

**The Stained Glass of John Hardman and Company under
the leadership of John Hardman Powell
from 1867 to 1895**

Mathé Shepherd

Volume I Text

Based on a thesis presented at Birmingham City University in January 2007

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Acknowledgements

The extensive access to the archives of the Birmingham Library was demanding on the knowledge and patience of the busy staff of the Archivist whose help was vital in finding my way through the large volume of letters by and to the firm which are sorted but uncatalogued. I am grateful for their help.

For me to view drawings and cartoons in the Birmingham Museum required preliminary work by the curating staff and the supervision which was necessary during my use of them was demanding on their time; I am grateful for the facilities they offered. Some of the photographs in Volumes II and III could not have been obtained without their active cooperation. Plates 22b, 22c and 71b are from public domain photographic files courtesy the Wikimedia Foundation.

My access to the complete published correspondence of Cardinal Newman in the Birmingham Library was supplemented by access to the archives of his private papers granted by the Librarian of the Birmingham Oratory. I was only able to carry out the background reading to Newman's extensive correspondence through his help, readily offered. My understanding of Newman's message to his flock and more widely to the Christian community of his time has been made possible by the wisdom and guidance of Father Dermot of the Oratory. Any inaccuracy or misstatement about Newman is, of course, due to limitations in my own understanding.

I am grateful to Professor Ken Quickenden and Professor Nick Stanley for their patience over a number of years when at times I had to take time off from this work for family reasons. It is only due to their encouragement that I have returned to the work on each occasion and was able to present a completed thesis.

I must also record my thanks to Max Peltier and my husband Philip, without whose perseverance and enthusiasm this text would not have been transformed into a clear screen-readable form accessible from the internet and allowing for easy cross-reference to the accompanying plates.

Preface

The Hardman family became established in Birmingham in the early eighteenth century. They founded a button, token and medal manufacture in the middle of the century. The firm, which by the late 1830s bore the name of John Hardman & Co. and included representatives of the Powell family as well as the Hardmans, had become a supplier of metalwork to A.W.N. Pugin to his design. At his request it began producing stained glass in 1845, also to his design. After his death, his pupil, John Hardman Powell, returned to Birmingham to become its Artistic Head, continuing in that role until shortly before his death.

The stained glass of John Hardman & Co., is considered herein mainly from an iconographical point of view. It is focussed on the period from 1867 up to 1895. The work during this period reflects attitudes beginning to change by 1867: the debate on Darwin's *On the Origin of Species* was beginning to modify the Anglican Church's teachings—there was less emphasis on suffering, more compassion, a greater social conscience, a gentler message, involving some appeal to Victorian sentimentality.

The study explores the quality of Hardman's work and the relationships the firm enjoyed with architects and clients which were, in many cases long-lasting. John Hardman Powell's was the key role. A pupil of Pugin, he took over as Artistic Head of the firm after A. W. N. Pugin's death. He was talented and deeply religious, a Roman Catholic like Pugin and his fellow partners in Hardman. Correspondence indicates a personal relationship with Cardinal Newman, some traces of whose influence can be seen in the scriptural interpretations in the glass. Powell travelled in Europe to study stained glass and other sacred art. His work shows a fine discrimination between Anglican and Catholic doctrinal and spiritual positions, the windows designed under his leadership carefully respecting them. Under him the firm enjoyed numerous commissions with most leading architects including Scott, Street and Woodyer.

By examining the firm's output it becomes evident that the windows were individually designed with no repeats, that the knowledge of scripture and use of Christian symbolism allowed the glass to project deeply spiritual messages and that it was aesthetically pleasing to clients who often expressed their appreciation in handsome terms.

This is the first detailed study of the subject revealing the surprising attention the firm gave to

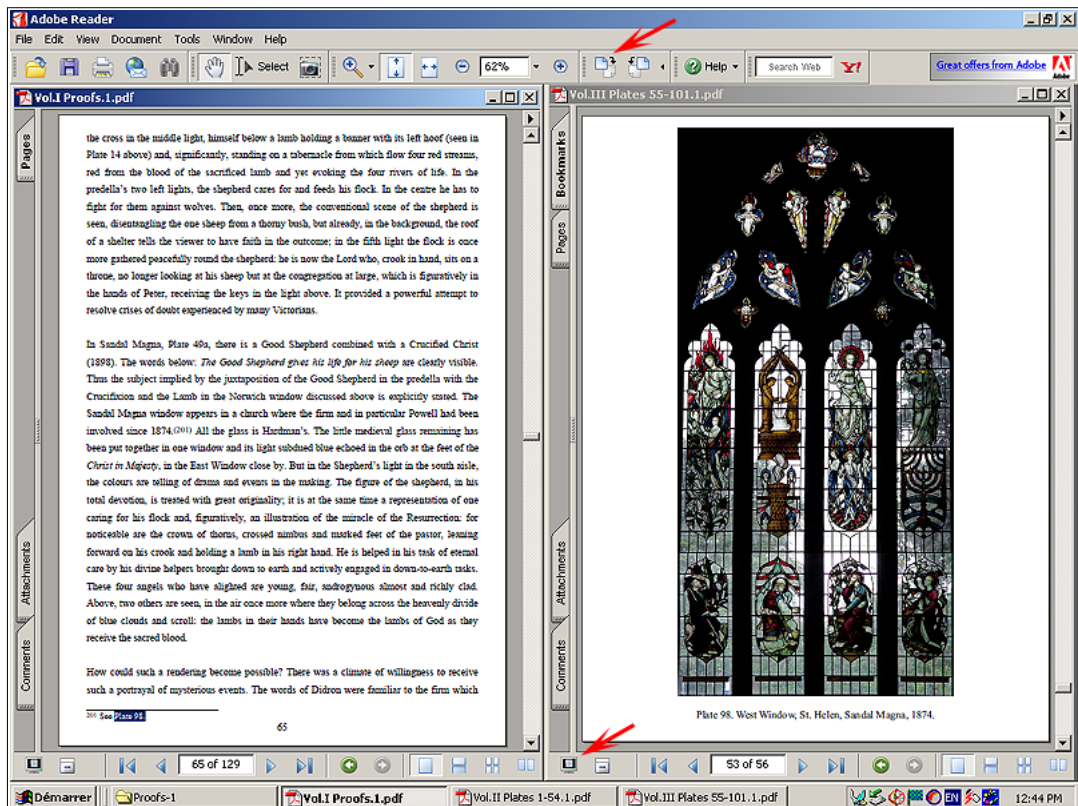
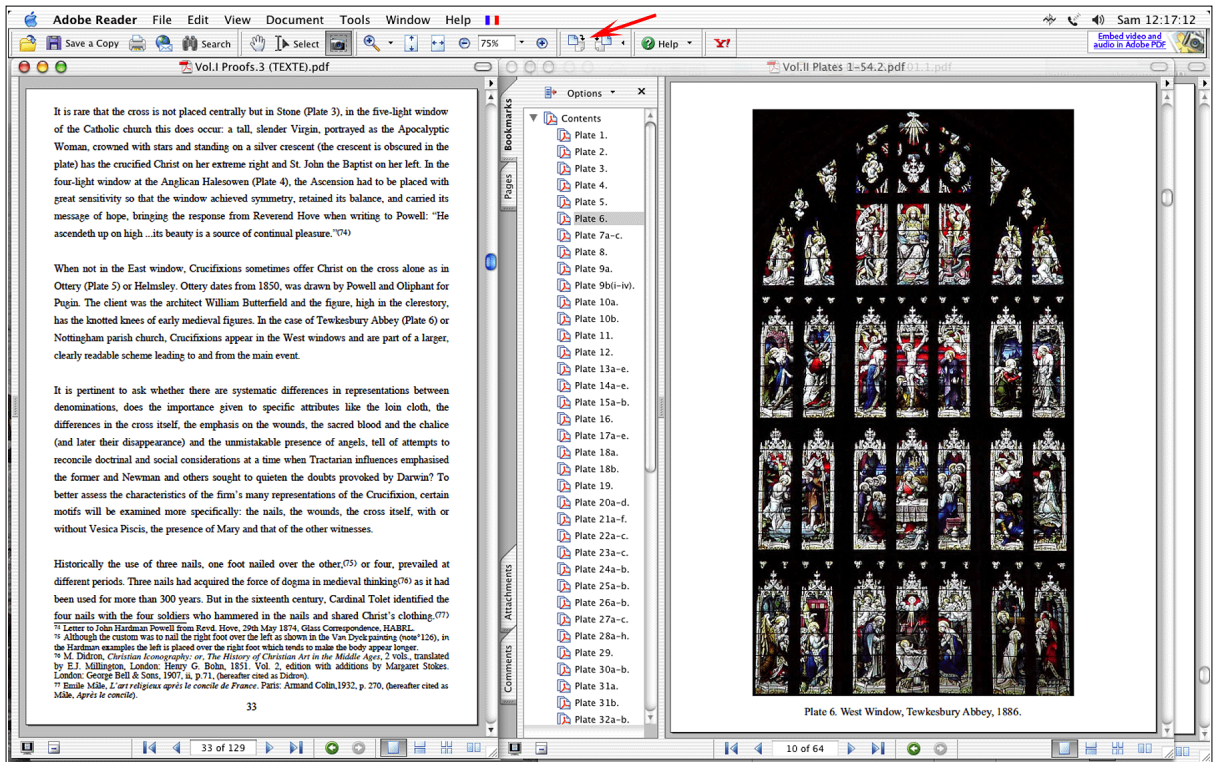
all orders and the extent to which iconography was conditioned by Victorian moral and religious attitudes. The glass has been carefully observed and some has been re-attributed. It has been adapted slightly from the thesis presented for the degree of M. Phil at Birmingham City University in January 2007.

The principal objectives of the thesis were to study in depth selected iconographical themes in the work of Hardman: the Crucifixion, the use of Typology, portrayals of incidents in the life of Christ, the treatment of Saints and of the Blessed Virgin. The analysis of these themes was made in the context of iconographical traditions, Victorian scientific, denominational and moral attitudes, the requirements of individual patrons and architectural settings. These objectives have been realised through an exhaustive study of the firm's archives and visits to about 150 churches containing over 500 Hardman windows.

It is to be hoped that, offered as it is here in a format suitable for viewing from the internet, it will prove useful to a wider audience of those with a deep interest in stained glass. It is offered for serious study on condition that it will not be copied or transformed for reproduction in any other medium, in whole or in part.

Note on viewing

Below are screen copies showing suggested Adobe Reader™ window layouts for two screen sizes under the MacOS X and Windows operating systems. Some further considerations on viewing the three PDF files making up this publication are given in Appendix Three p.117.



Chapter 1 – The Historical and Religious Background

John Hardman & Co. is a Birmingham firm which was founded in 1838, to produce metalwork for church interiors to the designs of Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin. John Hardman, the founder was a partner with his father in Hardman (until 1800 Hardman and Lewis), buttonmakers and medallists. The new firm began producing stained glass at the request of Pugin in 1845. This activity was maintained into the twentieth century and work on the restoration of stained glass continues to the present day. This thesis studies the firm's stained glass output concentrating on the period from 1867 to 1895 mainly from an iconographic point of view illustrating the artistic and religious considerations which informed their work and their relationships with leading architects, clergy and lay patrons of the time.

The key figure in this thesis is John Hardman Powell, son and grandson of partners in Hardman family firms, who served his apprenticeship in Pugin's studio and, after the latter's death in 1852, returned to Birmingham as Artistic Head of the firm. After its split in 1883 into separate units, Hardman, Powell & Co., specialising in metalwork, and John Hardman & Co., in stained glass, he remained as artistic head of the latter firm until his death in 1895.

This study deals with a period in the life of John Hardman & Co. (subsequently referred to in the thesis as Hardman) which has not been studied in detail before though it is richly documented in the archive of the firm's books and correspondence held in the Birmingham Reference Library, and drawings in the City Museum and Art Gallery in addition to which a great number of windows survive in situ which provide a rich resource for the study. The papers and drawings were lodged with the Library and the Museum after being saved in 1971 from a fire, which destroyed much of the business records of the firm. Fortunately records for the period of the study were among those saved with few gaps. Intact and available for research are the cost books, giving a complete breakdown of its multiple activities, the rough day books which contain the final invoices to clients and details of the glass for the finished windows plus extras charged such as guards and fixing time. The letters from clients and from suppliers, of glass in particular, are also available as well as the replies from the firm, but on a continuous basis only from the second half of 1865. There are also boxes of drawings which were rescued from the flames and a number of cartoons; some of these are badly scorched and

only viewable occasionally after they have been re-humidified, which is in itself a very long process.

To provide the necessary perspective for the study this chapter recounts the earlier development of the firm whose Roman Catholic partners played a full role in the life and development of their church but also enjoyed the confidence of important Anglican figures in their work. This is set against a background of the architectural debate arising from the development of religious and social thought from the 1840s. It also summarises the religious debate in the years leading up to and during the period and its influence on the tastes expressed in Hardman's glass. There is an emphasis on the influence of Cardinal Newman, forty years in Birmingham, known personally to the Hardmans and the Powells whose message permeated well beyond the Catholic world. The subsequent chapters cover the treatment of the religious subjects which constituted the main body of Hardman's work. The Crucifixion is the first both because it was entered most often in the firm's subject index and is at the heart of the Christian message and liturgy. This is followed by chapters on the subject of Typological windows, events in the life of Jesus, portrayal of Saints and the Blessed Virgin Mary.

A short review of their competitors will assist in establishing the circumstances in which Hardman came to prominence. One of the earliest suppliers to Pugin was Thomas Willement who worked for him up to 1842. Another early supplier to Pugin was William Warrington, who started his workshop in 1832 and retired in 1866. He fell out with Pugin because Pugin considered him too expensive.⁽¹⁾

Pugin relied on William Wailes of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, a supplier from 1841, before persuading Hardman to expand into stained glass manufacture in 1845. Wailes is one of the most important early names. When showing at the Great Exhibition, he already had a staff of over 60; among them were talented designers like James Ballantine who created the House of Lords' glass. Wailes was described by Martin Harrison⁽²⁾ as a "tea dealer with artistic leanings."

¹ "The Glass-Painters will shorten my days, they are the greatest plague I have. The reason I did not give Warrington the window at the hospital is this. He has lately become so conceited and got nearly as expensive as Willement." The passage in a letter from Pugin to the Earl of Shrewsbury, now held at the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, is quoted by Martin Harrison, *Victorian Stained Glass*. London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1980, p. 18, (hereafter cited as Harrison).

² Harrison, p. 18.

Clement Heaton, the son of a Wesleyan minister, was active as a stained glass artist from 1852, and remained so well into the second half of the century.⁽³⁾ Frederick Preedy began as an architect in Worcester involved in glass restoration before first creating his own windows in 1853, subsequently practising as an architect and stained glass manufacturer in London until the mid-1880s. Ward & Hughes, who were early users of medieval-style pot metal, was formed in London in 1857 when Henry Hughes was taken into partnership by Thomas Ward on the death of his previous partner. Lavers, Barraud & Westlake originated at about the same time when, in 1855, Nathaniel Wood Lavers, a designer at James Powell & Sons started his own firm employing free-lance designers. He took Francis Phillip Barraud into partnership in 1858 and they were joined by Nathaniel Westake in 1868.

The partnership between Clayton and Bell began towards the end of the 1850s. By 1860 their work was being highly praised.⁽⁴⁾ The firm enjoyed consistent support from George Gilbert Scott. Heaton and James Butler formed a separate partnership, but they worked closely with Clayton & Bell. In 1862 Heaton and Butler were joined by Robert Bayne, a designer with the latter, to found Heaton, Butler & Bayne. In 1868, John Burlison and Thomas John Grylls also left Clayton and Bell and set up their own smaller concern in London. The exodus of designers appears to be connected to a change in their work from 1862⁽⁵⁾ but the firm was still capable of windows of the highest quality. John Richard Clayton had trained as a painter, and his talent appears in special commissions like the cathedral of Truro built by John Loughborough Pearson. The glass produced by Clayton “in conjunction with the architect” we are told by Pevsner,⁽⁶⁾ follows a continuous presentation from the Creation in the West Rose through to the Old and New Testaments, and the history of the church down to the time of the building of the Cathedral. This glass shimmers in its well developed canopies; the narrative can be clearly read as busy scenes are placed near the visitor and the tall lancets carry the large figures of both sexes that recorded or expounded the faith and are clearly delineated against a rich background. Here we see the social and religious role of the church, using the glass to perform its task, of which more will be said later. As the thesis demonstrates, Hardman was far from being alien to this type of rendering.

³ Details in this summary are drawn from Harrison, and from Marta Galicki, *Victorian & Edwardian Stained Glass*. Bristol: Morris and Juliet Venables, 2001.

⁴ Harrison cites the critic of *The Ecclesiologist* who wrote that he had no hesitation in saying “it is, to our own taste, the best which any English glass painters have yet produced since the revival of the art.” Harrison, p. 31.

⁵ “by 1862 the signs begin to suggest not only a change in Clayton & Bell’s artistic direction but that they were looking for ways to streamline their production methods to cope with the rise in demand,” Harrison, p. 31.

⁶ Nikolaus Pevsner (revised by Enid Radcliffe), *The Buildings of England Series: Cornwall*. London: Penguin Books, 1970, p. 234.

Charles Eamer Kempe, a Christian artist, studied architecture under George Frederick Bodley and then at the Clayton & Bell studio before his first work was produced by them in 1865. He worked independently from 1866 into the twentieth century with his own workshop from 1869. His work is compared with Hardman's in Appendix 2.

The Hardmans were an important business family in Birmingham who had founded a button, token and medal manufacture in the middle of the eighteenth century. Of strong Catholic persuasion, they had left Lytham in the Fylde in Lancashire on account of their faith when prosecuted for recusancy at the Lancaster sessions Holden of October 1716.

James Hardman settled in the growing, more welcoming industrial town of Birmingham. It was part of the County of Staffordshire, itself part of one of four Roman Catholic Vicariates dividing England at the time⁽⁷⁾. The county could boast well attended Chapels as it had the fourth highest number of Catholics. The gentry of the region, the Berringtons in Shropshire⁽⁸⁾ and the Talbots of Shrewsbury,⁽⁹⁾ having survived the penalties and land confiscations of the past centuries⁽¹⁰⁾ put their finances into a number of important ventures in which the Hardmans would be involved as producers of stained glass and fellow contributors to the same Catholic cause for all of whom active participation was seen as a necessity. As a successful member of his community, John Hardman senior (1767-1844) having subscribed generously to the foundation and support of St. Peter's Chapel, which was the first publicly opened Catholic chapel in Birmingham since the destruction of the Franciscan chapel in the reign of James II, continued his support for St. Chad's Cathedral, the Bishop's House and the school attached to the cathedral. For his daughters, Mary and Juliana, he founded the Convent of Our Lady of Mercy at Handsworth in 1841. He gave the land, erected the buildings, and provided everything necessary for the use of the Sisters. The Earl of Shrewsbury added £2000 to John Hardman's £5335. It could be argued that the Hardmans were not alone in being ready to participate so actively in the affairs of their City during the 19th century; but of his son, John

Hardman who died in 1867, his Bishop said, in a letter to Mrs. Hardman now kept in the

⁷ In 1688, Pope Innocent XI divided England into four Vicariates Apostolic: London, North, Western and Midland. In 1840 it was divided into 8 districts by Pope Pius IX, predating the Restoration of Hierarchy Act in 1850. The sudden possible allocation of Bishoprics, aroused such hostility that the government had to pass the Ecclesiastical Titles Act, preventing Bishops taking land names and Punch said a propos of Birmingham whose Catholic gentry and clergy had been particularly active in getting the Hierarchy agreed on: "the Pope manufactures Bishops as quickly as Birmingham could buttons." Judith Hall, *A Sacrament in Stone*. Stoke-on-Trent: Webberley Ecclesiastical Printers, 1984, p. 18.

⁸ *ibid.*, p.15, The Berringtons of the 18th century like their ancestors were pillars of the Catholic laity, giving protection and guidance to its members.

⁹ *ibid.*, p.17, Thomas Talbot, brother of the Earl of Shrewsbury, became Bishop of the Midland district in 1782.

¹⁰ E.N. Birt, *Catholics in England*. London: Catholic Record Publications, 1911, p.181.

Sisters of Mercy's archives: "It was no barren attachment but was active, generous, large and free."⁽¹¹⁾

The entries in Pye's directory indicate that the Hardmans moved premises frequently: Summer Street being registered in 1791, Newhall Street in 1797, Paradise Street from 1800 to 1847, Great Charles Street and finally at numbers 43, 44 and 45, Newhall Hill Street from 1863. While trading as Hardman and Lewis, button maker and medallist, in Summer Street, the firm executed a medallion for the English and Irish Catholics in honour of the reigning pontiff, Pius VII. One can assume Hardman had found it more congenial to link up with a fellow Catholic. This is certainly the case with another association, that with William Powell,⁽¹²⁾ a brass manufacturer, who joined the firm and married Lucy, only surviving daughter of Hardman and Juliana Wheetman. From the union were to be born five daughters and five sons who would be active in the firm, none more so than John Hardman Powell.

By the time John Hardman junior (1811-1867), son from a second marriage, joined the firm, it was well established and respected. By the time of his death it was said to be the largest in Birmingham.⁽¹³⁾ It responded favourably to Pugin's suggestion of cooperation: a meeting in 1837 at Oscott College, where Pugin was Ecclesiological Professor and working on chapel furnishings, resulted in a close working relationship whereby Hardman undertook to produce the architect's own metal designs while still continuing the button business, as is testified by the displays in the Great Exhibition of 1851.

Pugin and Hardman described themselves as the "first of the Medieval Metalworkers."⁽¹⁴⁾ Pugin's interest in metalware was kindled early,⁽¹⁵⁾ and was demonstrated in his *Designs for*

¹¹ Letter from Bishop Ullathorne in Rome to Mrs. Hardman, dated 6th June, 1867, Letter book of Convent of Our Lady of Mercy, Handsworth, Birmingham, p. 62.

¹² There was a long and stable relationship with the clergy on the part of the Powells as well as of the Hardmans, as attested by a letter from Rev. Dr. Moore to the Rev. Mother of Sisters of Mary's Convent, quoted in *The Recollections of Dr. Moore*, written by a sister on his death in 1856 and held in Carton 1, the Archives of Sisters of Mary's Convent, Stone. The Very Reverend Moore was a senior priest at St. Chad's Cathedral, a scholar of no ordinary attainment, possessing a wide acquaintance with English and continental literature, deeply learned in the Arts and in Ecclesiastical architecture. Dr. Moore wrote: "taken to Kemerton by William Powell. After a week's there, went to Tewkesbury, Gloucester and Cheltenham." It is also recorded that he said to William Powell, "let me have a simple monument just to keep off the rain, John Powell knows what I should like."

¹³ Obituary in the *Art Journal*, 6, (New Series), (1867), p. 172.

¹⁴ Ann Eatwell and Anthony North, 'Metalwork', in *Pugin: A Gothic Passion*, Paul Atterbury & Clive Wainwright (eds.). London: Yale University Press, 1994, pp. 172-184 (p. 174), (hereafter cited as Eatwell and North). They were so successful that it "encouraged others to follow in their footsteps and satisfy a growing demand", cf. note¹⁶ below.

¹⁵ *ibid.*, p. 173, in 1826 or 1827 when he was drawing for his father in the British Museum a goldsmith from Bridge & Rundell noticed the quality of his sketching.

Gold and Silversmiths and *Designs for Brass and Ironwork*, published in 1836. In his collaboration with Hardman to produce many of the items inspired by the illustrations in his design books, there were no qualms about using the most modern techniques to obtain as lavish a result as possible.⁽¹⁶⁾ The work, recalling the Gothic past in its construction and detail and overall aspect but not in its manufacture, emphasizes Pugin's flexibility of mind, which was demonstrated in "glass and iron, stone and oak."⁽¹⁷⁾ As a result of his depth of research, repeated confrontation with continental examples of art, comments and drawings as well as literary sources,⁽¹⁸⁾ and his generous and precise presentation of the information in illustrated glossaries, Pugin contributed to a revival in medieval knowledge which was historically based and a long way from the vague and romantic taste of the preceding generation for the remote and the unusual.

In this, he was supported from 1839 by the members of the Cambridge Camden Society.⁽¹⁹⁾ The Society's publication, *The Ecclesiologist*, enlightened its readers on codes of conduct and correctness. The churches had to be designed to assert the Christian truth and follow the well delineated path of the Middle Ages and more specifically the fourteenth century. They concerned themselves with architecture and liturgy, with music and church fittings; they delved into the minutiae of roofs and fonts, pews and galleries but glass had a lower profile altogether.⁽²⁰⁾

But the relationship between the Cambridge Camden Society and Pugin could only have been ambivalent: for a time, the Society held a position on the Middle Ages identical to his own. Phoebe Stanton has remarked on the delight of the young convert at not finding himself

¹⁶ *ibid.*, p.177, casting, die stamping, spinning, electroforming. The manufacture of precious metal did require the more traditional skills of raising and chasing but these were used at times in combination with industrial methods.

¹⁷ J.H. Powell, 'The Art of Stained Glass', in S. Timmins, *The Resources, Products and Industrial History of Birmingham and the Middle Hardware District*. London: Robert Hardwicke, 1866, pp.520-525 (p. 520).

¹⁸ A.W.N. Pugin, *Glossary of Ecclesiastical Ornament and Costume, compiled and illustrated from antient authorities and with extracts from the works of Durandus, Georgius, Bona, Catalani, Gerbert. Martene, Molanus, Theirs, Mabillon, Ducange, etc. Faithfully Translated by the Rev. Bernard Smith, of St. Marie's College, Oscott*. London: Bohn, 1844.

¹⁹ The Cambridge Camden Society was founded in 1839. It was created to promote the study of Ecclesiastical Architecture and the restoration of mutilated architectural remains. It published a translation by its leaders, John Mason Neale and Benjamin Webb, of the first book of Durandus, *Rationale Divinorum Officiarum*, under the title *Symbolism of Churches and Church Ornament*. Leeds: T.W. Green, 1843, (hereafter cited as Durandus). It adopted a crusading attitude through its publication, *The Ecclesiologist*.

²⁰ Countless letters in the journal show that incumbents, ready to embrace the revival of religious life, relied on the Society to guide them in the reappraisal of their church and its services. The dependance on antiquarians and scholars was a sign of the times: already in 1836 Newman, still a defender of the Church of England, turned to Bloxam for the arrangement of Littlemore Church. R.D. Middleton, *Newman and Bloxam: An Oxford Friendship*. London: Oxford University Press, 1947, p. 44.

alone.⁽²¹⁾ Eatwell and North however state that the Society set up a scheme to counterbalance Hardman's production.⁽²²⁾ But it was the rekindling of the flame that mattered above all. Pugin had brought a revolutionary sense of urgency to all things as was first in evidence with the publication of *Contrasts*⁽²³⁾ in 1836. The ferocity of the attack against the prevalent loss of faith, the ill-use of public spaces of worship, and as a consequence in the eyes of Pugin, the lack of contentment and freedom of the majority of the population, left one in no doubt as to his beliefs. To the eye of the puritanical Ecclesiologists, Pugin was not orthodox enough: having acknowledged his role in the initial tide of interest towards the revival of Gothic they took it upon themselves to upbraid the architect in 1846 after the construction of St. Chad's, Birmingham and St. Barnabas, Nottingham for "the former strikes the observer at once as something unlike an English style, middle-pointed but in a German style... there is lack of unity and St. Barnabas has grievous faults of conception of work as it represents the severest first-pointed, fit perhaps for a Cistercian place of worship set in isolation but not in a busy town...He is still young, full of talent, let him study deeply, let him awhile be content to copy." ⁽²⁴⁾

In 1852, for the 13th anniversary of the Cambridge Camden Society, George Edmund Street presented a paper on Glass Painting which, we presume, the Society accepted as representing their thoughts perfectly: "the windows were to be merely light giving" and "the object of a window being to let light in, glass is the worst that artificially shuts out light. It must therefore if good, be very transparent." The pastoral role was reserved for the walls which were to offer a portrayal of the liturgical message in colourful frescoes: "It is absolutely necessary that the design of the glass should never interfere with or oppose the design of the stonework." The glass should in all cases be treated as subordinate to it.⁽²⁵⁾ But Street subsequently allowed a far greater role for glass in his own designs (see below).

The extension of Hardman's activities into stained glass came about when, in 1845, Pugin urged Hardman to introduce stained glass to its range, writing: "I have some great scheme in

²¹ Phoebe B. Stanton, *Pugin*. London: Thames & Hudson, 1971, p. 127.

²² Eatwell and North, p. 177.

²³ Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin, *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: Accompanied by Appropriate Text*, Salisbury, for the Author, 1836.

²⁴ Anon., 'The Artistic Merit of Mr. Pugin', *The Ecclesiologist*, 5, (1846), pp. 10-16, (p. 12 and p. 16).

²⁵ Lecture given on the 13th anniversary of *The Ecclesiologist* by G.E. Street, one of the leading Gothic revivalists, and published as G.E. Street, 'On Glass painting', in *The Ecclesiologist*, 13, (1852), pp.237-247 (pp. 241, 238 and 239 respectively). He said further: "painting on glass is carried on by workmen whose powers are little above the merely mechanical..." (p. 241) and "The glass should never interfere and be in all cases subordinate to architecture." (p. 240).

my head.” The addition of this newly created glass department allowed him to solve one of his problems by relying entirely on Hardman for the production of stained glass “to his satisfaction and peace of mind.”⁽²⁶⁾ Hardman Powell was then already closely associated with Pugin, working in Ramsgate in his studio for Christian Art on the drawing of patterns and cartoons from the age of seventeen, as well as being involved in designing metal-ware and modelling in wax for the innumerable requirements of the church.⁽²⁷⁾

Within a few years Powell was a fully fledged painter and designer working for and alongside Pugin rather than under him, an invaluable part of the team gathered in Ramsgate, as evidenced in the letters written by Pugin to John Hardman junior.⁽²⁸⁾ Powell would therefore be prepared for the task ahead and well able to supervise the firm’s artistic affairs when he came back to Birmingham after Pugin’s death in 1852 bringing the draughtsmen with him. The young Edward Pugin, by now Powell’s brother-in-law, then aged 18, also came with him to carry on the architectural side of the studio. The firm was now known as John Hardman & Co. with John Hardman, William, James and John Hardman Powell as partners.

Before stained glass manufacture was capable of meeting the demands of the Gothic Revival and the renewed religious fervour, the craft had to be relearnt, for the legacy of the Reformation and the systematic iconoclasm that followed, with only a few pockets of resistance, had very nearly annihilated the art of stained glass. The technical basis for the rediscovery of old skills came about through the persistent research by a number of inquiring minds. Among them were Eugene Bontemps, who is said to have re-discovered flashed glass in Choisy-le-Roi in 1836 and came to Chance soon after to look after their colour and ornamental department,⁽²⁹⁾ and Charles Winston, who, through his own long term personal interest in medieval glass and thorough study of ancient specimens in English churches, published in 1847 detailed drawings of windows and sections of glass in different thicknesses and hues, for

²⁶ In a letter to the Earl of Shrewsbury, 1841, (see note^o1).

²⁷ As seen in several chapters of Atterbury & Wainwright (eds.), *Pugin: A Gothic Passion*: “If we get any single figures Powell is simply the best”, letter from Pugin to Hardman, House of Lords Record Office (HLRO), no. 819, 1850, cited in Stanley Shepherd, ‘Stained Glass’, pp.194-206 (p. 198), and an earlier example in 1845, “I send you the Pastoral staff, Powell is modelling the head of St. Andrew, the foliage and the crockett,” Eatwell and North, p. 177. John Powell also helped prepare the designs for the volume of *Floriated Ornament* published in 1849, as recounted in Margaret Belcher, ‘Pugin Writing’, pp. 105-116 (p. 111). Note 12 to the chapter states that this information was given to Miss Belcher by Alexandra Wedgwood.

²⁸ Pugin to Hardman, HLRO, no. 576, 1851 cited by Shepherd, p.198: “I do not think Powell can go away directly, [travelling abroad to see the glass in situ] the whole study may as well be pulled down if he does... all the others will go wild, quite wild...”

²⁹ J.G. Jenkins, ‘Glass’, *The Victoria History of the Counties of England: A History of Staffordshire*, 13 Vols., M.W. Greenslade and J.G. Jenkins (eds.), ii, pp. 224-230 (p. 229). London: Oxford University Press, 1967.

which the Victorians were to be extremely thankful.⁽³⁰⁾ A more general revival of stained glass was now a technical possibility. James Powell and Sons of Whitefriars, London, were the first to recreate antique glass in 1853. Hardman would purchase much of their glass from them in the 1850s and 1860s. From the mid-century onwards, the demand for new glass seemed for its urgency as if actuated by a desire to expiate the blind fury which had torn down the ancient glass and the ignorant neglect which had left it to drop from its leadwork.⁽³¹⁾

Hardman Powell recognised that with the newly produced antique-style glass quality control was the key if the expectations of designers and their demanding clients were to be met. He personally involved himself very closely indeed in the choice of colour hue, bulk orders as well as individual pieces. There are records of his selecting personally pieces of ruby red for a specific window design as well as rejecting a total consignment of yellow as not suitable. That Powell could prevail to have Chance Brothers, who became the leading supplier of glass to Hardman during the 1860s, to send colour ahead of orders, or even put colours aside for future use, take back what was not acceptable and work toward new colour tints, can only point to the status and importance of John Hardman & Co. as a customer, and to the precision and care applied to implementation of their design work. The importance Powell placed on colour, his determination to obtain accurate and repeatable hues, meant that quality, as well as range and therefore success, did increase.

The constancy of tone was the most praised quality for the designer-artist: aiming for harmonious effect in a building, he was aware that colours respond to northern or southern exposure and therefore a range of hues within a set colour tone was a necessity. The experimentation with new oxide combinations offered regularly by Chance to Hardman, certainly contributed to the wider colour range and noticeable mellowing of the later years. Hardman Powell's colour sense and sensitivity, if we are to trust his satisfied clientele, was almost legendary.⁽³²⁾

Religious developments created the demand for antique glass to which Hardman responded.

³⁰ C. Winston, *An Inquiry into the Difference of style observable in Ancient Glass Paintings, Especially in England: with hints on glass painting by an amateur*. Oxford: John Henry Parker, 1847.

³¹ Powell, 'The Art of Stained Glass', in Timmins, p. 520.

³² From Revd. Randall, Clifton All Saints: "The work is noble, I thank you," 15th August 1867; "Everyone who sees the windows admires them," 27th May 1872; from Mr. Charles Rowley, St. Neots: "You really have done it this time, the window is beautiful and all that could be wished," 30th December 1872; "The windows are a perpetual source of instruction, joy and admiration to the faithful," 21st June 1877; from Revd. Whelan, Wadhurst The Mount: "The effect is simply superb, come and see for yourself," 6th December 1893. Letters to John Hardman Powell, Glass Correspondence, Hardman Archives, MS 175, Birmingham Reference Library, (hereafter referred to as HABRL).

The Catholic revival was gathering momentum and provoked a violent outcry among some Protestants at the Act of 1850 which restored formally the Catholic hierarchy. Pugin reacted by writing a pamphlet.⁽³³⁾ The idea was to appease the fears of Popery. Wide circulation was vital, examples of the people's misunderstanding being a sign of bigotry never far away, as in Ramsgate itself, where Pugin's house was "pelted with filth" and St. Mary's chalked with "vile inscriptions." He wrote to John Hardman with whom he shared a commitment to the revival of their religion and its practice: "and now my dear Hardman, you must help distribution of this address....Do your work among all the people who have the worst idea of us..."

At about the same time and very much for the same reasons, John Henry Newman, who had set up The Oratory in Birmingham in 1848, gave a series of lectures at the Corn Exchange, which "exposed the absurdity and injustice of English prejudices against Roman Catholics."⁽³⁴⁾ In one of these lectures, his satirical exposé damaged the reputation of a renegade priest, Dr Achilli, who subsequently took Newman and, through him, the Church to Court. Hardman offered a £1,000 to cover the expenses. The case was satisfactorily resolved for Newman in 1852. Hardman Powell, coming back to Birmingham at this time, with little money, had added £1.10s as his contribution. The closeness of the Hardmans and the Powells to Newman is shown by letters surviving in the Newman archives.⁽³⁵⁾

Apart from this personal closeness and the weight no doubt given to Newman's teachings by members of the firm, his voice found wider echoes among its clients within the Anglican church as a result of his former prominent role at Oxford. After the decision on the suppression of 10 Irish Bishoprics, Newman and his friends felt justified in registering their dismay and were prompted to action: the Oxford Movement was considered by Newman to have begun with Keble's "National Apostasy" sermon on 14th July 1833. The Tracts it produced were the product of the faith and enthusiasms of its leaders. "It was necessary to

³³ Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin, *An Earnest Address on the Subject of the Re-establishment of the Hierarchy*. London: Dolman, 1851.

³⁴ David Newsome, *The Convert Cardinals: John Henry Newman and Henry Edward Manning*. London: John Murray, 1995, p. 202 (hereafter cited as Newsome).

³⁵ John Henry Newman, *Letters and Diaries of John Henry Newman*, G.S. Dessain (ed.), 31 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961-1984, (hereafter referred to as Newman, *Letters*). On 2nd March 1853, Newman wrote to John Hardman: "...What has overwhelmed me is the generosity with which my Catholic brethren have made my cause their own;" (xv, p. 317), on 4th June 1875 he wrote: "My dear Mr. Powell, I write to return to you and yours my very warmest thanks for your and their affectionate sorrow for me" (xxvii, p. 312), on 15th June 1877 he was including Powell's daughters in his blessings and best wishes, inviting them to tea (xxviii, p. 205). On 13th March 1879 (xxix, p. 79) Mr. and Mrs. Powell were addressed as "My dear friends," on 21st September 1881 he wrote to Powell: "It will please me very much to have your son with us," (xxix, p. 418).

write and to write as each man felt...clear brief appeals to conscience and reason.”⁽³⁶⁾ The Tracts were the result of their common and yet individual efforts. “I had the consciousness that I was employed in that work which I had been dreaming about,” Newman wrote, “and which I felt to be so momentous and inspiring. I had a supreme confidence in our cause; we were upholding that primitive Christianity which was delivered for all time by the early teachers of the Church, and which was registered and attested in the Anglican formularies and by the Anglican divines. That ancient religion had well-nigh faded away out of the land, through the political changes of the last 150 years, and it must be restored. It would be in fact a second Reformation.”⁽³⁷⁾ However, eight years later, after the publication of Newman’s *Tract XC*, a reappraisal of the 39 Articles from a primitive catholic point of view, which was seen as deliberately close to heresy and unacceptable to the Heads of the colleges, the official request was made for the cessation of further publications.

This initiated a train of events: Newman taking up full-time residence at Littlemore in 1842, his resignation as Vicar of St. Mary’s in 1843 and his subsequent departure to Rome with some of his flock in 1845. While still at Littlemore Newman and its community exerted great influence on both the fellows and undergraduates who visited it. Newman’s vision of a church earnest in purpose and strict in life was no longer as remote. His scholarship and forthrightness gave back to people the ability to think about principles the Church hierarchy no longer respected. His influence within the Church of England was to bear fruit in the years to come as his adherents matured and themselves became influential.

Many look on Newman as a key figure of the century, embodying in his own life and depicting at length in his writing the tribulations and victories experienced and hoped for by a great number of people, believers and others. His works were widely read: “the printed sermons sold well and provided Newman with a steady income;”⁽³⁸⁾ for many, *The Dream of Gerontius*, published in 1865, and so often referred to, “summed up most of what Victorian believers wished to affirm about the future life”⁽³⁹⁾, offering a passage between the eternal punishment theory brandished at the beginning of the century, by the Evangelicals, who included William Wilberforce among their number, and the universal salvation of the later years

³⁶ R.W. Church, *The Oxford Movement: Twelve Years 1833 to 1845*. London: Macmillan, 1891, p. 97.

³⁷ John Henry Newman, *Apologia Pro Vita Sua*. London: Collins Fontana Books, 3rd impr. 1965, p. 128.

³⁸ Henry Chadwick, ‘Newman’s significance for the Anglican Church’, in *Newman: A Man for our Time*, D. Brown (ed.). London: SPCK, 1990, pp. 52-73 (p. 71), (hereafter cited as H. Chadwick).

³⁹ Geoffrey Rowell, *Hell and the Victorians*. London: Oxford University Press, 1974, p. 160, (hereafter cited as Rowell).

of the century upheld by his son.⁽⁴⁰⁾ That the doctrine of hell and eternal punishment remained a subject of widespread debate is shown by the reactions to a series of sermons conveying a gentler message also delivered in late 1877 by Revd. F.W. Farrar, Canon and Archdeacon of Westminster.⁽⁴¹⁾ Many argued that a vision of punishment restrained the poor from orgies of class violence but some maintained that the older doctrine of hell was a cause of disbelief among working men.

For others the key figure might have been Darwin whose *Origin of Species* was published in 1859 initiating the controversy between science and religion expressed at the time in the view that harmony no longer reigned between God's words and His works. At its most extreme it was held that evolution made creation no longer necessary and "matter," in the words of Tyndall, had "the promise and potency of all life."⁽⁴²⁾ John Tyndall gave a lecture to the Birmingham and Midland Institute on 1st October, 1877, cited in *The Times* the following day (pp. 8-9). He defended materialism and denied freewill. Its conclusion was that beliefs and dogmas were the product of Man's moral nature and this in its turn owed its genesis and development to the interaction of social forces.

The debate between scientists and divines following the publication of Darwin's work also led to a debate on whether both a scientific and a Christian view could be held. Asa Gray, both a follower of Darwin and a Christian, believed to the end of his life that by proposing a scientific process underlying the development of the species, Darwin had strengthened the argument of an overall design.⁽⁴³⁾ For many, scientists like Faraday, Pritchard and Maxwell, or liberal minded Divines, what counted most was Darwin's contribution to the truth. Could science and religion be existing side by side? Would religious faith impede a scientist in his development? Could believers accept the evidence for evolution? Could a clergyman, if he no longer believed in Genesis, remain in holy orders? A questionnaire sent by a follower of Darwin received 120 answers to the effect that he could. Accommodation was a necessity, for Romanes, who, in 1875, concluded that Darwinism disproved Christianity,⁽⁴⁴⁾ later wrote "without religion the Universe had lost its soul of loveliness."⁽⁴⁵⁾

⁴⁰ C.E. Wood, *Archdeacon Wilberforce: His Ideals and Teaching*. London: Elliott Stock, 1917, p. 22.

⁴¹ Published as *Eternal Hope* in 1878 and cited by Rowell, p. 139.

⁴² Quoted in Owen Chadwick, *The Victorian Church*, 2 Vols. London: A. & C. Black, 1970, ii, p. 12, (hereafter cited as O. Chadwick).

⁴³ Clement C.J. Webb, *Religious Thought in England from 1850*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933, p. 38, (hereafter cited as Webb).

⁴⁴ O. Chadwick, ii, p. 21.

⁴⁵ *ibid.*, ii, p. 22.

Professor Webb from Oriel College argued that England's poets, moral theologians and essayists, from Browning and Arnold to Bradley, Green and Ruskin, played a part in reconciling the new scientific beliefs and the need of the individual to direct his emotion towards an ideal being.⁽⁴⁶⁾ The argument emerged more and more forcefully during the period covered by this research and it was only towards its end, in 1889, with the publication of *Lux Mundi* that a satisfactory basis was defined by theologians to bring to a resolution a basis for faith in the face of the scientific challenge.⁽⁴⁷⁾ ⁽⁴⁸⁾ The traditional dogmas of the Creation and the Fall could be thus entertained metaphorically and the fall of Man seen not to be incompatible with his ascent or evolution. In the later years of the century "devotions were popular,...religion...simplicity, the childlike"⁽⁴⁹⁾ valued, therefore they saw a mellowing, colourful demonstration of faith and gregarious, joyful hymn singing. "Hymns were part of a Christian democracy. They were accepted or rejected by popular acclamation."⁽⁵⁰⁾ The worshipper valued hymns because they appealed to his soul whereas "theology was complicated as it engaged contemporary doubt."⁽⁵¹⁾

The adaptation of the principles and guidance provided by the churches offered comfort to the faithful but failed to extend its influence throughout the community. According to A.D.Gilbert:⁽⁵²⁾ "the Anglican resurgence was confined largely to a social constituency in which the working classes were grossly under-represented." It was not a loss of existing members but a failure to recruit from the working class which led to the decline which became evident after 1900.

However it was easy to believe that England was part of a religious expansion as the Established Church became more outwardly caring and not unwilling to practice social Christianity. According to Chadwick, "until 1885 the churches and chapels nearly kept pace with the rising population"⁽⁵³⁾ as the result of extraordinary efforts in church building and pastoral care. Kent remarks similarly on the undeniable multiplication in the number of

⁴⁶ Webb, p. 78.

⁴⁷ Rev. Aubrey Moore, 'The Christian Doctrine of God', in *Lux Mundi: A Series of Studies in the Religion of the Incarnation*, Charles Gore (ed.). London: John Murray, 1891, p. 74: "the great truth of the Divine immanence in creation, which is not less essential to the Christian idea of God than to a philosophical view of nature."

⁴⁸ This publication played "some superficial part in bringing Romanes back to a faith only achieved a year or two before his death in 1894." O. Chadwick, ii, p. 22.

⁴⁹ *ibid.*, ii, p. 470.

⁵⁰ *ibid.*, ii, p. 470.

⁵¹ *ibid.*, ii, p. 470.

⁵² A.D. Gilbert, *Religion and Society in Industrial England*. London: Longman, 1976, p. 139.

⁵³ O. Chadwick, ii, p. 227.

religious institutions taking place in the city of Bristol,⁽⁵⁴⁾ recording that the lively building program involved Street and Scott, both calling on Hardman among others for the glass. An effective division of territory took place between the Anglican denomination and the Free Church, the middle classes intent on preserving a distinction between themselves and the working classes thus colonising suburbia and the Free churches consolidating their hold on the town, their people and hopefully their politicians.

To what extent had Hardman's work evolved to match the new spirit abroad and the change of emphasis at least in their Anglican clients? Pugin's contribution to the revival of medieval forms of stained glass had been considerable, his difficulties and successes shared with Powell. Harrison in a very worthy effort to give representation to the ten or so firms, of real importance, out of the hundreds that, he says, sprang up at the height of the Gothic Revival, gives a selection of their outstanding windows.⁽⁵⁵⁾ It is clear that in Harrison's eyes, Hardman came to the fore in the middle of the century, slightly later than Wailes, Warrington and Willement, the firms that Pugin had used before Hardman produced his windows. Harrison pays tribute to Pugin and to the superiority of his work.⁽⁵⁶⁾ He also recognizes that the firm continued to flourish for many years. However the true spirit of the Gothic Revival was impaired by the assertive attitude in the late 1850s and 1860s of the artist glass painters who were no longer content to be dictated to by architects or restricted by architecturally strict adherence to the advocated early style. Hardman Powell is given as an example.⁽⁵⁷⁾ Powell became more assertive in his preferences, quarrelling with William Butterfield and, as a result, in 1860, having a window rejected by him and ceasing to work for him for twelve years.

Harrison also believes that the Oxford Movement mattered less than the Cambridge Camden Society,⁽⁵⁸⁾ which must imply that the Society's strict aesthetic guidance was more influential, while it lasted, than the repositioning of the church, which was seeking to rekindle religious principles and piety. Harrison quotes Paul Thomson's book on Butterfield, which states that the architect remained to the end the champion of the Cambridge Camden Society.

Burlison & Grylls, Clayton & Bell, Lavers & Barraud, and William Morris, Marshall, Faulkner, & Co. were active and successful in the next decades. A new philosophy was being

⁵⁴ Rev. J.H.S. Kent, 'The role of Religion in the cultural structure of the later Victorian city', in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, (Fifth Series), 23, (1973), pp. 153-173.

⁵⁵ Harrison, pp. 75 et seq.

⁵⁶ Harrison, pp. 1, 15 and 20.

⁵⁷ *ibid.*, p. 26.

⁵⁸ *ibid.*, p. 20.

spread by William Morris and his contemporaries; the principles which informed the work of Morris's firm, and which make it noteworthy for its response to the times, arose from Morris's view on the superiority of craft over industrialised work, meaning that originality of design can only be achieved if the restrictions of glass imposed by the craft itself are dealt with by the craftsman in charge and the design by the artist to whom it has been entrusted. The other well known and particularly controversial principle attached to Morris was that new glass should only enter modern buildings.

It is therefore a matter for concern, to read in Harrison's view "that few artists who had become established working in a variety of Neo-Gothic styles were able to evolve in the wake of the new philosophies being spread by William Morris and his contemporaries...and by about 1880 the products of all the Birmingham stained glass studios (and to be fair most others) had become stereotyped and lacked conviction—a diluted version of their earlier work; they had found nothing to replace the belief and confidence apparent in much stained glass of the 1850s and early 1860s."⁽⁵⁹⁾

My own view is that with regard to Powell this overstates the case. As will be seen in examples in the following chapters, Powell demonstrated an ability to work alongside exacting clients and leading architects, among them Scott, Street and Woodyer,⁽⁶⁰⁾ in both new buildings and restorations, while retaining a certain degree of freedom. The rigour of Street, expressed in his 1852 paper was moderated and he came to adapt his designs and accept the inevitable: figures and narrative windows were what the majority wanted. So in 1862, Street wrote to Hardman, expressing a wish for "a window of the character of thirteenth century work both in force and vigour of detail and in richness of colour" for St. Paul's Church, Herne Hill.⁽⁶¹⁾ In a later letter to Hardman, he referred to the West window in Monks Kirby Priory, as "beautiful;"⁽⁶²⁾ this is a large window divided in shaped medallions linked by tightly designed diapers, well developed spandrels and dedicated to the life of Christ. The glass has a strong narrative evangelical message, extremely easy to decipher, the colours are the colours of early medieval glass where deep reds and luminous blues are broken by well placed but small areas of whites which seem to shimmer and vibrate. Three years later he wrote: "I want you to

⁵⁹ M. Harrison, 'Stained Glass', in *By Hammer and Hand: The Arts and Crafts Movement in Birmingham*, A. Crawford (ed.). Birmingham: Birmingham Museums and Art Gallery, 1984, p.119.

⁶⁰ Many examples of Woodyer's respect for the ability and judgment of Powell and the close collaboration between them are cited by Mathé Shephard in 'The Hardman Connection', *Henry Woodyer: Gentleman Architect*, John Elliott and John Pritchard (Eds.). Reading: The University of Reading, 2002, pp. 109-118.

⁶¹ Letter to Hardman from G. E. Street, dated 24th July 1862, Glass Correspondence, HABRL.

⁶² Letter to Hardman from G. E. Street, dated 10th December 1869, Glass Correspondence, HABRL (One panel shown in Plate 35b).

do something good, other churches on the same estate are being filled by Clayton and I want a rivalry of good work⁽⁶³⁾Are the Clifton windows finished? They are extremely good and I thank you heartily for them.”⁽⁶⁴⁾

Had a change nevertheless occurred in the perception of stained glass? Sebastian Evans, writing in the 1862 Exhibition catalogue,⁽⁶⁵⁾ may have spoken for many when he stated that a change was necessary and even if the glass was good, it could be better still, and by better, he meant drawing away from medievalism which he saw as a constraint if too closely followed. The work of Hardman in his eyes could represent both tendencies, too close an adherence to the early centuries “in model and treatment, as in Doncaster East window, while All Souls, Oxford offered windows where the grouping, drawing and colouring was of a very high order of merit.” It seems a fair assumption that Hardman remained associated in the minds of the majority with Pugin and his requirements. My view is that the lesson of old styles, “being taken as a guide not an authority” in the words of Lewis Day in his survey of the Applied Arts of the nineteenth century,⁽⁶⁶⁾ corresponds to the evolution of the firm: it did not reject the past, it remained conscious of its allegiance and its beginnings but found its own expressive style. Quality and craftsmanship were of the highest importance; windows were individually designed with no repetitions taking into account the clients’ wishes and the architectural setting.

This chapter has set out introductory information about the firm, its rivals, its key contacts, its technical development of glass manufacture and the nineteenth century religious and artistic context in which it worked. The iconographical study of the glass was carried out in parallel with a reading of the correspondence which took place between the firm and incumbents, secular patrons and architects who commissioned the glass. Between them, windows and documents tell how varied was the subject matter offered to clients, how wide the firm’s spread in the country and how sustained its appeal.

Arising out of the story which they tell are key issues which are to be discussed later in more detail. The first is the question of how Hardman responded to the religious climate of

⁶³ Letter to John Hardman Powell from G.E. Street, dated 23rd October 1872, Glass Correspondence, HABRL, referring to West Lutton, Yorkshire.

⁶⁴ *ibid.*, referring to Clifton All Saints.

⁶⁵ Sebastian Evans, ‘On Stained Glass’, in *Record of the International Exhibition, 1862*. London: William MacKenzie, 1862, pp. 399-406 (p. 405).

⁶⁶ Lewis Day, *A Book about Stained and Painted Glass*. London: Batsford, 1909, p.353, (hereafter cited as Evans).

denominational differences between Roman Catholics and Anglicans and the extent to which iconography was a continuation of earlier traditions or whether it was conditioned by the nineteenth century. The second key question is about the quality of Hardman's work; while part of this is about technical and stylistic considerations it is also about iconography and therefore part of this thesis. What has been the critical response to the firm's work and is it justified? What was the character of the firm's work and did it stagnate? Or, rather, did it attract substantial customers and retain the confidence of the architects whose influence was critical in gaining orders. Thirdly, did Hardman operate in a manner associated, by Ruskin at least, with a large manufacturer or did the firm respond to the wishes of individual customers and devote care and sensitivity to each of its commissions?

Chapter 2 – The Crucifixion

The most important subject treated by Hardman is the Crucifixion. In the subject index of the firm, four pages are devoted to it, confirming its importance. There are few churches with Hardman's glass without the Crucifixion. When in the East window, the Crucifixion, in the words of Reverend Sale, "the great central fact of dogma,"⁽⁶⁷⁾ is the focal point of the church.

When the event is part of a cyclical narrative, the cross is still the key to the mystery enacted. In the East window of Wootton Bassett parish church (Plate 1), the jewelled cross links up earthly and spiritual worlds; in the left light, the baptism of Jesus is associated with the temptation in the desert in the predella. The purpose of this juxtaposition is made clear by Newman's words: "As if there was some connection, beyond our understanding, between His baptism and temptation."⁽⁶⁸⁾ The Resurrection on the right, with *Noli me Tangere* in the predella below, justifies the faith in salvation brought by the Crucifixion. In both of these side lights a scroll winds itself to the top of the scenes, its significance indicated by the fact that it is seen emerging from the tomb itself.⁽⁶⁹⁾

In certain cases, as in the Hereford window shown in Plate 2, the cross is the link between the Old Law with Abraham, on the left as seen by the viewer,⁽⁷⁰⁾ about to sacrifice his son, and the New, with a Last Supper, on the right. The link is confirmed by the figures above in the tracery: Synagogue, as a blinded woman signifying the Jews not recognising their Messiah, and Ecclesia, free of the veil and carrying her head high, pointing to the marriage of Christ and the Church.⁽⁷¹⁾ Ecclesia also carries a chalice and a sceptre as the bride of Christ,⁽⁷²⁾ while the message from the cross is emphasized by the brazen serpent (which is a type for Christ in his resurrection) being at the foot of the cross.⁽⁷³⁾ The frontal view, horizontally outstretched arms and rigid posture of the body are very much an echo of early crucifixions.

⁶⁷ Letter to Hardman from Revd. Sale, 8th November 1880 (one of many), Glass Correspondence, HABRL.

⁶⁸ John Henry Newman, *Parochial and Plain Sermons*, 8 Vols. London: Rivington, 1870, iii, p. 158, (hereafter cited as Newman, *PPS*).

⁶⁹ The scroll motif is discussed at some length below.

⁷⁰ Strictly speaking, Abraham should be on the left of Christ – Emile Mâle, *Religious Art of the Thirteenth Century*, reprinted from trans. by Dora Nussey, 1913. New York: Dover Publications, 2000, pp. 189-190, (hereafter cited as Mâle, *Thirteenth Century*).

⁷¹ Epistle to the Ephesians: 5:32.

⁷² Betty Kurth, cited in M.D. Anderson, *The Imagery of British Churches*. London: John Murray, 1955, p. 209, (hereafter cited as Anderson), pointing to Ecclesia as bride and rejection of Synagogue as of Byzantine origin.

⁷³ John L. McKenzie, *Dictionary of the Bible*, London-Dublin: Geoffrey Chapman, 1972, p. 590, (hereafter cited as McKenzie).

It is rare that the cross is not placed centrally but in Stone (Plate 3), in the five-light window of the Catholic church this does occur: a tall, slender Virgin, portrayed as the Apocalyptic Woman, crowned with stars and standing on a silver crescent (the crescent is obscured in the plate) has the crucified Christ on her extreme right and St. John the Baptist on her left. In the four-light window at the Anglican Halesowen (Plate 4), the Ascension had to be placed with great sensitivity so that the window achieved symmetry, retained its balance, and carried its message of hope, bringing the response from Reverend Hove when writing to Powell: “He ascendeth up on high ...its beauty is a source of continual pleasure.”⁽⁷⁴⁾

When not in the East window, Crucifixions sometimes offer Christ on the cross alone as in Ottery (Plate 5) or Helmsley. Ottery dates from 1850, was drawn by Powell and Oliphant for Pugin. The client was the architect William Butterfield and the figure, high in the clerestory, has the knotted knees of early medieval figures. In the case of Tewkesbury Abbey (Plate 6) or Nottingham parish church, Crucifixions appear in the West windows and are part of a larger, clearly readable scheme leading to and from the main event.

It is pertinent to ask whether there are systematic differences in representations between denominations, does the importance given to specific attributes like the loin cloth, the differences in the cross itself, the emphasis on the wounds, the sacred blood and the chalice (and later their disappearance) and the unmistakable presence of angels, tell of attempts to reconcile doctrinal and social considerations at a time when Tractarian influences emphasised the former and Newman and others sought to quieten the doubts provoked by Darwin? To better assess the characteristics of the firm’s many representations of the Crucifixion, certain motifs will be examined more specifically: the nails, the wounds, the cross itself, with or without Vesica Piscis, the presence of Mary and that of the other witnesses.

Historically the use of three nails, one foot nailed over the other,⁽⁷⁵⁾ or four, prevailed at different periods. Three nails had acquired the force of dogma in medieval thinking⁽⁷⁶⁾ as it had been used for more than 300 years. But in the sixteenth century, Cardinal Tolet identified the four nails with the four soldiers who hammered in the nails and shared Christ’s clothing.⁽⁷⁷⁾

⁷⁴ Letter to John Hardman Powell from Revd. Hove, 29th May 1874, Glass Correspondence, HABRL.

⁷⁵ Although the custom was to nail the right foot over the left as shown in the Van Dyck painting (note^o 126), in the Hardman examples the left is placed over the right foot which tends to make the body appear longer.

⁷⁶ M. Didron, *Christian Iconography: or, The History of Christian Art in the Middle Ages*, 2 vols., translated by E.J. Millington, London: Henry G. Bohn, 1851. Vol. 2, edition with additions by Margaret Stokes. London: George Bell & Sons, 1907, ii, p.71, (hereafter cited as Didron).

⁷⁷ Emile Mâle, *L’art religieux après le concile de France*. Paris: Armand Colin, 1932, p. 270, (hereafter cited as Mâle, *Après le concile*).

This represented a return to the pre-thirteenth century practice, whereby Christ was nailed with four nails in conformity with the eastern style. Religious thinkers debated and Cardinal Suarez declared the problem insoluble. Molanus, in the seventeenth century, in his *Traité des Saintes Images*, gave artists back their freedom of choice.⁽⁷⁸⁾

This freedom was used by Hardman as demonstrated in the examples which follow. There are three nails in Harborne parish church, in Haymills and in Ottery, in Carlisle East window and Munster Square, London, in Solihull and in Stone, both RC, and four in Wootton Bassett, Caverswall RC, and Lichfield Cathedral's south aisle. In Norwich Catholic Cathedral, Plate 7b and 7c, there are two crucifixions both with four nails. An analysis of Hardman crucifixions shows the Anglican preference generally is for three nails with little change between the beginning and end of the period. The smaller RC sample shows some change from three nails to four between the early and final years of the period.

Three nails determine the position of Christ's body on the cross, but seem to give the artist the possibility of a greater plasticity than four in the representation of the body of Christ, though there are exceptions. Catholic Norwich illustrates both positions but with four-nailed figures in each. There is a twisted, suffering body in the east with knees in unison telling of the last throes of life, which is why, perhaps, only close inspection reveals the feet to be detached from each other. In the west, from the two feet clearly nailed apart and holding the body upright, four streams of blood are running into four golden chalices. Norwich, a late creation (1893), demonstrates the persistence of radical renderings. There four streams evoke the image of Christ treading the vine. Four nails can reinforce the rigidity, particularly when distance and height come into play body and cross become one, as in Hereford Cathedral (Plate 2).

The Crucifixion in Lichfield Anglican Cathedral (Plate 8) dates from 1870. The body of Christ in the centre light is attached by four nails to a cross that has become part of the decorative structure of the window itself as its base stands between the scrolls that separate the main lights from the lower ones. The feet nailed at the ankle are attached in a graceful manner as if resting on an imaginary suppedaneum. The body is neither straight, rigid, nor sagging but strong, well proportioned, unmarked⁽⁷⁹⁾ and above all undefeated. Jesus is fair of skin and hair; he is bearded and yet youthful and he is crowned, haloed and adored by angels closely in attendance. On his left the real cross is depicted, held respectfully by St. Helena, the Emperor

⁷⁸ *ibid.*, p.271.

⁷⁹ "Corruption had no power over the Sacred Body," Newman, *PPS*, ii, p.142.

Constantine's mother "to whom Heaven amongst many other favours, granted the discovery of the cross"⁽⁸⁰⁾ when on pilgrimage in Jerusalem. She showed great zeal in creating convents and monasteries and distributing alms.⁽⁸¹⁾ The overall message of the window with a Resurrection to the right, the brazen serpent high in the tracery and the dragon doubly vanquished either side, by St. Michael and St. George, is one of hope, and of death and sin conquered, hence Adam and Eve below the cross. It is a protestant message where death and the devil are both annihilated. The use of the lifted brazen serpent seen in 1865 (Wellington College), 1870 (Ludlow, in the aisles), 1874 (Hereford) and here, in 1870, demonstrate the persistence of typology. Newman's words confirm and elucidate its meaning in a sermon of 1850: "the most awful of mysteries,... the ignominy of position, yet the cross our triumph, sanctified by him who hung on it, predicted under the figure of the brazen serpent, now a means of grace."⁽⁸²⁾

This example of the nails points to the difficulty of establishing fast rules: each case is different. It can be said that three nails are more current in Anglican (including Tractarian) churches. A crucifixion seen from afar does lead to a barer, squarer rendering and Shrewsbury is certainly an example of this (Plates 9a and 9b), although close examination (Plate 9b(i) and (iii)) reveals that the apparently four-nailed body is in fact held by three.

It is interesting to note that when Miss Gough had consulted the Bishop of Lichfield before acquiescing to the final design for Shrewsbury Abbey in 1888, objections had been raised as to "the two angels holding chalices and the blood running into them, for it made it all too realistic."⁽⁸³⁾ Two sets of the original drawings have been preserved: in both Christ is attached to a cross drawn beyond the confines of the vesica and of live, green, foliated wood; drawing one has the blood spurting and preserved in chalices held by long-winged angels, but in drawing two which was preferred, the wounds and the blood have been suppressed. The message of salvation is still read but the emphasis on the physical suffering of Christ has been made less evident. The plate also shows a closer view of the window and an extract from the first drawing to the left of the accepted version.

⁸⁰ William Bernard MacCabe, *A Catholic History of England*, London: T.C. Newby, 1847, p. 50, (hereafter cited as MacCabe).

⁸¹ Alban Butler, *Lives of The Saints*, first published in 12 volumes, London, 1756-59, H. Thurston, and D. Attwater (eds.). London: Burns, Oates and Washbourne, 1926-38, viii, p. 252, (hereafter referred to as Butler, *Lives of The Saints*).

⁸² John Henry Newman, *Sermon Notes of John Henry Cardinal Newman*, (hereafter cited as Newman, *Sermon Notes*), London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1913, p. 301.

⁸³ Letter to Hardman from the donor, Miss Gough, dated 9th January 1888, Glass Correspondence, HABRL.

Letters and the first drawing in the hand of Powell tend to confirm that this could be taken as an expression of his own convictions (there are a number of similar examples) and the fuller drawing on the plate as a proof that as artistic head of a successful firm he was ready to accede to a client's view. The window in situ reveals that the body is without much modulation, the legs broader than in the drawing, the head sagging, hardly raised but still visible from a distance, being close to the line of two disproportionately long arms which reach the confines of the lancet, beyond even the elliptical mandorla.

Miss Gough wrote to Powell: "It was felt that the task had been well done,"⁽⁸⁴⁾ the appropriateness of the design adding grandeur to the chancel and the mellow tones softening and refining the stonework. The Archdeacon of Salop and the Bishop of Lichfield, were "charmed" and found the window "very beautiful."⁽⁸⁵⁾ From afar the illusion of cross and body being in unison is overwhelming and allows the viewer to understand the words of the Bishop and the effect of the change from the original drawing.

This window is said by Pevsner to be designed by the architect John Loughborough Pearson whom he believed to be one of the most important architects of the Gothic revival, and the glass made by Mr. Jackson of London in 1887.⁽⁸⁶⁾ The records of it being made by Hardman could not be clearer with drawings, letters in existence and payment made in 1889. The window can thus be re-attributed to the firm.

Stoke Albany (1878) provides another example, shown in Plate 10b, of an initial drawing considered too strong and toned down in the eventual rendering. On this occasion it was at the request of the incumbent that Christ's wounds were removed and He was portrayed with an *ex sanguine* body: it was the wish on the part of the incumbent to shelter his congregation from excessive emotions as it was not accustomed to Medieval Art.⁽⁸⁷⁾ He therefore asked for "less active angels,"⁽⁸⁸⁾ and for them "not to be receiving the blood."⁽⁸⁹⁾ The composition is strong as well as unusual. There are two small angels at the foot of the cross and two also, grieving and in flight, crossing the border between Heaven and Earth towards the figure on the cross: Jesus, clearly defined against the red semicircle of Heaven delineated by a stylised scalloped border, his hollow chest telling of gasping breath, arms held at a sharp angle, fingers

⁸⁴ Letter to John Hardman Powell from Miss Gough, 6th April 1888, Glass Correspondence, HABRL.

⁸⁵ *ibid.*

⁸⁶ Pevsner, *The Buildings of England Series: Shropshire*. London: Penguin Books, 1958, p. 261.

⁸⁷ Letter to John Hardman Powell from Revd. Sale, 8th November 1880, Glass Correspondence, HABRL.

⁸⁸ *ibid.*

⁸⁹ *ibid.*

reacting to the physicality of the nails, hangs on a dark green cross with floral decoration framed by a simple white beading. There is only restrained sorrow as the three Marys bow their heads and John's clasped hands echo those of the figure on the right. The outline of a city low-down on the horizon anchors the scene. A further example at about this time is provided by Revd. Clement of St. Owen's who, in 1880, asked through his architect not only for the blood to be omitted but also the floriated enrichment of the cross.⁽⁹⁰⁾

In the late 1860s there was already controversy over the showing of blood, with examples both of blood being shown and of resistance to it on the part of incumbents. Already in 1869, Reverend Sale then at Kirkby Hill All Saints had written:⁽⁹¹⁾ "I do not like the sacred blood being received by an angel." This importance of the angel is all the more interesting as the letter continues: "The great fact of the Crucifixion is an adoring act: simply leave two angels in the act of adoration and replace the two lower angels at the foot of the cross by the Blessed Virgin and Mary Magdalene."⁽⁹²⁾ On the other hand at Sambrook (1870) the blood is associated with the vine; in Shilton (1868) the blood is spurting and yet no cup is there to receive it; in Gosberton (1868), the left side has been pierced and the blood gathered in a chalice. In the 1866 Catholic example, (Solihull St. Augustine, shown in Plate 11), blood issues from the wounds of the nails and is gathered by angels in cups; blood being received in chalices refers to the church as ministrant of the Sacrament; it is therefore understandable it should be made visible in Catholic churches.

Mary Magdalene is referred to in another letter from Reverend Sale as the sinner in opposition to the Virgin who is pure and Ruth in the predella is said to be placed in front of the viewer as the cardinal fact of the Incarnation (meaning in a typological representation). In this last remark the incumbent is taking seriously the task of enlightening his parishioners, or, perhaps, trusting that for the better educated among them, the New Testament event, the Incarnation, was the fulfilment of the Old Testament. Reverend Sale was also perhaps reacting to the view that the medieval ages stressed above all the contrasts of Good and Evil, Doom and Redemption when in the nineteenth century, it was more important to stress a general atmosphere of devotion in the light of the new perception of evolution, rather than singling out a special act of God. In the figurative works of the time, there are less virtues combating vices than in earlier centuries, instead virtues are seen as triumphant and there are many windows on

⁹⁰ Letter to Hardman from Hayward and Son dated 2nd April 1880, Glass Correspondence, HABRL.

⁹¹ Letter to Hardman from Revd. Sale, dated 26th August 1869, Glass Correspondence, HABRL.

⁹² Perhaps we can infer from his response that the same feature of the two angels thus placed as in Stoke Albany was a trait of the designer.

the Hardman books dedicated to Hope, Faith and Charity as well as Works of Mercy to corroborate this view. It is not to say that forces of darkness were to be dismissed; and Burkill mentions the popularity of *The Pilgrim's Progress* and *The Dream of Gerontius* as evidence of this. Chadwick, citing the same two works, wrote, "For although the Victorians did not believe in hell or demons but were aware ... of the powers of ... the subconscious and demonic process of society" nevertheless the two works fitted the bill. "They saw themselves on the way, In Via."⁽⁹³⁾ *The Pilgrim's Progress* was also cited by Easson⁽⁹⁴⁾ as a popular read while a copy of *The Dream of Gerontius*, belonging to General Gordon and copiously underlined, was returned to Newman after his death in Khartoum; a poor stocking weaver on his deathbed made his wife read the poem to him repeatedly.⁽⁹⁵⁾ Asa Briggs remarks in his study of the nineteenth century, that literature is much more revealing than economic data for the understanding of the attitudes of the times though he corroborates the importance of the latter as well.⁽⁹⁶⁾

It is reasonable to say that as the century progressed adoration took precedence over the visible suffering, for the majority of windows whether Church of England, High Church or Roman Catholic. Little Malvern (Plate 12) illustrates the point in a window from 1890: "Streams of Blood" were to be omitted in this Roman Catholic church. The few depictions in Hardman's work of Longinus, who pierced Christ's side, despite his being known in Anglo-Saxon England from the eighth century,⁽⁹⁷⁾ can be construed also as confirmation of the reluctance of clients to see the flow of blood.⁽⁹⁸⁾ The blood which flowed from Christ's side was said to be curative (in the Golden Legend it is said to have cured Longinus's partial blindness) and revelatory (of the Eucharist mystery as both water and blood flowed). Although the purpose of this thesis is not to engage in doctrinal speculation, it could be inferred that the presence of angels surrounding the crucified Christ in Little Malvern is in lieu of the blood being shown and being received by angels as in Solihull more than twenty years

⁹³ O. Chadwick, ii, p. 467.

⁹⁴ Angus Easson, *Elizabeth Gaskell*. London: Routledge, 1979, p. 21, (hereafter cited as Easson).

⁹⁵ Wilfred Ward, *The Life of John Henry Cardinal Newman*, 2 vols., London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1912, ii, pp. 356-7, and ii, p. 514, (hereafter cited as Ward).

⁹⁶ Asa Briggs, *England in the Age of Improvement: 1783 to 1867*, revised edition. London: Folio Society, 1999, p. 2.

⁹⁷ Cited by T.A. Heslop, 'Cult and Culture in Anglo-Saxon England', in 'The Review of Anglo-Saxon Crucifixion Iconography' in *Art History*, 14, (1991), pp. 442-446, (hereafter cited as Heslop).

⁹⁸ There was a more marked reluctance on the part of C of E clients to seeing blood than of RC (85% of Hardman designs for Anglican churches show no blood). Of the five RC commissions during the early years of the period three show blood. Of the five from 1888 on, only Norwich Cathedral shows blood. In this case the Duke of Norfolk and his architect, the newly converted George Gilbert Scott, junior, set out to create a building in the style of the Early English phase of Gothic (unpublished historical note by Peter Warrington, Cathedral historian).

before (Plate 11). At the same time in some cases the emphasis on the blood was seen to be of particular significance as in Norwich, now the Catholic cathedral (Plate 7b-c), where, in the West window, the blood is flowing from the four wounds into six chalices and, in the East, from five wounds but simply left flowing. In Caverswall RC (Plate 7a), 20 years earlier, a single chalice was placed at the foot of the cross to receive the blood. In the late example (1898) in Sandal, showing the crucifixion linked to the Shepherd (Plate 26b) and analysed later in Chapter Four as a part of the Shepherd presentation, two jets of blood form an arc, recalling the rainbow of the Covenant shared by God with his people. The lambs, shown as recipients of the blood rather than the expected chalices, reinforce the view that the lamb was a symbol of Christ on the cross.

There was during the nineteenth century, a tendency to return to the symbolism of the early Christian Church. The sacrificial lamb (Plate 13) is a case in point: it was once in great favour;⁽⁹⁹⁾ it is certainly found with regularity in the tracery of many churches, sometimes even more than once, as in Sandal.⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ The lamb is often seen with a crucified halo holding the banner associated with the triumphant Christ risen from the tomb. In Kenn, in the tracery above Christ in the tomb, it lies, as the sacrificed lamb, on a sacrificial pyre, while below, in the predella (not shown), Christ has descended into Hell⁽¹⁰¹⁾ and is seen reaching out to the faithful. The message of the window was endorsed by its Tractarian vicar, Reverend Porter, who was much involved in the decision-making concerning the restoration of the church which had been entrusted to the architect Henry Woodyer. He was actively seeking to revive ancient forms of worship as the members of the Cambridge Camden Society set out to do.

In Didron's two drawings in Plate 13d and 13e, the lambs stand on the Mystical Mountain, in one case accompanying the figure of Christ and in the second, alone, symbolising him. From the mound flow the four streams,⁽¹⁰²⁾ the four symbolic streams of life, aiming for the four corners of the earth. The tabernacle was assimilated to the Mystical Mountain, representing

⁹⁹ Its image for the crucified Christ was abandoned for the human countenance, following a decree of AD 692. M. Didron, i, p. 332. Didron, who was frequently cited in *The Ecclesiologist* had been in correspondence with Pugin as shown by a letter quoted in B. Ferry, *Recollections of A.N. Welby Pugin and his Father Augustus Pugin*, London: Edward Stanford. 1861, reproduced in full in Appendix 1 of Alf Bøe, *From Gothic Revival to Functional Form*. Oslo: Oslo University Press, 1957.

¹⁰⁰ The emphasis on the Lamb as seen in Abingdon, 1877, Balderton, 1871, Bere Regis, 1875, Norwich, 1890, Sandal, 1874 in the east and 1898 in the aisle, Woodley, 1873, etc. may indicate that it is John's presentation of the Crucifixion which was informing the church at the time: for in St. John's Gospel the event took place the day before Passover, thus making Jesus into the Passover Lamb. Geza Vermes, *The New Face of Jesus*. London: Penguin, 2000, p. 36.

¹⁰¹ The commissioning of the windows and their purpose was recounted by Revd. R. Porter in his *Address to the Devon and Exeter Architectural Society*, 24th May, 1892, republished in Kenn: Kenn Parish Magazine, 1984, (hereafter cited as Porter).

¹⁰² Didron, i, p. 41.

the centre of the world and the link between heaven and earth.⁽¹⁰³⁾ In the examples shown in Plate 14, the lambs stand on the Sacred Mountain in Woodley and Newbury above the four rivers; they stand on the tabernacle from which, in Norwich, run rivers of blood and below which, in Sandal East, is fire, both emphasizing sacrifice. Rivers of water, giving life, can be seen in the other example from Sandal: there, the lamb is seen over a strong rush of water; this is set above a centre light⁽¹⁰⁴⁾ representing the well and below in the predella the symbolic image is reinforced by four angels pouring out water from four large vessels.

In Abingdon the lamb, holding the book with seven seals, stands on a tabernacle from which the rivers start as water but turn to blood before being collected in chalices: a reference to the Mystery of the Eucharist is here clearly made visible. Other references to John's vision can be seen in the renderings of the lambs in Plates 14 and 15: the seven lamps, the seven horns and the rings of the cosmic circle.⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ In Balderton (Plate 15a) the pure white lamb is at the centre of the light itself, honoured and praised by censing angels, Elders, Judges, Saints and Worthies; there is Christ in Majesty in the tracery above. This "Adoration of the Lamb," as it is referred to in the firm's order book, so prominent in the East Window at Balderton, bearing the symbol of the Resurrection, may be considered at the furthest remove from the Lamb as sacrifice seen at Kenn and the two provide the extremes of the Christian message portrayed in the various windows produced by Hardman embodying this theme.

In Kirkby Fleetham (Plate 16) an orant Virgin kneels at the foot of the cross between two vases of lilies. Mary, in front, is nearer to the spectator. By implication she acts as intermediary between mankind and its Salvation.⁽¹⁰⁶⁾ By placing Jesus high on the cross, above the Annunciation, Visitation, Nativity and Blessing occupying the side windows, the designer makes him the dominating presence: forces gather around the cross; two attentive angels flutter close to the figure and, in a fully developed tracery, more are descending, streamlined forms with hands forward, all converging from different angles towards him. Once more the Crucifixion has become the sign of triumphs to come.⁽¹⁰⁷⁾ One year before, in West Malvern, the Lord was "to be more joyous, more calmly triumphant for the East window is not a Passion window."⁽¹⁰⁸⁾

¹⁰³ Gerard de Champeaux, *Le monde des symboles*. Paris: Zodiac, 1966, p. 178, (hereafter cited as de Champeaux).

¹⁰⁴ Seen in Plate 32b.

¹⁰⁵ More particularly, Rev 1:10-16, and 5:6-14.

¹⁰⁶ Heslop, p. 444.

¹⁰⁷ Epistle to the Galatians 2:10-14.

¹⁰⁸ Letter to Hardman from Mrs. Pinder, 10th October 1871, Glass Correspondence, HABRL.

For Armitage's Crucifixion, one of five shown in Plate 17, Mr. Spode requested no cedar for the uprights, cypress for the feet and palm for the inscription, as referred to in Voragine⁽¹⁰⁹⁾, but "a cross of wood capable of upholding a body."⁽¹¹⁰⁾ The cross is straight and yet rounded and with knots. There are similar examples in Newark and Kenn but Catholic churches adhered to Abbot Suger's desire to honour God with the richest jewels possible as seen in Solihull where the cross resembles a gold and jewelled crucifix. Durandus's cross of live green wood,⁽¹¹¹⁾ symbol of a living emblem, is better translated in the foliated crosses of which Hascombe and Stoodleigh are good examples, as the sprouting scrolls arise from the crosses themselves. As can be noted, these crosses are set firmly in the ground although in Westboro and Tewkesbury, the cross rests on a simple mound. The presence of the skull (common in representations in earlier centuries representing Adam's skull and the delivery of mankind from original sin) is only rarely visible in nineteenth century depictions, with four examples identified in Hardman's output.

In the Hardman crucifixions, Christ is rarely alone, particularly in the East Window. Two specific examples, both private commissions, are the chapel in the Bishop's Palace next to Lichfield cathedral restored by Woodyer and the little church in Grafham, built by him next to his house.

Kirby Underdale with a further solitary crucified figure departs from the expected and the norm (Plate 18a): no Christ triumphant here at the top of the tree but a suffering figure at the top of this Jesse window. An echo of Jesse windows seen in St. Denis and Beauvais, both known personally to Powell, is in the Mother and Child placed in this instance in the mandorla immediately below, also shown in Plate 18b. Pevsner⁽¹¹²⁾ comments on the "dignity" of this "very typical" Hardman window. The window expresses great sensitivity of draughtmanship, as well as symbolic colouring.⁽¹¹³⁾ It also demonstrates the importance of

¹⁰⁹ Jacques de Voragine, *Legende Dorée*. Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1998, p. 260, (hereafter cited as de Voragine).

¹¹⁰ Letter to Hardman from Mr. Spode, 23rd September 1868, Glass Correspondence, HABRL.

¹¹¹ Didron, i, p. 412.

¹¹² Pevsner, *The Buildings of England Series: York and East Riding*. London: Penguin Books Ltd, 1972, p. 295.

¹¹³ Abbot Suger following the Pseudo-Dionysius argued that sensory impressions derived from bright colours drew the onlooker from the material to the immaterial. Colours were living stones, lapides vivi. Erwin Panofsky, *Meaning in the Visual Arts*. London: Penguin Books, 1993, pp. 160-162. Blue and gold, the most dominant colours in the thirteenth century and first captured in the early mosaics, symbolised the Divine Light that streamed through the whole Universe. Red was associated with the blood of the martyrs but above all the fire of Pentecost. The red of Angels' wings told of their mission as God's messengers linking Heaven and Earth. Green became the colour of new beginning. George Ferguson, *Signs and Symbols in Christian Art*. London: Oxford University Press, 1954, pp. 151-153, (hereafter cited as Ferguson). White has also been acknowledged by Isidore De Seville as the most noble as encapsulating all the colours.

lead line in the perception of the final design. The lead line is not rigid. It is also less fragmented than in medieval times when the pieces of glass available were small and their encircling produced a cobweb effect.⁽¹¹⁴⁾

The rareness of this solitary depiction is in accordance with scripture, for those who had known him and perceived his divinity did not stay at a distance but gathered at the foot of the cross. The climax of the Cross appears in all its starkness in Hascombe. It is a classical tragedy where mankind is reduced to the presence of Mary and John.⁽¹¹⁵⁾ The window itself is a narrow lancet and the grieving mother and the beloved disciple who is given the conventional attitude of lamentation are pressed against the cross. One end of the loin cloth⁽¹¹⁶⁾ is animated,⁽¹¹⁷⁾ but the head hangs low and forward and the torso feels the pull of the arms; there is no sign of the wounds and the left knee is thrown to the right. This is a recurring feature when the left foot is nailed over the right. The waist itself is affected and in Solihull (Plate 11) the outlines of the torso tell of the bracing effect caused by the nailed feet.

There is a strong triangular build-up of emotions seen in Armitage, Halam and Solihull when we look at the fuller picture, portrayed by the full window. In every one the body of the dead Christ is pale, long, the features of the face classical and fair⁽¹¹⁸⁾ and almost tranquil in death. This is repeated in Shipton and in Minchinhampton.

In Little Malvern all the figures are strikingly elongated and there is little of the gathering pathos and end-of-the-world atmosphere around the “cursed tree”⁽¹¹⁹⁾ which is to be seen in Tewkesbury: there, however, Christ is stronger of limb; muscles and bones are well defined, far beyond the caved-in chest seen generally. It is interesting to note that both date from the 1880s.

In Tewkesbury (Plate 19), the ability of the glass artist is comparable to that of the painters, utilizing the landscape or townscape as a way to reinforce the religious message. One can

¹¹⁴ The ability to cut lead in the sensitive manner shown here offers a more fluid modelling. Being a metal firm in its other venture Hardman was well able to provide very good quality leads that became a positive tool in the hands of the craftsmen using them. This point is highlighted by Christopher Robin Gottschald, *The Stained Glass of John Hardman and Company, under the Direction of John Hardman Junior, between 1845 and 1867*, Dissertation for M.A. degree, University of Central England, 1994.

¹¹⁵ Shown in Plate 17.

¹¹⁶ Traditionally the loin cloth was always present; an exception mentioned by Mâle was that it was left out by Cellini in a sculpture for the Spanish Emperor who had it veiled. Mâle, *Après le concile*, p. 273.

¹¹⁷ Animated by an imperceptible breeze, part of Yahweh’s manifestation, McKenzie, p. 865.

¹¹⁸ “The Fathers of the Latin Church declared Christ to have been the most beautiful of mankind. The infirmities and vices he had come to expiate had had no power to sully his glorious form any more than a sunbeam can be polluted by touching an impure object.” Didron, i, p. 265.

¹¹⁹ Newman, *PPS*, iii, p. 139.

almost recognize the outline of the town itself. In most stained glass windows coming out of the Hardman studio however, clear glass, vesica piscis, circles of fire or a simple blue or red background, used to depict or refer to the divine world, form the backdrop to the Crucifixion. Another exception is Solihull, the cross stands out against rays of light and over fortifications so closely resembling those in the Flemish Triptych offered by Pugin (Plate 22a) that it could only be meant to be so. They are also a reminder of the New Jerusalem to come.

In the following paragraphs Mary's stance is shown according to three interpretations: in the first her intense suffering is shown in a physical agony akin to birth pangs, in the second a collapse as she is overwhelmed by pain and a third in which a standing figure, hands clasped in various positions, her face in many cases striving towards her son, shows composure and contained pain. In Northfield, Birmingham, it is John who looks up as her strained face looks down and away. (Plate 97a)

In the late 1860's, in Nottingham parish church, Plate 20c, the Virgin is overwhelmed by pain, with knees bending and apart supported by the helping hand of John at her back and her hands on her knees. The figure of Mary shows similar characteristics to one in a window in the convent church of Stone (20d), designed by Powell, in which Mary, recognisable by her halo and a lily, is shown in the habit of a nun, sinking under her suffering supported by two companions who share her distress, swooning in front of the altar on which stands a crucified Christ alone. This is a devotional rendering with a body entirely given to the feeling of pain. The Virgin's collapse at the foot of the cross in these two portrayals can be interpreted as Mary experiencing birth pangs as she had not originally, having given birth without pain. The position of the body or even placing a hand on her womb would be confirmation of this meaning. Amy Neff in *The Pain of Compassio*⁽¹²⁰⁾ cites numerous examples from portrayals from the twelfth century on of Mary experiencing childbirth pangs, concluding "Mary thus plays an essential role in this scheme of salvation. In her childbirth pain, like Christ on the cross, she pays the price required for mankind's salvation."⁽¹²¹⁾ Thus it is possible that the Virgin in this representation was intended to echo the mystery taking place on the cross; from His death was to spring new life and new hope. This therefore would fit this scene, particularly in the light of Newman's words: "when lifted up upon the cursed tree, He ... conquered."⁽¹²²⁾

¹²⁰ Amy Neff, 'The Pain of Compassio: Mary's Labour at the foot of the Cross', *The Art Bulletin*, 80, 2, (June 1998), pp. 254-273.

¹²¹ *ibid.*, p. 267.

¹²² Newman, *PPS*, iii, p. 139.

The second interpretation is seen in the lower two depictions, at Langford Budville and Frocester, shown in Plate 20a and 20b. The drama near the cross has a different emphasis, as the swooning Virgin having lost consciousness, her whole body limp and yet never quite fallen to the ground, she is attended by the women. In Edgbaston Old Church Mary has fallen to her right and is supported by John. In St. Neots she has fallen backwards to be caught by John with the position of her head showing that she has lost consciousness.

Had the scene been often represented in this way an explanation could be that it was a return to a late medieval interpretation of Mary's sufferings fostered by monastic preachers and medieval mystical writers⁽¹²³⁾ who, in Newman's words, emphasised that "the way to enter the sufferings of the Son is to enter into the sufferings of the Mother."⁽¹²⁴⁾ The physical representation of Mary's sufferings in this way was condemned by the Council of Trent⁽¹²⁵⁾ and in fact few of the 106 Crucifixion windows studied and categorised follow this pattern. In most of them the pain of Mary, "an agony of compassion," as St. Bonaventure defined it, is shown stoically as she stands immobile and looking up intensely at her son or is engulfed in quiet grief.

In contrast, Mary Magdalene's demeanour and positioning appear more dramatic. She is portrayed as beautiful and richly dressed, with long hair and suffering her grief with varying degrees of visible distress, standing or kneeling near the cross, apart from Mary and John, as shown in Plates 11, 17, 19 and 21. In Plate 17 she is distraught with grief in Halam (a), almost wrapped round the wood of the cross in Armitage (b) and Solihull (c). In Plate 21 her arms are an extension of her despair in Kenn (c) while at Stoodleigh (e) and Itton (f) she has adopted the conventional attitude of lament generally seen in John or the Virgin. Except for Tewkesbury (Plate 19), where her despair recalls that of earlier paintings, (such as: *The Spear Thrust* by Simone Martini, c. 1339, now in Antwerp; *The Crucifixion*, by Masaccio, 1426, in Naples; *The Crucifixion*, by Van Dyck⁽¹²⁶⁾, in The Louvre, or the sixteenth century Flemish Triptych, purchased and offered to Solihull by A.W.N. Pugin,⁽¹²⁷⁾ shown in Plate 22a), the depictions of Mary Magdalene in Hardman's glass are not exaggeratedly melodramatic. In the paintings above, Mary Magdalene is engulfed by her despair, turned towards the figure on the cross. In contrast, in most of Hardman's depictions Mary Magdalene looks away from the

¹²³ James Hall, *Dictionary of Subjects and Symbols in Art*. London: John Murray, 1974, p. 84, (hereafter cited as Hall).

¹²⁴ John Henry Newman, *Catholic Sermons of Cardinal Newman*. London: Burns & Oates, 1957, p. 103.

¹²⁵ Hall, p. 84.

¹²⁶ See http://cartelfr.louvre.fr/pub/fr/image/38639_2862.001.jpg

¹²⁷ Pugin built the original church which has now been enlarged and modernised as have many RC churches.

figure on the cross and from the spectator and gazes into the distance (Solihull shows her eyes void, with mouth half open, an echo of the figure on the cross) apart from examples when, overcome by grief, she looks down. The stained glass representations would seem therefore to take their place in nineteenth century art which abounds with images of young women with long hair in secular pictures, sleeping or gazing coyly away from the spectator while deep in thought, as for instance *Lady Lilith* by Dante Gabriel Rossetti or *Isabella* by William Holman Hunt.

Of the 106 Hardman Crucifixion windows referred to above more than half contain Mary Magdalene; her importance to incumbents and parishioners as a model must therefore be considered seriously. The Anglican church became active in the movement for the reform of fallen women when the Church Penitentiary Association was formed in 1852, supported by the bishops of London and Oxford and with the support of clergy and laity largely of the “High Church” wing. The House of Mercy in Clewer, founded by Canon T.T. Carter, was built in the period 1854 to 1858 by Woodyer, one of many across the country built by him; additions were made including a chapel in 1878 to 1881 containing impressive glass by Hardman.⁽¹²⁸⁾ It had an aptly named Magdalens’ wing built in 1872 for former penitents consecrated as permanent members of the Community. Interest in this movement was widespread enough to justify a publication called *The Magdalen’s Friend and Female Homes Intelligencer* which appeared from 1860 to 1864 and was “edited by a clergyman, and devoted to the cause of the fallen.”⁽¹²⁹⁾ Tenderness and compassion by rescue workers was advocated by Revd. Drury in his 1862 address to the Church Penitentiary Association.⁽¹³⁰⁾ For some on the Evangelical wing Mary Magdalene became a paradigm of charity, fidelity and love.⁽¹³¹⁾ In this light her appearance: young, beautiful, with long hair, but submissive and bearing grief which tells of deep love signifies that penitent followers of Christ can lead a life of repentance as their sins have been forgiven. The combination of their beauty, youth and sophistication with their sorrow and penitence can be illustrated and justified also in Newman’s evocative words: “We must live in sunshine, even when we sorrow.”⁽¹³²⁾ This portrayal of Mary Magdalene as a fallen woman redeemed is, it is suggested, an indication of the gentler attitude to sin embodying the possibility of a redemption in this world.

¹²⁸ S. Atkinson et al., ‘The Ruined Maids of Windsor’, in *Henry Woodyer: Gentleman Architect*, John Elliott and John Pritchard (Eds.), pp. 97-108.

¹²⁹ Susan Haskins, *Mary Magdalen: Myth and Metaphor*. London: HarperCollins, 1993, p. 318, (hereafter cited as Haskins).

¹³⁰ *ibid.*, p. 326.

¹³¹ *ibid.*, p. 327.

¹³² Newman, *PPS*, v, p. 271, cited in Newsome, p. 109.

This chapter has shown in the glass displayed and studied a great variety of renderings, some very straightforward and simple to read and interpret, while others require the viewer to enter into the religious debate of the period. The theologians of the time engaged with contemporary doubts and offered a more reassuring and more compassionate approach to their message as well as the prospect of a New Jerusalem.

It is in this light that we can read the crucifixions, for in the glass they are more discreet, the suffering and result of the violence of men less explicit. The depictions of the body on the Cross are pale and unmarked by the ordeal, the crown of thorns, when drawn, rests on the forehead without drops of blood as seen in the more savage renderings in the paintings of Velasquez (Plate 22c) or of Van Dyck (Musée du Louvre)⁽¹³³⁾. These might perhaps have come to mind for those who heard Newman's words: "He sweated drops of blood" with the weight of our fallen nature.⁽¹³⁴⁾ The drops of blood were reserved by Hardman for Agony scenes e.g. that at St. Neots of 1880. When the blood from the wounds is shown, it does not flow or trickle down in a realistic manner or even symbolically towards the groin as in medieval renderings, or later in Velasquez's Christ.⁽¹³⁵⁾ In the glass it is a figurative jet aiming to express the function of the blood in the Eucharist. The extreme suffering of Mary has been shown in a number of examples but as a rule she stands stoically by the cross, showing remarkable boldness to come and see him die says Newman.⁽¹³⁶⁾ The same could be said of John.

The many references to Newman as an evocative source of commentary on how the Crucifixion was perceived by both Anglicans and Roman Catholics are explained by the words of Vidler "he touched old truths into life,"⁽¹³⁷⁾ endorsed by Gladstone's view that Newman's sermons were his largest gift to permanent indestructible theology⁽¹³⁸⁾ and confirmed by Henry Chadwick who said "in virtually all his writings, including those after 1845, Anglican readers feel at home."⁽¹³⁹⁾

This study demonstrates that Hardman's renderings of the Crucifixion were rich and varied and arrived at by drawing on a deep knowledge of scriptural interpretations and sensitive

¹³³ See note^o126.

¹³⁴ Newman, *Sermon Notes*, 11th October 1857, p. 149.

¹³⁵ As is pointed out by Steinberg in L. Steinberg, *The sexuality of Christ in Renaissance Art and in Modern Oblivion*. London: University of Chicago Press, 2nd edition, 1996, p. 160.

¹³⁶ Newman, *Sermon Notes*, 15th April 1851, p. 74.

¹³⁷ Alec Vidler, *The Church in an Age of Revolution*. London: Penguin Books, 1961, p. 51.

¹³⁸ Newsome, p. 104.

¹³⁹ H. Chadwick, p. 53.

interchange with the variety of sincerely held views of their clients across the spectrum of religious allegiance. The firm's range of historical reference allowed them to call on a multiplicity of images which have been attached to the figure of Christ over many centuries to express the message deemed most important at the time; for instance Christ depicted with arms stretching horizontally was meant to signify his power over the whole world or the Church; Hereford and Shrewsbury seen from afar follow this model which is reinforced in Hereford by the presence of Synagogue and Ecclesia; the cosmological symbols of the moon and the sun also appear regularly,⁽¹⁴⁰⁾ in Anglican churches, mostly, as in Kirkby Fleetham. The sacramental and sacrificial meanings of the Crucifixion are represented in a number of ways as described above with bleeding wounds, chalices receiving the blood and, most frequently in the later part of the period under study, by angels hovering above and near Jesus catching the blood as can be seen from the early Middle Ages onwards. Sometimes they are simply adoring and in great number. Angels are there to emphasize the divinity of the figure on the Cross. The renderings show also a response to matters of social concern as well as doctrinal differences. The softening of the Christian message will be covered in a subsequent chapter. In the portrayal of the Crucifixion it is shown most notably in the treatment of Mary Magdalene which carries some echoes of the concern in some parts of the Church on the rehabilitation of fallen women.

The thirteenth century belief in Christ's invulnerability is echoed in the nineteenth century by an undamaged body, often with head held high although mostly sagging gently to the right. It is the presence of the crown of thorns which is there to remind us of his Passion. The crucified Christ is rarely alone as has been shown although no crowds obstruct the clarity of the religious message but in the lights on either side there are narrative gospel stories as in the Renaissance; Majesties, in the tracery above, place his death and his Resurrection in context.

The importance given to the Agnus Dei harks back to the fifth or sixth century,⁽¹⁴¹⁾ when the person of Christ was not represented, and may be seen as an attempt to link past and present. Another link, in this case with the fifteenth century, is the lily crucifixion at Clewer, seen in Plate 23b and 23c, with a late fifteenth century example⁽¹⁴²⁾ from the Clopton Chantry Chapel in Holy Trinity Church, Long Melford⁽¹⁴³⁾ (23a) and shown later at St. Chad's in

¹⁴⁰ In 24 of the 106 crucifixions of which the detailed content is known to the writer, of which 19 are in Anglican and 5 in Catholic churches.

¹⁴¹ Didron, i, p. 321.

¹⁴² June Osborne, *Stained Glass in England*. Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1980, revised 1993, p. 56.

¹⁴³ The existence of this window was pointed out to me by Father Dermot of the Birmingham Oratory.

Plate 81. The Long Melford example is one of fourteen in England identified by Hildburgh,⁽¹⁴⁴⁾ who dates the use of this motif from the late fourteenth century. Hildburgh found the lily crucifix almost always to be placed between the figures of the Annunciation (March 25th being believed then to be the date for both events) as it is in the middle example of Plate 23. As a theme it lived on in the Annunciation for St. Mary's Cathedral, Sydney in 1883, Plate 24a, by Maycock, a trusted associate of Powell, and into the twentieth century when it was used at Wimbledon in the Church of the Sacred Heart in 1909 (24b). In both these examples the positioning of the lily crucifix below God the Father and growing from a vase shows knowledge of the origin of the lily crucifix suggested by Hildburgh, a late fourteenth century alabaster of the Annunciation with a lily growing from a vase and reaching to between the knees of God the Father. Plate 25 illustrates a recurring theme in the glass—that of the living cross, the *lignum vitae* identified by St. Bonaventure: in the examples by Powell, Plate 25a and 25b, it is the cross which is sprouting as in the Nuremberg crucifix⁽¹⁴⁵⁾ which was certainly seen by Powell when on his visit to the town which is specifically mentioned in his diary. At Stoodleigh, Plate 26a, the cross is sprouting and in Sandal Magna (26b) Christ is secured to the vine from which tendrils and grapes grow. The renderings seen in Hardman are many; it could be inferred that they tell of the need of clients to reaffirm faith and perhaps hope, responded to in different ways.

¹⁴⁴ W. L. Hildburgh, 'An alabaster table of the Annunciation with the Crucifix', *Archaeologia*, 74 (1923-4), pp. 203-232 and 'Some further notes on the Crucifix and the Lily', *Antiquaries Journal*, 12 (1932), pp. 24-6, cited by John Edwards, *The Journal of Stained Glass*, 18, 3 (1988), pp. 244-58 (p. 254).

¹⁴⁵ See the illustration of the sprouting cross at St. Lorenzkirche, Nuremberg, carved out of limewood by Veit Stoss, c.1450 in Plate 489 of Gertrud Schiller, *Iconography of Christian Art*, Vol. 2, *The Passion of Christ*, London: Lund, Humphries, 1971-72.

Chapter 3 – Typology

Types and typology were mentioned in the previous chapter—in Hereford Cathedral the depiction of the Crucifixion links the Old Law through Abraham with the New through Jesus. There was also a reference in correspondence to Ruth explained as her being a type for the Incarnation. Typology was used much more widely to link Old Testament and New Testament messages. This harks back to Medieval practice, in which, in the glass, Old Testament and New Testament subjects were placed side by side or facing each other across the nave, the south side being reserved for events in the life of the Lord. The placing was intended to remind viewers of parallels in the stories, the fulfilment of Old Testament prophecies in the New or to deepen their understanding of a New Testament event by placing it close to an Old Testament story which could illustrate its spiritual significance.

Similar typological renderings were seen in Victorian glass and during the period from the 1860s to 1880s were particularly numerous in the output of Hardman. More than 100 such windows were produced during this period.⁽¹⁴⁶⁾ The majority of the windows are in the nave or in the transepts but more than ten occupy West windows and slightly less are to be found as East windows. They can be on a considerable scale and are therefore windows visible to the congregation at large, easy to view but also intended to be pondered over.⁽¹⁴⁷⁾

There are the prophets to be found in clerestories mostly, facing New Testament Apostles or Saints, single figures with their easily recognisable attributes:⁽¹⁴⁸⁾ in the northern clerestory of Reading (Plate 27b), Noah is one of eight elders: he is a clearly defined figure, traditionally clothed, and holds the ark, containing a simple church, with both his hands. In Clewer in the upper register of the south aisle, Noah is more active as, with his family seen around him, he offers a sacrifice to thank God, for the earth is safe once more. The ark is particularly striking

¹⁴⁶ A count in the Hardman Glass Subject Index shows that in the eighties Moses was represented 23 times, Abraham 18, David 24 but we find also Melchisedech, Aaron, Ezekiel and Elijah, Solomon and Jacob, Rebecca, Ruth, Naomi and Sarah. David is a familiar figure. If we add the windows of the seventies, eighties and nineties together, the firm portrays him 48 times. The circumstances vary, for instance he is slaying or has slain Goliath six times, is anointed ten times, lamenting over Jonathan five, appearing before Saul four, with harp and lion four. We see him most richly attired playing the instrument and similarly as king in front of the tabernacle.

¹⁴⁷ Typological medieval windows were lessons to be read and understood by the recipient believer. Are we therefore to find similarities with the past? Then it was hoped that with the help of a third party, that of the priest, the content of the medallions would be clarified and in the words of Abbot Suger himself referring to Dionysius the Areopagite: “the invisible would be made visible.” Events followed in sequence, often illustrated almost graphically as is shown in the Noah window in Chartres.

¹⁴⁸ But in Aberdeen, as late as 1880, upright single figures from the Old Testament were shown in niches against a grisaille background, requested after consultation with the committee wishing to honour their late Duke. The window cost £400.

as it rests under the rainbow of the covenant on spiritual waters with mount Ararat in front and has taken the shape of a much more elaborate church. This is an undeniable reminder of the symbolic church of Medieval times when the ark, in Latin *navis*, was understood to be both a vessel and the church, as is seen in Chartres in particular. On the page, next to Hardman's, is a Kempe aisle window where Noah is holding an olive branch in his right hand and a sturdy ark in the left but wears the rich garments of another time and another status.

Another often portrayed Old Testament figure is Abraham. The 1874 Hereford East window over the chancel referred to above celebrates Faith, Obedience and Hope, the last-named represented by the Last Supper establishing the sacrament of the Eucharist.⁽¹⁴⁹⁾ Faith is represented by the Old Testament story of the faith of Abraham (Plate 28) as the old patriarch obediently took his son away to be sacrificed. In 1873 Powell had been asked by a client to go and look at Abraham in Conches, near Beauvais. As a result of the visit, Abraham appears to show some of the strength and vigour seen at Conches. The portrayal of Abraham took many forms and appears many times;⁽¹⁵⁰⁾ not always in a sacrifice, for the scene of Abraham and Isaac marching is found many times: "and the two of them went together,"⁽¹⁵¹⁾ for they marched for three days to the scene of sacrifice. For example, in Harlow in 1883, he became a long robed patriarch once more, placed at eye level, in the north aisle together with the rebuilding of the Temple.

The evident place occupied by typology may seem intriguing. Presumably the same need to inform and enlighten the congregation by the content of the window existed as in medieval times. Indeed the scientific discoveries of the nineteenth century placed religious belief under strain. Newman, secure in his faith, was of help to a wide range of believers. A fellow Oratorian wrote in 1864 that members of various religious bodies with no thought of leaving the Church had sought Newman's guidance, advice and sympathy. His faith carried a message relevant to the response of the Church of England to the times as it was confronting the crisis of belief caused by Darwin's *On the Origin of Species*. In 1861 Newman wrote: "To my mind it is wonderful that able men should take for granted that the notion of fixed laws is a new idea of modern times which is superseding, and to supersede the old idea of a Providence ... Why, it is the old idea of Fate or Destiny which we find in Homer. It is no new and untried idea, but

¹⁴⁹ "We now see in Christ what God promised to Abraham," St. Augustine, *City of God*, Trans. W.M. Green, Loeb Classical Library, 7 vols., London: Wm. Heinemann, vii, p. 183.

¹⁵⁰ "Faith works with obedience, Abraham found favour in God's sight because he gave himself up to Him," Newman, *PPS*, iii, p. 85.

¹⁵¹ Genesis 22:2.

it is the old antagonist of the idea of Providence.”⁽¹⁵²⁾ In a letter to St. George Jackson Mivart, biologist and author of *On the Genesis of the Species* in 1871, Newman wrote: “You must not suppose I have personally any great dislike or dread of his [Darwin’s] theory but many good people are troubled by it”⁽¹⁵³⁾

Other events in the wider world may have contributed to the flourishing of typological windows from 1870 onwards. In 1868 a large thick stone of black basalt was shown to the missionary Frederick Klein by a tribe of Bedouin in Jordan. It was inscribed with ancient lettering. By 1873 it was known to bear a text relating the deeds of King Mesha of Moab, who is mentioned in 2 Kings 3 as the payer of a hundred thousand lambs and a hundred thousand rams as a tribute to King Ahab who led the revolt against the Israelite rule. Reports of this extraordinary find fascinated the European press; they presented it as a proof that the Bible was historical.⁽¹⁵⁴⁾ At a time when Darwin had cast doubt on the validity of the Old Testament creation story, this archaeological evidence must have been consoling to the faithful and perhaps motivation for the increasing interest in Old Testament subjects.

Windows in both Beverley Minster (Plate 29), restored by Scott, and Beverley St. Mary, by the Pugins, father and son, and, after 1865, Scott, are a case in point. In the Minster in a four-light window, second from the East in the south aisle, the *Procession of Solomon as King* is presented in parallel with *Jesus’s Entry into Jerusalem*. One acknowledged earthly king of great repute is seen here against the background of a castellated town gate; he is the young heir to the dead king, David, his father. The fair woman by the dead king near the couch seems likely to be Solomon’s mother, Bathsheba, the favourite and youngest wife of David. This appears to recall the disputed succession.⁽¹⁵⁵⁾ The orderly procession is headed by a trumpeter sounding his instrument as he would also to announce the beginning of a feast day in a religious assembly, or when preceding the Ark itself. The newly appointed king wears a richly embroidered cloak over a red robe and a gold crown; he carries the royal orb also of gold in his right hand. His kingly attributes as well as proverbial wealth,⁽¹⁵⁶⁾ are confirmed by the emphatic gold-patterned banner of the trumpet on the left and the golden bridle of his horse. Solomon is of proud bearing, looking in towards the spectator. He is in complete contrast to Jesus, who is submissive almost, barefoot, like the three disciples who accompany him, and yet in a red garment symbolic of his pre-eminence. There is playing of flutes and blowing of

¹⁵² Ward, ii, pp. 342-3.

¹⁵³ Letter dated 9th December 1871, Newman, *Letters*, xxv, p. 446.

¹⁵⁴ Robin Lane Fox, *Truth and Fiction in the Bible*. London: Penguin, 1991, pp. 258-259.

¹⁵⁵ 1 Kings 1:13.

¹⁵⁶ Matt 6:25.

horns on the left for Solomon in contrast to a simpler rejoicing and waving of palms in the NT event shown on the right. There is the ever-present young man in the palm tree seemingly aware of the importance of the scene below.⁽¹⁵⁷⁾

Our attention is drawn to the relative height of the two main figures and to the size of their respective mounts. The fact that Solomon is riding on a small-sized horse aligns him with Jesus, riding not a horse but on a colt, as stated in the scriptures. The difference seems far from being accidental, but on the contrary of consequence: royal descent, which was a key element in the messianic character of Jesus⁽¹⁵⁸⁾ is here clearly illustrated and emphasised in the dual typological images with the Messiah shown as descendant of David, himself son and seed of Jesse.⁽¹⁵⁹⁾

Indeed, the Biblical genealogical meaning of the window is highlighted and confirmed in the commissioning letter referring to a “kingly tree” (Plate 30b) which is placed above the double scenes in the tracery “beginning with Jesse and ending with Our Lord.”⁽¹⁶⁰⁾ The Lord is here a young crowned king, the first king being a type for the future Christian king of the Kingdom and no longer a humble Galilean.⁽¹⁶¹⁾ It can be remarked also that in the *Biblia Pauperum* the entry into Jerusalem was paired with David carrying the head of Goliath. To find the latter depiction in Hardman it is necessary to turn to a West window, in Harlow (1874), also seen in Plate 30a, where a Lord in Majesty stands above St. Michael with, to his left, David carrying upside-down the giant head of Goliath followed by Judas Macabbeus, on his right Joshua and Gideon. Below them are St. Alban and St. George; St. Edmund is below David with St. Oswald next to him, thus uniting the warriors and defenders of the Old Law to the English warriors, and their patron Saints.

The scenes in Beverley are a reminder also that religious imagery often adopted the pageantry of public ceremonies, in this case that of crowds streaming out of their city to greet the arrival or Parousia of a new prince or governor. Once established in the joy and bustle of a happy scene, it would be repeated practically untouched: M.D. Anderson’s *The Imagery of British Churches*⁽¹⁶²⁾ recalls that scenes of Entry into Jerusalem varied little through the centuries

¹⁵⁷ The ever green palm is symbolic of salvation while arbor mortis signifies sin and death. L. Réau, *Iconographie de l’Art Chrétien*, 3 vols. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1955-59, ii, p. 132, (hereafter cited as Réau).

¹⁵⁸ McKenzie, p. 177.

¹⁵⁹ Epistle to the Romans 1:3.

¹⁶⁰ Mrs. Gardham, order 98, 6th February 1883, Glass Order Book, vol. 2, p. 8, HABRL.

¹⁶¹ Lane Fox, p. 343.

¹⁶² Anderson, p.113.

from those seen on sarcophagi: Christ would be approaching the city gates almost always riding, a man or child would be climbing a tree in the background and others spread garments before the ass or throw flowers from the battlements. The scene is almost complete here but Jesus is not arriving from the left riding towards the right. The design in Beverley has been deliberately altered and the two main figures face the viewer from the right.⁽¹⁶³⁾

The kingly tree in the tracery above, so clearly drawn and easy to read, becomes therefore a metaphor for the expected return of Jesus the Lord in his kingly glory. The message has been transcribed and a young crowned king, remarkable for his very youth stands at the top of the Jesse tree. The tree itself sits within an interesting tracery not unlike a gigantic leaf and the tree is reduced to slim, young, flexible stems with the occasional deep pink and sharp green young leaf.

Typology provides also the key to the treatment of the episode in which Joseph, then ruler of Egypt under Pharaoh brought his two sons to receive the blessing of his father, Jacob who, in his blessing and contrary to the wishes of his son, conferred the rights of succession on Ephraim, the younger boy. The subject is common to the two Beverley churches, and it received remarkably similar treatments (Plates 31a and 31b). The ancient Jacob, in his chamber, now close to death and blind, is portrayed crossing his hands, so placing the right hand on the younger boy's head in a gesture which can only be intentional: the two young boys are close in age and size, unlike the younger Jacob himself and his elder brother Esau, whose disguise he had taken to receive his own father's blessing. It seems to have been given unusual scrutiny since, for the Minster, the designs of the subject, after being approved by the committee had been sent to the Archbishop of York who also approved them. In the Minster window, Jacob's Blessing appears next to Jesus Blessing the Children. A letter sent to Powell by one of the committee members, who had come to build an almost personal relationship with him, as Powell came to stay whenever a new order had to be finalised, explained the liberties taken with history to relate the two subjects more closely: "The two blessings are not exactly counterparts, Jacob was 147, Joseph 55 and his sons 22 and 21. Maybe a little licence might be taken and the sons made rather young-looking for their years as being young compared to the patriarch's great age."⁽¹⁶⁴⁾ In Genesis 48:9 the boys are clearly young, since Jacob takes them on his knees. The letter writer was presumably relying on nineteenth

¹⁶³ Réau, ii, p. 26.

¹⁶⁴ Letter to John Hardman Powell from Miss Birtwistle, (undated) August 1877, Glass Correspondence, HABRL.

century scholarship which had calculated the elapse of time in the Old Testament and hence the ages of persons from clues in the narrative.

There are important differences in the types chosen to accompany the Jacob scene in the two churches. The three-light window of 1882 in St. Mary followed the four lights in the Minster of 1877. In the Minster, Jacob's blessing occupies two lights on the left while in parallel the Lord is blessing lively colourful children on the right, accompanied by singing and musical angels above. There is an immediate paralleled emphasis of typological significance in the right arm of Jacob resting on Ephraim to bless him and that of Jesus seen in the very act of blessing the children.⁽¹⁶⁵⁾ In the Minster the father, older, retreating from life almost, is performing a sacred act while, in St. Mary's, Joseph seems to try to guide his father's hand. There, in the right-hand light, in an earlier episode from Genesis 42, a successful and powerful Joseph, judging from his garment and his abode, is making himself known to his brothers. They wear the clothes of poor travellers in search of food for their cattle at home where drought is biting. In the centre light is the Samaritan woman encountering at the well the stranger she will soon realise, the viewer is to understand from her demeanour, to be the Messiah. In the scene as shown in Plate 33 two angels in the tracery are pouring out water from long-necked vessels.

In these events and deeds, which were familiar to Victorian parishioners, God's ways are shown to prevail. They are easy to understand: the blessing and joy of innocent children, the forgiveness Joseph displays towards brothers who had sold him as a young boy to Egyptian merchants (the pyramids just visible in the background are a reminder of this fact) and the acceptance of the outsider, here, a Samaritan woman in the adjacent light.

The Samaritan woman here carried a social as well as a theological message at the time. She was not only the first to recognise the stranger at the well as the Messiah but also she was accepted here despite her social status: Jesus had asked her to call her husband but she said she had none; He then said she had had five and was living with a man who was not her husband;⁽¹⁶⁶⁾ this in the society of the time made her unclean and in Victorian society also. Yet Jesus's forgiving attitude had found echoes in radical action on the part of many who chose practical schemes such as the Sisterhood of Charity for the rehabilitation of fallen women.⁽¹⁶⁷⁾ Elizabeth Gaskell in *Ruth* with her immense following and despite some

¹⁶⁵ This theme was popular with Christian communities at the time: there are three pages of *Blessing the Children* in the subject index of the firm and this subject was portrayed by most other firms as well.

¹⁶⁶ John 4:18.

¹⁶⁷ Houses of Mercy figure in the work of Woodyer with Hardman, see page§45 above.

opposition,⁽¹⁶⁸⁾ did much to alter the public's perception and view her unfortunate heroine in a kinder way.

As in the Solomon window, much can be deduced in the Jacob and Joseph window, from the scene in the tracery with the angels pouring water out of long necked vessels: the angels are drawing attention to the vital message below that the water in the well is indeed a symbol of the water of life. The well itself (Plate 33) is much too ornate for a simple shepherd's watering hole marked out by stones, as it would have been; it is constructed lavishly of marble, and without negating the physical importance of water in an arid climate, certainly its appearance reinforces the concept of the symbolic importance of water. The significance of the water in the window at Sandal Magna has been highlighted in Chapter Two.⁽¹⁶⁹⁾ As Susan Haskins writes in *Mary Magdalen: Myth and Metaphor*, "the beautiful imagery of water often appears in both the Old and the New Testaments, symbolising the Life given by God and in the New, the Life given by Divine Wisdom and by the Law."⁽¹⁷⁰⁾

In the St. Mary's window, despite the look of disapproval or concern on the face of the old disciple on seeing Jesus engaged in conversation with one deemed from a hostile tribe, the Samaritans, Jesus is portrayed as more than a passing stranger and traveller, with rich garments and crossed nimbus. The water of the Well, as in the Biblical imagery of old, becomes a symbol of life and salvation, and Jesus the source of living water.

The involvement of Archbishop William Thomson indicates that the subject matter of such similarity may have been part of a wider programme (see below). He was also involved earlier, in 1870, with a window in the transept of St. Mary's, which demonstrates an interest in mixing Old and New Law; its inception arose at the time of the archaeological discoveries referred to above. It is known as the Beatitudes window.⁽¹⁷¹⁾ Powell had offered a scheme involving scenes within medallions before this window was thought of as a possible commission. The Archbishop of York was also involved in this case as he wished to have a window in memory of Archdeacon Long. The design was brought forward and made more complete following the Archbishop's guidance. It was fortunate that preliminary designs for this window had been made for the Archbishop's request was urgent; a letter states: "His

¹⁶⁸ It was never as popular as *Sylvia's Lovers*, found in every pedlar's basket, Easson, p. 21.

¹⁶⁹ See p. §40.

¹⁷⁰ Haskins, p. 27.

¹⁷¹ There are a number of Beatitudes windows in Hardman. They are all different, some only referring to New Testament scenes, others, like Oxford St. Mary's, to Old Testament prophets.

Grace will expect an early resolution.”⁽¹⁷²⁾ Powell was well equipped to provide an appropriate solution with skills reflecting an attitude learned from Pugin who was particularly proud that his firm could reproduce all the styles following close study of the originals.⁽¹⁷³⁾ The tall reticulated south transept window (Plate 34) contrasts with the decorated windows of the nave described above: the four lancets are surmounted by a full display of intersecting reticulation filled with angels and a dominant Majesty. In the lancets there are two sets of six-lobed medallions, extended in their centre so as to better accommodate and make clear the subject matter and a line of smaller four-lobed medallions with the busts of the apostles. They stand out against a diapered background of blue and red, and are linked to each other by leaves and winding stems. Old Testament scenes occupy the outside lights, with Joseph in Egypt, in the left light, visited by his brothers who do not know him, and Job above, accepting his misery, outside the gate and being visited by three friends; on the right, Daniel in the den where the lions did him no harm, the miracle being watched by Darius the Mede and the message being that God protects the faithful, and above, Cyrus, the shepherd of Yahweh, who leads the people back to their own land. The design in the window illustrates Isaiah 45:1: “Thus says the Lord to Cyrus his anointed, Cyrus whom he has taken by the hand.” In the centre lights are the New Testament scenes: Jesus with Mary and Martha and, above, Mary Magdalene at the empty tomb and in the other light *The Presentation* with the *Good Samaritan* above. This last scene was requested many times from Hardman to honour a deceased incumbent in a memorial window.⁽¹⁷⁴⁾ *The Presentation* will be analysed in the next chapter.

The windows described in this chapter comprise only a small fraction of the typological windows produced by Hardman during the period. The prominence, indicated by their size, cost and positioning, given to them during the restorations at Beverley may owe something to local zeal and the interest taken in both churches by Archbishop Thomson is a further indication of their importance. The fact that the Archbishop was a Fellow of the Royal Society and author of an address entitled *Design in Nature*⁽¹⁷⁵⁾ delivered to the Christian Evidence Society may underline the interest kindled in the Old Testament by contemporary archaeological discoveries. In any event Hardman’s output of typological windows was high; a count of the subjects is listed in note^o146.

¹⁷² See note^o164.

¹⁷³ Letter from A. W. N. Pugin, HLRO, undated letter, no. 982, quoted by Stanley Shepherd, *Pugin: a Gothic Passion*, p. 199.

¹⁷⁴ As in Halesowen and Minchinhampton 1874, Bere Regis 1877, Kingsteignton 1880, Halifax 1881, Northfield 1881, Newbold Pacey 1883 and Beverley St. Mary 1884.

¹⁷⁵ Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1911, on-line edition, www.encyclopedia1911.org.

Portraying the Old Testament stories with some emerging historical basis provided by archaeological discoveries as illustrative or prophesying the truth of New Testament verities was an important part of spreading and maintaining the faith under its challenge by Darwin's findings. Hardman's use of typology offers examples of this—Joseph's forgiveness of his brothers giving an example for Christian life; the acceptance of the Samaritan woman can be linked to the more charitable approach to fallen women discussed in Chapter Two. The blessing of Joseph's sons is seen above side-by-side with Jesus blessing the children (Plate 31a). The next chapter shows further examples of the development of the Victorian attitude to children.

Chapter 4 – Events in the life of the Lord

The response to Darwin's findings gave rise, not only to Typological windows, but also to a more mellow portrayal of events in the New Testament, linking them to the increasingly sentimental Victorian approach on matters concerning children and the more compassionate approach to the work of the Church. These are particularly evident in windows showing the Good Shepherd and Jairus's daughter discussed below. The life of Jesus is in fact depicted from infancy to the years of His ministry and, as will be seen, Hardman's windows often take the opportunity to project a much deeper spiritual message than the simple subject might seem to contain.

Out of the numerous examples illustrating the early years of the Infant Jesus, the Tenbury *Nativity* is chosen as being not only representative of many Hardman Nativities, but also particularly explicit in the message of the Incarnation it conveys. *The Presentation*, in Beverley and the *Flight into Egypt* again in Tenbury demonstrate a rendering characteristic of this period when, as Newman wrote in 1872 "Our view of doctrine affects our view of history and our view of history our view of doctrine."⁽¹⁷⁶⁾ The childhood, considered in the second part of this section, is evoked by scenes of Jesus in the Temple and in Nazareth. Here once more the rendering carries further and leads through into the life and symbolism of Christ performing miracles and as pastor. The third part of this section will present *The Ascension* in four very different examples.

The simple sheer wonder of Mary is evident in the three examples shown in Plate 35 (covering two pages). In the Birchfield *Nativity* (35b(iii)), her joy is shared by Joseph as well as by eight musical angels converging towards this central scene; in Kenn (35b(i)) the animated end of her short head scarf tells also of the divine nature of the Infant while Joseph respectfully looks on. In Tenbury (35a) the emphasis is on the unveiling of the child; this is evident in the attitude of the Virgin Mary. By its resemblance to Renaissance Nativity scenes, this *Nativity* exemplifies the words of Durandus: "we worship not images...and yet we adore them for the memory and remembrance of things done long ago."⁽¹⁷⁷⁾ Here however, the child's loins are covered still and one layer only has been removed; the light cloth held in a significant manner conveys the original message which was to demonstrate the Divine infant's humanity. The Virgin's face expresses motherly love, her hands show wonder at the miraculous event, confirmed by the

¹⁷⁶ J. H. Newman, *Essays Critical and Historical*, 2 vols., 1872, ii, p. 250, cited in Newsome, p. 292.

¹⁷⁷ Durandus, pp. 53-54.

halo encircling the child's head. A phrase from Newman's *Sermons for Mixed Congregations* is apposite: "Behold Mary with her chaste eyes offering the eternal child to our caress."¹⁷⁸ Joseph is respectful as always, close by but not in the forefront of the picture and the two distinctive animals, rarely absent in a *Nativity*, have a medieval air.

By this means Hardman respects the nineteenth century practice in which the child remains covered while recalling the earlier one by the manner in which the cloth is held. Current convention that Mary's role in her Nativity portrayal was to be seen to adore her infant, acting as a role-model for Victorian motherhood was respected while the earlier one of revealing the mystery of incarnation by uncovering genitalia was hinted at. The reference to the Catholic Cardinal Newman in relation to the subject matter of an Anglican window quoted above can be seen as part of his wider role discussed in Chapter 1. The *Sermons for Mixed Congregations* was in fact being reissued well into the 1880s.

In the transept window at Beverley St. Mary, one of the medallions shows *The Presentation* (Plate 36) with the most tender, caring Simeon holding the Christ child in the crook of his neck; Joseph stands with downcast eyes carrying the two pigeons and lit candle, the Virgin kneels and adores and the child's nudity is revealed. It is a portentous moment, doubly significant: the scene is marked first by the evident display of feeling by Simeon, whose promised fate it was to recognise and bless the divine infant before his death, and then by the uncovered loins of the child as a proof of Christ's humanity. The disclosure is being done here in the *Presentation* which could easily be a Circumcision scene. There are only the parents as witnesses, a far cry certainly from the busy scenes with Magi and angels and sometimes shepherds which can characterise Renaissance Nativities in which Mary publicly discloses and confirms the double nature of the child in her care. The design of the *Presentation* scene at St. Mary's, at a time when incarnation was seen as a pivotal theological point, is therefore significant. The glass is no longer simply "sentimental" as the glass of the time is often said to be. The treatment of the Nativity shows the church is reaffirming its role as a caring body within society while the *Presentation* and the two windows showing Jacob's blessing discussed in the section above reaffirm its place in the order of things.

In the *Flight into Egypt* in Tenbury (Plate 37), symbolism is attached to every added detail; a dove flying above, an angel accompanying the Holy Family with much solicitude, Joseph, in a protective attitude, seen striding and leading his precious cargo carrying a crook on his

¹⁷⁸ J. H. Newman, *Discourses addressed to Mixed Congregations*. London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1880, p. 70, (hereafter cited as Newman, *DMC*)

shoulder; in this case, it is an almost covert message. A possible explanation for Joseph's crook in Tenbury may come from the belief which was illustrated in Arundel's Catholic Cathedral that Joseph is regarded as the New Testament type for the shepherd boy, Joseph, who, as son of Jacob, was later to protect the Hebrews in the Egyptian exile. This Joseph is placed at the foot of the Arundel window (Plate 38) carrying a crook and above is *Joseph's Dream*, when he is told by an angel to take Mary and Jesus to Egypt to be far from Herod's anger.

Points such as these result from the firm's broad Biblical knowledge augmented by sensitivity to doctrinal views derived from contact with learned patrons and incumbents, which, on occasion, spill over from Roman Catholic to Anglican windows. Revd. Pearson, of Sonning St. Andrew, needed clarification after receiving the design for his window, asking what was the authority they relied on to place on the head of Christ a larger halo than those on the apostles.⁽¹⁷⁹⁾ He was a demanding client; five years later his requirements were for the priest to be represented either in the act of admiration or benediction."⁽¹⁸⁰⁾

There are many examples of the use of episodes in the childhood of Christ, from the 1860s to the late 1880s, and belonging to all denominations. The scene of the young boy amongst the Doctors, is seen as part of large compositions, as in Leadenham, or alone in the aisle as in Cirencester (Plate 39b). Revd. W.J. Powell of Cirencester wrote to Powell to say "if the child is sitting he is listening, if he is standing he is teaching and telling."⁽¹⁸¹⁾ It will be seen from Plate 39a-b that Jesus, whether sitting or standing, appears to have the attention of the doctors to His words in both. The boyhood of Jesus in Nazareth provides an opportunity to allude to a deeper thought process or belief for, if in Kenn (Plate 40) there is a simple, very attractive domestic scene of the Holy Family, in Kempsey (Plate 41) there is a similar peaceful scene in Nazareth showing all the expected and known activities of its participants but with differences implying a deeper significance: the young boy's feet are bare unlike his father's in leather boots. Jesus is wearing a long robe, not the practical garment of an apprentice craftsman. He is watering a flowering white spray in a vase, singularly close to the lily of the Annunciation. It is a simple image and yet it resonates further: the action of watering, seen at the bottom of the plate, appears in Stone Catholic church, in the predella of the large transept window, where a similarly robed young boy (shown in Plate 46c) fulfils the functions of "young shepherd,

¹⁷⁹ Letter to Hardman from Revd. Pearson, 30th November 1868, Glass Correspondence, HABRL.

¹⁸⁰ Letter to Hardman from Revd. Pearson, 2nd July 1873, Glass Correspondence, HABRL.

¹⁸¹ Letter to John Hardman Powell from Revd. W.J. Powell, 23rd April 1877, Glass Correspondence, HABRL.

gardener, vine dresser and carpenter.”⁽¹⁸²⁾ This time he is watering the vine, the symbol of spiritual life. In both of these examples lies the juxtaposition of the real and the mysterious, or in other words, the event recounted alerting the viewer to the anagogical one behind it. This constitutes a recurring means in Hardman’s work of presenting a spiritual message and one of which several more examples are discussed below.

In Leckhampton (Plate 42) a Jairus window is of interest for a further development of the theme just seen of the living shoot. In this case shoots in the form of a scroll are seen in the lights on either side of the raising of Jairus’s daughter. The window was offered by Mrs. Shirer in memory of her young daughter. It is a personalised piece of work, for the child is represented very “truthfully,”⁽¹⁸³⁾ wrote the grateful mother, who had provided a photograph.⁽¹⁸⁴⁾ In this window, there is intimacy, sensitivity and tenderness. The child is being raised by the hand as “her spirit returns.”⁽¹⁸⁵⁾ But there was no other witness in contrast to the gospel story, where the parents are present and are amazed. In other versions of this story the amazement of these witnesses is shown. In this window the eye instead focuses on the vase of strong pure lilies at the foot of the bed and then on the two scenes either side where the Lord as shepherd and welcoming real little children is framed in each scene by the two rich encircling stems referred to above which emerge in opposite directions and return to their point of departure behind the Lord.

There were many windows showing Jesus with children which may be why the glass of the period is deemed to be sentimental. In Anstey (Plate 43b) the child is not only brought back to life, in the next light she runs to thank the Saviour in the dress of a Victorian child. As she was to be restored to life, it seemed natural to give her death the nature of sleep. At Exeter St. Sidwell’s, Mrs. Asthall, the patron of a four-light window of Jairus’s daughter, provided a picture of her own child, who was seen to be “awakened” back to life. In Sonning St. Andrew’s, King David with a harp and Myriam with cymbals stand on either side of a young girl, very fair and very white, who is helped back to life by the Lord to the wonder of her ageing father. The child is a portrait of Georgiana Astley, the “beloved child” of the donor

¹⁸² Window of 1867, Hardman Glass Index book, p. 26.

¹⁸³ Letters to John Hardman Powell from Mrs. Shirer, 20th and 24th January, 1869, Glass Correspondence, HABRL.

¹⁸⁴ Mrs. Shirer had been sent writings of Newman by Maycock. In the letter of 20th January, cited above she also wrote: “Tell Mr. Maycock I still have a copy of Mr. Newman’s letters. Many of my friends have wished to read them. It has not quite brought me over to your way of thinking but it has shown me the holiness of your beliefs.”

¹⁸⁵ Luke 8:55.

while the window is dedicated in 1868 to a music director of the church.⁽¹⁸⁶⁾ In Kenn, the words of the staunch Tractarian vicar, Reverend Porter, were respected: “I prefer truth to Art...It has to be a room where the event is taking place.”⁽¹⁸⁷⁾ both mother and child here are obviously portraits of the originals as “the father stands near the Lord whom he would have accompanied and the mother kneels welcoming him on her knees.”⁽¹⁸⁸⁾ There are many other examples with a request for the representation of a loved child. Similarly, there are in the Hardman books, a number of windows where all the figures were requested to be of the same age with youth being a key feature: examples at Leckhampton and Exeter St. Sidwell’s, in which photographs were used to ensure likenesses are cited in the text above; there was such a request in respect of the West window at Hatfield’s, near York, containing the figures of St. Martin and St. Joseph, St. John the Baptist and Moses, The Lord and David as a young shepherd, John and Joshua, and Timothy and David, here as Saul’s squire, who are placed in rows above one another. They are commemorating the loss of a 12 year old child. The Old Testament figures all “bear young faces to match his”⁽¹⁸⁹⁾ with bodies and tunics to match, the most authentic and ethnic looking being that of Moses. In this incongruous, yet touching, rendering, perhaps is seen a nineteenth century way to confront death and enlist hope. Newman in one of his discourses to mixed congregations⁽¹⁹⁰⁾ offers the view that a child is a pledge for immortality, a foretaste of what will be fulfilled in Heaven. These windows fulfilled their function of assuaging grief. Memorial windows like marble memorials celebrate lives and events relevant to the times. In Exeter St. Sidwell’s also, Mrs. Wolmer, the incumbent’s sister, commissioned an Entry into Jerusalem. She asked for five of the palm bearers to be portraits; photographs were supplied to ensure accuracy. Palms, denoting victory over death,⁽¹⁹¹⁾ became then the bearers of her hope and her faith. In other cases windows of Jesus blessing the children were the subject of similar requests. In St. Augustine, Selly Oak, in St. Paul’s, Birmingham, in St. Bartholomew’s, Harborne (Plate 44a), the children look and behave as living children unconsciously drawn to the radiant figure of the Lord. They and the adults accompanying them are in late nineteenth century dress, allowing parishioners to identify directly with the religious message and illustrating the religious atmosphere summarised by Owen Chadwick as colourful demonstrations of faith and a Christian democracy.⁽¹⁹²⁾ Plate 44

¹⁸⁶ Further emphasis on the dual role of this window is seen in the musical angels in the predella and tracery with a violin-playing angel below the child.

¹⁸⁷ Letter addressed “My dear friend” from Revd. Porter, 16th June, 1881, Glass Correspondence, HABRL.

¹⁸⁸ *ibid.*

¹⁸⁹ Letter to Hardman from W. Brittan, 29th May 1873, Glass Correspondence, HABRL.

¹⁹⁰ Newman, *DMC*, p. 50.

¹⁹¹ Louisa Twining, *Symbols and Emblems of Early and Mediaeval Christian Art*. London: Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans 1852, p. 139, (hereafter cited as Twining).

¹⁹² See p. §27.

also shows a window with a young child in the arms of an angel, in flight towards heaven; it is night and the earth is already very far behind.⁽¹⁹³⁾ It is interesting to note at this point that it is rare in Catholic churches to come across requests based in this way on the identity of a lost child and especially with such an emphasis on youth. There Gabriel is the children's Guardian who is called for in their memory; a similar role is given to St. Joseph.

The development of the living shoot, referred to above in relation to the *Jairus's daughter* window at Leckhampton has undergone a further evolution which the viewer can perceive when looking at the following Hardman windows. In Plate 45, the scrolled arabesque can be seen as more than a pictorial motif, as a symbol derived from the living shoot: in West Malvern's lancet, for instance, the scroll gives a double turn below and above the Shepherd and his crook, in the Southport roundel (b), it appears almost as a bare tree, in Haresfield Court (d), there is a gnarled bush to the left of the shepherd but a fully foliated one on his right, next to a symbolically very active sower; in Selly Oak (a), it is behind the Good Samaritan, who is then seen with a halo (meaning he is portrayed as The Lord). Significantly, in a number of Resurrection scenes a scroll is seen growing out from the tomb itself, or simply appearing to accompany the resurrected figure. In Halam (Plate 46d) the arabesque in full leaf constitutes the only background behind the resurrected Christ. The living shoot has been developed and evolved into a motif which accompanies the presence of Christ in the window to act as a reminder of the identification of the living vine with the Cross and hence the wine of the Eucharist with His blood.

The image of the shepherd does not belong to Hardman alone even if it appears more than fifty times in their erratically kept index books. In fact, as a demonstration of Christ's love "it has been unceasingly repeated under every possible aspect."⁽¹⁹⁴⁾ Didron gives examples of chalices at the time of Tertullian, decorated with shepherds, of many representations on sepulchres and frescoes in the catacombs, of which the illustration shown here is an example. Similar examples are given by Louisa Twining.⁽¹⁹⁵⁾ The shepherd was drawn repeatedly, only to disappear from the eleventh century to the sixteenth century. The earlier shepherds were young, strong, and clad in short tunics, rarely solely alone with their sheep as other allusions to well loved themes appeared, such as the seasons, recording time and the passing of life, Jonah, the Ark, the Dove; the shepherd was also seen carrying a Pan's pipe, a reminder of

¹⁹³ The window shows a marked resemblance to the painting, *The Guardian Angel*, by Wilhelm von Kaulbach, (c. 1804-1874).

¹⁹⁴ Didron, i, p. 341.

¹⁹⁵ Twining, p. 339.

pagan lore.

Interestingly, it is a shepherd by Burne-Jones and William Morris (Plate 47d) which made Ruskin “wild with joy.”⁽¹⁹⁶⁾ He is seen as a sturdy young man, not of Biblical times, dressed in purple country breeches, jacket and a flowery hat, shy almost in demeanour; the sheep is heavy on his shoulders. In Hardman, only the boy David in Minchinhampton can be compared to him: also sturdy, at ease with himself, in a short tunic, he is shown with his sheep which he has successfully protected from lions. In appearance, in his dress especially, he looks appropriate to the era in which he lived.

The portrayal is certainly a long way from the conventional robed figures, gentle to extreme, melancholic even if we consider the one in Caverswall parish church, Plate 47b, where the shepherd is accompanied in the adjacent window by a reassuring Light of the World (seen in Plate 100a), closer in spirit to the theme of Christ as both the lamb and the shepherd in Didron’s book.⁽¹⁹⁷⁾

The left light in the Newbury four-light window of the south aisle, Plate 48a, becomes clear when compared with the example from plate XV in Twining shown above it. Here the Lord is portrayed with a shepherd’s crook, deep in thought, so it seems, pondering whether or rather how to go and look for the lost sheep. Added to the scene are two angels who hover close above, discreetly supportive and who are seen rejoicing in the fourth light at the return of the the erring lamb to the fold. There is also a ram; it bears much resemblance to the animal shown by Tertullian on the chalice, “as the one provided by the Lord and left in brambles,”⁽¹⁹⁸⁾ to forestall the sacrifice of Isaac by Abraham.⁽¹⁹⁹⁾ Shepherd windows were dedicated to pastors and teachers in general, to founders of churches and to children, all either innocents or caring persons. *Feed my Sheep* chosen as a memorial at Sonning was described as: “a scene appropriate for a bishop.”⁽²⁰⁰⁾

In the shepherd in Norwich Cathedral, Plate 46a, there is a slightly different representation of the subject. It occupies five predella lights below episodes in the life of Jesus who is seen on

¹⁹⁶ Quoted from a letter by Dante Gabriel Rossetti to Whitefriars Glassworks in 1857 recommending Burne-Jones, published in Anon., ‘Powells: The Whitefriar Studios’, in *Journal of the British Society of Master Glass-Painters*, 13, 1, (1959-60), p. 321-5 (p. 323).

¹⁹⁷ Didron, i, p. 56, and i, p. 338.

¹⁹⁸ Twining, p. 32.

¹⁹⁹ Genesis 22:13.

²⁰⁰ Letter to Hardman from Revd. Pearson dated 15th August 1873, Glass Correspondence, HABRL.

the cross in the middle light, himself below a lamb holding a banner with its left hoof (seen in Plate 14 above) and, significantly, standing on a tabernacle from which flow four red streams, red from the blood of the sacrificed lamb and yet evoking the four rivers of life. In the predella's two left lights, the shepherd cares for and feeds his flock. In the centre he has to fight for them against wolves. Then, once more, the conventional scene of the shepherd is seen, disentangling the one sheep from a thorny bush, but already, in the background, the roof of a shelter tells the viewer to have faith in the outcome; in the fifth light the flock is once more gathered peacefully round the shepherd: he is now the Lord who, crook in hand, sits on a throne, no longer looking at his sheep but at the congregation at large, which is figuratively in the hands of Peter, receiving the keys in the light above. It provided a powerful attempt to resolve crises of doubt experienced by many Victorians.

In Sandal Magna, Plate 49a, there is a Good Shepherd combined with a Crucified Christ (1898). The words below: *The Good Shepherd gives his life for his sheep* are clearly visible. Thus the subject implied by the juxtaposition of the Good Shepherd in the predella with the Crucifixion and the Lamb in the Norwich window discussed above is explicitly stated. The Sandal Magna window appears in a church where the firm and in particular Powell had been involved since 1874.⁽²⁰¹⁾ All the glass is Hardman's. The little medieval glass remaining has been put together in one window and its light subdued blue echoed in the orb at the feet of the *Christ in Majesty*, in the East Window close by. But in the Shepherd's light in the south aisle, the colours are telling of drama and events in the making. The figure of the shepherd, in his total devotion, is treated with great originality; it is at the same time a representation of one caring for his flock and, figuratively, an illustration of the miracle of the Resurrection: for noticeable are the crown of thorns, crossed nimbus and marked feet of the pastor, leaning forward on his crook and holding a lamb in his right hand. He is helped in his task of eternal care by his divine helpers brought down to earth and actively engaged in down-to-earth tasks. These four angels who have alighted are young, fair, androgynous almost and richly clad. Above, two others are seen, in the air once more where they belong across the heavenly divide of blue clouds and scroll: the lambs in their hands have become the lambs of God as they receive the sacred blood.

How could such a rendering become possible? There was a climate of willingness to receive such a portrayal of mysterious events. The words of Didron were familiar to the firm which

²⁰¹ See Plate 98.

used his two volumes as a matter of course: “Theology is in truth far less studied than it deserves. It ought now to be restored to its place of honour.”⁽²⁰²⁾ The pastoral deeds and words issuing from the Oratory also gave assurance to this Christian firm that it was doing right. Their work was sought after and praised for that very reason. There had been a greater receptiveness on the part of the Anglican community since 1874 when it accepted officially that prayers be said for the departed. Sermons were delivered and printed by many divines, who were also recognised authorities, such as Bishop Lightfoot, who said in 1873, when Professor of Theology at Cambridge: “Truth is revealed through faith not sight.”⁽²⁰³⁾

The middle register is occupied by one which can only be referred to as the prince of darkness threatening the flock. His opposite number is a figure going out of the picture on the right, who seems to be running away, for there is speed in his comportment. It evokes John’s words: “he (Judas) went out immediately and it was night,” he went with “Satan in his heart,” to betray the light of the world.⁽²⁰⁴⁾ He is portrayed here simply going empty-handed and in haste. But the darkness evoked and rendered in the background and the actions of the two figures are necessary for they throw into the light the body on the cross confirming that it is indeed John’s words that were the source of the rendering.

The evil figure, however, comes from another source and it can only be Didron’s as shown in the drawing. Didron devoted many pages to the evocation of Satan in his study of Christian iconography; examples are shown in Plate 49. Satan is portrayed in the window with piercing eyes, jagged wings, and pointed ears in a halo of red, the colour which is generally associated with the fire and hell of his domain; he is shown in the very act of seizing another lamb from the pen. In this pulsating light where the eye goes from one figure to the other but is in the end led upwards, the negative figures in the middle ground appear to recede.

The figure on the cross suddenly, triumphantly, occupies centre place, for, on a close examination, more may be deciphered: the crucified body is not nailed to a conventional cross but is, figuratively, attached to a vine, rich in sap, rich of leaves and laden with fruit. A bunch of grapes is strategically placed at the very top and more appear near the feet (Plate 49a), again recalling Newman’s words “he trod the vine press alone”⁽²⁰⁵⁾ and the window at

²⁰² Didron, ii, p. 13.

²⁰³ Dr. Lightfoot was Hulsean Professor (1861-1875) and then Lady Margaret Professor at Cambridge before becoming Bishop of Durham in 1879. Joseph B. Lightfoot, *Cambridge Sermons*. London: Macmillan, 1893, p. 83, (hereafter cited as Lightfoot).

²⁰⁴ John 13:27-30.

²⁰⁵ Newman, *PPS*, iii, p. 139.

Conches (Plate 50). At Sandal Magna the figure is not so much alone as part of a well orchestrated presentation where the lambs receiving blood from his *ex sanguine* hands become in turn a metaphor for his own sacrifice. Once more the intertwining of imagery and metaphor can only be explained by referring to the scriptures. The Shepherd and the vine are united, the vine, a metaphor for the Jewish people, announced by Isaiah in the context of Jewish hope⁽²⁰⁶⁾ and Ezekiel in condemnation,⁽²⁰⁷⁾ the True Vine mentioned seven times in John. Although dead the body of Christ adopts the very flowing rhythmic twist of the vine stem, an almost baroque portrayal as the lithe unmarked body describes a gentle S-curve, the left knee overlapping the right and the head of Christ inclined in the opposite direction. If we look at Simon Vouet's Christ (Plate 22b), the muscular, starkly white body against the dark background, pushes outward also. Despite its being unmarked, the body expresses suffering and revolt. The message of Sandal is different and meant to be so.

The window is alive with metaphorical hidden meaning. Angels are an intimate part of the scene. As superhuman beings, given extra-perceptory and sensory powers, they seem unaffected by gravity. Their wings which are a prominent feature allow them to bridge two worlds, the visible or the secular and the invisible or spiritual. Floating between two worlds, distances no longer seem to matter. From the four corners of the window, they contribute to its internal dynamics where motif and theme become one.

There are three pages of Ascensions in the *Index List of Subject Matter* of the Hardman's books. What is particularly significant is that beside its popularity as a subject, *The Ascension* appears in the East windows in a fairly prominent manner. The examples selected belong to churches restored or built by the architect Woodyer who commissioned work from John Hardman & Co. for forty years and cooperated on a more personal level with Powell after the death of Mr. Hardman. These examples have been chosen because they are well documented and illustrate doctrinal points which were resolved differently for different clients. Thus they demonstrate the variety of treatment of a given subject by the architect and the artist glazier who worked in unison and shared a similar commitment.

There is little glass in Woodley, St. John the Evangelist, apart from *The Ascension* in the East window; the liturgical message is thus concentrated there. The three-light East window (1873) has a clear design (Plate 51), which looks unencumbered and yet carries references to both the

²⁰⁶ Isaiah 5:7.

²⁰⁷ Ezekiel 15:2-5.

Old and the New Testament: on the left, John leans gently towards Jesus and acknowledges his divinity in the Last Supper, while the Pelican symbolically feeds its young in a small circle above. The Apostles and Mary, witnesses to the Ascension, are now adoring Christ, appearing triumphantly in a Mandorla under the Dove drawn against the rays of the Father and a red orb in the middle of the three-star traceries. On the right, facing the viewer, the Apostle John is in close exchange with John the Divine. He stands on a small and leafy mound,⁽²⁰⁸⁾ turning and pointing towards Heaven, holding the golden measuring rod with crossed palms, symbol of Victory. According to beliefs current in the nineteenth century, the two Johns were linked and could thus stand together under the combined forces emanating from the sacrificial lamb. The importance of the Lamb is reinforced by the light golden architecture which unites it to the scene below; it stands in Revelations symbolism in the centre of the rainbow of the Covenant, which is here a full circle, with seven horns and seven eyes displayed in a half circle on its sacrificial head and the four rivers of the Apocalypse bursting forth underneath it. The mystery of wine and bread is further emphasised by clear patterns of vine leaves which also appear on either side of the pelican. Against a significantly ruby-red background, Christ reaches out beyond the confines of the blue mandorla, thrown forward by the flat richness behind, and fixes his gaze on the congregation. The eye is now drawn back to Mary who also looks out rather than up towards her son. The power of this gaze is an important part of the power which the glass of Hardman was intended to exert. It appears repeatedly: it is seen in Shifnal, evident also in Northfield, in Kings Norton, in Monks Kirby, in Anglo-Catholic Clewer and in Roman Catholic Arundel and Shrewsbury.

In Tenbury's St. Mary (1865), (Plate 52) in the Ascension window the Virgin is present, though not perhaps as prominently as the dedication of the church would lead one to expect, at the feet of her Son. It is a well delineated composition where the central white figure, radiant against a heavenly red mandorla is calmly going back to the Father, eyes gazing in the distance, in the act of blessing and with only the merest hint of movement from the action taking place. Tall, winged angels have alighted on the stylised clouds the rising figure is about to traverse. It is left to them, marked on their forehead with the flame of divine recognition and approval, to show animation about the event being enacted: this is defined in the blue intensity of their well

²⁰⁸ On the recommendation of Revd. Pearson: "it seems to me that objection might perhaps be taken to the kneeling attitude of St. John, in connection with the scene in the Revelations XIX: 10. I have an old Flemish piece of glass, representing St. John and the angel both standing on a little eminence." Letter to John Hardman Powell from Revd. Pearson dated 3rd January 1873. Powell's unusually abrupt response written the following day was: "Mr. Powell desires us to say that he prefers St. John standing and is so representing him in the window. It promises to be a very successful window," Letter dated 4th January, 1873, Glass Letterbook, vol. 9, p. 30, HABRL.

groomed, flexible and very long wings, pointing upwards, and in the floating and undulating hems of their garments. There is adoration and reverence as they turn towards the Divine Being they have come to accompany in his passage. Above are angelic beings in a flurry of wings resting on the wheels designating Seraphim. The semicircular stylised cloud which separates the divine and the secular world, is more than a motif easily discarded by the eye, it is a structural part of the composition where the apostles and the Virgin are frozen in attitudes of acceptance and wonder.

In 1863 in relation to another Ascension window resulting from the collaboration of Woodyer and Powell at Newbury, a letter from Woodyer states his own beliefs on the Ascension: “I have told him [Revd. Randall] that the Blessed Virgin must either appear in the Ascension as the principal figure or not at all.⁽²⁰⁹⁾ Unless therefore you hear to the contrary omit it, but put the lily where the Virgin ought to be standing. As for the wings and the clouds modify them as you think proper. Really one does not know whether to be hurt, aroused or annoyed at some criticism.”⁽²¹⁰⁾ (The Newbury window is no longer in place, changed to a new window by Hardman dating from 1925.) In Luke’s rendering of the event in Acts 1: 9-12, it is the apostles alone who are gathered together. The Virgin when she stands amongst them, a natural enough place for a mother, is then seen as a personification of the church. So was Mary in these windows to be introduced to the viewer as herself, a favourite presence perhaps for the architect and Powell also?

In Beenham St. Mary (1877) (Plate 53a and 53b(i)), Reverend Bushnall was not so easily persuaded: “Let me remind you that the figure of the Virgin is to be omitted among the witnesses of our Lord’s Ascension.”⁽²¹¹⁾ However, Mary is present in two other windows at Beenham. Jesus acknowledges her very particularly, blessing her almost, at the Carrying of the Cross and she is seen hiding her hand and face at the Entombment while a young Mary Magdalene looks on. Therefore, rather than being the expression of a doctrinal divide, the letter results from a strict adherence to the text. This is corroborated by the two Angels or “Men in white who suddenly stood by the Apostles.”⁽²¹²⁾ Here they have a more active part to play: their overlapping wings lead the eye to the rising figure of Christ, past other angels waiting and ready to adore and welcome and their hands pointing upwards lend further emphasis to the

²⁰⁹ In this stipulation Woodyer was following the practice related by Mâle as prevailing from the twelfth century onwards, with examples in Le Mans and Laon. Mâle, *Thirteenth Century*, p. 194.

²¹⁰ Letter to John Hardman Powell from Woodyer, 13th May 1863, Glass Correspondence, HABRL.

²¹¹ Letter to Hardman from Revd. Bushnall, 9th February 1876, Glass Correspondence, HABRL.

²¹² Acts 1:11-12.

doctrinal point being illustrated. There are no red wings here so as not to detract from the red fiery background of the mandorla; instead deep blue wings echo the spiritual scalloped, almond-shaped vesica taking the Christ upwards, deep green and gold, all the more striking against the quiet but heavy silk-embroidered garments the angels are wearing. The colours are therefore calling on the spiritual symbolism of medieval times, the green of renewal, the red of heaven, and the gold of peace. Much intensity is shown on the faces not only of the apostles praying in awe and looking bereft but among the angels also showing concern as they view the scene below. Their size and quasi-humanity draw the eye of the onlooker. Untouched by time, with gentle hands like so many echoes of his own, they seem in communion with the departing Divine figure. This depiction of the event brings to mind the willowy rising figure of *The Assumption* in the twelfth century stained glass window of Le Mans Cathedral, but here it is the inexorable pull or movement upwards which draws the arm, makes the clothes flutter and the body rotate on itself and appear three quarters in profile. The result is not as forceful as the Renaissance masters nor as dramatic as the clouds formations, putti and rising figures of the Baroque but it is an original rendering nevertheless.

In Harlow's St. Mary and St. Hugh's (Plate 54), *The Ascension* has centre stage also, although it is part of a large composition; the scene with Mary in the centre amongst the apostles with Jesus ascending above, dominates, as it is raised above the various events depicting the life of the Lord and the Virgin either side. Mary, as the church is partly dedicated to her, is present in all eight episodes surrounding the Ascension, from the visit of Gabriel on the left in the lower register to the scene where she is led gently away by John after the Deposition from the Cross. A golden Christ having seemingly risen and traversed a number of heavens, pauses to bless the faithful. Angels with scrolls occupy the tracery while an ascending effect is given by the rhythm of golden and delicate turrets as well as crenelated canopies. Lead lines particularly visible as some of the details have faded are soft in their outline and contribute to the overall gentle effect of the window.

The Ascension continued to be portrayed throughout the period being reviewed. In Sandal Magna, in the East window of 1886, shown in Plate 53b(ii), two angels are rushing down to greet the figure liberated from the pull of the earth: despite their urgency there is less intensity in the window as the accent is on rich attire and refinement of body stance. The device of early times when the Christ was shown partly disappearing in the clouds with only the feet visible below⁽²¹³⁾ was not used and only rarely was the reference to the hill called "Olivet"⁽²¹⁴⁾

²¹³ Hall, p. 33.

²¹⁴ Acts 1:12.

shown as in Tenbury where the symbolic scroll reminds one of life to come as it reaches in and out of the little mound.

To indicate the relative popularity of these themes, as well as the three pages (90 items) mentioned above on *The Ascension*, the firm's index records two pages each on *The Nativity*, *The Presentation*, *The Finding in the Temple* and *The Good Shepherd*, one page each on *Jairus's Daughter* and *The House at Nazareth*.

It will be seen from the above discussion that the windows considered in this chapter illustrating the *Life of The Lord* are heavy with meaning as well as pleasant to the eye. They show the sensitivity of Hardman to the portrayal of doctrine and the firm's willingness to accommodate the developing role of the Anglican Church to provide comfort in this world. This feature is shown most clearly in the Jairus windows described where the firm went so far as to incorporate likenesses of the children commemorated, showing the form a memorial might take for parents of sufficient means. The growing Victorian sentimentality about children is seen in *Jesus blessing the children* (see pp. 61§62). There are also examples of the consistent development of spiritual ideas: the two aspects of the Lamb—protected by the Shepherd and the Lamb as sacrifice. These are combined at Sandal where Lambs receive the blood from Christ's hands, a reference to the Eucharist. This window also uses another well-developed idea, the use of the scroll as a recurring motif recalling, during His earlier life, Christ's earthly destiny and his eventual Resurrection, the ideas being linked in this example at Sandal which shows the Cross as True Vine. In the course of twenty years or so, the variations of the design demonstrate the thematic pursuit of the living scroll as well as a profound respect for scripture in the applications of it. It is also worthy of note that the incorporation in this window at Sandal of a drawing of Satan taken from Didron is evidence of Hardman's use of this source.

Chapter 5 – Saints

The portrayal of Saints in Hardman windows received a great boost from the surge of Roman Catholic church and cathedral building in the middle years of the century. The High Church movement and the Tractarians also required their Saints. This chapter considers a number of new building projects and restorations which drew on Hardman's expertise. Those of the firm's windows devoted to saints reflect the learning and research effort within the firm which produced designs illustrating the historical and legendary achievements of the subjects portrayed.

The purpose for which a Saints window may have been commissioned might have ranged from a wish to represent the patron saint of the church, to celebrate the founder of an order like St. Gregory or St. Benedict, to depict an exemplary life, to assist teaching or ritual, or to represent an image to aid prayer for intercession. As well as drawing on sources of reference which became available in the middle of the nineteenth century the windows demonstrate a sensitivity to the history of the church concerned as reflected in the local as well as national and internationally recognised traditions about the saint. Since dedications were diverse, sometimes to obscure saints, and reasons to invoke them were many, they tested the skill and knowledge of the artist glazier to fulfil the wishes of the patrons who commissioned the windows. Among the sources available and widely read at the time were Butler's *Lives of The Saints*, which had been published a century earlier, Jacques de Voragine's *Legende Dorée*, newly reprinted, and MacCabe's *A Catholic History of England*, with the Venerable Bede providing sources covering more specifically the Saints of English origin. Butler had been recommended in particular by Right Revd. James Brown in 1876.⁽²¹⁵⁾ These sources were complemented by local knowledge or tradition, also to be seen incorporated into the glass, presumably obtained from the incumbents, patrons, or antiquaries, who had compiled local histories.⁽²¹⁶⁾ That MacCabe was used is evident from a letter from a client asking for greater precision on past religious English history answered by Powell who suggested that MacCabe was the book to consult.⁽²¹⁷⁾

The prominence given to a Saints' window and its size varied greatly according to the purpose

²¹⁵ Letter to Hardman from Rt. Revd. Brown, Bishop of Shrewsbury, 1st September 1876, Glass Correspondence, HABRL.

²¹⁶ Present-day local church guides have been found to contain historical information on the church and the area. A large number of guides has been analysed for information of use in detailed examination of the windows. The discussion which follows draws on this analysis.

²¹⁷ Letter dated 16th August 1870, Glass Letterbook, vol. 6, p. 355, HABRL.

to which it was devoted; first in order to illustrate the variety in the selection of events chosen as the subject of the window a number of portrayals are discussed of frequently occurring saints: St. James and St. Andrew, St. George and St. Michael. St. James is often shown in Transfiguration scenes, where he was one of three Apostles to accompany Jesus, in Ascensions and Majesties. In the Roman Catholic Church of St. Gregory, Cheltenham, he appears as St. James of Compostella and is seen again as an apparition fighting against the Moors in the tracery above (Plate 55b). His life as an Apostle is shown in St. George's Anglican church in King Stanley (55a).

St. Andrew, identified normally by a transverse cross, is shown at St. Andrew's Church at Kenn, in Devon, which was restored by Woodyer during the incumbency of Revd. Porter, a fervent Tractarian:⁽²¹⁸⁾ under his care, the old country church, in response to the Oxford Movement, was to re-establish sacramental worship and Gospel preaching in its premises, with the windows in the nave telling the Gospel story.⁽²¹⁹⁾ St. Andrew is shown in a prominent position in the Majesty in the East Window; he is in fact the only one of the four apostles to hold his head high and look ahead. (Plate 56)

St. George is shown as one of a company of Apostles, Prophets and Martyrs in the four-light Lady Chapel East window at St. George's, King Stanley (Plate 57). He is seen in Plate 58 in the tracery in Evenley St. George fighting a green dragon (a) and, in a detail from Harlow's West window (c). In the full window,⁽²²⁰⁾ St. George is below Joshua and next to three Anglo-Saxon saints with St. Michael in the centre thus uniting defenders of the old Law with the English warriors and Saints. A figure which could be said to be St. Michael and St. George combined is seen in the sketch for Old Windsor, Plate 58d, in which Powell is responding to the wishes of a client; the shield is of St. George but the figure also bears the wings and flame of light on the forehead indicating the figure of the Chief of the Celestial Host.⁽²²¹⁾ In Plate 59 St. Michael is seen as a young, well drawn figure with an elegant silhouette in Powell's window at Kingsteignton St. Michael, (a), and appears with the angels Gabriel and Raphael in the Church of the Immaculate Conception at Stone in (c) and at St. Gregory's, Cheltenham in (d).

²¹⁸ "On St. Andrew's Day 1870, we began the use of Eucharistic Vestments and have continued to use them to the present day." Porter, p. 2.

²¹⁹ All the glass is by Hardman over fifteen years.

²²⁰ Seen in Plate 30.

²²¹ "There is a beautiful figure of St. Michael by Fra Angelico,... a winged saint,... no demon but I should not object to a dragon. The figure, as I remember, very graceful, the attributes are the lance and the shield and armour, dark crimson, the wings the tints of the rainbow. ... I should not wish it to be medieval." Letter to John Hardman Powell from Miss Miller, 14th October 1874, Glass Correspondence, HABRL.

The next section of the chapter considers how saints are represented in All Saints churches. The dedication tends to lead to the expectation of an All Saints window. Some have a major window depicting many Saints of both sexes distinguished by their symbol surrounded by the heavenly host. Others have a selection of Saints individually portrayed and relevant to their area. In some cases there are a number of Saints windows, smaller in scale, of one or two lights and placed along the nave or in the clerestory echoing the practice during the Middle Ages. The clearest difference between the denominations in this case resides in the fact that Catholic windows carry frequently the evocation *Ora Pro Nobis*, whereas the Protestant ones do not, simply labelling their saints in readable inscriptions of the windows illustrated. In the Tractarian churches described below, the saints stand as single figures in their lights. In Catholic churches, the single figure in the main part of the window is often complemented by the saint in his or her missionary role intervening with the young and the sick in the predellas. Their identities and the treatment of the Saints chosen varied between Anglican and Catholic churches. This too is discussed below.

The dedication to All Saints refers usually to the line of saints, known and unknown, through the ages. Hardman's choice of window subjects is often made with particular reference to those from the Christian history of the church in question from its foundation and from the area in which it stands. It thus furnishes a powerful contribution to help the congregation anchor their worship in the past of their church or the social circumstances leading to its foundation. The examples chosen for discussion are Helmsley, an Anglican church located in Yorkshire, near Rievault Abbey, in an area whose Christian history goes back to the seventh century, Barton-upon-Irwell, in Cheshire, a Roman Catholic foundation of 1865 whose glass reflects the times of persecutions from the Tudors to the seventeenth century and the new Irish immigrant congregation, and Cheltenham All Saints, a Tractarian foundation dedicated to the early Fathers, Doctors and Orders. These factors are reflected in the subjects of the windows. A case of an All Saints window in a church dedicated to an individual Saint is also discussed below, that of St. Thomas à Becket's Church, Burton Coggles, in Lincolnshire.

In Helmsley, (restored by Charles Barry), the particular history picked up and celebrated by Hardman in the East window of 1880 relates to the early christianisation of that remote part of England, where the Christian princess Ethelburga, daughter of the King of Kent, came to marry Edwin, the King of Northumbria, a pagan, who was later baptized by Paulinus, a priest of the Augustinian Mission whom the princess had brought with her. Ethelburga, Edwin and

Paulinus are represented in their royal and priestly attire (Plate 60, a double plate) together with four other groups of three figures each, a “Chorus” of Apostles, of Prophets, of Virgins and of Martyrs as is inscribed on the glass in Latin, who all surround a Christ in Majesty. There are also Chapels dedicated to St. Columba, to St. Aelred, St. Aidan, said to have preached in Helmsley, known then as Ulmetum in the Saxon chronicle and Emlac in the Domesday book: their lives are displayed on murals and in the windows.

Barton-upon-Irwell (Plate 61) was built by E. Pugin to consecrate a long standing attachment to Catholicism and to do so in the open once the Emancipation Act in 1829 and Restoration of Hierarchy in 1850 had given Catholics freedom to worship. The assembly of the faithful, many of whom came from far afield, had formerly taken place in secret in the house of the Lords of the Manor, the de Trafford family, who, like many landed catholic gentry gave the land and the resources “for the start of a canonical parish and a school,” an event recorded in the church. There were martyrs amongst the De Traffords, William Trafford, Abbot of the Cistercian monastery at Sawly, Sir Cecil, himself a persecutor of Papists, but converted and baptized by a Benedictine monk.⁽²²²⁾

These and the anonymous saints and martyrs are celebrated in the tall lancets of the Apse around the Immaculate Conception in tight rows of eager faces in mixed groups of robed and military figures, female and male, who reflect the steadfastness and suffering of past generations.

In the early nineteenth century, with a new congregation made up of Irish immigrants, suffering came from malnutrition and illness.⁽²²³⁾ In the nave of Barton the choice of Saints reflects to some extent the conditions experienced by the new parishioners. There is an emphasis on schooling with St. Anne teaching the Virgin Mary and Monica, who is notable as the mother of Augustine who became one of the great Latin Fathers in the fourth century; a Christian herself, she is said to have taken her son to school to ensure he would become a Christian but he only did so, as he recounted in his Confessions, when he met St. Ambrose long after. A note in the order book⁽²²⁴⁾ points to windows involving charitable works, windows with children and parents like St. Joachim and St. Anne, being placed on the Gospel

²²² James Slater, *A Catholic history of Eccles and Barton*, 1897, cited in *A History of All Saints Church Barton-upon-Irwell*, 2nd edition. published by the church, 1993.

²²³ *ibid*. In the late 1700’s they were very few as recorded by the baptism records, 25 in five years, in the early nineteenth century there were many more who had come from Ireland to find work. Conditions in the middle 1850s were among the worst on record with deaths from the plague, consumption and measles.

²²⁴ Glass Orderbook, 3rd August 1886, vol. 3, p.154, HABRL.

side with Fathers of the Church and on the Epistle side with Apostles. Windows therefore were being selected according to a theme that might be strengthened by the juxtaposition of Saints⁽²²⁵⁾ This overrode aesthetic considerations as indicated by a further note on the same page of the order book which points to a failure to respect the colour scheme planned by the designers: “windows have been transposed although it was pointed out by our man⁽²²⁶⁾ that this would interfere with the plan of colouring.” Further variety in the compositions, colouring and detailing can be seen with Charles the Bald, martyr, and seen about to be beheaded below in the predella and St. Thomas carefully holding the Virgin’s blue girdle. There is harmony as the heads turn to the centre; the folds of their clothes echo each other while telling also of different times and cultures; the details in the predellas were meant to speak loud and clear to the congregation.

Plate 62a shows St. Roch as a pilgrim and below, in the wilderness with the plague. St. Roch was of French noble parents; he sold everything to consecrate himself to the poor and the sick. He was stricken with the plague when tending the sick on his way to Rome; he survived, cared for in the woods only by a faithful dog, which is seen in the window, and became the protector against sickness and plague. St. Roch shares a window with St. Gertrude; each carries a staff, hers symbolising her role of Abbess, and both were known for their charity and good works as is shown by the bread in her right hand.

St. Augustine is represented as a Bishop, Plate 62c, richly vested and as a serious figure, facing the nave, his eyes clearly meant to engage the eyes of those he is blessing. As Bishop of Hippo, near Carthage, he died a martyr’s death, refusing to leave his flock when the Vandals attacked Africa. He is paired with St. Francis of Assisi in the dark brown habit of the Order; the crucifix is attached to a rosary and not the knotted cord which is more customary, in recognition of two of St. Francis’s visions, the Crucified Christ and the Virgin Mary, to whom the rosary is a form of devotion. The stigmata are clearly visible as golden rays of light on his hands and feet, and a partly hidden skull on the right reminds one of the life of solitude of St. Francis. In contrast to St. Augustine, St. Francis is placed at an angle within a fairly simple architectural niche, almost retreating away. St. Elizabeth and her son, John the Baptist, Plate 62e, are both turned towards the altar, against a similar pinnaced background; the Baptist is seen baptising Christ in the predella below and Elizabeth welcomes Mary alongside.

²²⁵ As they stand the windows have certainly been mixed and yet some pairs have been moved together so that the overall meaning speaks out still.

²²⁶ This refers to the reliable and knowledgeable Mr. Williams who placed the windows in situ. His notes to the firm have been kept and tell of his pride in his work which took him all over England.

In Plate 62d, St. Cecilius and St. Teresa have in common their faith, their learning and their ability to share their knowledge as can be seen in the predellas. The book Cecilius holds is heavy, the strong forehead and the widely placed eyes emphasize the learned aspect of the saint. In contrast, the delicate features of St. Teresa of Avila, enhanced by the dark habit of a Carmelite, reflect the beauty of her soul: Teresa of Avila was one of five saints canonised in 1622 by Pope Gregory XV⁽²²⁷⁾ who was thus celebrating in great pomp the renewed vigour of the faith. We see in the window an evident wish on the part of the designer to express the qualities of sainthood and belief typical of the times of the Counter-Reformation, as Teresa holds the golden dart, a book and a white quill in her left hand and a burning Heart in her right, held level with the tip of the golden spear, symbol of the implanting of Amor Dei.⁽²²⁸⁾

In Plate 63a St. Joseph is seen in a two-light window (iv) which he shares with St. Gilbert. In the predella are seen the Nativity and St. Gilbert teaching the children. The lily which Joseph is holding is an attribute seen in Catholic windows.⁽²²⁹⁾ The plate shows other portrayals including the one in Dublin (ii) where he is seen carrying the infant Jesus; he is also seen in Cheltenham St. Gregory, in Plate 65c, leading Jesus by the hand. In all he is assured and calm, not the humble retiring figure of medieval times often seen asleep as in the Chartres Nativity scene shown in plate 92b. The Anglican emphasis in contrast is that of Joseph, a caring father figure, as in Tenbury (Plate 37), a carpenter as in Kenn and Kempsey (Plates 40 and 41 respectively), in the latter of which he is particularly active and vigorous looking. Both highlight the value of work in Victorian eyes (see Chapter Four above). The Catholic treatments of children at Barton-upon-Irwell and in Arundel's south transept and north chancel windows are also compared in Plate 63b. In (iii), Arundel medallions, glowing against red and blue diaper, show its dedicatee, the young Philip Neri (1515-1595) who was known as the apostle of Rome, founder of the congregation of the Oratorians. He is seen in several scenes illustrating his life, a characteristically Catholic treatment as mentioned above. In one he is being taught at home by loving parents, in the medallion above (not shown) caring for poor pilgrims as a young layman, while in the second row starting from the bottom and level with the studious Philip, boisterous little Roman boys are playing under his watchful eye, when a young Father (63b(i)). In the next light, he is welcoming young Englishmen coming to Rome to

²²⁷ J. Hall, *History of Ideas and Images in Italian Art*. London: John Murray, 1995, p. 322.

²²⁸ *ibid.*, p. 298.

²²⁹ A symbol of chastity also recalling the flowering rod which led to the choice of Joseph as the spouse of Mary in the Apocryphal Gospel of the Life of Mary, Margaret. E. Tabor, *The Saints in Art*, 3rd Edition. London: Methuen, 1913, p. 84.

study as well as offering mass.⁽²³⁰⁾ Newman, himself an Oratorian, wrote that there is reward to those who bring the children to Him⁽²³¹⁾ and “take them and educate them in His name.”⁽²³²⁾

The parish of All Saints in Cheltenham was formed in 1868 when the boundaries of two neighbouring parishes were re-adjusted to establish a church where “the Mass could be offered and the Catholic and Apostolic faith taught.”⁽²³³⁾ The architect, Middleton, already very much involved in the area, was commissioned to “build a House of God worthy of the Holy Mysteries:”⁽²³⁴⁾ the result is a lofty church in French Gothic style with a colourful interior. In the Apse the seven windows narrate very clearly the events of the Old and New Testaments in a series of medallions set against diapered, shimmering red and blue background alternately. The sanctuary is richly decorated with fifteen arches; there are six baroque candlesticks on the high altar, itself surmounted by a richly carved and gilded baldacchino. It is very much the focus of a church wishing to re-affirm the importance of sacramental worship in conformity with the tenets of the Oxford Movement which formed the faith of young men twenty years before. The saints are everywhere present: the windows of the North aisle represent the great religious orders of the Middle Ages, the two windows in the North transept are dedicated to saintly women of the church and those in the south aisle to the Doctors of the church. There are also images of saints on the altar front, sculptures of the twelve apostles on the twelve pillars of the nave as insisted on by Abbot Suger at St. Denis, and gilded statues of St. Bernard, St. Gregory the Great and St. Cecilia, as music to accompany the liturgy had once more become important (Adolph Von Holst, the father of Gustav Holst was All Saints’ first organist).

The windows, which were carefully researched by Hardman,⁽²³⁵⁾ show saints with their own emblems, e.g. the bee hive for St. Ambrose, the dove, tiara and double-crossed crozier for St. Gregory (Plate 64b) and they are recognisable by their own accoutrements but, unlike in the Catholic Barton-upon-Irwell or Cheltenham St. Gregory, there are no narratives of events woven into the glass. Furthermore, within each set of lights, different in colour, background

²³⁰ As well as welcoming young men he blessed them as English Catholic priests before their departure from Rome. His link with Arundel is that St. Philip Howard, of the Duke of Norfolk’s family, was a sixteenth century martyr.

²³¹ Newman, *PPS*, iii, p. 293.

²³² *ibid.*, p. 283.

²³³ Reverend Walter James Jennings, *Cheltenham All Saints Church*. Church publication, 1998, p. 12.

²³⁴ *ibid.*

²³⁵ “We have after a good deal of trouble obtained a good likeness of Tyndale,” letter dated 13th January 1870, Glass Letterbook, Vol. 7, p. 861, HABRL. Preparation for the windows installed in 1873 had begun.

and architectonic detailing from each other, the saints are grouped, in pairs of similar gender, chosen for the similarity of their role; the rendering is also more muted: for instance St. Ambrose in Cheltenham All Saints is vested in a sober deep purple chasuble, red sanctuary slippers, mitre and the single cross of a bishop; the scourge with the three knots *de rigueur* as representing the Trinitarian doctrine in opposition to that of the Arians is held simply without flourish and there is a simple beehive at his feet. In comparison the Catholic Saint (Plate 65a) is vested in a richly embroidered red cope, his hands holding the fully displayed scourge are gloved, there is a Gregorian chant sung by young choir boys behind, for he is shown in the sanctuary of a church as the host is clearly visible; above a scroll reads *Ambrosium Episcopum*. This contrasts with a certain reserve in the nave of Cheltenham All Saints, where the details are simpler and, in conformity with the Tractarian architecture of the period, the colour scheme less emphatic.

Two other pairs of saints at Cheltenham All Saints in Plate 64 are of interest: St. Jerome is shown together with William Tyndale (d) and a Knight Hospitaller with a Templar (a), representing their orders, they are therefore anonymous but carry a rallying note underneath *Pro Utilitatem Hominum, Pro Gloria Dei*. St. Jerome and William Tyndale both were involved with the biblical texts: the Latin Father translated the Old and the New Testament into Latin in the edition subsequently known as the Vulgate, and William Tyndale translated the New Testament into English. Whereas the former was famous for his learning and welcome in Rome, Tyndale did not live to find favour with Reformation England; he “lived abroad a hand-to-mouth existence, dodging the Roman Catholic authorities”⁽²³⁶⁾ from where he published first from Worms on the Rhine in 1526 and a revised version from Antwerp in 1534. The Bishop of London, Tunstall, gathered and burned the bibles at St. Paul’s Cross. Tyndale was eventually betrayed, imprisoned for sixteen months and taken to the stake in October 1536. King James’s version of the Bible owes much to his version.⁽²³⁷⁾ In the windows, both carry quills and bibles. Jerome wears the cardinal’s hat reminiscent of his post as secretary to the Pope and is seen with the lion, reminiscent of his time as a hermit; Tyndale, in period clothes, has the discarded bible at his feet and the new one in his right hand.

The Crusaders are tall figures fully clad in armour with banners and eight-pointed Maltese crosses printed on their outer garments, one white against dark and the other red on white. They seem to belong to two religious military orders, the Knights Hospitallers following the

²³⁶ D. Daniell (ed.), *Tyndale’s New Testament*. London and New Haven: Yale University, 1989, p. ix.

²³⁷ *ibid.*, p. xi.

Augustinian rule and the Knights Templar the Benedictine. The first ran hospitals for the pilgrims, the other acted as their protectors. For a time great rivalry existed between them when they both had to retreat to Acre under the assault of the Saracens; the message of caring for the travellers and the sick, reflected a more general concern for the population on the part of the church wanting to be less complacent and Tractarianism appears, in the choice of window pairs, to have been eager to embrace the past and bridge doctrinal and historical differences.

In Burton Coggles, although the church is dedicated to St. Thomas à Becket, a problem arose in its restoration by E. Pugin. Revd. Sandys wrote in 1873⁽²³⁸⁾ to Hardman and more particularly to Powell: “Some of my friends object to the appropriation [of the East window] to St. Thomas à Becket.⁽²³⁹⁾ If it is not too late can we have another. Choose the scripture, we shall be content.” The request was heeded and the freedom offered was notable;⁽²⁴⁰⁾ St. Thomas à Becket appears in two windows in the chancel (Plate 66a): the consecration of St. Thomas, the reconciliation with King Henry in a two light window and the martyrdom and entombment of the saint in the next one. The East window contains a large company of Saints of both sexes surrounding a Majesty, with Angels in the tracery (Plate 66b). At the top left are St. John, St. Peter and St. Paul. Top right and nearest Christ in Majesty, St. Ursula, crowned and carrying two arrows, St. Edward the Confessor with the sceptre and St. John’s ring and St. John the Baptist. In the bottom right three martyrs, St. Thomas à Becket in his archbishop’s attributes, St. Stephen carrying a stone and St. Lawrence with the gridiron. Bottom left is St. George with his foot on the dragon, St. Sebastian and another saint with a sword. Below the central figure in Majesty are three female Saints, clearly defined and refreshingly young with rounded chins and long necks, St. Agnes, St. Margaret and St. Lucy. The east and chancel windows were commissioned and paid for by Revd. Sandys.

It was a lady patron who offered the east window in Long Marston All Saints (Plate 67). In 1400, the Archbishop Richard Le Scrope granted a petition for the church of Long Marston to be “constructed anew, after the terrible years of the Black Death, and to be rebuilt into a Whole parish to last for you and your successors for ever”⁽²⁴¹⁾ In 1874 John Hardman & Co. were contacted by Mrs. Akroyd, specifically requesting a *Lord in Majesty* for the East

²³⁸ Letter to Hardman from Revd. Sandys dated 9th April 1873, Glass Correspondence, HABRL.

²³⁹ Perhaps some important parishioners objected to Becket, as a symbol of Papal authority, occupying such a conspicuous position, something the Catholic Edward Pugin would not have sensed in advance.

²⁴⁰ Pugin, who addressed Powell in letters as his brother, generally offered him little freedom in his commissions.

²⁴¹ *The life and history of Long Marston All Saints*, published by All Saints Church, Marston, 2000.

window of All Saints: surrounding him there are Apostles, Patriarchs and Prophets in the upper register, in the lower register Martyrs and Conquerors and in the centre Female saints in great number around a young virgin Mary with flowing hair. (St. Helena, St. Cecilia, St. Agnes, St. Magdalene, St. Etheldreda, St. Hilda and St. Dorothy surround the Blessed Virgin; the head of the window is filled with musical and censuring angels.) The visual emphasis is on Mary's rich embroidered blue cloak echoing forcefully and meaningfully those of St. Peter and Moses above. The "powdering of Cherubim" (words quoted by Mrs. Akroyd) acts as background to the commanding and yet welcoming figure in Majesty whose feet rest on a circle of fire. The Akroyds, who were descendents of William Akroyd, rector from 1477 to 1518, thus carried out a family responsibility in enhancing the archbishop's bequest.

In the final section the examples analysed at greater length below will show that the association of contemporary events with scriptural ones and the lessons drawn from them contributed to a growing awareness of the lives of individuals, great and humble. General universal Christian guidelines were illustrated by the portrayal of outstanding figures like Stephen, Paul, Benedict and Gregory seen in Edensor, Gloucester and Cheltenham.

Amongst those following in the footsteps of the Lord and who had known him, Stephen, was the first to die. He was actively involved in the propagation of the good news, emphatically preaching for a new way of life.⁽²⁴²⁾ He is generally represented as a young man in the dalmatic of a deacon with a palm for martyrdom and a stone as his own attribute. Saul of Tarsus, later to become Paul, was present at the stoning of Stephen. The manner of Stephen's death, "calling on Jesus to receive his soul and not to hold it against those who stoned him"⁽²⁴³⁾ much impressed those assembled as well as generations of Christians in the following centuries; the two have remained linked ever since. The message of Stephen was powerfully used by Powell in his portrayal of a young man seen as a contemporary martyr at Edensor (Plate 68) and it was linked by him with the life of Paul in Gloucester. Stephen's acceptance and trust in a triumphant outcome are portrayed and add to the significance of the windows.

The former was designed by Powell in 1884 in response to the 1882 murder by Fenians in Phoenix Park, Dublin of Lord Frederick Charles Cavendish within twelve hours of his landing in Ireland. The window was commissioned by the tenants on the Chatsworth estate and

²⁴² Acts 7.

²⁴³ Acts 8:1.

presented to the Cavendish family in sorrowful remembrance of their son. Woven into the design are the words: *As ye are partakers of the suffering so shall ye be also of the consolation, By thy Cross and Passion Good Lord deliver us*. In the centre, Jesus, although crowned with thorns, and still holding the reed placed in his hand at the Mocking scene, is shown raised from the dead; the wounds are clearly visible. The rich cloak, which again refers to the past taunting scene of the Ecce Homo, can thus be deemed to be the cloak of Redemption. Christ is firmly placed on a mound in the shape of a globe and fixes his gaze on the viewer. A message of salvation and hope is offered in the face of violence performed on young innocent lives in three of the four scenes. On the left, above, are scenes from the Old Law with Cain about to kill his young brother Abel; in the lower register, a youth is being sent away on a mission, like Lord Frederick Cavendish's, it is to be supposed. On the right is shown the youth being attacked with stones and club. Acceptance comes in the upper register from the figure of Stephen, arms outstretched and hands joined, almost straining towards the reed of Christ. It is interesting to note that the drawing by Powell for the window, carries an even greater emphasis on the suffering figure of Jesus experiencing "the fullness of human nature,"⁽²⁴⁴⁾ fully aware, fully human, just as Stephen who looks up towards his maker. The window, as finally realised, offers less trauma. It is "suffering more serene,"⁽²⁴⁵⁾ very much a nineteenth century rendering; calmly triumphant, it evokes less painful feelings for the family involved. Angels are placed at right angles strategically almost, quietly turned towards the central figure.

In the large composition in the North Transept of Gloucester cathedral (Plate 69), Paul's life is represented by 24 scenes, fitted into the canonical scheme of Acts, Chapters 9 to 28. The link between the first martyr, Stephen, and Paul, who "of all the builders of the new universal religion, became its master architect,"⁽²⁴⁶⁾ is made clear. At the very top the first two lights are dedicated to the stoning to death of St. Stephen; Paul's own martyrdom is shown not at the end of the cycle as might be expected, as is the martyrdom of Peter opposite in Powell's South Transept window, but in the last two lights of the same top tier where the angels are ready to welcome him in the next light. The gold of Stephen's deacon's cloak and Paul's short coat unite them and lend force to the anagogical message of their double martyrdom. Through the ages, various Biblical cycles illustrated the life of Paul who became one of Jesus's keenest "witnesses to the end of the earth;"⁽²⁴⁷⁾ at the beginning of those cycles, Paul is seen with

²⁴⁴ Mâle, *Religious Art from the Twelfth Century to the Eighteenth Century*. London and New York: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1949, p.116, (hereafter cited as Mâle, *Twelfth to Eighteenth*).

²⁴⁵ *ibid.*, p.115.

²⁴⁶ E. Simon, *The Saints*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1968, p. 29, (hereafter cited as Simon).

²⁴⁷ Acts 26:19, "As a result the Church has never learned a better language in which to address the world and none of the great movements of Christian thought have developed without a base in Paul," McKenzie, p. 651.

letters given to him by the High Priest at Jerusalem as an introduction to Damascus, the foreign city he himself mentioned to Agrippa in the trial scene shown in the second tier: “it was I who imprisoned many of God’s people and extended my persecution to foreign cities.”⁽²⁴⁸⁾ In the programmes of the later medieval cycles, the stoning of Stephen was introduced and juxtaposed to Paul’s conversion. Newman explains its relevance thus: “at the beginning of the Pauline programme it gives the spiritual *raison d’être* of Paul’s conversion, for St. Stephen is the exemplum of forgiveness of one’s enemy, the quintessential moral doctrine of Christianity.”⁽²⁴⁹⁾

In the next two lights, Saul, on the road to Damascus, having fallen from his horse is seen surrounded by his companions; he is seated on the ground, one hand supporting him and the other raised forward and upwards, open in a symbolic appeal; the arm, much elongated, in order to be seen from the floor below, tells of his awe and surprise at the event and also, we can assume from the text in Acts, of his readiness to answer the call of the voice coming from above “and so I did not disobey.”⁽²⁵⁰⁾ He is calmer than his travelling companions, who are concerned at his fall but who remain standing. The voice is seen as a piercing arrow, entering the ear and heard only by Paul, the light “more brilliant than the sun, was shining all around”⁽²⁵¹⁾ frightening the horses who needed restraining.

There are many representations of this scene in illuminated manuscripts and in paintings. Stressing Paul’s physical and mental reactions, they lend themselves to moral and doctrinal interpretations: the very dramatic tumbling of man and beast are seen as Superbia being defeated, depicted in manuscripts in the Boulogne⁽²⁵²⁾ and Rheims⁽²⁵³⁾ libraries. In the early Bibles, that of San Paolo fuori le Mura⁽²⁵⁴⁾ for instance in a page centred on Damascus, it is the force of the rays which brings Paul to fall helplessly backwards in the top right end of the picture. He falls because of the “ignorance of his sins”⁽²⁵⁵⁾ washed away by the baptism given by Ananias.⁽²⁵⁶⁾ Paul, seen in his military accoutrements, according to Mâle,⁽²⁵⁷⁾ became the manner in which the twelfth century and thirteenth century appropriated him: it was the time

²⁴⁸ Acts 26:12.

²⁴⁹ Newman, *PPS*, iii, p. 281.

²⁵⁰ Acts 26:19.

²⁵¹ Acts 26:14.

²⁵² Boulogne Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 4, fol. 200 (Colossians).

²⁵³ Rheims Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 34-6, Vol. III, fol. 114 (Romans).

²⁵⁴ Bible of San Paolo fuori le mura, fol. 30 (cccvii).

²⁵⁵ Newman, *PPS*, ii, p. 106.

²⁵⁶ Newman, *PPS*, iii, p. 282.

²⁵⁷ Emile Mâle, *Apôtres*, p. 392, cited in Mario Thomas Martone, *The Theme of the Conversion of Paul in Italian Painting from the Early Christian Period*, Ph. D. thesis, New York University, 1977, p. 39.

of the crusades, the time of a church militant also.

This is perhaps why, in the nineteenth century, a time when the Anglican church had realised it had to be more militant to regain lost ground, Paul is often seen thus: in Clifton, Balsall Heath, North Streatham, (Plate 70); in military garb, coat of mail and short tunic, not Roman as much as chivalresque. In Zanobi Strozzi's *Conversion of St Paul* (258) as well as Fra Angelico's *Revelation to Paul* (Plate 71b) of 1425, both in San Marco, there is a single scene where Paul is being addressed by Jesus himself emerging from a circle of light. In the case of Strozzi the supine figure rests on an elbow, in a trance almost, with half-closed eyes and limp hand. In both the attendants look away in fear. It is interesting to see this same feature appearing in a Hardman window of the nineteenth century: in Ramsey (Plate 71), a gentler Jesus aims rays at a young, strong, military Paul who has only bowed to his knees, one hand not quite able to hold the sword and the other raised.

In the second row of the Gloucester window, on the very left and underneath Stephen's martyrdom, the meeting takes place with Ananias who, for St. Jerome and St. Augustine, represented the authority of the church (God himself having spoken to Ananias, a just and worthy follower to prepare him for Saul's visit, much to his own disarray, as news of Saul's deeds against Christians had reached him). Their acknowledgement of his authority confers its importance on the scene represented. Paul's sight is restored.

In the glass of Wokingham St. Paul, also by Hardman (Plate 72), the conversion is depicted in several episodes in close adherence to the text, from the road to Damascus in the top left followed by Paul's blindness, he is then led blind by his companions to Damascus as God calls Ananias; Paul, who neither drank nor ate for three days, is seen waiting to be healed and finally in the bottom tier, Ananias restores Paul's sight and baptizes him in a raised font: each step extrapolated, distilled and leading in a continuous narrative treatment to what Newman calls Paul's final regeneration.⁽²⁵⁹⁾

In the broader interpretation of the Gloucester window, his sight restored and his mind illuminated, the persecutor has become preacher to the Gentiles as well as to the Jews. Paul's overall message was to be one of hope:⁽²⁶⁰⁾ he speaks of the "breastplate of hope," an

²⁵⁸ *Conversion of St Paul* in Chorale Inv. 515, fol. 6, in the San Marco Museum in Florence, dated by documents in 1448. Zanobi Strozzi (1412-1468) was a follower of Fra Angelico and the chief Florentine illuminator in the late 1440s and 1450s.

²⁵⁹ Newman, *PPS*, iii, p. 281.

²⁶⁰ Letters to the Thessalonians, 5:8 and to the Galatians, 2:8.

evocative image which seems to be the reason for the breastplate he wears on the road to Damascus. After the Nicene council of 325, Paul's conversion was celebrated at Easter, itself symbolically the beginning of new life, although he now has his own saint's day in January.

In the next seven lights of the second tier (Plate 69), he is shown meeting the council of Jerusalem, parting on friendly terms with Peter, confronting the false prophet Elymas, seen here of small stature and fleeing, performing miracles by casting out a demon from a possessed child, bending over Eusebius to bring him back to life after his fall from a third storey and finally encountering Felix. The design is clear throughout. There is sufficient white to allow the external light to come through, articulating the reds and blues which are used in profusion and help identify Paul in his prominent role. It is to be noticed that although Paul's physical details were known and reproduced in the early manuscripts where his baldness is particularly striking, he is here tall and fair with a small neat beard and a high forehead, dignified above all and not small of stature.

In the lower tier, Paul is seen escaping in a basket, stoned, beaten and then shipwrecked. Intriguingly in the second light from the left, he has returned to his father's practical and respectable trade, making tents (the pliability of the cloth being handled is to be noticed, an accurate detail as the yarn came from mixed hemp and Cilician goat's hair). On the very right he is shaking the viper, successfully, into the vivid flames. Power over serpents was one of the "signs" given to and displayed by the disciples. But for Paul the power of fire was also eschatological, an all-consuming fire that would consume the viper, symbol of evil. The halo and red robe of the tent-maker make explicit the apostle's counsel of "living quietly with the work of our own hand" to achieve a "virtuous life" and keep evil at bay. These messages –taking in the humble task of the day, life's trials and tribulations and a faith in victory of good over evil—are displayed clearly, at the lowest and most visible level, making it possible for the windows to be "perpetual sermons in glass."⁽²⁶¹⁾ The end of Paul's life is to be found, as stated above, on the top row; the spiritual victory comes from his submission to mortality as he kneels and puts his hands together in prayer thus closing an invisible circle.

For this major window, Powell himself was responsible. The correspondence on it, partly held in the Birmingham Library and partly in Gloucester Cathedral Library, shows the part played by Powell in the selection of subject matter and reveals that the choice of narrative was his own. We may therefore assume that the linking of Stephen and Paul was deliberate and was

²⁶¹ Porter, p. 4.

the choice of the Artistic Director. The firm had been involved since 1861 in the restoration of the Gloucester Cathedral glass with G.G. Scott who, in turn, worked in collaboration with the supervisor of the works, F.S. Waller, and the Dean and Chapter, to survey the fabric of the Cathedral with a view to a complete refurnishing and restoration of the premises. The letters reveal that Powell's involvement was so close that he drew not only the one-inch scale drawings, which were submitted to the Dean for approval, as was to be expected, but that he also drew the cartoons, which was not his normal practice. Normally even for important commissions the cartoons were drawn by a specialist draughtsman, to be presented for Powell's particular scrutiny and signed off by him. Revisions in the designs were put down in and signed in the daybooks.

There are over 50 portrayals of Paul by the four or five leading designers of the firm who signed their work in the pattern books and who worked in collaboration and under the direction of John Hardman Powell. A closer look at one of them, G. Hill, demonstrates a constant involvement with the portrayal of Paul over the period covered by this thesis; 40 such windows bear his name in the pattern books. In Hill's work, Paul appears as a silent and imposing figure, recognisable by his sword, opposite Peter, or on the road to Damascus. Regularly we see the full depiction of scenes in the life of Paul, with an emphasis on the harrowing imprisonment, the beatings and successful escapes and the miracles performed. In Gloucester Cathedral as well as Powell's representation in the North transept, Hill's can be seen in the cloister. Here the dramatic episode on the road to Damascus is represented in three lights above the stone wainscoting (Plate 73). The coverage of the Pauline theme in Gloucester illustrates a return to medieval iconography where it is often dealt with in small medallion scenes as in Bourges, with which Powell was familiar. In this significant commission, there are two new additions in the repertory of Pauline narrative: Paul shaking the viper and Paul working on tents.

Paul's is an indomitable presence combining the role of Apostle, prophet and teacher.⁽²⁶²⁾ As early as AD160 apocryphal tales circulated about him (from them comes the physical description of someone of short stature and bald head, crooked legs, eyebrows meeting, but full of grace).⁽²⁶³⁾ These accounts were considered as legends by Pope Gregory who, in a letter addressed to the Archbishop of Alexandria,⁽²⁶⁴⁾ indicated that they were not to be found in

²⁶² Simon, p.62.

²⁶³ This description, given in the story of Paul and Thecla, part of the Apocryphal *Acta Pauli*, is quoted by the editor in Tertullian, *De Baptismo*, ed. J.M. Lupton. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1908, pp. 48-9.

²⁶⁴ *ibid.*, p. 3.

Roman libraries. And yet from the seventh century, events from Acts and from Apocrypha were read aloud during the office. Acts which recount Paul's experiences, amongst others of course, had inspired Christian Art even before Apocrypha, which became a popular source in the late Middle Ages. From early on Paul's writings were a rich source for theologians. Newman drew on Paul frequently in his Parochial Sermons at the time. It is interesting to note that archival research shows that the portrayal of Paul continued well into the late 1880s. Many windows represented the event on the road to Damascus, many also simple renderings of Paul standing with the Sword, his emblem representing the sword of the spirit⁽²⁶⁵⁾ and generally next to Peter carrying the keys. In Shrewsbury Abbey, Paul and Peter are seen on either side of the crucified Christ (see Plate 74). The lancets are divided in three parts, with in the bottom, the call of Peter and the blinding of Paul, in the middle, the Saints stand in mandorlas with their emblems: Peter with keys of great size but Paul as well as handling the sword with his left hand, rests it on a book held in his right hand. The book symbolizes his Epistles. This is how he is seen on the glass detail from a fifteenth century stained glass window in Canterbury where the Saint yields the sword upwards as he looks dreamily in the distance. Above are their martyrdom: the beheading of Paul as was the way Roman citizens were put to death and Peter crucified upside down to meet his desire not to die as the Lord.

The third part of this section is devoted to St. Benedict and St. Gregory the Great as portrayed in the church of St. Gregory in Cheltenham. Its dedicatee is the Pope who was responsible for the christianisation of England. He was Benedict's biographer and a founder of abbeys which follow his Rule. It is the Benedictine Order in all its forms and manifestations which is celebrated within its walls as well as the consolidation of the Catholic faith in England in the years after the arrival of Augustine, the Benedictine prior of St. Andrew's in Rome, chosen by Pope Gregory to head a mission to the court of King Ethelbert in 597. The saints of both sexes,⁽²⁶⁶⁾ many of whom have already been presented, the coats of arms of Benedictine Abbeys in the traceries of both transepts,⁽²⁶⁷⁾ the virtues seen here as half figures with their attributes,⁽²⁶⁸⁾ all confirm the allegiance of the church of St. Gregory to the Benedictine order.

²⁶⁵ Epistle to the Ephesians, 6:17.

²⁶⁶ St. Scholastica, St. Hilda, St. Etheldreda, St. Flavia, St. Anna, St. Frances of Rome, St. Mary Alcoque, St. Teresa of Avila, St. Teresa of Lisieux, St. Bernadette, St. Augustine, St. Ambrose, St. Borromeo, St. James the Great, St. Joachim, St. Joseph, St. Aloysius seen twice, St. Paulinus seen twice, the chosen disciples of St. Benedict, St. Placidus and St. Maurus (shown three times), St. Edward the Confessor, St. Dunstan, St. Patrick.

²⁶⁷ Gloucester and Winchcombe, Pershore and Tewkesbury, Worcester and Douai and, of course, Monte Cassino.

²⁶⁸ Prudence as a wise virgin, Justice with scales, Faith with a cross and chalice, Charity with a flaming heart, Hope with an anchor, Fortitude as a crusader, Temperance with a bridle, Poverty in ragged clothes, Chastity with a lily and Obedience with a yoke.

The other orders, the Carmelites, the Dominicans, the Order of Visitation and the Jesuits are also present in the persons of their founders and stress the importance of monastic life, renewed in England in the tenth century by St. Dunstan who is seen in one of the windows.

The episodes in the life of St. Benedict and his most illustrious follower, Pope Gregory, occupy the two Transepts and a Rose Window in the west wall. But it is the Virgin Mary however, whose exemplary life is illustrated in the clerestory from her birth to her Assumption, who appears in Glory in the East window,⁽²⁶⁹⁾ surrounded by scriptural saints and the angelic hosts as she is welcomed by the Father and the Son and blessed by the Holy Spirit.

The Rose window (Plate 75) has great simplicity as Benedictine saints surround and acknowledge the central figure of Benedict; each occupies a quatrefoil space, simply animated by a white foliated stem against a red background, each carries his or her own attribute. St. Scholastica has a crozier and a crown as head of a community of Benedictine nuns and the dove, said to have announced her death to her brother Benedict, is seen above her head. St. Hilda, the Abbess of the double monastery of Whitby, is seen holding the book of rules in the register on the right, and St. Etheldreda, Abbess of Ely, on the left, is in a darker veil as a widow and holding a cathedral. Below are St. Maurus and St. Placidus as young disciples of St. Benedict and finally two Doctors of the church, the Venerable Bede with quill and book and St. Anselm as Bishop. Small triangular mouchettes punctuate the outer circle of the wheel and like so many arrows point to the centre quatrefoil. The overall colour is one of harmony as St. Benedict in the habit of Abbot and with flowing beard, blesses his companions with his right hand and holds a chalice resting on the book of rules in his left as well as a scourge symbolizing the penance he inflicted on himself when in the desert.

By contrast the transepts are narrative and didactical windows which closely follow the events recounted in the *Dialogues of Pope Gregory the Great* translated from Latin by Abbot Justin McCann, a monk at Ampleforth, and in Venerable Bede's *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*.⁽²⁷⁰⁾ In the north Transept (Plate 76) divine intervention is seen once only as the poisoned cup shatters at the sign of the cross: the sombre colouring reflects the evil deed of the hermits, who having made Benedict their leader, rejected him and his rule. Evil is seen also in the ominous and ever-threatening presence of a red Satan in human form hovering above

²⁶⁹ Discussed below in Chapter 6.

²⁷⁰ Venerable Bede, *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, Translated by T. Miller. Cambridge, Ontario: In Parentheses Publications, Old English Series, 1999, Book 2, chap. 1, p. 46.

the cave where the Saint had sought solitude so as to better commune with his God; in both lights there is little contact: peace has been shattered at the hermitage, and the desert figure, oblivious of earthly matters, is alone, with only a rope for bread and water to be lowered at a given time. But in the second light Benedict welcomes and gathers to the fold the two young Roman boys brought to him by their fathers: Maurus and Placidus were to become his chosen disciples later. The strong gabled church with bell tower behind, one of the 12 monasteries created by Benedict, it is to be supposed, the Dove coming in above the heavenly clouds, the glowing colours of Maurus's garments give the scene weight and stability. In the fourth light the strong profile of the Saint, the forceful gesture taking the viewer out of the window, to other horizons, override any appeal or power the statue could have had: the voice of the Saint was heard, the statue of Apollo toppled and pagan worship was eradicated, to be replaced by Benedictine principles. For it is here, at Monte Cassino, that Benedict promulgated his rule and laid the foundation of the monastery of his Order of the same name, where he was to live for fourteen years until his death in 543.

In this window the overall message of prayer, togetherness and disciplined life prevail over evil and human errors. It reflects strongly the significance of monastic life in pre-Reformation England and the role of the Benedictine Order in the nineteenth century Catholic revival. It is concise yet evocative, an easy source of instruction, as the images were defined by Pope Gregory's biography of St. Benedict and part of the general programme arrived at in consultation with Revd. Father Aloysius Wilkinson, the priest in charge for over forty years, in correspondence with Hardman and Powell in particular.

In the south Transept the influence of the Benedictine Order during the Papacy of St. Gregory is shown (Plate 77). The church as a whole is being consolidated, its membership increased (as Gregory the Great in Papal regalia blesses seven new monks), its litany performed and sung in what is now known as Gregorian chant, (the musical notes and the words *Ecce Sacerdos magnus* are clearly readable and accompaniment is by an anachronistic viol) and human doubts defied by the miraculous vision of St. Gregory in Santa Croce depicted in the top left medallion. It is interesting to note that St. Gregory, his papal staff held by a ministrant, alone is aware of the Man of Sorrows; the risen half-figure shows no evidence of blood but the instruments of the Passion testify to past events; the posture of the Man of Sorrows is different from the original⁽²⁷¹⁾ in that he is standing with arms raised, head not to one side and

²⁷¹ The fifteenth century print, the *Mass of St. Gregory* by Israhel van Meckenem, commissioned by the monks of Santa Croce in the 1490s and widely distributed.

in eye contact with Gregory. These changes make it a gentler version of the original adapted to nineteenth century taste. The fourth scene depicts the market place with captives and merchants when Gregory was moved to say *Non Angli sed Angeli*. The scene is as described in MacCabe.⁽²⁷²⁾ It was the fair Angles he had seen being brought to the market in Rome which prompted Pope Gregory to send a mission to England.

The great number of Catholic churches, abbeys, cathedrals and convents built in the nineteenth century became larger, more resplendent, more assured and triumphant as the century progressed. The renewed vigour is reflected in themes portrayed in the glass which are quite distinct from those in Anglican churches. Martyrdom was, after all, a more vivid experience in England for the Roman Catholic than for the Anglican Church (apart from the brief reign of Mary Tudor). The lives but also the deaths of their saints were therefore given an important place. For example the apocryphal yet very popular St. Philomena is shown vividly in Caverswall as she bends over in acceptance of her martyrdom. In Arundel, now a cathedral see, it is the presence of the other saints displayed around the cathedral walls which stands in recognition of a tragic Catholic destiny yet one not uncommon in its outcome: Philip Howard had a glittering future at the Elizabethan court; having returned to the Catholic faith under the influence of his young wife, he was betrayed when seeking religious liberty abroad in 1585. He was imprisoned for treason in the tower of London until his death in 1595, aged 38.

Newman's words of 1852—the Church lives again.....and Saints will rise⁽²⁷³⁾—highlight and elucidate the custom of Catholic churches to call on specially favoured Saints of the less distanced past whether martyred or of singularly saintly lives, to enlighten the faithful. St. Teresa of Avila (already mentioned above as being in Barton-upon-Irwell) is seen in Arundel, Cheltenham, Stone, Shilton, Norwich. The charity of Charles Borromeo, born in 1515, and Philip Neri, founder of the Oratorians, who also sold everything to help the poor, is recounted in the glass at Arundel. Saints whose lives were linked with or ended up in Rome are also found, notably St. Henry of Bavaria,⁽²⁷⁴⁾ who fought the idolaters in his own country before chasing the Saracens from southern Italy and who died in Rome. The Roman connection was important for nineteenth century English Catholics as were the Counter-Reformation Saints.

²⁷² MacCabe, pp. 146-150.

²⁷³ Sermon preached on 13th July at St. Mary's College, Oscott, published as 'Sermon 10 - The Second Spring', in J. H. Newman, *Sermons Preached on Various Occasions*. London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1908, pp. 163-182.

²⁷⁴ for whom there were a surprising number of requests over the years.

It can be seen from the examples above, that the new windows put in and paid for by the Victorians, both Catholic and Anglican, were meant to reaffirm Christianity in a period of challenge. Rev. D. Wilbourne, speaking of the Victorian view as being “triumphalist in its display of Christian History,”⁽²⁷⁵⁾ wrote that it was for the church and more particularly the Church of England, a sign of “waking up from a long sleep and to confront an age of doctrinal ferment.”⁽²⁷⁶⁾ Examples discussed in this chapter illustrate both the Anglican Church’s ferment and its display. The Tractarian examples show both the didactic purpose of portraying the Saints as at Kenn and the commemoration of the Early Fathers, as in Cheltenham, the study of whom was restarted and recommended by Newman while still at Oxford.⁽²⁷⁷⁾ The portrayals also convey the doctrinal difference—for Anglicans the Saints were for example and inspiration but intercession was unnecessary given the Protestant’s direct relationship with the Divine Being. In Anglican churches Apostles and traditional saints or those from Saxon times with historical connections with the area were used. In Scott’s Gloucester Cathedral restoration the Paul and Peter windows are triumphal in scale and didactic in content. For Anglicans the example and teachings of the first century provided the themes, not the major figures of the pre-Reformation Church.

²⁷⁵ Quoted by Jennings.

²⁷⁶ This echoes the words of Sir George Gilbert Scott, *Personal and Professional Recollections*, first publ., 1879, re-issued Gavin M. Stamp, (ed.). Stamford: Paul Watkins, 1995, p. 88, (hereafter cited as Scott).

²⁷⁷ Jim Cheshire, *Stained Glass and the Victorian Gothic Revival*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004, (hereafter cited as Cheshire), offers a number of examples of the zeal of Tractarians in the West County during the 1850s.

Chapter 6 – The Virgin Mary

A numerical study of the saints to which Catholic and Anglican Churches are dedicated reveals that Mary's is the most popular dedication in both denominations. Her name appears alone and is coupled with other Saints but in Catholic churches she appears under a variety of forms telling of the role and aura she has had through the ages: she is Our Lady of Succour, Our Lady of Good Counsel, Our Lady of Consolation, Queen of the Universe, Star of the Sea, beside being simply Mary or Our Lady. There are a number of references to Mary the Blessed Virgin and a few to Our Lady in Anglican churches but none to The Sacred Heart or The Immaculate Conception. In fact in pre-1854 Catholic churches, before the date of official public Papal recognition of the Immaculate Conception, she was simply Mary Immaculate and often shared the church dedication with another Saint: e.g. Mary Immaculate and St. Gregory or Mary Immaculate and St. Etheldreda.

Although in the Gospels there are relatively few specific, detailed, explanatory references to Mary, her appeal has never faltered. From the earliest (and what can be considered in this context pagan) times a Mother Goddess has been part of people's needs and consciousness. The consistent manner in which she has been treated throughout history, in the arts and in more familiar lore, explains how and why she is instantly recognisable and instantly approachable. The glass of the nineteenth century reflects this importance. Hardman's portrayals show an awareness of the historical role of Mary for Christians as shown in art and recorded by historical authorities republished and made accessible during the nineteenth century as well as responding to the new mood in the Catholic Church following the 1854 Papal pronouncement.

It is usually the case that a church dedicated to Mary, under the traditional Anglican aegis or its revived form, the Tractarian, carries, in one form or another, references to her in the most prominent place, the East window. An interesting exception is the case of Beenham St. Mary which has the Ascension in the East and Last Judgment in the West window, Carrying of the Cross, Resurrection, Noli and Samaritan windows in the south aisle. Mary's face is only seen once when her son turns to her as he advances towards Calvary. The church was built by the architect Woodyer, who felt strongly about doctrinal matters such as this and, as quoted above, told Revd. Randall at Newbury that the Blessed Virgin must either appear in the Ascension as the principal figure or not at all. In Beenham the vicar's view that Mary should

not appear prevailed and the glass translated accurately the scene depicted in Acts without Mary who is not specifically mentioned in the scriptural text.

Although among Anglican churches a dedication to St. Mary or St. Mary the Virgin is one of the most frequently occurring, it is unusual to see pride of place given to Mary in the East window as it is at Charlton King's (Plate 78). Hardman's rendering shows the main lights occupied by three standing female figures: Mary, tall and fair in a blue cloak, carries a lily in her left hand while her right hand rests demurely on her breast; Elizabeth, the mother of John the Baptist, is turned towards her on her left; Margaret, in the red robe of martyrdom, is on her right and facing outwards. Margaret has been carefully and pertinently selected and portrayed to follow the legendary deeds attached to her; she has a crown of pearls; she carries a palm and a cross-headed lance in her right hand with which she transpierces a dragon at her feet. This creature, as legend has it, was Satan himself come to devour her in the dungeon, where the governor of Antioch, struck by her beauty, kept her prisoner in the hope she would renounce her faith. Margaret, as she died, prayed that all women, in remembrance of her suffering, might invoke her in childbirth and thus find help. All three saints are represented in the nativity scene in the tracery, shown as an all-female scene apart from Jesus. The emphasis is on miracle births under the favourable auspices of God. The emphasis is latent, it relies on the Biblical knowledge of the participant and on the viewer's belief in the eternal truths it seeks to portray.

In the Catholic church too, the emphasis was on these. A.N. Wilson, in his analysis of the importance of Newman,⁽²⁷⁸⁾ writes that in the weekly sermons delivered in Birmingham Newman devoted himself to making that other world alive to his hearers. For the Catholic community in the nineteenth century the world was being changed by the 1854 Papal Bull and this was expressed in the role of Mary portrayed in the glass. This is illustrated by a consideration of Hardman's window for the North Transept of St. Chad's Cathedral in Birmingham in 1868 and known as the Immaculate Conception window (Plate 79).

It was offered in memory of John Hardman, junior who died in 1867 and is shown at the bottom on the left kneeling in a white cope. It consists of scenes of the Old Testament in three lights on the left and the New in three lights on the right alluding to and/or related to the Virgin; the window is divided into three tiers, each consisting of a row of small vesicae with larger ones above. On the left, in the lowest tier the subject matter is the tabernacle in the

²⁷⁸ A.N. Wilson, 'Newman the Writer', in *Newman: A Man for Our Time*. David Brown, (ed.), London: SPCK, 1990, pp. 129-130.

desert and the temple of Solomon and in the highest the door of Paradise closed as a result of Eve's disobedience, while correspondingly on the right are celebrated the early years of the Virgin leading up to the gates of Paradise now opened at the top of the window. In the traceries are the Tower of Ivory, the Ark of Covenant passing through the river Jordan, the woman in the crowd crying "blessed is the womb that bore you"⁽²⁷⁹⁾ and Esther pleading with King Xerxes for her people.

In the third row of small almond-shape medallions, immediately below the Coronation of the Virgin, on the right hand side of the window, Pope Pius IX sits enthroned in white papal gown and tiara, surrounded by bishops and prelates: the scroll in his hand held up for all to see is that of the 1854 Bull he has signed acknowledging the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary. The event was momentous. It had exercised the minds of theologians for centuries and given rise to the most elaborate arguments in favour of, or against, the possibility that the Virgin was untouched by sin, the sin caused by the disobedience of Eve which all human beings were believed to be tainted with. This state of uncertainty arising from the various considerations shared totally or partially as to her sanctity by the early Fathers and later doctors, the reverence of St. Thomas Aquinas, the passionate defence of the Cistercian, Bernard of Clairvaux, who advanced Mary's cause and the controversial views aired in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, could not but colour the thinking of the artists through these times and their interpretation of biblical events.⁽²⁸⁰⁾

The Annunciation, itself the great mystery of the Incarnation,⁽²⁸¹⁾ is a case in point: to the greeting of the angel Gabriel, Mary responded by being "troubled" said St. Ambrose explaining that Mary's fear was due to her virginity and her humility, expressed in the words: "as I know not a man." But for others, she was reacting to her recognition of the meaning of the angel's words made up almost entirely from quotations of Hebrew scripture.⁽²⁸²⁾ This theme is developed more elaborately in Graef and Warner to say that by the form of the words she was showing she was prepared for the Messiah, being steeped in Old Testament ways of thinking.⁽²⁸³⁾ Hardman's various treatments of the Annunciation reflect the different views of the event (Plate 80 a double plate). Revd. Porter rejected the use of the words *Hail full of*

²⁷⁹ Luke 11:7-8.

²⁸⁰ Discussed in Marina Warner, *Alone of all her sex*, London: Picador, 1990, Ch. 14, (hereafter cited as Warner) and Hilda Graef, *Mary: A History of Doctrine and Devotion*, 1985 edition. London: Sheed & Ward, Ch. 5, (hereafter cited as Graef).

²⁸¹ Newman, *PPS*, ii, p. 278.

²⁸² McKenzie, p. 34.

²⁸³ Graef, Part 1, pp. 8-10.

grace on a scroll at Kenn as “not in our version of the gospel.”⁽²⁸⁴⁾

The St. Chad’s window takes greater meaning when viewed within the exegesis of all those who can be called in twentieth terminology “mariologists.” Hardman’s design offers a window with a clear structure within which to present the theological message. As indicated above, it is divided into two halves; the left one represents the world of the first Paradise, the fall, and the first covenant of God with his people; the other the world of the New Testament and the doors opened again to the faithful. In the Annunciation scene in the bottom right medallion, (Plate 81) Mary receives Gabriel: he is alighting, the folds of his golden himation are not yet settled but contrary to most annunciations in the Hardman windows (see Plates 80a and 80b) his right hand is not extended towards Mary in greeting, nor is he presenting her with the lily he holds in his left hand; she is neither startled as in Newbury (a(i)), nor humble and acquiescent as in Kenn (a(ii)) and Norwich (b(ii)), nor already pondering⁽²⁸⁵⁾ as in Clewer (a(iii)). No rays of light are directed towards her. Above, however, together with a fluttering Dove (representing the Holy Spirit) is God the Father, opening both his arms in blessing: and she, by placing her right hand on her heart acknowledges that a significant event is taking place, one to which Gabriel is witness and the lily in his hand thus becomes a sign both of the Incarnation and her purity. The concept is made visible further still, by the unusual presentation of Jesus, seen on the right as he hangs on a tree of lilies contained in a large vase: it makes here explicit the message of St. Ambrose: she is the vessel from which Jesus received his humanity while retaining his divinity. The lilies also provide an echo of Ambrose’s words asserting that Mary’s motherhood extends not only to Christ but to the whole Church: “from the womb of Mary was brought into the world the heap of wheat surrounded by lilies, that is to say the faithful.”⁽²⁸⁶⁾

In the row of vesicae piscis above, Mary, her eagerness well translated in the glass, makes her way to Elizabeth, her older cousin; she is on her own, with only birds as company and going across a lush countryside (here showing what Graef sees as her Jewish free will rather than a fourth century view that a wise virgin should resemble Mary, staying at home):⁽²⁸⁷⁾ on the right she expresses her joy in a magnificat; there is a dove above and a door closed, symbolising her preserved virginity.

²⁸⁴ Letter to Hardman from Revd. Porter dated 4th January 1871, Glass Correspondence, HABRL.

²⁸⁵ John Henry Newman, *Newman’s University Sermons: Fifteen Sermons Preached before the University of Oxford 1826-43*. Ed. D. M. Mackinnon. London: SPCK, 1970, pp. 305-6. Sermon 15 was based on Luke’s words: “But Mary kept all these things and pondered them in her heart,” Luke 2:19.

²⁸⁶ Ambrose, *De Institutione Virginis*, 94, quoted in Graef, Part 1, p. 85.

²⁸⁷ Graef, Part 1, p. 51.

The next large medallion is occupied by the woman of the Apocalypse as described by John. (Plate 82) The beast with seven writhing heads is in the left border, a threat to the child taken up by an angel straight above. John shown reacting to his vision is on the corresponding level on the right with the eagle fluttering at his shoulder. The woman of the Apocalypse is draped in the sun, crowned, haloed with stars, standing in front of a large blazing red disc; her feet are resting on a silver moon crescent which is pointing very significantly downwards: this powerful, intriguing, transcendent imagery was used to translate the abstract concept of the Immaculate Conception, the nature of a mother who was said to have remained unsullied and whole⁽²⁸⁸⁾.

The woman of the Apocalypse appeared regularly on Hardman's stained glass (see Plate 83): in Arundel (b), Norwich (f) and Shrewsbury Catholic Cathedrals (c), in Catholic St. Wilfrid's (a), Ripon, in St. Mary's, Harborne (not shown) and Stone (e), but also in the Anglican House of Mercy of St. John the Baptist, Clewer (d). In Stone, as in St. Chad's, she stands upon a downward-pointing crescent. In the others she is within an upward-pointing silvery crescent and is in these cases identified more specifically as the Church: "the early patristic tradition unanimously regarded the Woman of the Apocalypse as a symbol of the Church," but the early Fathers also accustomed their readers and believers to the idea of the mother of God to be Mother of God, Theotokos, and of the Church. Graef remarks that to conflate events, to believe in "the totality-thinking," and to accumulate roles and tasks, was then the Hebrew manner of thought,⁽²⁸⁹⁾ found to be a suitable way of explaining and portraying the Divine and the doctrinal ever since. In the same way, Mary's numerous attributes are used together or in a variety of ways so that her many roles are clearly displayed or simply alluded to and brought to the conscience of the viewer. Thus, the sun, understood to come from "Yahweh giving her strength for her various tasks,"⁽²⁹⁰⁾ can be a red fully rounded globe in Ripon or blazing rays as in Arundel, the rays can be golden and in a mandorla as in Shrewsbury, where Mary carries an infant, fully clad, on her left arm, while in Norwich she has a crown of stars, but, alone in the examples quoted, a pair of golden wings at shoulder level. The sun-like rays seem to emanate from the Woman. These last two instances find an echo in the woodcut Savoy, in Warner fig. 45, and Didron's sixteenth century miniature, fig. 20, (Plate 84c).

The stars around the Woman's head in St. Chad's are a ring of small white stars echoed in the border in the double row of white dots all very visible next to the dark blue background of her

²⁸⁸ Hall, p. 327.

²⁸⁹ Graef, Part 1, pp. 29-30.

²⁹⁰ Warner, p. 257.

almond-shaped vesica. They lend emphasis to the Apocalyptic Madonna also, allowing the eye to adjust, so that the blue does not merge with the red of the beast of the Apocalypse to become violet, a phenomenon known as halation of which medieval glaziers were aware.

In the medallion on the left hand side of the St. Chad's window, the Old Testament side, and on the same level as the Apocalyptic Woman is Eve being created from Adam's side, and living in harmony in paradise. On the upper tier in the scene below the closed doors of Paradise, forfeited by their disobedience, protected by angels with flaming swords, Adam and Eve discover their nudity and repent. On the right, in total contrast, is Mary, about to be crowned by her son: there is rejoicing in the borders as she bends her long neck to receive the crown. At the top level the doors of Paradise are once more open to let in the faithful. The link between Mary and Eve, shown in the top two tiers, is explained by the words of Iraneus: through her obedience Mary became the cause of our salvation, for "what the virgin Eve had tied up by unbelief the virgin Mary has loosened by faith."⁽²⁹¹⁾ Hardman's juxtaposition level by level in these tiers conveys this message that Mary, Mother of God, Mother of the Church is also the second Eve, thus placing the Immaculate Conception fully in the context of existing Marian theology and devotion.

The next windows described present Hardman's treatment of a full depiction of the Coronation of the Virgin shown in Plate 85 as it appears in St. Gregory's East window (85a) and in the tracery of Little Malvern (85b). Another aspect of the same event is shown with Mary welcomed into Heaven by her Son after her Assumption in the Anglican Sandal Magna and the Catholic St. Wilfrid's, Ripon, both in Yorkshire (Plate 86a-b).

In St. Gregory's (85a), Mary occupies the centre light, dressed in rich brocaded robe and blue mantle; she is about to be crowned by two angels. The rays of the Holy Ghost are strewn with stars and descend upon her most unequivocally. It is a frozen moment: she is still and tranquil, awaiting the crown that will honour her. The gesture of her hands expresses modesty despite the dignity of her Assumption.⁽²⁹²⁾ In the adjacent lights, two figures are seated each on part of the Heavenly Throne: the Father with his left hand on the globe and the Son marked by the wounds, wearing the Crown of Thorns and holding the Book of the Revelation with seven seals in his left hand, his robe embroidered with roundels bearing the letters IHS; both

²⁹¹ Iraneus, 3:22, quoted by Graef, p. 40.

²⁹² The subject of the window reads: *Our Lady being crowned in Heaven by the Blessed Trinity immediately following her Assumption*, Order Book, vol. 9, p 449, 1st June, 1888.

bless her with their right hand in a symbolic gesture recalling the hand of God of the Old Testament seen as the instrument of his Sovereign power as it emerges from the clouds,⁽²⁹³⁾ as seen elsewhere in Hardman's glass, for instance in Sandal Magna (Plate 84b). Didron⁽²⁹⁴⁾ stresses that the supreme power is that of the Father and should be characterised by the Globe representing the Universe created by him, the son's infinite love by the cross and the Holy Spirit's intellect by the book but remarks also that in most representations of the subject the Father retains the Globe, the son is shown with the book or the cross, and the Holy Spirit above has nothing at all, being shown simply as a dove.⁽²⁹⁵⁾ In St. Gregory's, the Son has the book of the Revelation with the seven seals clearly displayed and the requirement for the cross has been satisfied by the Crown of Thorns while the Father holds a globe surmounted by a cross. It is interesting to note that as both bless with their right hand, they have assumed different seating positions, in contrast to the Little Malvern rendering discussed below. Here the different positions are further emphasised by the vigour of the Son who looks ahead while the Father's head is slightly bowed; the Virgin, who is reverent and subdued inclines her head towards him showing no passion (for passion belongs to our inferior nature). In this Hardman was following Newman's precept, as so often.⁽²⁹⁶⁾ The crown of her consecration is held by two small angels clad in white; their blue wings echo the blue of Mary's attire in two medallions below where she acknowledges the Angel Gabriel on the left in the Annunciation and worships the newly born infant on the right in the Nativity (Plate 85a). Perfectly still, innumerable seraphim fill the space behind the Virgin and the seated figures, reaching out to the groups of a few of the elect representing the Old and New Testament: there are David and Solomon, Isaiah with a phylactery inscribed with *Ecce Virgo concipiet...*, Adam with a spade, St. John the Baptist with a long staff and the nimbus to which he is entitled as he is "the link" or "fibula" between the Old and New Testament.⁽²⁹⁷⁾ Feminine figures predominate however, with among the seven represented, Ruth and Eve, symbolically referring to Mary as descendant of David and Second Eve while St. Margaret, St. Hilda and the others were chosen, it can be assumed, for their saintly lives. Their marked presence certainly points to the recognition of the feminine element as an intrinsic part of religion, the doubts of the monastic orders in earlier centuries being forgotten, those which associated all women, and therefore Mary also, with the betrayal by the first Eve in the Garden.

²⁹³ Twining, p. 13.

²⁹⁴ The discussion of the Trinity and the Presentation of the Virgin which follows draws on several passages in Didron, i, pp. 217-9, i, pp. 494-6 and ii, pp. 64-6.

²⁹⁵ Didron, ii, p. 12.

²⁹⁶ Newman, *PPS*, iii, p. 14.

²⁹⁷ Didron, i, p. 70.

In the tracery of Little Malvern, (Plate 87d) the Father and the Son together hold the crown destined for the Virgin, one with the left and the other with the right hand. They act in unison and the rays emanating from the dove, the third person of the Trinity, settling on them both further emphasise that the Virgin who kneels between them is received into Heaven by the Holy Trinity. Her hands are crossed, resting almost on her shoulders and putting in evidence the rich “cope,” symbol of purity and innocence, marked with fleurs de lys and retained by two elaborate clasps. Father and Son are closely united, not only in action but in looks for little distinguishes them physically except the wound on Jesus’s hand; both have regal attributes, the sceptre terminated with the Fleur de Lys of Kings and the crossed orb, itself surmounted by a cross. The close resemblance of Father and Son, the radiating lines connecting them to each other through the Dove, point to the conceptual belief that both “shared the same substance,” a theme first defended by St. Athanasius and brought to the consciousness of nineteenth century Christians, as the other sayings of the Fathers were, by various theologians and in particular Cardinal Newman. Didron’s study of the various renderings of the three elements of the Trinity is seen in the sections dedicated to each in turn. The similarity of the Little Malvern window with the example by Didron illustrated below it in Plate 87c confirms once more that Hardman’s designers worked hand in hand with their sources. In the lights below, seen in the full window shown in Plate 88, there is harmony in the colouring, with the blue of peace and red of Heaven used at every stage: the Ascension, the Assumption, the Resurrection. The composition of the three lights reflects the complexity of the theology, linking and interpreting the events portrayed. The folds of clothes of the Ascension and the Assumption, placed on the same levels, lead the eye upwards while the well defined rays coming from the dove above, descend and connect both the Ascension, where Jesus is called back to Heaven, and Pentecost where the cloven tongues of fire are received by the assembled apostles with Mary sitting among them. In all, bar the Resurrection, Mary is present.

Plate 89 emphasises what appears to be the closeness in representation of the same event in the Tractarian church of Kenn and the Catholic Little Malvern. For in both she occupies centre stage, and is surrounded by the apostles: although she is sitting on a raised seat in Little Malvern, it has clearly become a throne in Kenn. There is little attempt to represent the upper room in Jerusalem mentioned in Acts⁽²⁹⁸⁾ and the scene can therefore be understood to follow medieval iconography, itself powerfully enacted in the Renaissance.⁽²⁹⁹⁾ In Hardman’s glass,

²⁹⁸ Acts 1:14.

²⁹⁹ In Botticelli’s Descent of the Holy Ghost for instance illustrated in Warner, fig 14.

the Virgin is reverent and subdued and yet apostles are seen to kneel in awe in front of her for she “embodies the spirit of the new Church and becomes Mater ecclesia, its Mother.”⁽³⁰⁰⁾

Plates 83 to 86 exhibit the diversity of the portrayals of Mary’s halo, generally golden but in Ripon blue with its circumference marked by twelve white dots which further emphasize the reverence of the bowed head. The white dots recall the passage from Revelations⁽³⁰¹⁾ and the painting, the *Virgin of the Immaculate Conception* by Velasquez, which became the definitive iconography of the Immaculate Conception.⁽³⁰²⁾ An example of Hardman’s sensitivity to doctrinal differences can be seen in Plate 83 where in Anglican Clewer there are dots but these are not shining white.

The overall colour scheme in Ripon is sober, the white brocade of both Christ’s and Mary’s patterned robes and her blue cloak are relieved only by a line of coloured embroidery, the angelic hosts that fill the space behind the two tall figures providing sufficient contrast as the warm reds offer great variation of hue within the colour range.

The theological meaning of St. Wilfrid’s glass is revealed when the East and Lady chapel windows are seen together. They are placed side by side on a page in Plate 90. Next to St. John’s window (b), showing him in the thrall of his vision of the Apocalyptic woman at Patmos, is St. Bernard of Clairvaux (a), wearing the white habit the Virgin is said to have asked him to wear as a sign of purity. His twelfth century writings had great authority and he is known, now, most particularly for his impassioned love for the Virgin and the adaptation of the Songs of Songs in his Homilies on the songs of Solomon which influenced from that time onwards the representation of the Virgin whose youthful beauty became unquestionable.⁽³⁰³⁾ Represented as “fair as the moon and clear as the sun,” she was no dowager queen but became the Shulamite bride of Christ.⁽³⁰⁴⁾ In the Ripon East window the countenance of the son welcoming his bride is therefore understandably that of a king, hers “as chaste as water.”⁽³⁰⁵⁾ Both are calm, statuesque almost; white of skin and fair of hair. It is of interest also to note the presence in the predella of a kneeling Cardinal Wiseman, the Pope’s active representative in England from 1850 till his death in 1865, next to St. Wilfrid, himself a great defender of Papal

³⁰⁰ Warner, p. 18.

³⁰¹ Rev. 12:1.

³⁰² Beth Williamson, *Christian Art*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004, p. 29.

³⁰³ *ibid.*, p. 128.

³⁰⁴ *ibid.*, p. 122.

³⁰⁵ Mâle, *Twelfth to Eighteenth*, p. 134-5.

authority and Bishop of York between 634 and 709.⁽³⁰⁶⁾ The juxtaposition of St. Bernard, Cardinal Wiseman and Our Lady of the Canticle being received by her Heavenly Spouse, as it is recorded in the order book of 1887, may be seen as an echo of that other Mary in St. Mary Trastevere described by Warner⁽³⁰⁷⁾ welcomed by Christ as his bride and queen with Pope Innocent II on her right. The Pope was victorious against his rivals thanks to Bernard of Clairvaux's "prestigious defence" and "cunning arguments" and, adds Warner, in the apse mosaic the triumph of the Virgin was used to commemorate this victory, while it enshrines also the passionate imagination of the saint who engineered it. Here it may be intended merely to recall the Roman mosaic or perhaps to be a bold affirmation of their new confidence on the part of the Catholic community.

In the Anglican parish church of Sandal Magna, some of whose glass has already been discussed, the windows in the west wall of the north and south aisles portray the First Paradise in the south aisle and the Second Paradise in the north aisle. (Plate 91) The latter, which contains the scene of a young Virgin being welcomed by the crowned figure of the Resurrected Christ, is elaborate and animated in contrast to the calm unencumbered and regal compositions of Ripon and Cheltenham. In the south aisle, the First Paradise can be recognised by the four rivers (of Paradise) issuing from the tabernacle and the serpent raising its head at the foot of the window. A harmonious note is struck between a lush natural environment and the abundant animal and bird life. This is confirmed by the single proud stag with budding horns which takes its significance, and traditionally so,⁽³⁰⁸⁾ from Psalm 42:1: "As a hart longs for flowing streams, so longs my soul for thee, O God," and signifies religious aspiration and purity of life⁽³⁰⁹⁾ enjoyed by Adam and Eve, here naked and safe, the golden gates seen to be guarded by angels with flaming swords at the top of the lancets past other angels playing musical instruments. The window is a representation of the whole of creation, itself vivified by the waters of life.⁽³¹⁰⁾ Its counterpart on the north side is named in the order book of 1893 as the Second Paradise. Christ is stepping down marble stairs past an ornate doorway to greet his bride; she, fair, haloed, crowned with flowers, richly clad with damask robe elaborately pleated and cloak embroidered with fleur de lys roundels, seems to be floating effortlessly upwards towards the Kingly figure. He is fair also, bearded, with a heavy crown, and with a broad crossed halo in the plane of the glass; the wounds of his hands and feet are

³⁰⁶ The sculptured head held by the bishop further emphasises the eminence and influence of his post.

³⁰⁷ Warner, pp. 121-2.

³⁰⁸ De Champeaux, p. 227.

³⁰⁹ Ferguson, p. 25.

³¹⁰ De Champeaux, p. 228.

well in evidence and draw attention to the golden footwear, fit for a king, it is supposed, rather than the willing servant he had once been. There is a rich symbolic background of vine and grapes, musical angels, martyred virgins, young and fair, accompanying Mary who is fairer, taller and yet not crowned except by a ring of beads. Although it is clear that the Virgin is placed below Christ as well as uncrowned it is however her white cloak, symbol of purity, which is a clear reminder that in this window, that of the second Paradise, she is shown not merely as a future bride but as the second Eve. Here Hardman takes account of a denominational divide which meant that personal veneration of the mother of God was perfectly acceptable for Anglicans and recognisably so but not her public recognition as Queen of Heaven.⁽³¹¹⁾ It also respects protestant sensibilities,⁽³¹²⁾ in that it is Christ who is mastering the serpent and, through his three archangels in armour, the dragon in the lower tier (equally representative of evil).

In all these portrayals Mary is untouched by time, the immaculate Virgin; her internal beauty is reflected in her calm, youthful, beautiful exterior. It could be argued, quoting Mâle,⁽³¹³⁾ that “Religion or art from which suffering is excluded cannot represent the fullness of human nature.” But in the scenes shown and analysed, she has transcended suffering. Also as the nineteenth century audience had been reminded by the newly re-edited translation of Durandus’s magnum opus on Church Symbolism, every artistic detail of a church was seen as a token of catholic dogma, therefore was to be portrayed carefully, without excess, and the sensational was to be avoided. There had also been opposition to the concept of the Immaculate Conception in England by such leading Anglican figures as Wilberforce who was against it as “it was not in the Scriptures,” or Pusey, who saw it as an indomitable “obstacle to reunion”⁽³¹⁴⁾ and although English Catholicism was experiencing in the words of Newman “a Second Spring” it might be easily threatened, an uncertain English Spring.⁽³¹⁵⁾ Thus the overall signal sent to society in general, was of peace and contentment at what had been achieved, and was translated by Hardman in peaceful balanced compositions in the windows with Mary being simply as One among us although the most exalted one.⁽³¹⁶⁾

³¹¹ Graef, Part 2, pp. 109-10.

³¹² And considerations of modesty requested by the incumbent. “We don’t like the absolute (or nearly so practically) nudity of the figures of Adam and Eve.....Is it possible to conceal the centre part of the figure.” Letter to Hardman from Revd. Hurst dated 6th January 1893, Glass Correspondence, HABRL.

³¹³ Mâle, *Twelfth to Eighteenth*, p.116.

³¹⁴ Graef, Part 2, p. 83.

³¹⁵ Newman, Sermon preached on 13th July at St. Mary’s College, Oscott, see note^o273.

³¹⁶ Graef, Part 2, p. 115, discussing Newman’s response to Pusey.

Chapter 7 – Conclusion

The analysis of Hardman's iconography in the foregoing chapters has not included a consideration of the totality of the firm's output for reasons of space. A full analysis of its range would have included Creation windows, Last Judgments and its angels. The thesis has however provided a clear response to the questions posed at the end of Chapter One.

The questions can be summarised as asking to what extent the iconography reflected earlier tradition and how it adapted to the nineteenth century's preoccupations; how it responded to doctrinal differences in Anglican and Catholic windows; whether the quality of the work was maintained through the period; whether it retained the confidence of architects and clients and whether Hardman operated as a large industrial concern or retained its artistic sensitivity and responded to the wishes of its clients.

Throughout the presentation of the firm's iconography, similarities and differences between interpretations in Anglican and Roman Catholic windows have been considered, the treatment of Mary being the most evident indicator of the doctrinal differences. Anglican windows do not contain *The Coronation of the Virgin* or the *Immaculate Conception* as subjects. In the preceding chapter the comparison shown (plate 86) illustrates the different doctrinal positions—in the Anglican window Mary is welcomed into the Second Paradise but not crowned. She has a garland and her halo does not contain the stars symbolic of the Immaculate Conception; in the Catholic Ripon she is crowned, her halo contains the twelve stars and she is standing level with her son. There are also some differences shown in the treatment of the *Crucifixion*. Catholic clients seem to have been more resistant to the trend to reduce the suffering shown and for doctrinal reasons were more likely to favour the showing of Christ's blood being caught in chalices. This was not always the case—Little Malvern did not but George Gilbert Scott, junior's Norwich did. Table 1 shows the statistical differences between denominations on this point set out by decade.

The one consistent differentiator between Anglican and Roman Catholic windows in the treatment of Saints windows discussed above is that Catholic windows show the Saint and illustrate episodes from the life. In particular St. Joseph is revered as a Saint in his own right following the cult promoted by St. Teresa of Avila, whereas in Anglican churches the older

tradition is followed of Joseph, the husband of Mary. In the choice of Saints Roman Catholic churches include portrayals of sixteenth century Catholic martyrs and Saints from the period of the Counter-Reformation; for Anglican churches the choice ranges from Apostles to Saints from legend such as St. George or historical figures from the Early Church or from Saxon times. In matters of content Roman Catholic windows are more ready to show events in the history of the pre-Reformation church; Anglican churches prefer events from The Acts of the Apostles. There are other differences: Anglican churches tend to have more illustrations of scripture of the sort discussed in the chapters above entitled *Typology* and *The Life of The Lord*.

Apart from differences in Anglican and Catholic windows (other Protestant denominations commissioned little stained glass until the end of the century) there were also ways in which Hardman's iconography reflected the difference between their own era and earlier centuries. Overall there is a serenity about the work strongly at variance with medieval representations. There is a nineteenth century preoccupation with fallen women,⁽³¹⁷⁾ to be seen in the art of the Pre-Raphaelites and seen in Hardman's Mary Magdalene. There is a similar humanitarian preoccupation with children, as a subject eminently suited to Victorian sentimentality⁽³¹⁸⁾ and taken to the extent of photographs of children being used as models for windows.⁽³¹⁹⁾

The lamb which appears in Victorian art⁽³²⁰⁾ became a highly developed sacred symbol in Hardman's work. The use of symbolism to deepen the implied scriptural message is shown also in the living shoot, going through stages with its ultimate development being the Crucifixion on the living vine at Sandal Magna in 1898. Powell's own convictions on the use of "Holy Writ filled with symbolism" are encapsulated in his work *Stray Notes on Art*: "The Christian Artists following the Christian Writers, accepted its help gratefully, as it is more useful in putting thoughts into material form even than into words."⁽³²¹⁾

The contact of the Hardman and Powell families with Newman combined with the effect of his words, spoken and written, appears to have been a source of inspiration in the sensitive interpretation of scripture going into the design of windows. This has been remarked on more

³¹⁷ Tim Hilton, *The Pre-Raphaelites*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1970, reprinted 2004, p. 140 and Plates 56 and 97.

³¹⁸ *ibid.*, pp. 116-118 and Plate 79.

³¹⁹ This attitude is shown in Plates 43 and 44 and Chapter Four, pp. 61§2.

³²⁰ *ibid.*, p. 13.

³²¹ J.H. Powell, *Stray Notes on Art*, published privately for the students of the Birmingham College of Art and printed by Chiswick Press, 1888, p. 63.

frequently in the text in relation to Anglican than to Catholic windows and it has been pointed out that Newman's influence on at least sections of the Anglican community continued during his Catholic ministry. Hence the frequent quotations from Newman in the text above.

There has been much twentieth century criticism of Hardman glass, but Powell was a highly trained and competent artist. After training at Pugin's studio, the background of study,⁽³²²⁾ his own sensitivity,⁽³²³⁾ and continental visits⁽³²⁴⁾ equipped him to take the leading role in this enterprise and to give it continuity after the death of Pugin. Examples in preceding chapters demonstrate the standing he came to enjoy in the eyes of clients. While leading the design activity of the firm renewing his inspiration became a habit and a necessity, as are shown by his diary of travelling and drawings in sketch books.⁽³²⁵⁾ His journeys took in the British Museum where, for example, he went to make notes and sketches from Queen Mary's Missal, or abroad, travelling on the Continent through Germany, including Coblenz and Naumberg, to Conches in Northern France, or to Italy on another occasion referred to in letters with his long-standing patron Charles Rowley of St. Neots.⁽³²⁶⁾ It is evident from letters during later years that he spoke with more authority and when travelling to see clients or further afield this is sometimes conveyed in the manner of delivery, as in letters in 1883 to John Bernard Hardman: "I will write to Mr. Chatwin from Amiens saying that I was obliged to cut the rope and go."⁽³²⁷⁾ This was followed six months later by: "Tell Mr. Chatwin that the design and drawings will be mine and that his choice of artist will be justified in the result and that the

³²² J.H. Powell: "we could draw at Fairford midday on South side....the transparency of the modern glass spoils all....the sun cuts any bit of painting out at St. Augustine's and nearly blinds anyone inside," letter to John Hardman, (dated Saturday) 1847, Glass Correspondence, HABRL.

³²³ J.H. Powell: "My dear Uncle, I have found a small Norman church a most magnificent gem of a small church you can possibly conceive in an almost perfect state, shafts and capitals most exquisite and an East window composed of three deeply splayed lights surmounted by large apse window. Around one of the lights is some of the thirteenth century painting. (You really must see it and you will feel two years younger.)" Letter dated 26th April 1847. And again undated in the same year: "I have done another day's sketching in the neighbourhood in search of old churches and stained glass and found one with the remains of a very fine window very much mutilated, two or three figures in part and a most magnificent Holy Spirit. It will take a whole day's work to get it all." Letters to John Hardman, 1847, Glass Correspondence, HABRL.

³²⁴ J.H. Powell to his brother William before a study visit to Northern France: "My dear William, You have heard of my good fortune. You can guess how delighted I shall be to see some fine works of art again," (undated) July 1851. And again "I am home again after a most delightful trip and seeing some of the finest churches in Christendom," 14th August 1851, Glass Correspondence, HABRL.

³²⁵ these are in private ownership and have been shown to the writer on condition that they are not to be quoted from.

³²⁶ "I hope you have returned from your journey refreshed. The memory of Italy is always a precious possession and a delightful mental refuge. I wish you had touched at Arezzo. I was so influenced by the Duomo and those windows which cannot be considered glass but something sent down from Heaven." Letter to J.H. Powell from Charles Rowley, 9th May, 1880, Glass Correspondence, HABRL.

³²⁷ Mr. Chatwin was a leading architect in Birmingham, who had been entrusted with the rebuilding of St. Martin's in 1872 for which he planned originally stained glass only for the east and west windows both by Hardman but replaced after the bombings in 1941. Letters to John B. Hardman from John Hardman Powell, 23rd June, 1883 and 12th December 1883, Glass Correspondence, HABRL.

window of one of our old Mother churches ought to be made by a native.”

One of the particular criticisms of Hardman was that it remained slavishly and repetitively dependent on Pugin’s influence and failed to innovate as much as Morris & Co. or the Arts and Crafts movement with its galaxy of impressive artists such as Burne-Jones in its ranks. Hardman’s position was that it took medieval precedent and Pugin’s revival of that tradition as the basis of its approach, but Powell took old styles as, in the words of Lewis Day, “a guide but not an authority.”⁽³²⁸⁾ Plate 92 demonstrates the use made by Pugin of *The Nativity* in the West window at Chartres (b) in his own translation of it in the Nottingham Convent of Mercy in the centre of the plate (e). Pugin’s renderings of *Mary welcomed by Elizabeth* (f) on the left and *The Presentation* (d) on the right of the top row are shown above Powell’s own translations at St. Chad’s (a) and Beverley (c) respectively: faithful to the medallion formation, he offers a livelier rendering as Mary hurries towards Elizabeth and, in the latter window, a very humane Simeon holds the child close. The design is easily read and the colours are the symbolic colours of earlier times.⁽³²⁹⁾ Plate 93 also illustrates that while keeping faith with Pugin, renderings could evolve. It shows Mary’s Coronation, the first in the hand of Pugin for the Mercy Convent in Nottingham (a), secondly that of St. Chad’s in the Immaculate Conception window in the mid-century (d) and finally at Little Malvern in 1890 (c) pointing to the depth of scriptural references as well as richness of symbolism in Roman Catholic windows. Pugin’s aim to be able to reproduce all styles dating from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century can be seen also to be emulated by Powell in Plate 94 in the very elongated bodies in the Creation of Man in the east window of Norwich (now the Catholic cathedral) built in a thirteenth century style by the architect Scott junior, echoing an Adam and Eve from Tours Cathedral 1255–60. Plate 95 also demonstrates the variety of renderings of the Crucifixion, twenty years apart, in the hand of the Artistic Head in response to the varied architectural surroundings. A fifteenth century design in the hand of one of the designers working alongside Powell, F. Hill (Plate 96), further emphasizes the point that there was no rigid house style but a flexible and well tested range of styles for designers to call on and patrons to feel at ease with. The merits they found in the glass included sensitive renderings, fine draughtsmanship and their own colour palette as illustrated in Plate 97 (double plate) of the East window in Northfield, Birmingham.

Hardman had many loyal, returning clients, for example Minchinhampton: “Your window is a

³²⁸ Day, p. 353.

³²⁹ See note^o113.

perpetual source of instruction and joy to the faithful.”⁽³³⁰⁾ The correspondence shows frequent examples of praise of the glass by patrons and incumbents. “Dear Mr. Powell, I enclose my suggestions,...could we leave out the sword proceeding out of the mouth...but these are merely suggestions, we shall be quite content whatever you decide” and a year later, the original design having been kept, “your window is very much admired (Plate 98).”⁽³³¹⁾ The firm’s merits were passed by word of mouth and parish to parish as clergymen moved parishes or their glass was admired by visiting vicars or families of wealthy parishioner patrons. A major order could lead to others in the vicinity, both denominations calling on Hardman for their glass. For example Shrewsbury RC was followed by Shifnal nearby and then Shrewsbury Abbey; Clifton St. Paul (1870-5) and Clifton College (1872), both by Charles Hansom, and Clifton All Saints by Street (1872-4) were followed by Bristol Cathedral also by Street in 1880. After Worcester (1867), close by Newland and West Malvern followed (1871-2).

Cheshire⁽³³²⁾ points to the Great Exhibition as a watershed after which the awareness of stained glass spread to a wider section of the community, leading to donations of glass becoming a virtuous form of conspicuous consumption and an increasing role therefore for lay patrons sustaining the initial impetus given by ecclesiologists and taking demand for windows to a higher level. He also detects the increasing role towards personalisation of memorial windows. These factors were all visible in the demand for Hardman’s glass; examples are given in Chapter Four of memorial windows for which photographs were supplied.⁽³³³⁾ Although incumbents continued to play a leading role, lay patrons were important and discriminating (for example Charles Rowley referred to above). In this thesis ladies of substantial means have been seen to play a leading role as patrons involved in the choice of window subjects and design. Their choice was not always approved of by other donors.⁽³³⁴⁾ Nevertheless ladies of independent means and some authority offered not merely memorial windows in the nave but East and West windows, the major sites of iconographic significance.⁽³³⁵⁾

³³⁰ Letter to John Hardman Powell from Revd. Oldfield, 21st June 1877, Glass Correspondence, HABRL. The 1871 window in Minchinhampton was followed by others in 1874, 1876, 1877, 1886, 1889, two in 1892, 1893 and 1894.

³³¹ Letters addressed “Dear Friend” to John Hardman Powell from Revd. Holdsworth, Sandal Vicarage, 14th May 1874 and 5th November 1874, and again on 23rd November 1875 when the design for a subsequent window had been sent and thought “beautiful”, Glass Correspondence, HABRL.

³³² Cheshire, pp. 155-166.

³³³ See pp. §61-62.

³³⁴ “I do not particularly fancy the one [window] you put in for Miss Corbett. The design or perhaps the subjects [Faith, Hope and Charity] were her selection.” Letter to Hardman from Mr. R. Brooke with reference to St. Andrew’s Church, Shifnal, dated 10th May 1876, Glass Correspondence, HABRL.

³³⁵ See Table 2.

Hardman's commitment to quality meant they were firm on prices and kept a close eye on those of its major rival, Clayton & Bell,⁽³³⁶⁾ resisting requests for reductions⁽³³⁷⁾ and reluctant to compete⁽³³⁸⁾ when asked to prepare designs for an open competition with rivals. Yet Table 3 shows that the firm's activity level remained broadly the same over the period studied, with some peak years of output and a tendency to fall off in the 1890s. Its design resources were too precious to be wasted on projects which might not yield work. Commercial considerations would not however be allowed to result in the sacrifice of the eventual quality of a large window by completing it in parts as funds became available. Hardman preferred to be sympathetic on payment terms proceeding as a whole rather than in stages as funds became available, as in Berkeley Parish Church where £500 had been agreed for a seven-light East window in memory of Dr Jenner who had lived nearby. "We are never satisfied to split a window as the colours alter, the artist may also alter his theory of the harmony or combination of colours and new glass looks raw next to older glass...windows are best when done by one artist."⁽³³⁹⁾ In another case a widow was given generous time to pay for a memorial window to her husband and two daughters;⁽³⁴⁰⁾ in a large and important commission for All Saints Church, Clifton, the total of £3304 was to be paid over three years.⁽³⁴¹⁾ When the windows were installed Revd. Randall wrote, "My dear Mr. Powell, Everyone who sees the windows admires them."⁽³⁴²⁾ The sensitivity with which designs were handled and the personal relationships which evolved with patrons and incumbents suggests that Ruskin's strong pronouncement as regards glass and the glass makers: "the peculiar manner of selfish and impious ostentation, provoked by the glassmakers, for a stimulus to trade, of putting up painted windows of private affection, instead of universal religion, is one of the worst, because

³³⁶ "We are much obliged to you for your kind and confidential note. We have long known that Messrs Clayton & Bell's prices are much of the same range as ours but we do not remember coming across an instance of so exact a coincidence before." Letter to Revd. Flanagan, Adare, Ireland, 18th January 1875, Glass Letterbook, vol. 2, p. 428. HABRL.

³³⁷ An example is contained in a letter with reference to St. Mary's Church, Leeds, "We will undertake to execute glass for the three apse and two rose windows for £400 but we beg to represent that the sum named for this character of glass is far too low being barely 20/- per foot. £500 is more the sum which should be for the important position they are to occupy and we trust you will consider this for this subject is the one that will least bear to be treated with a small amount of detail being of Royal personages," Letter to E. Pugin, 1st February, 1864, HABRL. (No letterbook for this year)

³³⁸ The firm's attitude is illustrated by letters in Glass Letterbooks: to Clayton & Bell, 16th April 1867, in vol. 1, p. 40; to J.B. Bull, 9th October 1867, in vol. 3, p. 220, HABRL.

³³⁹ In this case letter to V. Sharland, 12th December 1872, Glass Letterbook, vol. 8, p. 932, HABRL.

³⁴⁰ "When ordering the window it was arranged that the Good Shepherd should be in the centre, Jairus dexter and Teaching the Children sinister. We have found that the first and last subjects will come best with Jairus in the centre. I have not forgotten the agreement I made about the payment. Letter of 25th May 1868, Glass Letterbook, vol. 3, p. 866, HABRL.

³⁴¹ Letter to Revd. Randall, 4th December 1871, Glass Letterbook, vol. 7, p. 788, HABRL.

³⁴² Letter to John Hardman Powell from Revd. Randall, 27th May, 1874, Glass Correspondence, HABRL.

most plausible and proud, hypocrisies of our day”(343) does not apply to Hardman.

Further evidence of the firm’s commitment to quality can be found in the patronage of leading architects. After Pugin’s death its Catholic connections were clearly helpful, but the Anglican programme of restorations and new building also provided a growing client base. The architect Henry Woodyer, who first used the firm for Old Wood in 1855 remained loyal to it for the remaining 35 years of his working life. Table 4 shows that the number of projects for Scott almost matched the total for Woodyer. For all of the leading architects further work as new windows were added was a recurring source of revenue: Beverley Minster continued from 1865 to 1893; Cirencester from 1870 to 1890. Although Scott’s remarks on Hardman in his memoirs imply some diminution in the quality of output(344) the firm worked for him on major projects such as Gloucester Cathedral (1871) and Beverley Minster but on many more projects too extending with Powell’s successors in his firm into the 1890s as at Tewkesbury (1890) and Sandal Magna (1894), where Scott had originally recommended Hardman for the West window in 1874.(345) Similarly its work for G.E. Street extended over many years, in spite of his earlier downgrading of the role of glass in his paper to the Cambridge Camden Society referred to in Chapter One; even leading architects had to accept the spirit of the times as expressed by their clients. The firm worked for Street to the end of the 1870s in Bere Regis, Bristol, Monks Kirby and finally Langford Budville in 1879. Street died in 1881. Bodley who wrote that Hardman’s glass was getting worse and worse in 1857(346) turned to them in Kingsteignton in 1874 and again in Kingstanley in 1875: “The whole church is likely to fall into your hands...Do you know the tympanum in Chartres Cathedral? It is enough to edify in the faith and instruct and goad an artist to his art.”(347)

Many of the fine windows Powell was responsible for have been commented on above in the text for the sensitive renderings and spiritual message they contained. He did, however, have his detractors, such as Scott in his posthumously published memoirs. Nevertheless support is evidenced in the letters(348) and his firm continued to work with Powell and his successors into the 1890s. At the end of his career, even Maycock, from within the firm wrote that

³⁴³ John Ruskin, *The Seven Lamps of Architecture*, 1880 edition, reprinted. London: Century Hutchinson, 1988, p. 10, note 5.

³⁴⁴ Scott, p. 218. “Powell has sunk for the most part into agreeable prettiness though he occasionally...produces really fine things and his sense of colouring is ...stronger than that of a great majority of our glass painters.”

³⁴⁵ Letter to Hardman from Canon Cannidge, dated 2nd May 1873, Glass Correspondence, HABRL: “Sir Gilbert Scott our architect requested me to do what I can in getting parties to accept your firm.”

³⁴⁶ *Building News*, 28th August 1857.

³⁴⁷ Letter to John Hardman Powell from Bodley dated 19th January 1875, Glass Correspondence, HABRL.

³⁴⁸ See above on page§107 on Sandal Magna.

Powell “was inclined to the quaint.”⁽³⁴⁹⁾ Perhaps his loyalty treating the Pugin inheritance “as a guide but not an authority” as can be seen in Norwich Catholic Cathedral (Plate 94) or Oxford St. Mary (Plate 95) had come to have less general appeal than more accessible work then being done by the firm (see plate 44). Ironically, the same adjective was used by Powell himself forty years earlier about Pugin’s work.⁽³⁵⁰⁾

Hardman’s success was in part due to careful attention to each commission. The notion that since the firm was large it was unable to give individual attention to commissions is wrong. Although the firm often dealt with the same subject (e.g. the Crucifixion) every design was new.⁽³⁵¹⁾ When an apparent resemblance to a previous window appeared Powell received the advice of Woodyer on how best to deal with it.⁽³⁵²⁾ By contrast Morris’s designs were often repeated many times,⁽³⁵³⁾ so that as early as 1863 the firm had a procedure for paying copyright fees on repetitions to designers.⁽³⁵⁴⁾

The firm was not rigid in its adherence to medieval models. Its readiness to oblige clients is illustrated in its meeting of the request of a village workman whose legacy, £150, was to be used taking *The shadow of the Cross* by Holman Hunt as an inspiration (shown in Plate 99a and 99b).⁽³⁵⁵⁾ Revd. Ward passed on his parishioner’s request and added his own that the words of George Herbert be written on the scroll, *uniting an artisan’s toil and the Cross*. The resulting window shows Mary in a portrayal normally seen in Christian Art and Joseph is added whereas in the painting she has a more workaday appearance. The firm responded to requests for Hunt’s *The Light of the World* which continued to captivate the public mind as illustrated by examples from Caverswall (1875), Stoke Albany (1879) and Stoodleigh (1899) shown in Plate 100. The three examples shown illustrate that the depiction had changed over

³⁴⁹ Letter to Mr. John Hardman from G. B. Maycock dated 15th October 1888, Glass Correspondence, HABRL.

³⁵⁰ “The governor has been at work at it himself [on the Jesus College, Cambridge lancets]. I dare not have put such heads but he is determined to go the whole length and have them as quaint as possible,” letter to John Hardman Junior, undated, 1848, Glass Correspondence, HABRL.

³⁵¹ “With very few exceptions and those for special reasons, no works have been repeated; but each one has been designed and carried out in the style of the stonework it was intended to fill.” J.H. Powell, ‘The Art of Stained Glass in Birmingham’, in Timmins, pp. 524-5.

³⁵² “If he is right send me a later [sketch] for Newbury and your sins will be forgiven. I suspect it is a case of “Old Copy” and you will have to say Peccavi [I have sinned] as I have done in my day, but what you do, do quickly so that there is no fret.” Letter from H. Woodyer, 20th November 1866, Glass Correspondence, HABRL.

³⁵³ A. C. Sewter, *The Stained Glass of William Morris and his Circle*, 2 vols. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1975. Note 7 to Chapter 4, p. 94, details a 10% royalty for repetitions but “this should not apply to designs which by their nature would be subject to frequent repetitions.”

³⁵⁴ *ibid.*, note 20 to Chapter 5, p. 95. “The most frequently repeated designs were those of St. George and St. Martin, of 1878 and 1880 respectively, both of which were used at least thirty-eight times; in third place comes a Mary Virgin designed in 1874 and used at least thirty-six times.”

³⁵⁵ Letters to Hardman from Revd. Ward, 3rd and 12th March, 1880, Glass Correspondence, HABRL.

the twenty year period from a fairly faithful one of the painting to, by 1899 in Stoodleigh, a rendering of the message more suitable to that time.

While the firm was clearly intent on obliging, Powell can sometimes be seen to have used considerable persuasion to get his way with clients. This can be seen in Sandal Magna West and Brinklow West windows. In the latter case he was adamant that the Last Judgment suited the window and in the former his design was a composite one incorporating a series of figures from Revelations and from the Old Testament with the Lamb dominating the tracery. After letters were exchanged, he was given carte blanche. On seeing the windows both patrons were delighted by the result. A letter from Hardman to E. Woods, patron of the Brinklow West window (Plate 101) where the design was entirely by Powell,⁽³⁵⁶⁾ states: “We are pleased to hear of your cordial admiration.” On the other hand he gave way gracefully to objections to blood in his sketches for *The Crucifixion* in Shrewsbury, (Plate 9b(i)), offering an alternative. Thus he appears to have discriminated sensitively between aesthetic or scriptural subjects and deeply felt objections coming close to matters of doctrine.

There are many examples to show that the work of the firm continued to gratify its clients, to find answers to their wishes or even to persuade them towards pleasing solutions. Projects were treated individually; repetitions were not offered; industrial methods of production were not allowed to interfere with artistic integrity.

³⁵⁶ Letter dated 7th January, 1870, Glass Letterbook, vol. 4, p. 219, HABRL.

Appendix 1 – Saints

In order to assist in selecting examples to illustrate the range of the firm's work on saints windows, reference has been made to those of the firm's subject index books, which list the subjects undertaken between 1867 and 1893. To provide another measure of the popularity of the saints themselves, albeit an imperfect one, sample surveys were made of the frequency with which the various saints' names occur as patron saints of Anglican and Roman Catholic churches. The great age of the majority of Anglican benefices means that the frequency of occurrence of patron saints of Anglican churches is not a reflection of their popularity in the nineteenth century but it is at least a measure of how frequently congregations of churches undergoing restoration might have wanted their patron saint portrayed. In the sample of Roman Catholic churches for which the rapid expansion in numbers was a characteristic of the period under study and one which continued throughout much of the twentieth century the sample taken was restricted to churches founded before 1900.

In the Hardman subject index books, the popularity of the Virgin is evident but the variety of saints represented as listed under their individual names does not fully reflect the range or popularity of saints' names found in churches, or in windows, for saints were also portrayed in situations catalogued under the title of the scriptural event in which they appeared. Among saints' names only in the subject index list, John occupies a relatively important place (47 entries), followed by St. Thomas Apostle (36), John the Baptist (32), and Stephen (20). Female Saints, with 32 names in the index, echo the interest in them shown in the Anglican and Roman Catholic lists. Considering the listings under scriptural topics as well, Peter and Paul are undeniably the most often called for by patrons, with appearances, from the late sixties to the nineties, for Peter totalling 120 and 116 for Paul. They appear as single figures, together with the Apostles, in a single event (there are 50 illustrating the Charge to St. Peter – Feed my Sheep) as well as in windows depicting their lives where they are given an identity of their own. These principal figures also play a role but a different and more muted one in the magisterial East and West windows which are regularly found in Churches dedicated to All Saints. Peter and Paul are then but one element amongst the "Holy Men and Holy Women" who, in rows or semicircles, are part of the army of Saints supporting and adoring the central figure be it Christ in Glory, the Ascension, or the Second Coming. New Testament figures who appear rarely as individuals in Hardman's index are in fact regularly present as they are part of the Gospel scenes: for instance, St. James appears alongside Peter and John in the

Transfiguration, which is listed at least 55 times in the books. But he appears also in his own right in an example considered later, as one of the saints in aisle windows of Cheltenham St. Gregory.

The most popular names occurring in the sample surveys are listed in the table on the next page. In both denominations the most popular patron saint, as in the index books, was Mary including all the various forms used for her. In Anglican churches, as well as St. Mary, the Blessed Virgin Mary and St. Mary the Virgin occurred and, more rarely, Our Lady, or Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary. In total Mary appeared as patron saint of 13% of churches. In Roman Catholic churches the name is, as expected, more popular still: Our Lady alone, or with an additional title (Our Lady Help of Christians) or jointly with another saint (e.g. Our Lady and St. Joseph) appeared in 18% of church names; including the various forms of Mary brings the total to 32% of churches.

The other outstanding difference between the denominations is the popularity of Joseph (9%), second only to Mary in Roman Catholic church names but not occurring in the Anglican sample. All Saints is the second most popular Anglican name (9%), but only occurs in 1% of the Roman Catholic sample. The most common names occurring in both denominations, apart from Mary, are: George, John the Baptist, John the Evangelist, Michael, Peter, Thomas a Becket (or of Canterbury), Cuthbert and Alban. The range of names emerging was large. Of 225 different church names in the Anglican sample of 1500 churches, 142 occurred only once; of 148 different saints names 84 were single occurrences. In the sample of 670 Roman Catholic churches, of 240 different names 163 occurred only once; of 126 different saints names 77 occurred only once. Apart from the frequently occurring names mentioned above as appearing in both denominations there were a further 22 names in common. Of the names appearing in both denominations 15 are names of saints originating in the British Isles, not only Patrick, David and Edward the Confessor but early English names such as Ethelbert, Etheldreda and Chad. This indicates that the newly established Catholic churches were proclaiming their link with the pre-Reformation English church. In addition to the names already mentioned the Roman Catholic sample contained a further 14 Anglo-Saxon and 10 Celtic names.⁽³⁵⁷⁾

³⁵⁷ Other Anglo-Saxon names: Aidan, Aldhelm, Anselm, Bede, Edmund, Ethelburga, Godric, Hilda, Osmund, Oswald, Walburga, Wilfrid, Winefride, Wulstan. Celtic names: Asaph, Begh, Beuno, Columba, Dyfrig, Illtyd, Neot, Ninian, Oswyn, Osyth.

Popular Saints' Names

Popular Catholic Names			Popular Anglican Names		
Mary (all forms)	82	12.2%	Mary (all forms)	194	12.9%
Our Lady	59	8.8%	Andrew	74	4.9%
Joseph	59	8.8%	Peter	73	4.9%
Sacred Heart	32	4.8%	John the Baptist	63	4.2%
Patrick	17	2.5%	John	54	3.6%
Anne	15	2.2%	James	52	3.5%
Thomas of Canterbury	10	1.5%	Michael	43	2.9%
Peter	10	1.5%	Paul	38	2.5%
John the Baptist	10	1.5%	Nicholas	37	2.5%
Michael	9	1.3%	Mark	26	1.7%
George	9	1.3%	Martin	22	1.5%
Cuthbert	9	1.3%	Mary Magdalene	22	1.5%
John the Evangelist	7	1.0%	Luke	22	1.5%
Francis of Assisi	7	1.0%	George	21	1.4%
Augustine	7	1.0%	Bartholomew	18	1.2%
Alban	6	0.9%	Margaret	18	1.2%
Total	348	51.9%	Lawrence	17	1.1%
			Thomas	16	1.1%
			Total	810	54.0%
Popular RC linked saints' names			Most Popular Anglican linked names		
Our Lady and another	63	9.4%	All Saints	141	9.4%
Mary and another	13	1.9%	Holy Trinity	51	3.4%
Sacred Heart and another	8	1.2%	Michael and All Angels	37	2.5%
All Saints	7	1.0%	Peter and Paul	36	2.4%
Peter and Paul	6	0.9%	Mary and another	27	1.8%
Total	97	14.5%	Total	292	19.4%

Appendix 2 – Note on Kempe

Kempe was another Christian artist whose work regularly appears alongside Hardman's. Although labelled a Tractarian, he was not dogmatically so and saw his task "to beautify the place in which to celebrate the glory of God" rather than actively seek to "revive ancient forms of worship" as the members of the Cambridge Camden Society or A.W.N. Pugin set out to do. Both Kempe and Hardman drew on history: typical historical figures for Hardman in addition to those already mentioned are the first martyrs, like St. Alban, St. Etheldreda, who founded the first monastery at Ely, St. Dunstan who as Bishop of Canterbury was befriended by the king and played an important role in shaping the times, the Early Fathers, St. Jerome and St. Augustine. They appear singly or in pairs but above all they appear across the country generally. They can be seen under canopies, whose styles are commanded by the architectural setting, or on pedestals also but always with great accuracy of rendering, slightly richer in their capes and mantles when in a Catholic establishment.

For Kempe, his selection of Saints is in a very definite sense, representing the counties where they are known to have been most active.⁽³⁵⁸⁾ On the other hand St. George is very regularly associated with the patron Saint of the church in question. For instance in Sussex, he appears with St. Giles and/or with St. Wilfrid many times, in Durham with St. Cuthbert, St. Aidan and St. Oswald; in Oxfordshire, he is seen with St. Michael or St. Agnes, in Kent with St. Augustine of Canterbury and St. Alban, with St. Stephen and St. Etherbert. The main figure is in the foreground and little scenes illustrate the life very much in the background. The richness of rendering and iridescence of Kempe's glass, when at its best, and when the use of yellow stain is not overwhelming, are unmistakable and attracted patrons to the firm to the end of the century and later still.

Under his name and label, the sheaf of oats, were a great number of Jesse trees with rich display of Royal ancestries as in Oxford, Harborne and Lichfield. He also did historical figures and scenes such as the Duke of Clarence, Bishops in Oxford, the Duke of Wellington visiting Col. Wheatley's grave and the Bishop of Chichester in Kent, King Charles the First in Cambridge, St. Thomas of Canterbury in Durham and also Queen Victoria. All have identifiable backgrounds, none more so than the building of Lichfield Cathedral in one of its

³⁵⁸ On Kempe's work reference has been made to the gazetteers of 6 counties published by the Kempe Society and to the book on the artist by Margaret Stavridi, *Master of Glass, Charles Eamer Kempe, 1837-1907*. London: The Kempe Society, 1988.

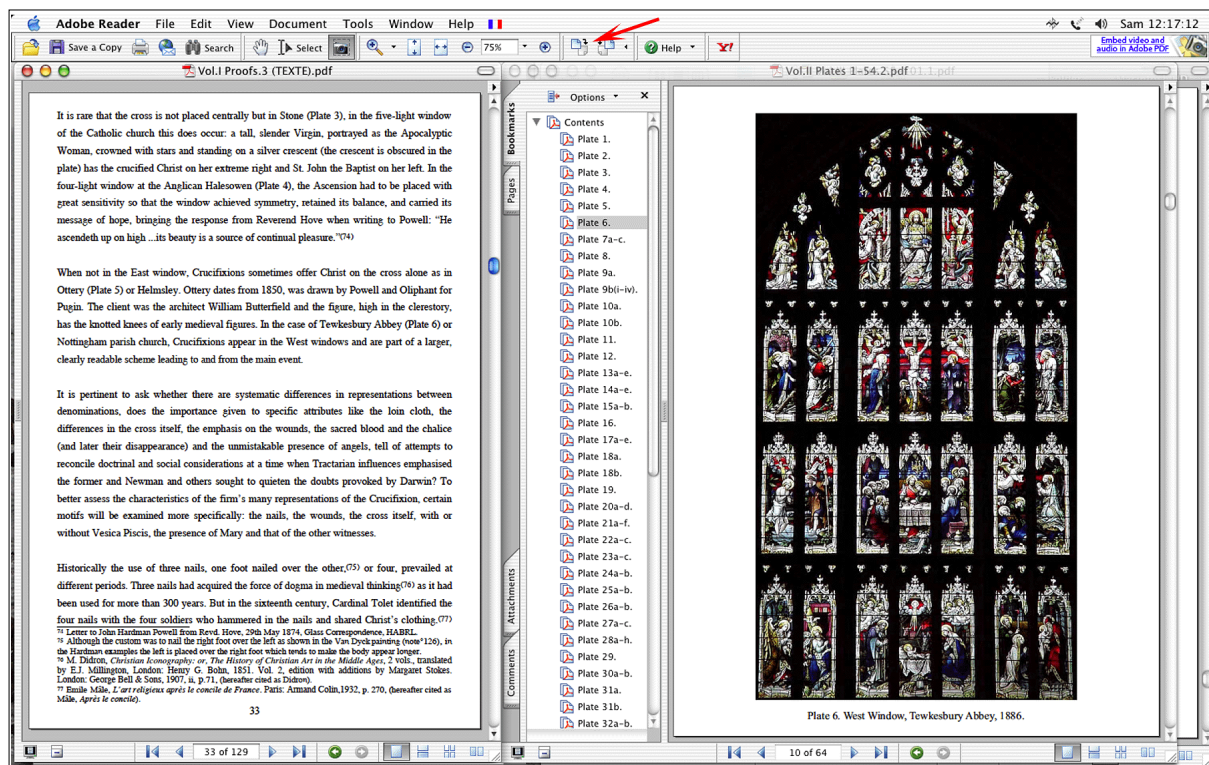
windows. Virtues appear in most of his school windows, philanthropic females in Houses of Mercy. There were many guardian angels and above all numerous Crucifixions and Nativities but hardly any Presentations, no lives of St. Paul or of other Apostles, no Creations, a few Lords in Majesty, Resurrections and Mary Magdalenes. In Hardman's glass these are well represented throughout the years

Appendix 3 – Further considerations on viewing

The three PDF files for Volumes I, II and III having been downloaded, a proposed approach would be to display the text of the study from Vol.I in an Adobe (Acrobat) Reader™ window on the screen at all times while making it possible in an adjacent Reader window to bring up as required the image of any plate from Volume II or III discussed in the text.

Various versions of Adobe (Acrobat) Reader™ are freely available for practically all operating systems, but the resulting variations in the actual interfaces, available buttons, menus and physical layout of successive versions preclude any attempt to provide precise instructions covering all cases. What follows should thus be seen as only giving some idea of the way in which the Reader windows could be set up in a couple of cases. In both cases, a better quality display is achieved if the option to smooth both text and images is applied in the general preferences for Reader. The default page layout should be 'Single Page' and the default zoom 'Fit Page'.

Below is a screen copy of for example a suggested MacOS X Reader window layout on a reasonably large screen. The three PDF files are opened by Reader in any order and their windows resized and moved appropriately. In the screen copy, a plate from Vol.II is displayed by a click on the relevant plate number in the Vol.II Bookmarks window. The windows giving access to the two Plate Volumes are set up one behind the other with a slight horizontal offset. The inactive Plate Volume windows can then be brought to the foreground and become active by a click on the edge which remains visible, or by selecting the PDF file in the 'Window' menu if the screen size does not allow for an offset.

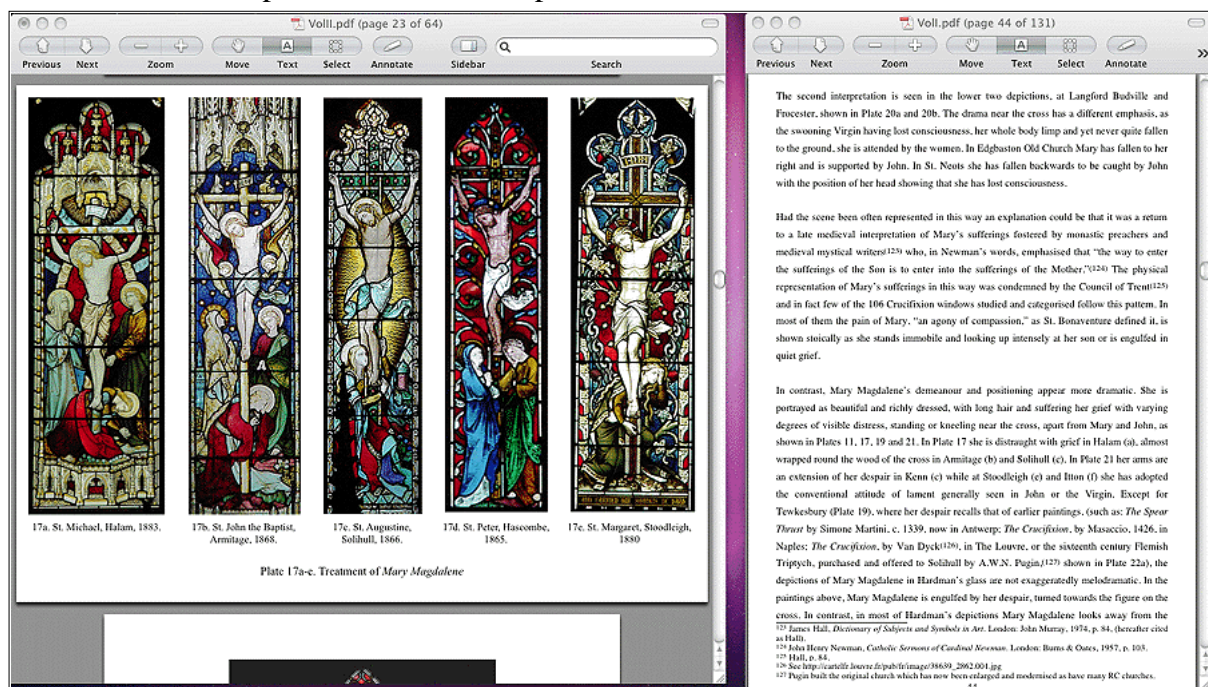


Some few Plates (eg Plate 17) are laid out in landscape format and should be rotated clockwise with the 'Rotate' tool (upper Reader toolbar) and then anticlockwise to view the next portrait format plate. Plates may be zoomed to full screen by a click on the green 'traffic light' but the text is then not visible and the green 'traffic light' must be clicked again to restore the initial window layout. The text remains visible however when the Reader 'zoom' tool is used and the zoom value is automatically reset when a bookmark is clicked.

For the user of an Apple computer who prefers to rely on the Preview software supplied in MacOS X, some variations on the above procedure using Adobe Reader™ are necessary. The following methods have been derived using Snow Leopard version 10.6.

First, the size adjustment by zooming is more limited in scope and precision. By manipulating the size using the adjustment point at the bottom right of the viewing area an initially satisfactory size can be obtained. Zooming for detail has a coarser adjustment than Adobe Reader however. As in Adobe Reader, the size must be re-adjusted for the next plate.

Secondly, the Bookmarks window is on the right rather than the left, requiring some adaptation according to the user's preference. A user can choose to place the text on the right of the screen and plates on the left, but although the Bookmarks window is then accessible, even at its narrowest setting, screen width is a more severe restriction than in Adobe Reader. An alternative to use the maximum screen area for the plates is to suppress the sidebar on the text using the button on the Preview header with the text on the right hand side of the screen. Depending on the user's screen aspect ratio, suppressing the Bookmarks on the plates also can give access to the plates at an even larger size. In this case the reader has to rely on a click on the slider to move to the next page of text or the next plate. When needing to jump to access text items or plates which are far apart the sidebar can be re-activated.

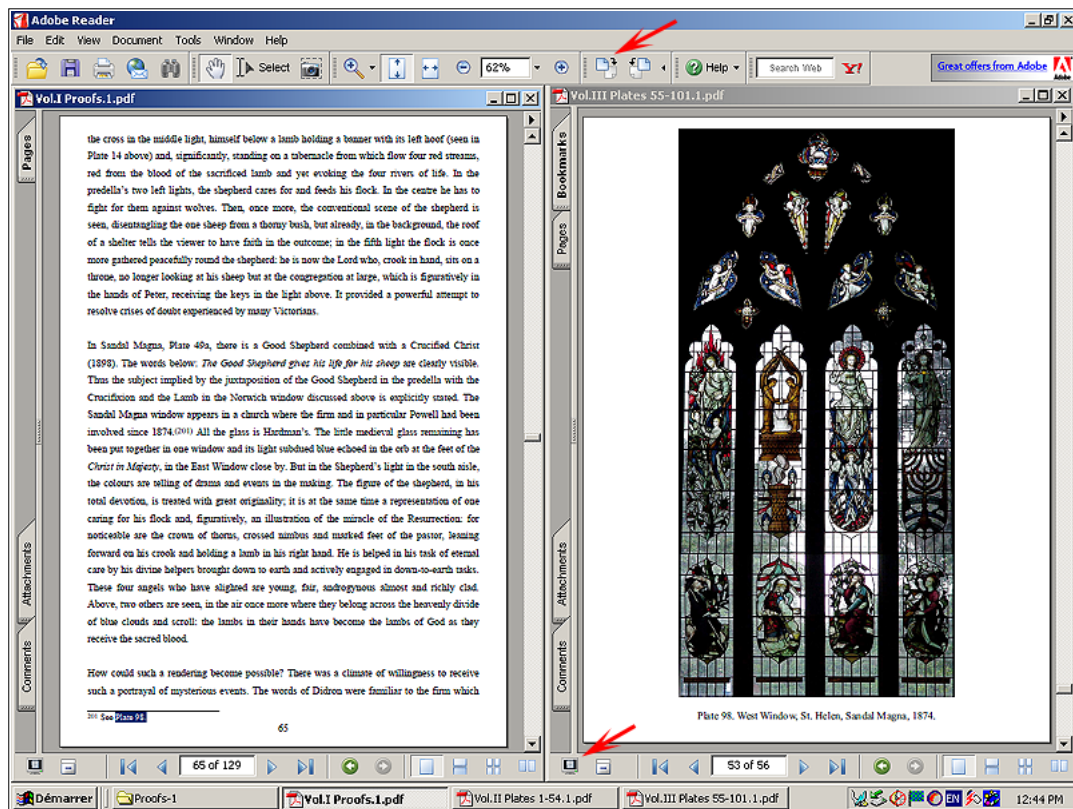


The screen can be rotated for plates in landscape format and zoomed for close comparisons to show all images on the plate at once (blocking out text for the necessary viewing time). When accessing the next slide zooming needs re-adjustment, but the rotation is automatically reversed. The screen copy above shows a case in which both Bookmark columns have been suppressed and the multiple image Plate 17 has been rotated.

The screen copy for the third example shows a suggested Adobe Reader™ layout under the Windows operating system on a PC with a smaller screen. The Vol.III Plates PDF file may thus be opened first and its window resized to occupy the right-hand half of the screen after closing the Bookmarks tab and setting the 'Vertical Tiling' option in the 'Window' menu. When the Vol.I text PDF file is then opened its window occupies the left-hand half of the screen. The Vol.II Plates PDF file can then be opened, its Bookmarks tab closed and its window moved in front of the Vol.III Plates window and resized to just cover it. The Vol.II

Plates window becomes the active Plates window. The Windows tool bar now includes three buttons which when clicked activate the window for the corresponding PDF file.

If the plate to be displayed is not in the Plates file of the active Plates window, a click on the relevant toolbar button will display and activate the required Plates window. A click on the Bookmarks tab of the active Plates window then opens the Bookmarks window and a click on the relevant plate number brings up the corresponding Plate in the Plates window. A full size display is then achieved by clicking the Bookmarks tab to close the list. The screen copy below shows Plate 98 displayed next to the text window at page 65.



Plates laid out in landscape format should be rotated clockwise by the 'Rotate' tool (upper Reader toolbar) and then anticlockwise to view the next portrait format plate. Plates may be zoomed to full screen by a click on the 'full screen' tool (lower tool bar) and back to the initial display by pressing the keyboard 'Esc' key. When the Reader 'zoom' tool is used the text remains visible and the zoom value is reset automatically when a bookmark is clicked.

In all cases, the perceived quality of the display achieved will vary depending on the actual size, form factor and resolution of the screen available, so that in order to improve the graphic quality of the displayed plate images the user may well wish to use the entire screen for display of the plates. For this purpose, the user is thus granted the right to make a print copy of the Vol.I PDF file for his own personal use.

Table 1. Analysis of 106 Crucifixion Windows by content and decade

Anglican	Nails				Blood and Chalice								
	2 nails	3 nails	4 nails	Not Known	% with three nails	Blood	Blood /Chalice	No blood	Not Known	% showing blood	Skull	Serpent	Swooning
1850-59		2	1	0				3					
1860-69	1	15	1	7	94.12		2	18	4	10.00	1	1	3
1870-79		25	7	6	78.12	3	2	23	10	17.86	2	3	3
1880-89		15	2	0	88.24	2	1	14	0	17.65	1		
1890-99		4	0	1	100.00	1	0	2	2	33.33			1
Total	1	61	11	14	84.93	6	5	60	16	15.49			
Roman Catholic	2 nails	3 nails	4 nails	Not Known	% with three nails	Blood	Blood /Chalice	No blood	Not Known	% showing blood	Skull	Serpent	Swooning
1850-59		0	0										
1860-69		5	2		71.43	1	4	2		71.43			1
1870-79	1	2	1		75.00			3		0.00			
1880-89		3	0	1	100.00	1		3	1	25.00			
1890-99		2	2		50.00		3	1		75.00			
Total	1	12	5	1	72.22	2	7	9	1	50.00			

Analysis

The design of windows was examined where the detail was available to determine whether there was any difference in practice between windows for Anglican and for Catholic churches in respect of the interpretation of the Crucifixion. The areas which emerged from correspondence as illustrating different strongly held views among clients whether blood should be shown emerging from Christ's wounds and whether it was caught in chalices or simply flowed. The use of three or four nails was also evident as a difference in practice having some historical resonance and allowing different approaches to the position of Christ's body on the Cross.

Table 2. Lady Patrons' Windows 1865-76

	Anglican Totals				Roman Catholic Totals			
	East	West	Other	All Windows	East	West	Other	Year of occurrence
Our Lord	1	0	2	3				
Our Lord as True Vine	0	0	1	1			1	1866
Holy Family	0	2	3	5				
Blessing + Baptism	0	3	3	6				
Life of the Lord	5	3	8	16			1	1868
Transfiguration	1	0	1	2			1	1867
Good Shepherd	0	0	3	3				
Te Deum + Adoration of Lamb	1	1	2	4				
Sacred Heart	1	0	0	1	1			1874
Crucifixion	7	0	0	7				
Crucifixion + subjects	10	0	5	15				
Passion	2	0	1	3				
Noli me tangere	0	0	6	6		1		1867
Resurrection	0	2	4	6	1			1866
Resurrection + Ascension	1	0	1	2				
Ascension	4	2	0	6				
Ascension + Subjects	2	1	0	3				
Majesty	1	0	0	1		1		1867
Last Judgment	0	1	0	1				
All Saints	2	4	5	11			1	1868
Angels	0	1	1	2	1			1873
Old and New Testament	3	1	8	12				
Works of Mercy	0	0	5	5				
Faith Hope and Charity	2	1	3	6				
Crucifixion + Peter	0	0	0	0	1			1875
The Dove	0	0	1	1			1	1869
Other	1	1	2	4				
Total	44	23	65	132	4	2	5	11

Table 3. Production of windows in selected years with cost ranges

Year	No of windows	Cost of windows(£)	Average cost (£)	% below £50
1865	169	7568.68	44.79	32.57%
1867	185	6707.65	36.26	42.66%
1870	157	7635.18	48.63	32.53%
1871	178	7204.26	40.47	43.72%
1873	148	7106.6	48.02	32.76%
1874	164	8079.46	49.27	31.57%
1875	166	8708.8	52.46	29.65%
1877	167	8590.44	51.44	30.54%
1880	141	4660.06	33.05	32.99%
1881	136	5765.37	42.39	29.80%
1883	170	6962.96	40.96	29.90%
1884	148	6901.42	46.63	31.16%
1885	154	7213.51	46.84	28.67%
1890	162	7496.5	46.27	33.35%
1895	95	4486.21	47.22	29.96%

Windows	over£50/£100	£50-99	Cost(£)	Average(£)	£100+	Cost(£)	Average(£)
1865		30	2018.88	67.30	15	3084.78	205.65
1867		24	1727.91	72.00	14	2118.02	151.29
1870		30	2130.65	71.02	16	3020.73	188.80
1871		27	1837.23	68.05	13	2217.61	170.59
1873		29	2000.49	68.98	15	2778.13	185.21
1874		38	2529.71	66.57	19	2999.10	157.85
1875		33	2090.76	63.36	20	4035.70	201.78
1877		35	2454.74	70.14	20	3512.44	175.62
1880		32	2251.77	70.37	6	870.98	145.16
1881		29	1906.30	65.73	10	2140.87	214.09
1883		38	2632.41	69.27	12	2248.83	187.40
1884		33	2338.95	70.88	16	2411.95	150.75
1885		24	1786.95	74.46	16	3358.27	209.89
1890		25	1786.25	71.45	19	3210.47	168.97
1895		22	1562.25	71.01	11	1579.85	143.62

Data on production has been extracted from individual cards comprising the glass ledger for the relevant year in the Hardman archives in the Birmingham Library.

The proportion of work involving windows of below £50 in value lies between 28% and 33% in all but two years.

The output was classified according to the cost of the window. The groupings £50-99 and over £100 are shown separately to indicate output of windows of significant size and elaboration.

A higher average cost per window in the £100+ column indicates years in which larger commissions, sometimes £1000 or more were undertaken.

Table 4. Number of Schemes by Architect 1865 to 1890

Architect	Number of Schemes
Woodyer	71
Scott	70
Pugin (E)	23
Street	22
Hansom	8
Barry	5
Middleton	5
Bodley	2
Pearson	2
Carpenter	2
Paley & Austin	1
Total	211

Archive Abbreviations

HABRL	Hardman Archives, MS 175, Birmingham Reference Library.
HLRO	House of Lords Record Office

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The firm's Letter Books containing hand-written copies of letters from the firm in date order of despatch indexed by name of addressee.

Correspondence received: Filed in boxes by year containing letter bundles by initial letter, referred to as Glass Correspondence.

Also consulted and referred to are:

Glass Order books

Glass Rough Day Books.

Glass Sales Ledgers.

Glass Cost Sheets.

Glass Subject Index Book.

In the Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery: pattern books in date order in yearly books and drawings preserved filed in boxes by year. Cartoons are preserved rolled up and stored in special premises.

Letter book of the Convent of Our Lady of Mercy, Handsworth, Birmingham.

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