing for singing, an organ, a hymn book and, by extension, stained glass windows. MacDuff tentatively sought the permission of the Managers' Committee in May 1857, nine months after the first meeting of the Subscribers to the re-glazing of Glasgow Cathedral, to erect a stained glass window in the otherwise plain glazed church. It was not until November 1859 that the first of the German windows was installed in the Upper Church of Glasgow Cathedral, the west window, but Ballantine & Allan's window for the Crypt/Lower Church may have been in place by May 1857. MacDuff invited the Managers to object -

'I hope the Managers will not scruple to decline my request if they think it in anyway unsuitable or interfering with the uniformity of the Church...'

but then reassured them that his window would -

'... consist of a simple geometric or floral pattern with a verse of Scripture, and of course without figures.'

The window concerned is doubly interesting as it is an early example of a memorial window, being dedicated to MacDuff's

young son. MacDuff took an active part in the designing of the window, travelling to Edinburgh in order to return the preliminary sketch to Ballantine & Allan for alterations.

The congregation quickly acquired an appetite for stained glass and further gifts were welcomed by the Managers as '*... increasing the beauty of the Church.*' By December 1858 discussions were underway for the commissioning of a stained glass window for the north wall. This was a small scale parallel to the re-glazing of Glasgow Cathedral with a *committee of taste* taking control and discussing the most appropriate glass painter to employ. Again, MacDuff demonstrated a familiarity with developments in glass painting in nominating William Wailes for employment. Most remarkably, given MacDuff's earlier caution, '*... it was thought desirable that the Window should include figures of such a description as the gentlemen might resolve upon ...*'.

CONCLUSION

Given the stature of the key protagonists, it is only to be expected that the story of the re-glazing of Glasgow Cathedral should prove difficult to unravel. There is much more research and thinking to be done.

What is unique about the archive of correspondence relating to the re-glazing of Glasgow Cathedral is that it contains statements from leading art historians, artists, patrons and glass painters of the day. What they have to say is, at times, a revelation and challenges the present interpretation of nineteenth century glass painting. Given the stature of art historians and artists such as Wilson, Eastlake and Dyce, and the highly developed *taste* of patrons such as the

eleventh Duke of Hamilton, inevitably art theory was a significant factor in the decision to employ the *Königliche Glasmalereianstalt*. If the development of glass painting in the first half of the nineteenth century, in Scotland at least, is evaluated with reference to the Gothic Revival alone its true complexity and, arguably, quality remain undiscovered. Harrison observes that Winston's '... true position in the revival of stained glass is difficult to assess.'⁵² When Winston's writings are studied in relation to the preoccupations of art historians such as Wilson and Eastlake, his references to Sir Joshua Reynolds' *Discourses* give pause for thought.⁵³ He identified 'Great Style' in the 'beauty and simplicity' of mediaeval glass painting and this is the key to understanding his ambitions for the revival of the art form.

¹ Winston, C., *Memoirs...*, p.49. Winston to Wilson, 22 September 1861.

² Donnelly, M. *Scotland's Stained Glass: making the colours sing*, (Edinburgh: the Stationary Office, 1997), pp.19-22. Vassen, E., *Op. cit.*

³ GUL: MS Euing 33, pp13-22.

⁴ Oliphant and Dyce collaborated on what is known as the *Choristers' Window* for Ely Cathedral (installed 1857).

⁵ ML: D 181966. Wilson, Charles Heath, *Glasgow Cathedral Painted Windows*. Third address to the subscribers to the Glasgow Cathedral Painted Windows, 6 October, 1856, p.4.

⁶ GUL: MS Euing 33, p.29 and p.181. Committee meeting of 7 April 1857 and Wilson to the Provost of Aberdeen, 9 June 1857.

⁷ Paper given before the Royal Scottish Society of Arts and published in *Jameson's Edinburgh Journal*. Abridged version published as - *Decorative Art in Germany*, *Art Union*, Vol. V, 1 December, 1843, pp. 304-7.

⁸ *The Builder*, Vol. XIX (9 February, 1856), p.71.

⁹ GUL: MS Euing 33, pp.5-6. Wilson to Orr, 23 February, 1856.

¹⁰ Binnall, P., *The Nineteenth Century Stained Glass in Lincoln Minster*, Lincoln Minster Pamphlets Second Series No. 3, ed. Varley, J., (Lincoln: Friends of Lincoln Cathedral, 1966).

¹¹ Winston, C., *Memoirs...*, p.61. Letter XXXIII, Winston to Wilson 15 January 1864.

¹² See Winston, C., *The Painted Glass in Lincoln Cathedral and Southwell Minster: with some general remarks on glass painting*, *Memoirs...*, pp.77-105.

¹³ GUL: MS Euing 36, p., Oliphant to Wilson (undated). For Ward & Hughes see Harrison, M., *Op. cit.*, pp. 83-4 and *Journal of the British Society of Master Glass Painters*, Vol. XIII, no.2 (1960-1), p. 404 and Vol. XIII, no.3, (1961-2), pp.520-1.

¹⁴ GUL: MS Euing 33, p.505. Wilson to the First Commissioner of the Board of Works, 9 March 1861.

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- ¹⁵ John Hedgeland (1792-1873), was active as a glass painter from 1829 and had workshops at 2 Grove Place, Lisson Grove, London. His son George assisted and superseded him there before moving to new premises at York Place, Baker Street, London and eventually emigrating to Australia in 1860.
- ¹⁶ Winston, C., Memoirs..., p.19. Letter 1, Winston to Wilson, 21 March 1856.
- ¹⁷ See Winston, C., On the Glazing of the North Rose Window of Lincoln Cathedral, Memoirs..., pp.222-30.
- ¹⁸ Winston, C., Memoirs..., p.21. Letter 2, Winston to Wilson, 4 April 1856.
- ¹⁹ Binnall, P., Op. cit., p.6 n.3.
- ²⁰ Winston, C., Memoirs..., p.22. Letter 3, Winston to Wilson, 20 April 1856.
- ²¹ Pevsner, N., The Buildings of England: Cambridgeshire, 2nd edition (London: Penguin Books, 1977), p.363.
- ²² Cobb, G., English Cathedrals: the forgotten centuries, restoration and change from 1530 to the present day, (London: Thames & Hudson, 1980), p.74 and 74 note 1.
- ²³ Moore, P., The Stained Glass of Ely Cathedral, (Ely: Ely Cathedral, 1973), p.5.
- ²⁴ Church Restorations - Ely Cathedral, Ecclesiologist, n.s. Vol. XV or XVIII (1857), p.196.
- ²⁵ Winston, C., Memoirs..., p.28. Letter 7, Winston to Wilson, 12 March 1857. For the polemic between Oliphant and Winston see Chapter Five.
- ²⁶ Wilson, C., Decorative Art..., p.305.
- ²⁷ MS Euing 33, p.159-60. Wilson to Baron Marochetti, 17 February, 1857.
- ²⁸ Winston, C., Memoirs..., pp.282-3.
- ²⁹ Wilson, C., Decorative Art..., p.305.
- ³⁰ Winston, C., A Lecture on Glass-Painting (delivered to the Working Man's Association, Lichfield in 1859, Memoirs..., pp.252-3.
- ³¹ Wilson, C., Decorative Art..., p.306.
- ³² Evidence of Thomas Wyse, Report from the Parliamentary Select Committee on Fine Arts, (18 June 1841) pp. vii-viii.
- ³³ Vaassen, E., Op. cit., p.4.
- ³⁴ GUL: MS Euing 33, pp.100-101, Wilson to Aimiller.
- ³⁵ Ibidem, p.278. Wilson to Ainmiller, 29 August 1859.
- ³⁶ Ibidem, p.169. Wilson to William Stirling Maxwell, 3 June 1857, footnote.
- ³⁷ Winston C., Memoirs..., pp. 98 and 104. See note 12.
- ³⁸ GUL: MS Euing 36. Eastlake to Wilson, 10 March, 1856.
- ³⁹ GUL: MS Euing 34, pp.3-6. Wilson to Hess, October 1861.
- ⁴⁰ Ibidem.
- ⁴¹ GUL: MS Euing 33, p.118.
- ⁴² Winston, C., On the True Principles of Glass Painting, Inquiry..., pp. 238-267.
- ⁴³ GUL: MS Euing 33, pp. 170-3. Wilson to Ainmiller, 19 March, 1857.
- ⁴⁴ Ibidem, pp 69 and 501.
- ⁴⁵ Ibidem, p.241. Wilson to Ainmiller, November 1858.
- ⁴⁶ Winston, C., Memoirs..., pp.49-53. Winston to Wilson, 22 September 1861.
- ⁴⁷ Salmon, J., To the Subscribers to the Stained Glass Windows for the Glasgow Cathedral, (Glasgow: John Smith & Son, 1857), p.8.
- ⁴⁸ GUL: MS Euing 33, p.2 and p.40.
- ⁴⁹ Ibidem, p.59. Wilson to Baron Marochetti, 17 February 1857.
- ⁵⁰ Donnelly, M., Scotland's Stained Glass..., pp.18-22.
- ⁵¹ GUL: MS Euing 36, p.124. Ballantine sent Wilson a curriculum vitae date 26 November 1856 in which he states that the windows for Greyfriars' Church would be completed early in 1857.
- ⁵² Harrison, M., Op. cit., p.22.
- ⁵³ For example, Winston, C., The Painted Glass in Lincoln Cathedral..., Memoirs..., p.98.

8. CONCLUSION: THE ART OF SCOTTISH GLASS PAINTING

'If you could manage to found a school of art in glass, you would indeed supply a desideratum.' (Winston to Wilson)¹

The study of nineteenth century Scottish glass painting so far has focused upon the achievements of the later decades, presenting them as the most interesting and worthy of attention. Although pioneers have been duly credited, the context within which they were working has been left unresearched, suggesting it is considered to be of secondary interest. This thesis attempts to correct this and presents earlier nineteenth century Scottish glass painting as a complex study which necessarily includes the exploration of the state of the glass industry at that time, the place of glass painting in the hierarchy of the arts and the public imagination, and the comparative development of glass painting in England and on the Continent.

The achievements of the later nineteenth century Scottish glass painters have been explained as a response to English innovation, namely the break with tradition initiated by William Morris and his associates which developed into the Aesthetic movement. Both Harrison and Donnelly identify Daniel Cottier (1838-91) and Stephen Adam (1848-1910) as key protagonists in the foundation of a 'modern' school of Scottish glass painting.² It can be suggested, however, that there was a continuity of development from the work of Ballantine & Allan and Francis Wilson Oliphant to that of the later Scottish glass painters and the re-glazing of Glasgow Cathedral is the missing link. The Scottish rejection of the *vitrail archéologique* and the insistence that glass painting conform to academic criteria

meant that Scotland was uniquely well prepared to become a cradle of non-traditional glass painting. For Cottier and Adam, adopting the neo-classicism of the Aesthetic style required nothing more than learning a new vocabulary of detail, the necessary drawing discipline already being in place.

Harrison concludes his chapter on the *true principles* of glass painting with the statement –

*'... direct influences from contemporary European glass played little part in the development of Victorian stained glass in England ... - for many people 'Munich glass' is still synonymous with all that is worst in stained glass. In the period between the two great Exhibitions in 1851 and 1862 English stained glass would rise to a position where it outshone all its rivals.'*³

This may have been true for England, but this is exactly the period when the Glasgow Cathedral Painted Windows Committee condemned English glass painting as an art form and preferred to employ the *Königliche Glasmalerianstalt*. Criticism of the technical practice of German glass painters has distracted attention from their artistic capability. Also, the singularity of the glazing scheme installed at Glasgow Cathedral and its subsequent removal has meant that its true significance and influence has been overlooked.

Harrison presents the English glass painter Henry Holiday (1839-1927) as a key protagonist in the development of Aesthetic glass painting in England and quotes a lecture he gave at the London Institution in March 1871 at length.⁴ Holiday developed a neo-classical style of his own and argued that archaeological glass painting was inappropriate for the nineteenth century, believing that – 'Our work

is to discover that which is truest and best in our age, to cultivate and perfect this, and to give free expression to it in our works ...'.

His ideas, however, are close to those debated by Wilson and Winston some ten years earlier in relation to the re-glazing of Glasgow Cathedral. They had a similar ambition for the art of glass painting and attempted to demonstrate its potential through the employment of the *Königliche Glasmalerianstalt*. Holiday's rejection of the ecclesiologists' insistence that the style of new stained glass windows exactly match that of the architecture of the building is particularly relevant to the Glasgow Cathedral Painted Windows Committee's dilemma as to the appropriate re-glazing of a thirteenth century structure. Holiday protested -

'If you ask ... most persons who have management of stained glass works ... they will tell you ... Your style must depend upon your architecture: if you are working in a church built in the thirteenth century, or a modern church in the same style, your glass must be like that of the thirteenth century.

.... Once more let me say it. We cannot put on thirteenth century sentiment as we do a morning coat, and change it for that of a later age as we change our dress for dinner. The styles when they existed were the spontaneous growth of the age, and were fraught with intense meaning; let us not degrade ourselves by caricaturing them, it must all be false and hollow if we do. Their drawing is not natural to us; their ideas are not ours, that which is impressive in them would be foolish in us. ...'.⁵

Wilson informed Ainmiller in 1856 or early 1857 that it was –

*'... the desire of the Committee that their windows when completed should in no respect run the risk of being mistaken for ancient works ... or for copies or servile imitations of such works, but that they should manifestly appear to be excellent works of the 19th century harmoniously adapted to the general character of an edifice so ancient as Glasgow Cathedral.'*⁶

The academic discipline of Holiday's large scale and highly legible figure drawing [Image 68] may have been a radical departure from the English archaeological school of glass painting but the re-glazing of Glasgow Cathedral had already introduced this to Scotland. The new windows in the Cathedral should be considered as one of the models for the Aesthetic stained glass designed and executed in the city in the 1870s and 1880s.

Harrison ventures –

*'Solely on stylistic grounds it would appear that Cottier was the originator in Scotland of the reaction from Gothic styles ...'*⁷

Taking into account that Ballantine & Allan were, seemingly, not called upon to design figurative windows for Scottish churches until the mid 1850s and they then preferred to adopt a 'modern' German rather than traditional style, it can be argued that Cottier had little to react against. The only traditional figurative church windows in Scotland at this time were those William Wailes designed and executed for the Episcopal Church, for example Saint Paul's, York Place, Edinburgh (1849) and Saint Columba by the Castle, Edinburgh (1849), and for Sandyford Church, Glasgow.

Donnelly suggests that Cottier attended the Trustees' Academy in the late 1850s while working briefly for Ballantine & Allan (1828-60)/ Ballantine & Son (1860-92). He would, therefore, have benefited from an art education similar to that of Oliphant and, at Ballantine & Allan/ Ballantine & Son, worked on German-style windows, such as those designed and executed for Saint John's, Princes' Street, Edinburgh (Episcopal). [Image 69] How strong an additional influence the fledgling firm of Morris, Marshall, Faulkner & Company (founded 1861) exerted upon him during his brief stay in London between 1859 and 1862 is the subject of ongoing research by Donnelly.⁸ When Cottier left Glasgow to set up a new business in London, the drive towards modernity was continued by his disciple Adam who, although he later listed his influences as Rossetti, Burne-Jones, Morris and Puvis de Chavannes and Cottier himself, had been apprenticed to Ballantine & Allan/Ballantine & Son and had also attended the Trustees' Academy.⁹ What Donnelly does not take into account is the influence of German glass painting upon Ballantine & Allan's house style and, consequently, Adam and the design of Aesthetic stained glass in Scotland. As Charles Heath Wilson intended, the German windows at Glasgow Cathedral not only authorised figurative stained glass in Presbyterian churches, but, also, served as a model of academic figure drawing and composition for Scottish glass painters to follow. Commissions Ballantine & Allan executed post-dating the re-glazing of Glasgow Cathedral are interesting in that the windows are German in both design and execution, proving Ballantine's criticism of the technical practice of the *Königliche Glasmalereianstalt* to have been mere political posturing. The more closely the windows designed and executed by the *Königliche Glasmalereianstalt* for Glasgow Cathedral are compared to later Scottish glass painting the more

ironical it becomes that the former have been dismissed as worthless whilst the appreciation of latter is increasing.

8:1 GREYFRIARS CHURCH, EDINBURGH

It is curious that shortly after Andrew Orr's curt dismissal in October 1856 of Ballantine's initial attempts to become involved with the re-glazing of Glasgow Cathedral, Wilson wrote to Ballantine asking him to take part in a research exercise: windows by a cross section of European glass painters were to be installed in the Lower Church, so allowing direct comparison of their individual merits. Wilson also informed him that the work of Ballantine & Allan was to be included in the Committee's survey of contemporary British glass painting and asked him to send an itinerary of the windows he would prefer members of the Committee to inspect. There is no trace of bitterness or acrimony in Ballantine's respectful reply. Dated 26 November 1856 this is, in effect, a valuable *curriculum vitae*. Ballantine suggested that Wilson visit Greyfriars Church, Edinburgh, the re-glazing of which would be complete early in 1857 in time for the re-opening of the church following the fire of 1845.¹⁰

The records for Greyfriars Church have so far not been traced and so it is impossible to reconstruct the debate around the re-glazing. It would no doubt be valuable to research the revision of worship under the minister Dr. Robert Lee (appointed 1847) and the connection between the re-glazing of Greyfriars Church and Sandyford Church, Glasgow.¹¹ As described in Chapter Two, the design of the new windows was not determined by archaeology but, rather, the Gothic patterns and colour harmonies are the realisation of aesthetic principles expounded in Ballantine's *Treatise*.

[Images 70 and 71] The introduction of small-scale figurative scenes, however, was significant not only ideologically but also artistically. These are contained within medallions in the thirteenth century manner but, in themselves, owe nothing to mediaeval glass painting. Despite Ballantine's criticism of German glass painters for their violation of *true* principles, the new windows for Greyfriars Church demonstrate that Ballantine & Allan were trying hard to imitate them. Taking just one of the medallions illustrating the parables (a safe subject for a Presbyterian church) in the east window as an example, that of the *Good Samaritan*, it is found to be an exact copy of the illustration of that subject in the Nazarene painter Julius Schnorr von Carolsfelds's celebrated *Die Bibel in Bildern* (1852-60). [Images 72-4] Another, the *Wise and Foolish Virgins*, is, in the German manner, an adaptation of a painting by an academic artist, Ballantine's friend James Eckford Lauder (1811-69).¹² [Image 75] It is executed in a highly German manner, the smoothness of the glass painting and richness of the chiaroscuro giving it a photographic quality.

8:2 THE LOWER CHURCH, GLASGOW CATHEDRAL

Wilson saw through Ballantine's criticism of German glass painting and the curious invitation to design a window for the Lower Church of Glasgow Cathedral was, in fact, a trap which Ballantine was naïve enough to walk into. Ballantine & Allan faced illustrious competition. Wilson had already invited Professor Hübner of the Royal Academy in Dresden to design a window to be executed by Schröder, the Director of the Royal Porcelain Manufactory at Meissen, [or C. Scheinert] and the glass painter J.B. Capronnier of Brussels adapted a design by Schnorr. The former depicted the

Resurrection and the latter the *Saviour and Saint Peter on the Sea*.¹³ Neither of these remains in place and if they have been removed to store, they have not been located as yet.

It is evident from Wilson's Interim Report to the Committee of Subscribers, that he was primarily interested in demonstrating the artistic quality of Continental glass painting and treated controversial technical practice as a secondary issue. The use of enamel, he argued was a direct response to the transparency of the coloured window glass available and, whatever, could be modified if desired. As Winston expressed it, art without transparency was preferable to transparency without art and, in Wilson's opinion, Schroeder's use of enamel could be excused as '*... a true artist struggling with the defect of his material.*'¹⁴

As Wilson anticipated, Ballantine & Allan made the mistake of matching rather than countering the competition. Their window, *King Roderick and Saints Mungo and Columba*, is German both in composition and execution rather than a model of Ballantine's professed principles. [Image 77] Wilson compared it to the window designed by Maximilian Ainmiller himself (after a painting by the Nazarene painter Friedrich Overbeck (1789-1869) which was installed in the Lower Church in 1857 depicting *Suffer Little Children* ... in order to silence criticism of the technical practice of the *Königliche Glasmalereianstalt* and justify their employment. In his record of the re-glazing he wrote with fake irony –

'At an early stage of the works sharp criticism upon the windows appeared from time to time & attacks lately renewed being made as to infidelity of the Artists to the mosaic principle I caused a rubbing to be made of the lead works of a Crypt window, painted

at Munich and of another executed in Edinburgh. In the first every detail of design is clearly indicated by the black lines, the leads, as in all really good glass, in the other there is not a trace of the nature of the design or that it contains three figures and many other details, so vicious is the construction of this window.

The ... Munich window ... is a type of the whole the Cathedral contains and is perfect evidence to their mosaic character and the soundness of the principles upon which they are executed.

That the author and friends of Window No.2 should attack the technical skill of the author of No.1 must appear strange, but it is not less true ...' [Image 76]

No discussion of the Cathedral windows by Ballantine has been found as yet but in his *Treatise*, while admiring the artistic and technical quality of German glass painting, he laboriously criticises the tendency to ignore the architecture of the window opening.¹⁵ Ballantine's *Treatise* was intended as a manifesto of *true principles* and, therefore, he invited ridicule of Ballantine & Allan should they fail to abide by them. He identifies integrity of lead line drawing and avoidance of the use of enamels as essential to good glass painting –

'Painted glass is, no doubt, a species of mosaic, and the artist must depend entirely on continuity and firmness of outline for the effect which he means to produce. The brilliant colour and mosaic character are lost in the same ratio as shading is attempted; and the utmost that should be aimed at is the effect of low relief. Outline, however, is all that is requisite to convey a distinct idea of form, and painted glass is a medium in which outline can be

exhibited to great advantage.'

and

*'All the colours must be incorporated with the body of the metal, while in a state of fusion. Fluxed colours do not penetrate the glass, but are merely vitrified on its surface, and are therefore neither transparent nor enduring.'*¹⁶

Unfortunately, in the *King Roderick* ... window Ballantine & Allan sacrificed firmness of outline to highly pictorial effects achieved by the extensive use of coloured enamels. [Image 77] The heads of all three figures are painted on a single piece of glass, originally flashed ruby glass but extensively etched, the only red remaining being the king's robe and the lining of his crown. Whereas Wilson praised the 'consummate skill' of Schroeder's enamelling, Ballantine & Allan received no such credit. Whatever its design flaws, their window is intriguingly well painted and perhaps evidence that they too were employing porcelain painters. Drapery is executed in rich chiaroscuro and King Roderick's Malvolio-style cross gartered stockings, executed in blue and pink enamel, set against his recognisably oak throne are particularly enjoyable. [Image 78]

Ballantine & Allan, evidently, still had a lot to learn about the design of a stained glass window. In the absence of Ainmiller's *Suffer Little Children* ..., it is informative to compare Ballantine & Allan's *Good Samaritan* [Image 73] and a panel from the window illustrating the same subject in Glasgow Cathedral, window number 27 in the Choir, designed by Alexander Strähuber also using Schnorr's illustration as a model. [Images 73 and 79] Ballantine & Allan have copied Schnorr's illustration exactly without considering that an

engraving might require adjustment in order to become a successful stained glass window. Strähler, on the other hand, made fundamental changes to Schnorr's composition, contracting the limbs of the two figures and eliminating detail. Broad uninterrupted masses of colour have become the building blocks of the design and give the window its power. Left uncorrected, the outstretched limbs of Schnorr's figures have caused Ballantine & Allan problems with lead line drawing, particularly the juxtaposition of the Samaritan's arm and the donkey's head. Generally, Ballantine & Allan's design seems cluttered and insipid in comparison to Strähler's. Despite Ballantine's long discussion of colour harmony in his *Treatise*, Strähler uses the juxtaposition of primary and secondary colours to much better effect.

8:3 THE OLD WEST KIRK, GREENOCK

Many examples could be cited as evidence of Ballantine & Allan/Ballantine & Son's continued imitation of German glass painting and the list of glazing projects waiting to be researched is a long one.¹⁷ It is enough, here, to refer to a single example, the Old West Kirk, Greenock. This has been chosen because it points to either the essential contradiction of the opposition to the employment of the *Königliche Glasmalerei-Anstalt* at Glasgow Cathedral or a subsequent public demand for German style glass painting in Scotland. Ballantine & Son were working alongside Ballantine's friend and champion, the Glasgow architect James Salmon (1805-88), who vocally fronted the nationalistic protest against the employment of *Königliche Glasmalerei-Anstalt* at Glasgow Cathedral.¹⁸ Salmon's restoration of the Old West Kirk was completed in 1864 and the re-glazing proceeded in the years

immediately following.¹⁹

For the two most prominent of the windows allotted to them, those in the Sailors' and the Farmers' Galleries, Ballantine & Son turned to the masters most studied by German glass painters, Raphael and Durer. One of the windows, *I will make you Fishers of Men*, is a loose adaptation of the Raphael's tapestry cartoons, *The Miraculous Draught of fishes* and *The Death of Ananias*, while another borrows from *Nativity* scenes by Durer. [Images 54 and 80-83] Ballantine knew of the *Königliche Glasmalereianstalt's* windows for Peterhouse, Cambridge (1855-9) which include a *Nativity* after Durer.²⁰ All the windows in the church have the landscape perspectives characteristic of German glass painting but forbidden to advocates of *true principles*. Although, by this time, *antique* window glasses were available, Ballantine & Son continued to use large pieces of sheet glass in the German manner, so reducing the disruption to the drawing by lead lines but requiring a dense application of glass paint in order to modify the transparency of the glass. The seated disciple, along with the fishing net, in the right hand panel of *I will make you Fishers of Men* is executed on white glass using yellow stain and glass paint and is a bravura demonstration of chiaroscuro glass painting. When naturalism was required, such as painting the naked torso of the injured man in Strähler's *Good Samaritan*, the German glass painters eliminated lead lines and, consequently, it is executed on a single piece of glass. The contour of the body, however, is intact. Ballantine & Son again prove that they could not imitate German naturalistic glass painting with integrity. Figure and background are not consistently distinguished by lead lines and, should this window have suffered paint loss to the same extent as the German windows in Glasgow Cathedral, it would have become illegible. [Image 84]

Although Ballantine & Son's adaptation of Raphael's compositions is feeble in comparison to William Dyce's window for Saint Paul, Alnwick [Image 53], nevertheless their designers were evidently masters of academic figure drawing, particularly foreshortening. Heads are both beautifully drawn and painted. [Image 85]

The Old West Kirk is also enriched by a series of windows by Morris, Marshall, Faulkner & Company (established 1861 and known as Morris & Company after 1875) and one by Cottier. Adam implies that the former made a significant impact upon him, referring to them as – '*... gems in stained glass, in a sense "wasting their fragrance on the desert air" ...*' and concludes – '*Finer examples of modern work there is (sic) not in the United Kingdom ...*'. Donnelly says that Adam left Ballantine & Son as early as 1864 aged sixteen and suggests that he completed his apprenticeship with Cottier, working for him until 1870 when he set up his own studio in Glasgow.²¹ It is tempting to identify the re-glazing of Old West Kirk as a turning point in his career, whether apprenticed to Ballantine & Son or Cottier. In a public lecture on the history of glass painting delivered in 1894, Adam said that he admired the windows designed and executed by Morris, Marshall, Faulkner & Company for their rich colour harmonies and poetic mood.²² Only four years later, in an essay on the re-glazing of Glasgow Cathedral for Eyre Todds's *Book of Glasgow Cathedral* (1898), he praised the German windows for the quality of the figure drawing and composition and their similarly poetic mood generated by – '*...expressive and beautifully drawn features – heads of men firm and strong; of women sweet and natural ...*'. His criticisms are surprisingly minor: his primary objection was to the rawness of the colour but he makes no concession to the state of the glass industry at the time or the

gothic reference of the windows. Of the celebrated north transept window he wrote that it – ‘... exhibits some splendidly drawn figures, and would be a noble production but for the chronic over-colouring...’. With somewhat confused logic considering that the designs were adapted from Michelangelo’s *Sibyls* in the Sistine Chapel, he found the drama of the Wilson/Frieze windows immediately below inappropriate, commenting that – ‘The figures are vigorous and bold conceptions, perfect in academic drawing; but it is secular drawing...’. Most interesting is his rejection of English archaeological glass painting and he does not question the decision to employ the *Königliche Glasmalereianstalt* –

*‘The committee had been forced to “prefer art without transparency to transparency without art”. They, however, did what lay within their power, by the selection of artists of eminence and repute...’.*²³

Should the design formula of the Adam studio be understood as the academic discipline of German glass painting softened by the colour harmonies of Morris, Marshall, Faulkner & Company and Cottier together with Aesthetic decorative detail?

Cottier’s first known figurative church window (1867) formed part of the glazing of William Leiper’s (1839-16) Dowanhill Church (United Presbyterian).²⁴ This depicts *King David* and *Miriam* and boldly interrupts the patterned glazing used throughout the rest of the church. [Image 86] Like the patterned glazing, these figures are anarchic in design and free in execution. Donnelly comments that –

‘While essentially gothic, they are quite unlike any other gothic revival windows of the day.... the amazonic presence of Miriam,

*smiling enigmatically. Her almost muscular massiveness reminds one of an early Picasso and owes more to the study of Egyptian and archaic Greek sculpture than to any Puginesque model.'*²⁵

As described in Chapter Six, examples of the bold representation of Old Testament women, however, could be found in the lower windows in the north transept of Glasgow Cathedral (installed in 1863). Here also pairs of male and female figures filled two-lancet windows, this time *Miriam* being paired with *Aaron*. None of these figures could have served as exact models for Cottier's *King David* and *Miriam* but there is a teasing similarity between the latter and the Italian glass painter Pompeo Bertini's *Christ and the Woman of Samaria* (installed in the Lower Church in 1862). The treatment of the hair and profiles is close, as is the pose of the female figures. [Images 87 and 88]

Harrison comments that Adam's figure drawing '*...owed a little to the Pre-Raphaelites but more to the neo-classicists.*'²⁶ Adam's muscular interpretation of the poetic sweetness of Edward Burne Jones's (1833-98) earlier windows for Morris, Marshall, Faulkner & Company is demonstrated in a stair window from Lilybank Gardens, Glasgow, now the property of the University of Glasgow, which depicts *Venus* along with her attributes the dove and the golden apple. The composition, both figure and foliate background, of Burne Jones's *Faith* (1867) for the Old West Kirk, Greenock and Adam's *Venus* (c.1876) are fundamentally the same.²⁷ [Images 89 and 90] Whereas the delicacy of the former owes much to Botticelli, the latter is modelled on female figures by Raphael or Michelangelo.

There are windows which serve as more banal evidence of the influence of the Cathedral windows upon Aesthetic glass painting in Scotland, for example, a window in New Kilpatrick Parish Church by Charles Gow (fl.1830-1891).²⁸ [Image 91] The subject is the *Good Samaritan* and once again the illustration in Schnorr's *Die Bibel in Bildern* is the source of the composition. It is the adaptation of Schnorr's composition by Strähuber for Glasgow Cathedral, however, which is the more exact source for two of the panels. All Gow has done is exchange Gothic primary colours for more subtle Aesthetic harmonies and, somewhat partially, the biblical world for ancient Greece. The window is composed of the Morris/Cottier palette of indigo blue, russet and olive green antique pot metal glasses, the backgrounds of exotic foliage being exploited for their decorative opportunity, the injured man wears a 'greek' hair cut and textile patterns are clean and simple. Gow seems to have shied away from modelling the naked torso of the injured man and perhaps borrowed the figure of the sleeping Jacob from window number five in the Nave designed by E. Siebertz. [Images 92 and 93]

How could the German windows designed and executed for Glasgow Cathedral not have been a seminal influence upon Scottish glass painting? Before they were installed what examples of figurative stained glass could young glass painters have found in Glasgow to study? The power upon the imagination, in Presbyterian Scotland, of a cathedral church restored to its liturgical plan and flooded with coloured light can only be guessed at. The stimulus of a boldly conceived, beautifully executed and seemingly endless narrative scheme to the ambition of young Scottish glass painters should not be underestimated.

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- ¹ Winston, C., Memoirs p.18. Winston to Wilson, 21 March 1856.
- ² Harrison, M., Op. cit., pp. 56-8 and Donnelly, M., Scotland's Stained Glass pp.27-34.
- ³ Ibidem, p.26.
- ⁴ Ibidem, p.53.
- ⁵ The Builder (1871), pp243-4 and The Architect (25 March 1871), pp.159-61.
- ⁶ GUL: MS Euing 33, pp.88-9. Wilson to Aimiller (undated). This quote is from the transcription of a lengthy guidance document prepared for Aimiller (MS Euing 33, pp.80-92) introduced by Wilson as an 'amplification' of the report on style he presented to the Committee entitled Glasgow Cathedral Painted Windows and dated 6 October 1856.
- ⁷ Harrison, M., Op. cit., p.56.
- ⁸ Donnelly, M., Scotland's Stained Glass p.28.
- ⁹ Donnelly, M., Scotland's Stained Glass pp.32-3.
- ¹⁰ MS Euing 36, p.124: Ballantine to Wilson, 26 November and 27 December 1856. The re-glazing of Greyfriars Church formed part of the restoration by the City Architect, David Cousin (1808-78).
- ¹¹ See Bruce, W.M., History of the Old Greyfriars Church, Edinburgh (Edinburgh: 1912). p.147.
- ¹² I am grateful to Alan Steele, author of The Kirk of Greyfriars, Edinburgh (Edinburgh: 1993) for pointing this out to me.
- ¹³ See ML: T-TH1/52/1 - Wilson, C., Interim Report to the Committee of Subscribers to the Painted Windows of Glasgow Cathedral (undated). Wilson, C., Descriptive Catalogue of the Painted Glass Windows in Glasgow Cathedral gives Scheinert rather than Schröder.
- ¹⁴ Wilson, C., Interim Report p.11.
- ¹⁵ Ballantine, J., Treatise.... p.21.
- ¹⁶ Ibidem, pp.19 and 23.
- ¹⁷ For example, Saint John, Princes Street, and Dumfermline Abbey.
- ¹⁸ See Salmon, J., Op. cit.
- ¹⁹ See Bolton, J.S., The Old West Kirk, 1591-1991, (Greenock: 1991), p.22.
- ²⁰ See Watkin, D., Munich Glass in the Chapel of Peterhouse, Cambridge, Apollo (February 2000), Vol CLI, No. 456, pp.3-7
- ²¹ Donnelly, M., Scotland's Stained Glass.... p.32.
- ²² Stained Glass: mediaeval and modern, a lecture given to the Glasgow Ecclesiological Society on 12 February 1894. See Adam, S., Truth in Decorative Art(Glasgow:1896), p.49.
- ²³ Adam, S., The Stained Glass Windows, The Book of Glasgow Cathedral: a history and description, ed. Eyre Todd, George (Glasgow: 1898), pp.395-407.
- ²⁴ See Rush, S., Alexander Thomson, Daniel Cottier and the Interior of Queen's Park Church, ed. Stamp, G. and McKinstry, S. (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1994), pp.177-86 and Donnelly, M., Glasgow Stained Glass p.10 and Scotland's Stained Glass pp.29-30.
- ²⁵ Donnelly, M., Glasgow Stained Glass p.10.
- ²⁶ Harrison, M., Op. cit., p.56.
- ²⁷ This is the date given in Donnelly, M., Glasgow Stained Glass p.32.
- ²⁸ Gow worked for Cottier before entering into partnership with Hugh McCulloch. See Donnelly, M., Glasgow's Stained Glass p.26. This window has been attributed by Donnelly.

APPENDIX

CROWN, IMPROVED GERMAN SHEET AND CAST PLATE GLASS

In the nineteenth century the standard types of window glass were: crown, *improved* German sheet and cast plate glass. Crown glass was the preferred type of window glass in Britain from the time of its early manufacture in the late seventeenth century until the mid-nineteenth century. It replaced sheet or *broad* glass of poor quality. Improved German Sheet was not made in Britain until the early 1830s. Cast plate glass for windows, rather than solely for mirrors and carriages, was first manufactured at the Ravenhead Glass Works, Lancashire, in 1775 and remained a luxury product throughout the nineteenth century.

CROWN GLASS

Crown glass was originally known as Normandy glass. The earliest record of its manufacture is by Philippe de Cacqueray at La Haye Glass House near Rouen c. 1330. It was not manufactured in England, however, until the seventeenth century. The Bear Garden Glass House in London began making Normandy glass while under the management of John Bowles, master of the Vauxhall Glass House, between 1678 and 1691. A crown was stamped at the centre of each pane made there, so giving rise to the change of name from Normandy to *crown* glass.

Manufacture

Crown glass manufacture was a highly skilled manual operation

which could not be mechanised.

First a ball of glass *metal* (glass in its molten form) was *gathered* from the pot onto the end of a blow pipe. This was cooled, all the while being rolled along a stand to maintain its shape, before the pipe was returned to the pot for a second gather over the first. The ball of glass was *marvered* (from the French *marbre* - marble), rolled into a conical shape on a perfectly smooth surface, originally marble, and shaped so that it had a point at the far end, the *bullion* of the finished *table*. Simultaneously, the cone was expanded to form a globe, the glass being softened as necessary at the furnace. A second worker, using an iron rod ending in a cup, applied an opposite pressure to globe and so flattened it while the gatherer rotated the blow-pipe to prevent it from collapsing. A third worker fixed another iron rod to the *bullion*, a *punty* (from the Latin *pontil*) using a piece of soft glass. The globe was cut from the blow-pipe and the rim of the resulting hole heated almost to melting point at the furnace. The increasingly heavy globe (glass is heavier when red hot) was rotated evenly at the furnace until it *flashed* out into a disc or *table*. Perfectly even rotation was required for a perfectly round and flat table of even thickness. The disc was cut from the *punty* using shears and transferred to an annealing kiln where it was gradually cooled ready for cutting.

Properties

Crown glass was made in circular *tables* of approximately a maximum 60 inches in diameter and disfigured by a *bullion* in the centre. Accordingly, the glass cutter had to work around the *bullion*. By the late eighteenth century 24 by 15 inch panes were available and by 1853 the Wear Glass Works in Sunderland was manufacturing panes 36 inches square.

Nineteenth century glaziers and glass manufacturers state that crown glass was more durable than sheet glass. The explanation is, probably, that the mechanical flattening of sheet glass required a softer metal with a lower lime content.

IMPROVED GERMAN SHEET GLASS

Sheet glass was the traditional Continental window glass. Sheet glass of a quality comparable to crown glass was not manufactured in Britain until the 1830s. The first account of sheet, muff or broad glass manufacture, written by the German monk Theophilus in the early twelfth century, is well known. During the eighteenth century Continental manufacturers improved the method of making sheet glass. The excise regulations and duties discouraged parallel experimentation with sheet glass manufacture in Britain before 1845. As it was 40 percent lighter than sheet glass, crown glass yielded more surface per hundredweight manufactured.

Manufacture

Like crown glass, sheet glass was blown. A ball of metal was expanded and marvered within a hollowed-out block of wood of a fixed diameter. After reheating at the furnace the blow-pipe was swung from side to side in a deep trench, the glass blower simultaneously inflating the globe, until gravity elongated the globe into an irregular cylinder, domed at the apex and narrowing towards blow-pipe. The apex was heated with a red hot iron until air expanding inside the cylinder burst it open. It was then reheated, widened and pinched into a figure of eight to the centre of which a punty could be attached. The cylinder was placed on a stand, *chevalet*, the blow-pipe cut off and the remaining opening widened

to form a straight cylinder. The punty was then cut off and the figure of eight opened. After being re-heated in a flattening kiln, the cylinder was cut open along its length using a diamond, flattened and polished using a wooden block with a long iron handle, *polissoir*, on a piece of smooth glass, *lagre*, or bed of plaster of Paris or leather. A surface quality comparable to plate glass could be achieved by polishing the surface of sheet glass with *emery* and *rouge*.

Properties

Sheet glass allowed the traditional twelve paned astragalled window to be replaced with at first four and then two panes. Sheets ranged from a standard 43 inches to a maximum length 70-75 inches long. The maximum surface area of a pane was 12-13 square feet whereas the largest *first* quality square of crown glass advertised was only 3-4 square feet. If polished, the surface was perfectly flat allowing light to pass through in straight line.

CAST PLATE GLASS

Again, cast plate glass manufacture was developed in France. It was actively supported by the monarchy in order to secure a supply of mirror glass for the awesome interiors of their baroque palaces. Bernard Perrot experimented with the casting process at his glass works at Orleans from 1687. Experimentation was continued by Louis Lucas de Nehou, and led to the establishment of the *Manufacture royale des glaces de France* in 1695 at the Chateau de Saint-Gobain under the patronage of Louis XIV. In Britain, a company called the British Cast Plate Glass Manufacturers began production at Ravenhead, Lancashire in 1775, employing skilled French glass makers tempted away from Saint Gobain. It reformed in 1798 as the British Plate Glass Manufacturers.

Plate glass was initially developed to satisfy the exacting requirements of mirror glass. The term plate glass referred to any glass that had been ground and polished so that both sides were perfectly flat and parallel. Light passed through it uninterrupted and, therefore, there was no distortion of what was seen or reflected through it. Casting allowed for the manufacture of larger plates than blowing. Cast plate glass was particularly expensive because it could not be manufactured in a traditional glass works, great care was taken in the selection and preparation of the raw materials, its manufacture was wasteful, and, on account of the size of the plates, it was vulnerable to fracture in the annealing process and damage in storage and transportation.

Manufacture

Blowing window glass required rare manual skill but was otherwise a modest undertaking in comparison to casting plate glass. Cast plate glass manufacture required, firstly, a very large casting hall. The one at Ravenhead became a popular tourist attraction. It was 113 by 50 yards and resembled a Gothic cathedral. Construction began in 1773 and, as extensive furnaces, kilns, casting, grinding and polishing apparatus needed to be accommodated in close proximity to each other, the cost of the total investment required was estimated at £50,000. Metal was required in larger quantities at any one time than for blown glass which meant that furnaces and pots had to be larger than those used for the manufacture of crown and sheet glass. As the furnace was designed to achieve a very high temperature to guarantee maximum fusion of the materials and *fining* of the metal, the pots had to be of a quality able to withstand high temperatures.

Wastage of metal was integral to the manufacturing process of cast

plate glass and at the Ravenhead Glass Works this initially amounted to 200 percent of the metal prepared. *Cisterns*, mounted on a crane, carried the red hot metal from the furnace to the casting table. Metal was spilt and the cisterns were liable to fracture in transit. Once cast onto the table, the rapidly cooling metal was smoothed with a roller running along rulers at either side. These both contained the metal and allowed its depth to be measured. The rolling process, however, forced a certain amount of metal over the ends of the table.

Annealing was, necessarily, a far more controlled and lengthy process for cast glass plate than crown or sheet glass. Glass cools unevenly and the greater the mass of the table, sheet or plate the greater the internal stresses and risk of fracture. Accordingly, cast plate glass needed to be quickly transferred to an annealing kiln in the form of a tunnel hotter at one end than the other where it was cooled gradually over a period of days.

Painstaking grinding and polishing was the only way of transforming a plate in the state it left the annealing chamber into a perfect mirror or window. The rough plate was laid upon a smooth, flat stone and ground, one side at a time, with graded emery or emery trapped between it and an upper, much smaller plate of glass. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the grinding plate was fixed to a weighted wooden wheel with which it was passed across or rotated over the rough plate. It was then polished using a roller attached to a spring and *rouge*. When the plate was turned, the finished side was protected by felt. The introduction of mechanical grinding and polishing machines significantly improved cast plate glass manufacture.

Properties

By the 1850s cast glass plates were manufacture in sizes ranging from 1 - 90 square feet. Cast plate glass was necessarily thick to allow for grinding and, accordingly, it was also strong. As it was used for mirrors, only the purest of raw materials were used so guaranteeing an untainted colour.

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