

Antiquarianism, Fragmentation, and Ornament:
Continental Stained Glass in East Anglia,
c. 1800-1850

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Two Volumes
Volume II

PhD

The University of York

History of Art

September 2021

Appendix I: Biographies: Key Glaziers, Glass Painters, Dealers, and Traders

Individuals and businesses have been listed alphabetically by surname.

Allen, Robert (1745-1835)⁷³⁰

Robert Allen was born in Lowestoft in 1745 and he was employed by the Lowestoft Porcelain Factory from a young age. Much of what is known about Allen's career at the factory comes from William Chaffers, who interviewed Allen's grandson Robert Allen Johnson in the late nineteenth century.⁷³¹ Chaffers wrote that Allen was employed by the manufactory "from its commencement to its close" after entering at the age of twelve as a painter in blue in 1757.⁷³² This role would have involved the application of decorative motifs in blue pigment (likely cobalt oxide) in designs associated with eighteenth-century Chinoiserie and Delftware styles. According to Chaffers, Alan became manager of the factory in 1780, although this position is not corroborated in other accounts.⁷³³ It seems that Allen did not begin staining and firing glass in earnest until the close of the Lowestoft Porcelain Factory between 1801 and 1803. It is feasible that Allen left the factory before this time, with evidence pointing to the possibility of Allen owning a china shop in Lowestoft in the early 1790s.⁷³⁴ It is unclear whether Allen's role at the Porcelain Factory overlapped with this period of Allen as a shopkeeper. Regardless, by the time that the Factory closed Allen was able to continue producing painted ceramic goods independently. Allen was seemingly never involved in the construction of ceramic pieces while at the Lowestoft Porcelain Factory and this continued in his own workshop; Allen

⁷³⁰ For a detailed account of the life and work of Robert Allen see Haward, *Notes on the Stained Glass of Robert Allen*.

⁷³¹ Chaffers, *Marks and Monograms* 759-83.

⁷³² *Ibid.*, 774.

⁷³³ *Ibid.*, 774.

⁷³⁴ Smith, *Lowestoft Porcelain in Norwich Castle Museum. Volume 1*, 14.

purchased undecorated ware from larger manufacturers which he painted, glazed and fired.⁷³⁵ This process of applying decoration to a prepared object was continued in Allen's stained-glass practice, which he conducted in the same workshop. Allen's style of glass painting is distinctive, in part due to his use of small rectangular panels of clear glass, onto which he applied enamel paint and coloured stain. For large scale work, such as that of the East window at St Margaret, Lowestoft, the painted scenes were created from several of these smaller sheets leaded together in a grid formation. There is no evidence that Allen cut glass or leaded his own windows.

Allen's ability to operate a kiln would have been unusual in this period. Allen also seems to have taken up painting glass at a later age than most, following an extensive career in a different branch of the decorative arts. In addition to the early ability to fire glass paint, the commercial collaboration which existed between Allen and Yarrington which marks Robert Allen as an important figure in the early nineteenth-century stained-glass landscape. The only full scheme Allen completed was that for the East window of St Margaret, Lowestoft (1819), a window he gifted to the church. All other examples of Allen's glass painting can be found in schemes created by Yarrington. It seems likely that Yarrington purchased panels which Allen made in his own workshop. Glass by Allen was used in the following churches with schemes which bear the hallmarks of Yarrington's studio:

⁷³⁵ Hallam, *Lowestoft China*, 13.

Table 1: Robert Allen panels used in stained glass schemes by S. C. Yarrington

Church	Number of figurative panels by Allen	Number of decorative panels by Allen	Shape of Allen's panels
Herringfleet, St Margaret (Suffolk)	06	13	Rectangular/square
Langley, St Michael (Norfolk)	04	-	Rectangular/square
Little Plumstead, St Protase and St Gervase (Norfolk)	04	-	Rectangular/square
Thurton, St Ethelbert (Norfolk)	11	14 (including George IV arms)	Rectangular/square

Allen's interest in stained glass continued until the end of his life. In 1833, at the age of eighty-eight or eighty-nine, Allen's proposed design for St Peter's Chapel, Lowestoft, was rejected in favour of a window made in a plainer style.⁷³⁶ Allen died in Lowestoft in 1835 at the age of ninety-one.

Betton, John (1765-1849) and David Evans (1793-1861)

Much like a number of the East Anglian glass stainers, both Betton and Evans were originally glaziers before they embarked on firing painted and stained glass. In 1808 David Evans was apprenticed to the established glazier John Betton at Shrewsbury, before the two joined together to form a business partnership in 1815.⁷³⁷

⁷³⁶ Haward, *Notes on the Stained Glass of Robert Allen*, 8.

⁷³⁷ Mostyn Lewis, *Stained Glass in North Wales up to 1850* (Altrincham: John Sherratt and Son Ltd., 1970), 16.

Betton and Evans are best known for their work at Winchester College, where they were employed to restore the late fourteenth-century East window in 1821.⁷³⁸ This work was ultimately a recreation of the historic window rather than a restoration project and was widely praised at the time, as in the following contemporary review:

Every lover of Antiquity, and admirer of the art of glass-staining, will receive much pleasure from a visit to the Chapel of Winchester College. The Eastern window, a beautiful specimen of ancient Art, has lost its brilliant from age, and became almost entirely obscured. In the course of the last year it was taken down, and sent to Shrewsbury, where it has been touched and restored, with great skill and fidelity, by Messrs. BETTON and EVANS, glass-stainers, in that town.⁷³⁹

Some of the original fourteenth-century glass has since been returned to the building and can be found in the west end of the chapel.⁷⁴⁰ This interest in recreating the aesthetic of medieval glazing to the detriment of the original material itself is similar to the approach used by John Dixon at St Peter Mancroft in Norwich, although the latter project was undertaken a full sixteen years later, in 1838.

In line with other East Anglian glass painters and studios, namely Yarrington, Allen, Winter, and Zobel, Betton and Evan's work shows the use of engravings as a source for small painted glass panels. One particularly relevant example is the East window at St Deinion Church, Worthenbury in Wrexham. This window is a combination of fourteenth-century glass (including fragments from Winchester College Chapel) and glass contemporary to installation in c. 1823.⁷⁴¹ This fragmentary approach to window design is

⁷³⁸ Harrison, *Victorian Stained Glass*, 16.

⁷³⁹ "THE MIRROR OF FASHION," editorial, *Morning Chronicle*, Sept. 14, 1822, 2.

⁷⁴⁰ Harrison, 17.

⁷⁴¹ Lewis, *Stained Glass in North Wales*, 16 and plate sixty-seven.

comparable to that seen in East Anglia in this period despite the lack of continental panels used here. A number of small panels were painted by Betton and Evans for this window, including a panel after William Fowler. This small rectangular painted panel depicts Sir Roger Puleston and is a copy of an etching published by Fowler in 1805 and 1806, although the arms have been altered to those of Puleston.⁷⁴² The original Fowler engraving is taken from the early fifteenth-century stained-glass panel of Sir William de Bardwell which can still be found in St. Peter and St. Paul Church, Bardwell (Suffolk). This same engraving was also used as a source for three panels at St Mary Church in Ditchingham (Norfolk). The Ditchingham windows were installed in 1822, making this scheme contemporary to the Worthenbury window made by Betton and Evans.

These two schemes reflect different approaches taken by glaziers in their interpretation of the Fowler etching. The Ditchingham panels are painted in brown glass paint with silver stain and dark red enamel with abrasion giving a frosted appearance to the glass surrounding the figure. Lead lines shown in the original panel have been represented in paint. The panel by Betton and Evans shows greater attention to the original design in terms of the inclusion of the architectural canopy, the border of fleur-de-lis, and windows. Some of the lead lines of the original figure have also been followed in lead and pot metal glass has been used to represent the blue background. Through comparing these two panels it is clear that although both schemes show an interest in the aesthetic of historic glass, Betton and Evans were more closely wedded to doing so

⁷⁴² Ibid., 16.

through the use of medieval glazing techniques, namely by the use of mosaic lead lines and pot metal glass.

It seems that Betton and Evans did not make any schemes for churches in East Anglia. Martin Harrison has compiled a list of churches where Betton and Evans are known to have installed windows.⁷⁴³ Schemes made by this firm are also discussed in Lewis' *Stained Glass in North Wales up to 1850*.⁷⁴⁴ The dissolution of the Betton and Evans partnership was publicised in April 1825,⁷⁴⁵ due to the retirement of Betton. The business was continued under the same name by Evans and his sons Charles Evans (1828-64) and William Evans (fl. c. 1870) until the death of David Evans in 1861.⁷⁴⁶

Dixon, John (1783-1857)

John Dixon established his first business in Norwich with Peter Willsea, with the first evidence of this being an advertisement in the *NC&NG* in 1805: "Willsea and Dixon- Patent water closets, engine pumps and beer engines, ornamental and signpainting [sic], writing, transparencies &c., executed in the City or County with neatness and despatch, and on the most reasonable terms."⁷⁴⁷ This business is dissolved in 1820 according to an advertisement posted in the *NC&NG* on 11 March.⁷⁴⁸ Directly above this advertisement was another for Dixon's new business, which he set up independently:

⁷⁴³ Harrison, *Victorian Stained Glass*, 76.

⁷⁴⁴ Lewis, *Stained Glass in North Wales*, 16-17.

⁷⁴⁵ "Bankrupts, Dividends, &c. FROM THE LODON GAZETTES OF SATURDAY AND TUESDAY," editorial, *Birmingham Chronicle*, Apr. 21, 1825, 8.

⁷⁴⁶ Harrison, *Victorian Stained Glass*, 75.

⁷⁴⁷ Willsea, "Plumbing, Glazing, and House Painting," 3.

⁷⁴⁸ Peter Willsea and John Dixon, "PARTNERSHIP DISSOLVED," *NC&NG*, Mar 11, 1820, 2.

JOHN DIXON
PLUMBER, GLAZIER, HOUSE & ORNAMENTAL PAINTER,
New Opening, Bethel Street,

Begs leave to acquaint his Friends and those who may honor [sic] him with their patronage, that in future he will carry on the above business on his own account, and hopes by strict attention to receive a continuance of their favours. Orders addressed as above, will be punctually attended to.

Metal Roofs for Conservatories and Hot-houses on an Improved Plan, Doms [sic] for Skylights of all kinds, Ornamental Metal Sash-work.

Water Closets and Engine Pumps for deep wells, on the best construction.

Correct Imitations of Wood and Marble.⁷⁴⁹

The premises mentioned above as Bethel Street was number twenty-two and Dixon continued to run his business from this address throughout his career.⁷⁵⁰ Although there are many similarities between the two businesses mentioned above, it is significant that here Dixon is keen to make known his expertise as a glazier, a skill which is not mentioned in the earlier advertisement for Willsea and Dixon.

Dixon first appeared as a "Glass Stainer" in local directories in 1842,⁷⁵¹ although he was known to have painted glass panels for St Peter Mancroft in Norwich before this as the windows were installed in 1838.⁷⁵² Dixon was also a churchwarden at the time of his restoration of the East window of this church, which was a gift "most handsomely presented to the parish."⁷⁵³ Dixon was best known for his work at St Peter Mancroft and at Felbrigg Hall (Norfolk). In both cases he shows his interest in medieval glass, recreating and restoring panels from the fifteenth-century East window of St Peter Mancroft.

⁷⁴⁹ John Dixon, "JOHN DIXON, PLUMBER, GLAZIER, HOUSE & ORNAMENTAL PAINTER, *NEW OPENING, BETHEL STREET*," *NC&NG*, Mar 11, 1820, 2.

⁷⁵⁰ Address given in White, *History, Gazetteer, and Directory, of Norfolk* (1845), 186.

⁷⁵¹ Haward, *Nineteenth Century Norfolk Stained Glass*, 226.

⁷⁵² "Mr. DIXON, of Bethel-street," 2.

⁷⁵³ *Ibid.*, 2.

Dixon's worked as a glass stainer and painter for a relatively short period of time, with the earliest known example being that of St Peter Mancroft in 1838, approximately twelve years prior to his retirement in c. 1850.⁷⁵⁴ The fact that he started in this line of business later in the century means that he was less involved with the glass import business than other local glaziers like Yarrington. It seems that Dixon did not work with imported glass on a regular basis. One of the best known examples of his work that includes foreign glass can be found at Felbrigg Hall in the four-window scheme of the Great Hall (c.1840). This is also the only domestic setting which can be attributed to Dixon's workshop. Dixon also worked at the Church of St Mary, Shelton (Norfolk) in 1843, and the East window bears his initial. Windows nII and sII of this church include foreign glass panels.

A thorough list of Dixon's schemes has been made by Birkin Haward.⁷⁵⁵ The below table highlights key schemes by Dixon:

Table 2: Robert Dixon key glazing schemes

Location	Building Type	Date	Description of Glass	In situ?
Mulbarton, St Mary Magdalen	Parish church	c. 1815	East window includes medieval figurative panels transferred from the Church of St Mary, Martham (Norfolk) by rector R. Spurgeon in c. 1815. ⁷⁵⁶ Some foreign glass in windows on the south side of the church,	East window appears to be largely unaltered. Possible re-setting of glass in south aisle.

⁷⁵⁴ Haward, *Nineteenth Century Norfolk Stained Glass*, 227.

⁷⁵⁵ Ibid., 226.

⁷⁵⁶ Ibid., Mulbarton S Mary Magd gazetteer entry.

			including panels from the Steinfeld Cloister glazing scheme. ⁷⁵⁷	
Norwich, St Stephens (Norfolk)	Parish church	c. 1799/1805.	East window. Large scale sixteenth- and seventeenth-century continental figures and fragments of English and continental origin. Tracery figures of angels and saints. Most installed by William Stevenson and some possibly by Dixon c. 1799/1805, ⁷⁵⁸ prior to Dixon offering glass painting and firing.	Some alterations were made in 1841/2 and then by G. King and Sons of Norwich to repair damage following the Second World War. ⁷⁵⁹
Norwich, St Peter Mancroft (Norfolk)	Parish church	1838	Four panels were inserted into panels 1c, 1d, 2d, and 1e, these are thought to be copies of the original medieval panels. A large figure of St Peter was installed in panels 3d, 4d, and 5d. At the time of installation it was not well received by all, with one visitor suggesting the installation of a wire screen “for the purpose of subduing it into more perfect harmony with the ancient glass by which it is surrounded.” ⁷⁶⁰ Dixon also undertook much work in the south aisle and he made tracery-light figures for windows sIV and sIX-sXIII inclusive. ⁷⁶¹ Some of these figures have been identified as being copies of fifteenth-century glass at St Peter Mancroft and other churches.	Seven panels were removed from the East window and replaced with Passion scenes by Claydon and Bell in 1881. ⁷⁶² The large figure of St Peter is now lost, but the four panels which are copies of the medieval glass are now in window sIV.

⁷⁵⁷ King, “The Steinfeld Abbey Glazing,” 208.

⁷⁵⁸ Haward, *Nineteenth Century Norfolk Stained Glass*, Norwich-Inner St Stephens gazetteer entry.

⁷⁵⁹ Ibid., Norwich-Inner St Stephens gazetteer entry.

⁷⁶⁰ “Mr. DIXON,” 2.

⁷⁶¹ David King, *The Medieval Stained Glass of St Peter Mancroft, Norwich* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), xlvii.

⁷⁶² David M. Sharp, *The Church of St Peter Mancroft* (Norwich: Jarrold Publishing, 1994), 21.

Felbrigg Hall (Norfolk)	Private residence (now in ownership of the National Trust)	c. 1840	Four windows in the Great Hall, filled with a mixture of medieval glass panels, copies of medieval glass, continental roundels, nineteenth-century armorials and nineteenth-century decorative glass.	One of the panels was returned to St Peter Mancroft on long term loan in 1982. A facsimile panel was painted by Paul Jeffries at G. King & Son of Norwich and is in situ at Felbrigg Hall. ⁷⁶³
Great Yarmouth, St Nicholas (Norfolk)	Parish church	1847	<p>Glass described in correspondence from John Dixon to Charles John Palmer (1805-88), the latter a local historian dedicated to the transformation of the fabric of St Nicholas.⁷⁶⁴</p> <p>Two windows were installed in the south aisle, with the tracery glass being given as a gift “as a contribution to the good work.”⁷⁶⁵ The Restoration Committee were thus charged exclusive of the tracery glazing. In the bill the glass was described:</p> <p>Window one: ‘compartments filled in with decorated quarries & rich borders continued round the head of each compartment [...] £32-0-0.’⁷⁶⁶</p> <p>Window two: “a monumental window [...] the centre compartment decorated quarries and scriptural texts alternately, rich borders with colord [sic] insertions the head decorated &</p>	The church suffered extensive bombing during the Second World War and glass lost at this time. ⁷⁶⁸

⁷⁶³ King, “Norfolk: Felbrigg Hall.”

⁷⁶⁴ Palmer was dedicated to recording the process of altering St Nicholas and establishing National Schools in Great Yarmouth. Two considerable scrapbook volumes of correspondence, articles, plans and drawings are housed at the NRO in Norwich: Palmer, *Memorials of the Restoration*, 2 vols., PD 28/354 and PD 28/355, NRO, Norwich.

⁷⁶⁵ John Dixon, Letter to Charles John Palmer, Oct, 1847, in Palmer, *Memorials of the Restoration*, 320.

⁷⁶⁶ John Dixon, Bill to Charles John Palmer, Oct, 1847, in Palmer, *Memorials of the Restoration*, 349.

⁷⁶⁸ Haward, *Nineteenth Century Norfolk Stained Glass*, Great Yarmouth, St Nicholas gazetteer entry.

			filled in with foliage roses. Ruby & blue grounds & one large armorial bearing in the centre. The two side compartments decorated quarries (no texts) borders & heads as the centre compartment. £41-14-0.” ⁷⁶⁷	
Shelton, St Mary (Norfolk)	Parish church	1843	Dixon worked at this church in 1843, and his signature can be found in the East window. This window contains a mixture of early-sixteenth century glass from the original scheme of the church and nineteenth-century glass introduced by Dixon. Foreign glass can be found in windows nII and sII, and it is likely that Dixon installed these panels in the same period.	The East window, window nII, and window sII remain in situ.

Hampp, John Christopher (1750-825), William Stevenson (1741-1821), and Seth William Stevenson (1784-1853)

Hampp and the Stevensons worked in tandem to import continental stained glass for the English market. As these individuals worked in tandem to import stained glass into the country in the early nineteenth century they will be considered together in the following biographical entry.

Hampp was originally a native of Württemberg in southern Germany. He settled in Norwich and was granted the Freedom of the City as a worsted-weaver in 1793.⁷⁶⁹ He was particularly known for his trade with Flanders, which gave him the opportunity to import a large quantity of stained glass from the continent into England. Hampp’s notebook is preserved in the archive of the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge.⁷⁷⁰ This confirms that

⁷⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁶⁹ Kent, “John Christopher Hampp of Norwich,” 193.

⁷⁷⁰ J. C. Hampp Account Book.

Hampp was importing wine between 1791 and 1804, while he first imported stained glass into England in 1802. Hampp was visiting continental Europe in person in the period around the time that the 1802 Treaty of Amiens was signed. In March 1802 Hampp is named as one of the passengers of La Fleche packet, along with J. Fontano, G. Rogers, J. Dubourg, Mr Norton, and Wm. Thompson.⁷⁷¹ This list of passengers was printed to corroborate news from Captain Gillott's *The Two Friends* that "the Marquis Cornwallis has demanded that the Definitive Treaty be signed by Friday next, or else he will leave Amiens on his road to England."⁷⁷² The packet had recently arrived into Dover and was likely carrying both passengers and freight from France. On 25 March 1802 this treaty, later known as the Treaty of Amiens, was signed by Joseph Bonaparte and Charles Cornwallis, 1st Marquess Cornwallis (1738-1805). This ensured a temporary end to hostilities between Great Britain and the French Republic until it expired 18 May 1803. This period of peace gave Hampp the opportunity to expand his business and he was able to increase the amount of stained glass he imported into England, as illustrated by his account book of 1802 to 1804.⁷⁷³

Unlike some of the glaziers and glass painters discussed above Hampp did not advertise his business in local periodicals. Beyond the many references to political and charitable causes there are very few references to Hampp as a businessman in publications of the period. There are two references to Hampp meeting with other businessmen of Norwich in newspapers of the day. The first of these was a "General

⁷⁷¹ "NAVAL INTELLIGENCE," editorial, *London Courier and Evening Gazette*, editorial, Mar 10, 1802, 3.

⁷⁷² *Ibid.*, 3.

⁷⁷³ J. C. Hampp Account Book. Transcription available in Rackham, "English Importations of Foreign Stained Glass."

Meeting of the MERCHANTS and TRADERS” in December 1790 to discuss “Irregularities” in prices of labour in the city.⁷⁷⁴ The second does not occur until March 1799, when Hampp was named as one of nine “Commercial Commissioners for Norwich and its vicinity.”⁷⁷⁵

These references to Hampp as a member of the merchant community are outnumbered significantly by articles related to his various philanthropic deeds. Hampp was well known in the city of Norwich and appears as a donor to a significant number of charitable organisations in local periodicals, particularly the *NC&NG*. Notably, he was a leading figure in the Society of Universal Goodwill. This organisation was founded in 1775 as The Scots Society with the following aim:

To cultivate and promote that general hospitality and extensive charity, which are natural to the human race, and have always formed the distinguishing character of the British nation; to relieve and assist the natives of Scotland, Ireland, and all other nations residing in, or coming into England upon necessary business, and who, from unavoidable misfortunes and accidents, have fallen or may fall into distress, and are not entitled to relief by the laws of England.⁷⁷⁶

The association was renamed the Society of Universal Goodwill in 1787. It is unclear which year Hampp first became involved with this group, but he was an active member in the 1780s and he was elected to the position of Steward in 1786 and 1787.⁷⁷⁷ By 1802 Hampp had been elected to President of the Society.⁷⁷⁸ The list of other charitable causes

⁷⁷⁴ Thomas Watson, “GUILD-HALL,” *NC&NG*, Dec 11, 1790, 2.

⁷⁷⁵ “The following gentlemen are appointed Commercial Commissioners,” editorial, *Ipswich Journal*, Mar 2, 1799, 1.

⁷⁷⁶ Scots Society in Norwich, *Articles and Regulations for the Society of Universal Goodwill. Established in Norwich, in Great-Britain* (Norwich: Printed by Chase and Co. Printers, Booksellers and Stationers, in the Cockey-Lane, 1787), 3.

⁷⁷⁷ “At the anniversary of the Society of Universal Good-Will,” editorial, *B&NP*, Dec 12, 1787, 3.

⁷⁷⁸ “On Tuesday, the 30th of November, being St Andrew’s day,” editorial, *NC&NG*, Dec 11, 1802, 2.

which Hampp was involved in is extensive. It seems he had a particular interest in alleviating poverty both in the city of Norwich and in his native Germany. As well as subscribing to a range of individual causes (for example, he is listed as having donated one guinea to the relief of widow Mary Gosnold and one pound to the funding of blankets for the poor of Norwich).⁷⁷⁹ Hampp was more closely associated with a number of other societies and causes beyond the Society of Universal Goodwill. Hampp was among the twenty men named as making up the Managing Committee of the newly founded Society for the Relief of Distressed Travellers and the Detection of Vagrants and Impostors in October 1819.⁷⁸⁰ Hampp was also later listed as giving an annual subscription of a guinea.⁷⁸¹ The first reference to Hampp in relation to the relief of the poor in Germany appeared in 1806 when he made a donation of twenty pounds.⁷⁸² In March 1814 a further fund was established “for the Relief of the INHABITANTS of GERMANY under the Sufferings from the Ravages of War during the last Campaign.”⁷⁸³ Hampp is named as remitting sixty-five pounds and fifteen shillings for “LEIPSIG and its vicinity,” twenty-five pounds of which he donated personally.⁷⁸⁴ He was also named as a member of the Committee for this fund, appointed to apply for local subscribers, and to transmit the money raised to the Committee’s national treasurer in London.⁷⁸⁵

⁷⁷⁹ “THE WIDOW GOSNOLD,” editorial, *NC&NG*, Jul 19, 1806, 3; “BLANKET CHARITY,” editorial, *NC&NG*, Oct 30, 1813, 3.

⁷⁸⁰ “At an Adjourned Meeting of the Citizens and Inhabitants of Norwich,” editorial, *NC&NG*, Oct 30, 1819, 1.

⁷⁸¹ “SUBSCRIPTIONS to the Norwich Society for the Relief of Distressed Travellers, and the Detection of Vagrants and Imposters,” editorial, *NC&NG*, Nov 20, 1819, 3.

⁷⁸² “A subscription has been set on foot for the distressed poor in Germany,” editorial, *B&NP*, Jan 8, 1806, 3.

⁷⁸³ “SUBSCRIPTIONS for the Relief of the INHABITANTS of GERMANY under their Sufferings from the Ravages of War during the last Campaign, will be received at all the Norwich Banks,” editorial, *NC&NG*, Mar 12, 1814, 3.

⁷⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 3.

⁷⁸⁵ “SUFFERERS in GERMANY,” editorial, *NC&NG*, Mar 26, 1814, 3.

In addition to these causes Hampp was also a supporter of other movements to improve the general conditions of Norwich. In February 1803 he acted as a member of the committee to create and support a bill for “the better PAVING, WATCHING, LIGHTING, AND CLEANSING of the City.”⁷⁸⁶ In September of the same year he was chosen to be one of the Commissioners of the Land Tax Redemption Act both by the Commissioners of the Land Tax themselves and the Magistrates and Justices of Norwich.⁷⁸⁷ A month later he was then named as one of twelve vice presidents for the creation of a public dispensary in Norwich.⁷⁸⁸ Hampp was also an ardent supporter of the military and he volunteered as a Second Lieutenant for the Norwich Volunteers in 1797.⁷⁸⁹ With the formation of a further Volunteer Infantry according to stipulations made in the Defence of the Realm Act 1803, Hampp was a member of the Committee formed to put the Infantry in place.⁷⁹⁰ He also donated one hundred pounds “for the laudable purpose of furnishing volunteers with clothes and other equipments,” a significant sum matched only by one Reverend J. Poole.⁷⁹¹ From these examples of charitable, public and militaristic contributions it is clear that Hampp was a man of both financial and social high standing within the city of Norwich. It is notable that he began to give large sums of money to specific causes from 1803 onwards as it was in this period that his stained-glass importation business was flourishing.

⁷⁸⁶ “THE BILL for the better PAVING, WATCHING, LIGHTING, AND CLEANSING of the City,” editorial, *NC&NG*, Feb 19, 1803, 3.

⁷⁸⁷ “The Commissioners of the Land Tax met on Wednesday,” editorial, *NC&NG*, Sept 3, 1803, 2.

⁷⁸⁸ Thomas Barber, “PUBLIC DISPENSORY,” *NC&NG*, Oct 15, 1803, 3.

⁷⁸⁹ “Norwich Volunteers,” editorial, *NC&NG*, Apr 15, 1797, 2.

⁷⁹⁰ “At a Meeting of the Inhabitants of the City of Norwich held at the Guildhall, on Tuesday the 16th of August, 1803,” editorial, *NC&NG*, Aug 20, 1803, 3.

⁷⁹¹ “A numerous and respectable Meeting of the inhabitants of this City,” editorial, *B&NP*, Aug. 24, 1803, 3.

The Stevensons also played a significant role in the development of Norwich's cultural and social life in the early nineteenth century. William Stevenson was born at East Retford (Nottinghamshire) on 13 March 1750 and he was the eldest son of Seth Ellis Stevenson, rector of Treswell (Nottinghamshire).⁷⁹² Stevenson was a student of the Royal Academy and worked as a miniature painter in Bury St Edmunds between 1774 and 1782. In 1783 he moved to Norwich and married Catherine Chase, the eldest daughter of William Chase, the proprietor of the *Norwich Mercury*.⁷⁹³ Allthorpe-Guyton notes the importance of the city's editors and press owners as drivers of political, commercial and artistic taste, naming William Stevenson as one of these.⁷⁹⁴ William Stevenson was the editor of the *NC&NG* from 1785 and was also a proprietor until his death in 1821.⁷⁹⁵ This role allowed him a position of influence over the contents of this highly popular publication. This continued after his death with his son, Seth William Stevenson, who was part-proprietor in 1808, proprietor in 1844, and editor from 1818.⁷⁹⁶ William Stevenson was also involved in the political and judicial life of the city, serving as Sheriff of Norwich in 1799.⁷⁹⁷

William Stevenson had a great interest in the artistic circle within Norwich. He had ties to the Norwich Society of Artists and was a patron of this organisation in 1819,⁷⁹⁸ and

⁷⁹² Chambers, *A General History of the County of Norfolk*, vol. 3, 1092.

⁷⁹³ *Ibid.*, 1093.

⁷⁹⁴ Allthorpe-Guyton, "Artistic and Literary Life of Nineteenth Century Norwich," 40.

⁷⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 41-42.

⁷⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 42.

⁷⁹⁷ "DIED," editorial, *NC&NG*, May 19, 1821, 3.

⁷⁹⁸ The same year in which Zobel first exhibited with the Society.

again in 1820.⁷⁹⁹ He also ensured that the *NC&NG* reported on the annual exhibitions of the Society.⁸⁰⁰ This involvement with this organisation stems from his personal background as a painter of miniatures. Stevenson was a student at the Royal Academy before establishing himself as a miniature painter, owning a Drawing Academy by 1784 at 100 Pottergate Street, Norwich.⁸⁰¹ He is known to have been friends with several artists, including Sir William Beechey (1753-1839) and Ignatius Sancho (c. 1729-1780).⁸⁰²

Both William Stevenson and Seth William Stevenson were members of the Fraternity of the United Friars of Norwich (established 1785). This organisation advocated for the study of antiquities, history, and science while performing philanthropic acts and supporting the abolitionist cause. A detailed discussion of the Fraternity, including the role of the Stevensons within it, can be found in chapter one. It was at a meeting of this group in November 1813 that Seth William Stevenson first read the journal of his 1802 expedition across France. This trip was taken on behalf of Hampp to source continental glass for sale in England. Although the location of this journal is unknown, two later journals of Seth William Stevenson's journeys across continental Europe in 1816 and 1825 have been published.⁸⁰³ Both Stevensons collaborated with Hampp in the importation and sale of continental stained glass. William Stevenson sold stained glass on behalf of Hampp in London, as indicated in an 1803 entry in Hampp's account book.⁸⁰⁴ He was

⁷⁹⁹ Rajnai and Stevens, *The Norwich Society of Artists*, 133.

⁸⁰⁰ Allthorpe-Guyton, "Artistic and Literary Life of Nineteenth Century Norwich," 42.

⁸⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 41.

⁸⁰² *Ibid.*, 41-42.

⁸⁰³ Stevenson, *Journal of a Tour through Parts of France*; Stevenson, *A Tour in France, Savoy, Northern Italy, Switzerland, Germany and the Netherlands, in the Summer of 1825*.

⁸⁰⁴ J. C. Hampp Account Book.

involved in creating a display for stained glass panels which used gaslight to illuminate the panels.⁸⁰⁵ It is likely that the Stevensons both assisted in the sale of stained glass in Norwich, where their connections to other intellectuals in Norfolk and London would have been beneficial.

Seth William Stevenson was an accomplished antiquary in addition to his work at the NC&NG. S. W. Stevenson was elected as a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries in 1817.⁸⁰⁶ His main subject of interest was numismatics, and he joined the Numismatic Society on its foundation in 1836, before joining the British Archaeological Association in 1845. S. W. Stevenson worked on compiling a complete dictionary of Roman coins for many years.⁸⁰⁷ Half of this work was published at the time of his death, and the remainder was revised before being published posthumously.⁸⁰⁸

Seth William Stevenson resided at Surrey House in Norwich, which was demolished in 1900 for the construction of the Norwich Union Marble Hall building.⁸⁰⁹ It is likely that his father William Stevenson had previously lived at this address. Surrey House contained heraldic stained glass relating to the Howard family, which can now be found in the former solicitor's office on the first floor of 8 Surrey Street (previously the Norwich Union Office).⁸¹⁰ Thomas Howard, third Duke of Norfolk (1473-1554), built Surrey House. In addition to the aforementioned heraldic glass, Howard also acquired stained glass from the Norwich Franciscan house at the Reformation. This Franciscan glass was installed at

⁸⁰⁵ Martin, "The European Trade in Stained Glass," 78.

⁸⁰⁶ Blatchly, "Stevenson, Seth William."

⁸⁰⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁰⁸ Seth William Stevenson, Charles Roach Smith and Frederic W. Madden, *A Dictionary of Roman Coins, Republican and Imperial* (London: George Bell and Sons, York Street, Covent Garden, 1889).

⁸⁰⁹ David King, "Mendicant Glass in East Anglia," in *The Friars in Medieval Britain: Proceedings of the 2007 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. Nicholas Rogers (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2010), 180.

⁸¹⁰ Ibid., 181.

Surrey House by Howard, and this remained in situ until it was removed and sold by the Stevensons.⁸¹¹

William Stevenson died on 13 May 1821 at the age of seventy-one. His obituary was published in the *NC&NG* and read:

Sunday last, at his house in Surry-street, after eight months' severe affliction, in the 72nd year of his age, beloved and lamented by his Family and Friends; respected and regretted by all, who, during his long and useful life, had the opportunity of knowing him; William Stevenson, Esq. upwards of thirty-five years a Proprietor of this paper. He served the office of Sheriff of this city in 1799.⁸¹²

Hampp died just over four years later on 3 March 1825. His obituary in the *B&NP* read as follows:

Thursday last, at his home in St. Giles's, aged 75, John Christopher Hampp, Esq. many years an eminent merchant of this city. He was a native of Germany; but having, from an early period of life, taken up his permanent residence in Norwich, he became an Englishman not only by naturalization, but by the closest ties of patriotic attachment to the institutions and interests of his adopted country. His life was devoted indeed to the dispensation of good to all around him, and as the almoner of the Society of Universal Good Will, he had opportunity, and it formed his chief delight, to afford relief to more than 4000 Irish and Scotch, who passed through this city during the war.⁸¹³

This notice was also printed with minor alterations in the *York Herald*.⁸¹⁴ In 1853 Seth

William Stevenson died at the home of his son-in-law in Cambridge at the age of 69.⁸¹⁵ He was buried at the Church of St Stephen, Norwich.⁸¹⁶

⁸¹¹ *Ibid.*, 181.

⁸¹² "DIED," 1821, 3.

⁸¹³ "DIED," editorial, *B&NP*, Mar 9, 1825, 3.

⁸¹⁴ "DEATHS," editorial, *York Herald*, Mar. 12, 1825, 3.

⁸¹⁵ "It is with feelings of deep grief that we announce the death of the senior proprietor of this paper," editorial, *NC&NG*, Dec 24, 1853, 2.

⁸¹⁶ Blatchly, "Seth William Stevenson."

King, James and Sons

Glaziers involved in the running of this firm are named by Haward as James King senior (1778-1851), James King junior (1804-65), Thomas John Scott (1846-1920) and George Alfred King (1851-1925).⁸¹⁷ This firm had a long history which extends into the twentieth century. The early years of this firm's development are the most relevant to this thesis, and these will be briefly discussed here.⁸¹⁸

James King was listed at Elm Hill in Norwich under the heading "PAINTERS, PLUMBERS AND GLAZIERS" in Pigot's 1822 Directory for Norfolk and Suffolk.⁸¹⁹ He was still listed at the same property and under the same heading in Pigot's 1830 Directory.⁸²⁰ It seems that this entry refers to James King senior and that it is not until James King junior become more involved in the running of the business that the firm becomes J. King and Sons. This change occurs sometime between this 1830 entry and the start of 1832, at which time the firm also begin to advertise their services as glass stainers. This is recorded by Zobel in his *Notebook* as follows: "Between the months Jan^y & May of 1832 King & Sons [...] two [...] descriptions of their business to the Public, that they are Glass-Stainers &c &c."⁸²¹ By the time that White's 1836 Directory of Norfolk was published the firm is listed at Elm Hill as "King James & Sons" under "PLUMBERS, GLAZIERS, AND PAINTERS" but also as "King Jas. & Sons" under "GLASS STAINERS."⁸²² Therefore, evidence shows that James King and Sons was producing stained glass in 1832, with published evidence of this

⁸¹⁷ Haward, *Nineteenth Century Norfolk Stained Glass*, 234.

⁸¹⁸ For more information on the later period of the business (post-1850) please see Haward, *Nineteenth Century Norfolk Stained Glass*, 209-11.

⁸¹⁹ Haward, *Nineteenth Century Norfolk Stained Glass*, 198.

⁸²⁰ Pigot and Co., *National Commercial Directory* (1830), 52.

⁸²¹ Notebook of James George Zobel, 1832.

⁸²² White, *History, Gazetteer, and Directory, of Norfolk* (1836), 206 and 190.

existing from 1836, earlier than the date put forward by Haward of “sometime after 1840.”⁸²³ These dates mean that the firm was able to produce stained glass just a few years before John Dixon.

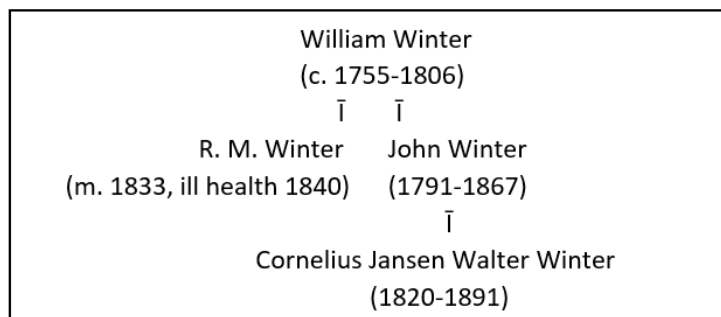
John Middleton (1791-1848)

John Middleton was one of three glass stainers in Norwich by 1836.⁸²⁴ He was also a dealer in lead and stained glass, a trade which he was employed in between 1820 and c. 1848.⁸²⁵ The only surviving work attributed to Middleton is a two-window decorative scheme, largely in white glass, at All Saints, Beighton (Norfolk), installed c. 1847-48.⁸²⁶

Winter Family:

William Winter (c. 1755-1806), R. M. Winter (m. 1833, ill health 1840), John Winter (1791-1867) and Cornelius Jansen Winter (1820-1891)⁸²⁷

Table 3: Winter glaziers family tree



Three generations of the Winter family are known to have been involved in stained-glass practice, as shown in the simplified

family tree. Biographies are given here in chronological order.

⁸²³ Haward, *Nineteenth Century Norfolk Stained Glass*, 198.

⁸²⁴ White, *History, Gazetteer, and Directory, of Norfolk* (1836), 190.

⁸²⁵ Haward, *Nineteenth Century Norfolk Stained Glass*, 196.

⁸²⁶ *Ibid.*, 196.

⁸²⁷ Winter's Christian names may have been “Cornelius Jensen Walter,” “Cornelius Jason Walker” or a combination of the two.

William Winter

The first known glazier from the Winter family, William Winter, was based at Loddon.

Very little is known about his practice, and it is unclear whether he had knowledge regarding the staining, painting, and firing of glass. No records survive which show where William Winter worked.

R. M. Winter

Another Winter, R. M., is listed as a glazier and plumber in Loddon. Again, little is known about this Winter, however the dates of his practice suggest that R. M. was probably the son of William. R. M. appears in local periodicals in the summer of 1833, where he is listed as a “plumber & glazier, of Loddon” entering into marriage with Miss Hannah Amies of Tunstead.⁸²⁸ R. M. continued working as a glazier until 1840, at which time he gave up the business due to ill health and sold his household goods, supplies for plumbing and glazing, and property between 1840 and 1841.⁸²⁹ As with William Winter no records exist regarding the glazing projects undertaken by R. M. Winter. An advertisement addressed to “Plumbers, Glaziers, Painters and Others” gives a list of items for sale from his workshop:

An Assemblage of excellent Plumbers, Glaziers and Painters tools, (very Superior and Costly Lead *Mould* 18 ft. by 12 with Mahogany Shafts and Strike Copper Cask, &c. very compete,) lead Vice, Oil, Cistern, contains 160 gallons, one do. 30 gallons, Apparatus for two Spring Valve Water Closets, beams, scale and iron weights, brass cocks, bosses, oil, turpentine, white lead, verdegris, copperas, veriter, cromes, umbers, ochre, &c. also a quantity of lead pipe, old lead and pewter, glass and other articles useful in the Trade.⁸³⁰

⁸²⁸ “MARRIED,” editorial, *NC&NG*, Jul 06, 1833, 3.

⁸²⁹ “LODDON, NORFOLK,” editorial, *NC&NG*, Sept 26, 1840, 3; “To Plumbers, Glaziers, Painters and Others,” editorial, *NC&NG*, May 15, 1841, 4.

⁸³⁰ “To Plumbers, Glaziers, Painters and Others,” 3.

This list does not suggest that R. M. Winter had the capacity to fire glass, nor is a kiln listed in the later advertisement for the property in May 1841.⁸³¹ It seems that this business was a profitable one judging from this later property auction, which included a “newly-erected commodious Brick and Tiled MESSUAGE with the Workshops, Stable Gighouse and Appurtenances of the Proprietor [...] and four Cottages [...] and a well-planted Garden, and a piece of productive Land.”⁸³² The location and clear prosperity of this business suggests that R. M. Winter continued the practice of his father, William Winter, possibly at the same location.

John Winter

John Winter was the son of William Winter. Haward has suggested that John Winter may have moved to Bungay (Suffolk) following his marriage in 1818, where he resided for the rest of his life.⁸³³ Little is known about the career of John Winter, although some information can be gathered from an obituary for his son C. J. W. Winter, published 30 January 1891:

John Winter- an animal painter and stained glass artist of considerable repute in his day, and from whom the son undoubtedly inherited his artistic tastes. Many of the Norfolk churches bear evidence of John Winter’s talent in the beauty of design and colouring to be found in the windows of stained glass. The subject of this notice began his professional career at a very early age by assisting his father in the production of stained glass windows, &c., supplementing his labours by animal painting, of which work he was always inordinately fond.⁸³⁴

Haward wrote that both the St Mary and Holy Trinity Churches, both in Bungay, had glazing by John Winter, however these schemes have since been lost.⁸³⁵ Some

⁸³¹ “FREEHOLD ESTATE,” 4.

⁸³² Ibid., 4.

⁸³³ Haward, *Nineteenth Century Suffolk Stained Glass*, 270.

⁸³⁴ “DEATH OF A NORWICH ARTIST,” editorial. *Eastern Daily Press* Jan 30, 1891, 2.

⁸³⁵ Haward, *Nineteenth Century Suffolk Stained Glass*, 271.

information is known regarding the design of the East window at St Mary, which was made up of glass given by the Duke of Norfolk in 1827, portraying the Madonna della Sedila after Raphael as well as the ducal and conventual arms.⁸³⁶

Recent scholarship has been shown that window sIV at St Peter and St Paul Church at Brockdish (Norfolk) was installed by John Winter in 1851.⁸³⁷ Stylistic similarities suggest that Winter is also responsible for windows nII, nIII and SII to SV inclusive in this church. All of these windows incorporate the same foliage border in dark brown paint and silver stain. In addition, the small figurative roundels in lancet windows nII and nIII are of the same size as those in window sIV. Knowing with certainty that window sIV at St Peter and St Paul Church in Brockdish (Suffolk) was installed by John Winter allows one to establish the style of glass produced by his workshop. The similarity of painting style and use of the same panel designs across different churches links Winter to other local schemes where attribution has been uncertain in the past, including All Saints, Earsham (Norfolk) and St Peter, Hedenham (Norfolk). Close analysis of the decorative elements of the scheme may yet provide links to other extant schemes, allowing for a greater understanding of the scale of John Winter's glazing and glass-painting enterprise. In addition to this key attribution of the Brockdish glass to John Winter, glass by his son, C. J. W. Winter, can be used to suggest the style and processes employed at Bungay. Haward also suggests in his book that a number of unattributed schemes in south-east Norfolk could have been

⁸³⁶ Ibid., Bungay St Mary gazetteer entry.

⁸³⁷ Elaine Murphy, *The Parish Church of St Peter and St Paul Brockdish: A Guide* (published by the author, 2016), 26.

completed by John Winter, namely Earsham, Kirby Cane, Reedham, Loddon,⁸³⁸ and Hardley.

The table below discusses the three churches identified by the author which have glass similar to that of C. J. W. Winter. Not only is the style of figure remarkably similar, but these panels tend to be a small scale and are also painted in a remarkably similar brown glass paint.

Table 4: Churches with panels in the style of C. J. W. Winter which may have been painted by John Winter

Church	Panel descriptions
Brockdish, Ss Peter and Paul	A number of decorative and figurative roundels. The figurative roundels in particular bear a striking resemblance to the figures at Winston by C. J. W. Winston, particularly the three figurative roundels in sIII which depict St Matthew the Apostle, Christ and St John the Apostle. The heavy application of a brown glazing paint combined with a naïve figurative style are particularly reminiscent of the Winston glass. The glass in window sIV was inserted in 1851 by John Winter. ⁸³⁹ The style of panels in windows nII, nIII and SII to SV inclusive suggests that Winter was also responsible for these windows.
Earsham, All Saints	The East window has a large number of nineteenth-century English roundels, many of which are so similar in design to those at Brockdish that they must have been painted by the same hand from the same visual source. The East window was installed in 1863 and the stylistic overlap between this window and other proven John Winter schemes suggest that he was responsible for this window. The installation of this window followed an earlier

⁸³⁸ The East window at Loddon was undoubtedly produced by Zobel in Yarrington's workshop in 1842. More information can be found in appendix II.

⁸³⁹ Murphy, *Brockdish: A Guide*, 26.

	campaign by Yarrington, for more information see then entry for this church in appendix II.
Hedenham, St Peter	Roundel showing Christ in brown enamel paint in window sVI. It is possible that this may have originally been installed in one of the five windows installed by S. C. Yarrington in 1827, or it could be a later addition. ⁸⁴⁰

Currently, little is known about the size of the studio of John Winter, nor is it clear how long he ran his glazing and glass-painting business. However, it does seem that this remained local and small scale. All schemes mentioned above in relation to Winter, both those attributed by this author and Haward, are within fifteen miles of Bungay. John Winter died in 1867, and although the Eastern Daily Press wrote of his “considerable repute in his day” it seems that no contemporary obituary survives to provide more details of his life and business.⁸⁴¹

Cornelius Jansen Walter Winter

C. J. W. Winter was born in Bungay (Suffolk) and represents the third generation of glass painters in this family, although it seems that his experience painting and staining glass was but an early stage of his career. The existing glass panels which were painted by C. J. W. Winter were made when he was still a young man, before he became known as an illustrator and painter of miniatures. Seven panels remain which can be attributed to C. J. W. Winter, which is particularly significant considering that although both his father and paternal grandfather were glaziers professionally no stained glass remains which can be attributed to them with any certainty.

⁸⁴⁰ Ibid., Hedenham gazetteer entry.

⁸⁴¹ “DEATH OF A NORWICH ARTIST,” 2.

C. J. W. Winter established himself as a painter of miniatures at King Street in Yarmouth (Norfolk) at the age of twenty and illustrated the books of Dawson Turner (1775-1858).⁸⁴² This would have been in 1840, the same year that the only dated panel by C. J. W. Winter was painted (the roundel at St Peter's Hall, South Elmham in Suffolk). It seems likely that this panel and the six now at the Church of St Andrew, Winston (Suffolk) were made prior to C. J. W. Winter's move to Yarmouth in the workshop of his father John Winter. Although C. J. W. Winter was not a professional glazier or glass painter and he had a very limited output of work in this medium, having a number of panels attributed to him is useful as examining these may assist in establishing the style of his father's workshop. This in turn could help in linking unattributed panels back to John Winter, who was working at the same time as glaziers like Dixon, Yarrington and Zobel in Norwich. C. J. W. Winter remained interested in stained glass through his career as an illustrator, and a large number of his stained-glass illustrations remain in the Norfolk Museums collection.⁸⁴³

The table below gives information regarding the seven stained glass panels attributed to C. J. W. Winter:

Table 5: Locations of stained glass painted by C. J. W. Winter

Location	Number of panels	Description of panels
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⁸⁴² Day, *East Anglian Painters Vol III*, 242.

⁸⁴³ See "Martham Church Painted Glass (Drawing)," *Norfolk Museum Collections*, Norfolk Museums, n.d., accessed Mar 20, 2022, <http://norfolkmuseumscollections.org/collections/objects/object-4198753624.html/#/?q=Winter>.

South Elmham, St Peter's Hall (Suffolk)	01	Small oval panel in dark brown enamel, copied from a printed source of a "Mater Salvatori" figure. Signed C. J. W. Winter and dated 1840. ⁸⁴⁴
Winston, St Andrew (Suffolk)	06	Small rectangular panels in dark brown glass paint, featuring six apostles: St James, St Thomas, St John, St Andrew, St Matthew and St Peter. Signature "C. J. W. Winter" clear on St Sohn and St Andrew.

Yarington, Samuel Carter (1781-1846)

Although it is not known whether Yarington was born in Norwich, it seems that his family were established in the city by the 1780s. Between the years of 1789 and 1796 the business of Yarington and Bacon was referred to numerous times in local periodicals, particularly the *NC&NG*.⁸⁴⁵ It is highly likely that the Yarington referred to here was a relative of glazier S. C. Yarington.⁸⁴⁶ Yarington and Bacon's business was located on Cockey Lane (now London Street).⁸⁴⁷ It was first described as a "Printers" in an advertisement published in 1789.⁸⁴⁸ The business was named in periodicals into the 1890s as a purveyor of numerous objects and items, including Oriental Vegetable Cordial ("One

⁸⁴⁴ Haward, *Nineteenth Century Suffolk Stained Glass*, 271.

⁸⁴⁵ This Bacon was likely the father of Richard Mackenzie Bacon (1775-1844), liberal editor and proprietor of the *Norwich Mercury*, writer and musician (Allthorpe-Guyton, "Artistic and Literary Life of Nineteenth Century Norwich," 13).

⁸⁴⁶ There are multiple references to a Mr William Yarington, an attorney located in Swaffham, a market town located thirty-one miles West of Norwich. An examination of periodicals and trade directories of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries suggests that the surname Yarington is not common at this time in Norfolk and thus it is possible that the attorney Yarington is also related to the glazier.

⁸⁴⁷ "NOT ACTED THESE LAST TWO YEARS, 3.

⁸⁴⁸ "SEVENTY PER CENT. SAVED," 1.

of the most valuable Medicinal Discoveries which Time and Philosophy could ever boast of”) and tickets to local theatrical performances.⁸⁴⁹ S. C. Yarrington’s probable relationship to this Yarrington may have been crucial to the development of his glazing business. Yarrington and Bacon were operating in the same business sphere as Crouse and Stevenson in the Market Place, and advertisements of the period often list both businesses under sellers. This Stevenson was publisher William Stevenson, who worked with stained-glass importer J. C. Hampp in the early nineteenth century.⁸⁵⁰ Hampp was a pivotal business connection for S. C. Yarrington in establishing himself as an expert in the re-setting of continental stained-glass fragments. The importance of this association between Hampp and S. C. Yarrington was recognised by William Warrington, who in 1848 described “Mr. Yarrington [sic] of Norwich” as the glazier who in the early part of the century was employed in the re-leading of glass imported by J. C. Hampp.⁸⁵¹ It is possible that the professional standing and business connections of the elder Yarrington in the city of Norwich allowed for S. C. Yarrington to forge his later working relationship with Hampp.

It is difficult to determine the precise year in which S. C. Yarrington first established his glazing business in Norwich. Hampp was importing stained glass into Norwich in 1802 and it is possible that Yarrington may have been setting imported glass from this early date, as Haward has suggested.⁸⁵² The earliest reference to Yarrington’s glazing business dates to 1811, at which time Yarrington was listed as a “Plumber and Glazier” on “King

⁸⁴⁹ “BILIUS and other COMPLAINTS of the STOMACH,” 4; “For the BENEFIT of Mr. and Mrs. FISHER,” 3.

⁸⁵⁰ Ives, “Stained Glass. To be Sold by Auction,” 7.

⁸⁵¹ Warrington, *The History of Stained Glass*, 69.

⁸⁵² Haward, *Nineteenth Century Norfolk Stained Glass*, 217.

street opposite Compasses” in Berry’s Norwich directory.⁸⁵³ The wording of this listing suggests that Yarrington did not yet have the facilities necessary to offer glass painting and firing at his workshop at this time. An advertisement posted in the *NC&NG* in January 1813 allows one to date the period in which Yarrington’s business developed to include the painting, staining, and firing of stained glass to 1811-1813:

STAINED GLASS.
SAMUEL YARRINGTON,
PLUMBER, GLAZIER, HOUSE PAINTER,
And GLASS STAINED,
KING STREET (near Tomblend), NORWICH,
EXECUTES FIGURES, ARMS, ORNAMENTS, and every kind of Device, from ancient and modern designs, upon reasonable terms. Specimens of which may be seen as above. Ancient Stained Windows re-glazed, and the defective parts restored, with the nicest attention to the original.⁸⁵⁴

This inclusion of the term “GLASS STAINED” is particularly significant as it marks Yarrington’s business apart from that of other plumber-glaziers. Even as late as 1830 Yarrington is listed as the only glass stainer in the city, with his premises still being listed on King Street.⁸⁵⁵ It is unclear how long Yarrington continued his work as a house painter and plumber alongside painting, staining, firing and leading glass after this advertisement was posted. However, it is not clear whether Yarrington ever actually painted his own glass. It seems equally likely that the growth in his business following working with Hampp and Stevenson meant that Yarrington was able to employ others with these skills in his workshop with the skills necessary to produce new stained-glass panels.

⁸⁵³ C. Berry, *A Concise History and Directory of the City of Norwich for 1811: Containing Besides the Lists, a Variety of Local Information, Useful and Interesting to Residents and Strangers* (Norwich Printed by C. Berry, jun. Dove-lane, 1810), 135.

⁸⁵⁴ “STAINED GLASS,” 1.

⁸⁵⁵ Pigot and Co., *National Commercial Directory* (1830), 49.

There are numerous examples of glazing schemes which were produced by Yarrington in which glass painted and fired by Robert Allen of Lowestoft was used, all of which are listed in the Robert Allen entry of this appendix. As there are no records of Allen being employed by Yarrington, it seems likely that Yarrington purchased finished panels which Allen painted and fired at his Lowestoft workshop. In addition, Yarrington employed the skilled glass painter James George Zobel. Zobel was employed by Yarrington from at least 1826, although it seems likely that he began working for Yarrington much earlier than this. He only stopped working for Yarrington at the death of the latter in 1846. Zobel was certainly a senior figure in the business, and according to his notebook he had jurisdiction over the work of other employees as well as control of the kiln.⁸⁵⁶ Between December 1846 and December 1846 Zobel gives details of a number of glazing projects, including a list of the different firings carried out by the studio.⁸⁵⁷ Yarrington's workshop was a large-scale enterprise which employed as many as nine men in the 1830s.⁸⁵⁸ Names of these men occur in Zobel's diary and notebook, including Dury, Fenn, Harford, Lucas, Moore, Mimms, Parish, Parston, and Rulludge, in addition to Zobel himself.⁸⁵⁹ Yarrington's workshop produced numerous stained-glass schemes throughout East Anglia, many of which are detailed in appendix II.

Yarrington died in December 1846, at which point his workshop was disbanded and the contents sold at auction over three days on 17- 19 March 1847 inclusive. The catalogue from the first sale day gives great insight into the contents of Yarrington's

⁸⁵⁶ Notebook of James George Zobel.

⁸⁵⁷ Ibid., Dec 31, 1844-Dec 18, 1846.

⁸⁵⁸ Haward, *Nineteenth Century Norfolk Stained Glass*, 193.

⁸⁵⁹ Diary of James George Zobel, 1827-1858, c. December 10-13, 1848; Notebook of James George Zobel.

studio.⁸⁶⁰ At the time of his death Yarrington's business was thriving and his skills as a glazier were well known, as is suggested by the fact that he was buried at Norwich Cathedral. The slab from Yarrington's grave is situated in the south walk of the cloister, many of these stones having been moved from the cloister garth.⁸⁶¹ The inscription reads:

In Memory of
SAMUEL CARTER
YARRINGTON.
who died Dec^r 1st
1846
Aged 65 Years

MARY YARRINGTON
Died March 4th 1850
Aged 61 Years.

Zobel, James George (1791-1879)

Little is known of James George Zobel's career trajectory prior to his role in Yarrington's Norwich workshop, however it seems that he was trained in London.⁸⁶² Upon moving to Norwich Zobel began working for Yarrington, whom he was employed by for the majority of his career. Zobel came from a family of artisans. His father, Benjamin Zobel (1762-1831), was originally from Memmingen in Bavaria and trained as an oil and miniature painter in Amsterdam before arriving in London c. 1783.⁸⁶³ Benjamin Zobel was engaged by the Ecchardt Brothers in Chelsea, who manufactured patterned fabrics and wallpapers,⁸⁶⁴ before being employed as a "table decorator" in the court of George III.⁸⁶⁵

⁸⁶⁰ Ives, "Stained Glass. To be Sold by Auction."

⁸⁶¹ Gudrun Warren, *And then the Heaven Espy: The Windows of Norwich Cathedral* (Aldeburgh: The Fitzwater Press, 2017), 74.

⁸⁶² This is supported by J. K. Edwards, who briefly discusses Zobel as representative of new industry in Norwich. Edwards stated that Zobel "came to Norwich from London where he served an apprenticeship to a glass-stainer," although it is unclear what source Edwards has gathered this information from (Edwards, "Communications and Trade," 150).

⁸⁶³ Zobel, "The Late Mr. Zobel," 2.

⁸⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 2.

⁸⁶⁵ Hughes, "Decorating the Georgian Dessert Table," 1145.

It seems that James George Zobel and his younger brother George Zobel (1810-81) were both born in London, with George establishing a business as an engraver in the city, where he exhibited work from 1854 to 1879.⁸⁶⁶

It is unclear exactly when Zobel moved to Norwich. In his obituary his brother George writes that J. G. Zobel had been living in the city for more than fifty years.⁸⁶⁷ It seems that he actually resided in the city for closer to sixty years. Zobel, a keen watercolourist, exhibited with *The Norwich Society of Artists* (1805-33) twice, firstly in 1819 with exhibit number 129 "St Andrew" and 133 "St Peter", and secondly in 1833 with exhibits number sixty-seven and sixty-seven a, both titled "Landscape and Cattle."⁸⁶⁸ This would suggest that Zobel was living in Norwich by 1819, the year he turned twenty-eight. It is also difficult to pinpoint exactly when he first entered the employment of Yarrington, for whom Zobel worked until the end of 1846 when his employer passed away. Certainly by 1826 Zobel was working for Yarrington, as one can tell from an article describing the new East window at Norwich Cathedral published in the *Norfolk Chronicle and Norwich Gazette* on May 6. This article describes the "restoration" of a Transfiguration scene, which in actual fact was an entirely new window of the same subject "in vitrified colours from a picture by Julio Romano, in the possession of Mr W Wilkins, by that ingenious artist, Mr Zobel (in the employment of Mr Yarrington of Norwich)."⁸⁶⁹ As Zobel was employed by Yarrington for the majority of his career it is difficult to distinguish which windows Zobel would have worked on directly. However, examining his notebook and

⁸⁶⁶ "ZOBEL, George J. (1810-1881), Engraver (Mezzotint)."

⁸⁶⁷ George Zobel, "Mr. Zobel," 2.

⁸⁶⁸ Rajnai and Stevens, *The Norwich Society of Artists*, 95.

⁸⁶⁹ "On Sunday last, the Large East Window," 2.

diary can give us some insight into projects he was definitely involved in.⁸⁷⁰ Windows at Aylsham, St Michael, (Norfolk), Norwich Cathedral (Norfolk), Loddon, Holy Trinity, and Stisted Hall (Essex) can be directly connected to Zobel and details of these schemes are included in appendix II. It is important to be aware that when one talks about the output of Yarrington's workshop in general it is highly likely that Zobel would have played an instrumental role in the production of the glass.

Following the death of Yarrington in 1846, Zobel continued to practice as a glass stainer in his own premises on Lady's Lane, Bethel Street, near the established business of fellow glass stainer John Dixon. On 24 April 1847 Zobel placed an advertisement: "WANTED, AN Order, to execute in STAINED GLASS, the Twelve Apostles with their appropriate Emblems [...] designed by J. G. Zobel, some years in the employ in the Glass-staining Business, with the late Mr. S. C. Yarrington, of King-street, Norwich."⁸⁷¹ No full window schemes have been attributed to Zobel after the close of Yarrington's workshop. J. G. Zobel died at the age of eighty-eight in Bishopgate Hospital, Norwich, on 28 March 1879, where he was a resident for some years before his death.⁸⁷² He was buried in Norwich Cemetery on 3 April of the same year. His wife, Margaret Postle Zobel, died at the age of seventy-three and was buried in the same cemetery 25 March 1882.⁸⁷³

⁸⁷⁰ Diary of James Games Zobel and Notebook of James George Zobel.

⁸⁷¹ "STAINED GLASS," 1.

⁸⁷² George Zobel, "Mr. Zobel," 2.

⁸⁷³ Diary of James George Zobel, frontispiece.

Appendix II: Glazing Scheme Gazetteer

Information is provided on East Anglian glazing schemes pertinent to this thesis. These schemes are identified by place name and are listed alphabetically.

Aylsham, St Michael (Norfolk)

White described the church at Aylsham as having been recently “repaired and beautified” in his 1845 directory for Norfolk.⁸⁵⁴ Yarrington installed several stained-glass windows between 1842 and 1844 which were likely commissioned as part of this larger restoration project.⁸⁵⁵ The East window and window sII were installed in 1842-1843 and several windows in the north and south aisles were then installed in 1844. The East window is composed of four large-scale figures of St Peter, St Paul, St John and St Andrew. Various arms and Tudor imagery are featured in the tracery glass. The three-light window sV contains a sixteenth-century German figure of St John in the central light. The tracery panels of this window were donated by Yarrington and bear the inscription: “S. C. Yarrington of Norwich gave these nine upper Compartments A.D. 1844.” This tracery features four of the Evangelists which are painted in the mode of Zobel, who was working for Yarrington at this time. These figures were derived from earlier etchings which were also used as source material for the tracery lights at Loddon, Holy Trinity, as is discussed in chapter five. A restored figure of St John the Evangelist in window sIX in sixteenth-century French glass must also have been installed by Yarrington.

⁸⁵⁴ White, *History, Gazetteer, and Directory of Norfolk, and the County of the City of Norwich*, 452.

⁸⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 452.

Blickling Hall (Norfolk)

The Great Hall staircase window was installed between 1804 and 1829. Twelve large-scale panels of modified French and German glass fill the window. Eight of these panels originated from the Steinfeld Abbey cloister and featured in Hampp's 1804 sale catalogue: Nativity of Christ, St Paul and St Norbert, Virgin Mary and St Potentinus, Flight into Egypt, St Quirinus, St Quirinus and scene of his martyrdom, Christ appears to the Three Maries and Christ appears to St Thomas.⁸⁵⁶ It is likely that all twelve of the panels were extended in order to fit the window openings.⁸⁵⁷ The glass was removed from the window by the eleventh Marquis of Lothian in 1935 before being installed in the East window of the Church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Erpingham (Norfolk) in 1953. The conditions of this church led to the removal of the glass in 1994, at which time the panels were conserved before being re-installed in their earlier location at Blickling Hall.⁸⁵⁸

Brockdish, St Peter and St Paul (Norfolk)

Window sIV has recently been attributed to John Winter, c. 1851.⁸⁵⁹ Stylistic similarities also suggest that Winter was responsible for windows nII, nIII, and windows sII to sV over a similar period, likely during 1852, at which time the rector undertook the restoration and refitting of the church.⁸⁶⁰ One roundel in window sIII might have been imported from

⁸⁵⁶ David King, "The Steinfeld Cloister Glazing," *Gesta* 37 (1998) 2: 207, accessed Jan 5, 2021, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/767260>.

⁸⁵⁷ Haward, *Nineteenth Century Norfolk Stained Glass*, 282.

⁸⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁸⁵⁹ Murphy, *Brockdish: A Guide*, 26.

⁸⁶⁰ William White, *History, Gazetteer and Directory of Norfolk, including the City of Norwich, and comprising a General Survey of the County and separate Historical, Statistical, and Topographical descriptions of all the Hundreds, Boroughs, Towns, Ports, Parishes, Townships, Chapelries, Villages, Hamlets, Manors, and Unions; the Diocese of Norwich; the Seats of the Nobility and Gentry; Magistrates and Public Officers; and a Great Variety of Archaeological, Architectural, Agricultural, Biographical, Botanical, Geological, and Ornithological Information* (Sheffield: William White, Hoole's Chambers, Bank Street, 1883; London: Simpkin, Marshall & Co., 1883), 169.

the Continent (2c). Others in the scheme have clearly been made to imitate this style. A number of roundels in the above listed windows are based off the same visual source as roundels from the East window at Earsham, All Saints. The execution of these panels across the two churches points to the fact that there were produced by painters from the same workshop. Geometric decorative glass has been used to surround the figurative roundels at Brockdish. Interior access to window nII has been limited by the addition of an air pump to the pipe organ.

Buckenham, St Nicholas (Norfolk)

John Chambers recorded that the East window was installed by Yarrington in 1823 at the patronage of the incumbent, Reverend Thomas Beauchamp Proctor (see Chedgrave, All Saints; Langley, St Michael; Loddon, Holy Trinity and Thurton, St Ethelbert). He described the subjects of the Buckenham window as “St Nicholas, with the four Evangelists, with rich Gothic canopies, cherubim, &c.”⁸⁶¹ The remains of the window suggest that these figures were of monumental scale and nineteenth-century design, probably similar to those at Langley which were also installed in 1823 by Yarrington. The figures no longer survive at Buckenham. Birkin Haward visited this church in 1980 to find the glass removed to King’s workshop and the openings boarded up. This was done as a reaction to vandalism, which likely accounts for the loss of significant portions of this window.⁸⁶² This redundant church is now in the care of the Churches Conservation Trust and the traces of the original stained-glass scheme have been re-installed in the East window. Canopies remain in lights a to d, and a pedestal has been moved into the space of the final canopy

⁸⁶¹ Chambers, *A General History of the County of Norfolk*, vol. 3, 1039.

⁸⁶² Haward, *Nineteenth Century Norfolk Stained Glass*, Buckenham S Nicholas gazetteer entry.

in light e. The tops of the main lights and the tracery panels are filled with cherubs against a background of clouds, and a sun is visible in the upper panel. This arrangement is comparable to that at Thurton, St Ethelbert. Window nVI contains two small fragments of glass in the tracery lights which may be from a later scheme as C1 seems to read “1843,” although this text is partly obscured by heavy lead repairs.

Castle Rising, St Lawrence (Norfolk)

Chambers wrote that the West window of this church was made by Yarrington and installed in 1812 at the behest of the incumbent Reverend William Fawcett. He described the design as depicting a “figure of St. Simon, bordure &c.”⁸⁶³ Further details of this scheme are unclear as this window was replaced with a “Sheps and angel” scene which Haward tentatively attributed to William Wailes (1808-1881), c. 1860s.⁸⁶⁴ In addition to the West window, the East window was filled with a collection of figurative medallions, which may have been the work of Yarrington, until their de-installation in c. 1975.⁸⁶⁵

Chedgrave, All Saints (Norfolk)

Chambers recorded that Yarrington installed the East window in 1819 at the bequest of Reverend Thomas Beauchamp Proctor (see Buckenham, St Nicholas).⁸⁶⁶ He described the window as depicting “St. James, St. Thomas, St. John, and other saints in rich colours.” This window was installed as part of a wider scheme of restoration at the church, as indicated by a small wall painting which was painted in imitation of a hanging sign and reads: “This Church Repaired *And – Beautified*; A.D 1819.” The majority of the stained

⁸⁶³ Chambers, *A General History of the County of Norfolk*, vol. 3, 1038.

⁸⁶⁴ Haward, *Nineteenth Century Norfolk Stained Glass*, Castle Rising S Lawrence gazetteer entry.

⁸⁶⁵ Ibid., Castle Rising S Lawrence gazetteer entry.

⁸⁶⁶ Chambers, *A General History of the County of Norfolk*, vol. 3, 1039.

glass used in this window was bought from the Continent by Hampp in 1802 and was purchased by Lady Beauchamp Proctor (see Buckenham, St Nicholas; Langley, St Michael, Loddon, Holy Trinity and Thurton, St Ethelbert).⁸⁶⁷ Some of the glass is recorded in Hampp's 1804 book of sale, with panels from the Steinfeld Abbey cloister glazing, including two panels depicting kneeling monks in Premonstratensian habits and a panel illustrating Joseph sold to the Ishmaelites.⁸⁶⁸ The window was rearranged by King of Norwich in c. 1960, at which time additional glass was added and some of the nineteenth-century glass was removed.⁸⁶⁹ Two medieval fragments are set against patterned quarries in the tracery panel of window sII, which Haward suggests could also be an original setting of 1819 in light of evidence at Nowton, St Peter.⁸⁷⁰

Coddenham, St Mary (Suffolk)

Yarington installed the East window at this church in 1832 with glass supplied by the patron of the scheme, Reverend John Longe (1765-1834).⁸⁷¹ The window contained the arms of eighteen successive owners of Shrubland Park in the main lights and the arms of John Longe in a prominent position in the centre of the tracery.⁸⁷² Yarington would have fabricated the arms of Longe as well as the surround glass into which the panels depicting the historic armorials were placed. This window was replaced in 1894 and therefore little is known regarding the final scheme of the window designed by Longe and Yarington.

⁸⁶⁷ Haward, *Nineteenth Century Norfolk Stained Glass*, Chedgrave All Saints gazetteer entry.

⁸⁶⁸ King, "The Steinfeld Cloister Glazing," 207.

⁸⁶⁹ Haward, *Nineteenth Century Norfolk Stained Glass*, Chedgrave All Saints gazetteer entry.

⁸⁷⁰ Ibid., Chedgrave All Saints gazetteer entry.

⁸⁷¹ Longe, *The Diary of John Longe*, 134-135 and 142-143.

⁸⁷² Ibid., xxvii.

Costessey Hall, St Augustine Chapel (Norfolk)

The Catholic chapel at Costessey Hall was built as a place of worship for the Jerningham family of the Hall and the local Catholic community. It was constructed in 1809 under the patronage of Sir William Jerningham (1736-1809).⁸⁷³ The chapel glazing scheme consisted of twenty-two large windows filled with continental glass purchased from Hampp.⁸⁷⁴ The stained glass was removed from the chapel when Costessey Hall was sold in 1913 and it was sold to dealer Grosvenor Thomas for sixteen thousand pounds. Both the chapel and Hall were demolished soon after this sale.⁸⁷⁵

Denton, St Mary (Norfolk)

The East window of this church offers an impressive collection of fragments and small panels of stained glass dating from the medieval period to the eighteenth century. This is a remarkably early Georgian composite window, pre-dating most in the county by over a century and it was originally installed by Joshua Price in c. 1716-1719.⁸⁷⁶ The glass for the window was collected by rector Postlethwaite.⁸⁷⁷ Haward argues that the lower half of the window was likely reset in the first half of the nineteenth century and that five of the panels were probably made by Ward and Nixon.⁸⁷⁸

⁸⁷³ Shepard, "Our Fine Gothic Magnificence," 187.

⁸⁷⁴ Full details of the collection of stained glass formerly installed at St Augustine chapel can be found in Maurice Drake and Aymer Vallance, *The Costessey Collection of Stained Glass, formerly in the Possession of George William Jerningham 8th Baron Stafford of Costessey in the County of Norfolk* (Exeter: Pollard, 1920).

⁸⁷⁵ Shepard, "Our Fine Gothic Magnificence," 187.

⁸⁷⁶ Haward, *Nineteenth Century Norfolk Stained Glass*, Denton S Mary gazetteer entry.

⁸⁷⁷ King, *Stained Glass Tours around Norfolk Churches*, 26.

⁸⁷⁸ Haward, *Nineteenth Century Norfolk Stained Glass*, Denton S Mary gazetteer entry.

Depden, St Margaret (Suffolk)

The East window of Depden church was installed in 1842 by an unknown glazier, although Haward suggests that Yarrington may be responsible for this scheme.⁸⁷⁹ An article in the *B&NP* wrote that “the most exquisite portions” of this window were purchased at the Strawberry Hill sale of April-May 1842.⁸⁸⁰ The glass was purchased by agent T. Whitaker at the expense of the current rector of the church. Whitaker advertised himself as an agent for the stained-glass sale at Strawberry Hill.⁸⁸¹ He also appears in a 1939 directory of Suffolk as a “House & Ornamental Pntr” living on Whiting Street, Bury St Edmunds.⁸⁸² Despite the claims of the *B&NP*, it seems that the majority of the stained glass in this window was not purchased at this sale. The window contains a combination of imported continental and English nineteenth-century glass. The majority of the continental stained-glass in the window was originally installed in Steinfeld Abbey’s cloister. The Steinfeld panels depict Moses and the Burning Bush; Elijah resurrects the Young Boy; the Triumph of David; Job mocked by his Wife; Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego before Nebuchadnezzar; Christ Carrying the Cross and the Deposition of Christ.⁸⁸³ Smaller panels of unusual ogee and quatrefoil shapes are positioned in lights a and c. These are set against stained and painted quarries comparable to those seen in window sII at Chedgrave, All Saints. The upper panels of the main lights are filled with fourteenth-century canopies which may be original to the church. Two of the tracery lights are filled with nineteenth-century heraldic stained glass depicting the arms of King Henry VII and Queen Victoria. In addition to the East window, windows nIV, sV and sVI each feature a

⁸⁷⁹ Ibid., 282.

⁸⁸⁰ “We have been much gratified (observes a respectable informant),” editorial, *B&NP*, Oct 19, 1842, 2.

⁸⁸¹ “STRAWBERRY HILL SALE. GREAT SALE OF ANCIENT STAINED GLASS!”, 2.

⁸⁸² Robson, *Robson’s Commercial Directory of the Six Counties Forming the Norfolk Circuit*, Suffolk 26.

⁸⁸³ King, “The Steinfeld Cloister Glazing,” 208.

single tracery panel of decorative and vividly coloured glass in the style of Yarington.

Window nIV also contained decorative glass in the main lights until c. 1985 and it seems likely that the two south windows may have been glazed in a similar fashion previously.⁸⁸⁴

Fire damage to the church in this year caused serious breakage to light b of window nIV and this was replaced with plain glazing in the style of windows sV and sVI.⁸⁸⁵

Ditchingham, St Mary (Norfolk)

Windows nII, sII, and sIII were installed by an unknown firm of glaziers and painters in 1822 at the behest of the incumbent, Reverend J. Newling.⁸⁸⁶ These windows contain only nineteenth-century glass and do not appear to have been rearranged. Small restorations have been made which follow the original design of the windows. Silver stain features as the predominant colouring across all three windows, including in the decorative foliate borders in each light. Tudor imagery was also used across all three windows in the form of decorative roses and portcullises. Window sII is a memorial to seven of the church's incumbent ministers, including Newling, all of whom are named in the window. An inscription at the base of light b reads "rs & Painters," the first half of this text has been lost and an infill repair panel has been inserted. Windows nII and sIII contain panels which are copies of engravings taken from older artworks. Three copies of a William Fowler engraving which depicts William de Berdwell (1805),⁸⁸⁷ and one of an engraving after Meynnart Wewyck's painting of Lady Margaret Beaufort.⁸⁸⁸ The Fowler copies have been

⁸⁸⁴ Several black and white photographs of the damaged window are available in RK&S, folder H113 Depden and Chevington, KNG 2/2/6/111, NRO, Norwich.

⁸⁸⁵ King and Son (Lead Glaziers) Ltd, Letter to Whitworth, Hall and Thomas Architects, Feb 28, 1985, RK&S, Folder H113 Depden and Chevington, KNG 2/2/6/111, NRO, Norwich.

⁸⁸⁶ Haward, *Nineteenth Century Norfolk Stained Glass*, 275.

⁸⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 275.

⁸⁸⁸ Chen and Bolland, "Meynnart Wewyck and the Portrait of Lady Margaret Beaufort."

altered to bear the arms of Newling's donors: Sir Rowland Hill of St John's College, Cambridge (light a, sIII), Howard Duke of Norfolk (light a, nII), and Bedingfield (light b, nII).⁸⁸⁹ The painting of Margret Beaufort has been owned by St John's College since 1534 which explains why this was chosen as the accompanying panel for Hill's arms in window sIII (light b).

Earsham, All Saints (Norfolk)

Continental stained glass was installed in two periods at this church during the early decades of the nineteenth century. White wrote that "the south windows were decorated with stained glass by the late Joseph Windham, Esq., an eminent antiquary, who died in 1810."⁸⁹⁰ Joseph Windham (1739-1810) was the owner of Earsham Hall and he paid for the installation of windows sV and sVI in c. 1802-1810. It is likely that the stonework of these windows was altered at this time in order to accommodate the glazing scheme. Both windows featured a single large stained-glass panel, these were surrounded by decorative nineteenth-century glass and some historic continental and English nineteenth-century roundels. Window sV was originally centred around a large panel depicting Joseph with Grain Sacks. This panel was imported from the Continent by Hampp and a related panel is currently in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York).⁸⁹¹ The latter is described by the Museum as French and Rouen (c. 1530) is given as the likely place of origin, a provenance which can also be ascribed to the panel at

⁸⁸⁹ Haward, *Nineteenth Century Norfolk Stained Glass*, 276.

⁸⁹⁰ White, *History, Gazetteer, and Directory of Norfolk* (1845), 725.

⁸⁹¹ Metropolitan Museum of Art, "Joseph's Brethren Discover Money in their Grain Sacks."

Earsham. Window sVI featured a historic panel which depicted the Last Rites, likely taken from a Seven Sacraments cycle.

Although the East window was created in a similar style to those of the south aisle, and also incorporated historic continental stained-glass panels into a highly colourful and decorative surround, this window was not installed until 1863. The window was installed at the expense of the rector and Sir William Windham Dalling (1775-1864), the latter of whom was the owner of Earsham Hall after Joseph Windham's death.⁸⁹² The relatively late date of this installation supports the identification of John Winter (1791-1867) as the glazier and glass painter responsible. A number of figurative roundels may be based on earlier work by Robert Allen, and comparable examples by Winter can be found at Brockdish, St Peter and St Paul. It is possible that some of the glass used in this window was previously installed in window nIV. The tracery of this north nave window contains glass which contains decorative panels in the style of Yarrington's workshop c. late 1810s-1820s, both in terms of the colour palette and decorative patterns (compare to the nave tracery lights at Depden, St Mary). The main lights of window nIV are now filled with clear grisaille glass and there is no evidence of what was previously installed here.

Windows sV, sVI, and the East window were drastically altered in 1953.⁸⁹³ The stonework of the south aisle windows was altered to reflect what was considered to be the original (pre-nineteenth century) form of the windows. The nineteenth-century surround glass was removed from the south nave windows and the large panels were

⁸⁹² White, *History, Gazetteer and Directory of Norfolk* (1883), 252.

⁸⁹³ Estimate., The Archive of G. King and Son (Lead Glaziers), Earsham H344, KNG 2/2/6/335, NRO, Norwich.

swapped so that the Joseph panel is now in window sVI and the Last Rites is in window sV. Some of the glass from these windows was inserted into the East window which has also been drastically re-arranged and now includes clear grisaille surrounds in a number of panels.

Felbrigg Hall (Norfolk)

The Hall underwent major alterations in c. 1840, which included the installation of an ambitious glazing scheme in the Great Hall. This work was undertaken by Norwich glazier John Dixon at the behest of William Howe Windham (1802-1854).⁸⁹⁴ Imported continental stained glass, nineteenth-century heraldry and decorative pieces have been combined with fifteenth-century panels from St Peter Mancroft, Norwich. Dixon dramatically altered the East window at St Peter Mancroft in 1838 while also contributing new glass to the tracery lights of six windows on the south side of the church.⁸⁹⁵ Each of the four windows is comprised of two rows of glazing, with stained glass restricted to the upper portions of the windows. Fifteen large-scale figurative panels were in place across three of the windows, three of which were in the West Bay window and are thought to have been originally made for the Toppes Window at St Peter Mancroft in Norwich.⁸⁹⁶ Three further fifteenth-century panels are arranged in the top row of window sII. The remaining nine large panels are copies of originals from St Peter Mancroft. In addition to these, window sI and the South Bay Window feature a number of historic continental roundels. Those in window sI are all religious scenes, as is in keeping with the three Dixon copies of Peter Mancroft panels in the row below, which depict the Visitation, the Annunciation and

⁸⁹⁴ David King, "Norfolk: Felbrigg Hall."

⁸⁹⁵ See below for the gazetteer entry on St Peter Mancroft.

⁸⁹⁶ Ibid.

Adoration of the Shepherds and finally The Adoration of the Magi. Window sII contains a mixture of smaller continental panels, including a numerous Swiss armorial panels and other assorted coats of arms, some of which are nineteenth-century English panels. Nineteenth-century heraldic arms dominate row 2 of the north window. These arms represent the Windham and Hervey families and they have been set in fields of nineteenth-century patterns and inscriptions which make up the panels. Few changes have been made to the glazing scheme since the original period of installation. The most significant alteration was the removal of panel 3a from the West Bay window. This fifteenth-century panel was returned to St Peter Mancroft for exhibition and a copy of this was made by Dennis King and placed in the West Bay window in 1983. This replacement is still in place at Felbrigg Hall.

Great Saxham, St Andrew (Suffolk)

The East window and window sII were filled with glass which was collected by William Mills of Great Saxham Hall (c. 1778-1859) in France and Switzerland in 1815. The stained-glass windows were installed in the same year by his father Thomas Mills snr. (1748/9-1834), who previously rebuilt the church in 1798. The design and provenance of these windows was recorded in detail by David Elisha Davy (1769-1851) in 1828.⁸⁹⁷ An undated watercolour painting by Ann Mills (1795-1827) of the chancel also depicts these two windows in their original form.⁸⁹⁸ This arrangement was still in place when John Gage (1786-1842) visited the church in the late 1830s, as he recorded the same windows were

⁸⁹⁷ COLLECTIONS by David Elisha Davy, son of David Davy, of Rumburgh Hill, Suffolk, for a parochial history of Suffolk; including copies of charters and of inscriptions, with plans and drawings of churches, brasses, coats of arms, etc ; in alphabetical order of hundreds. In thirty-seven volumes, Vol. 2, 209, Add MS 191078, Western Manuscripts, British Library, London.

⁸⁹⁸ A copy of this image is available in the church (correct at time of visit, May 2014).

filled with continental glass as Davy did in the previous decade.⁸⁹⁹ These two windows, including the stonework, were altered in c. 1847. Haward suggested that the tracery glass currently in window sII was made by glazier Charles Clutterbuck of Stratford, Essex (1806-1861).⁹⁰⁰ Clutterbuck also installed windows at Stutton St Peter (Suffolk) at this time. Reverend Thomas Mills jnr. was incumbent at both Great Saxham and Stutton at this time and it would follow that he would employ the same glazier across his churches. The re-arrangement of stained glass in window sII and the East window was likely undertaken at this time. This would have included the new stonework design for the East window, which added tracery lights. The Swiss glass now present in the West window may have been placed here at this time.

Great Yarmouth, 4 South Quay (Norfolk)

The merchant house of 4 South Quay was built in c. 1596 by Benjamin Cowper and is currently open to the public as the Elizabethan House Museum under the management of the Norfolk Museums Service for the National Trust. According to David King, stained glass was introduced to the house in 1814, as suggested by graffiti on one of the windows which reads "J. Palmer" alongside this date.⁹⁰¹ John Danby Palmer purchased the house in 1809 and the installation of stained glass was part of a larger series of alterations at the property, which included re-building the main staircase.⁹⁰² Stained glass is currently installed in the round-headed staircase window, ground-floor kitchen, and the first-floor gallery. The staircase window has undergone minor alterations, however the glass found

⁸⁹⁹ Gage, *The History and Antiquities of Suffolk*, 113.

⁹⁰⁰ Haward, *Nineteenth Century Suffolk Stained Glass*, Gt. Saxham St Andrew gazetteer entry.

⁹⁰¹ King, "The Stained Glass at the Elizabethan House Museum."

⁹⁰² Ibid.

in other areas of the house represents a twentieth-century rearrangement of the glass, and it is possible that some panels were introduced to the building in 1972.⁹⁰³ The staircase window includes many small panels and fragments of foreign glass, including fragments from the Steinfeld Abbey cloister.⁹⁰⁴

Hawstead, All Saints (Suffolk)

The main lights of window nII include numerous panels and roundels of both English and foreign origin. Four roundels bearing the iconography of the Evangelists in lights a and c. These are nineteenth-century copies of a set of fifteenth-century roundels in window nIII at King's Lynn, St Margaret's Church. A further two roundels feature in light b alongside two panels which appear to be Swiss. The first of these Swiss panels depicts the figures of St Peter and St Paul, with fragmentary diminutive figures of a Bishop, St Catherine, and the crossed keys of St Peter above and donors, fragments, and a coat of arms below (panel 3b). The second features the Crucifixion as the central scene, although fragments from other sources have been introduced at the base of the cross (panel 1b). Small scenes are featured above the scene, and the donors are pictured below on either side of their familial arms. Text in the bottom of the panel gives this panel a date of 1603 and the panel has been signed "AW" Five armorial panels are placed across the three lights, one of which has been abraded with the phrase "John Putter Glazed this window Sep 1707." Angelic figures fill the six tracery panels, those in panels A1 and A6 being more historic than the other four. It is unclear when this glass was first installed in this church and what the original surrounds may have been. Despite this, the geographic proximity to other

⁹⁰³ Ibid.

⁹⁰⁴ Ibid.

early nineteenth-century Yarrington schemes, and the presence of continental stained-glass pieces suggest that the current form of this window may represent later nineteenth-century alterations to an earlier Yarrington design.

Hedenham, St Peter (Norfolk)

Yarrington is recorded as having installed five windows at this church, including the East window, in 1827. This was the same year that Reverend John P. Chambers (incumbent 1812-59) led a major scheme of works for the restoration and renewal of the church fabric.⁹⁰⁵ Little of this scheme remains. Decorative elements point to the work of Yarrington, notably the narrow band of surround glass framing a nineteenth-century Christ, Man of Sorrows roundel in window sVI, and pieces in the upper portions of window sIV (red diamond panels and some rosettes). Two other versions of this Christ roundel are present in other Norfolk churches, the first in the East window at Earsham, All Saints and the second in window sIII at Brockdish, St Peter and St Paul. The latter of these panels is more rudimentary in execution and only depicts the figure from the neck upwards. The presence of this panel at Hedenham points to the possible involvement of Winter in the stained-glass scheme at this church. It is conceivable that his workshop added glass to or altered the earlier Yarrington settings in the 1850s or 1860s. Further stained-glass panels remain in windows nIV and nV which may be the remains of the earlier Yarrington scheme, including three heraldic panels. Nineteenth-century pieces also feature in these two windows, including two roundels, one bearing "IHS" and "IHC." In addition, two quarries depict the crossed keys of St Peter and a further two quarries are decorated with floral designs. These windows also contain a small amount of coloured

⁹⁰⁵ Haward, *Nineteenth Century Norfolk Stained Glass*, Hedenham St Peter gazetteer entry.

glass in the tracery lights of the same provenance of those in window sIV. Windows nII, nIII, sII and sIII are later Victorian and may have replaced some of the 1827 Yarrington windows.

Herringfleet, St Mary (Suffolk)

Stained glass was installed in the chancel at Herringfleet in c. 1825-32 at the expense of John Francis Leathes (d. 1848), who was lord of the Manor at Herringfleet Hall from 1817.⁹⁰⁶ Davy visited in 1832 and recorded that Leathes had “lately filled the windows of the Chancel with painted glass which he obtained from abroad, chiefly from Cologne.”⁹⁰⁷ The East window and windows sII and sIII were filled with stained glass at this time. A series of English stained-glass panels bearing proverbs can be found in King’s College Chapel, Cambridge, and a panel from this set is present in light b of the East window at Herringfleet.⁹⁰⁸ It is likely that these proverb panels came from a Norwich house before being sold by the Stevensons. King has drawn comparisons between the painting of this series and glass which he argues likely came from a house on the north side of Cutler’s Row (London Street), Norwich.⁹⁰⁹ Window nII is diminutive in scale and portrays a figure constructed of small fragments. It is likely that this window was also glazed in c. 1825-32. Fragments of glass of both English and continental origin are present across the three main windows of this scheme, including medieval English glass. The presence of panels in the style of Allen suggests that these windows can be attributed to Yarrington’s workshop. Thirteen decorative panels in Allen’s style appear across windows sII and sIII. Two

⁹⁰⁶ Davy, *A Journal of Excursions*, 198.

⁹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 198.

⁹⁰⁸ David King, “Some Sixteenth-Century Heraldic Glass-Painting in Norfolk,” *Vidimus* 124 (2019), accessed Mar 20, 2022, <https://www.vidimus.org/issues/issue-124/feature/>.

⁹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

figurative panels, including St Luke copied from an etching after Pieter de Jode I (1570-1634) in window sIII were also painted by Allen. Small rosette panels in the style of Yarrington can be found in the East window. In addition, the presence of a Gawdy armorial in the East window tracery adds weight to the argument that Yarrington was the glazier responsible for this scheme. Yarrington installed the armorial Gawdy Chapel window at Redenhall (1825, some glass removed from Gawdy Hall at an earlier date) and also included Gawdy arms in his scheme at Langley (1823).⁹¹⁰ Windows sII and sIII feature an unusual vividly coloured grid pattern setting around figurative and decorative panels. This scheme has undergone only minor repair work since it was installed and is one of the best-preserved schemes of this date in the region.

Hingham, St Andrew (Norfolk)

The East window of this church was installed by Yarrington and was given by Lord John Wodehouse, who purchased the glass in 1813. (see the entry for Kimberley, St Peter).⁹¹¹ Wodehouse purchased the majority of the stained glass on the Continent for £1500.⁹¹² The original window design was described by Chambers as “four subjects, Crucifixion, Descent from the Cross, the Resurrection, and the Ascension of Christ, with the figures of St. Ann and St. Joseph, with Gothic canopies; St. Andrew, St. George, St. Herbert, angels and ornaments.”⁹¹³ This largely accords with the window design which survives in place, which seems to be mostly true to the 1813 design. The identification of St George and St Herbert referred to the kneeling figures, which seem to have originally been donor figures

⁹¹⁰ Chambers, *A General History of the County of Norfolk*, vol. 3, 1039.

⁹¹¹ Ibid., 1038-1039.

⁹¹² Longe, *The Diary of John Longe*, 76.

⁹¹³ Chambers, *A General History of the County of Norfolk*, vol. 3, 1038-1039.

rather than saints. The main lights of the window include a large figure of a male saint who Chambers identified as Joseph. Chambers' identification is closer than that of White (1845), who wrote that the window was filled with glass "representing in figures as large as life, the Crucifixion, the Descent from the cross, the Resurrection, the Ascension, Adam and Eve, Moses, Aaron, St. Andrew, &c., all much admired for the beauty and brilliancy of the colours."⁹¹⁴ The Gothic canopies described by Chambers are decorative foliate panels using silver stain for colour against blue and red glass.

Ickworth, St Mary (Suffolk)

This church is located on the grounds of Ickworth House. A number of continental roundels are set in plain glazing throughout the church. Haward suggests that these roundels may be the remains of Frederick William Hervey's (1769-1859) collection which was likely installed in the church c. 1820.⁹¹⁵ The Church Commissioners sold the church to the owners of Ickworth House in 1986, at which time it fell into disrepair and was vandalised. Restoration of the stained glass was undertaken in 2013 following the foundation of the Ickworth Church Conservation Trust in 2006.⁹¹⁶

Kimberley, St Peter (Norfolk)

The East window and window sII were installed c. 1825.⁹¹⁷ Decorative elements, particularly in window sII, make it likely that these windows originate from Yarrington's workshop. For example, the decorative floral oval in panel 1b is typical of other schemes

⁹¹⁴ White, *History, Gazetteer, and Directory of Norfolk* (1845), 438.

⁹¹⁵ Haward, *Nineteenth Century Suffolk Stained Glass*, Ickworth St Mary gazetteer entry.

⁹¹⁶ Geoffrey Lane, "Restoring the Roundels at Ickworth," *Vidimus* 65 (2013): para. 1, accessed Jan 5, 2021, <https://vidimus.org/blogs/news/restoring-the-roundels-at-ickworth/>.

⁹¹⁷ Haward, *Nineteenth Century Norfolk Stained Glass*, Kimberley St Peter gazetteer entry.

known to have been installed by Yarrington (see Nowton St Peter, East window).

Decorative elements in the upper tracery are also in the style of Yarrington's workshop and therefore it is probable that both windows originate from this workshop. The East window is filled with glass of various periods and places of origin, including English glass dating from the fourteenth to sixteenth century, historic German glass and nineteenth-century English borders and decorative panels. Window sII also contains glass of mixed provenance, including two sixteenth-century panels from Steinfeld Abbey's cloister glazing.⁹¹⁸ These panels depict the Expulsion of the Money Changers and the Last Judgement, and these were a gift of Lord Wodehouse of Kimberley (see the entry for Hingham, St Andrew).

Lakenham, St Mark (Norfolk)

Stained-glass windows were installed by Yarrington in c. 1845 which were entirely composed of original nineteenth-century panels. This commission featured the largest number of Yarrington's large-scale figures in a single scheme. It is a rare example of Yarrington's work for a newly constructed church, as the vast majority of his schemes were made for historic buildings. The proposed scheme was to feature St Matthew, St Mark, St Luke, St John, St Peter, St Andrew, St Paul, St Barnabas, St James the Greater and St James the Lesser. These figures were to be arranged in two registers across five lights.⁹¹⁹ A photograph of the finished scheme (c. 1895) shows that the finished scheme was actually divided across five two-light windows in the apse of the church. It seems that the final arrangement chosen featured a single figure in each light. The tracery lights were glazed

⁹¹⁸ David King, "The Steinfeld Cloister Glazing," 208.

⁹¹⁹ "Lakenham New Church," editorial, *NC&NG*, Oct 5, 1844, 2.

by one Mr Culyer of St Giles and the cost of each Yarrington figure was calculated to be twelve guineas.⁹²⁰ Yarrington gave the figure of St Mark and other figures were donated by other charitable individuals in the locality. The church was damaged by bombing in 1942, at which time the East window was badly damaged. It was replaced with new stained glass by William Morris and Co. in 1953-1954.⁹²¹

Langley, St Michael (Norfolk)

Eight windows were installed by Yarrington at the church in 1823 at the behest of Sir Thomas and Lady Beauchamp Proctor (see Buckenham, St Nicholas; Chedgrave, All Saints; Loddon, Holy Trinity and Thurton, St Ethelbert).⁹²² Chambers described the scheme as: "eastern window four subjects: Simeon and the Shepherds, Offering of the Wise Men, Christ before Caiaphas, Christ before Pilate. Two windows in the chancel, armorial. Four windows in the church: the four Evangelists, with small subjects from the New Testament, coats of arms, &c. One west window, armorial bearings, &c."⁹²³

The four subjects outlined by Chambers are still in place in the two-light East window. Smaller figures under canopies are located in the upper panels, St George and Christ in Majesty in light a and two angels in light b. The single tracery panel includes cherubs and decorative elements against red and blue surround glass. Panels 1a and 1b depict Christ before Pilate and Christ before Caiaphas are nineteenth-century copies of

⁹²⁰ Ibid., 2.

⁹²¹ H. White, "February 2009. Statement of Significance," *Norfolk Heritage Explorer*, 2009, accessed Apr 13, 2020, <http://www.heritage.norfolk.gov.uk/record-details?MNF26033-Church-of-St-Mark-City-Road-Norwich&Index=24812&RecordCount=57339&SessionID=33d18856-1607-426c-9f6c-ed832c45055>.

⁹²² Chambers, *A General History of the County of Norfolk*, vol. 3, 1039.

⁹²³ Ibid., 1039.

sixteenth-century panels from Steinfeld Abbey.⁹²⁴ Window sII contains heraldry and is set against patterned quarries which may be original to the 1823 scheme. Haward suggests this is the “only Yarrington work undisturbed” in the church.⁹²⁵ Windows nII-nV, sIII and sIV feature heraldic, figurative, and decorative panels of both historic and nineteenth-century precedence (including Gawdy arms in window nII, see also Herringfleet, St Michael and Redenhall, St Mary). These panels were original to the nineteenth-century scheme but were majorly rearranged by King in the mid-twentieth century. Windows nIV, nV, sIII and sIV are three lights. In the original scheme, the centre light of each window held a single monumental Apostle figure made by Yarrington’s workshop with roundels and small panels in the flanking lights. Three of the four Apostles survive and were moved to the three light West window in the mid-twentieth century. The full nineteenth-century design of this window is unknown, although two panels are described by Chambers: “a roebuck, supporting a crosier staff” and “a wall painted and embattled, also a tun, being a rebus set forth the benefactor to this window.”⁹²⁶ The main four tracery lights of the West window are now filled with demi-figures of St Andrew, St Matthew, St Gregory, and St Matthias (panels A2-A5 respectively). These are in the style of Allen. Two other demi-figures in window nV also appear to have been painted by Allen: St James the Apostle (panel 2a) and St Bartholomew (panel 2c). The figures of St Gregory and St Bartholomew are each based on etchings after Pieter de Jode I altered to represent different saints, the original images originally represented St Thomas the Apostle and St Matthias respectively.

⁹²⁴ David King, “Norfolk: Langley, Parish Church of St Michael,” CVMA, 2010. Accessed Jan 10, 2021, <https://www.cvma.ac.uk/publications/digital/norfolk/sites/langley/history.html>.

⁹²⁵ Haward, *Nineteenth Century Norfolk Stained Glass*, Langley S Michael gazetteer entry.

⁹²⁶ John Chambers, *A General History of the County of Norfolk, intended to Convey all the Information of a Norfolk Tour, with the more Extended Details of Antiquarian, Statistical, Pictorial, Architectural, and Miscellaneous Information; including Biographical Notices, Original and Selected*, vol. 2 (Norwich: Printed by and for John Stacy. London: Sold by Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, and Green: 1829), 844.

See chapter five for further information regarding these etchings. The figure of St James the Apostle is also used by Allen at Lowestoft, St Margaret.

Little Plumstead, St Protase and St Gervase (Norfolk)

The East window was installed at the expense of the Reverend C. Penrice in 1834, who was patron and incumbent of the rectory as well as lord of the manor. This window was filled with stained glass depicting “in different compartments, the fall of man, the Redeemer, the Crucifixion, and the four Evangelists.”⁹²⁷ This glass was removed to window s11 as part of a wider programme of restoration in 1851.⁹²⁸ A photograph of this three-light arrangement, labelled “Little Plumstead-after war damage” exists at the Norfolk Archives, where the central panel of light b has sustained substantial damage.⁹²⁹ Following this damage, the stained glass was again rearranged before being re-set against plain glazing. Some of the decorative and coloured glass was removed from the scheme at this time. Decorative rosettes in the style of Yarrington’s workshop remain in this window, which suggests that he was responsible for the 1834 scheme. The panels depicting the Evangelists remain in the scheme and are in the style of Robert Allen. The depictions of St Matthew, St Luke and St John are taken from etchings after Pieter de Jode I and the St Mark image is also likely to be based on an etching. A panel depicting Christ as the Man of Sorrows was added to the window from an unknown source during the twentieth-century re-glazing. Two continental panels remain in light b of this window.

⁹²⁷ White, *History, Gazetteer, and Directory of Norfolk* (1845), 688.

⁹²⁸ Pevsner and Wilson, *Norfolk 1*, 589.

⁹²⁹ Folder 199D Little Plumstead + Great Plumstead KNG 2/2/5/198.

Loddon, Holy Trinity (Norfolk)

The five-light East window of this church was installed in 1842 and was funded by a number of local donors.⁹³⁰ White recorded that the cost of the glass was £160.⁹³¹ The central light of originally depicted “our Saviour, the Alpha and Omega, with the influence of the Holy Spirit, by the Dove descending upon him.”⁹³² The flanking lights featured twenty-eight coats of arms, ten of which were newly made for the window to represent those who patronised the scheme. This included the arms of Lady Beauchamp Proctor, who was also the patron of stained-glass schemes featuring continental imports at Chedgrave, All Saints, Langley, St Michael, and Thurton, St Ethelbert. The twelve Apostles, angels and other devices were represented in the window tracery. The Apostles were derived from earlier etchings as discussed in chapter five (also see Aylsham, St Michael). The window has been drastically altered since the date of installation, although many elements remain. The figure of Christ, holding a Crucifix labelled “Alpha& Omega” is now in window nIII. Twenty-seven of the armorials remain and these have been placed against clear glass across the five main lights of the window. The Apostles, two angelic figures, and two decorative devices remain in the tracery, although it seems likely that the clear glass which surrounds them is not original to the 1842 scheme.

Lowestoft, St Margaret (Suffolk)

Robert Allen painted the East window of this church as a gift in 1819, however this was replaced by a Heaton, Butler and Bayne window installed post-1890 (in memory to Lorina Hill Youngerman, d. 1890).⁹³³ Sections of Allen’s original window design have been

⁹³⁰ “The Parish Church, at Loddon,” editorial. *NC&NG*, Feb 26, 1842, 2.

⁹³¹ White, *History, Gazetteer, and Directory of Norfolk* (1845), 801.

⁹³² “The Parish Church, at Loddon,” 2.

⁹³³ Haward, *Nineteenth Century Suffolk Stained Glass*, Lowestoft St Margaret gazetteer entry.

retained in window sII. Nineteenth-century photographs of the church's interior, including one dated to c. 1860, are held by the Suffolk Records Office.⁹³⁴ The age and scale of these photographs makes it difficult to discern the more intricate details of the window scheme, but the remains in window sII include six scenes from the Life of Christ: The Annunciation (panel A6), the Baptism of Christ (panel E5), Christ healing the blind (1c), Christ with the Samaritan woman at the well (1a), Christ on the Cross (2b), and Christ in Ascension (panels 5b and 6b). Two angelic figures have been paired with the scenes in the tracery (panels A5 and E6), which may reflect the original configuration of glass. Large scale figures of Moses and Aaron have been placed within grisaille glass (panels 5a and 5c respectively). Six small demi-figure panels have been used across the window: St Peter (panel 1b), St Matthew (panel 1b), St James (son of Zebedee, panel 1b), St Andrew (panel 1b), St Matthew (2a), St Bartholomew (panel 2c), St Paul (panel 4b) and an unidentified Apostle (panel 4b). These diminutive series of half-length figures are translated onto glass from etchings, as is discussed in chapter five. An inscription in panel 4b reads (across four panels of glass, the first of which ("SAM^L JOHNSON GLAZ^D") has been consolidated with repair leads):

SAM ^L JOHNSON GLAZ ^D	Rev ^d RICHARD LOCKWOOD VICAR Rev ^d BART ^{EW} RITSON CURATE	JOHN ELPH. JAMES WARD CW H NEWSON, CLERK	ROBERT ALLEN PINXT LOWESTOFT 1819 Ag ^d 79
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⁹³⁴ Lowestoft, St Margaret's Church Interior, c. 1860, photograph. 1300/72/10/49, 1300 North East Suffolk Photographs and Illustrations (1785-1999), Suffolk Records Office, Lowestoft.

Merton, St Peter (Norfolk)

The East window was installed by Yarrington in 1827.⁹³⁵ Chambers wrote that this was a gift of Lord Walsingham and depicted the “arms of lord Walsingham, ornaments, &c.”⁹³⁶ This Lord Walsingham was Thomas de Grey, fifth Baron Walsingham (1804-1870) of Merton Hall. The East window was removed in c. 1854 at which time it was described as “being bad gothic + bad glass.”⁹³⁷ The provenance of this glass is unknown due to the early date of removal. It is possible that continental or historic glass was used by Yarrington in this window.

Mulbarton, St Mary Magdalen (Norfolk)

The East window of this church includes several medieval figurative panels which were installed in c. 1815 after being transferred from Martham, St Mary (Norfolk) by rector R. Spurgeon.⁹³⁸ The setting for this glass at Mulbarton was made by Dixon, who is also a likely candidate for the setting of the remaining fifteenth-century glass at Martham.⁹³⁹ Some foreign glass is installed in windows on the south side of the church, including panels depicting two donor figures in white habits from the Steinfeld Cloister glazing scheme.⁹⁴⁰ It is likely that these panels were also installed by Dixon in c. 1815.

Norwich, St Peter Mancroft (Norfolk)

For a full exploration of the glass at this church see King’s 2006 work which documents the full scheme.⁹⁴¹ The fifteenth-century glass in the East window of this church was

⁹³⁵ E. Window, Merton Church, 1827, Walsingham (Merton) Collection, WLSXLV/13/6, NRO, Norwich.

⁹³⁶ Chambers, *A General History of the County of Norfolk*, vol. 3, 1038.

⁹³⁷ Copy of the De Carle’s Bill, n.d., Walsingham (Merton) Collection, WLSXLV/13/6, NRO, Norwich.

⁹³⁸ Haward, *Nineteenth Century Norfolk Stained Glass*, Mulbarton S Mary Magd gazetteer entry.

⁹³⁹ Ibid., Martham S Mary gazetteer entry and Mulbarton S Mary Magd gazetteer entry.

⁹⁴⁰ King, “The Steinfeld Abbey Glazing,” 208.

⁹⁴¹ King, *The Medieval Stained Glass of St Peter Mancroft*.

altered by John Dixon in 1838.⁹⁴² Dixon inserted four panels into 1c, 1d, 2d, and 1e, in place of the original panels thought to have been fabricated by the Norwich school of glass-painters. Dixon also painted a large figure of St Stephen across three panels, which were installed in the centre of the window (panels 3d, 4d, and 5d). Medieval glass removed from this window was later installed at Felbrigg Hall, c. 1840. In 1881 seven panels were removed from the East window and these were replaced with Passion scenes by Clayton and Bell.⁹⁴³ The four Dixon panels in row 1 (thought to be copies of the original medieval glass) are now in window sIV of the church. Dixon also contributed to the glazing of the south side of the church, making tracery-light figures for windows sIV and sIX-sXIII inclusive.⁹⁴⁴ King states that these figures are likely to all be copies of fifteenth-century figures from several churches, including some extant glass at St Peter Mancroft.⁹⁴⁵

Norwich, Cathedral (Norfolk)

The East window was painted by Mrs Lloyd, whose husband was the Dean of Norwich from c. 1765-90. This window depicted the Transfiguration, after Raphael, and was painted with “varnished colours” and not fired.⁹⁴⁶ Zobel recreated the same scene in fired paint to replace the failing work of Mrs Lloyd in 1826, at which time he was working for Yarrington.⁹⁴⁷ This window was removed to the East end of the South Transept by 1847 and this was then destroyed by a bomb blast in 1942.⁹⁴⁸ A single fragment from this

⁹⁴² “Mr. DIXON,” 2

⁹⁴³ Sharp, *The Church of St Peter Mancroft*, 21.

⁹⁴⁴ King, *The Medieval Stained Glass of St Peter Mancroft*, xlvii.

⁹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, xlvii.

⁹⁴⁶ “On Sunday last, the Large East Window,” editorial, *NC&NG*, May 6, 1826, 2.

⁹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 2.

⁹⁴⁸ Haward, *Nineteenth Century Norfolk Stained Glass*, 223.

window, which depicts an upturned face, has been inserted into a window at the Church of St Helen on the Great Hospital site in Norwich (figure 154). Further to the East window, Yarrington began work on a window for the central crossing of the Cathedral in 1843. This glass was re-worked by William Warrington for the Presbytery clerestory windows following Yarrington's death.⁹⁴⁹ Yarrington's grave marker remains in the cloister pavement of the cathedral.

Norwich, Guildhall (Norfolk)

The council chamber features three stained-glass windows in the East wall. These windows are composed of figurative fragments and armorial panels which have been set against hexagonal-cut stained-glass fragments. It is possible that these windows were installed by John Dixon of Norwich, which would date the scheme to c. 1835-50.⁹⁵⁰ Comparisons can be drawn between this scheme and the early-eighteenth century East window at the Church of St Mary, Denton (Norfolk). This composite window was made by well-known glass painter Joshua Price, and this suggests that the Guildhall glazing might have been installed long before Dixon was born. Both English and continental historic glass has been used in these windows. The windows are described by both Chambers (1829) and White (1845). Chambers writes that in the council chamber "have now plain glass, except three at the east end of the chamber, and even there it is much to be regretted that the glass has often been broken and repaired with other pieces, containing foreign matter; the confusion thus introduced rendering it difficult, and in some instances impossible, to trace the intention of the glass painter."⁹⁵¹ White also writes that three

⁹⁴⁹ Warren, *And then the Heaven Espy*, 74.

⁹⁵⁰ David King, "Norfolk: Norwich, Guildhall, Mayoral Council Chamber."

⁹⁵¹ Chambers, *A General History of the County of Norfolk*, vol. 3, 1130

windows remain, and that “even these have been much mutilated.”⁹⁵² This may suggest that the current scheme was therefore completed after 1845, however these descriptions are not detailed enough for certainty. It may be that the vagaries of depiction and mutilation described are judgements made when considering the lost original sixteenth-century glazing scheme of the chamber.

Nowton, St Peter (Suffolk)⁹⁵³

The windows of this church are filled with many historic continental roundels in vibrantly coloured nineteenth-century surround glass. These windows were installed in two periods by successive generations of the Oakes family. The first scheme was installed c. 1816-1821 across all six windows of the church, at the behest of Orbell Ray Oakes (1768-1837).⁹⁵⁴ Davy described the glazing scheme following a trip to the church on 27 August 1829:

The E. window is large, & filled with painted glass; consisting of numerous small circles, representing portions of scriptural history, & legends, set in modern glass, by a man at Norwich: the other windows through the church are filled in like manner: the circles were all collected abroad by Col. Rushbrook [sic] & purchased by the present Mr. Oakes, who placed them in their present situation at his own expense, as well as presented them to the Parish.⁹⁵⁵

Davy also recorded that prior to this there was minimal stained glass in the church. He documented a visit by an earlier antiquarian in 1749, who wrote that the three chancel windows had been “embellished with [...] figures of cups, fleur de lis’s [sic], cinqfoils [sic], & chiefly yellow.”⁹⁵⁶

⁹⁵² White, *History, Gazetteer, and Directory of Norfolk* (1845), 86.

⁹⁵³ See Catherine Spirit, “St Peter, Nowton: Deciphering an Early Nineteenth-Century Glazing Scheme,” Masters dissertation (University of York, 2014) for an extended analysis of this church’s glazing scheme.

⁹⁵⁴ Gage, *The History and Antiquities of Suffolk*, 498.

⁹⁵⁵ COLLECTIONS by David Elisha Davy, Vol. 31, facing 177, Add MS 19107.

⁹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 176.

The first nineteenth-century installation of stained glass was done by Yarrington, the only “man at Norwich” who would have been capable of this task at such an early point in the century. Major changes to the nave were paid for by O. R. Oakes’ son Henry James Oakes (1796-1875). In 1843, H. J. Oakes paid for the addition of a north aisle to the nave, at which time he also paid for additional stained-glass windows in this space and re-ordered the south nave windows to match the new style.⁹⁵⁷ It is highly likely that Yarrington was employed to complete this additional work to the church glazing scheme. It is possible that glass was moved from the West window into the body of the church at this time. The current West window was installed in 1877 by James Henry Porteus Oakes (1821-1901) in memory of his parents Henry James Oakes and Maria Anne Porteus Oakes (1794-1876).

Major alterations were made to the arrangement of glass in 1965, at which time the lowest row of glass was removed from the East window due to structural issues.⁹⁵⁸ This included three recumbent figures based on John Sell Cotman’s (1782-1842) etchings of historic East Anglian brasses (see also Yelverton, St Mary).⁹⁵⁹ The glass which replaced these figures may have been taken from Nowton Court. In 1965 the glazing was removed from window nIV, which had been hidden internally since the installation of the church pipe organ in 1890. The roundels from this window were placed in window nVII in 1975

⁹⁵⁷ Ibid. 179.

⁹⁵⁸ Whitworth, Hall and Thomas Architects, Letter to King and Son (Lead Glaziers) Ltd, June 24, 1965, RK&S, Folder 117D Nowton + Hawstead KNG 2/2/5/115, NRO, Norwich.

⁹⁵⁹ John S. Cotman, *Engravings of the Most Remarkable of the Sepulchral Brasses in Norfolk* (London: John and Arthur Arch; Norwich: J. and W. Freeman; Southtown; J. S. Cotman, 1819).

with plain grisaille borders.⁹⁶⁰ An additional roundel was added at this time, which was possibly the English fifteenth-century depiction of the Virgin Mary which is currently in the window. In 1977 windows nV and nVI were vandalised.⁹⁶¹ In the case of these windows the original schemes were recreated, largely using the original glass.⁹⁶² Further vandalism in 2004 caused significant damage to window sII. The continental roundels were restored, but the nineteenth-century surround glass was judged to be broken beyond repair.⁹⁶³ Conservators Jonathon and Ruth Cooke recreated the original settings in new glass. Windows sIII and sIV have currently been deinstalled ahead of conservation work.

Nowton Court (Suffolk)

Orbell Ray Oakes purchased Nowton Cottage in 1802. The house was extended c. 1839-40 by his son Henry James Oakes who also made drastic alterations to the nave glazing at the nearby church of St Peter. It was at this time that Nowton Cottage became Nowton Court.⁹⁶⁴ Little is now known about the glazing of the house in the first half of the nineteenth century and the house was further modified in the later nineteenth and twentieth centuries. One certainty is that there was stained glass in the porch of the house, which was likely purchased by either O. R. Oakes or H. J. Oakes when they employed Yarrington to work on the church glazing. Two medieval English panels,

⁹⁶⁰ Charles Catton, Letter to Mr King, May 6, 1975, RK&S, Folder 117D Nowton + Hawstead KNG 2/2/5/115, NRO, Norwich.

⁹⁶¹ D.A.C. Representatives Visit Brief Report, Mar 17, 1978, RK&S, Folder 117D Nowton + Hawstead KNG 2/2/5/115, NRO, Norwich.

⁹⁶² Dennis King, Letter to Mr Wilson, Jun 19, 1979, RK&S, Folder 117D Nowton + Hawstead KNG 2/2/5/115, NRO, Norwich.

⁹⁶³ The Rector and Churchwardens of St Peter, Nowton, *The Church of St Peter, Nowton*, 9.

⁹⁶⁴ "Nowton Court and Park: Maps, Plans and Papers Relating to the Buildings," National Archives, n.d., accessed Jan 6, 2021, <https://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/8cb1c8c5-94ae-4baa-bb2c-aa2ff058638c>.

depicting St Matthew and St Thomas under canopies respectively, are now installed in the Jesus Chapel window at Norwich Cathedral.⁹⁶⁵ A third panel from this set, which depicts St Barnabus, can be found at St Edmund, Downham Market (Norfolk).⁹⁶⁶ Notes on the reverse of original photographs of these panels date the deinstallation from Nowton Court by King & Sons to 1965.⁹⁶⁷ This removal was undertaken in the same year that the lower panels of the East window of St Peter were replaced with a new arrangement of glass. A letter dating to 1965 also makes reference to “medallions” which were in the staircase window at Nowton Court, asking if these were also available for use in the base of St Peter’s East window.⁹⁶⁸ Another letter asks if current Oakes would be willing to allow the glazier to “remove the staircase window, which contains several of these [roundels], and to reglaze either in sheets of clear glass, or preferably in panels of leaded rectangular clear panes.”⁹⁶⁹ The argument was made that the installation of new glass could be paid for by the sale of those roundels which were not used in the base of the church’s East window. It is likely that the staircase glazing was purchased and removed at the same time as the stained glass from the porch, and some of this glass may have been reused in the East window of St Peter as indicated by the contemporary correspondence. It seems no photographs survive of the Nowton Court glazing in situ.

⁹⁶⁵ Warren, *And then the Heavens Espy*, 60.

⁹⁶⁶ David King, *Hungate Stained Glass Trails: No. 9* (Norwich: Hungate Medieval Art, n.d.), 4.

⁹⁶⁷ Photograph labelled “Glass from Nowton Court,” RK&S, Folder KNG 2/2/9/42 Norwich Cathedral, Bacon, Arnold Kent and Visitors’ Centre, NRO, Norwich.

⁹⁶⁸ Dennis King, Letter to Mr. Oakes, Apr 27, 1965, RK&S, Folder 117D Nowton & Hawstead KNG 2/2/5/115, NRO, Norwich.

⁹⁶⁹ Dennis King, Letter to Mr. Oakes, May 6, 1965, RK&S, Folder 117D Nowton & Hawstead.

Redenhall, St Mary (Norfolk)

Chambers records that Yarington installed one window in this church which was the gift of the incumbent Reverend John Holmes.⁹⁷⁰ This was window nII, which was filled with armorials of the Gawdy family of nearby Gawdy Hall (the latter demolished 1958). This window is located in the north chapel of the church, which was adapted by the family in the 1820s. White reported that much of the glass in this window was removed from Gawdy Hall prior to being installed in the church.⁹⁷¹ The window contains fourteen coats of arms, all of which are variations of the Gawdy armorial (see Herringfleet, St Margaret and Langley, St Michael). Small repairs were made to the window in 1988 by King,⁹⁷² but the overall arrangement of glass in the church seems to reflect the 1823 scheme.

Shelton, St Mary (Norfolk)

Remains of the original early-sixteenth century glazing scheme are retained in windows throughout the church, most of which are secular in nature.⁹⁷³ John Dixon undertook work at the church in 1843, and his signature can be found in the East window. The figures of the Virgin Mary and two Kings in this window have constructed from glass which largely dates to this nineteenth-century intervention.⁹⁷⁴ Foreign glass can be found in windows nII and sII, and it is likely that these panels were inserted by Dixon.

⁹⁷⁰ Chambers, *A General History of the County of Norfolk*, vol. 3, 1039.

⁹⁷¹ White, *History, Gazetteer, and Directory of Norfolk* (1845), 729.

⁹⁷² Invoice: Redenhall Parochial Church Council from King & Sons. 24/02/88, RK&S, Folder 36D Redenhall KNG 2/2/5/35, NRO, Norwich.

⁹⁷³ King, *Stained Glass Tours around Norfolk Churches*, 27.

⁹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 27.

Sisland, St Mary (Norfolk)

Two-light East window by an unknown glazier. The date of installation is also unknown, but the design is reminiscent of other schemes dating to the first half of the nineteenth century. Two enamel-painted demi-figure roundels are positioned at the heads of the main lights, St Peter (light a) in and Saint Paul (light b). A dove encircled by silver stain against clouds is positioned in the tracery. Haward suggests that these panels may originate from the building of the church in c. 1761.⁹⁷⁵ It seems likely that the tracery glass is in its original position within the window, but the remainder of the scheme may have been rearranged. The foliate borders of the main lights are likely silver stained and are highly similar to those which surround a figure of Christ carrying the Cross at Cratfield, St Mary (Suffolk, unknown date).

Swannington Manor (Norfolk)

Stained glass was likely introduced to Swannington Manor, then known as the Swannington Lawn Estate, by Edmund Bartell Junior (1775-1855) in the early nineteenth century. Bartell had a strong interest in stained glass and was a proponent of the densely packed style of scheme made by contemporary glaziers like Yarrington. Bartell praised the lighting effect created by such schemes in his publication *Hints for Picturesque Improvements in Ornamental Cottages* (1804).⁹⁷⁶ Considering his views on the application of stained glass, and his role in the East window at Swannington, St Margaret, it is clear that the current arrangement of stained glass at Swannington Manor does not represent the original design. At the time of writing there are five stained-glass windows at Swannington Manor, all of which are positioned at the front of the property. Two

⁹⁷⁵ Haward, *Nineteenth Century Norfolk Stained Glass*, Sisland S Mary gazetteer entry.

⁹⁷⁶ Bartell, *Hints for Picturesque Improvements*.

windows on the first floor contain fragments of glass of various dates, from the medieval period to the nineteenth century. These fragments are arranged against a clear grisaille glass background with the heraldic and floral designs separated from the architectural, figurative, and ecclesiastical pieces. Three windows on the ground floor each contain two panels which may have originally filled the upper portions of pointed or round-headed lights. These panels centre heraldic shields with decorative surrounds. Two of these shields have been signed by Bartell: "E. B. pinxit" and "AD 1821." This suggests that Bartell was involved in the making of some stained glass, although there is no evidence that this interest developed into a profession. It is likely that Yarrington was involved in the installation of stained glass at the Manor as decorative elements at the nearby church prove that he was the glazier responsible for the windows there.

Swannington, St Margaret (Norfolk)

The surviving early nineteenth-century scheme at this church is made up of a large East window and a single tracery panel in window sVIII. The four-light East window of this church contains some historic glass which may be imported from the Continent. Edmund Bartell, the likely donor of the scheme, was aware of "two gentlemen of the city of Norwich," likely Hampp and Stevenson, and he praised them for bringing "some of the finest specimens of painted glass" into the country.⁹⁷⁷ It seems likely, therefore, that some of the glass installed here may have been purchased from these importers. Much of the glass is contemporary to the setting, however several architectural pieces and one of the large heads of Saints may be historic foreign fragments. The head at the top of light 4

⁹⁷⁷ Ibid., 37.

was almost certainly painted by an artisan at Yarington's workshop. This piece is remarkably similar to the new head which this workshop painted for the figure of St John the Baptist in window sIX at St Michael, Aylsham. A number of unusual floral roundels are featured throughout this brightly coloured and symmetrically planned window. The initials "E" and "B" for Edward Bartell are featured in tracery lights A4 and A5 respectively and there is some evidence that he may have had skills in glass painting (see Swannington Manor). It is possible that he was involved in the making of this window, although a commercial glazier must have led the project. Several of the decorative pieces of glass seen in these windows can be attributed to the workshop of Yarington. Red diamond pieces of glass, each decorated with a simple floral motif, can be found in tracery panels A2 and A3 of the East window and the tracery panel of window sVIII can be found in numerous windows attributed to Yarington (Hedenham, St Peter and Kimberley, St Peter). The simple four-lobed floral pieces used in the tracery of window sVIII can also be seen in red glass in the East window of Nowton. According to White's 1854 Directory the church underwent a wider scheme of restoration in 1848 and the East window was installed by Edmund Bartell in a similar period.⁹⁷⁸

⁹⁷⁸ Francis White, *History, Gazetteer, and Directory of Norfolk, and the City and County of the City of Norwich, Comprising a General Survey of the County, with a Variety of Historical, Statistical, Topographical, Commercial, and Agricultural Information, shewing the Situation, Extent, and Population of all the Boroughs, Towns, Ports, Parishes, Villages, Hamlets, and Extra-Parochial Liberties; their Agriculture, Manufactures, Fisheries, &c.; the Lords of the Manors and Owners of the Soil; their Public Institutions, Charities, Antiquities, and Historical Events: With a List of Magistrates, Public Officers, and Corporate Bodies, and the Seats of the Nobility and Gentry, in One Volume, with a Coloured Sheet Map of the County* (Printed for the Authors by the Trustee of E Blurton, at the Britannia Offices, Castle St. and King St., and Sold by Francis White & Co., Broomhall Terrace, Ecclesall New Road, Sheffield, and by their Agents, 1854), 446.

Thurton, St Ethelbert (Norfolk)

Yarington installed a thirteen-window stained-glass scheme at this church in 1826 at the patronage of Sir Thomas Beauchamp-Proctor (1756-1827) and Lady Mary Beauchamp-Proctor (née Palmer, 1760-1848) of Langley Hall (see also Buckenham, St Nicholas; Chedgrave, All Saints; Langley, St Michael and Loddon, Holy Trinity).⁹⁷⁹ The scheme was described by Chambers as being “one eastern window, St. Ethelbert, cherubim, armorial bearings, &c. Twelve other windows with small subjects from the New Testament, saints, and ornaments.”⁹⁸⁰ All of the windows of the church were thus filled with stained glass. As a scheme undertaken by Yarington’s workshop, it seems likely that the original settings of these windows were dominated by the geometric arrangement of disparate fragments. It is likely that the current state of the windows can be attributed to later restoration of both the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Consequently, it appears as though the glass has been drastically rearranged and much of the original stained glass has been removed in favour of clear glass grisaille windows. The three-light East window was “Reglazed & restored” in December 1898 by W. R. Weyer & Co., Norwich, according to an inscription in the bottom of the window. The large figure of St Ethelbert described by Chambers remains in the centre of the window. Panels by Robert Allen, which depict St Andrew and Christ carrying the Cross are inserted above and below this figure.

Nineteenth-century armorial panels and historic continental panels depicting a priest

⁹⁷⁹ This church was incorrectly named “Thurston” by Chambers, who recorded the installation of these windows (Chambers, *A General History of the County of Norfolk*, vol. 3, 1039). Thurston is a village near Bury St Edmunds which bears no evidence of an earlier Yarington scheme. Further proof that this is a misspelling by Chambers can be found in the names of the donors he gives for the windows. The Beauchamp Proctor’s, as the landowning family at Langley Hall, were patrons of Thurton church (White, *History, Gazetteer, and Directory of Norfolk* (1845), 87). Thurston church was over forty miles south-west of Langley Hall and the group of associated churches which were patronised by the family. Chambers describes the East window of the church as depicting the figure of St Ethelbert, which further reinforces that he was referring to Thurton, St Ethelbert and not Thurston, St Peter (Chambers, *A General History of the County of Norfolk*, vol. 3, 1039).

⁹⁸⁰ Chambers, *A General History of the County of Norfolk*, vol. 3, 1039.

celebrating mass and Christ healing the sick are displayed in lights a and c. It is likely that the tracery lights give the best indication of the original style of this window. Historic angelic figures, of likely continental origin, fill the three central openings and smaller decorative pieces in the style of Yarrington remain in the smaller openings. Decorative and figurative smaller panels have been placed in the rest of the windows across the church, including a number of continental imports. English glass pieces also feature in the collection still in the church. These include several fifteenth-century panels in window sV, which features a Trinity panel and six roundels bearing Latin phrases. Numerous panels, both decorative and figurative, can be attributed to Robert Allen, and this church is excellent evidence of the notion that he and Yarrington had a type of working relationship in the early nineteenth century. See chapter five for more information regarding the work of Allen and the models for his figurative panels.

Warham, St Mary Magdalen (Norfolk)

The stained glass found throughout this church was originally installed in 1806,⁹⁸¹ at the behest of rector W. H. Langton (died 1836).⁹⁸² The East window contains numerous panels of stained glass from the Steinfeld Abbey cloister glazing scheme.⁹⁸³ The chancel windows contain fragments and panels of glass which were set against clear surround glass in the twentieth century. Much of this glass is French and dates to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. One of the windows in the north aisle contains numerous fifteenth-century English heads and fragments. Some nineteenth-century decorative work

⁹⁸¹ Haward, *Nineteenth Century Norfolk Stained Glass*, Warham S Mary gazetteer entry.

⁹⁸² King, *Stained Glass Tours around Norfolk Churches*, 12.

⁹⁸³ King, "The Steinfeld Abbey Glazing," 208.

can be found in the south aisle. The figure of King David which is set in the West window is sixteenth-century Cologne work.⁹⁸⁴

Winston, St Andrew (Suffolk)

Six small panels painted by Cornelius Jansen Winter of Yarmouth, previously

unidentified,⁹⁸⁵ can be found in this church, either glazed into or attached inside the windows. These panels were made in c. 1840 and have been signed by C. J. W. Winter, who was the son of glass painter and glazier John Winter. Each panel depicts a different Apostle or Evangelist: St James the Apostle (window nII), St Matthew (window nII), St Andrew (window sIII), St John (window sIII), St Bartholomew (window sIV) and St Peter (window sIV). The detailed and painterly nature of these panels suggest that Winter used a visual source for his painting, possibly a series of etchings. Each of these panels has been surrounded by decorative and brightly coloured glass, painted with foliate designs reminiscent of other early nineteenth-century local glazing designs.

Yelverton, St Mary (Norfolk)

The two porch windows of this church featured panels made by Yarrington's workshop. It is unclear whether these are native to this church and it is equally possible that they were removed to these windows from the body of the church or from another church building entirely. Each window displayed two panels with iconography derived from Cotman (see also Nowton, St Peter).⁹⁸⁶ The setting of clear glass for these figures was a feature which suggested that the layout of these windows was a later nineteenth or twentieth century

⁹⁸⁴ Ibid., 12.

⁹⁸⁵ Haward, *Nineteenth Century Suffolk Stained Glass*, Winston St Andrew gazetteer entry.

⁹⁸⁶ Cotman, *Engravings of the Most Remarkable of the Sepulchral Brasses in Norfolk*.

intervention. Each window featured a recumbent figure panel against plain glazing with a smaller armorial panel taken from the brass at Frenze to Sir Thomas Blenerhasset (1531) brass above. The figure of Robert Attelath was located in the East porch window while the male effigy from the brass to Ralph Shelton and his wife Alice Uvedale at Great Snoring (1423) was in the West porch window. These windows were badly vandalised in 2001 and new windows were inserted in their place.⁹⁸⁷

⁹⁸⁷ A. Morris, Letter to Mr. D King, Mar 21, 2001, RK&S, Folder H330 Yelverton KNG 2/2/6/321, NRO, Norwich.

Abbreviations

B&NP

Bury and Norwich Post; Or, Suffolk, Norfolk, Essex, and Cambridge Advertiser

BSMGP

British Society of Master Glass Painters

CVMA

Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi

JBSMGP

Journal of the British Society of Master Glass Painters

NC&NG

Norfolk Chronicle and Norwich Gazette

NRO

Norfolk Records Office

RK&S

Records of G. King & Son (Lead Glaziers) of Norwich

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Figures

Figure 1: Thurton (Norfolk), Church of St Ethelbert, window sV.
Stained and painted glass. Accessed Sept 11, 2021,
<http://www.norfolkstainedglass.org/Thurton/home.shtm>



Figure 2: Earsham (Norfolk), All Saints Church, window sV, pre-restoration. Stained and painted glass. KNG 3/7/1/1/27 Earsham, NRO, Norwich

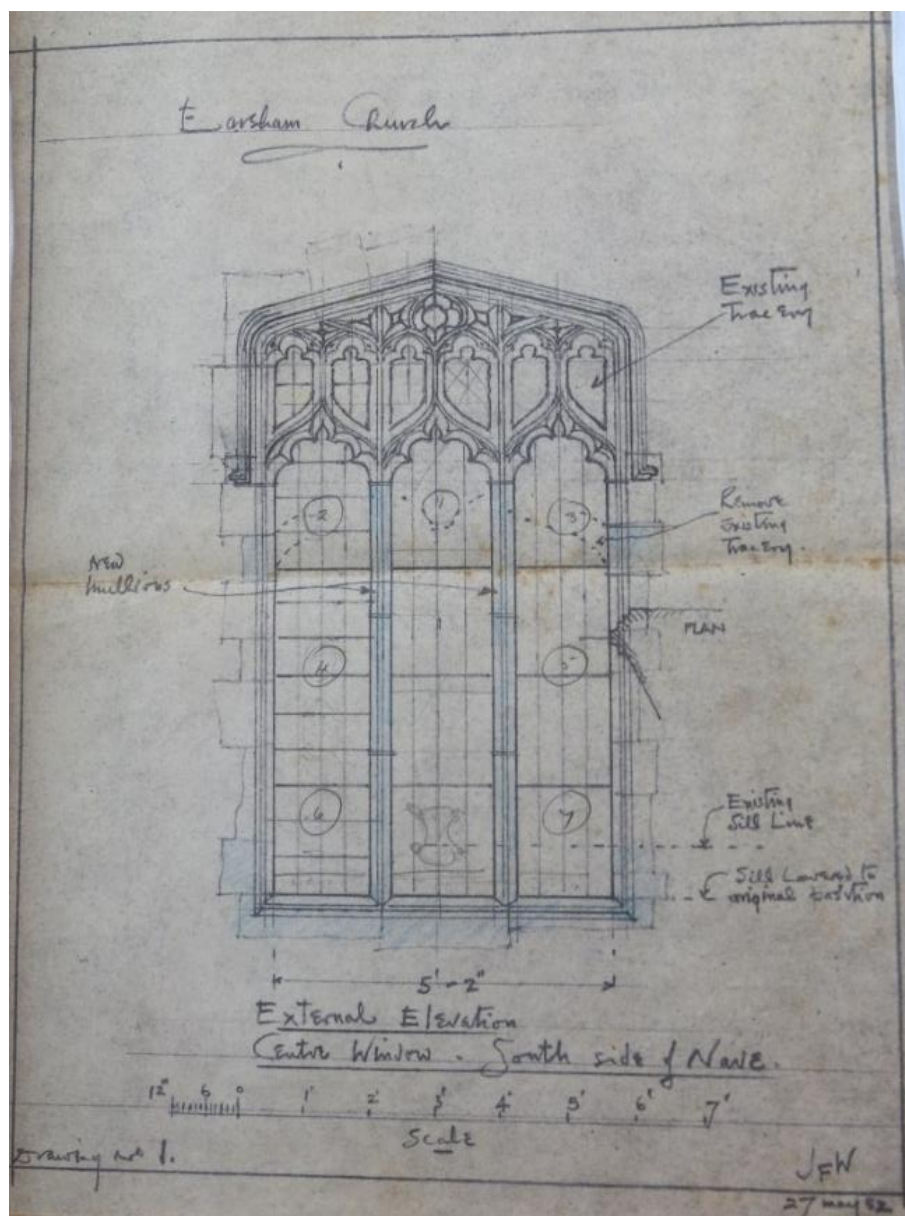


Figure 3: Earsham (Norfolk), All Saints Church, window sV, stonework alteration plans, 1952. KNG 3/7/1/1/27 Earsham, NRO, Norwich



Figure 4: Earsham (Norfolk), All Saints Church, window sV. Stained and painted glass. Photograph: Catherine Spirit, 2014

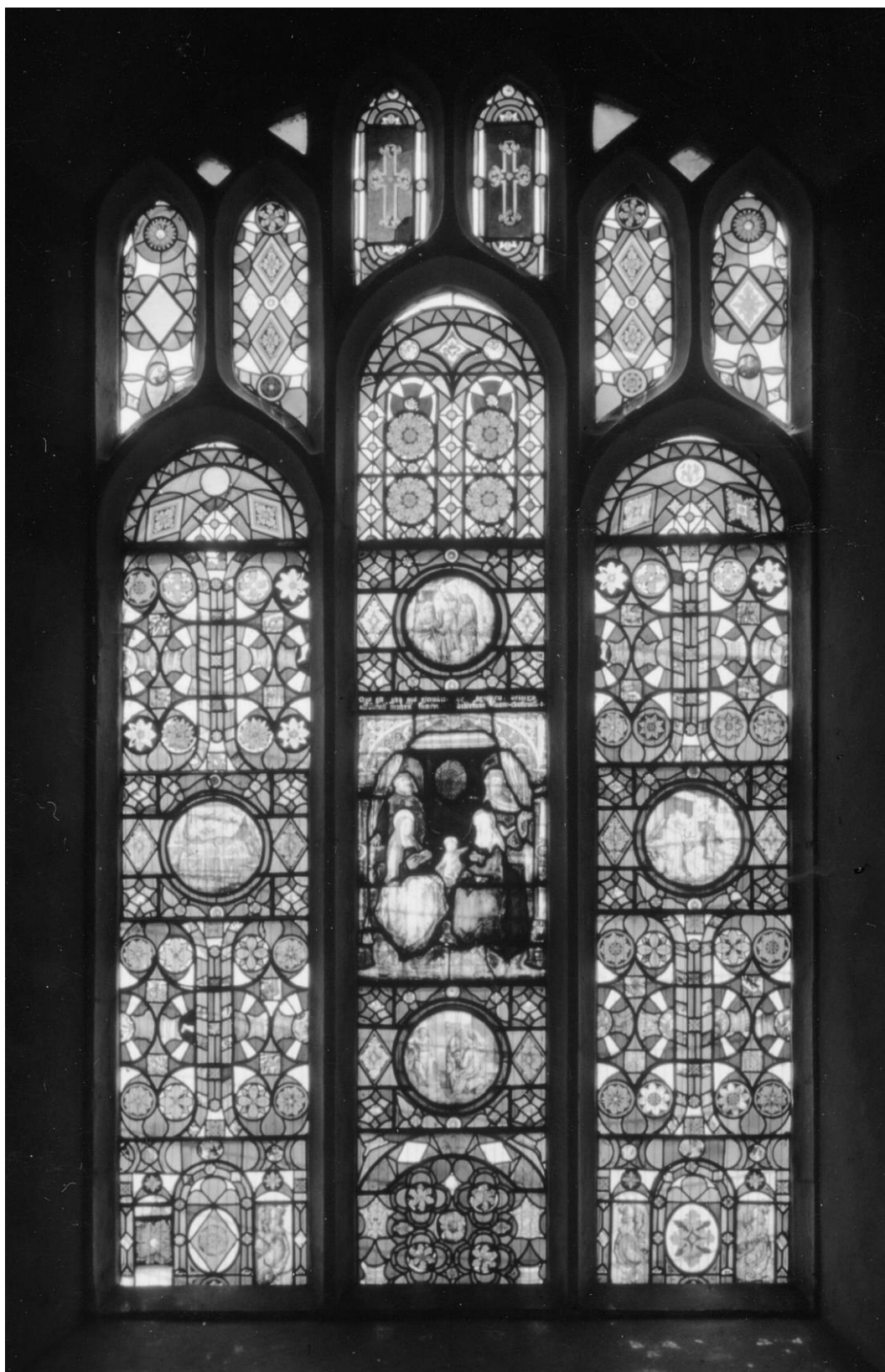


Figure 5: Earsham (Norfolk), All Saints Church, window sVI, pre-restoration. Stained and painted glass. KNG 3/7/1/1/27 Earsham, NRO, Norwich

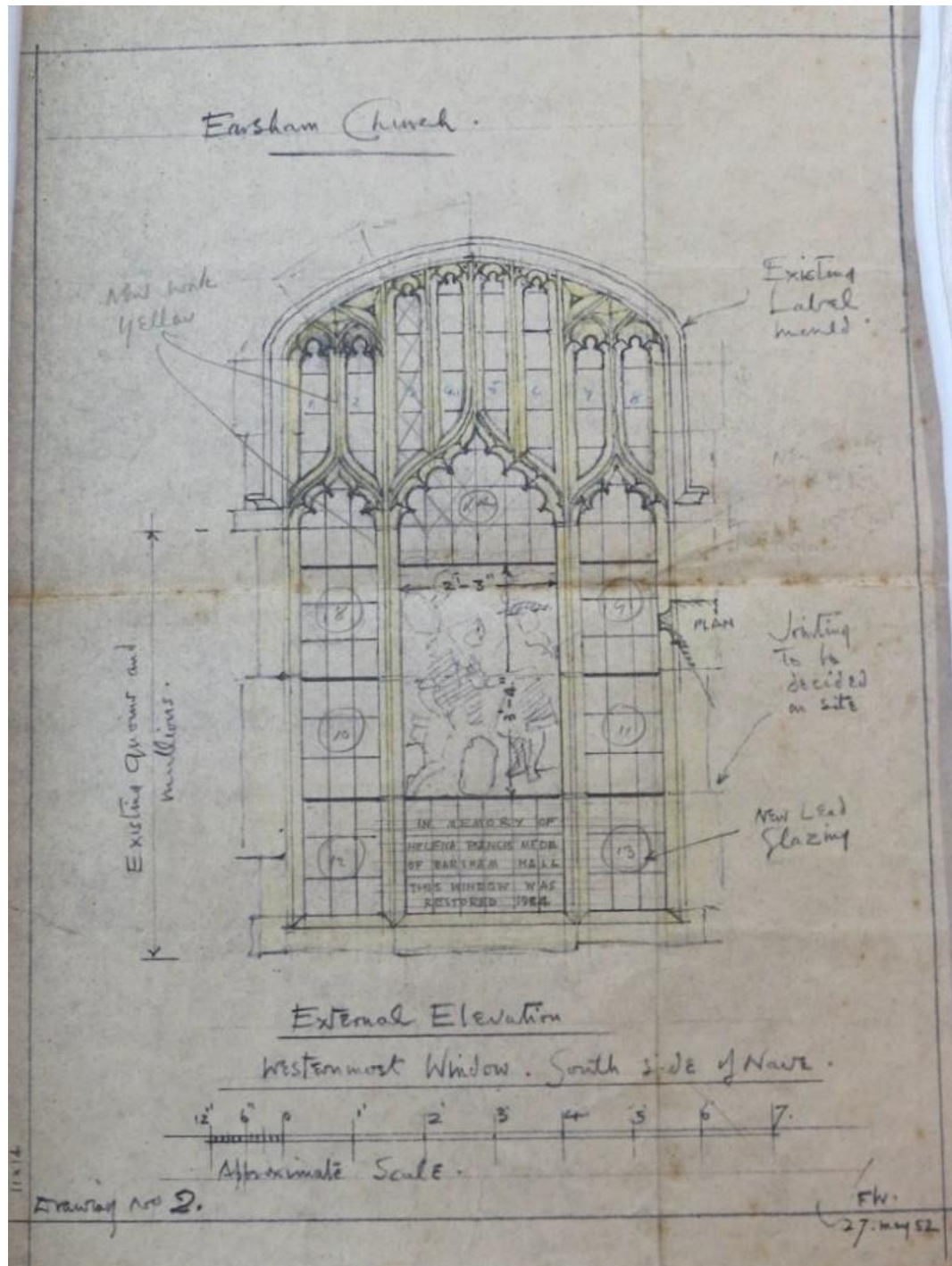


Figure 6: Earsham (Norfolk), All Saints Church, window sVI, stonework alteration plans, 1952. KNG 3/7/1/1/27 Earsham, NRO, Norwich



Figure 7: Earsham (Norfolk), All Saints Church, window sVI. Stained and painted glass. Photograph: Catherine Spirit, 2014

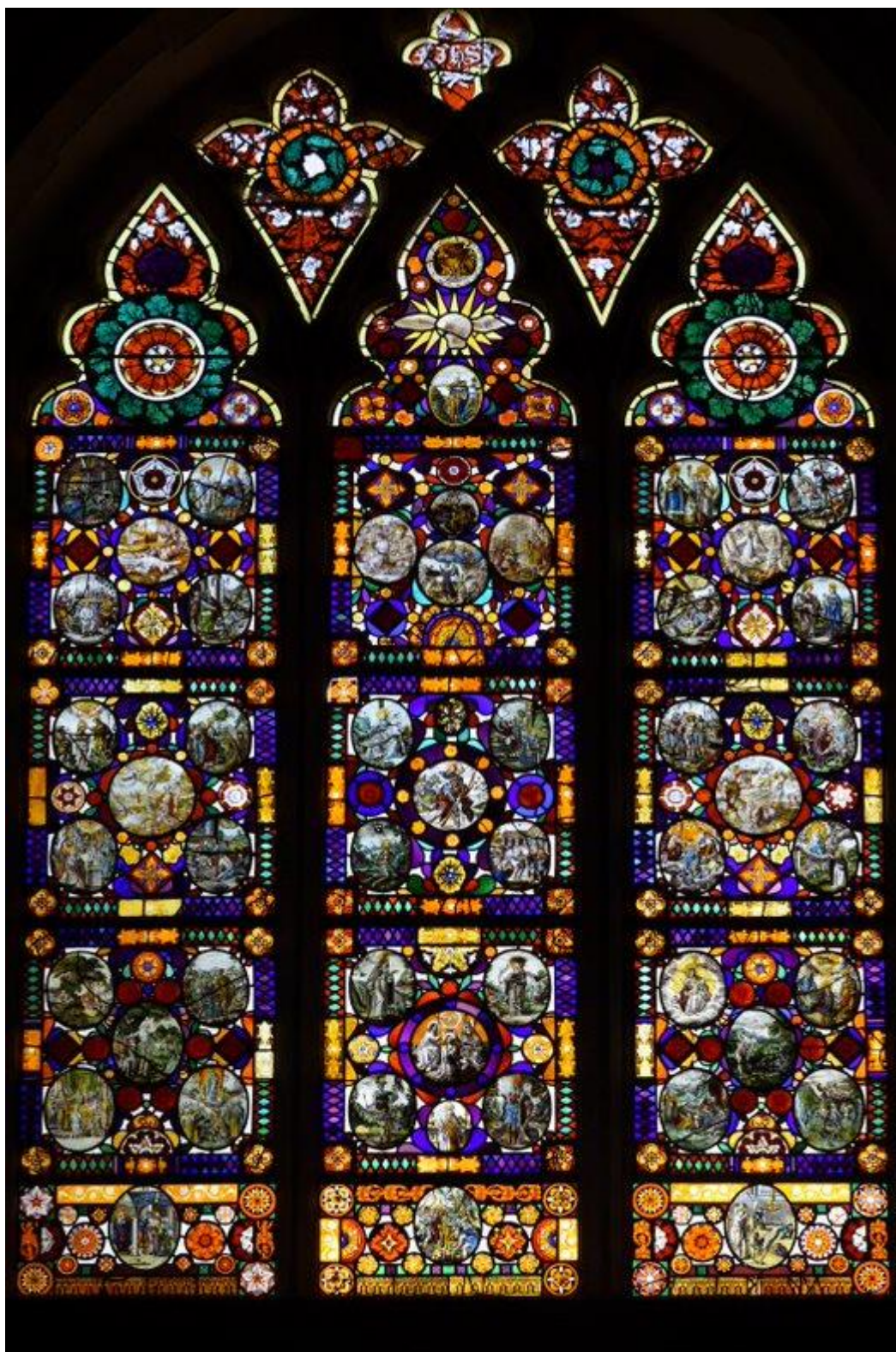


Figure 8: Nowton (Suffolk), Church of St Peter, East window. Stained and painted glass. Photograph: David Spirit, 2021

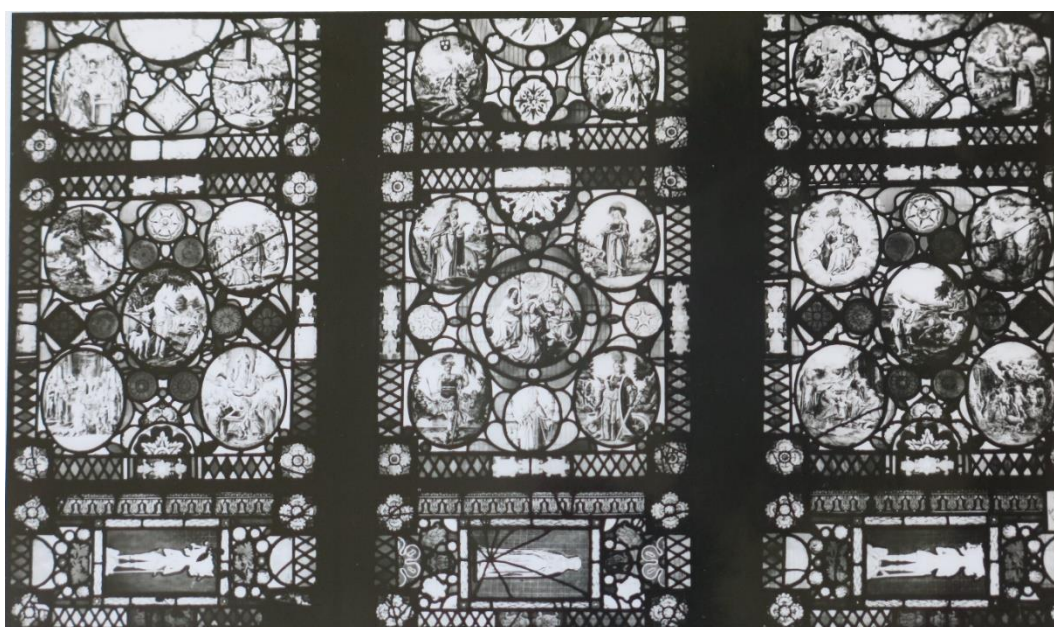


Figure 9: Nowton (Suffolk), Church of St Peter, East Window detail showing historic arrangement of lower window panels, 1965. RK&S, Folder KNG 3/2/7/42 Nowton, NRO, Norwich

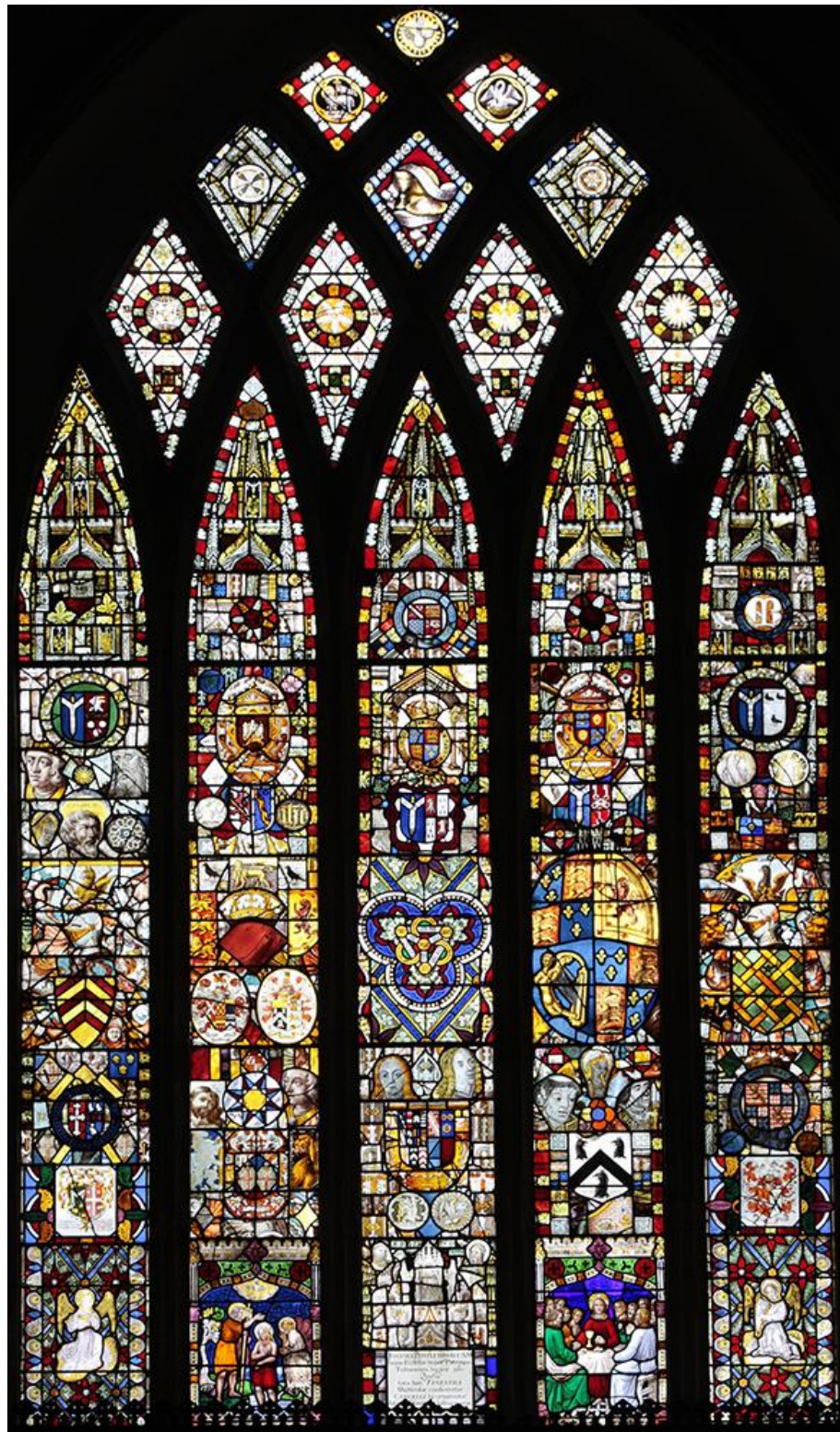


Figure 10: Denton (Norfolk), St Mary the Virgin, East window. Stained and painted glass.

Accessed Mar 20, 2022,

<http://www.norfolkstainedglass.org/Denton/home.shtm#>



Figure 11: John Carter, *View from the Hall at Strawberry Hill*, 1788. Pen, ink and watercolour on laid paper, h27.7xw20.4cm. The Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University, New Haven, Folio 49 3582 fol. 24. Accessed Nov 29, 2019, <https://libsvcs1.its.yale.edu/strawberryhill/oneitem.asp?i=1&id=522>



Figure 12: Coddham (Suffolk), Church of St Mary, East window, 1894. Stained and painted glass. Photograph: David Spirit, 2021



Figure 13: *Lowestoft, St Margaret's Church Interior*, c. 1860. Photograph. 1300/72/10/49, Suffolk Records Office, Lowestoft.

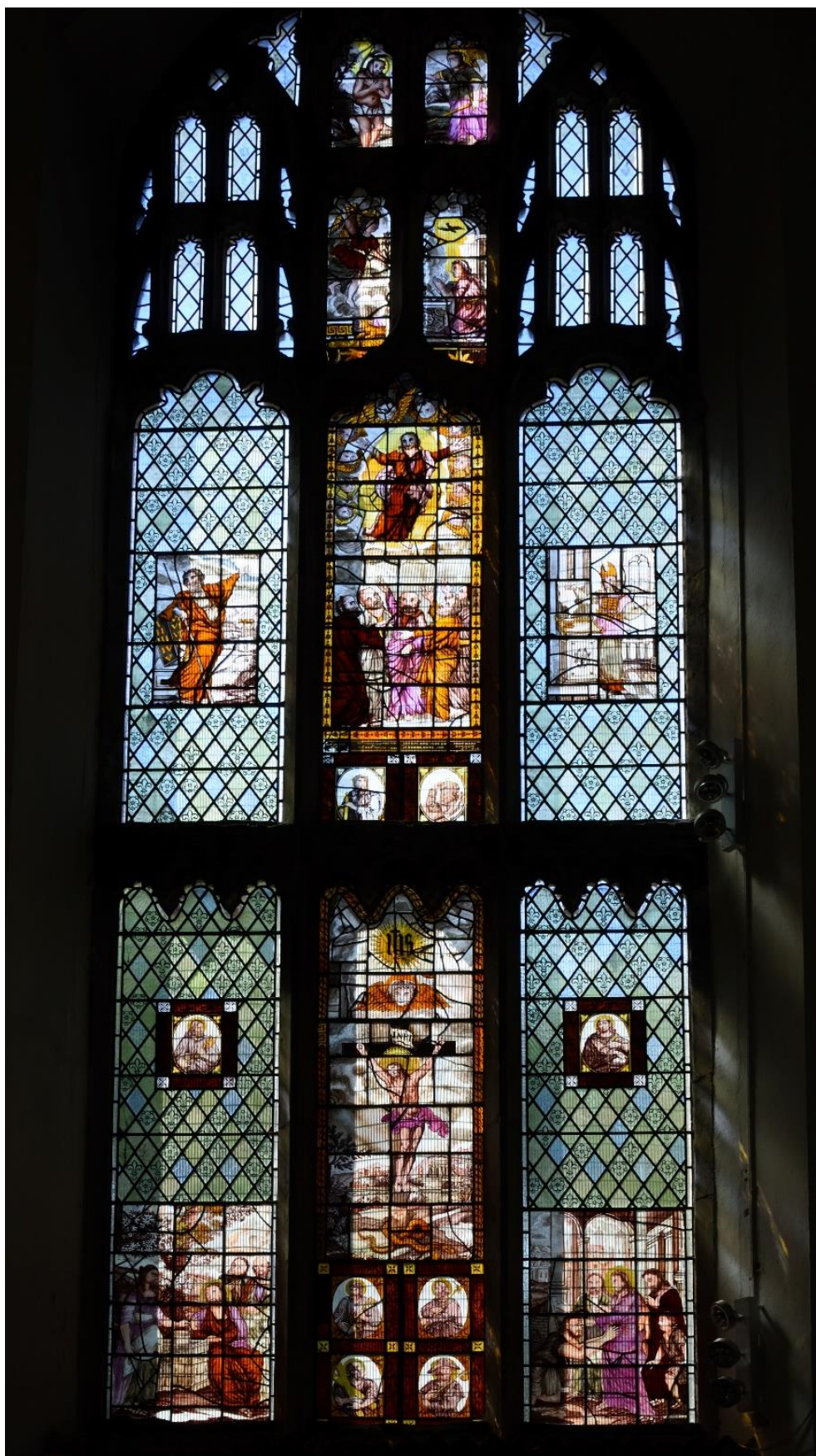


Figure 14: Lowestoft (Suffolk), Church of St Margaret, window sII, remains of Robert Allen's East window scheme of 1819. Stained and painted glass. Photograph: David Spirit, 2017

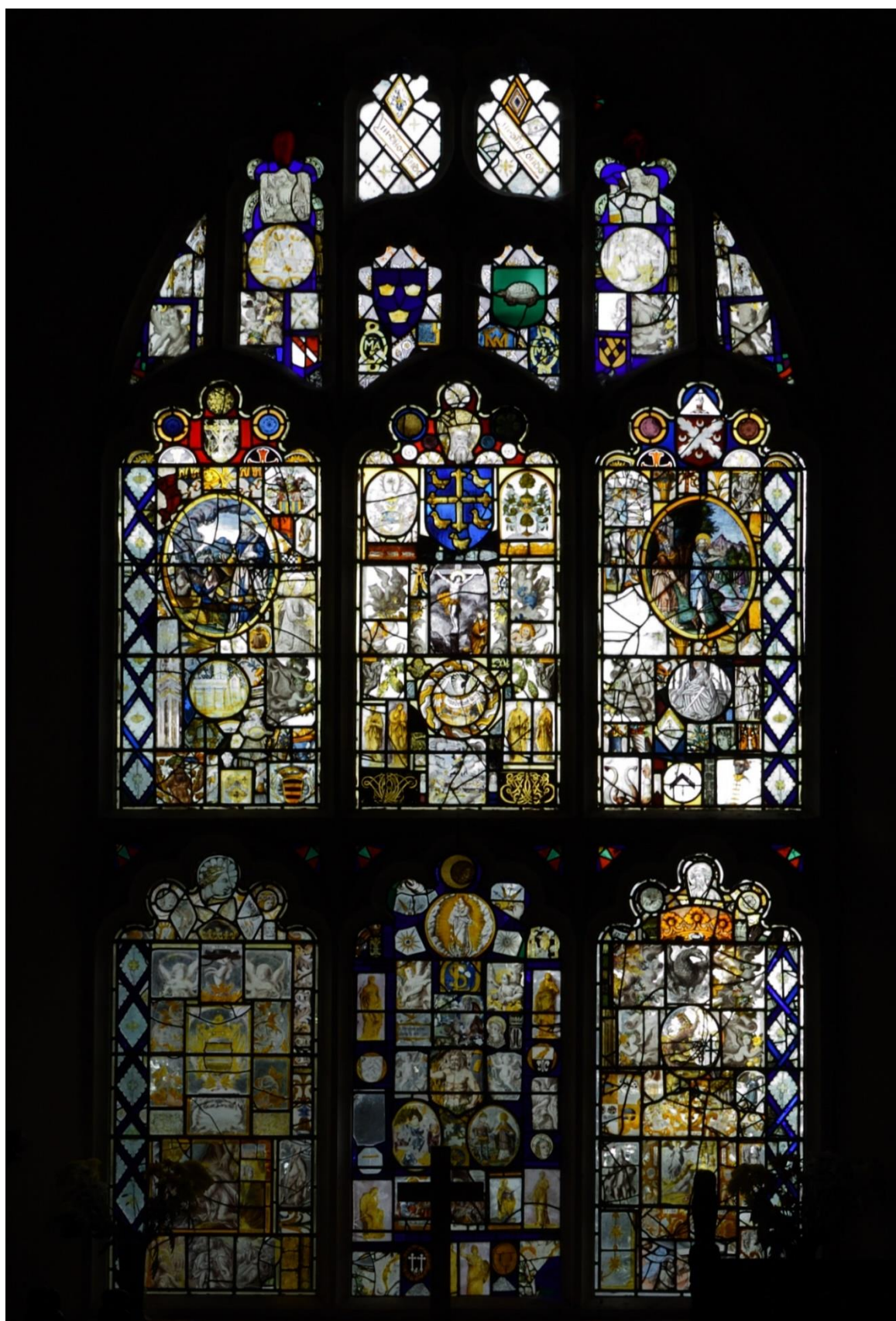


Figure 15: Herringfleet (Suffolk), Church of St Margaret, East window, c. 1826-32. Stained and painted glass. Photograph: David Spirit, 2017



Figure 16: Strawberry Hill. Photograph: Catherine Spirit, 2019



Figure 17: Francis Grose, *View of Strawberry Hill (East Front)*, c. 1787. Watercolour. The Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University, New Haven. Accessed Aug 22, 2019, http://images.library.yale.edu/strawberryhill/etour_07.asp



Figure 18: Strawberry Hill, view of the lantern and Staircase. Photograph: Catherine Spirit, 2019

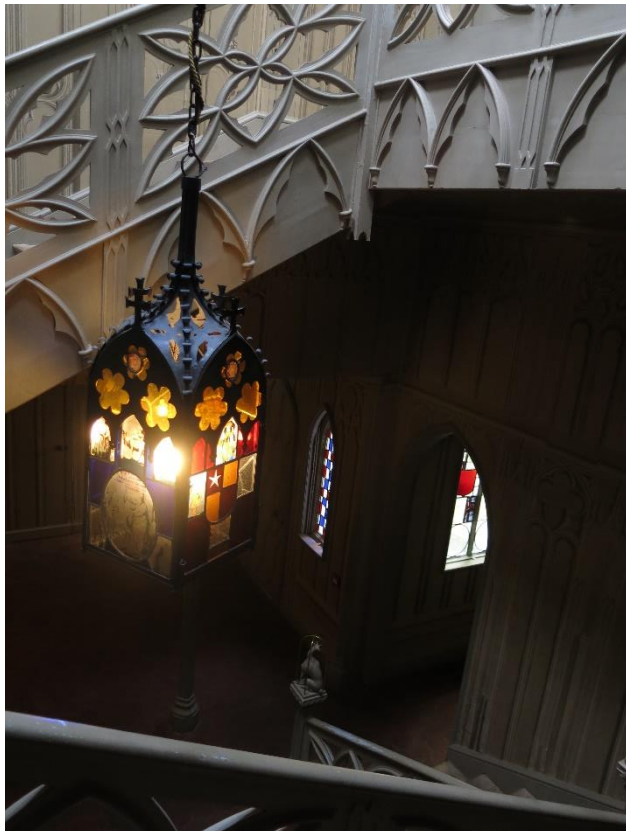


Figure 19: Strawberry Hill, view of the Hall and Great Parlour Vestibule from the Staircase. Photograph: Catherine Spirit, 2019

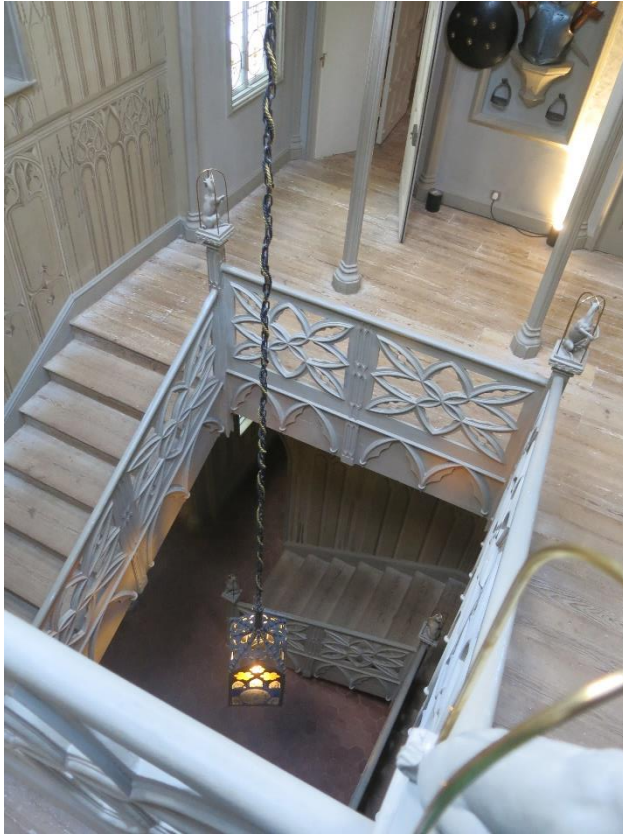


Figure 20: Strawberry Hill, view of the Staircase from the second floor.
Photograph: Catherine Spirit, 2019

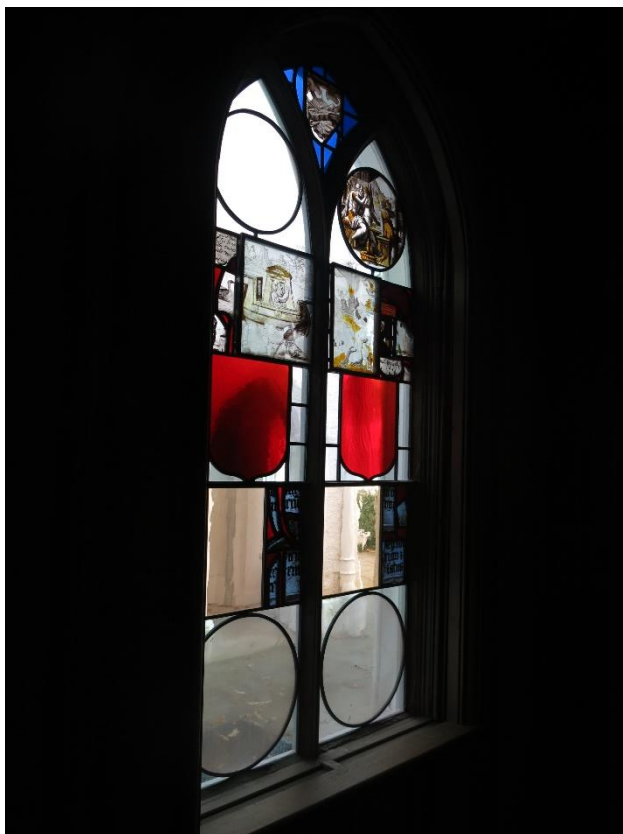


Figure 21: Strawberry Hill, view of the Great Parlour Lobby window from the Hall. Photograph: Catherine Spirit, 2019



Figure 22: Strawberry Hill, Little Parlour overdoor window recreated by Paul San Casciani (original design by William Price the Younger). Stained and painted glass. Photograph: Catherine Spirit, 2019

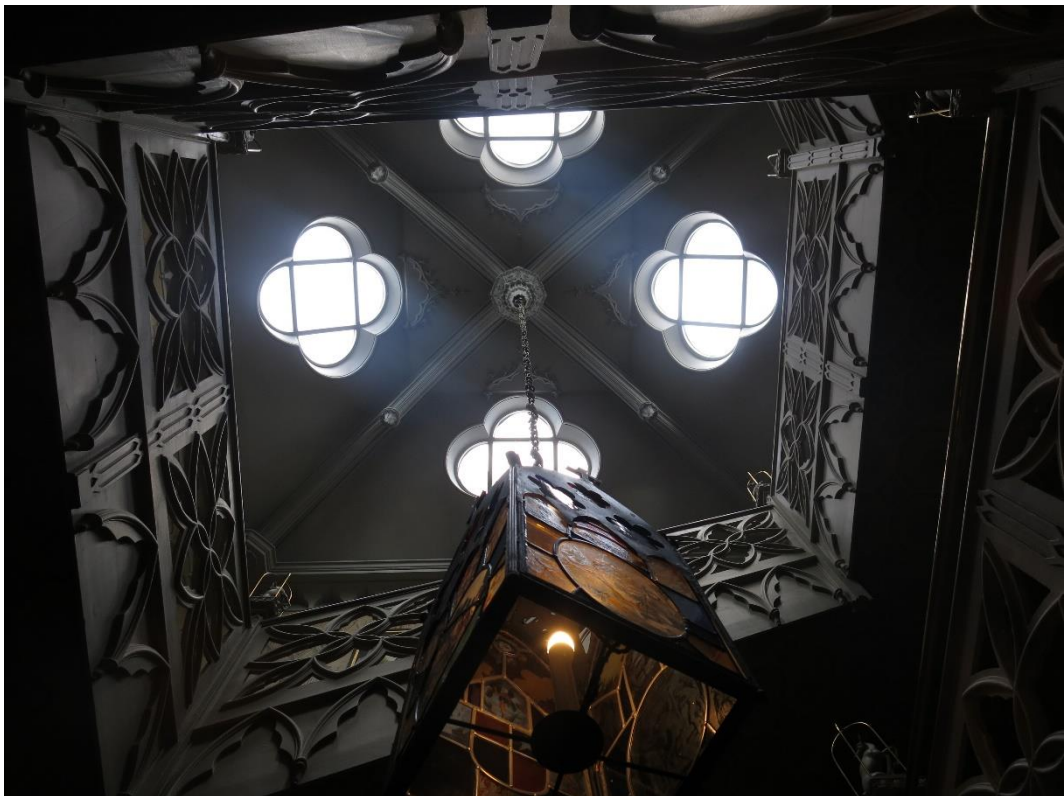


Figure 23: Strawberry Hill, Staircase quatrefoil windows from the Hall. Photograph: Catherine Spirit, 2019



Figure 24: Strawberry Hill, Staircase quatrefoil windows from the second floor, 1924. Photograph. Future Content and Brand Licensing, Country Life. Accessed Nov 26, 2019, <https://www.futurecontenthub.com/product/1000547963>



Figure 25: *Gothic Lantern*, 1755. Coloured, stained and enamelled glass set in an iron, lead and painted tin frame, h109.2xw35.6xd36.2cm. The Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University, New Haven. Accessed Nov 28, 2019, <https://libsvcs-1.its.yale.edu/strawberryhill/oneitem.asp?id=144>



Figure 26: Strawberry Hill Library windows. Photograph: Catherine Spirit, 2019



Figure 27: John Carter, *View of the Library at Strawberry Hill*, 1788. Watercolour, h24.7xw31cm (including border, not reproduced). The Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University, New Haven, Folio 49 3582 fol. 74. Accessed Nov 29, 2019, <https://libsvcs-1.its.yale.edu/strawberryhill/oneitem.asp?id=524>



Figure 28: John Carter, *Sketch-View of Library*, 1788. The Huntington Library, San Marino, California. Peover and Rogers, "New Light on Strawberry Hill," 33

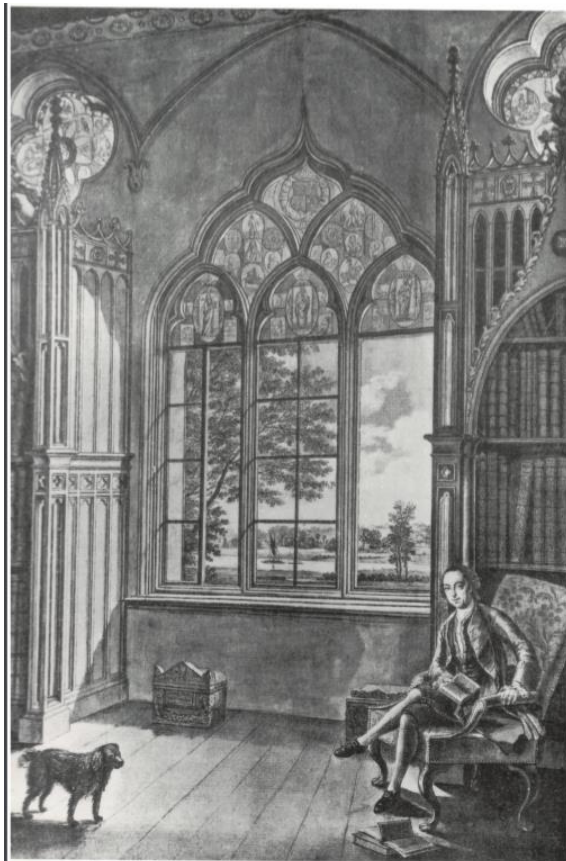


Figure 29: Johann Heinrich Müntz, *Walpole Seated in his Library*, c. 1755-59. Pen and wash. Private Collection. Wainwright, *The Romantic Interior*, 91



Figure 30: Strawberry Hill Library central window detail. Stained and painted glass. Photograph: Catherine Spirit, 2019



Figure 31: Portrait of Bartlett Gurney, late eighteenth century. Oil on canvas. Barclays Group. Accessed Nov 29, 2019, <https://www.archive.barclays.com/items/show/696>

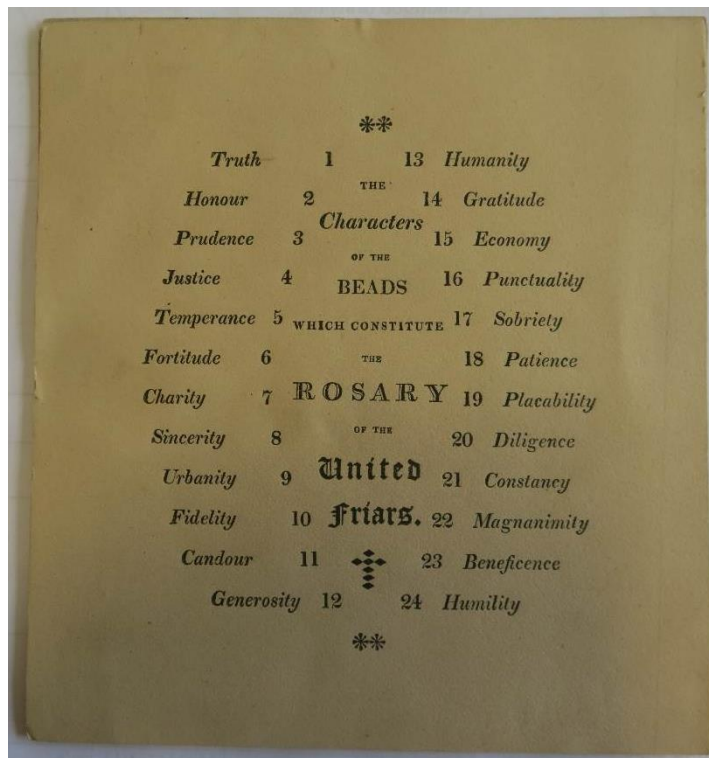


Figure 32: Rosary of the Fraternity of United Friars, c. 1785-1828. Printed card. The Coleman Manuscript Collection, COL 9/32, NRO, Norwich



Figure 33: Crown Court, Norwich. Entrance with sixteenth-century lintel bearing the Merchant's mark of Augustine Steward (left) and the Arms of the Mercer's Company (right). Photograph: David Spirit, 2020



Figure 34: Worshipful Company of Mercers Arms, lintel over the entrance to Crown Court, Norwich. Photograph: David Spirit, 2020



Figure 35: Merchant's mark of Augustine Steward, lintel over the entrance to Crown Court, Norwich. Photograph: David Spirit, 2020

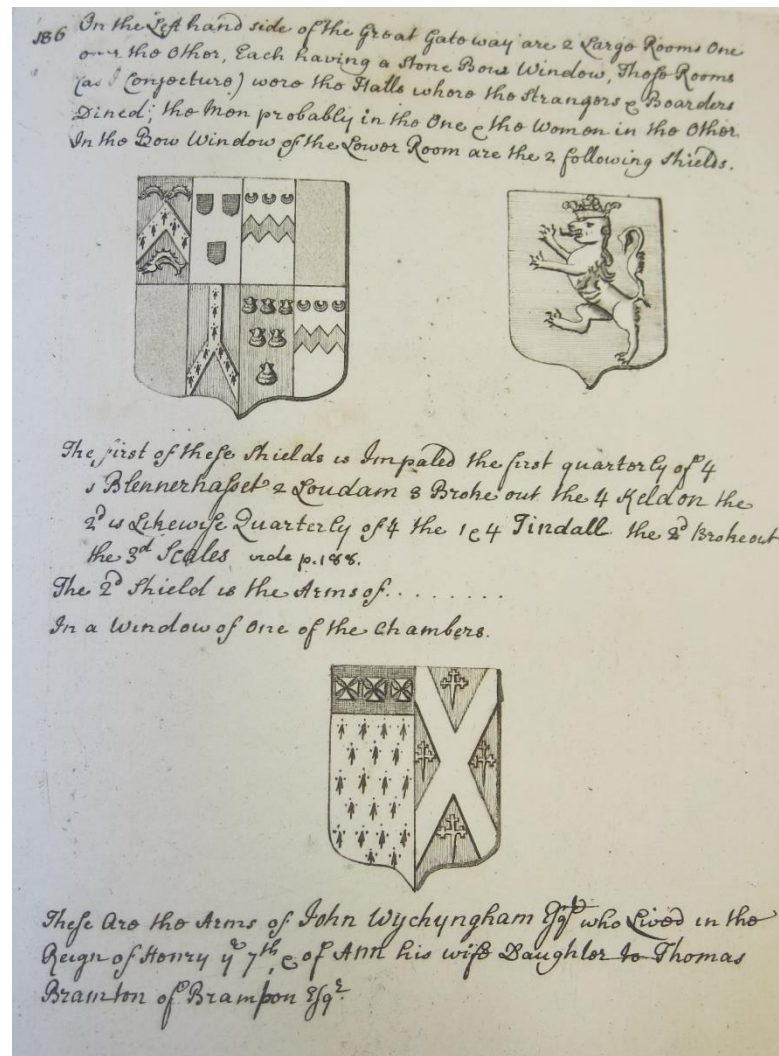


Figure 36: Anthony Norris, notes on the stained glass at Carrow Abbey, 18th century. Ink on paper. Norris, Anthony. The History of Diverse Towns and Villages in the County of Norfolk: Consisting of the Funeral Monuments, Arms, etc., Inscriptions in the Churches, some Account of the Families there Seated, of the Manors, and of the Foundations of Several Monasteries and Religious Houses. Collected 1730-33, 1730-1733, Walter Rye Collection, RYE 6, iii, NRO, Norwich



Figure 37: Robert Pranker, "To the Honourable & Right Revd The Lord Bishop & To the Revd the Dean & Chapter of Exeter, This Engraving of the Great West Window in their Cathedral Church," after 1767. Etching with hand colouring, sheet h62.5xw42.3cm. King George III's Personal Coloured Collection, British Library, London. Accessed July 31, 2019, <http://george3.splrarebooks.com/collection/view/To-the-Honourable-Right-Revd-The-Lord-Bishop-To-the-Revd-the-Dean-Chapter-o>



Figure 38: Thomas Gainsborough, *Ignatius Sancho*, 1768. Oil on canvas, h73.7xw62.2cm, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa. Accessed Aug 22, 2019, <https://www.bl.uk/collection-items/portrait-of-ignatius-sancho-by-thomas-gainsborough-1768>



Figure 39: Felbrigg Hall (Norfolk), Great Hall, c.1840. Accessed Aug 30, 2021, http://www.norfolkstainedglass.org/Felbrigg_Hall/home.shtml



Figure 40: George Cattermole, view of the oriel window at Fonthill Abbey, early-nineteenth century. Alexander, *Life at Fonthill 1807-22*, facing 121



Figure 41: Frances Dorothea Hoare (?), view of the Drawing Room at Luscombe Castle (Devonshire), showing the French doors to the veranda, c. 1825. Watercolour. Hussey, *English Country Houses*, 62

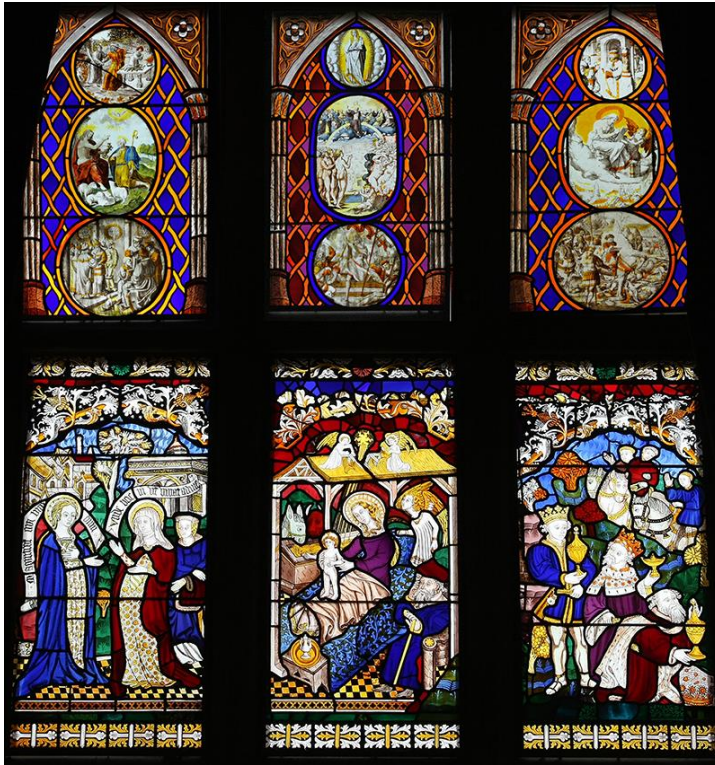


Figure 42: Felbrigg Hall (Norfolk), Great Hall, upper window sl, c. 1840. Stained and painted glass. Accessed Aug 30, 2021, http://www.norfolkstainedglass.org/Felbrigg_Hall/home.shtml



Figure 43: Felbrigg Hall (Norfolk), Great Hall, upper window sll, c. 1840. Stained and painted glass. Accessed Aug 30, 2021, http://www.norfolkstainedglass.org/Felbrigg_Hall/home.shtml



Figure 44: Felbrigg Hall (Norfolk), Great Hall, upper South Bay window, c. 1840, digitally altered to show all panels. Stained and painted glass. Accessed Aug 30, 2021, http://www.norfolkstainedglass.org/Felbrigg_Hall/home.shtm



Figure 45: Felbrigg Hall (Norfolk), Great Hall, upper West Bay window, c. 1840. Stained and painted glass. Accessed Aug 30, 2021, http://www.norfolkstainedglass.org/Felbrigg_Hall/home.shtm



Figure 46: Wragby (North Yorkshire), Church of St Michael and Our Lady, window nIV, 2013. Stained and painted glass. Accessed Aug 22, 2019, http://www.cvma.ac.uk/jsp/record.do?mode=LOCATION&photodataKey=25702&sortField=WINDOW_NO&sortDirection=ASC&rowsPerPage=20&selectedPage=3&recPagePos=2

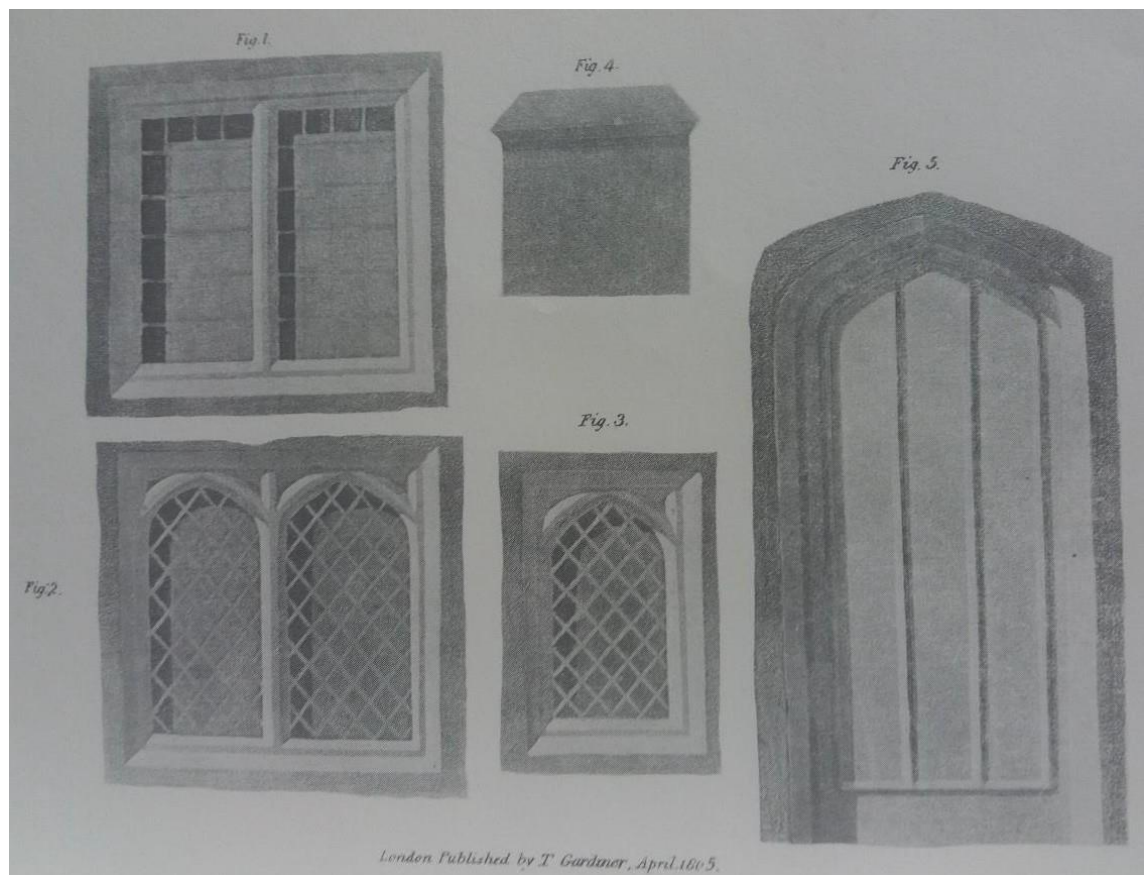


Figure 47: Examples of windows suitable for a picturesque cottage. Atkinson, *Views of Picturesque Cottages with Plans*, figures 1-5

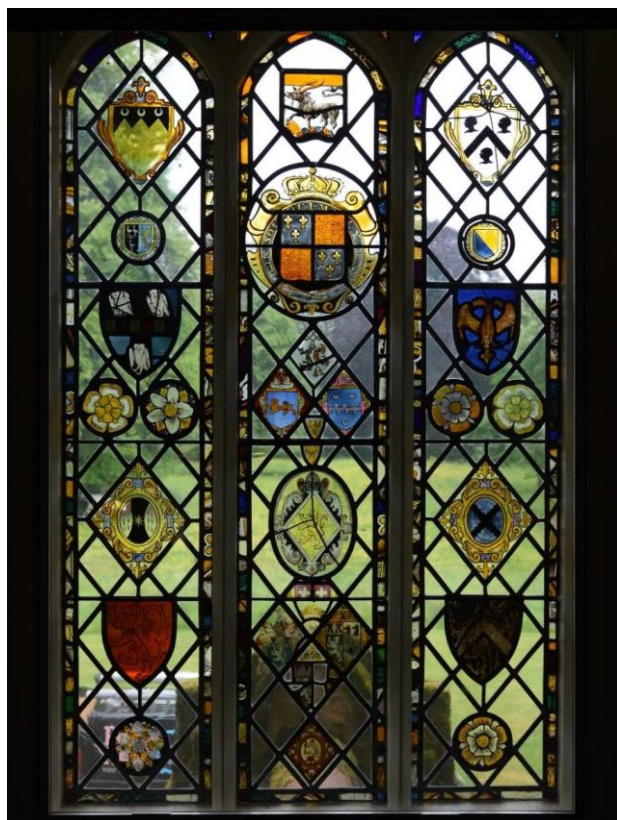


Figure 48: Swannington (Norfolk) The Swannington Lawn Estate, first floor window I. Stained and painted glass. Photograph: David Spirit, 2018



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Figure 50: Swannington (Norfolk), The Swannington Lawn Estate, ground floor window I upper panels. Stained and painted glass. Photograph: David Spirit, 2018



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Figure 52: Swannington (Norfolk), The Swannington Lawn Estate, ground floor window III upper panels. Stained and painted glass. Photograph: David Spirit, 2018

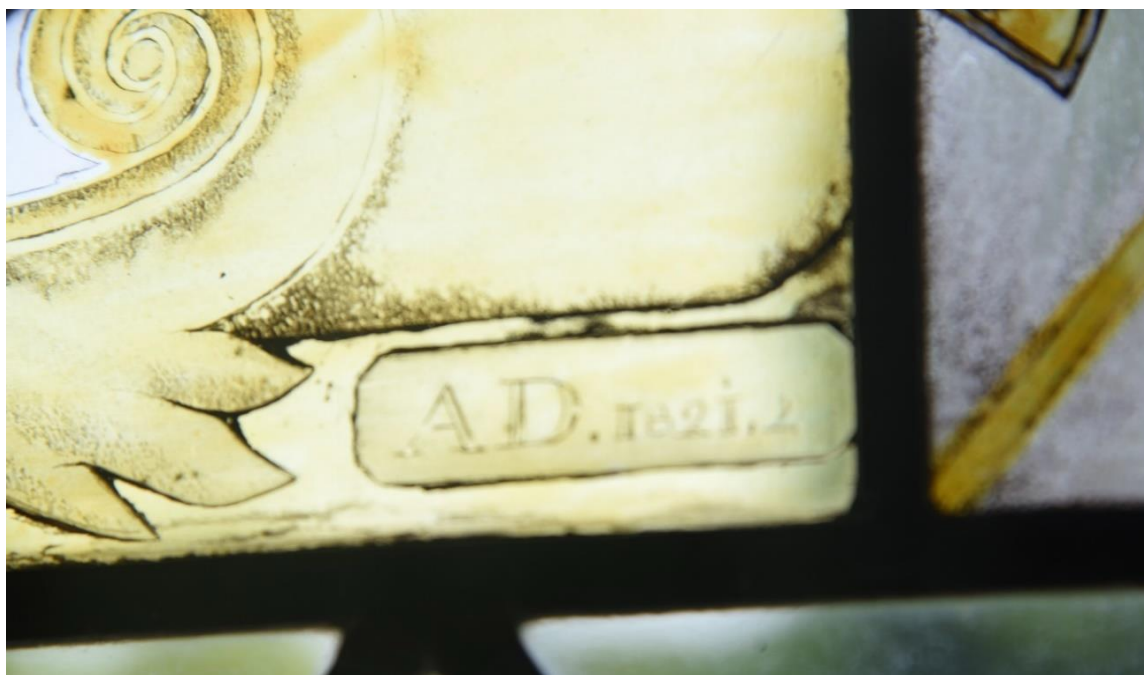


Figure 53: The Swannington Lawn Estate, Swannington (Norfolk), ground floor window II upper panels, dating detail (1821). Stained and painted glass. Photograph: David Spirit, 2018

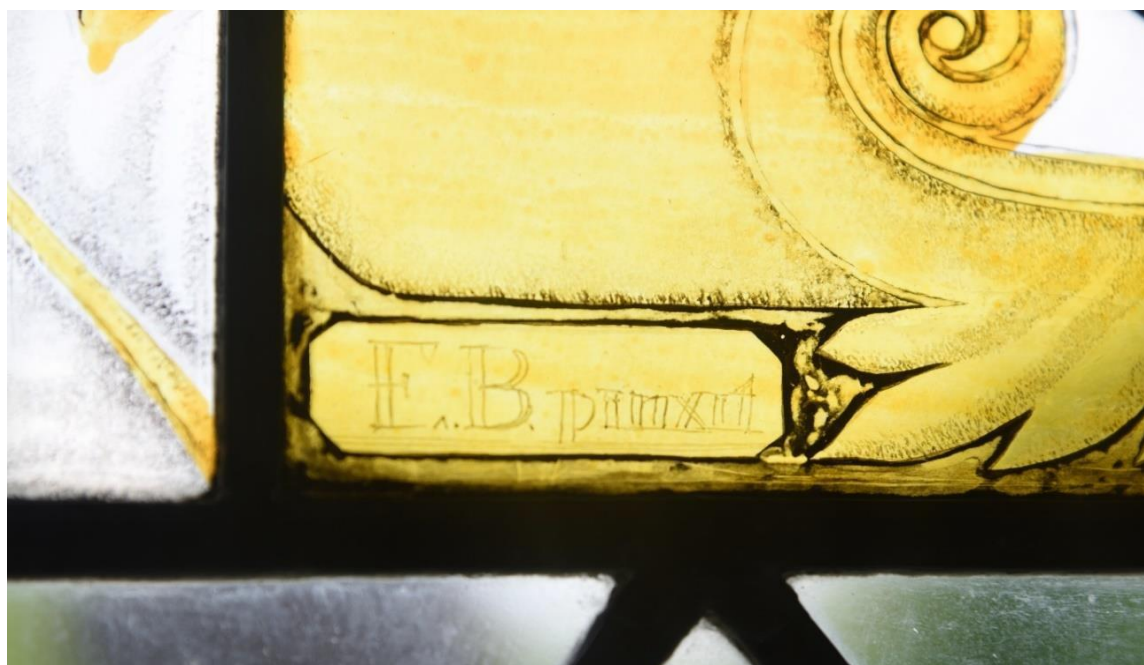


Figure 54: The Swannington Lawn Estate, Swannington (Norfolk), ground floor window II upper panels, Edmund Bartell signature. Stained and painted glass. Photograph: David Spirit, 2018

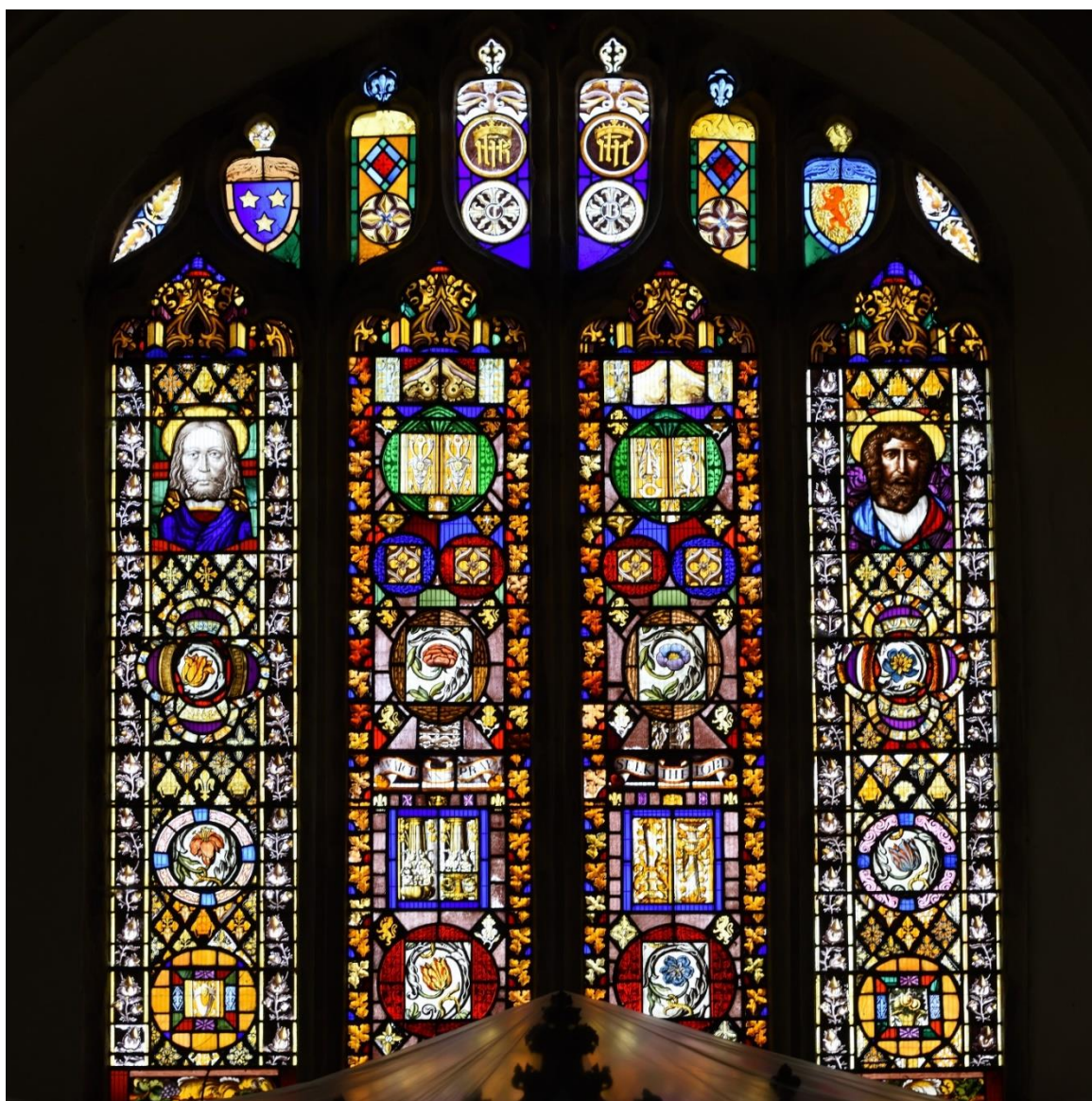


Figure 55: Swannington (Norfolk), Church of St Margaret, East window, c. 1848. Stained and painted glass. Photograph: David Spirit, 2018

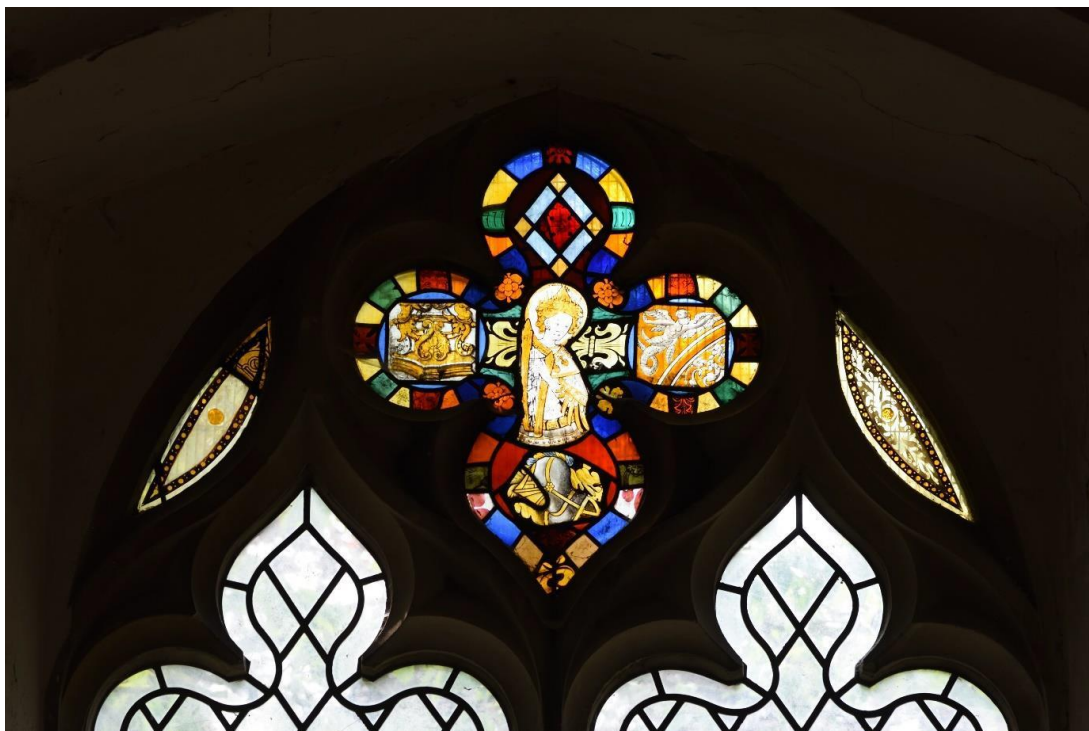


Figure 56: Swannington (Norfolk), Church of St Margaret, window sVIII tracery, c. 1848. Stained and painted glass. Photograph: David Spirit, 2018

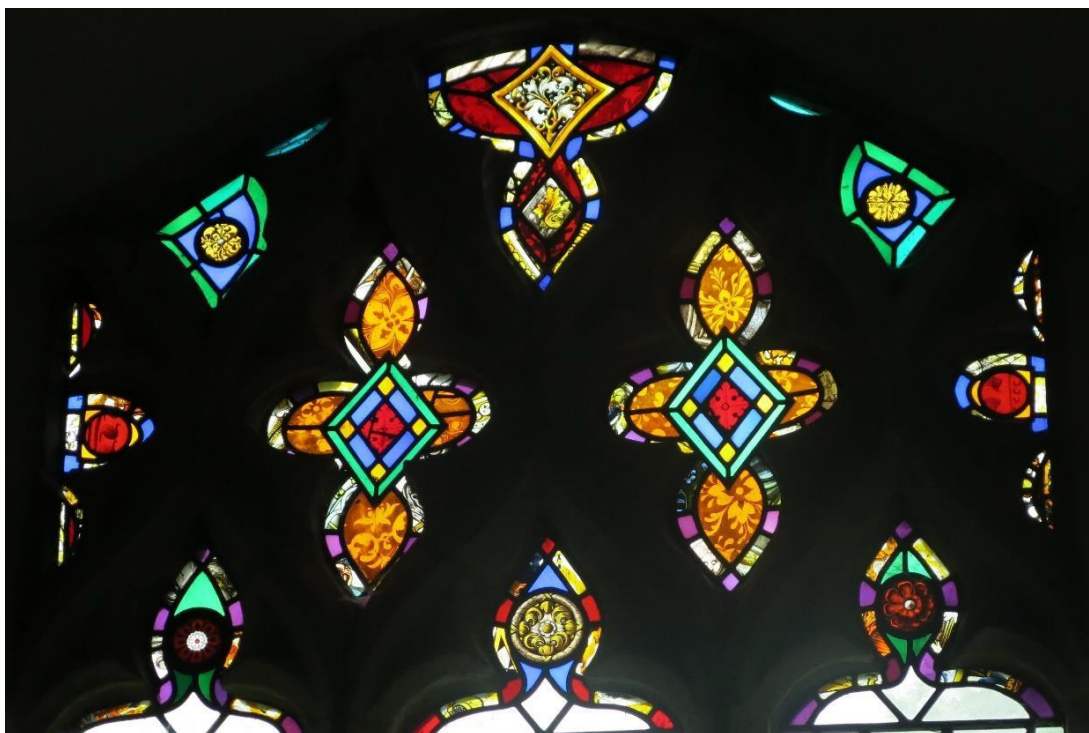


Figure 57: Hedenham (Norfolk), Church of St Peter, window sIV tracery, 1827. Stained and painted glass. Photograph: Catherine Spirit, 2014

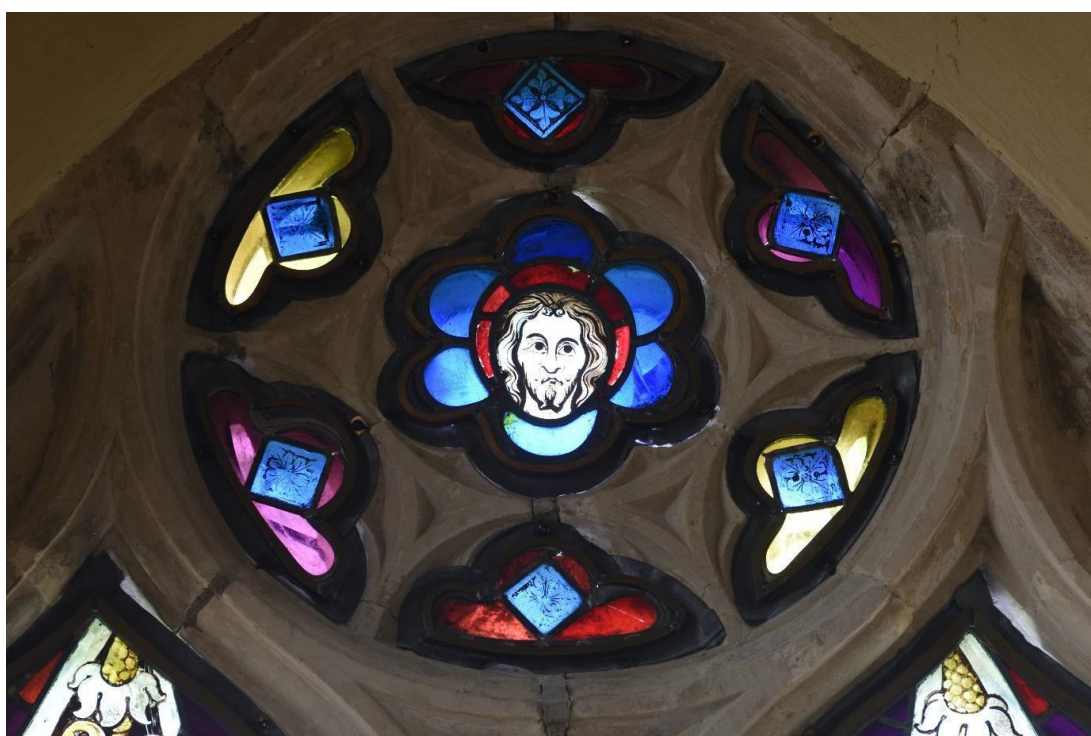


Figure 58: Kimberley (Norfolk), Church of St Peter, window sll tracery detail, c. 1825. Stained and painted glass. Photograph: David Spirit, 2018



Figure 59: Edward Davis, East-west section through the Monk's Parlour to show the stained-glass window, c. October 1825. Watercolour on paper. Dorey, "Exquisite Hues and magical effects'," 18

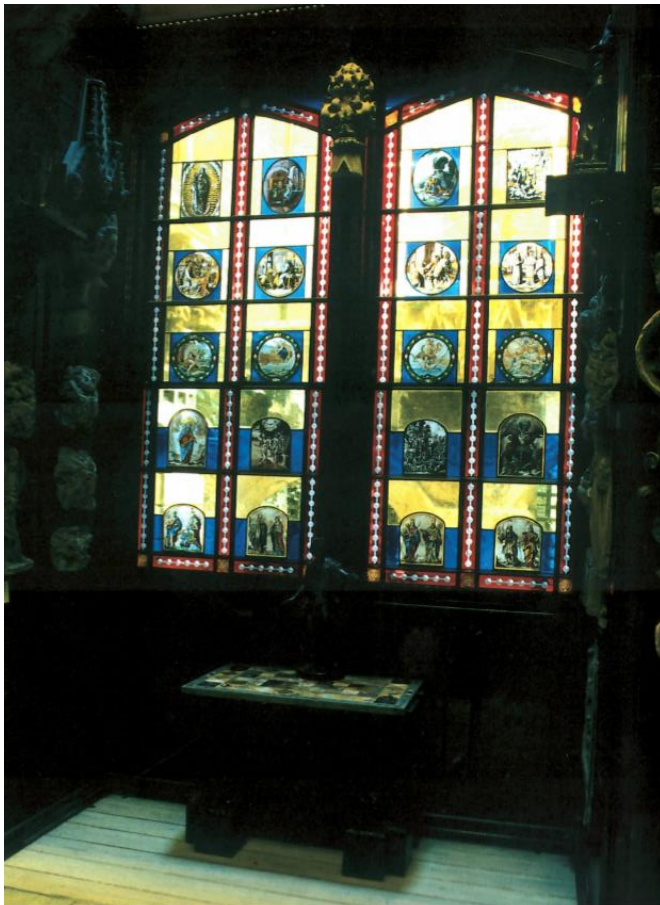


Figure 60: John Soane's Museum (London), Monk's Parlour external window. Painted and stained glass. Dorey, "Exquisite Hues and magical effects'," 18

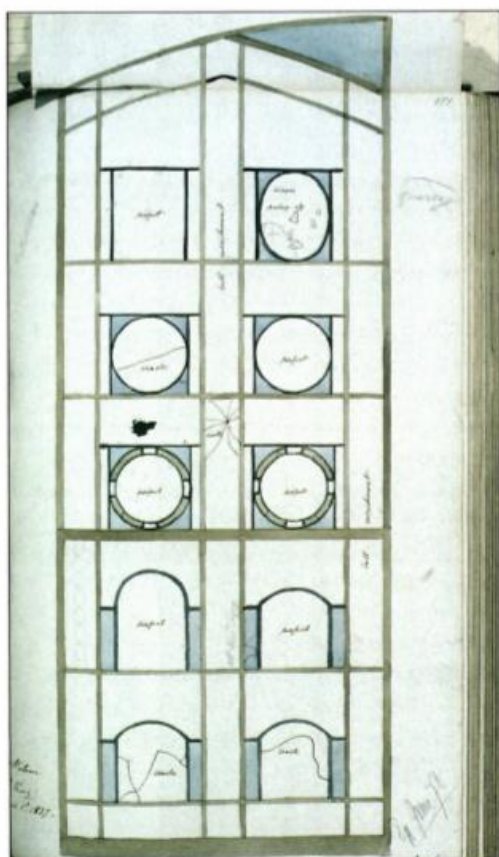


Figure 61: George Bailey, Plan of Light 1, external window, Monk's Parlour, John Soane's Museum (London), c. 1837. Helen Dorey, "The History of the Installations of Stained Glass at 13 Lincoln's Inn Fields since John Soane's Death in 1837," *The Journal of Stained Glass* XXVII (2003): 51

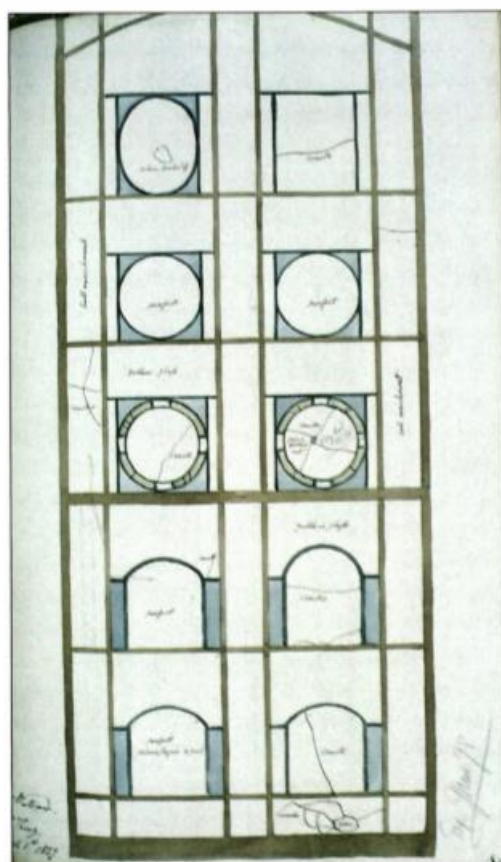


Figure 62: George Bailey, Plan of Light 2, external window, Monk's Parlour, John Soane's Museum (London), c. 1837. Dorey, "The History of the Installations," 51

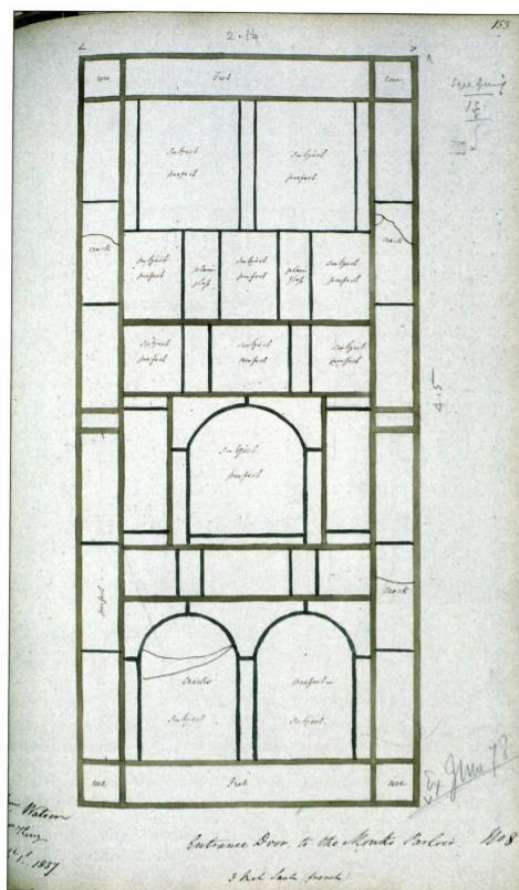


Figure 63: George Bailey, Plan of window from entrance door to the Monk's Parlour, John Soane's Museum (London), c. 1837.

Dorey, "The History of the Installations," 52

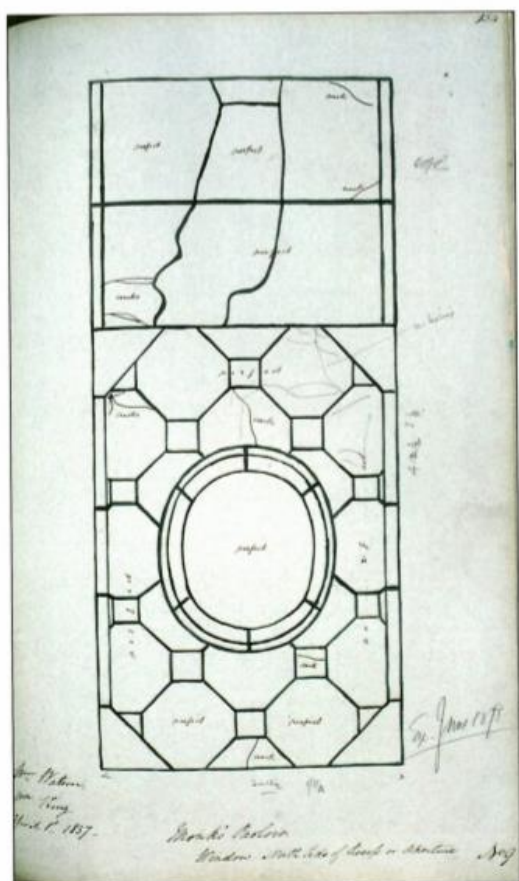


Figure 64: George Bailey, Plan of window on the north side of the recess/aperture, Monk's Parlour, John Soane's Museum (London), c. 1837.

Dorey, "The History of the Installations," 53

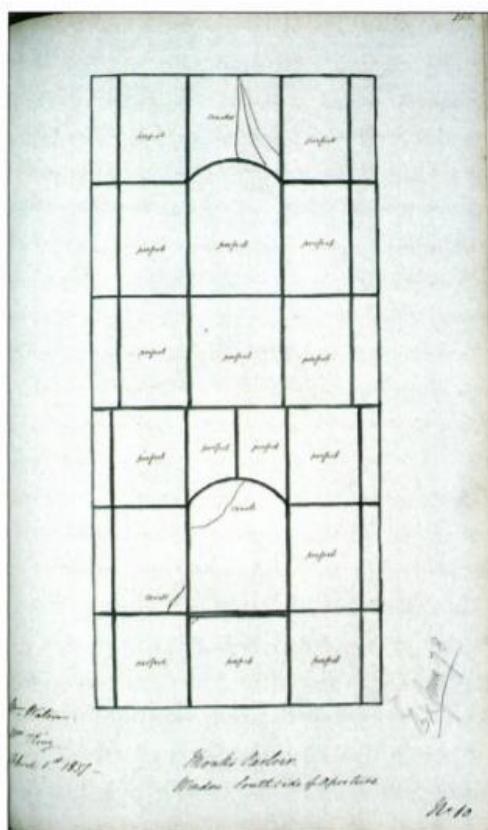


Figure 65: George Bailey, Plan of window on the south side of the aperture, Monk's Parlour, John Soane's Museum (London), c. 1837. Dorey, "The History of the Installations," 54

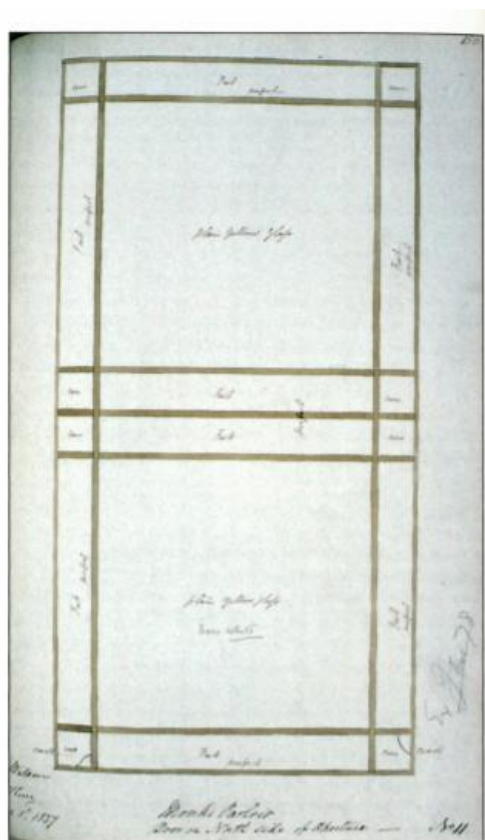


Figure 66: George Bailey, Plan of window from door on north side of the aperture, Monk's Parlour, John Soane's Museum (London), c. 1837. Dorey, "The History of the Installations," 55

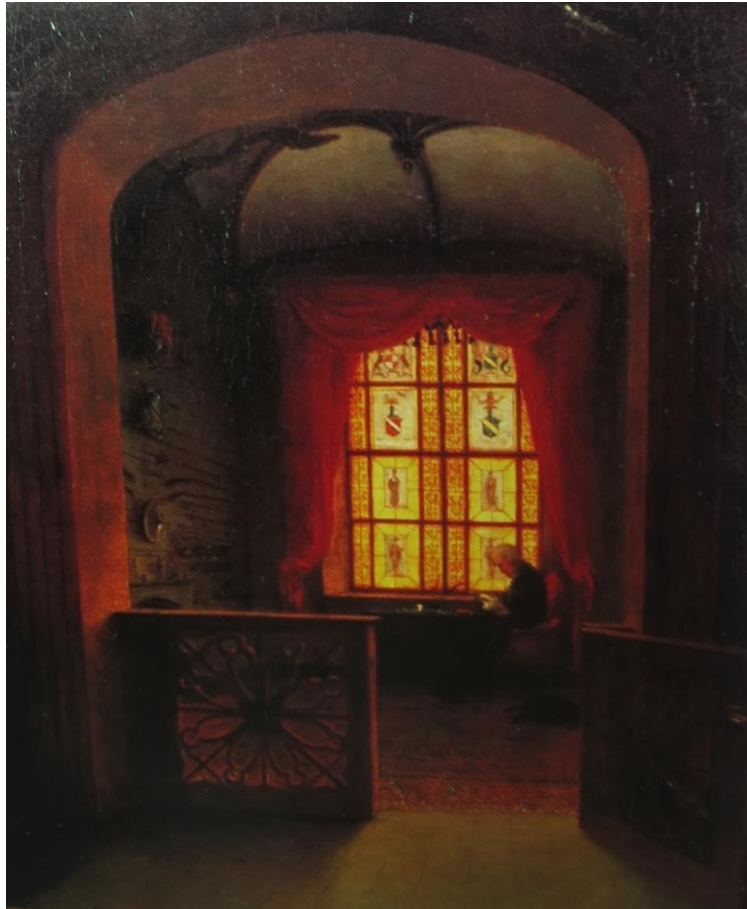


Figure 67: Henry Stisted, *Sir Walter Scott in his Armoury*, 1826. Wainwright, *The Romantic Interior*, 173

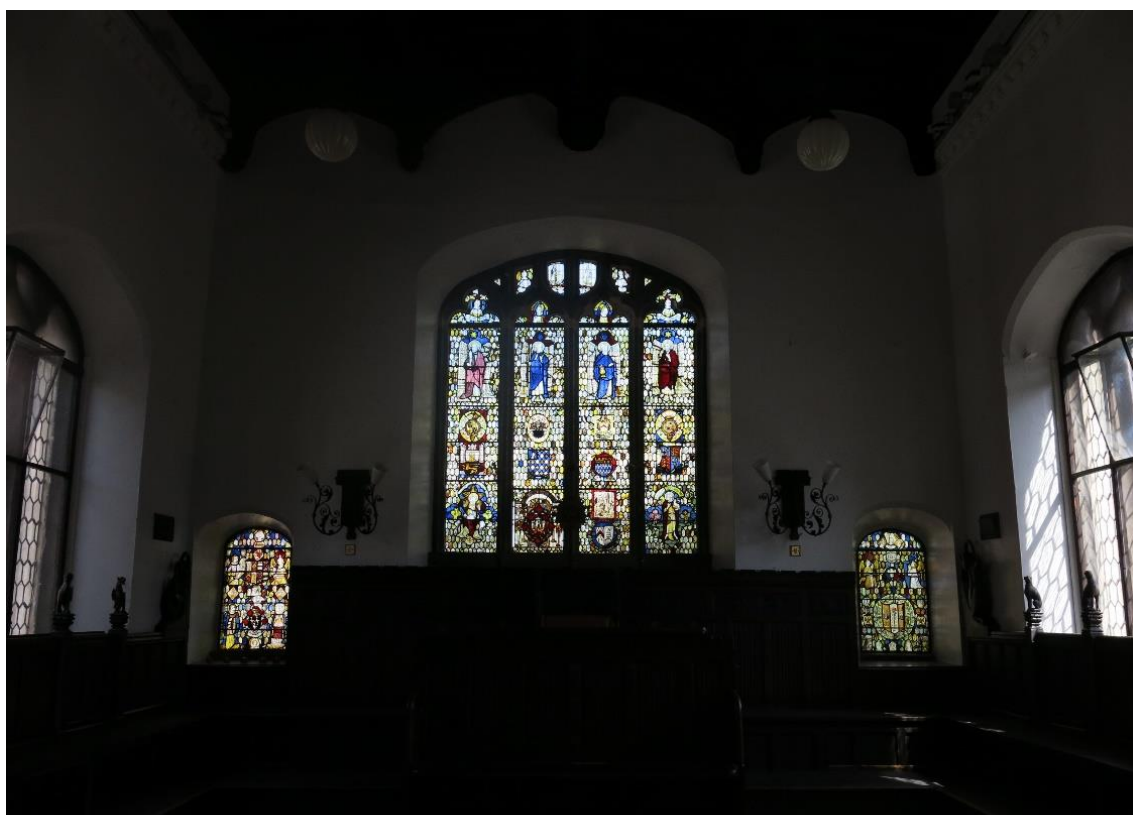


Figure 68: Norwich Guildhall council chamber glazing, c. 1835-50. Stained and painted glass. Photograph: Catherine Spirit, 2014



Figure 69: Great Yarmouth (Norfolk), 4 South Quay, staircase window. Stained and painted glass. Photograph: David King, 2021



Figure 70: Ketteringham (Norfolk), Ketteringham Hall, staircase window. Stained and painted glass. Photograph: David King, 2021



Figure 71: Stained glass panel depicting an infant baptism scene, formerly from Langley Hall (Norfolk), mid-twentieth century. Photographic glass plate negative, h15.24xw10.16cm. Records of G. King & Son (Lead Glaziers) Ltd of Norwich, KNG 3/2/1/581, NRO, Norwich, mid-twentieth century



Figure 72: Blickling Hall (Norfolk). Accessed Aug 22, 2019, <https://www.explorenorfolkuk.co.uk/blickling-hall.html>

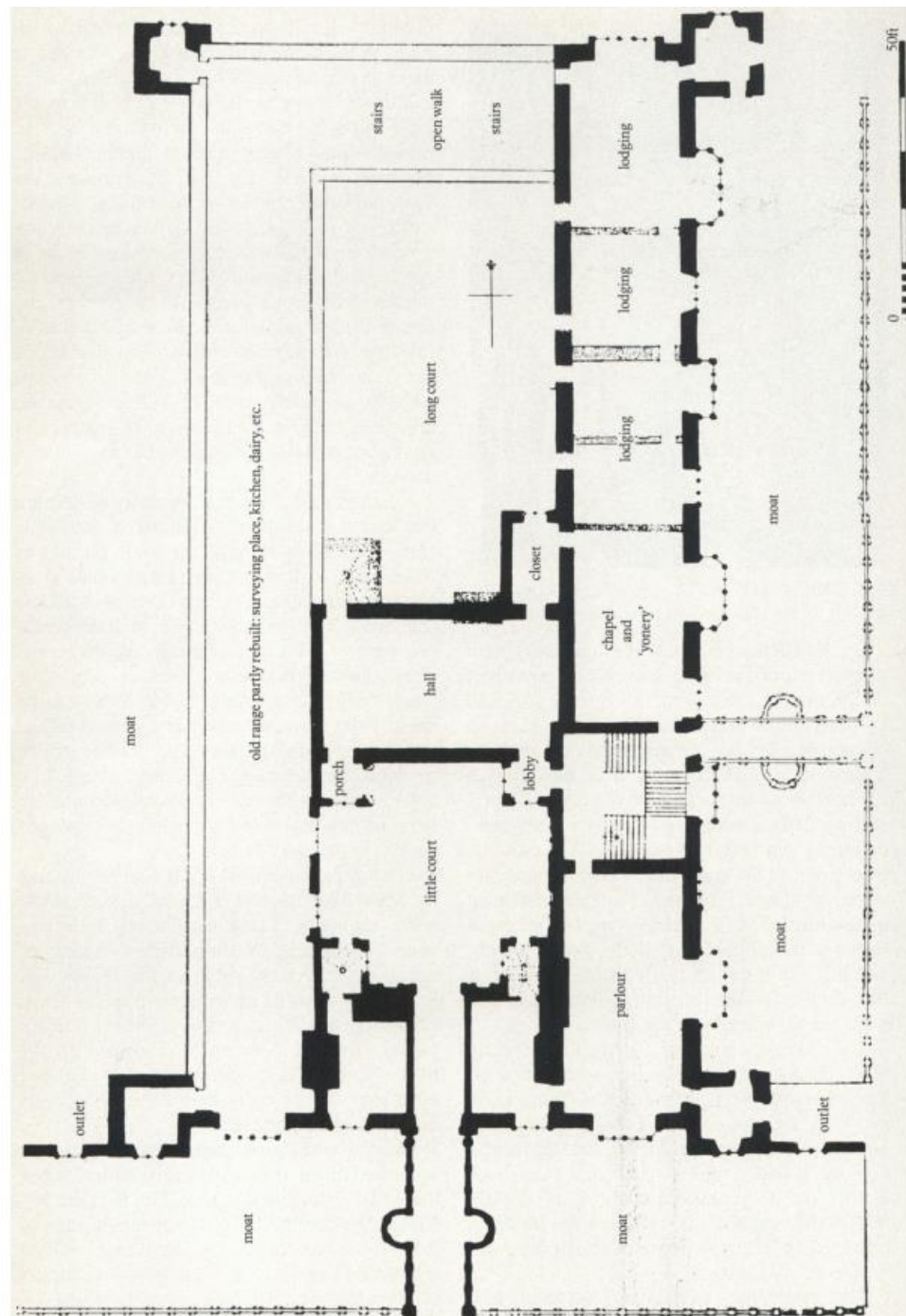


Figure 73: Ground floor plan of Blickling Hall (Norfolk) during the seventeenth century, before the movement of the staircase. Note the placement of the Brown Staircase against the north external wall of the room labelled “hall” (now home to the Grand Staircase). Stanley Millson, “Blickling Hall: The Building of a Great House,” 68

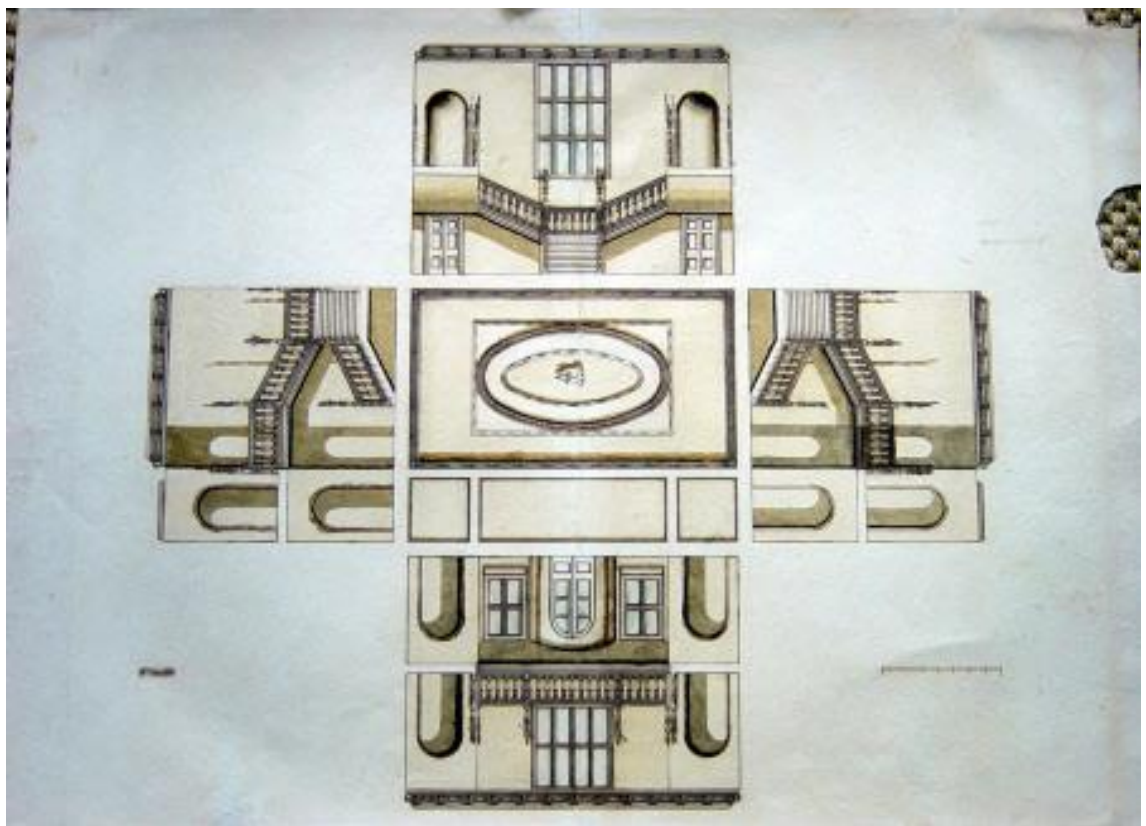


Figure 74: William Ivory, Album No. 12. Ceiling plan and elevation for the remodelling of the Great Hall as a stair hall, Blickling Hall (Norfolk), 1765. Pen and ink on paper. National Trust. Accessed Aug 20, 2019, <http://www.nationaltrustcollections.org.uk/object/353776>



Figure 75: Blickling Hall (Norfolk), Grand Staircase window. Stained and painted glass. National Trust. Accessed May 20, 2019, <http://www.nationaltrustcollections.org.uk/object/354901>



Figure 76: John Chessell Buckler, *The Great Hall*, 1820. Watercolour on paper. National Trust, *Illustrated Picture List* (Swindon: National Trust, 2010), 2



Figure 77: Blickling Hall (Norfolk), grand Staircase from the ground floor. Accessed May 28, 2019, <http://www.tournorfolk.co.uk/blicklinghall.html>

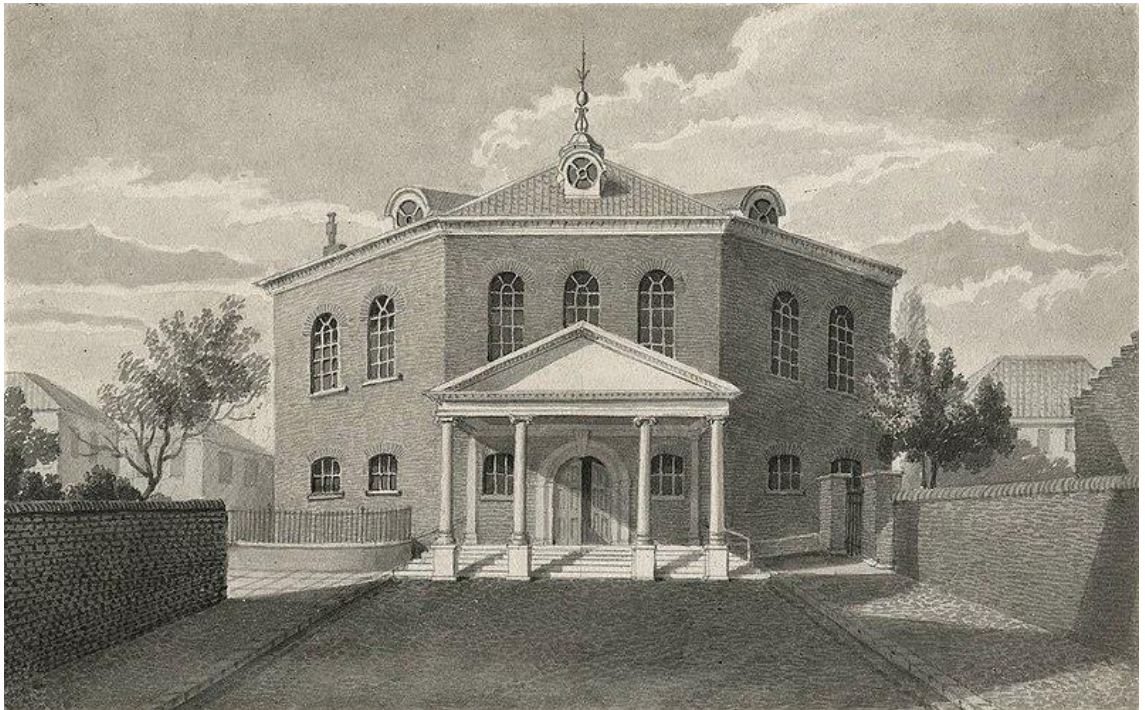
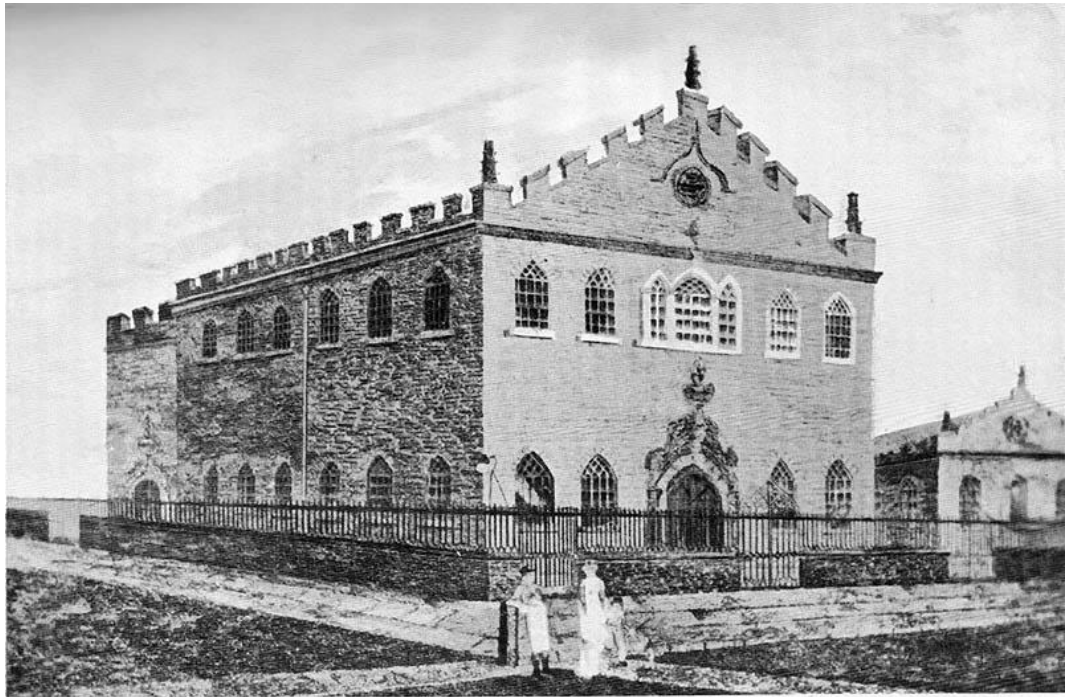


Figure 78: James Sillett, *The Octagon Chapel*, n.d. Monochrome on paper, h13.5xw21.6cm. Norfolk Museums Collection, Norwich. Accessed Dec 31, 2020, <http://norfolkmuseumscollections.org/collections/objects/object-1937469579.html/#!/?q=octagon%2Bchapel>



OLDHAM STREET WESLEYAN CHAPEL,
As it appeared in 1807.

Figure 79: Oldham Street (Manchester), Wesleyan Methodist chapel, 1807.

Accessed Dec 30, 2020,

<https://www.genuki.org.uk/big/eng/LAN/Manchester/CentralHall>

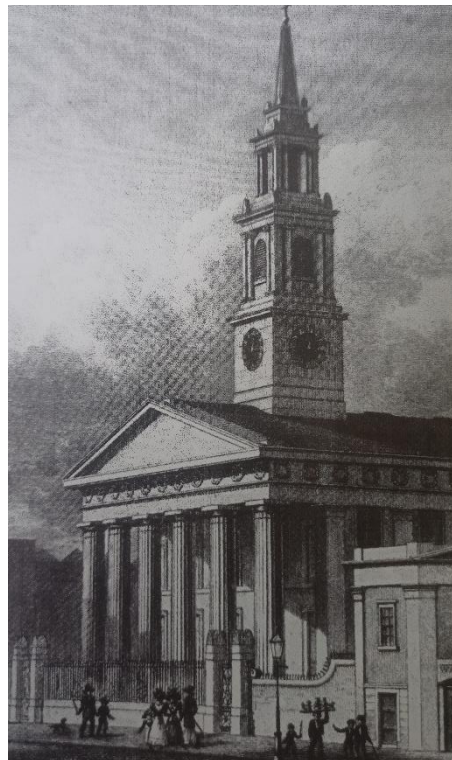


Figure 80: Francis Bedford, *St John, Waterloo Road*, 1823-24. Port, 600
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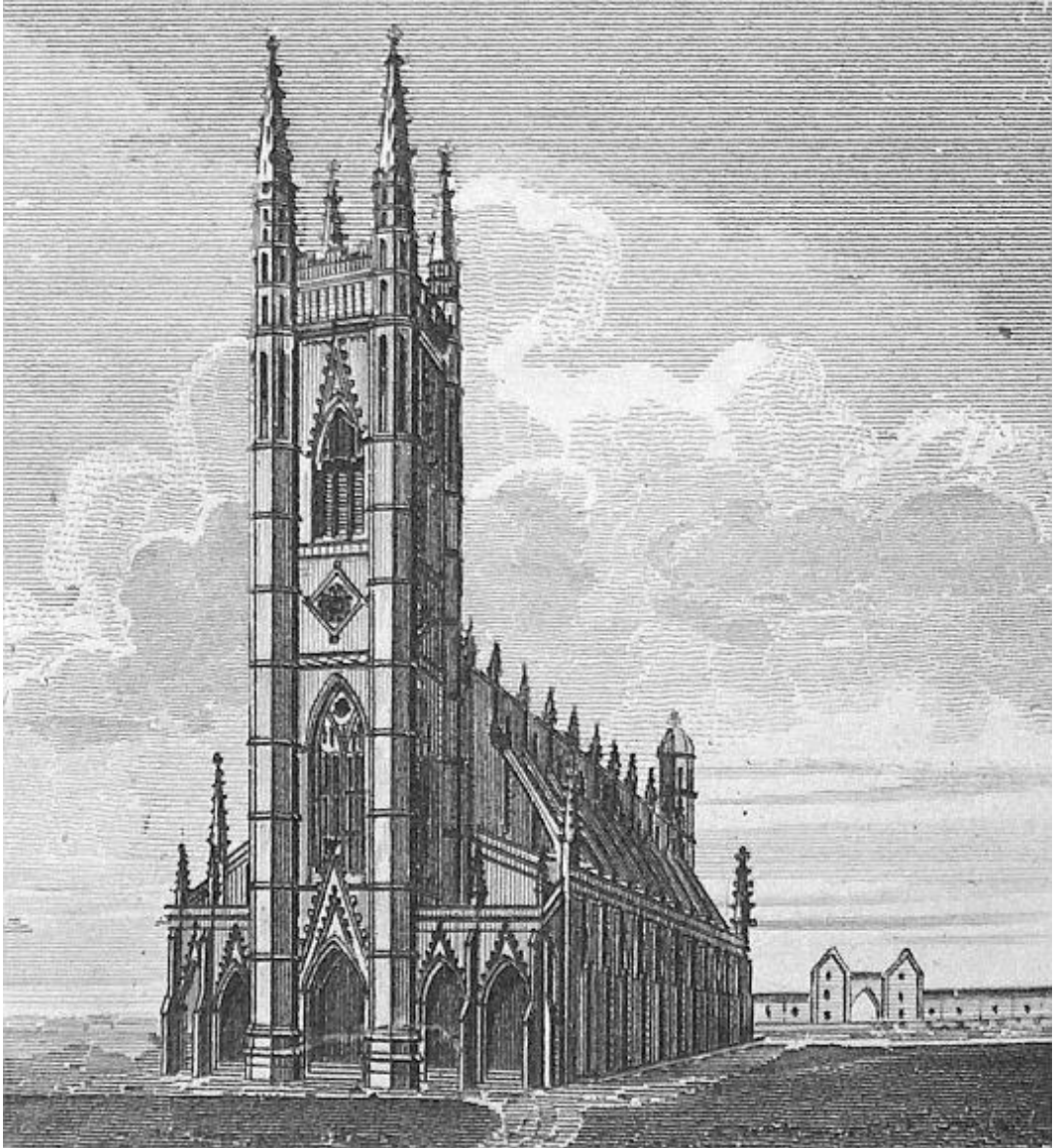


Figure 81: Chelsea (London), St Luke's Church.
Accessed Sept 23, 2021,
<http://www.speel.me.uk/chlondon/stlukeschelsea.htm>



Figure 84: Herringfleet (Suffolk), Church of St Margaret, East window and widows II and III, Herringfleet St Margaret (Suffolk). Photograph: David Spirit, 2017

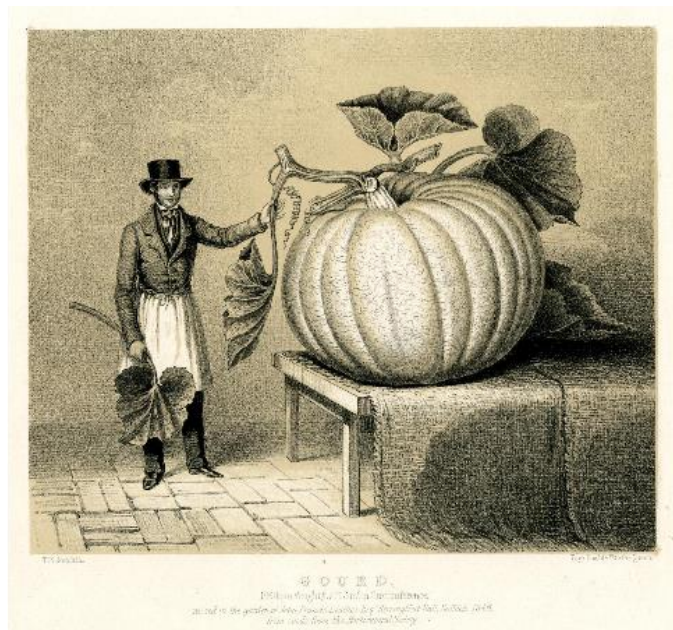


Figure 85: John Francis Leathes standing with gourd. Thomas Picken, *Gourd*, 196lb. in Weight & 7ft. 3 ins. In Circumference, raised in the garden of John Francis Leathes Esq'. Herringfleet Hall, Suffolk, 1846, from seeds from the Horticultural Society, c. 1846. Lithographic print, h19.3xw16.2cm. British Museum, London. Accessed Sept 10, 2021, https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_1859-0528-145



Figure 86: Redenhall (Norfolk), Church of St Mary, window nII, 1825. Stained and painted glass. Photograph: David Spirit,



Figure 87: Herringfleet (Suffolk), Church of St Margaret, window nII, c. 1825-32. Stained and painted glass, Accessed Sept 7, 2021, <https://flic.kr/p/4UvVUH>

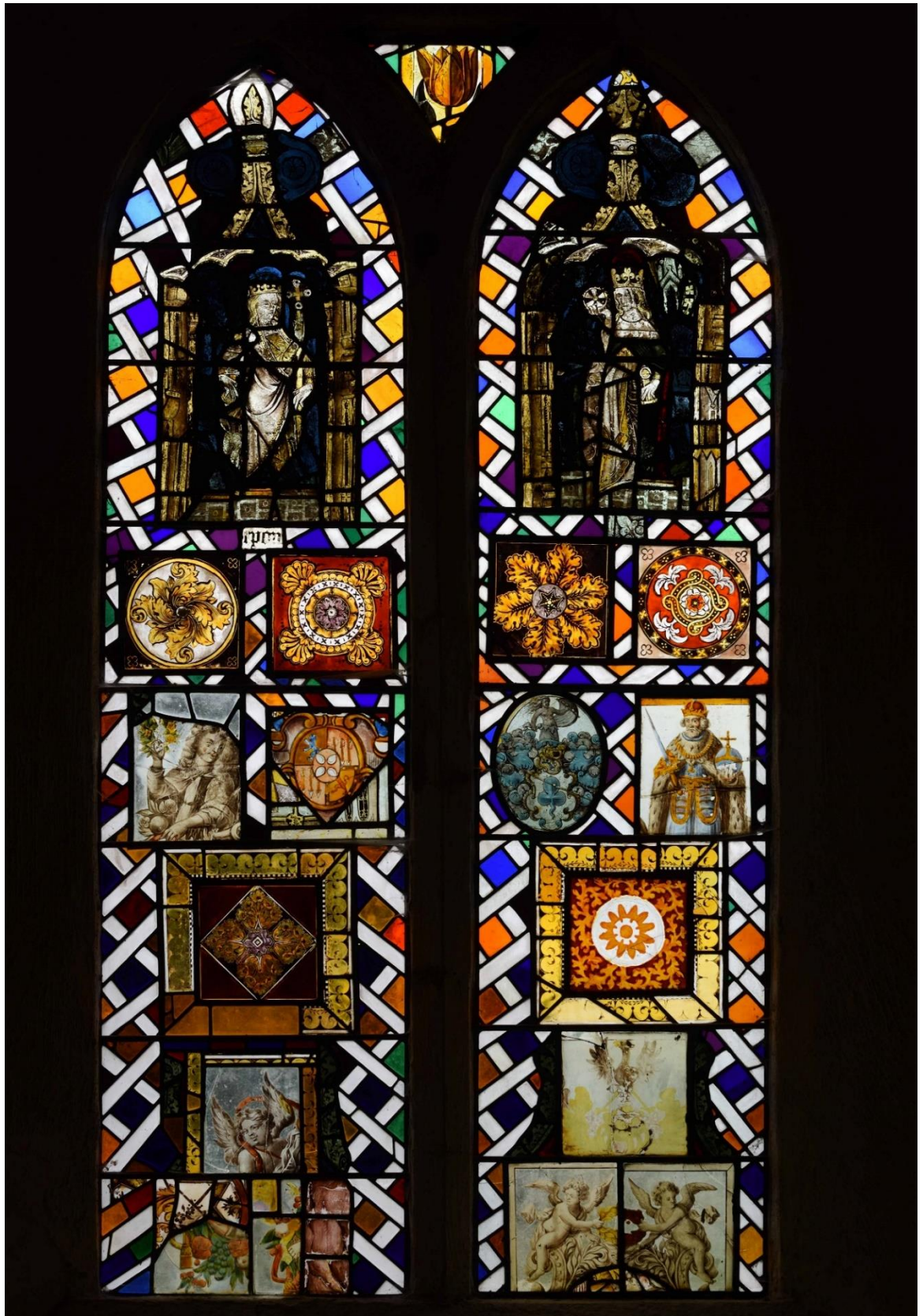


Figure 88: Herringfleet (Suffolk), Church of St Margaret, window sII, c. 1825-32. Stained and painted glass. Photograph: David Spirit, 2017

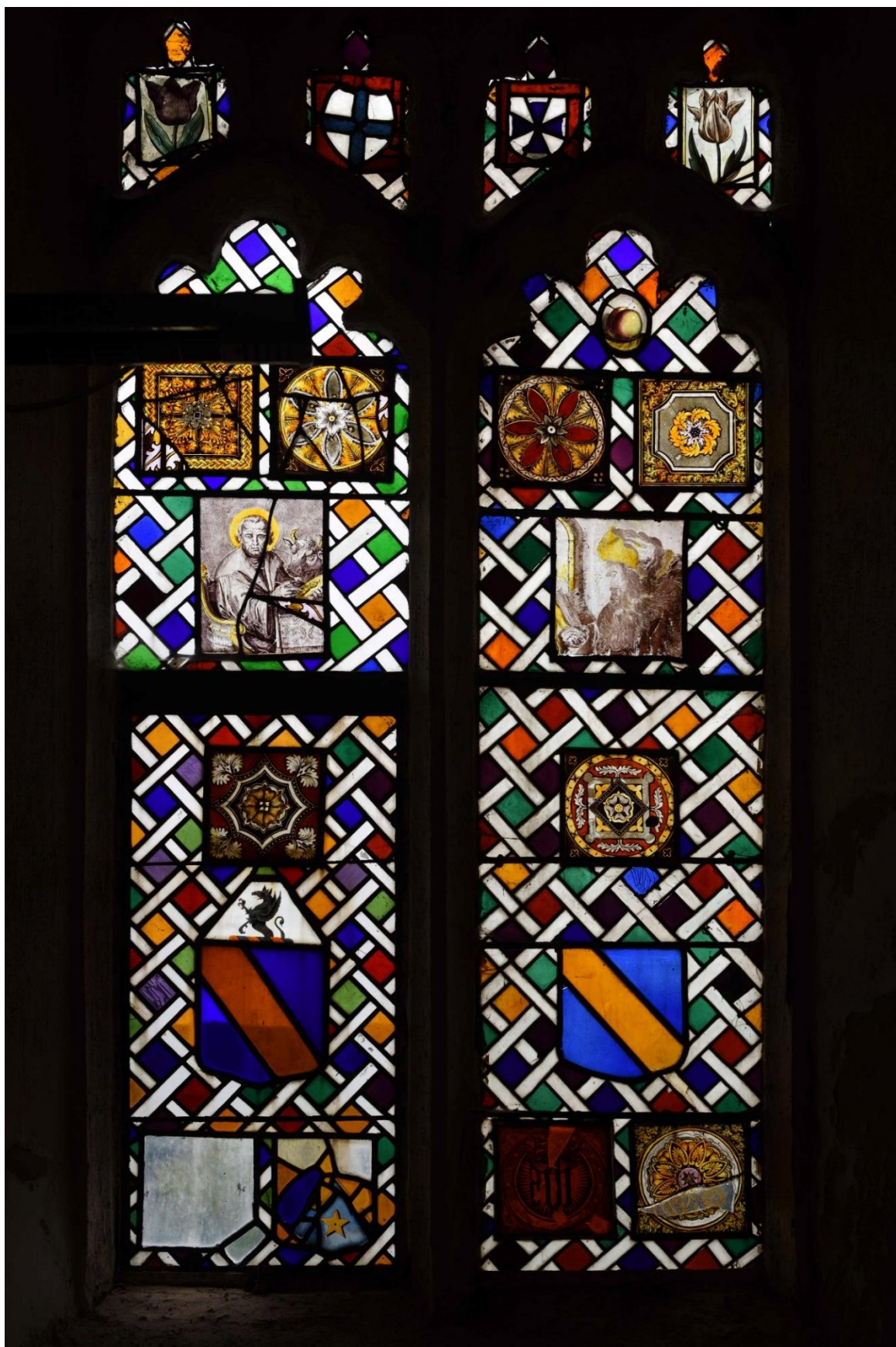


Figure 89: Herringfleet (Suffolk), Church of St Margaret, window sIII, c. 1825-32. Stained and painted glass. Photograph: David Spirit, 2017

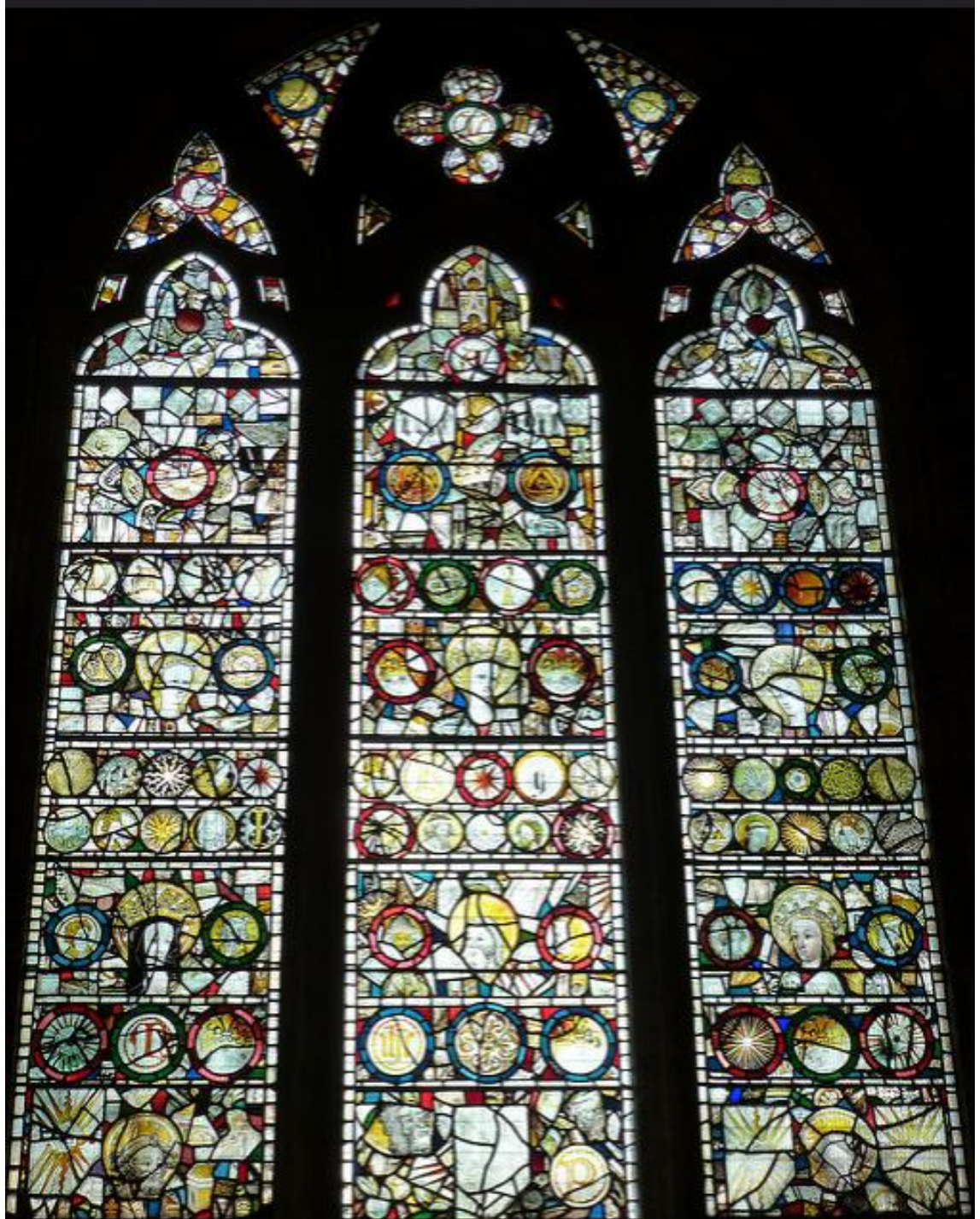


Figure 90: Bristol, Church of St Mary Redcliffe, window nXIX. Stained and painted glass. Accessed Sept 7, 2021, <https://flic.kr/p/gzFHeJ>

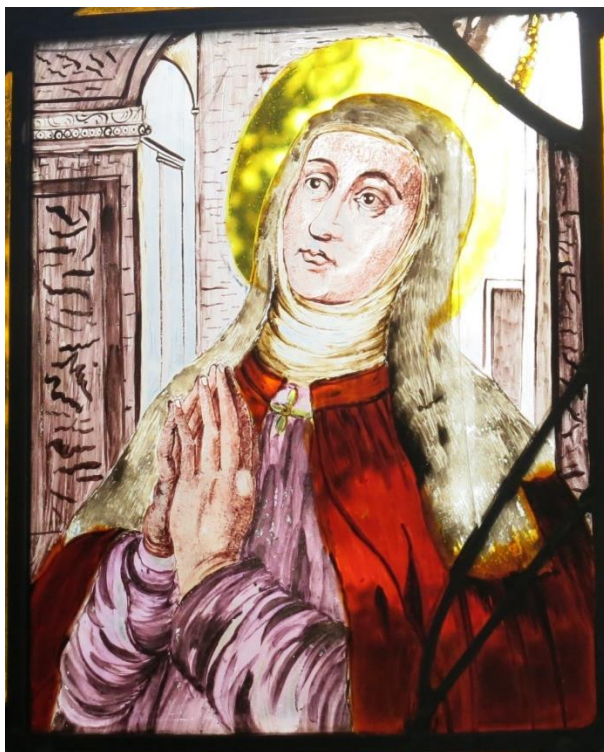


Figure 91: Thurton (Norfolk), Church of St Ethelbert, window sVI, panel 2a, stained-glass panel depicting a female saint in the style of Robert Allen, pre-1826. Stained and painted glass. Photograph: David Spirit, 2014



Figure 92: Thurton (Norfolk) Church of St Ethelbert, East window detail. Stained and painted glass. Photograph: David Spirit, 2014

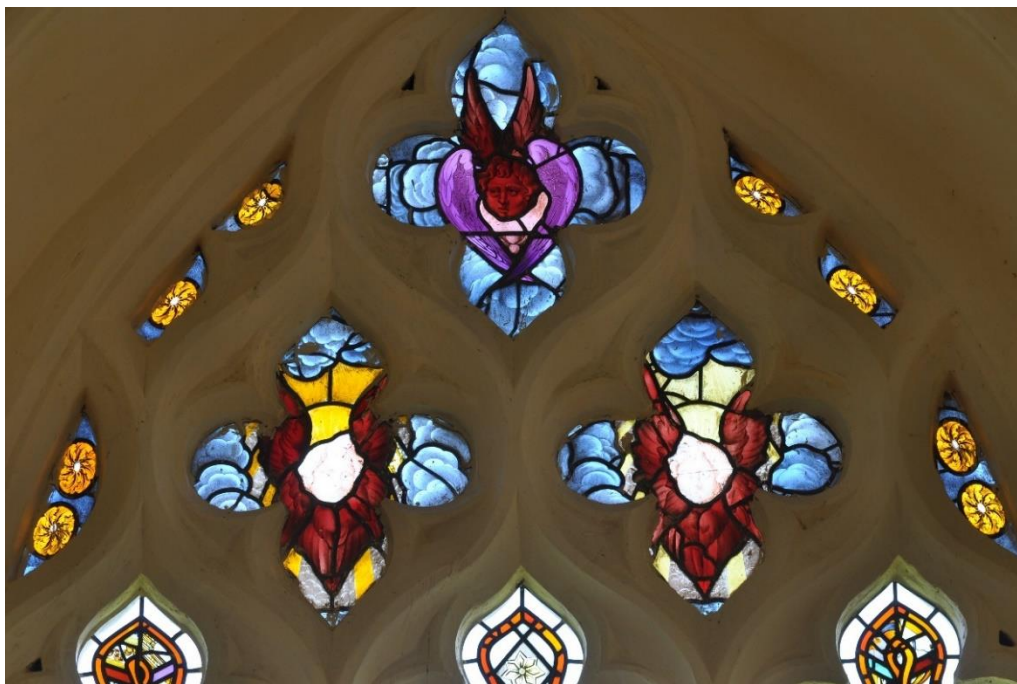


Figure 93: Thurton (Norfolk), Church of St Ethelbert, East window tracery, 1826. Stained and painted glass. Photograph: David Spirit, 2014

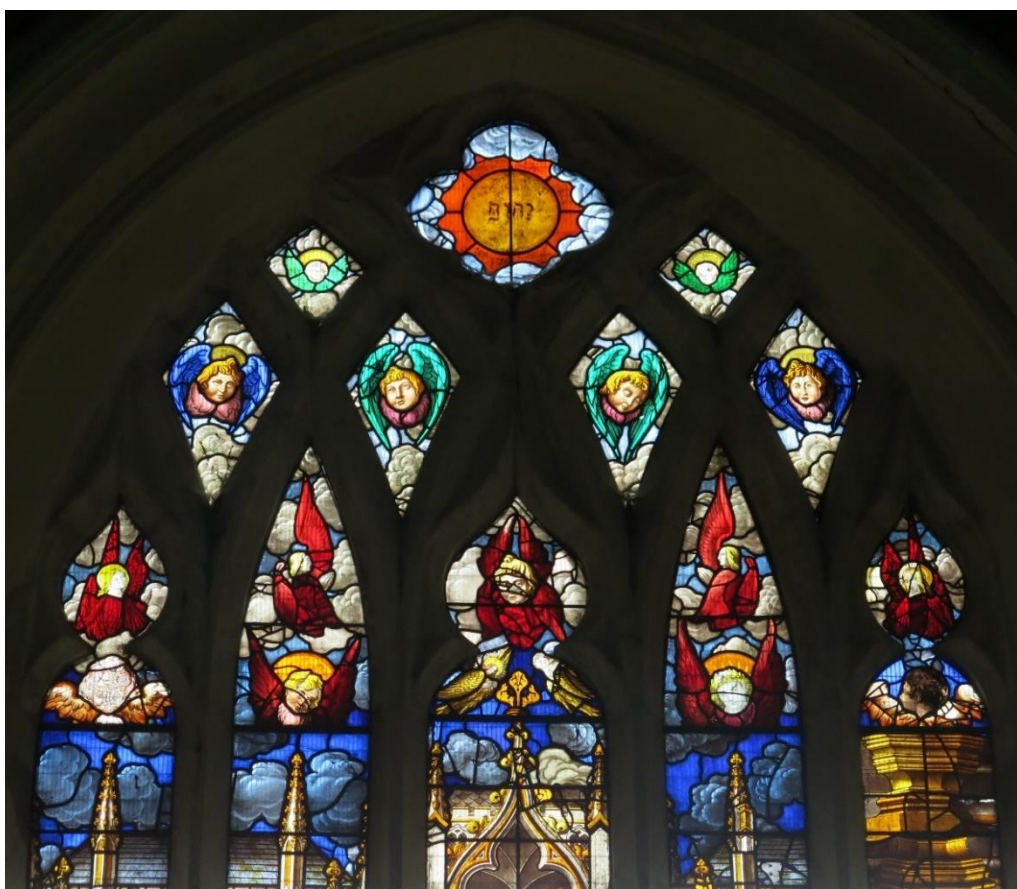


Figure 94: Buckenham (Norfolk), Church of St Nicholas, East window upper lights (lower window plain glazing), 1823. Stained and painted glass. Photograph: Catherine Spirit, 2014

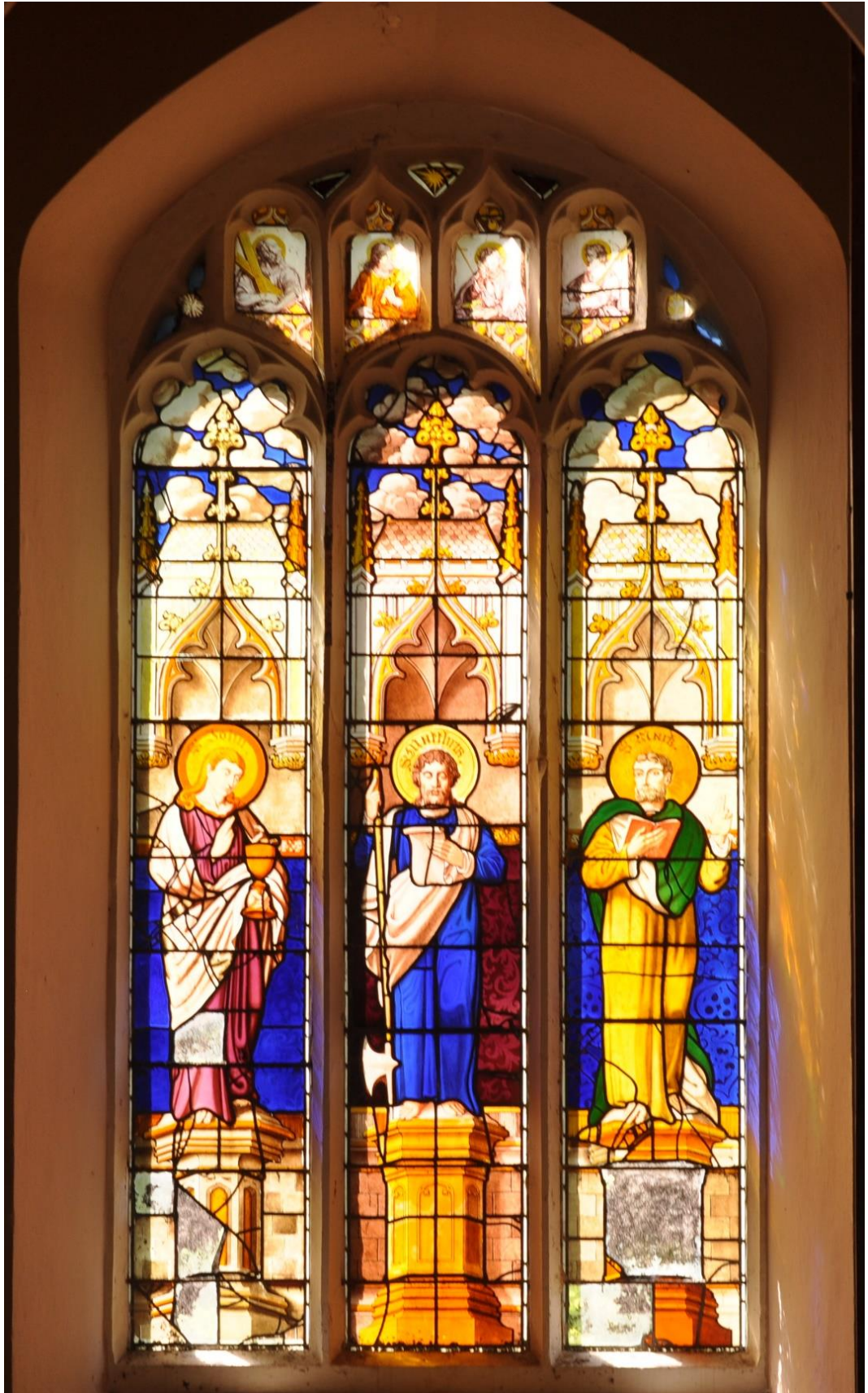


Figure 95: Langley (Norfolk), Church of St Michael, West window. Stained and painted glass. Photograph: David Spirit, 2014

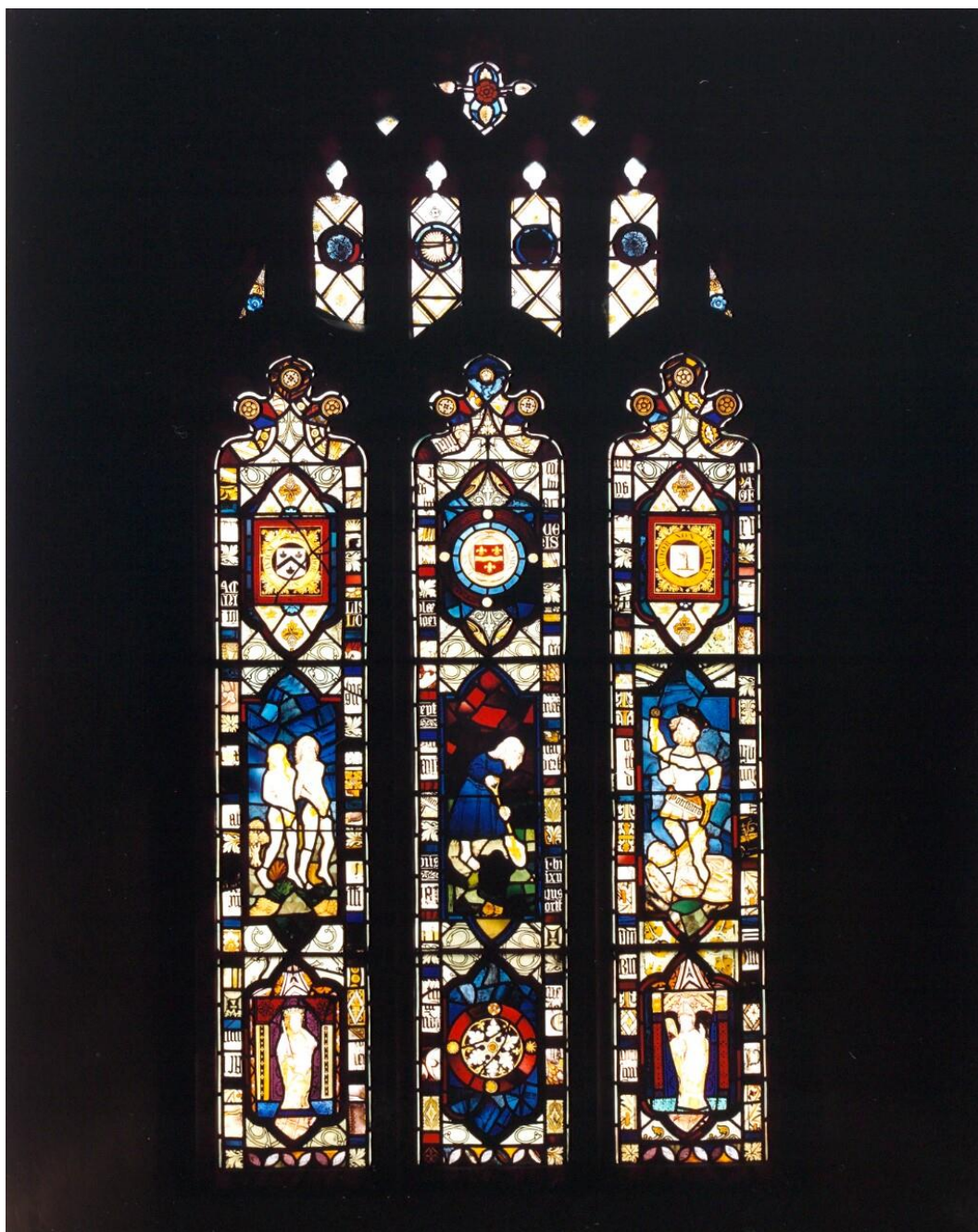


Figure 96: Mulbarton (Norfolk), St Mary Magdalen, East window. Stained and painted glass.

Accessed Mar 20, 2022,

https://www.cvma.ac.uk/jsp/record.do?mode=LOCATION&photodataKey=13083&sortField=WINDOW_NO&sortDirection=ASC&rowsPerPage=20&selectedPage=1&recPagePos=4



Figure 97: *Joseph's Brethren Discover Money in their Grain Sacks*, c. 1530. Stained and painted glass. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Accessed Aug 20, 2018, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/195778>

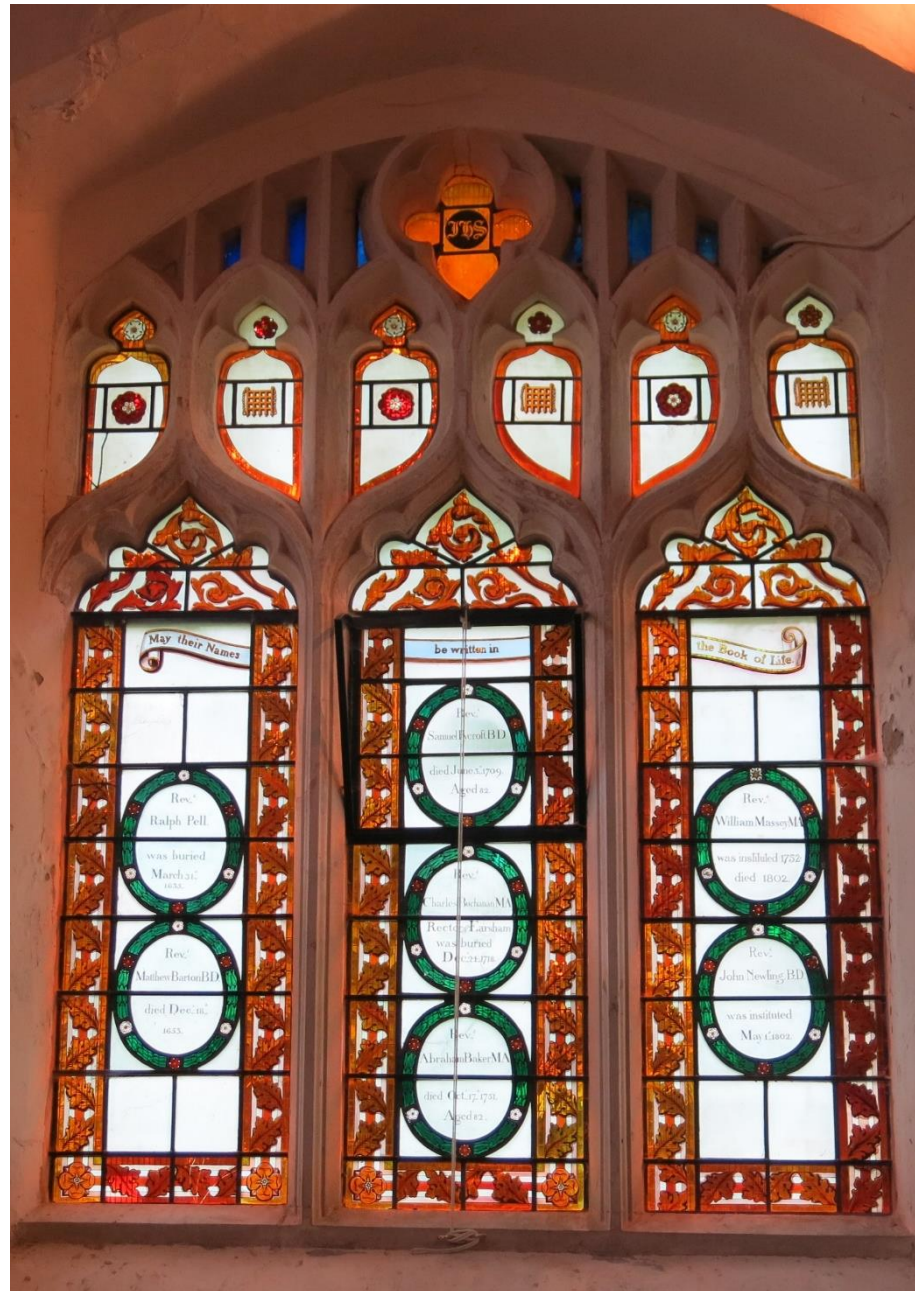


Figure 98: Ditchingham (Norfolk), Church of St Mary, window sll, 1822. Photograph: Catherine Spirit, 2014



Figure 99: Ditchingham (Norfolk), Church of St Mary, window sIII, 1822. Photograph: Catherine Spirit, 2014



Figure 100: Ditchingham (Norfolk), Church of St Mary, window sII, 1822. Photograph: Catherine Spirit



Figure 101: William Fowler, *Sir William de Berdwell*, 1805. Hand coloured engraving, h82xw58.5cm. Accessed Sept 10, 2021, <https://www.christies.com/en/lot/lot-5580723>



Figure 102: Worthenbury (Wrexham), Church of St Deiniol, East window detail, Betton & Evans, *Sir Roger de Puleston Miles*, 1823. Stained and painted glass. Accessed Sept 10, 2021, <http://stainedglass.llgc.org.uk/image/7719#largeimage>



Figure 103: Bardwell (Suffolk), Church of St Peter and St Paul, *Sir William de Berdewell*, 15th century. Accessed Sept 10, 2021, <https://flic.kr/p/4uRNkR>



Figure 104: Ditchingham (Norfolk), Church of St Mary, window sIII detail, *Lady Margaret Beaufort*, 1822. Photograph: Catherine Spirit, 2014



Figure 105: Meynnart Wewyck, *Lady Margaret Beaufort*, c. 1510. Oil on panel, h180xw122cm. St John's College, Cambridge. Chen and Bolland, "Meynnart Wewyck and the Portrait of Lady Margaret Beaufort"



Figure 106: Edwin Dalton Smith, *Orbell Ray Oakes*, 1835. Watercolour on ivory, in h12.5xw10cm red leather case. Accessed Mar 24, 2019, <https://www.the-saleroom.com/en-gb/auction-catalogues/cheffinsfineart/catalogue-id-srche10138/lot-b9fda8da-8003-41c2-810c-a88f011ecb35>



Figure 107: Nowton (Suffolk), Church of St Peter, Oakes family pew back, pre-1838.
Photograph: David Spirit, 2021



Figure 108: Nowton (Suffolk), Church of St Peter, Oakes family pew, pre-1838.
Photograph: David Spirit, 2021



Figure 109: Nowton (Suffolk), Church of St Peter, window nII, c. 1816-21. Stained and painted glass. Photograph: David Spirit, 2021

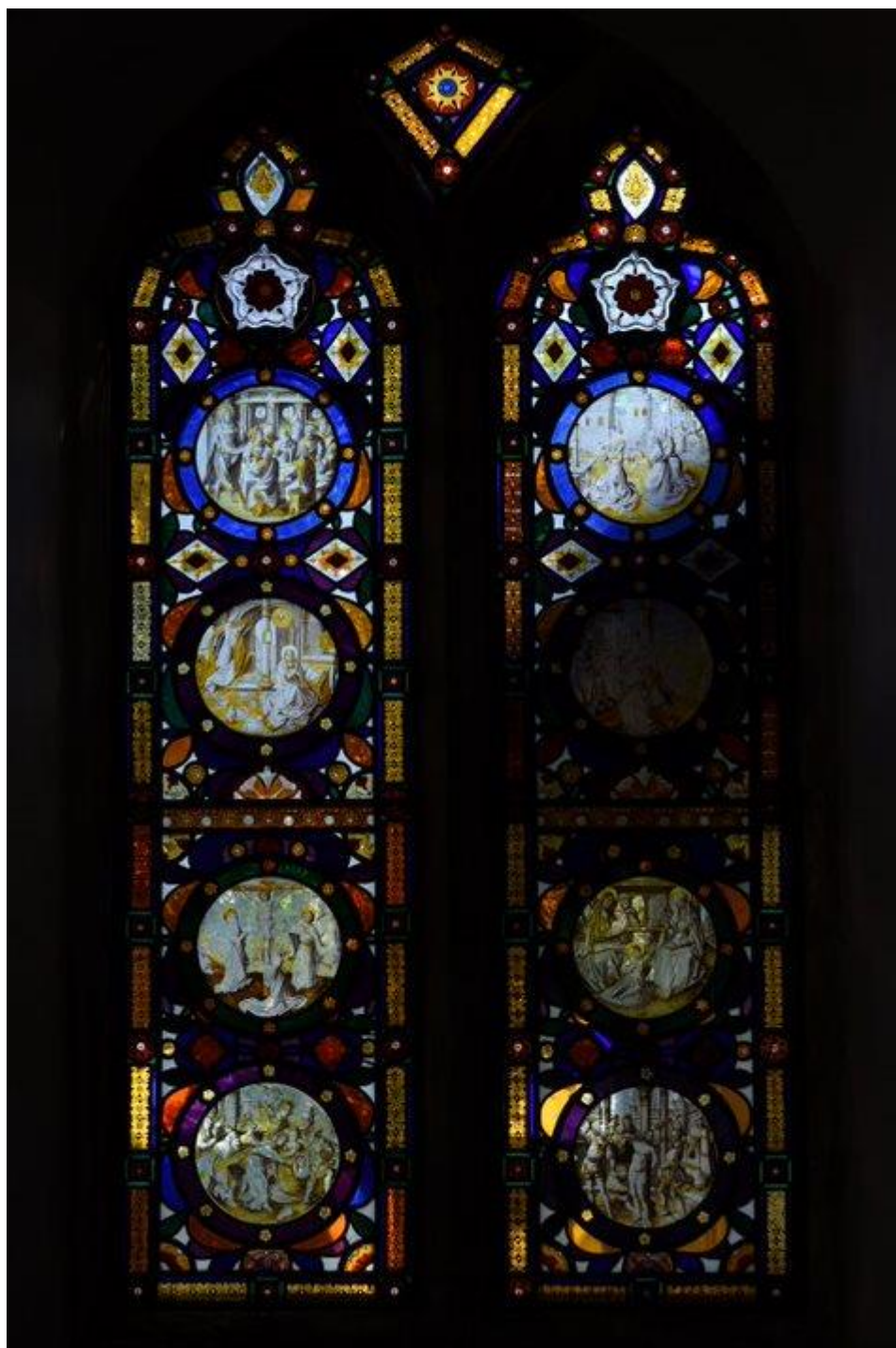


Figure 110: Nowton (Suffolk), Church of St Peter, window sII, design c. 1816-21. Stained and painted glass. Photograph: David Spirit, 2021



Figure 111: Nowton (Suffolk), Church of St Peter, memorial to O. R. Oakes.
Photograph: David Spirit, 2021



Figure 112: Nowton (Suffolk), Church of St Peter, window sV. Stained and painted glass. Photograph: David Spirit, 2021



Figure 113: Thomas Gainsborough, *John Plampin*, c. 1752. Oil on canvas, h50.2xw60.3cm. National Gallery, London. Accessed Sept 10, 2021, <https://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/thomas-gainsborough-john-plampin>



Figure 114: Nowton (Suffolk), Church of St Peter, vestry east window upper panels. Stained and painted glass. Photograph: David Spirit, 2021



Figure 115: Costessey Hall and the chapel of St Augustine. J. P. Neal, *Joans' View of the Seats, Mansions, Castles etc. of Noblemen and Gentlemen in England* (London, 1829), 2

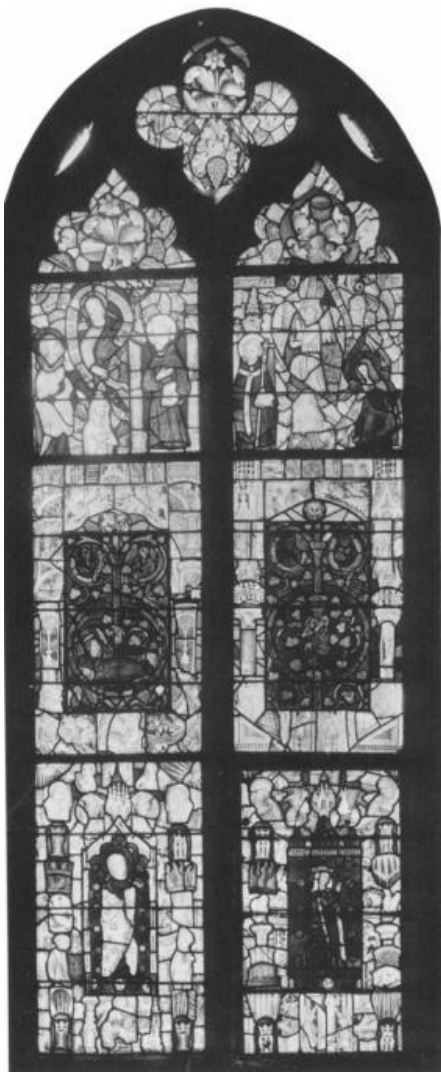


Figure 116: Costessey Hall (Norfolk), chapel window. Stained and painted glass. Shepard, "Our Fine Gothic Magnificence," 197



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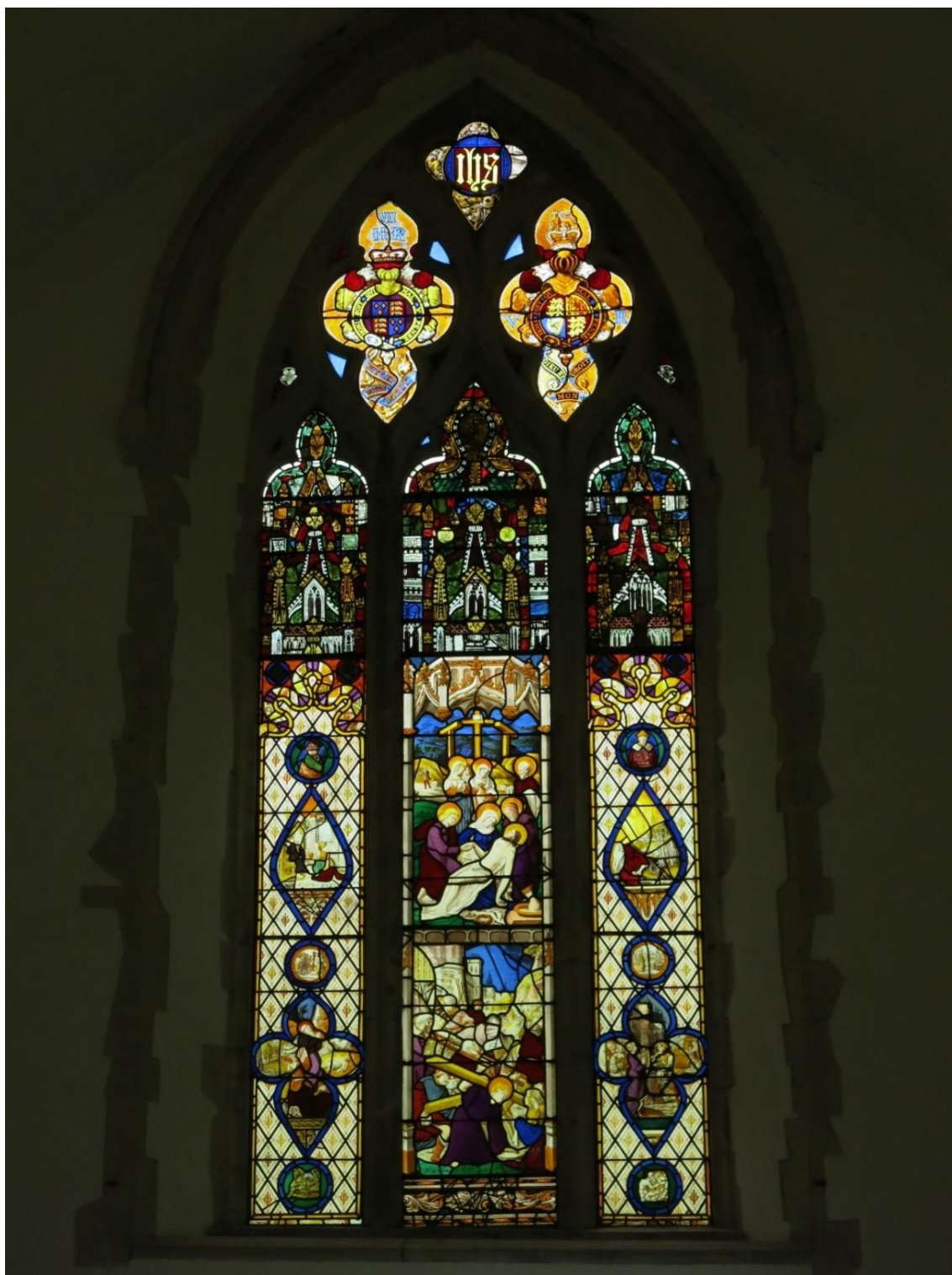


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Figure 121: Unsigned, Frontispiece of Queen Eleanor and Henry III, 1765, engraving. Royal Academy of Arts, London. Accessed Mar 24, 2020, <https://www.royalacademy.org.uk/art-artists/work-of-art/frontispiece-of-queen-eleanor-and-henry-iii>

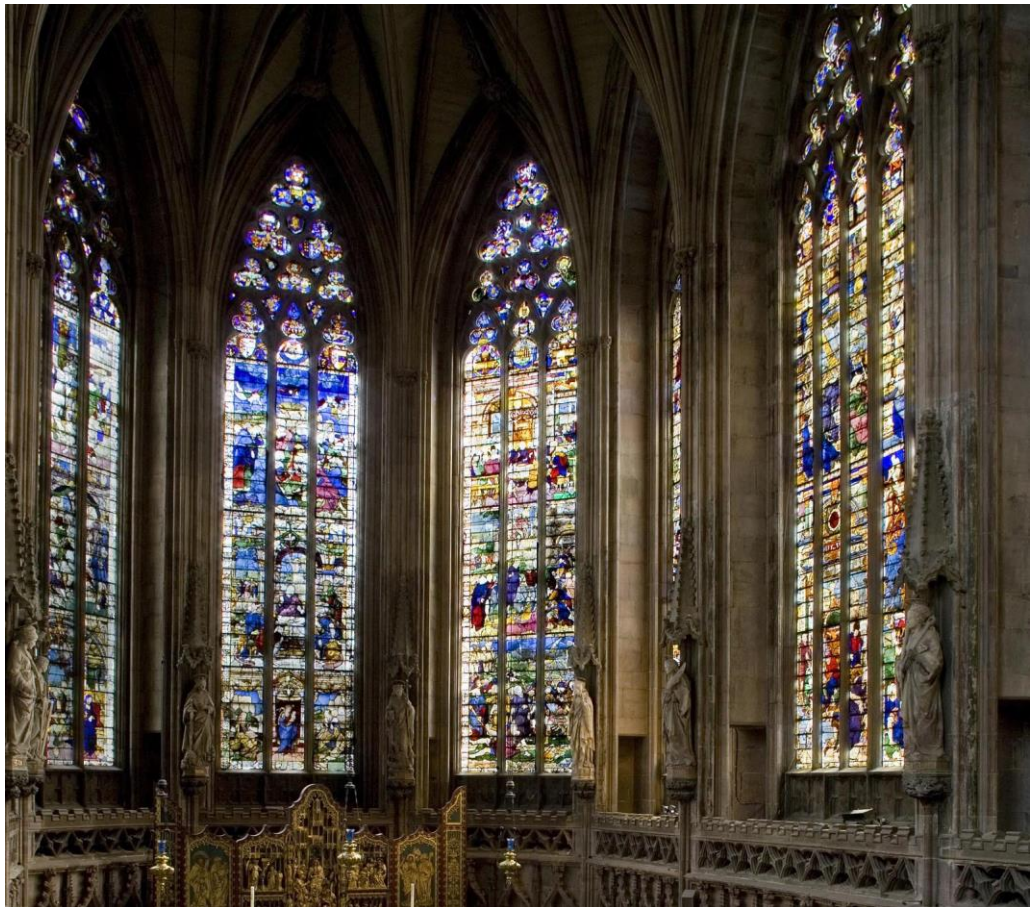


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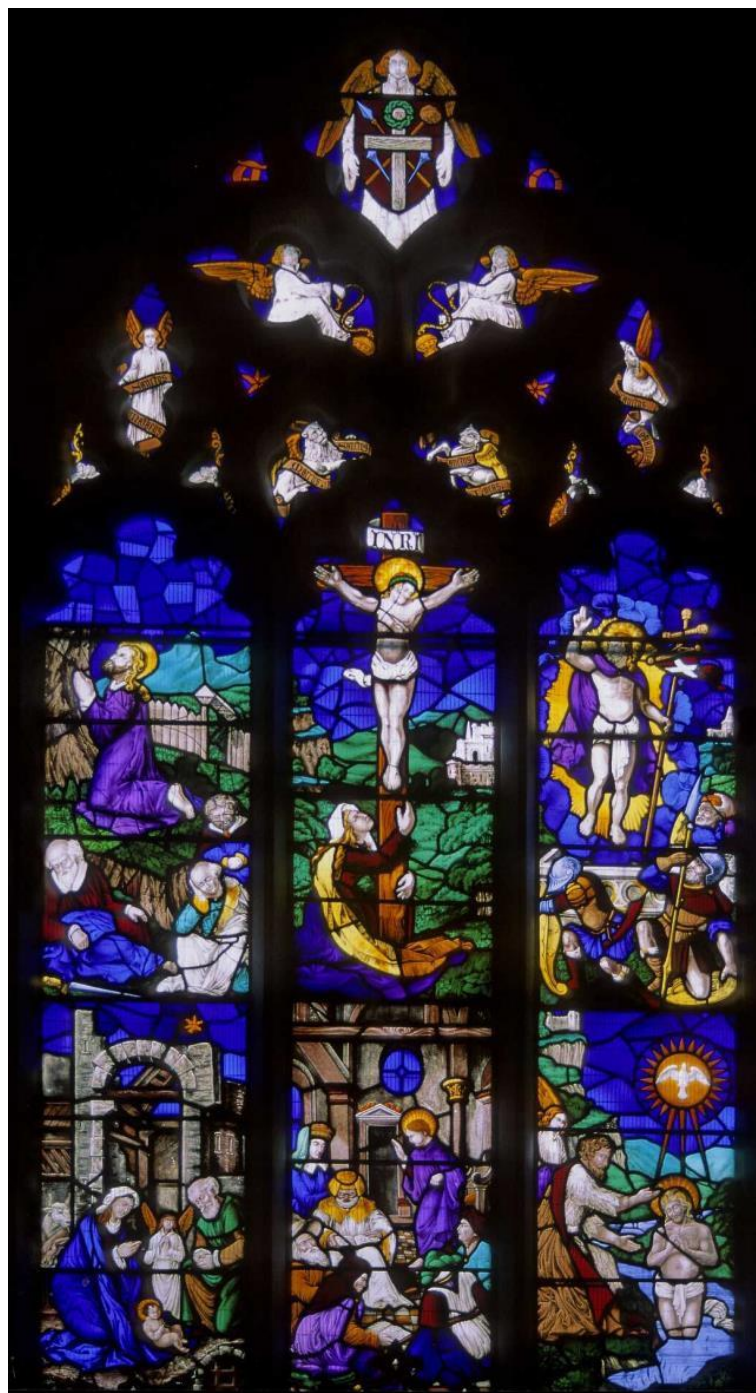


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<https://www.cvma.ac.uk/jsp/invNo.do>



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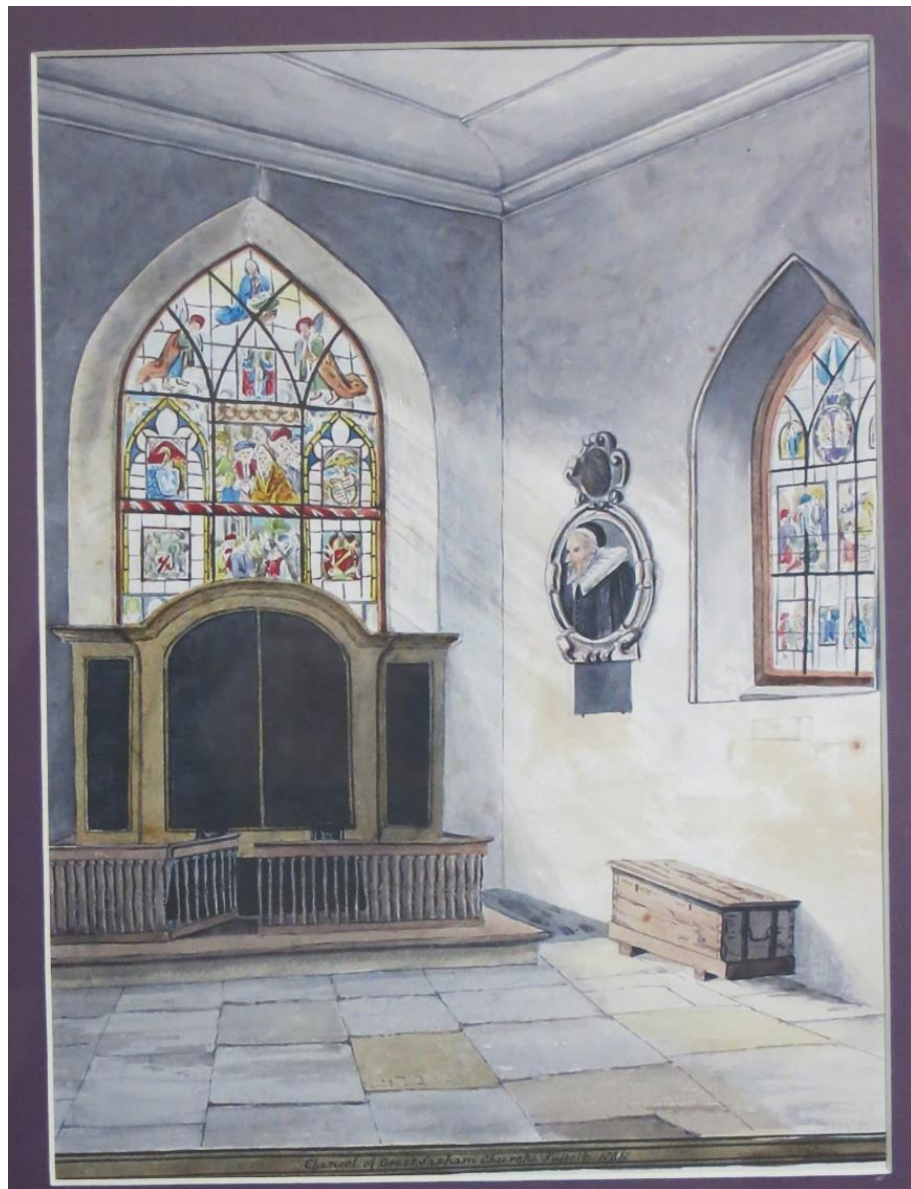


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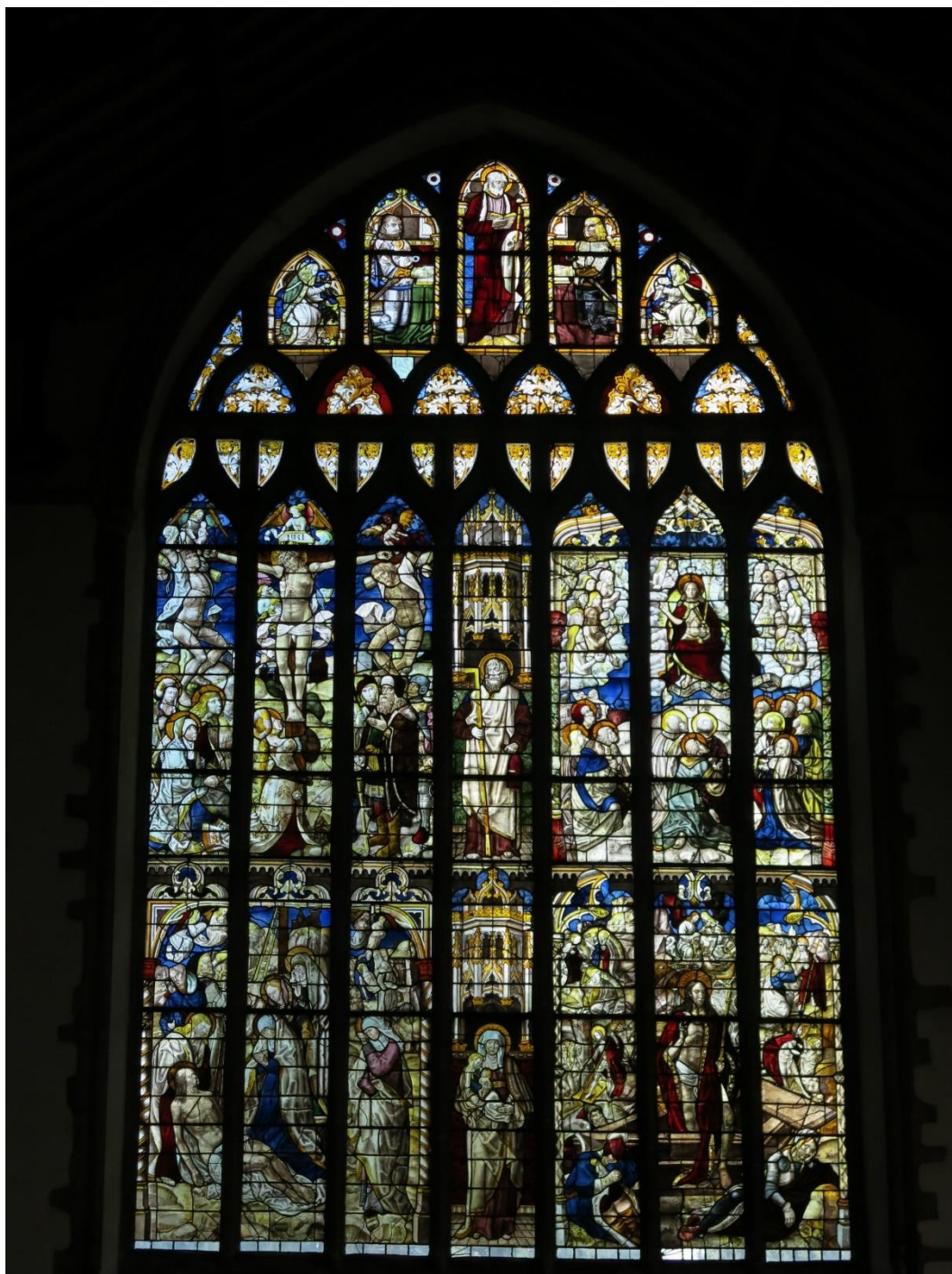


Figure 129: Hingham (Norfolk), St Andrew, East window. Stained and painted glass. Photograph: David Spirit, 2014



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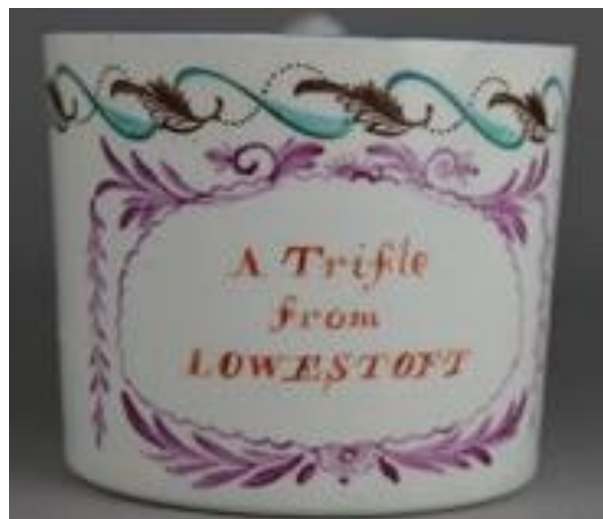


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Figure 149: Robert Allen, *Mug*. c. 1790. Soft-paste porcelain painted with enamels and gilded, h13.9xd10.2cm. Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Accessed Aug 22, 2017, <https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O337038/mug-allen-robert/>



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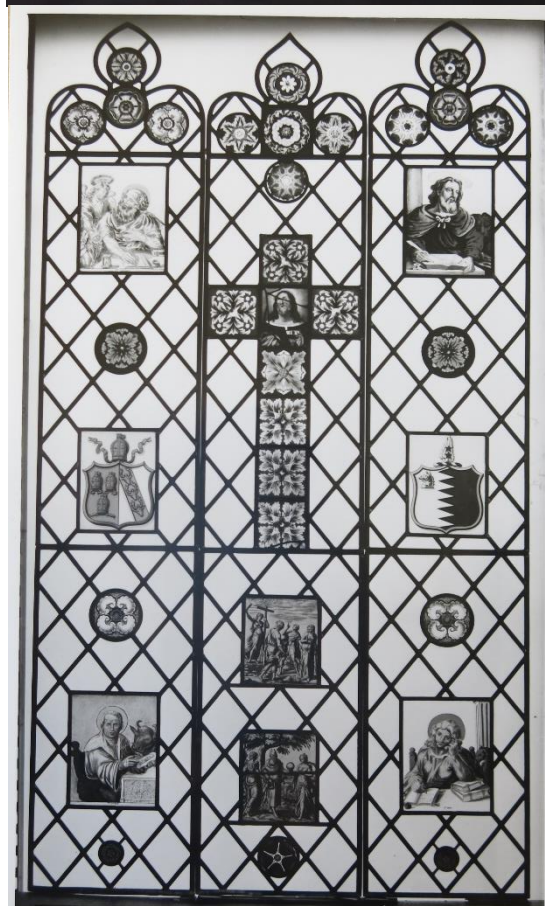


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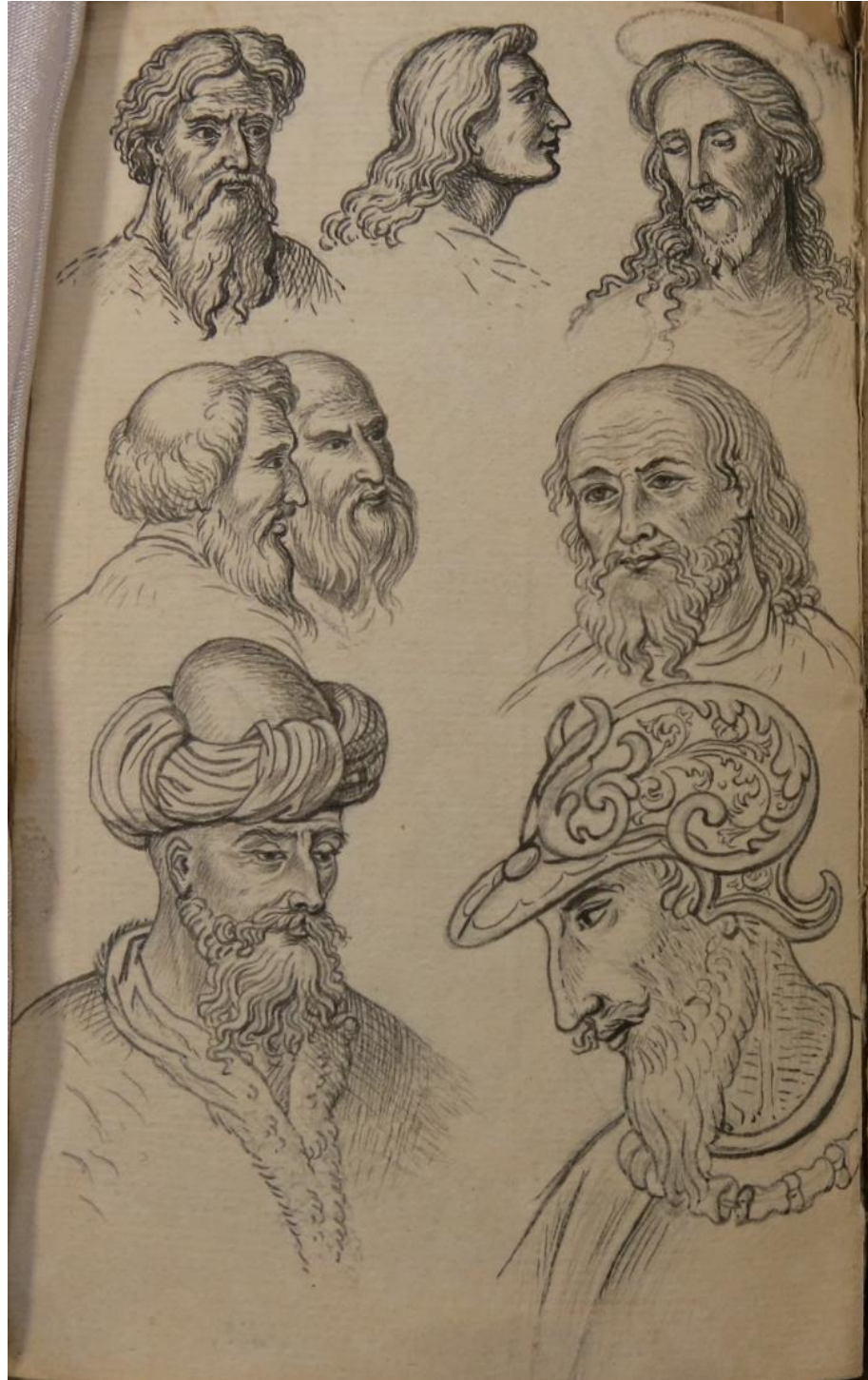


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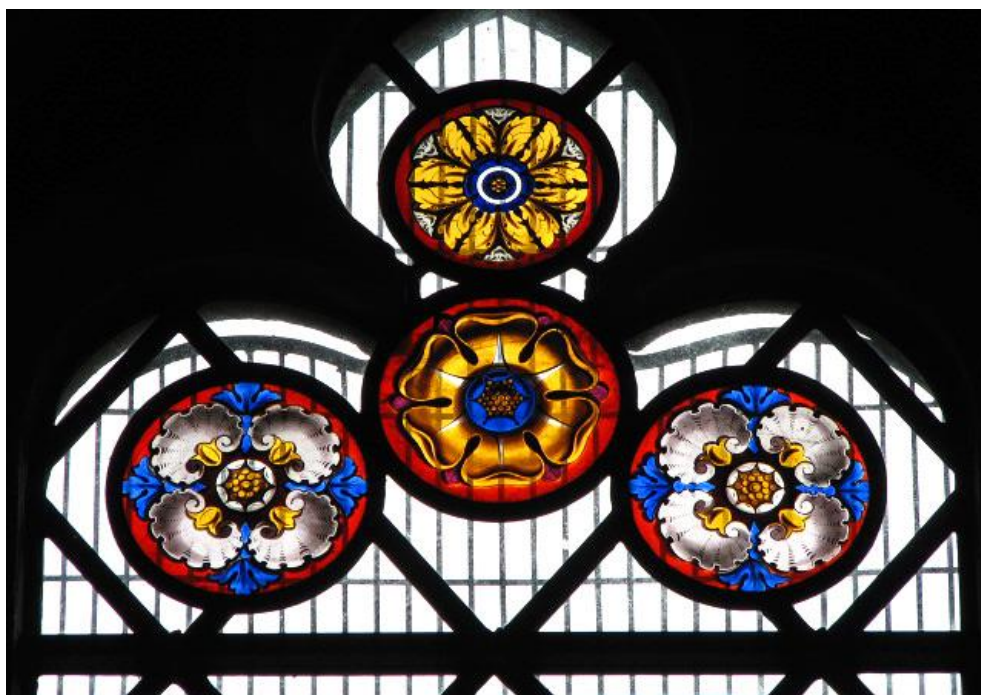


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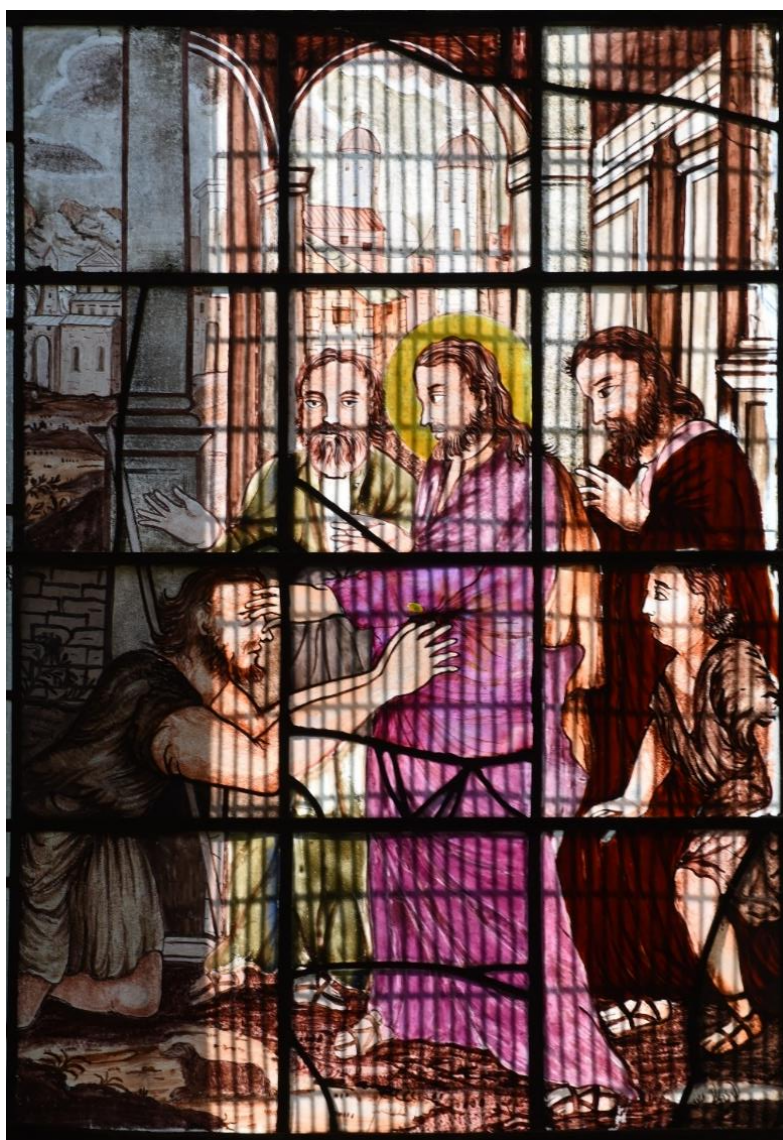


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Figure 162: Egbert van Panderen, Apostel Thomas. c. 1590-1637, engraving on paper, h45.9xw32.2cm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. Accessed Sept 7, 2021, <http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.160338>



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Figure 166: Thurton (Norfolk), Church of St Ethelbert, West window, panel 3b detail. Robert Allen, *St Gregory*, pre-1826. Stained and painted glass. Photograph: David Spirit, 2014



Figure 167: Langley (Norfolk), Church of St Michael, West window, panel A3. Robert Allen, *St Matthew the Apostle*, 1819-35. Stained and painted glass. Photograph: David Spirit, 2017

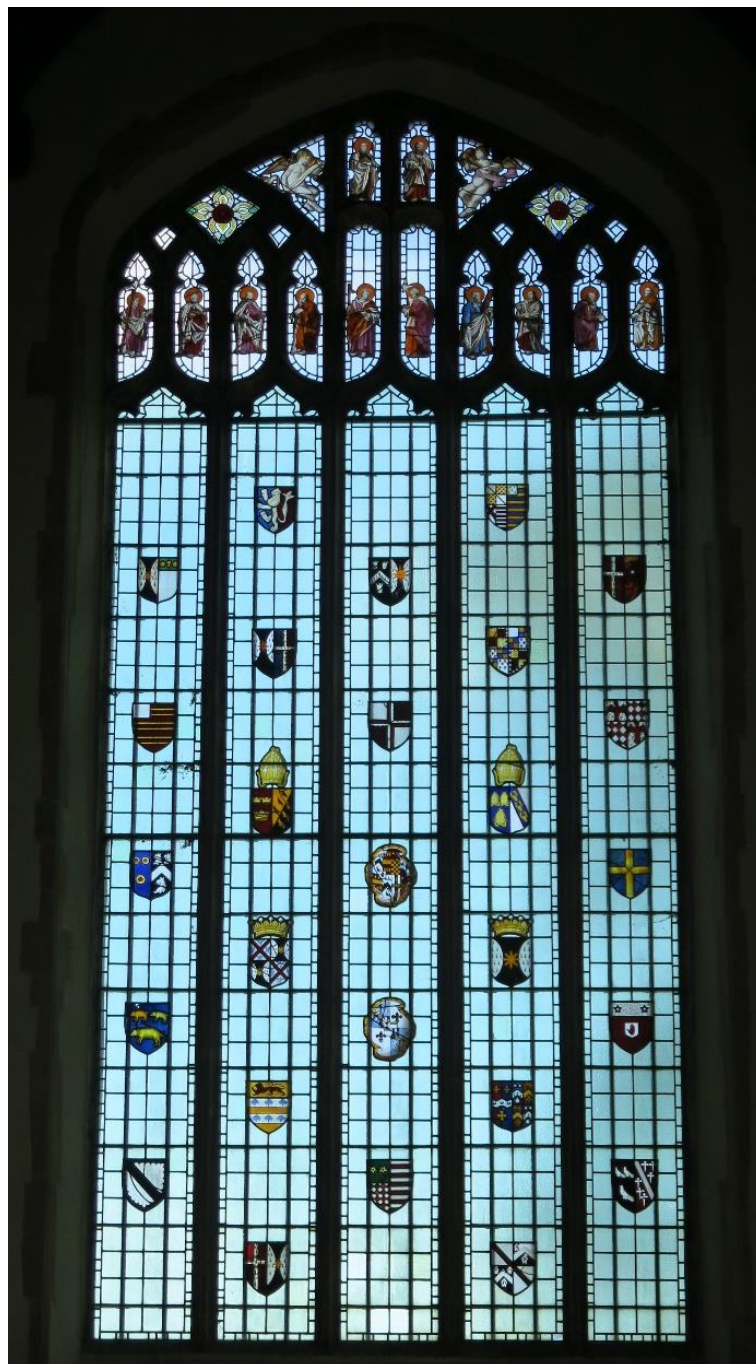


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Figure 170: William Cave, *St Peter*, 1677. Etching. Cave, *Apostolici*, 1

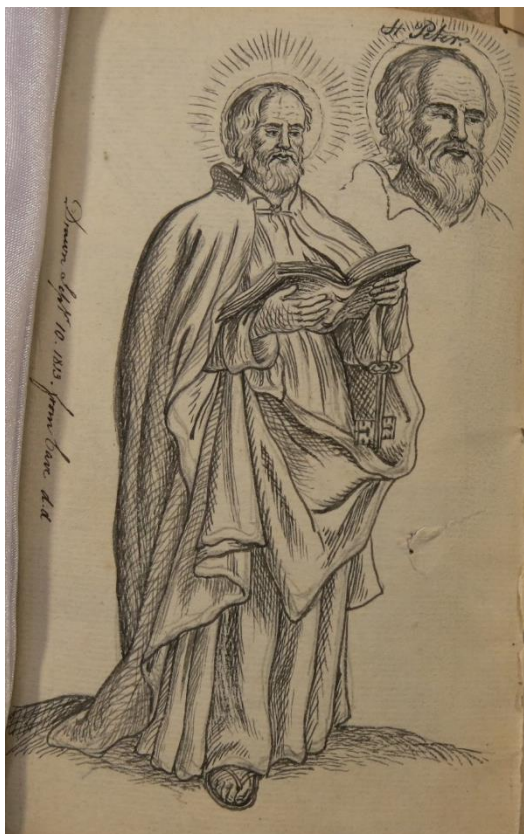


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Figure 172: Loddon (Norfolk), Church of the Holy Trinity, East window, panel A1. James George Zobel, *St Peter*, 1842. Stained and painted glass. Accessed Sept 7, 2021, <http://www.norfolkstainedglass.org/Loddon/home.shtml>



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Figure 174: Loddon (Norfolk), Church of the Holy Trinity, East window, panel A10. James George Zobel, *St James*, 1842. Stained and painted glass. Accessed Sept 7, 2021, <http://www.norfolkstainedglass.org/Loddon/home.shtm>

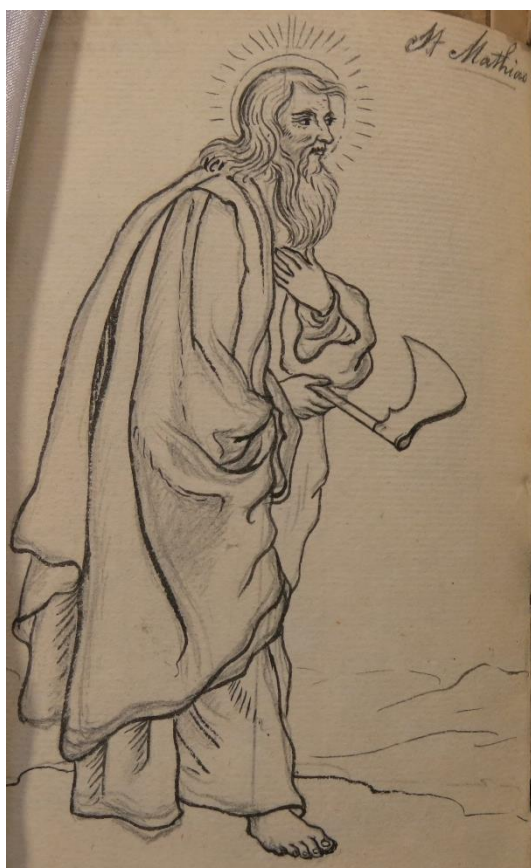


Figure 175: James George Zobel, *Saint Mattias*, 1813. Pencil on paper. Notebook of James George Zobel



Figure 176: Loddon (Norfolk), Church of the Holy Trinity, East window, panel A9. James George Zobel, *St Mattias*, 1842. Stained and painted glass. Accessed Sept 7, 2021, <http://www.norfolkstainedglass.org/Loddon/home.shtml>



Figure 177: Great Snoring (Norfolk), Church of St Mary. *Sir Ralph Shelton and Lady Shelton*, 1423. Sepulchral brass. Accessed Aug 25, 2017, <http://www.norfolkchurches.co.uk/greatsnoring/greatsnoring.htm>

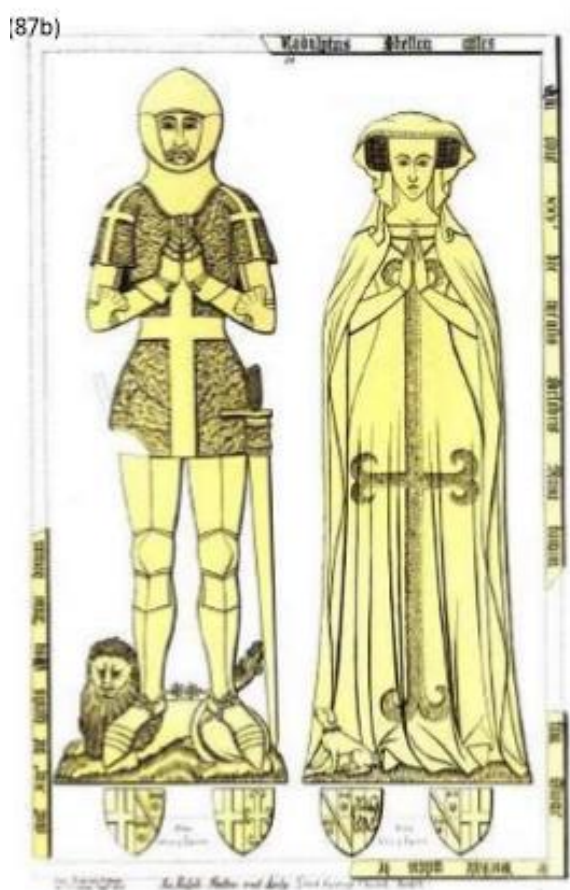


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Figure 182: *Robert Attelath*, removed from Yelverton (Norfolk), Church of St Mary, porch window, RK&S, Folder H330 Yelverton KNG 2/2/6/321