FORGOTTEN GLASSWORLDS:

SECULAR STAINED GLASS OF THE NINETEENTH AND EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURIES

VERONICA FRANCES SMITH

PhD

THE UNIVERSITY OF YORK

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Abstract

Nineteenth-century Britain saw an explosion in the use of secular stained glass. The enormous impact and significance of decorative glass produced for the palaces of industry in cities and towns throughout Britain has been largely overlooked. This thesis broadens the field of stained glass studies to include important examples of the medium which go far beyond its ecclesiastical roots. The importance of stained glass is emphasised in the wider social, cultural, and industrial context of the nineteenth century. This includes looking at buildings of commerce, industry, civic and municipal institutions and leisure, such as town halls, public houses and libraries. Stained glass was placed in these buildings to define space and could not fail to depict modern subjects aligned to the function of the building and its locality or the political or economic agendas of the patron.

This thesis demonstrates how far stained glass had permeated throughout all levels of society and several firms are discussed who have received little or no scholarly references to date. It considers how stained glass constructed political identities and commercial interests, particularly on a local level; how stained glass created and revealed ideologies of work; how stained glass constructs and supports divisions of class and gender; how developments in the ideas and technology of glass-making created new materials which supported a modern aesthetic. There are close analyses given of case studies which were studied first-hand, and as well as drawing on contemporary written and visual sources. This thesis also takes the unique perspective of aligning imagery in stained glass with the subjects of popular novels of the period, which further enhances the themes discussed. This thesis reveals that the subjects and aesthetics of stained glass in secular contexts provide a crucial and integral aspect of Victorian culture, which reflects the ethos of the modern industrial society which created it.

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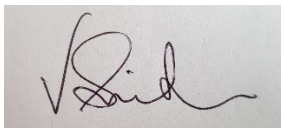
Art is the Flower
Life is the Green Leaf
Charles Rennie Mackintosh

Author's Declaration

I declare that that this dissertation is the result of my own work and has not been submitted for any other degree at the University of York or any other institution. Parts of Chapters 2 and 4 were published in an article entitled Stained Glass and the Victorian Town: Rochdale Library, Museum, and Art Gallery", *19: Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century* 2020(30). All sources are acknowledged as references.



Veronica Smith

Introduction. Appraising Secular 'Forgotten' Glassworlds

'Stained glass has been so restricted in subject and in setting that it has lost interest, and become so 'religious' in the conventional sense that it has ceased to have any life… the leading ceases to bear any relation to the design: and the smooth, thin, lifeless pieces of glass become a surface for painters to paint upon'.[1]

'Because a thing has always been done in a certain way is no reason why it should never be done in any other'.[2]

Stained glass in secular architecture contains some of the most significant glazing schemes of the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries.[3] Stained glass was an integrated part of holistic interiors, and, in many cases, was one of the most significant features. Yet many examples and schemes have so far escaped the attention of scholars, who have focused predominantly on ecclesiastical examples or the oeuvre of individual artists or companies and artistic movements at the expense of its important role in culture and society. Therefore, stained glass in secular settings remains, 'forgotten', as the title of this thesis contends. I will argue that it is through being placed in secular spaces that the subjects of stained glass diversified and became a primary art form for the representation and celebration of the enormous changes of the nineteenth century. The aim of this thesis is to demonstrate that stained glass was a pivotal medium which contributed to the story and aesthetic of nineteenth-century visual art and culture. I will reveal the importance of regional stained glass in Britain and that in order to analyse these windows, the local and regional contexts must be understood, including both patrons and audience. Case studies are drawn from major industrial cities,[4] such as Manchester, Newcastle, Birmingham, Belfast and Glasgow. Stained glass scholarship has tended to focus on studios in the capital city of London, with only a small number of regional studies of stained glass firms.[5] I demonstrate that stained

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[1] Leonard Walker, quoted in Enid Marx, *The Future of Stained Glass: Mr Leonard Walker and His Art*. (Curwen Press, 1986): 2

[2] Louis Comfort Tiffany, 'American Art Supreme in Colored Glass'. *The Forum,* July 1893: 625

[3] In this thesis, the term 'stained glass' encompasses painted, unpainted, coloured, leaded and enamelled glass, although the term 'stained glass' is a misnomer, and technically only refers to windows which have used silver stain.

[4] I define industrial cities as those whose economy and wealth grew through specific local industry in the eighteenth and nineteenth century.

[5] For example, Jim Cheshire. *Stained Glass and the Victorian Gothic Revival*. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004) and Alan Crawford (ed). *By Hammer and Hand: the Arts and Crafts Movement in Birmingham*. (Birmingham: Birmingham Museums and Art Gallery, 1984). Stained glass scholarship is discussed below.

glass is a vital artistic medium by which the social, cultural and political climate of the period can be measured. The following sections introduce key topics and a background detail for the thesis as a whole.

The noblest, most beautiful, and fascinating art of the age:[6] the secularisation of stained glass in the nineteenth century

Heaton and Butler, a stained glass firm who later, along with Robert Turnill Bayne, would become one of the most prolific in the stained glass industry as Heaton, Butler and Bayne, produced a catalogue of 1860 which offers a contemporary perception of the key factors for the growth of the stained glass industry. In their catalogue of 1860, they declare the following:

> Public buildings offer most appropriate opportunities for stained glass decoration – historical events, public characters, and armorial bearings, furnishing unlimited subjects for illustration in harmony with the character and purposes of the erection; and it is gratifying to see the extent to which this art is adopted in the decoration of our national and municipal buildings, and other places of public assembly.[7]

This statement recognises the opportunities offered to the stained-glass designer and maker and discusses them separately from ecclesiastical settings. This gives the secular strand of stained glass its own distinct voice and place in production.

The decade of the 1860s was key for the secularisation and democratisation of stained glass. Heaton and Butler's words in the catalogue of 1860 demonstrate the importance of public buildings for the wider reach of the medium.[8] There were also several external factors which contributed towards this democratisation, such as the role of changing legislation throughout the century which had an impact on the secular spaces and places discussed in this thesis. The repeal of the glass tax in 1845 by Sir Robert Peel's government made glass affordable beyond the elite. This had enormous impact on the availability of stained glass to the middle classes, who

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[6] Heaton and Butler. Illustrated Catalogue of Stained Glass Windows. Cardington Street, Hampstead Rd., London, 1860: 2

[7] Heaton and Butler: Illustrated Catalogue of Stained Glass Windows: 11

[8] Jasmine Allen discusses a number of stained glass windows designed for the world's leading museum of art and design, the South Kensington Museum, in the 1860s and 1870s in 'The Union of Science and Art: Stained Glass Windows for the South Kensington Museum', *19: Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century 2020* (30), 2020, 1-21. This article reflects the burgeoning interest in the 1860s for stained glass in non-religious settings which reflected the purpose of the building. Themes of the windows were religious and moral instruction as well as knowledge and learning.

began to fill their homes and public buildings with more extravagant decoration. Other significant changes in legislation were the Education Acts, Factory Acts, Public Library Acts and Free Libraries Acts, all of which ultimately contributed towards a wider audience for stained glass.

As well as the exponential growth and architectural vista of cities to accommodate new industries, other key factors that revolutionised stained glass for a modern, secular audience and broadened the industry were the Gothic Revival and consumerism. The burgeoning interest in stained glass was fuelled by the Great Exhibition of 1851, where stained glass was established as a commodity, and viewed alongside many other objects of art and craft.[9] Sarah Brown described this major event as being transformative for the production of stained glass.[10]

Heaton and Butler stated that the revival of the decorative arts generally, with specific reference to stained glass, was due to the 'restoration of old buildings, the rapid increase of churches, the general spread of artistic knowledge and the increasing appreciation of the fact that objects of utility may also be rendered objects of beauty and attraction without detracting from their fitness for their original purpose.'[11]

Much emphasis is placed on the cult of Aestheticism, in which the maxim by William Morris was 'Have nothing in your houses that you do not know to be beautiful or believe to be useful'.[12] The authors also state that the 'magnificent effect in buildings both sacred and secular' was another important reason, as well as its 'imperishability, attractiveness, and this combined with the huge reduction in the cost of its production due to the removal of glass tax in 1845, rapidly brought the medium into the favour it deserved.'[13] The beauty of stained glass is, therefore, a prime factor in its movement between the sacred and the profane, driven by its potential as a commodity. A stained glass window is both useful and beautiful, and fits the maxim perfectly.

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[9] See Jasmine Allen. *Windows for the World: Nineteenth-century stained glass and the international exhibitions, 1851-1900*. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2018); Jim Cheshire. *Stained Glass and the Victorian Gothic Revival*: 158

[10] Sarah Brown and Sebastian Strobl. *A Fragile Inheritance. The Care of Stained Glass and Historic Glazing. A Handbook for Custodians*. (London: Church House Publishing, 2002): 10

[11] Heaton and Butler worked together before the formation of Heaton, Butler and Bayne in 1862. Illustrated Catalogue of Stained Glass Windows. Heaton and Butler: 1

[12] William Morris. 'The Beauty of Life,' a lecture before the Birmingham Society of Arts and School of Design (19 February 1880), later published in William Morris. *Hopes and Fears for Art: Five Lectures Delivered in Birmingham*, London, and Nottingham, 1878 – 188. (London: Ellis & White, 1882).

[13] Heaton and Butler. Illustrated Catalogue of Stained Glass Windows: 11

Other designers and makers of stained glass also commented on the growth and progression of the medium and its relation to society. A strong element of this thesis is about glass types and technology, and in chapter four I discuss the importance of the patterns and textures of glass and how this was used as a major element in the composition of windows. In a lecture of 1904, Alfred Wood, of the stained glass manufacturing firm Hartley Wood & Co. of Sunderland, stated that the 'use of glass has contributed largely to the advancement of science and civilisation.'[14] This is such a significant statement for stained glass and one that ties in with the argument of this thesis, that a combination of scientific and technological advancements allowed for the subjects of secular stained glass to contribute towards and construct modern civilisation of the nineteenth century.

Modernity and new narratives for stained glass

Stained glass in secular buildings of the nineteenth century was infinitely modern. The medium demonstrated progressive, intellectual subject matter which no longer operated within the realm of traditional, religious iconography. The aforementioned variety of glass types and textures that became available and used for aesthetics is testament to this. Also, the variety of new building types, which were the result of modern industry, was vast. New buildings emerged in cities and towns during the eighteenth and nineteenth century, including town halls, museums, art galleries, universities, municipal baths, public houses and offices. Stained glass was created for this new range of building types of which there was no known model; Town Halls, for example, had medieval precedents, but were largely a new architectural concept for cities which required administrative centres that could cope with a vastly expanded economy and populace. The grand public house was also an entirely new concept, far removed from local inns and taverns of previous centuries. Importantly, these buildings were also now public, with the citizenry having a right to enter, for example, 'free' libraries, 'public' baths and 'public' houses.

There is an unequivocal dichotomy between this modern use of stained glass and the medium's roots in traditional ecclesiastical iconography. The case studies in this thesis present stained glass as a modern and relevant art form. Stained glass and modernity in the nineteenth century may not initially make for obvious bedfellows, but in fact, stained glass was, and is, the ideal medium for a modern age. Modernity

[14] Tyne and Wear archives. DS/HW/12. Text of lecture by Alfred J Wood, entitled 'The Glass Industry'.

was defined by the subjective experience of the conditions of the time period, technological progress and the impact on human culture, institutions and politics. Modernity encompassed attitudes associated with secularisation, liberalisation, industrialisation and urbanisation.[15] Many of these aspects of modernity describe the medium of stained glass, specifically in relation to secular settings where subject matter moves beyond traditional formats. Stained glass is set free by the modern buildings within which it is placed, and was itself the product of technological advances, industrialism, urbanisation and secularisation. The very situating of stained glass in such buildings as universities and libraries was a continuation of the medium's capacity to educate. Yet, in these secular settings, it constructs and reflects a society striving for individual and communal education, particularly relevant for towns in the nineteenth century where citizens strove for self-help and educational progress amongst all classes, such as the North West England town of Rochdale. The subjects of stained glass are the direct result of the subjective experience of the conditions of the time period.

I will argue that stained glass, although inspired by an architectural vocabulary first devised for religious settings, went beyond the realm of the ecclesiastical and the elite. There is no doubt that stained glass became so ubiquitous in secular settings due to its perceived aura and presence from ecclesiastical space. There is also no doubt that many secular windows of the nineteenth century originally took their formal design and structure from religious settings. This is primarily because until 1851, glass was expensive and unaffordable to much of the population.[16] Aside from in elite residences, the church would have been one of the only places that could afford to have it in window openings. In secular settings of the later nineteenth century, there is iconographic adaptation and appropriation of subjects and topics associated with stained glass which have a transformative make-over. The market for stained glass in secular settings offered the opportunity for artists to break out of the ecclesiastical format of church windows and its religious and specifically Christian subject matter and offered makers of glass and regional companies much new potential work.

Through secular buildings, stained glass became ubiquitous, monumental and publicly accessible whereas fine art was often only seen by a limited audience.[17]

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[15] Marshall Berman. *All That Is Solid Melts Into Air: The Experience of Modernity*. London and Brooklyn: Verso, 2010: 15-36

[16] Glass tax was repealed in 1845 and the abolition of window tax was implemented in 1851

[17] Some exceptions were large and more localised exhibitions such as the Manchester Art Treasures Exhibition in 1857.

Stained glass is unique in that it sits at the intersection of the arts, sciences, crafts and industry and oscillates between each field.[18] Stained glass has much power and frames new narratives which are placed in the public domain which fine art does not do. My research reveals a crucial and integral aspect of Victorian culture that reflects the ethos of the modern industrial society which created it.

Pugin and the Gothic Revival

Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin was a key figure for the progression of the secularisation of stained glass. He re-popularised the medium and placed many examples in neo-Gothic buildings, with the Palace of Westminster being one of his largest and most influential works. This nation-defining building in an ecclesiastical style inspired the architecture and decoration of several other buildings, including Rochdale Town Hall, as I discuss in chapter one. However, the subsequent proliferation and expansion of stained glass after his death would have been anathema to him. Pugin's work was extremely influential, but ultimately, he could not hold back the onward march of technology in the nineteenth century and the middle-class utilisation of the instruments of the past to reflect and engage with the present, modern day, in public buildings and their homes.

Pugin sought to recreate the textures of glass of the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries. In his efforts he worked with several stained glass makers, including William Warrington, Thomas Willement and William Wailes. From 1845, he exclusively worked with John Hardman, Hardman's nephew John Hardman Powell, and Francis W. Oliphant.[19] Pugin didn't merely wish to reproduce medieval windows but to use the old principles to shape the new, to reflect 'the practical improvements of our times and our increased anatomical knowledge'.[20] He would often ask the glass manufacturer, James Hartley of Sunderland, to produce glass which matched his medieval samples but this was not always a success.[21]

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[18] See Jasmine Allen. 'Why are the painted windows in the industrial department?' The classification of stained glass at the London and Paris International Exhibitions, 1851-1900' in Kate Nichols, Rebecca Wade & Gabriel Williams. *Art Versus Industry?: New Perspectives on Visual and Industrial Cultures in Nineteenth-Century Britain*. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016): 61-80

[19] Martin Harrison. *Victorian Stained Glass*. (London: Barrie and Jenkins, 1980): 17-19

[20] A.W.N. Pugin. 'Mr Pugin on Christian Art.' *The Builder*, Volume 3, 1845: 367

[21] Hardman archives, Birmingham letters from James Hartley to John Hardman, quoted in Stanley A. Shepherd, 'Stained glass' in Paul Atterbury & Clive Wainwright. *Pugin: A Gothic Passion*. (New Haven: Yale University Press in association with the Victoria & Albert Museum, 1994): 199

Pugin did much to progress the stained glass industry, yet he didn't produce many windows for secular or non-elite contexts. Aside from the Houses of Parliament, where the figures of the kings and queens of England are depicted in the windows of the Lord's Chamber, made by Ballantine and Allen of Edinburgh, other secular work included the Grand Talbot window at Alton Towers and some windows for domestic settings. The subject matter of these relied on traditional formats, such as heraldry, as at Chirk Castle and Bilton Grange, Warwickshire, a type of iconography which was revitalised for modern secular settings, a theme explored in chapter one. The replication of traditional medieval iconographies can be found in several neo-Gothic buildings across the country, such as Manchester and Rochdale Town Halls and Birmingham's Victoria Law Courts. This inspiration from heraldic devices was another springboard by which stained glass moved comfortably into the secular sphere.

Cities and Industry

The primary focus of this thesis are 'industrial' cities and towns. I have chosen the cities in this thesis because of their industrial prowess which they became famous for worldwide, and the array of stained glass present in municipal buildings in each which displays specific agendas. For example, these can be for purposes such as local political viewpoints or civic pride. The growth of cities through various industries was a catalyst for the growth of secular stained glass. In municipal architecture, stained glass celebrates local achievements and interests. The proliferation of stained glass in secular buildings is a consequence of population growth and the need to accommodate administrative centres and provide leisure pursuits for the populace. Great wealth from industry increased building programmes, yet this was accompanied by great poverty for the working classes. Municipal socialism provided some alleviation to those who were destitute by creating hospitals, laundries and public baths, all of which could contain stained glass. Contemporary artists would represent the consequence of industry on cities, such as Adolphe Valette's paintings of Edwardian Manchester, with streets coated in a haze of smog (Fig.1).

The French traveller and commentator, Alexis de Tocqueville, writing in 1835, reinforced the individual identities of cities with his comparisons of Manchester and Birmingham, stating that the industrial cities of Britain were not alike.[22] The

[22] Alexis de Tocqueville, quoted in Asa Briggs, *Victorian Cities*. (London: Penguin, 1990): 115-116.

discovering of the unique qualities of industrial cities can only be discerned when comparing them with others.[23] However, it must be recognised that there was not parity even between different locations in the city of London. The East End, for example, where the docklands were based, was rife with crime and poverty.[24] Different parts of the city would have felt just as foreboding as the 'foreign' cities further North. The influx of wealth and increased population of cities altered the power dynamic between London and regional areas further North in the country. The main cities and towns featured in this thesis are Manchester, Birmingham, Glasgow, Newcastle, Belfast and Rochdale. A brief introduction to each is necessary for the understanding of the secular stained glass that is contained in the buildings of each location. Industry accentuated regional differences as each city or town had its own industrial or manufacturing speciality. This in turn sparked provincial pride and created local rivalries.[25] For example, there was a Victorian saying about 'Manchester men and Liverpool gentlemen,'[26] which was accentuated precisely because both were situated in the North and both in Lancashire. Within every region, there was a sense of the character of their major cities, usually related to where they were situated, such as by major rivers or by the sea, or by their primary manufactures, trade and commerce. Manchester was the 'symbol of a new age,'[27] to which all roads led'.[28] The strengths of the city were iron-founding, bleaching, dyeing, cotton-spinning, commerce and trade. The city had the nickname, 'Cottonopolis' due to its strength in cotton manufacture; Liverpool was known for its maritime industry due to its geographical position; Birmingham was renowned for its science and technology industries and for being 'the workshop of the world';[29] Newcastle was a city of shipbuilding and coal manufacture, and Belfast was known for its textile manufacture.

The populations of all cities and towns discussed in this thesis swelled by the end of the nineteenth century.[30] Rochdale, which features heavily in chapters one, three

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[23] Asa Brigs. *Victorian Cities*: 54

[24] In Charles Dicken's *Our Mutual Friend*. (London: Penguin Group, 1997): 13-17, Gaffer and Lizzie Hexam pull in suicide victims from the Thames to go through their pockets.

[25] C. Dellheim. 'Imagining England: Victorian Views of the North.' *Northern History,* 22:1: 218 218/Asa Briggs. *Victorian Cities:* 33

[26] C. Dellheim. 'Imagining England': 223

[27] Asa Briggs. *Victorian Cities*: 33

[28] C. Dellheim. (1986) Imagining England': 218

[29] Ray Shill. *Workshop of the World: Birmingham's Industrial Legacy*. (Cheltenham: The History Press, 2006)

[30] The population of Manchester had swelled to 303,382 by 1851, from 75,281 in 1801; Birmingham's population grew massively from 74,000 in 1801 to 478, 113 in 1891; Glasgow's population trebled to a million in the second half of the nineteenth century; Newcastle's population

and four, was a booming industrial town which boasted architecture that rivalled the nearby city of Manchester. The town has a huge significance for self-help and municipal socialism as it is famed for the Co-operative Movement, and its wealth came from cotton manufacture. G.M. Young described Birmingham as epitomizing Late Victorian England,[31] and the self-confidence of the city was evident from 1830 when high quality public buildings began to appear.[32] Glasgow was known as the 'workshop of the Empire,' and by 1860 heavy engineering and shipbuilding were the staple of Glasgow's industries.[33] The city had one of the most pronounced population densities in Europe which led to social deprivation, epidemics and high mortality. Between 1801 and 1911 the population grew tenfold alongside the grandest of architecture and the poorest of housing standards.[34] Newcastle was vastly changed in the early nineteenth century due to railways and the construction of bridges. The shipbuilding and gun manufacture industries spread down the riverbanks with coal mining, glass making and heavy engineering being the staple industries.[35] The transformation of the city was also greatly indebted to Richard Grainger, who was responsible for the Georgian architectural schemes which dominate the city centre to this day. Belfast was granted city status in 1888. This, and the huge population growth, 'led to a frame of mind in which very large and grandiose building ventures were required to express a new sense of self-importance'.[36] Belfast's industry was based on imports, with linen, ships and engineering becoming the prime industries, with the second half of the nineteenth century seeing a huge growth in the labour force.[37]

The Great War was the cut-off point for the intense building period, where the 'comfortably bourgeois society that had for nearly a century expressed its communal self-satisfaction in stone and marble' was gone.[38] I would add stained glass to this,

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reached over 87,000 in 1851. By 1901 it had risen to 215,000; Belfast was an expansive industrial city and had a population of around 350,000 by 1900.

[31] Andy Foster. *Birmingham:* (Pevsner Architectural Guides: City Guides). (London: Yale University Press, 2005): 13

[32] Andy Foster. *Birmingham*: (Pevsner Architectural Guides: City Guides): 8

[33] John M. MacKenzie. 'The Second City of the Empire': Glasgow – imperial municipality' in Felix Driver and David Gilbert (Eds.) *Imperial Cities: Landscape, display and identity*. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003): 217

[34] John M. MacKenzie. 'The Second City of the Empire': Glasgow – imperial municipality': 218

[35] Grace McCombie. *Newcastle and Gateshead*. Pevsner Architectural Guides. (Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 2009): 16

[36] Ibid: 120

[37] Emrys Jones, 'Late Victorian Belfast: 1859-1900' in Beckett, J.C. and Glasscock, R.E., *Belfast: Origin and Growth of an Industrial City*. (London: BBC, 1967): 115

[38] Colin Cunningham. *Victorian and Edwardian Town Halls*. (London: Routledge, 1981): xiv

as the medium is the epitome of visual self-satisfaction, wealth and pride of an individual locality.

Glass: a religious material?

A key conclusion of this thesis is that stained glass as well as being an ecclesiastical art form, is also a modern and secular art form which grew from developments in the nineteenth century. At the very root of this investigation is the material of glass itself, in addition to other considerations such as content and form. The origins of glass are unknown, but experimentation by potters or metalworkers is likely and the material was used for practical and decorative functions. The Mesopotamians produced instructions for glassmaking on clay tablets in a cuneiform script.[39] The Ancient Egyptians used coloured glass for the beads of their jewellery, as did the Greeks and Romans. When used in window openings of elite buildings, glass served a practical purpose for the Romans rather than being a narrative or decorative medium. By the eighth century A.D., Egyptian painters were staining the surface of glass vessels with a solution of copper and silver oxides and firing them in oxygen-free conditions, making these perhaps the earliest examples of 'stained' glass.[40]

The rise of stained glass as an artistic medium was undoubtedly due to the church, who seized upon its symbolic potential. The manipulation of light is unique to the medium of stained glass. Glass, being a transparent material, was the natural choice to fill spaces which allowed light into what otherwise would have been dark and dimly lit, and was a good alternative to sheets of alabaster or stone shutters. Stained glass shines, as opposed to other artforms, which makes the medium unparalleled in terms of creating atmosphere. Genesis 1:4 contains the words, 'And God commanded, "Let there be light," and light appeared. God was pleased with what he saw. Then he separated the light from the darkness.'[41] The inherent, transparent quality of clear and coloured glass was therefore imbued with the sacred aura of light. This is certainly true of medieval stained glass where any division into secular and religious is an artificial construct. Glass was used for the first time in churches as protection against the weather and some of the earliest stained glass found in Britain in a religious setting can be found in St. Paul's

[39] 'The Origins of Glassmaking.' Corning Museum of Glass. https://www.cmog.org/article/origins-glassmaking. Accessed 15 May 2022
[40] 'The Origins of Glassmaking.' Corning Museum of Glass. Accessed 15 May 2022
[41] Good News Bible. Genesis 1:4. (London: The Bible Societies: 4)

Monastery in Jarrow, in the North East of England, dating from the 7th century (Fig.2). Gradually, glass in churches became more elaborate and grisaille paint was added so heavenly images could be portrayed to add further representation of Biblical themes to these spaces of devotion.

In the nineteenth century, secular stained glass originally had the visual character of a religious art form yet developed as a real secular idiom. Of course, the material of glass was also used for many purposes: table ware, optics, ornaments and magic lanterns, all of which were used decoratively in the home and public buildings. It is only stained glass where the religious connotations are prevalent due to the long associations with the church.

'But they do not shed a dim religious light'.[42] Critics of secular stained glass

Secular stained glass, as well as ecclesiastical, was regularly discussed in art magazines such as *The Studio*, which was published from 1893, both in domestic and public settings. This reveals just how important and prominent stained glass had become as a subject for serious discussion in the art world. The focus on stained glass in these types of settings contrasts with the modern day, given how much they have receded in public opinion and awareness, again remaining largely forgotten in glass consciousness. *The Studio* gives countless examples of secular interiors, including much stained glass, and many designs by a variety of artists.

Yet this new pathway for stained glass was still on occasion being unfavourably compared to its religious counterparts.

> regard his [Oscar Paterson] windows merely as apertures to admit light and keep out wind and rain, and they stand the test. They are not light-repellent, they soften and diffuse the rays, it is true; but they do not shed a dim religious light which at one time seems to have been the chief effect the glass-painter aimed to secure.[43]
>
> Despite certain notable exceptions, such as the windows of the common room at Peterhouse, Cambridge, by Sir Edward Burne-Jones, "The Brownies" and others by Mr. Image, domestic glass is chiefly a thing of

[42] This refers to the lines from John Milton's poem, *Il Penseroso*, 'And storied windows richly dight, Casting a dim religious light.' The protagonist describes walking into a church and its decorative features. https://www.poetryfoundation.org/poems/44732/il-penseroso. Accessed 14 June 2022.
[43] Some Glasgow Designers and Their work. By Gleeson White. Part IV. *Studio,* 13. 1898: 20

> commercial design. Nor need this statement convey the implication that therefore it must needs be bad; one can recall here and there quite admirable work done by a "firm".

These quotes reveal some innate criticism regarding stained glass being placed in situations outside of the church, but there are many more examples of discussions of secular interiors, specifically stained glass, where they are treated as works of art. Indeed, all the different media are celebrated, such as metalworking, painting and ceramics. A key phrase used regarding stained glass in religious settings refers to the 'dim religious glow' that the secular context cannot reproduce. Glass in churches conveyed a 'distinguished eminence' and was 'at length so completely identified with Christian architecture that no ecclesiastical structure was considered complete without it'.[44] There was also 'mysterious light', which added to the 'solemn grandeur' of the architecture.[45] Ruskin also stated of stained glass windows that, 'The true perfection of a painted window is to be serene, intense, brilliant, like flaming jewellery; full of easily legible and quaint subjects, and exquisitely subtle, yet simple, in its harmonies.'[46] Yet these words, although using very alluring language about coloured light, are intended for religious settings only and wish to convey a sense of the mystery of the heavens in their words. I would argue that stained glass in secular settings conveys grandeur, edifies and gives a distinguished eminence, utilised from its ecclesiastical counterparts but transformed into a profane energy.

Deciphering between contemporary opinion and the attitudes of stained-glass scholarship towards what was regarded as 'high' art can be difficult. The Arts and Crafts movement has long been seen as the pinnacle of all that was 'good' and respectable, with a key figurehead in stained glass being Christopher Whall, who was very much inspired by Morris and John Ruskin. Whall is credited with bringing in the 'Renascence' of English stained glass, giving the idea that he and his followers encapsulated a truly modern approach to the making of stained glass that was unrivalled by those working in the craft, both in the nineteenth century and afterwards. However, this produces caricatures of the Arts and Craft Movement and its advocates. Peter Cormack has detailed Whall's 'authentic modern approach to stained glass' on several occasions,[47] whereas firms in regional areas such as Manchester that produced much secular work were seen as much more

[44] Heaton and Butler: Illustrated Catalogue of Stained Glass Windows: 2
[45] Heaton and Butler: Illustrated Catalogue of Stained Glass Windows: 3
[46] John Ruskin. *The Stones of Venice*. Vol II: The Sea Stories. Appendix 12, Modern Painting on Glass (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1873): 367
[47] Peter Cormack. *Arts and Crafts Stained Glass*: 16

commercial.[48] The Arts and Crafts Movement pioneers were critical of the increasing commerciality of the craft, resulting in a widespread disregard for anything that wasn't made with a purist manner or intent. The division of labour was despised and seen as not truthful but it is precisely these ideas which have prevented detailed studies of these aspects of the industry and the important firms who produced the work. One aspect of this is the often termed 'mass-production' of stained glass.[49] The very definition of mass-production involves an 'automated mechanical process' which the production of stained glass has never involved.[50] However, Whall himself, who learnt all parts of the design process so as to produce a satisfactory final window to his original design, may not have always been involved in every part of the process of creating a window. He, as well as Morris and Co, were also re-using cartoons for windows in different locations. One example of this are the multiple versions of Faith, Hope and Charity windows which exist by Morris and Co., with examples at Brampton church in Cumbria and Oxford Cathedral, indicating commercial pressures, even for those companies who are seen as the quintessential proponents of Arts and Crafts philosophy (Figs.3-4). Burne-Jones was not executing all of his designs in stained glass due to his commitments as a painter. Contradictions of theory and practice are evident, and it is therefore more fitting to say there were very strong commercial pressures which affected all studios, and designer-craftsman ideals are highly unlikely to have been upheld in many cases. The key to the production of stained glass always requires people at its core and not machines. There still need to be glass cutters, leaders, designers, cementers – all partaking in a different aspect of the craft, all of whom would have been working on both ecclesiastical and secular commissions.

Public and private space

No discussion of secular stained glass can omit domestic stained glass, as private, domestic spaces are almost a microcosm of the spaces of public buildings. Stained glass was also obtainable to all levels of society by 1900 and no longer just the property of the elite.[51] Stained glass was chiefly used in the home for the functions

[48] Peter Cormack. *Arts and Crafts Stained Glass*: 124-125
[49] Peter Cormack. *Arts and Crafts Stained Glass*: 16
[50] Stained glass is still made in the same way today as in the medieval period.
[51] Domestic stained glass is one area of the secularisation of the art form which has so far been given more attention than other building types, both during the Middle Ages and the nineteenth century, but is still relatively under-studied and much less significantly than texts on ecclesiastical glass.

of privacy, with the manipulation and diffusion of light, and display, utilising different designs to achieve an impressive vista. The latter is where the public and private spheres interrelate. Stained glass in the home offered 'exquisite adornment of the windows of halls, corridors, staircases, and in many cases effectually screened out the objectionable sights at the back of the house.'[52] Family events and ancestral achievements afforded subjects for windows of a higher character, approximating in effect to the magnificence of those in ecclesiastical edifices.[53] This also clearly applies to secular public buildings. Domestic glass is also important for this study as it conveys patterns of artistic taste, with examples of influence from the Aesthetic, Arts and Crafts and Art Nouveau period, which trickled down to the home from public space. In this way, the domestic semi-detached or terrace house of the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries related to their bombastic public counterparts. All stained glass firms were undertaking secular, domestic work simultaneously, therefore there is a chain linking the public and the private.

An issue facing those who wish to study domestic glass is that of access, yet stately homes with public access can alleviate this to an extent, combined with efforts to preserve glass in these settings, such as Cragside (1882) in Northumberland. Other significant country or stately homes remain extremely difficult to access, including Abney Hall (c.1849-50) in Cheadle, near Greater Manchester.[54] Many earlier stained glass designers were making schemes for elite domestic settings. For

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Roscam Abbing and Raguin are both researching the function of stained glass in the domestic interior in Dutch and American houses respectively, and the impact of industry on the aesthetics of the home. See Virginia Raguin.' John La Farge's Opulent Interiors, 1880-1882' in *Le vitrail dans la demeure des origins à nos jours, vitrer et orner la fenêtre*. XXVIII colloque international du Corpus Vitrearum, Troyes, 4-8 Juillet 2016: 274-287; Laura Roscam Abbing. 'Stained glass in Dutch homes from 1880 to 1940' in *Le vitrail dans la demeure des origins à nos jours, vitrer et orner la fenêtre.* XXVIII colloque international du Corpus Vitrearum, Troyes, 4-8 Juillet 2016: 172-183. See Michel Hérold. 'Windows in Domestic Settings in France in the Late Middle Ages: Enclosure and Decoration in the Social Living Space' in Brigitte Kurmann-Schwarz and Elizabeth Pastan. *Investigations in Medieval Stained Glass*. Brill, 2019: 132-142. Weilbacker (1990), also discussed the domestic output of one studio, that of Nicola D'Ascenzo Studios, from the late 1900s until the mid-twentieth century. William Waters (2017) devotes a chapter to domestic glass in the main representing well-known examples by Morris, Marhsall, Faulkner & Co., (The Green Dining Room, South Kensington Museum; Cragside, Northumberland), Heaton, Butler & Bayne (Cragside, Northumberland); G.E. Cook (South Audley Street) and firms such as Arthur Hunt, later becoming part of Shrigley and Hunt. Waters also focuses attention on the glazing scheme at Pownall Hall in Cheshire, discussing its pictorial elements but nothing of its innovative use of glass types, newly available on the market. William Waters & Alastair Carew-Cox, *Damozels & Deities: Pre-Raphaelite Stained Glass 1870-1898: Edward Burne-Jones, Henry Holiday.* Seraphim Press, 2017

[52] Heaton and Butler: 11

[53] Heaton and Butler: 11

[54] Abney Hall is now divided between several businesses, so to gain access, the relevant businesses must be contacted who own the areas of the building which contain the stained glass. I managed to gain access to many parts of the building through this method.

example, much of Thomas Willment's stained glass work in the 1820s and 1830s was for country houses or domestic settings, such as Mamhead in Devon, Rufford Abbey in Nottinghamshire, and Scotney Castle in Kent, with the architect Anthony Salvin.[55] However, early nineteenth-century designers such as Willement were quite limited in the subject scope of their work, which was chiefly archaeological copies of medieval heraldic schemes. Not much was iconographically new, which changed in the later nineteenth century when the stained glass artist's palette was vastly expanded.

More modest, but perhaps some of the most interesting stained glass can be found in the houses of the middle classes. Stained glass could be chosen from catalogues for more 'off the peg' designs, revealing the desire for owning a piece of luxury found in public buildings or lavish country homes. Standardisation of design through catalogues such as those by Baxendales was prevalent (Fig.5). The popularity and fashionableness of stained glass in the home can also be measured by the uptake in the usage of transfers, such as glaciers,[56] or 'diaphanies',[57] which were paper prints that could be glued to the window in order to mimic a stained glass window for those who could not afford it. These substitutes for stained glass were much more accessible to the lower classes, but also reveal the desire for these adornments in the home. Stained glass could be placed in different rooms and areas such as doorways, partitions and the upper panels of front facing windows. Popular subjects were flowers, birds, landscapes,[58] or numerous decorative patterns. As there were several different positions within a house where stained glass could be placed, the location could influence design.

The key factor which separates the public, institutional and the private, personal space is the potential for indulgence in decoration which was not deemed appropriate for the home. Speaking at a Council meeting about the decoration, including stained glass, of the Great Hall at Rochdale Town Hall prior to its grand

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[55] See Sarah Brown. 'So Perfectly Satisfactory': The Stained Glass of Thomas Willement in St George's Chapel' in Sarah Brown (ed.) *A History of the Stained Glass of St George's Chapel, Windsor Castle*. Windsor, 2005

[56] For a more detailed study of glaciers, see Monika Adamczak, 'The Glacier – Victorian DIY Imitation Stained Glass,' *Vidimus*, June 2015, 92. 2015. https://www.vidimus.org/issues/issue-92/feature/. Accessed 15 February 2022.

[57] See 'Diaphanie. The Art of Imitating Stained or Painted Glass,' *National Magazine* 2:10 (August 1857): 272

[58] Laura Roscam Abbing discusses these as popular in Dutch houses in 'Decorative Window Glass in Dutch Residential Homes from 1850 to 1940' in Le vitrail dans la demeure des origins à nos jours, vitrer et orner la fenêtre. XXVIII colloque international du Corpus Vitrearum, Troyes, 4-8 Juillet 2016: 51

opening in 1871, Councillor Mattley objected to the extravagance of expenditure, stating, 'The gentlemen who composed the Council were not in the habit of indulging in such expensive luxuries at their own homes, and the only person who would benefit by those in the Town Hall would be the intelligent foreigner who came with a view to inspect its beauties.'[59] This gives a valuable insight into ideas about extravagance in the public space and knowledge that many people would specifically go to view these buildings for the richly decorated rooms.

Staircase windows

Staircase stained glass windows were a very popular showpiece in the home for guests, and this is the same for public buildings. A good example of this are the staircase windows at Rochdale Town Hall, discussed in chapter one, which were intended to impress the citizenry. Christopher Dresser, the British designer and decorator, included a chapter on stained glass in his *Principles of Decorative Design* (1875). Stained glass was important within an urban environment to ensure a 'lovely view'.[60] The staircase is a favourite spot for a window, being at once a showpiece for guests and something to peruse whilst walking up or down the stairs. They certainly add interest, a grand display and cover what perhaps could at times be a 'dull view'.[61] Paintings often reflected the ambience of the addition of stained glass to windows and staircases of private houses. Wilfred Bosworth Jenkins often painted large houses by moonlight with the front windows gleaming with coloured light. *A Country House by Moonlight* depicts the glowing colour of the coloured glass (Fig.6). In the painting, the Gothic scene has the addition of two sculpted dragon statues either side of the top of the stairs leading to the house. Leaded windows with diamond quarries are highlighted with glowing light, with the outlines of coats of arms visible in the lights at the top of the windows.

A good example of a customised window in the key position of the staircase landing is found at The Hollies in Failsworth, Oldham, near Manchester (Fig.7). Completed in 1903, the window in Failsworth was made by the firm of George Wragge Ltd, who were undertaking secular and ecclesiastical commissions throughout the city of Manchester and beyond. The window uses the same palette of colours as seen in the stained glass window in Wragge's commission at The Midland Hotel in central Manchester, which depicts a female figure dancing between two pipers. The

[59] 'The Decoration of the New Town Hall.' *Rochdale Observer*, 8th April 1871: 8
[60] Christopher Dresser. *Principles of Decorative Design*. London: Cassell, Peter and Galpin, 1875: 153
[61] Ibid

‘Hollies’ window is a bespoke design and was clearly influenced by the wishes of the architect Henry J. Sellers (1861-1954), who along with Wragge, was part of the Northern Art Workers’ Guild. The window at the Hollies is a charming Art Nouveau design, with a tree of life symbol running up through the centre and its leaves and flowers sprawling across the top of the window, with two standardised bird motifs on either side. A row of daisies run along the bottom of the window, which has a casement at each end. The window is joined on the front façade of the house by two ‘weavers’ windows on either side of the main entranceway beneath.

It is fascinating to see the cross-pollination of ideas between the industrial, public and domestic settings, and both Wragge’s Arts and Crafts and Art Nouveau affiliations making their presence felt in the ‘Tree of Life’ style imagery of the window, which has a fresh and organic feel. This was a popular motif, with Henry Wilson decorating the Lady Chapel at St Martin’s, Marple in 1895 with similar imagery surrounded by swallows (Fig.8). Similar designs to the windows at ‘The Hollies’ can be found reproduced in *The Studio* (Fig.9). No designer is specified, but they are very close in spirit to the windows and could likely be adapted for other various domestic settings and locations.

An interesting series of houses on a street in the suburb of Moseley, Birmingham, demonstrates this standardisation of stained glass design in the Aesthetic style, with moderate variations between houses. The detached and semi-detached houses are on Chantry Road and date from between 1880 and 1900 and extend the length of the street. Each contains elaborate examples of ‘off the peg’ catalogue stained glass and can be found in any room of the house (Figs.10-17). The designs were clearly made by the same firm who would have been contracted by the architects or builders to decorate the whole street. Access was key for this kind of research, and luckily the residents of the street were more than happy to oblige in allowing me access to their homes.[62] Many panels in the houses have bullions surrounded by decorative leaf designs which have been silver stained in doorways and living rooms. Yet at number 32, which is a detached house, this standardisation is coupled with some more elaborate paint work on the staircase window. A three light window separated by two mullions and a transom contains an exquisitely painted set of birds in the top panels (Figs.12-14). Below are three larger lights which contain three painted images of landscapes containing large castles or country

[62] My sincere thanks are given to Susan McClure who allowed me access to her house as well as other residents on Chantry Road

homes and a waterfall which make heavy use of silver stain (Figs.15-17). This gives a golden, shimmering effect to the woodland and riverside themes. Crucially though, these scenes are not local; the river scene contains rock formations which are not found in the West Midlands and the imagery of the stately homes or castles does not relate to any nearby architecture. They are idealised, with fishermen by the side of shallow rivers in the idyllic country scenes. The windows therefore clearly demonstrate standardisation of domestic stained glass design, where customers or architects could choose imagery from a catalogue as best fit the house. This idea was replicated across many homes of different sizes, but the primary function of these windows was as a showpiece, a reflection of the good taste of the owner and therefore, wealth. All of these sentiments are at the root of the reasons why public, institutional buildings of the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries contain stained glass; to impress, educate and demonstrate pride.

Primary sources

Although I have utilised archives of stained glass firms in this thesis, primary sources for stained glass firms are not always easily available. Archival resources for a handful of firms have been preserved, including Miekle & Co (Glasgow), John Hardman & Co (Birmingham), Hartley Wood & Co. (Sunderland), Morris & Co (London) James Powell & Sons (London) and Abbot & Co (Lancaster). However, many other business archives and documentary evidence have been lost or destroyed due to fires, the World Wars, or simply scrapped. A good example is the Glasgow firm of John C. Hall, of which there is a case study in chapter four. No archives exist for the firm, and they are also absent from newspaper reports of new windows for the period.[63]

However, the pieces can be placed back together to an extent by searching through local newspapers for reports of the opening of buildings, which sometimes mention the stained glass. Local archives contain minutes of committee meetings which make reference to important decisions about the decoration of buildings. This is especially the case for locations such as Rochdale, whose pride and interest in stained glass is evident by the very fact these issues are discussed. Contemporary art and building magazines and journals are also a mine of evidence for popular trends in the art world, often covering new decorative works around Britain. Much

[63] I made contact with Richard Youngs of Glasgow Archives and Special Collections, part of Glasgow Life, to enquire about Council minutes and newspaper reports, but there are no records of the building

use has been made of journals such as *The Builder* and *The Studio* for this purpose.

The incomplete, but illuminating, archives of the glassmakers Hartley Wood of Sunderland and James Powell & Sons in London are a welcome exception to this stark absence of primary sources. The Hartley Wood archives have records which give details of glass produced and the companies who bought them from around the country and indeed, worldwide. These are hugely important for understanding glass aesthetics, as discussed in chapter four.

Another important primary source are the writings of the stained glass designers and makers themselves. Several of the stained glass designers covered in this thesis gave lectures or wrote texts which discussed the stained glass industry and their approach to stained glass design, which is crucial for understanding the artistic climate and the importance of the medium during the period. Product catalogues of firms are also essential for identifying work but do not always survive, however I have been able to source catalogues for the companies of Heaton, Butler and Bayne, George Wragge Ltd, W. J. Pearce, all of whom are discussed in this thesis.

Architectural Scholarship and popular novels

Much use has been made of scholarship which discusses specific types of buildings. Yet even specialist studies of secular Victorian and Edwardian buildings have overlooked the importance of their decorative glazing. For example, Colin Cunningham's excellent chronological study of Town Halls does not cover stained glass, yet has a specialist chapter on sculpture. An area where there are more fruitful resources are the buildings of the leisure industries, including pubs, libraries and Turkish Baths. The books by Geoff Brandwood, Andrew Davison and Michael Slaughter on the history and heritage on the public house do in many cases refer to stained glass as a significant feature, although by necessity the descriptions of individual pubs are short and lack detail. This lack of coverage is also replicated in studies of nineteenth-century art in general.

A very important influence on the thesis has been popular literature of the day and this has proved a unique way of studying the stained glass case studies. In many cases, these novels provide vital evidence for the society which the stained glass reflects. Important sources include novels by Elizabeth Gaskell, Charles Dickens, Anthony Trollope and Thomas Hughes. All refer to cultural and societal differences

and norms; extreme poverty and illness is discussed in these novels, which stained glass does extremely well at masking, as I explore in the chapters.

Stained glass scholarship

Previous studies of British stained glass of the nineteenth century have focused almost exclusively on ecclesiastical settings and the oeuvre of individual artists or firms, predominantly London-based.[64] Martin Harrison's seminal survey of Victorian stained glass provided a broad chronological trajectory of nineteenth-century stained glass and remains the standard text on the period.[65] Peter Cormack extended the study of Arts and Crafts stained glass into the 20th century in an admirably comprehensive overview, which focuses on the work of individual artists at the expense of the wider cultural impact of glass in society.[66] Jim Cheshire's valuable survey of one region in the Victorian period focuses on the economics of stained glass production, and positions this against the culture of an industrialising society.[67] Michael Donnelly's short texts on Scottish stained glass deal with the whole country. Although covering excellent examples of ecclesiastical, secular and domestic glass, they are very brief and do not do Scottish stained glass the justice it so deserves.[68]

Only Isobel Armstrong's *Victorian Glassworlds* discusses the cultural impact of glass and reflects a system of ideas about the nature and use of glass in the Victorian period. However, Armstrong only covers clear and not coloured or stained glass and the case-studies are London-focused.[69] Armstrong presented a world enhanced by the perceived opulence and spectacle of glass and projected the key point that glass was ubiquitous and associated with a progressive nation.

Jasmine Allen gives secular decorative glazing serious, although relatively brief, scholarly attention in her work on the International Exhibitions, 1851-1900 and

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[64] Charles A. Sewter. *The Stained Glass of William Morris and His Circle*. (New Haven: Yale University Press for the Paul Mellon Center for Studies in British Art 1974-1975, 1975); Nicola Gordon Bowe. *Harry Clarke: The Life and Work.* (The History Press Ltd; Revised, 2012); Lucy Costigan. *The Stained Glass of Harry Clarke*. (The History Press Ireland, 2010).

[65] Martin Harrison. *Victorian Stained Glass*. (London: Barrie and Jenkins, 1980)

[66] Peter Cormack. *Arts and Crafts Stained Glass*. (London: Yale University Press, 2015)

[67] Jim Cheshire. *Stained Glass and the Victorian Gothic Revival*. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004)

[68] Michael Donnelly. *Glasgow stained glass: a preliminary study.* (Glasgow: Glasgow Museums and Art Galleries, 1985); Michael Donnelly. *Scotland's stained glass: making the colours sing.* (Edinburgh: Stationery Office 1997)

[69] Isobel Armstrong. *Victorian Glassworlds: Glass culture and the Imagination, 1830-1880.* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008)

secular, domestic glazing.[70] William Waters and Alastair Carew-Cox in their impressive volumes on Pre-Raphaelite stained glass have had chapters on domestic glazing.[71] The most recent publication by Waters and Carew-Cox, *Saints and Symbols: Pre-Raphaelite Stained Glass,* discusses the work of five major British stained glass designers and makers of the nineteenth century and include both their ecclesiastical as well as secular output within the text. [72] There is certainly a burgeoning trend for scholars to look at the work of particular artists more holistically, accounting for all aspects of their output. The recent tome on the work of Daniel Cottier also continues this approach.[73] This is a very positive step towards recognising the full gamut of the output of stained glass firms; however, there is still much focus and analysis of artists and their works, rather than their contribution to visual culture. This thesis complements and broadens knowledge by relating British stained glass to its wider social, cultural, and industrial context.

In terms of technological developments of glass on the continent, Groult has emphasised industry as the catalyst for diversity in industrial glass manufacturing techniques.[74] A recent study by Catherine Spirit, entitled *Antiquarianism, Fragmentation, and Ornament: Continental Stained Glass in East Anglia, c. 1800-1850*, discusses how stained glass became a powerful vehicle for self-expression for landowners and patrons in both the domestic and ecclesiastical spheres.[75]

Importantly, stained glass has escaped the attentions of Marxist, feminist, and queer histories, and my work on gender and stained glass reveals there is much work to be done in this field. Stained glass studies has so far not shown particular interest in the lives of women, working-class or queer people, yet these are intimately

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[70] Jasmine Allen. *Windows for the World: Nineteenth-century stained glass and the international exhibitions, 1851-1900*. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2018); Jasmine Allen. 'Stained Glass in the Victorian Home, 1850-1899' in Le vitrail dans la demeure des origins à nos jours, vitrer et orner la fenêtre. XXVIII colloque international du Corpus Vitrearum, Troyes, 4-8 Juillet 2016: 128-143

[71] Bill Waters and Alistair Carew-Cox. Angels and Icons. *Pre-Raphaelite stained glass, 1850-1870*. (Abbots Morton: Seraphim Press, 2012); Bill Waters and Alistair Carew-Cox. *Damozels and deities: Edward Burne-Jones, Henry Holiday and Pre-Raphaelite stained glass, 1870-1898*. (Abbots Morton: Seraphim Press, 2017)

[72] Bill Waters and Alistair Carew-Cox. *Saints and Symbols: Pre-Raphaelite Stained Glass*. (Abbots Morton: Seraphim Press, 2021)

[73]Petra ten-Doesschate & Max Donnelly with Andrew Montana & Suzanne Veldink. *Daniel Cottier: Designer, Decorator, Dealer.* (London: Yale University Press, 2021)

[74] E. Groult. C. Loisel & F. Bauchau. 'Les verres imprimés employés dans le vitrail entre 1880 et 1940 et la problématique de leur conservation-restauration' in Claudine Loisel*, Stained Glass: How to take care of a Fragile Heritage*, Proceedings of the 9th Forum for the Conservation and Technology of Historic Stained Glass, Paris, ICOMOS France, July 8-10, 2015

[75] Catherine Spirit. *Antiquarianism, Fragmentation, and Ornament: Continental Stained Glass in East Anglia, c. 1800-1850*. Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of York, 2021

connected in the late-nineteenth century. This again reflects that only ecclesiastical stained glass has received serious attention, as the subject matter of ecclesiastical windows is constrained within a religious narrative and is derived from Biblical and liturgical sources.

My own published work on the Manchester-based company of George Wragge Ltd, one of the most significant Arts and Crafts stained glass makers for secular settings in the North of England, and the stained glass schemes at Rochdale Art Gallery and Museum also marks a significant contribution to the emerging trend of research into secular stained glass.[76] Companies such as Wragge's attracted the patronage of important architects and created a modern stained glass aesthetic for an industrial city, underlining that a reassessment of the cultural value of the secular work of provincial commercial firms is long overdue. A much broader study of the medium is required to bring wider recognition to what is a most dynamic and vital artistic medium, which this thesis offers.

Methodology and Chapter Outline

In this thesis, I investigate the case studies of stained glass in secular, institutional buildings as a measure of the social and political climate of the nineteenth century. Stained glass constructs societal concepts as well as reveals them and major scholarly themes of the nineteenth century are explored, such as class, gender, imperialism, and the virtue of work. My focus was to discover and portray the 'lived' experience of the windows for those that would have been using the space, or paid for them, particularly thinking about the differing levels of society that were exposed to each setting as its audience. Many of the case-studies explored in this thesis are little-known and are placed in buildings which have had multiple occupancies since they were first built. It was therefore my first task to 're-discover' these windows; I made much use of secondary literature in order to help me locate them along with much detective work. This then involved much on-site analysis of the windows as I travelled around to cities and towns in Britain so I could have first-hand knowledge of each case-study. Most of my explorations were successful, but some buildings that I wished to research remain impenetrable, such as the Green Dragon pub in Cardiff, situated above a branch of Burger King. Importantly, I also wanted to

[76] Veronica Smith. 'George Wragge's Manchester: a consideration of Arts and Crafts stained glass in secular contexts' in *The Journal of the Decorative Arts Society 1850 – the Present*, No. 41 (2017): 140-159; Smith, Veronica. (2020) 'Stained Glass and the Victorian Town: Rochdale Library, Museum, and Art Gallery', *19: Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century,* 2020 (30). doi: https://doi.org/10.16995/ntn.2898

analyse the stained glass as art works; objects for art historical study which are compared with other major social art of the day, especially paintings on canvas. There has been little analysis of stained glass in this manner. I have also made much use of archival resources where they exist for many of the case-studies. Some buildings, such as Rochdale Town Hall, Rochdale Museum and Art Gallery and Victoria Baths have a very rich archive, including photographs and council minutes which reference the stained glass; unfortunately, these archives are the exception and not the rule.

An overarching premise and investigation of this thesis is stained glass as a secular art form.. From the evidence of this thesis, my conclusion is that stained glass does perform as a medium independent of the church. Secular stained glass should be considered as an important strand *alongside* ecclesiastical stained glass in order to fully engage with this incredibly powerful medium. As already mentioned, stained glass firms were simultaneously producing work for both secular and ecclesiastical settings and as researchers, this approach to the study of stained glass should be replicated in scholarly work.

The overall trajectory of the thesis begins with a set of windows which are heavily influenced by church design and ends with a series of windows which bear no visible relation to their supposed religious roots. The first case study in chapter one is the Neo-Gothic Rochdale Town Hall, completed in 1871 and the final case study of chapter four is the Miller and Lang Printing Office, Glasgow, designed in 1902. Aesthetically and technically, the latter window could not have been made 30 years previously, yet windows such as those at Rochdale Town Hall with the single figure in lancet designs, were still popular in churches in the early 1900s, as they still are today.[77]

There are recurring, underlying themes throughout the chapters. Certainly the question of women's work and women's role in society is manifested in different ways in chapters one, two and three, through a variety of imagery. The male body in stained glass is present in chapters two and three, and also on a perhaps more subtle level in the images of royalty and the armoured, royal body. Race and empire are quietly important throughout much of the imagery, seen openly in images of heraldry and commerce, but also those of sport, as explored in chapter three.

[77] See new commissions made by contemporary stained glass artist Deborah Lowe, such as *The Transfiguration of Christ*, St Chad's Oratory, Cheetham Hill, Manchester, 2019

The chapters each contain one, two or three case-studies based on a particular theme. The first of the case studies in each chapter represents secular stained glass which has clearly been influenced by church design, namely, the single figure in a lancet with an architectural canopy, but this does not necessarily denote an earlier design date due to the continuing popularity of the format. This template is slightly altered depending on the artist but overall, the presentation is recognisable as following this formula. The later case-studies in each chapter represent an example of secular stained glass on the same theme that does not follow this strict formula, and this differentiation in design increases chapter-by-chapter. Despite the first and last of the case-studies showing huge developments in the design and making of stained glass, the case-studies do not form a continuous chronology throughout the later 1800s and early 1900s, and instead oscillate between the decades to reveal the best examples of the given themes of the chapters.

All four chapters adopt an iconographical approach and discover fresh attitudes to subject matter. In chapter one I look at stained glass which deals with political agendas and the reinvention of medieval iconographies for a modern, civic audience. This entails both national and international agendas with trade and commerce at the forefront, which were new objects of pride and worship.

Chapter two continues this theme but explores the flipside of municipal civic pride and focuses on the workers who contributed to the empire and appear in a new typology of window, the ‘trade and commerce’ window. They are again used as figures fit for worship in stained glass, but in much more of an idealised form where physical strength symbolises power. However, there was little input from the workers themselves who may never even have been able to view these windows in-situ.

Chapter three focuses on leisure industries with case-studies of a public house, a library and public swimming baths. In these spaces, where gender and class were heavily segregated, stained glass clearly defines hierarchies and is used as a dividing tool, which is therefore very revealing about societal norms and aspirations.

Finally, chapter four has a different focus and approach to the previous chapters. The chapter relates developments in stained glass aesthetics to technological advancements in glass production. The huge explosion of types of glass in the later nineteenth century, either machine-made or mouth-blown, greatly influenced stained glass design and was incorporated as an essential part of composition by several firms across Britain. This was very much a national movement relating to similar

trends on the continent and in the United States, however, the particular combinations of mouth-blown and machine-made glasses indicate a clear British aesthetic.

The chapters are followed by two appendices. Appendix 1 gives a brief overview of all the main case studies discussed in the thesis, covering basic details about the architecture and building materials, as well as listed status. It is intended that the reader can look up these details to contextualise the discussion of the stained glass. Appendix 2 is a more detailed study of individual glass types found in the case studies. These detail the names and processes of making the glass types, with extra imagery of moulds, glass-making and glass samples held in museum collections. It is intended to assist with identifying glass in stained glass windows generally.

Due to the inevitable consequences of COVID, there are some gaps in terms of the research, particularly in relation to archives. I believe that these thematic ways of approaching the subject matter and materials of stained glass open up a new direction for stained glass studies, one with countless possibilities and pathways for exploration.

Chapter 1. Stained glass and the modern age: Heraldry, History, Politics and Empire

This chapter will focus on examples of Gothic and Classical styles of stained glass which were an intrinsic part of the secular industrial architectural landscape of the nineteenth century and therefore an urban art form. Stained glass was also democratic in that it reached a more multi-cultural, multi-racial, and multi-denominational society, especially in the urban context. Heaton, Butler and Bayne, a large stained glass and decorating firm based in London, rose to prominence in the 1860s and evidently became the 'go-to' firm for large secular commissions. Both the main case-studies of secular stained glass in this chapter were made by Heaton, Butler and Bayne, reflecting their dominance of the market. They emerge from this chapter as masterful at realising significant and expansive secular stained glass commissions.

In the same period in which the Church of England was losing its hold as a national church, secular public buildings that were free to enter, especially town halls, offered inclusive and democratic alternative spaces on a monumental scale. They rivalled the great Gothic cathedrals monopolised by the Anglican church in the first quarter of the nineteenth-century.[78] In these civic spaces, people of all religions and classes could potentially mix and the imagery in the stained glass projected a vision of a socially inclusive society, if not yet a racially diverse one. Yet, the vision projected in the imagery masked the regulation of space and was at odds with the reality of the outside world. It is therefore a partial truth or fantasy, which was in part unattainable. Stained glass reflected a more liberal society, politically left of the spectrum, but still excluded much of the population at large.

Imperial statements were made in stained glass, for example, the use of motifs such as heraldry and royalty, but also symbolism to represent relations with the rest of the world.[79] Heraldry becomes a living art form through stained glass in the nineteenth century, as displayed in the coats of arms at Rochdale Town Hall, which is a prominent case study for the development of civic heraldry. Ancient representation of the self or the town is revitalised for the modern age. The tension between glorifying the medieval past and revering the modern world is evident, with

[78] The Catholic Emancipation Act in 1829 would remove this monopolisation.
[79] For an exploration of stained glass throughout the British Empire, see G.A. Bremner. 'Colonial Themes in Stained Glass, Home and Abroad: A Visual Survey' in *19: Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century 2020* (30), 2020, 1-23.

designers adapting the medieval traditions for contemporary settings. It is, however, the use of these formats which allows stained glass to become an intrinsic part of secular architecture; replicating structures that were familiar to many through their only other encounter with the medium: at the local parish church. Reinvention allowed for much innovation in stained glass.

Of course, there is the reality of the world beyond the window, which is masked by the stained glass. Stained glass is noble and bestows grandeur, but there is always a wider story to tell of hardship and oppression: the world outside of the images in the stained glass.

Gothic idyll versus Gothic industrial

The development of the concept of Gothic is important for this chapter as perceptions of the style flipped during the nineteenth century from a Gothic idyll to a denigration of Gothic as 'new', industrial and urban at the end of the century. The Gothic Revival was part of the progressiveness of the period, where it was one of several architectural styles that could be employed for building work and decoration, including Japanese, Islamic and East Asian, as reflected in design manuals intended for craft studios, such as Owen Jones's *The Grammar of Ornament* (1856).

Pugin wrote two key treatises for the revival of Gothic; *The True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture* in 1841, which stated that Christian architecture was synonymous with the Gothic or medieval, and *Contrasts: or a Parallel Between the Noble Edifices of the Middle Ages and Corresponding Buildings of the Present Day; shewing The Present Decay of Taste*, published in 1845. For Pugin, Gothic was a moral as well as aesthetic choice for architecture and stained glass, yet it was Pugin himself who mobilised the transformation of the Gothic into a modern medium.

Pugin offered Gothic as a template for any modern type of building in both urban and rural contexts,[80] and believed that gothic architecture was the only partner for stained glass, stating that it was 'the only style calculated to exhibit this fascinating art to its full effect'.[81] Yet, as well as allowing stained glass to become a secularised

[80] Rosemary Hill. *God's Architect, Pugin and the building of Romantic Britain*. (London: Allen Lane, 2007): 153

[81] A.W.N. Pugin in his third lecture to his students at St Mary's College, Oscott, c.1838, published in the Catholic Magazine, 1839, 19-34 & 89-98 and quoted in Stanley A. Shepherd, 'Stained glass' in Atterbury, Paul & Wainwright, Clive (eds*). Pugin: A Gothic Passion*. 1994: 195

art, these changes also allowed for stained glass to escape the realm of the elite who had in previous centuries been the only class who could afford to pay for it.

Pugin's opinions influenced architectural style and theory from the 1830s until the 1850s and beyond. Antiquaries such as Henry Shaw also saw the past as a field to be quarried and explored, publishing *The Hand Book of Medieval Alphabets and Devices* in 1853 and *Dresses and Decorations of the Middle Ages* in 1840. This manual sought to provide examples to students of alphabets, numerals and devices in use during the Middle Ages.[82] John Ruskin (1819-1900) was a follower of the Gothic style, which was influenced by his travels around Europe where he made detailed sketches and watercolours of medieval architectural features. These were detailed in his seminal *The Stones of Venice*, the first volume of which was published in 1851 and reflected influence from Italian architecture on ideas of the Gothic in Britain, which was in itself progressive.

This reinvention of the Gothic was in response to the mechanisation of the age, where technical progress was speeding up building work. Morris re-discovered the processes of medieval crafts and emphasised medievalism in his poetry and believed the hand-made methods of the past had substance and authenticity and were far superior to the present. This rediscovery was a new, modern approach; Gothic became more than a revival of ancient forms; it became modern and 'predicated on ideas of development, which was interpreted in terms of progressive modernity'.[83]

Charles Winston, the English historian of stained glass, in his influential book of 1847, *An Inquiry into the Difference of Style Observable in Ancient Glass Paintings, Especially in England; with Hints on Glass Painting,* was himself influenced by Rickman's typological approach to a definition of Gothic style,[84] in defining the stylistic evolution of stained glass.[85] In the early years, Gothic was a nationalistic identifier of English style and represented refinement and authority. Winston's intent was to encourage a revival of stained glass as a modern art form using historic forms.

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[82] Henry Shaw. *The Hand Book of Medieval Alphabets and Devices*, William Pickering, London, 1853
[83] Michael Hall. 'What Do Victorian Churches Mean? Symbolism and Sacramentalism in Anglican Church Architecture, 1850-1870'. *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, Vol. 59, No. 1 (March 2000): 80
[84] Thomas Rickman. *An Attempt to Discriminate the Styles of Architecture in England, from the Conquest to the Reformation with a Sketch of the Grecian and Roman Orders*. Parker & Co, 1881
[85] Charles Winston. *An Inquiry into the Difference of Style Observable in Ancient Glass Paintings, Especially in England; with Hints on Glass Painting*. 2 Volumes. Oxford and London, 1847

Yet, ordinary working people, such as labourers, millworkers and farmers may never have seen opulent Gothic structures. They would not have had the exposure to Gothic in the same way as the elite, and by the 1870s, the new municipal middle classes.

Thomas Hardy, in *Jude the Obscure* (1895), set in the then present day, explores the relations of people to the buildings that surround them. Hardy discusses the obliteration of the old church in the hamlet of Marygreen, which was 'hump-backed, wood-turreted, and quaintly hipped' replaced with 'a tall new building of modern Gothic design, unfamiliar to English eyes, […] erected on a new piece of ground by a certain obliterator of historic records who had run down from London and back in a day'.[86] Here there is the sense of the Gothic as new, foreign and unfamiliar to those outside of the city. There is no sense of Pugin's beloved rural gothic medieval village or town, and an ecclesiastical structure which bears no relation to the people of the hamlet. There is very much the sense of the rural versus the urban, and this is significant and comparable for the town of Rochdale, where no building on the scale of the town hall had previously been built.

'An Imperishable Monument of our Civilisation':[87] Rochdale Town Hall

The Gothic splendour of the Grade I listed Rochdale Town Hall (Figs.18-21), was designed by William Henry Crossland in 1864 and building was completed in 1871.[88] The Town Hall contributes to a modern, urban gothic with the iconography in the stained glass being a knowing manipulation of history. Rochdale Town Hall was built on land that was previously the local marketplace, so continued the use of the space as a central focus point of the town. The Town Hall demonstrated the municipal elite's civilisation and good taste with the commissioners looking to national fashions for their inspiration, including London contractors being employed for the decoration. The municipal elite wished to gain support for their leadership and to bolster their legitimacy to the local populace, whilst presenting themselves as modern and progressive. The Town Hall's audience was intended as local, whilst also competing with other cities across Britain for architectural relevance, vogue, and stature. It is a complex interweaving of the local and national and this is especially demonstrated in the highly elaborate stained glass.

[86] Thomas Hardy. *Jude the Obscure*. (Hertfordshire: Wordsworth Editions Limited, 1995): 3
[87] *Rochdale Observer*, 12.11.1870: 6
[88] For a brief overview of Rochdale Town Hall, see Appendix 1: 244-245

Town halls were the pinnacle of civic pride and considered a focal point of a city or town, in a way that cathedrals or churches would have always stood for the heart and central meeting point for a community in the medieval period. Town Halls were solid, permanent structures that anchored not only the centre of a town or city, but also their place within the Empire. The development of local government in the nineteenth century resulted in dominant town halls structures and the stained glass contained within them oscillated between the local, national and imperial. Due to the unprecedented growth of cities and towns in the nineteenth century, town halls had to transform and were required to accommodate a multitude of branches of offices,[89] which could include law courts, the fire service, police station or libraries in addition to providing meeting places for councillors.

The stained glass of Rochdale Town Hall was designed by Heaton, Butler and Bayne of London, and according to Waters, contains 'the most splendid set of glass to be seen in any town hall in the country'.[90] Writing in 1956 Taylor notes that 'while students of ancient English stained glass should visit York Cathedral, students who wish to see the finest modern stained glass in the country will find it in the Rochdale Town Hall', a striking twentieth-century attitude to what was considered modern stained glass.[91] Pevsner stated of the windows that at night they allowed the town hall to glow with effulgent light.[92]

For a small town, the Town Hall was a big statement. Being foremost in the creation of the Co-Operative Movement, Rochdale was afforded magnificent buildings to match its position in the world towards the end of the nineteenth century. The stained glass is pivotal in delivering political statements and Rochdale's liberal stance.

Pevsner wrote of Rochdale, 'Here all is completely different from Lancashire towns, and indeed all English towns. The town hall lies surrounded by public gardens on three sides and the church lies up a steep bank, and the bank is also a public garden. So the centre is green and pleasant.'[93] However, Pevsner was writing in the twentieth century and at the time of erection, Rochdale Town Hall was the town's parallel of a country estate (Fig.19) The topography of the town was entirely

[89] Colin Cunningham. *Victorian and Edwardian Town Halls*: 4
[90] William Waters. *Angel and Icons*, (Worcester, Seraphim Press, 2012): 228
[91] Rebe P. Taylor. *Rochdale Retrospect*, (Rochdale, Corporation of Rochdale, 1956):118
[92] Nikolaus Pevsner: *Lancashire: Manchester and the South-East.* (London: Yale University Press, 2004): 595
[93] Ibid

different, being surrounded by woodland to the rear and the esplanade to the front was much larger with the River Roch visible along the whole length of the esplanade.[94] Only a small area of the river was covered in 1882 and the area directly in front of the town hall was not fully covered until 1923.[95]

The Town Hall stands in front of St Chad's, the local parish church which lies at the top of a steep stairway and dwarfs it in comparison (Fig.19). Despite local planning to create a picturesque centre, the domineering town hall makes a symbolic statement regarding the new secular municipal architecture versus the centres of religion, particularly as the council was dominated by nonconformists.

Contextually, Rochdale Town Hall arrives later in the fervour for the Gothic and displayed grandeur on a multifaceted and intricately detailed scale; it fits with the description in *Jude the Obscure* as new, modern, and foreign to local eyes. It was a gothic 'fantasy' and not an expression of complete reality. Well-known to literature as a particular style that encompassed phantasmagoria, mystery and reverie,[96] the architectural style of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries was celebrated, and stained glass was a perfect component. Oscar Wilde in *The Picture of Dorian Gray* (1890) captures the vibrancy and energy of the Gothic and one which the Town Hall exemplifies: that vivid life that lurks in all grotesques, and that lends to Gothic art its enduring vitality – this art being, one might fancy, especially the art of those whose minds have been troubled with the malady of reverie.[97]

Gothic is permanent, noble, aesthetically ornate, and beautiful, but it is also foreboding and authoritative, and in the case of Rochdale, modern. The concepts of Kings, Queens, myths, legends, Biblical Tales and heraldry are important for Gothic subjects in secular stained glass.

Inspiration

Members of Rochdale council travelled around the country for inspiration for their town hall, visiting local towns and cities, as well as travelling to London.[98] George Leach Ashworth, twice mayor of Rochdale in 1862 and 1870, was the champion of

[94] The River Roch was hidden from view to make way for parking outside of the Town Hall until it was uncovered in 2016. This medieval bridge beneath the paving was revealed.
[95] Map of the County Borough of Rochdale, Town Centre. Rochdale Local History Library
[96] See Mary Shelley, *Frankenstein*. (Hertfordshire: Wordsworth Editions Limited, 1993). Jane Austen, *Northanger Abbey*. (London: Penguin, 2003) is a satire of the gothic novel.
[97] Oscar Wilde. *The Picture of Dorian Gray*. (Surrey: Alma Classics, 2017): 120
[98] Richard Thompson. *Rochdale Town Hall: 'Both Useful and Ornamental'*. Unpublished MA Thesis, University of York, 2019: 42

the Town Hall and Chairman of the General Purposes Committee. Ashworth drove the project forward, supplying all the money that was required to create a magical building, much to the dismay of other councillors such as Edward Taylor. This grapple is represented by four carved corbels in the Mayor's Reception Room where George Leach Ashworth holds a miniature town hall and alderman Edward Taylor is on the opposite side, shaking his fist at Ashworth. A councillor, W.A. Scott and the architect, Crossland, are also represented.

Both Ashworth and Taylor were Methodists and taught at Baillie Street Methodist School and Holland Street chapel school from 1851. Ashworth's father, George was a cotton and wool mill-owner, and Taylor was a chemist by profession, so heavily involved in significant trades at the time. Both served their community well and Taylor arranged for improved sanitary conditions for Rochdale.[99]

The opening of Rochdale Town Hall preceded the completion in 1877 of Manchester Town Hall, designed by Alfred Waterhouse (Fig.22). Manchester Town Hall was Rochdale's nearest architectural rival, also in the gothic style. This reflects the civic consciousness of the smaller town of Rochdale where ambitions were on a par with the largest cities of industry for creating major monuments. Similarities are also noted in an article dating from November 1870 in the *Rochdale Observer*, between the carvings in the Exchange and staircase with those at the Chapter House in Southwell Minster.[100] There are great similarities at Rochdale with The Palace of Westminster and the Houses of Parliament. Inspiration can be credited to Pugin, who designed both architectural interiors and stained glass for these structures. The medieval Westminster Hall was an ancient place of assembly and debate and contained a hammer beam roof, and is likely to have been the inspiration for Rochdale's carved hammer beam angels. The elongated clock tower and spire is the focal point at Rochdale, which mimicked the Palace of Westminster's clock tower containing the bell 'Big Ben' which made them 'de rigeur', and 'one of the most potent and influential architectural images of the Victorian period'.[101] This again takes the focus away from the nearby parish church, the tower of which is dwarfed by that of the Town Hall.

It was Crossland who chose Heaton, Butler and Bayne of London to undertake the work on the stained glass, as well as the overall artistic direction of the Great Hall

[99] Edward Taylor file, Rochdale Local History Library Archives
[100] *Rochdale Observer*, 12.11.1870:
[101] Roger Dixon and Stefan Muthesius: *Victorian Architecture*. London: Thames & Hudson, 1978: 157

and other interiors. Heaton, Butler and Bayne designed and made all the stained glass windows in the building in the Gothicist style.[102] It is also very likely that George Ashworth would have visited the studio of the firm when visiting London, as well as the House of Lords, where figures of the kings and queens of England were depicted in the windows of the Lord's Chamber, designed by Pugin and made by Ballantine and Allen. A very revealing report in the *Rochdale Observer* on 8th April 1871 details Ashworth's defence, particularly of Clement Heaton, who he stated was 'a man of great skill in architectural and antiquarian decorations' when other members of the council disputed a London firm's involvement in the decoration of the Town Hall.[103] A minority believed that the work should be given to a local decorator, known as Mr. Best, ensuring the money would not be paid to men who did not belong to the town.[104] The report also reveals frequent communication between Ashworth and Heaton, as the former relays conversations where Heaton answered queries on specific decorative features. Later, a letter from Clement Heaton to Alderman Edward Taylor dating from 1873, now held in the Town Hall archive at Touchstones local studies library, reflects their familiarity with members of the council, with Heaton expressing sympathy for the recent passing of Ashworth.[105]

Heaton, Butler and Bayne were an internationally renowned firm and Heaton was one of the first stained glass painters to use Charles Winston's new 'antique' glass in the early 1850s.[106] The firm progressed the stained glass industry significantly, with Heaton experimenting with glass pigments, eventually producing a wide variety of soft colours. These were permanent colours which would survive in the English environment, and they were adopted by all the leading firms.[107] The firm diversified their stylistic approach throughout the 1860s and 1870s which contributed to their success. They worked with Henry Holiday and manufactured his designs, as well as those of Burne-Jones and Morris.[108] Heaton, Butler and Bayne and Holiday worked on many London-based commissions, including the Isambard Kingdom Brunel memorial window in Westminster Abbey (1868), Basil Champney's St Luke's Church, Kentish Town (1868), and G.E. Street's church of St Mary Magdalene,

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[102] 'Rochdale Town Hall.' *Rochdale Observer,* 07 October 1871: 7

[103] 'The decoration of the new Town Hall.' *Rochdale Observer.* 08 April 1871: 8

[104] Ibid. It was reported that Mr. Best had previously stated the enormity of the work for the Great Hall was out of his line.

[105] Rochdale Local History Library Archives, 79852. The letter relates to the stained glass windows in the Exchange, specifically the later inclusion of France and Prussia panels.

[106] Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission for England. *Victorian and Edwardian Stained Glass: The Work of Five London Studios*, (London, 1987): 13

[107] Ibid

[108] Martin Harrison. *Victorian Stained* Glass: 33 & 45-46

Paddington (1869). This makes Rochdale an interesting example of this partnership's work in a Northern industrial town.

The work of Heaton, Butler and Bayne can be found across the country in many different types of buildings, both religious and secular, and their leading role in the design and decoration of the Town Hall would have been due to their reputation for large-scale secular works. Crossland moved his offices to London from Leeds in 1869, also making communication between the firms easier.[109] As already mentioned, George Ashworth and other councillors visited several sites around the country, including London, to look for inspiration for the interior decoration of the building.

The architect, Waterhouse, often called upon Heaton, Butler and Bayne for his secular commissions, such as Pilmore Hall near Darlington in 1861, Hutton Hall, Guisborough c.1866, The Willows, Stoke Newington in 1866, and Easneye Park, Stanstead Abbotts in 1866.[110] Other civic decoration by Heaton, Butler and Bayne included four lights of heraldic design in the drawing room of the Manchester Assize Courts in 1863 (now destroyed), and an armorial window in the entrance hall of Government House, Perth, Australia, also in 1863, reflecting their international appeal.

Heaton, Butler and Bayne also undertook smaller commissions for secular settings, such as the window now in North Manchester General Hospital. The window was commissioned in 1896 by the Governors of the Cotton Districts Convalescent Fund for the Cotton Districts Convalescent Home in Southport, Lancashire, and represents the local subject matter of the cotton famine in Lancashire of 1862-65 (Fig.23). Biblical imagery is given a secular twist. A common subject in Christian iconography is given a modern, philanthropic theme as opposed to medieval charity. The mottos on the banners held by the angels read: 'Blessed be the man that provideth for the sick and needy' and 'To do good and distribute forget not'. Commemorative imagery naturally entailed biblical themes, as is found in church memorial windows. Helping the poor and needy was traditional imagery for stained glass, as with subjects such as the Corporal Acts of Mercy windows of the medieval period.

[109] Richard Thompson. *Rochdale Town Hall: 'Both Useful and Ornamental'*: 27
[110] William Waters. *Angels and Icons*. 226

Political statements: The Great Hall

The Great Hall was the central focus point of the Town Hall where Rochdale was able to show off its progressive political position. It contains the ostentatious display of the Kings and Queens of England in the stained glass (Figs.24-43). Seven stained glass windows are situated on the north side of the hall and four are on the south side. Each window consists of three lights separated by two mullions. Monarchs from the Norman Conquest up to the reign of Queen Victoria are depicted. Alfred the Great is represented in the Borough Court (Fig.44) to the North-West of the building, where full-length representations of important English lawmakers are depicted in the stained glass. The whole series is notable for its continuity; there is no break in the timeline from William I to Queen Victoria and the Catholic Mary I, deposed Edward II and Oliver Cromwell are included. Queen Victoria's Consort, Prince Albert, had died in 1861 before work began in 1866, and Victoria at this time had retreated into widowhood. The windows in the Great Hall were designed by Robert Turnill Bayne, and each figure was drawn from life models.[111] Bayne, who became the chief designer for the firm in 1862,[112] was pleased with his work at Rochdale and made another set of historical portraits in 1872 for the chapter house window of Chester Cathedral (Fig.45),[113] demonstrating the potential for re-use of cartoons and ideas for different sets of windows.

William I is depicted on the north-west corner of the Great Hall, and the monarchs are represented in historical order, continuing down the north wall, depicting the Normans, the Plantagenets, the Houses of Lancaster and York, the Tudors and finally the first Stuart King, James I, is placed at the north-east corner (Figs.25-34). The south wall begins with Charles I and continues until the south-west corner where William IV is placed, and includes the Stuarts and the interregnum of the Commonwealth represented by Oliver Cromwell, then the Hanoverians (Figs.35-39). The figure of Cromwell is a key inclusion, demonstrating continuity and parliamentary government, indicating that this series was not just simply representing Monarchy. There are again links with the windows in the County Court, the next room along to the east of the building where a secular form of typology is present. The English politician and cousin of Cromwell, John Hampden, Member of Parliament for Buckinghamshire is portrayed, as well as the Parliamentarian John

[111] William Waters. *Angels and Icons*: 228
[112] Martin Harrison. *Victorian Stained Glass*. (London: Barrie and Jenkins Ltd, 1980): 32
[113] William Waters. *Angels and Icons*. 228

Pym, Member of Parliament for Tavistock.[114] There was an attempt to arrest Hampden in 1642 due to him being one of the Five Members and this sparked the First English Civil War. Both are depicted either side of Alfred the Great. This is also very indicative of dissent in support of parliamentary democracy and rule of law.

The portraits at Rochdale fall into a long tradition of portrait sets of kings and queens. Unlike the representations of Victoria and Albert, which are restricted to the head and shoulders and are facing forward, each of the monarchs and rulers in the windows is full length. All figures are placed on square-quarried backgrounds and the armorial bearings and badges are placed in the upper lights, with their mottos in the traceries. The name of each monarch is written beneath the full-length portrait. Architectural canopies surround the figures, and their monograms are depicted on the square quarries, both above and beneath the figures. The badges are the broom plant for the Plantagenets, the red rose, antelope and chained swan for Lancaster, the white rose, falcon and fetterlock for York, the red and white rose and portcullis of the Tudors, then the red and white rose, shamrock and thistle. Queen Victoria graces the rose window on the upper west wall and faces Albert, who is placed directly opposite at the top of the east wall (Figs.40-43). Victoria is accompanied by representations of the noble orders of knighthood, the Order of the Garter, the Bath, the Thistle and Star of India, whilst Albert is surrounded by representations of painting, sculpture, science, architecture, commerce, manufacture and agriculture.[115] Prince Albert had taken a great interest in all these disciplines and was a catalyst for making them potentially more attainable to all levels of society, with the aim of elevating morals. These ideas were about improvement, both of the self and society, which is very significant for a Northern industrial town such as Rochdale. It is this sentiment that is intrinsic to the nature of the stained glass in the Town Hall, and indeed much of the decoration of the building.

An original image of the central hall at Rochdale illuminates how the different aspects of the decoration were intended to work in unison (Fig.46). Dating from c.1870, the watercolour by Edward Walker depicts the ceiling which displays city crests painted on wood and were brightly coloured and provided further illumination of the space.[116] The walls have a rich, floral pattern and the lighter glass shines out of it. Black and white images, including an image in *The Builder* also reflects this

[114] Both were Puritans, so seventeenth-century non-conformists as well as parliamentarians
[115] Colin Cunningham. *Victorian and Edwardian Town Halls*: 197
[116] These are currently being conserved due to thick layers of dirt covering the surface and will be returned to their original appearance.

illumination and how bright the walls and ceiling were compared to the present day (Figs.47-49).[117] The organ stands behind the platform, although this was added later, in 1913 (Fig.50). In the image by Walker, light pours in from the north-facing Esplanade, illuminating the paintwork on the hammer beam roof and the carved angels.

As already stated, the imagery of monarchs in the stained glass is designed to display messages of empowerment of the municipal elite of Rochdale. They were also about loyalty and the importance of places like Rochdale as bulwarks of national success and prosperity. In conjunction with the heraldry in the staircase windows, to be discussed later in the chapter, they display power and Rochdale's position in the world, which in the minds of the Rochdalians, was on a par with the capital. Michel Foucault and Clifford Geertz have argued that authority and power depend upon words and images or representations.[118] These representations construct identity and the imagery of monarchs is ideal for the image Rochdale wished to portray. This was the publicising of the governance of Rochdale in stained glass. This is also relevant in respect of the usage of the Great Hall, which seated 1,200 people for the intention of entertainment with its stage to the west of the room, and also for 'public meetings, balls, concerts, and so on.'[119] The room would also have been used as a destination for civic processions,[120] and therefore a place to impress civic guests. There was also some opportunity for a wider public to enter this space rather than just the civic elite as the room catered for large meetings, although this was regulated. This is stated in the minutes of the General Purposes Committee which approved rental charges for balls, dinner parties, soirees, tea parties, meetings, lectures and bazaars for charitable purposes.[121] Rental charges and the fact that approval for use of the space had to be granted by the General Purposes Committee, and later the Town Clerk, meant that the civic elite still controlled who used the space, demonstrating that there was little opportunity for

[117] These are currently being conserved by Hirst Conservation.
[118] Kevin Sharpe. 'Sacralization and Demystification. The Publicization of Monarchy in Early Modern England' in Jeroen Deploige & Gita Deneckere (eds.), *Mystifying the Monarch: Studies on Discourse, Power and History*; (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2006): 99; Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of Human Sciences* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1970) and Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays*, (New York: Basic Books, 1973).
[119] 'Interior of Rochdale Town Hall'. *The Builder*. February 12, 1876: 147
[120] Colin Cunningham. *Victorian and Edwardian Town Halls*: 4 & 215-9. Richard Thompson. *Rochdale Town Hall: 'Both Useful and Ornamental'*: 42
[121] GPCTBR 25.10.1871. Rochdale Local History Archives

the lower classes to see the interiors.[122] This regulation of space opposes Girouard's statement that public halls were 'truly public halls for the whole town.'[123] It was therefore mostly the same non-conformist mercantile class that commissioned the building who enjoyed the use of its entertainment spaces.[124] When the lower classes were allowed entry, as well as being regulated, it was to impress and edify, aligning with the moralistic tones of art as instruction that were borne of the wishes of Queen Victoria and Prince Albert.[125] However, despite not all the populace having had reason or indeed having been allowed to visit the Great Hall at Rochdale, the imagery would have been seen glowing by day or night from the Esplanade outside for all to clearly see.

Kings, Queens and Celebrity Culture at Rochdale

The images of monarchs would have had resonance for those who used the building for their work as well as any potential of impressing the public. The Great Hall stained glass is almost a small Northern English town's parallel to The National Portrait Gallery in London. The National Portrait Gallery was founded in 1856 with the intention of animating a historical narrative of the nation through portraits,[126] and many early acquisitions to the collection were of Royal Portraits.[127] Philip Stanhope, one of the founders, intended on a gallery of original portraits of those honourably commemorated in British history.[128]

The portrait series at Rochdale builds upon a secular tradition of displaying chronological sequences of monarchs. These were based on existing patterns that were copied by artists for the purposes of duplication in a busy market,[129] reinforcing the mass replication of images of the monarchy during the time period that the windows at Rochdale were designed. In the Middle Ages, representations of monarchs was primarily through coins which brought wider recognition and fame,

[122] Those wishing to hire the space for October 1871 were the Rochdale Branch of the United Kingdom Alliance Society, the Rochdale Choral Union, Sunday School Union, Edmund Wrigley, for a grand concert and Alderman Williams, for a banquet for his workpeople. October 1871
[123] M. Girouard. *The English Town.* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1990): 208
[124] Richard Thompson: *Rochdale Town Hall: 'Both Useful and Ornamental'*: 44
[125] M. Girouard. *The English Town:* 208
[126] Lara Parry. *History's Beauties: women in the National Portrait Gallery, 1856-1900.* (London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group 2017): 1
[127] Lara Perry. *History's Beauties.* Appendix 2, provides a list of portraits of women acquired by the NPG before 1900
[128] National Portrait Gallery. Gallery history. https://www.npg.org.uk/about/organisation/history Accessed 25 May 2022
[129] Ibid

and later, the printed press and statues.[130] Stained glass also often portrayed the monarchy, such as in donor panels, as in the great East window at York Minster, but in several cases would have been too far away from the viewer to clearly be seen. Other methods of familiarity with the monarch would have been the theatre, portrait miniatures and prints. Many of the most popular plays were about kings and their courts and theatre became a major leisure industry by the reign of Elizabeth I,[131] with playwrights such as Shakespeare choosing historical monarchs for his subjects.

Portrait miniatures were widely produced from the 1580s and after 1588, 'even such lowly objects as playing cards figured Elizabeth and her victory'.[132] There was also demand and interest enough in 1897 for W.D.& H.O. Wills to issue a general interest series of 'Kings and Queens' cigarette cards. The set was also the first to have notes on the reverse which gave more information about the image.[133] This was followed by many later series by companies such as Player's Cigarettes (Fig.51). Although these post-date the Rochdale windows, they show the wider timeline of interest in the history of the monarchy and the desire to know what previous Kings and Queens actually looked like in the flesh across a broad spectrum of the community. These changes of the monarch being immersed in a public and commercial sphere was the basis for their images having resonance, to be manipulated for persuasion and to project public authority. The divine right of monarchy had held firm until the seventeenth century, but by the nineteenth century they were no longer seen as semi-divine bodies; their portraits had now entered the sphere of the profane.

The growing fervour for portraiture of royalty reflects that there was a rehabilitation of the dignity of monarchy in visual imagery in the nineteenth century after the poor reputation of many of the eighteenth-century incumbents. George III and the Prince Regent were not kindly treated in the imagery of their day. Caricatures of George III were widespread, with James Gillray publishing many images which mocked him

[130] Medieval likenesses of monarchy are unlikely to have been based on actual appearance, with the exception of the images of Richard II. The Tudors, especially Henry VIII and then Elizabeth I are the first to generate consistent 'likenesses' for political purposes. In the eighteenth-century the kings and queens are the subject of caricature and satire intended for more general public consumption.
[131] Kevin Sharpe. 'Sacralization and Demystification': 108
[132] Kevin Sharpe. 'Sacralization and Demystification':53
[133] 'Cigarette & Trade Cards Portraying National Flags and Emblems'. https://www.flagmakers.co.uk/info/flag-memorabilia-collectables/cigarette-trade-cards-portraying-national-flags-emblems/. Accessed 28 September 2021.

and his family for being miserly.[134] George IV was also caricatured by Gillray, as well as Thomas Rowlandson and George Cruikshank. Queen Victoria reversed this trend with relatable family portraits during her reign.

Other sources for the windows at Rochdale are books or collections of engraved images of all the monarchs of England which were published as commercial enterprises.[135] Henry Bone (1755-1834) and his son Henry Pierce Bone (1779-1855) produced miniatures which are now in the collection of Her Majesty the Queen.[136] Samuel Woodburn (1783–1853) was a picture dealer but also dealt in prints and drawings in the first half of the nineteenth century. Woodburn's authoritative publications of mezzotints, including *Fifteen Splendid Portraits of Royal Personages. Engraved Mezzotinto* by Richard Earlom, Charles Turner, and R. Dunkarton, 1816, reproduced a wide range of paintings, miniatures, prints and drawings from private collections. Woodburn was aware of the public's patriotic interest in the nation's past and therefore extended the market for historical portrait prints.[137]

In 1880, *Pictures and Royal Portraits* by Thomas Archer was published, which drew together images that were engraved from 'Important Works of Distinguished Modern Painters, And From Authentic State Portraits'.[138] This indicates a need for these collections for use by artists and their monochrome renderings allowed for variances in the colours of fabrics, which was ideal for stained glass. An earlier version of this idea was published in 1788, when Cadell produced a set of 25 prints of English Royal Portraits (Fig.52) These were portraits of the heads and shoulders of the monarchs, which again were very useful for artists, as will be seen in the Rochdale windows.

Finally, public perception of the identity of the monarch was reshaped in the nineteenth century by the discovery of photography, which created an early 'celebrity' culture and one which found its natural subjects in monarchy. Popular visual culture was promoted by Queen Victoria and Prince Albert through these new technologies, both being keen photographers themselves. Photography allowed the

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[134] University of Reading and Historic Royal Palaces. 'Poking fun at George'. https://www.futurelearn.com/info/courses/royal-food/0/steps/17085. Accessed 20 October 2021.
[135] Kevin Sharpe. 'Sacralization and Demystification': 54
[136] See Vanessa Remington. *Victorian Miniatures in the Collection of HM The Queen*. (London: Royal Collection, 2010)
[137] Simon Turner. 'Samuel Woodburn'. *Print Quarterly*, Vol. 20, No. 2 (JUNE 2003): 131-144
[138] Thomas Archer. *Pictures And Royal Portraits Illustrative Of English & Scottish History. Engraved From Important Works Of Distinguished Modern Painters, And From Authentic State Portraits. With Descriptive Historical Sketches*. In Two Volumes. London, Blackie & Son, 1878

Queen to become closer to her subjects as the public could now see the monarch as she really looked. In 1860, Queen Victoria allowed 14 private *Carte De Visite* portraits of herself and Prince Albert to be published.[139] This not only developed the perception of the monarch but also inspired the collecting of these cards and thousands of copies were bought. Many people could now have a portrait of the queen in their own home, rather than relying on coins or stamps for knowledge of her image. There was also huge growth in the market for newspapers, books and periodicals during Queen Victoria's reign, all contributing to the public desire to be closer to the monarch. Indeed, John Plunkett stated that 'the royal image itself became photographic.'[140] Victoria was fully aware of the power of photography as she had the copyright removed from her official portrait, which meant that 'her image is on everything from biscuit tins to tea towels',[141] again enhancing her celebrity status. Photography could also be easily reproduced later in the nineteenth century, so packs of cards with Royal portraits were produced by the crown, such as, 'A Royal Game: Interesting and Instructive', with photographs and details of the monarch and her children (Fig.53). The images at Rochdale are therefore the pinnacle of the celebrity culture of the monarchy.

An important example of the tradition of portrait series of monarchs is held at the National Portrait Gallery (Fig.54) and dates from between 1590 and 1620. The portrait series was acquired in 1974 and contains fifteen portraits of English rulers beginning with William the Conqueror (1027-1087), and including Mary I (1516-1558).[142] This portrait series was hanging as a set in 1898 at Hornby Castle near Bedale, the North Yorkshire seat of the Duke of Leeds, but the original provenance is unknown and it is not certain if they were produced as a set,[143] although they may always have been in possession at the Castle.[144]

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[139] Royal Collection Trust. 'The Royal Image and Commercial Photography'. https://www.rct.uk/collection/themes/exhibitions/crown-and-camera-the-british-royal-family-and-photography-1842-1910-1/the-royal-image-and-commercial-photography. Accessed 20 September 2021.

[140] John Plunkett. *Queen Victoria: First Media Monarch.* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003): 7

[141] Anne Lyden, quoted in Ian Christie. 'A very wonderful process': Queen Victoria, photography and film at the fine de siècle' in Mandy Merck. *The British Monarchy on Screen*. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016): 26

[142] The Hornby Castle set of early Kings and Queens: paintings by unknown artists, 1590s-1620, NPG 4980(1-16)

[143] Dendrochronology supports the 'evidence' of them being a set

[144] National Portrait Gallery. 'Picturing History: A portrait set of early English kings and queens'. https://www.npg.org.uk/research/programmes/making-art-in-tudor-britain/case-studies/picturing-history-a-portrait-set-of-early-english-kings-and-queens.php#1. Accessed 25 September 2021.

Sources

The presentation of the monarchs in the Great Hall is therefore based on a potential myriad of sources that Heaton, Butler and Bayne had to hand in the studio. It is clear that they did not follow any particular series, but intermixed them as suited the design of the window. In terms of glass colour choice and stance of the figure, these were partly due to the imagination of the stained glass designer, Bayne. Stained glass designers made every effort to locate models for historical portraits and drew from life to create realistic poses and folds in drapery. Thomas Willement, for example, in his medieval regal series at St. George's Chapel, Windsor, was familiar with appropriate sources and his notebooks reveal details for each portrait.[145] Of particular interest is the wide range of sources used and his 'scholarly commitment to the search for authentic models'.[146] Willement had copies of plates from J.T. Smith's *Antiquities of Westminster* pasted into his sketchbooks of ancient glass. He also used tapestries such as those at Coventry Town Hall for Henry VI and Queen Margaret and the Royal Collections, especially for the Tudor monarchs.[147] The copy of Hans Holbein's Whitehall mural by Remigius van Leemput, 1667 is the source for Henry VII, Henry VIII, Jane Seymour and Elizabeth of York. In-depth notebooks such as Willement's simply do not exist for many other stained glass firms due to lack of archive, in many cases due to fire and bombing during the Second World War. Medieval examples were an easier task for Willement, having such a breadth of experience as an antiquarian and being more familiar with appropriate sources.[148] Windows at Canterbury Cathedral were used for the representation of Edward IV. Yet, he struggled with images of later monarchs with several revisions made to the designs. He visited Windsor Castle, St James's Palace and the Print Room of the British Museum and shops of print-sellers for his research. Heaton, Butler and Bayne were able to call upon a wider array of visual sources.

A closer comparison between Windsor and Rochdale illuminates just how transgressive the Rochdale windows are. Windsor is at the heart of a religious, royal Anglican mausoleum and so has no transgressive or challenging polemical points to make. Its only real agenda is to portray realistic images of the monarchs, many of whom were buried at Windsor in a celebratory manner, and to represent the history

[145] Sarah Brown. 'So Perfectly Satisfactory': The Stained Glass of Thomas Willement in St George's Chapel' in Sarah Brown (ed.) *A History of the Stained Glass of St George's Chapel, Windsor Castle*. Windsor, 2005: 128
[146] Ibid: 131
[147] Ibid: 134
[148] Ibid: 128

of the English monarchy and church from Edward IV (1461-83 to the reign of William IV (1830-7). It is Anglican orthodoxy and royal legitimacy,[149] and significantly for Rochdale, which provides a continuous representation of monarchy, several reigns are not present, such as Richard III, Queen Mary and James II. Queen Victoria's arms only appear in the tracery, as she had only very recently taken the crown in 1833.

Another key source relevant to the Rochdale windows and the London-based firm who created them are the Royal Collections, where visits could be made to Windsor Castle to view portraits.[150] Stained glass itself was also a primary source of information for the designer of windows, however, there is no pictorial evidence to suggest that Bayne used earlier precedents for the window. It is also worth noting that studios would have had stock images of many aspects of figures to use as sources, such as for hands, feet and drapery.[151]

With respect to the myriad of potential sources, it is notable that the portrait of Queen Victoria is as a younger woman than she was in the 1860s (Fig.55). Not yet Queen Empress, the words, 'Victoria Queen' shine down in clear glass from a much further distance than the rest of the windows. There are similarities to this portrait with the engraving in the 'Pictures and Royal Portraits Illustrative of English and Scottish History' series (Fig.56). The portrait was drawn by J. L. Williams and engraved by A. Krausse, from the portrait by Winterhalter. The portrait of Prince Albert is based upon an 1860 photograph by Camille Silvy & Co. (Fig.57).

The full-length portraits provide a good study of costume and character and the level of detail is important as these panels were intended for close inspection. The choices of colour of clothing are manipulated for harmony between the windows, with reds and blues prominent, connecting the series together as a whole. The lower halves of the figures are just above eye level and were therefore required to be particularly spectacular. The painted detail of the feet and shoes for example, is exquisite. Edward III's boots are made using a flashed ruby glass with painted lions and griffins (Fig.58).[152] This detailing of costume and posture must have required several studio staff to pose as models for several portraits.[153] This is further

[149] Ibid: 129
[150] Ibid: 134. Willement also made these visits.
[151] Charles Lightfoot archive. This contains folders full of reference materials for individual body parts as well as clothing (Fig.61)
[152] See Appendix 2: 262-263, for a description of flashed glass.
[153] Christopher Whall discusses drawing figures from life in his *Stained Glass Work: a text-book for students and workers in glass*. New edition. (Bristol: Morris & Juliet Venables, 1999)

enhanced by the fact that within the composition of the windows, there has been a need to be resourceful, as there were more monarchs to depict than there was space, therefore some lancets contain two Kings rather than one. This causes no issues for the continuity between the windows, yet many of the portraits have been posed to accommodate the doubling up of monarchs to lancets, requiring the need to draw from life to achieve believable results.

Henry V's portrait profile has been manipulated in order to fit both him and his successor in one lancet (Fig.32 & 80). Richard III shares his lancet with the boy King Edward V (Fig.32), who along with Richard of Shrewsbury, Duke of York, known as the Princes in the Tower, many thought Richard III had executed due to the threat to his reign. The image is poignant, with the young boy fading into the background but peering out towards the viewer above Richard III's upper arm (Fig.81). Richard III's portrait captures his long flowing dark hair and he wears his jewelled cap, seen in all his portraits. His portrait is more animated than others as he steps forward in his sandals which tie at the ankle, spear and sceptre ready for action. His facial features appear contorted, as if the painter wished to give an air of wickedness to the King. This is also a potential reference to the death of the boy beside him.

The portrait of Henry VIII is iconic and well-known due its wide reproduction in several formats, but here at Rochdale the larger-sized King has had to be squeezed into the lancet (Figs.33, 59-60). It is based on the Whitehall mural by the studio of Hans Holbein the Younger (1497/8-1543) and was painted circa 1536-37. Henry VII, Elizabeth of York and Jane Seymour are all depicted in the painting. However, the original painting was lost and a 1667 copy made by Dutch artist Remigius van Leemput is the true source for the image. In the window at Rochdale, Henry VIII stands forward, facing the viewer. Heaton, Butler and Bayne also used this model for their stained glass work at Chester Cathedral, and it was also used in several other representations in stained glass of the monarch elsewhere, by different firms, such as in the chapter house at Canterbury Cathedral.

Equally recognisable is Henry VIII's daughter, Elizabeth I (Fig.34). Like Henry VIII, she is depicted in the central light of the window, with Mary I to her left and James I to her right. There are two possible sources for the image, the first of which is an oil on panel portrait, painted in the early seventeenth century, now owned by the National Portrait Gallery (Fig.62).[154] The artist is unknown, but Elizabeth I's stance

[154] NPG 542

and dress in the window convincingly mimic the portrait. The beading on the Queen's corset, the pattern of the dress and the laced neck are all present in the painting. Etchings and engravings were produced of this portrait and they are held in the National Portrait Gallery and the Royal Collections Trust (Figs.63-64), and much of the details of the painting are replicated. The print of Charles Turner's etching at the National Portrait Gallery of Elizabeth I, reproducing the engraving by Crispijn de Passe the Elder of c.1603, after Isaac Oliver, published in association with Hans Woutneel, was deemed, 'the finest of the engraved portraits of Queen Elizabeth' (Fig.64).[155] It is inconceivable that the studios of Heaton, Butler and Bayne would not have had these references to hand, as well as being well placed to visit many sites in London that contained royal portraiture.

Beyond Henry VIII and Elizabeth I, the portraits become more complex in their interpretation of sources, and engravings provide many of the sources. There is a reliance on portraiture of monarchs surrounding the head and shoulders, certainly for those who reigned from the sixteenth century onwards. The rest of the clothing and posture is loosely based on other imagery, as well as the personal design choices of Bayne. Certainly, the choices of glass colour do not always reflect any particular portrait, making these images a useful source for showing the technical potential of the medium. This is particularly relevant for the portraits of Edward VI, Charles I and Charles II (Figs.33 & 35). Edward VI and Charles II's faces rely on portrait paintings, but the clothing is an amalgamation of sources, using different choices of glass colour. The facial features of Edward VI are most likely based on a portrait by William Scrots (Fig.65), yet the patterned robe he wears is based on a separate portrait by Scrots (Figs.66-67). The black robe is replaced by a deep green for aesthetic effect as black was a difficult tone to represent in stained glass. There was also an engraving by T. Brown from a picture in the Palace of Westminster which is based on these paintings. A similar process is used for Charles II; his facial features reveal usage of a portrait based on the Studio of Sir Peter Lely (1618-80) (Figs.68-69), yet rely on elements of other full-length portraits for details such as the elegant bow-tailed shoes (Fig.70). This is made clear by the length of his neck; his head is seemingly too close to his chest and looks stumped. His short tunic and tights are an interpretation of the sideways stance of the portrait, as at Rochdale, he stands frontally. Similarly, the portrait of Charles I is based on the painting by Daniel Mytens, held at the National Portrait Gallery (Fig.71). His facial features have been copied, as well as the design and style of his puffed shoulders, yet other elements

[155] Simon Turner. 'Samuel Woodburn': 139

do not mimic the portrait. There is evidence of a different hand at work on the portrait of Charles I, who also clearly worked on others such as Henry VI, Richard IV and Edward IV (Figs.72-73), indicating there being multiple staff working on the large commission. His features are much more pointed than others, which are softer and more rounded.

Willement's representation of Charles I at St George's Chapel as a victim and martyr is very likely because the table on which Charles I's decapitated body lay prior to burial, and therefore a contact relic, is in the Deanery. The upper lights depict angels based on Perugino with symbolic attributes associated with martyrdom,[156] which is again telling of a highly contrasting agenda.

The elongated and slightly gaunt face of Henry VII reflects a painted portrait held at the National Maritime Museum (Fig.74). The depictions of earlier Kings, such as Henry III, Edward I and Edward II are the result of pure Victorian romanticism, loosely based on supposedly contemporary portraits (Figs.75-76). A portrait thought to be of Edward I at Westminster Abbey is the inspiration for his portrait at Rochdale. In the window, Edward II turns to face his father, yet there is no original portrait where Edward II stands in this position. Again, both medieval and modern portraiture may have been the inspiration, with the figure manipulated for the composition.

The window depicting Edward III, Richard II and Henry VI have their full-length portraits reversed in position with their coats of arms, which are above the figures, for ease of sight for the viewer as they are positioned above the doorway to the balcony. Richard II's image has its foundation in a well-known portrait at Westminster Abbey, dating from the mid-1390s, but is adapted from a version of Henry Pierce Bone's enamel of 1836 (Figs.77-78) which has been stylised in line with his many other enamels.[157] Henry VI's portrait also has a direct source; an oil on panel by an unknown artist now held at the National Portrait Gallery. He wears his chaperon, here depicted with green glass, whereas the original painting is in red. Henry VI holds a red rose upwards in his right hand, a poignant reference to his reign marking the end of the rule of the House of Lancaster, significant for Rochdale, with his defeat by Edward IV, from the House of York. The central tracery light also contains a bright red Lancashire rose. The portrait holding the rose also has a direct link to the miniature portrait enamel by Henry Bone of 1825 (Fig.79).

[156] Sarah Brown. 'So Perfectly Satisfactory': 129
[157] Vanessa Remington. *Victorian Miniatures in the Collection of HM The Queen:* 85

The series of portraits of George I to V have direct references to painted portraits and engravings (Figs.82-85): George I is based on the portrait by the studio of Sir Godfrey Kneller where he is dressed in the robes of the Order of the Garter; King George II is based on an oil on canvas by Thomas Worlidge, painted between 1700 and 1766. George II is in profile and directly faces George I. George III is based on the portrait by Gainsborough and George IV's portrait is based on the oil on canvas by the studio of Thomas Lawrence (1769-1830). Finally, William IV's portrait (Fig.86) is based on the 1835 oil on canvas by Sir Martin Archer Shee PRA (1769-1850). The portraits are all very true to the originals and do not over-glamorise the Hanoverian monarchs; they are very much presented in a 'warts and all' fashion; voluptuous, with full faces and figures, and as well as their clothing, reflecting their lavish lifestyles. Interestingly, both Queen Mary and Queen Anne have extra lines painted in the iris of their eyes, perhaps a trick used by the painter to give a more 'feminine' feel for the Queens (Figs.87-88). Their portraits also have direct relations to miniatures in the collection of HM the Queen (Figs.89-90).

Patrons and Political Agendas

The series of portraits are a symbol of the power and erudition of the patrons. Yet, as already stated, the series of portraits at Rochdale have an alternate agenda. The windows are skilfully manipulating a historic format in stained glass to reveal the town's liberal, political stance and the power of Parliament. The images of Royalty are therefore localised and display the continuance of the cultural identity of the town. King John, Oliver Cromwell and William III (Figs.29, 35 and 36) contain references to moments in history when reforms increased civil rights. King John holds a scroll with 'Magna Carta' written in large, black letters. The window next to Cromwell's represents the power of parliament, and William III significantly holds the Bill of Rights scroll, the English constitutional settlement of 1689 which guaranteed Protestant succession and the importance of Parliament.

These pivotal moments in history were also about the wider populace and civil rights, and this also had resonance for the people of Rochdale in the 1860s and 1870s. Rochdale's wealth was founded on cotton. Work on the Town Hall was begun in 1866, coinciding with the cotton famine. Rochdale's working people were politically proactive and, unlike many other Northern towns, the millworkers, the white working class, supported abolitionists and were fiercely anti-slavery. There is an uneasy tension with the prevailing issues in the wider world. Rochdale, unlike nearby Oldham, fully supported the northern American states in the fight to abolish

slavery. However, Oldham viewed the conflict in terms of the wish for the raw materials to keep people in work. Abolitionist and anti-slavery societies were active in the town from the early part of the century and a figurehead from the town, the radical and liberal politician, John Bright, was fiercely opposed to slavery.[158] Bright also laid the corner stone and placed the memory bottle beneath the foundation stone of the Town Hall.

Cotton from the Mississippi valley that was sold in the markets of New Orleans was shipped to the mills and factories of Britain, fuelling Britain's Industrial Revolution, but when the cotton famine struck in 1861, Rochdale was one of the worst hit towns. Yet even when the people of Rochdale were hungry and destitute, Rochdalians stood in solidarity with the slaves. Unemployed mill workers cut a road across the valley which was named Cotton Famine Road. Working-class millworkers 'saw in the plantation owners of the Deep South a propertied class that reminded them of the mill owners and the aristocrats of Britain'.[159] A symbol of this solidarity is the barrel containing flour which was sent as part of an aid package to the millworkers of the north-west by Abraham Lincoln on the relief ship, George Griswold, which docked at Liverpool. This was sent to those who were starving in Lancashire in return for their support of the northern states during the American Civil War. The Co-operative movement provided support to local people during the cotton famine and their store on Toad Lane donated funds to help the unemployed, such as soup kitchens.[160]

The windows which reference pivotal moments for increased civil rights in British history therefore align with the liberal political stance of the people of Rochdale, as well as the civic elite. Significantly, the series at Rochdale adds to the reinvention of Cromwell and his political and social stance for a nineteenth-century audience, and should be considered as part of this revolution, from which the medium, as compared with painting and sculpture, has been largely ignored.

Cromwell's presence is extremely poignant in this series; he shares a window with King Charles I, whom he had beheaded in 1648 after the Civil War, and Charles II (Fig.35), who was re-instated as King after the fall of the Protectorate. His inclusion is the only one noted in *The Builder* in its description of the stained glass in the

[158] David Olusoga: *Black and British: A Forgotten History*. (London: Pan Books, 2017): 363
[159] David Olusoga. *Black and British*: 362
[160] Janet Byrne. 'The American Civil War and the Lancashire cotton famine'. http://revealinghistories.org.uk/the-american-civil-war-and-the-lancashire-cotton-famine/objects/flour-barrel.html. Accessed 20 November 2021.

room.[161] Cromwell stands forward from the architectural frame of his lancet and he is a bulkier figure and clutches 'Ye Holy Bible' in his right hand and his sword in his left. His plainer clothes stand out, including tunic, cape and round hat, the uniform of the roundheads, and he wears large boots with red lining over his green trousers which help to create the illusion of him dwarfing the other Kings. Hartwell states that the presence of Cromwell reflects Rochdale's liberal politics,[162] yet these radical elements would very rarely have been seen by the local mill workers. Cromwell represents the power of parliament, appealing to the liberal nonconformist elite, so a liberal agenda separated from the town beyond.[163]

The image at Rochdale bears an echo of the engraving, 'Oliver Cromwell Between the Two Pillars' by Charles Turner by William Faithorne after Francis Barlow (Fig.91). There is related symbolism of the two pillars, substituted at Rochdale by Charles I and Charles II, two pillars of the monarchy which Cromwell sabotaged but would ultimately be regained. Other portraits of Cromwell bear relation to his stance and facial expression and his clothes are based on the Roundhead uniform (Figs.92-94).

The prominence of Cromwell forms a part of the nineteenth-century revivalism of Cromwell's political and social politics. He appealed to non-conformist dissenters which is wholly appropriate for Rochdale,[164] and was also an example for self-educated working men. His relevance is emphasised by the aforementioned depictions of Hampden and Pym in the County Courts. He was also the subject of lectures by Henry Vincent, the nonconformist and Chartist, about his exemplary moral virtues.[165] Seventeenth-century history pervaded nineteenth-century political attitudes and the Civil Wars were part of the national consciousness.[166] By the end of the nineteenth century, Cromwell had become idealised, but he still divided audiences due to his actions against King Charles I and his reluctance to make England a Republic in the seventeenth century. He was compared with Napoleon in his quest to destroy the divine right of the monarch. He became heroicised by significant authors such as Thomas Babington Macauley and Thomas Carlyle, the latter of which included a short biography on Cromwell in *On Heroes, Hero-Worship*

[161] 'Interior of Rochdale Town Hall'. *The Builder*. February 12, 1876: 149
[162] Clare Hartwell. *Manchester*. Pevsner Architectural Guides. (New Haven, Conn: Yale University Press, 2001): 595
[163] Richard Thompson. 'Both Useful and Ornamental': 45
[164] D.J. Trela, 'Cromwell in the Romantic Period: An Overview'*, The Wordsworth Circle,* Vol. 25, No. 3 (SUMMER, 1994)*:* 128
[165] T.W. Mason. 'Nineteenth-Century Cromwell.' *Past & Present* , No. 40, Jul., 1968: 187
[166] D.J. Trela, 'Cromwell in the Romantic Period; An Overview': 127

and the Heroic in History, where he stated that Cromwell was 'a great and true man',[167] and *Oliver Cromwell's Letters and Speeches* (1845). Carlyle's texts were a huge factor in the favourable reception of Cromwell in the nineteenth century and writers such as Victor Hugo and Matthew Arnold were influenced by Carlyle in their own work on Cromwell. Cromwell was also given an extended treatment in Sir Walter Scott's *Woodstock* in the mid-century which played a significant role in his restoration. There was also a significant stream of texts written on the protectorate from the 1850s where he is depicted as a skilful and pragmatic politician.[168]

Cromwell was also the subject of many paintings and sculpture of the nineteenth century. The representation at Rochdale, although slightly earlier, has some similarities with Ford Madox Brown's 1874 oil on canvas, 'Cromwell on his farm at St. Ives', in that he clutches his bible, yet he appears more resolute in the window, rather than the introspective expression of the painting.[169] Brown identified with Cromwell due to his political and social Radicalism and also took many of the details in the painting from Carlyle's text.[170] Other significant nineteenth-century portraits include Brown's *Cromwell, Protector of the Vaudois*, Charles Lucy's *Milton Playing to Cromwell and His Family at Hampton Court* and *Oliver Cromwell Resolving to Refuse the Crown*, and Augustus Egg's *The Night before Naseby*, to name but a few.

Cromwell was described by those who were in his favour as 'a friend of liberty.' This is significant for Rochdale, where the nonconformist liberal elite wished to convey the message that they too were friends of liberty. This was also felt in Rochdale's neighbouring towns and cities; a statue of Cromwell is included at both Bradford and Manchester Town Halls and he was also included among the English Kings and Queens set carved for Manchester Assize Courts, now destroyed. There were debates about erecting statues to Cromwell at Westminster in both 1845 and 1895 and the famous statue of Cromwell, erected in 1899, now stands prominent in Palace Yard, Westminster, where he is portrayed as introspective, as he is in Brown's painting of Cromwell at St. Ives. This shows that the Lancashire towns

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[167] Thomas Carlyle. *Heroes and Hero-Worship*. (London: Ward, Lock & Bowden Limited, 1840)

[168] Samuel Rawson Gardiner *History of England, 1603-1642* (10 vols. Rev. ed. 1883-4), *The History of the Great Civil War 1642-1649* (4 vols. 1893), *History of the Commonwealth and Protectorate* (3 vols 1894-1901). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011

[169] It is likely that Ford Madox Brown and Heaton, Butler and Bayne had read, or were aware of the sentiments of Carlyle's text on Cromwell.

[170] Edward Morris. Nineteenth Century Paintings and Sculptures of Cromwell. *The Wordsworth Circle,* SUMMER, 1994, Vol. 25, No. 3: 174

were ahead of Westminster in this regard, and no trepidation on the matter is recorded.

Therefore, the portrayal of Cromwell at Rochdale represents the trend for depictions of Cromwell in the nineteenth century and his fluctuating popularity, at its height for many when the windows were completed. He is represented as self-assured and confident of his own convictions and it is easy to see how the patrons and councillors at Rochdale would have wished for his inclusion.

The political messages in the stained glass windows harmonise with the large fresco on the east wall depicting the Council at Runnymede and the signing of Magna Carta by King John, executed by Henry Holiday (Figs.95-96).[171] The Barons looking at King John represent the mill owners, or the new 'elite' of the middle classes and their power. This links with the figural emphasis of Cromwell and his Civil War against Charles I. Radical politics is emphasised along with the changes in the class system. On the right side of the fresco is a painted chestnut tree with branches holding the shields of the conservatora of the Magna Carta with their names on scrolls adjoining the shields.[172] Holiday, based in London and a prolific and respected stained glass designer himself, had been working with Heaton, Butler and Bayne from the late 1860s as their chief designer, and as the latter were responsible for the overall decoration of the building, they employed a designer they knew well. Holiday was interested in the representation of clothing in his works as he was an advocate of costume reform, promoting the Healthy and Artistic Dress Reunion.[173] The rich detail of the fabric in the frescoes is matched by the clothing of the monarchs in the stained glass.

Interestingly, Holiday did not remember his time in Rochdale fondly. He was thirty-two when he spent his time working in the town in 1870, and in *Reminiscences of my Life*, he stated that, 'the dismal, gloomy monotony of a manufacturing town like Rochdale is the outward expression of the deadness of spirit which hangs heavy in

[171] Holiday, who was 32 in 1870 when he painted the mural, in his *Reminiscences of My Life* did not remember Rochdale fondly: 'the dismal, gloomy monotony of a manufacturing town like Rochdale is the outward expression of the deadness of spirit which hangs heavy in a place given over to the dehumanising work of money-making.' Henry Holiday. *Reminiscences Of My Life*. (Heinemann, 1914): 94

[172] 'The Interior of Rochdale Town Hall'. *The Builder*: 147

[173] Peter Cormack. *Henry Holiday, 1839-1927*. London: William Morris Gallery, 1989. Holiday wrote texts on dress, such as 'The Artistic Aspect of Dress,' *Aglaia:* the *Journal of the Healthy and Artistic Dress Union* July 1893, no. 1 (1893): 13-30

a place given over to the dehumanising work of money-making'.[174] Although a very pessimistic view of the town of Rochdale in 1870, it does however illuminate the contrast in an industrial town with the glamour and splendour of the newly built Town Hall.

The stained glass in the Great Hall therefore tells the tale of a free-thinking town that was politically proactive, and the essence of radical thought is present, yet there was still the divide between the civic elite and the lower classes. The stained glass is liberal and a huge step away from simple portraiture series. Political agendas are at the forefront, making the stained glass a vehicle for transgression and modernity.

Heraldry: Reinvention and Appropriation at Rochdale

Civic coats of arms designed by Clement Heaton adorn the magnificent staircase stained glass windows at the Town Hall (Fig.97-111). These windows are visible on arrival through the main entrance and they dominate the vista of the Exchange when looking to the South. Once the stairs have been mounted, nine large and brightly coloured three-light windows divided by mullions and transoms are situated around the staircase, with rose windows for traceries. These windows at Rochdale are the pinnacle of the use of heraldry as a living art, although a tension is created between the old and the new, but also a straightforward continuity in ornamentation. The difference also lies in the scale and building type; the growth and splendour of municipal buildings allowed for ostentatious displays of civic pride.

Heraldry becomes the narrative and is a significant contribution to the revitalisation of this important method of representation. There was a large growth in corporate, civic and institutional heraldry in the nineteenth century, responding to the surge in desire and need for identifications of powerful towns and cities, which was a move away from its use in genealogy and the social status of the individual in previous centuries. Many types of buildings of the nineteenth century contained civic and imperial coats of arms in their design schemes, such as banks, art galleries and universities. The purpose of these coats of arms was to impress the civic identity on the town's populace and commemorate and celebrate the town or city.

[174] Henry Holiday. *Reminiscences of My Life*; James L. Maxim. *Rochdale Town Hall*. (G. and A.N. Scott Limited: Rochdale, 1959): 35.

The windows at Rochdale demonstrate that, while authenticating, heraldry 'is always open to augmentation and reappropriation.'[175] However, in literature, heraldic signs represented aristocratic decay and a longing for lost or imagined connections,[176] and herein lies a contrast between literature and art. Heraldry was a tool by which authors in the nineteenth century discussed the past and the present, such as *Waverley* by Sir Walter Scott. As Robertson states, the novel is characterised by an acute consciousness of how heraldic signs mark and record history. The anonymous author imagines historical difference in historical terms. 'The wrath of our ancestors, for example, was coloured by gules'.[177]

Detached from chivalric connotations, the windows at Rochdale should be considered an important example for the revitalisation and reinvention of the format in the nineteenth century. While retaining the key aspects of heraldry, to identify, authenticate and show provenance, the visual language of the civic heraldry is blatantly public and has no mystic meanings.[178]

Heraldry in itself is not an intrinsically ecclesiastical art form; it could be displayed on seals, various decorations in architecture and jewellery in the middle ages, amongst others; 'it was quite immaterial to the medieval master masons whether they were called in to build a church or a gatehouse, a castle or a mansion, a barn or a bridge. The master carpenter worked in the same way upon a rood loft or a pew end as upon the screen or the coffer in the house of the lord; the glazier filled alike with his coloured transparencies the bay of the hall, the window of the chapel, or that of the minster or the abbey; and the tiler sold his wares to sacrist, church-warden, or squire alike.' [179]

The granting of coats of arms to corporate bodies and local authorities became a rich source of work for the heralds in the nineteenth century and Rochdale's display is an excellent example of heraldry as an art form. Peter O'Donoghue states that 'the Victorian sense of municipal pride expressed itself in the pursuit of grants of

[175] Fiona Robertson. 'Hyperobtrusive Signs: Heraldry in Nineteenth-Century British and American Fiction'. In Fiona Robertson and Peter N. Lindfield (eds.) *The Display of Heraldry: The Heraldic Imagination in Arts and Culture*. (London: The Heraldry Society, 2019): 178
[176] Fiona Robertson. 'Hyperobtrusive Signs': 176
[177] Sir Walter Scott's, *Waverley* as discussed by Fiona Robertson. 'Hyperobtrusive Signs : 179. Sir Walter Scott. *Waverley*. (London: The Penguin Group, 1985): 36
[178] Sir Walter Scott, quoted in Fiona Robertson. 'Hyperobtrusive Signs': 182
[179] W.H. ST. John Hope. *Heraldry for Craftsmen and Designers: The Artistic Crafts Series of Technical Handbooks*. (London: John Hogg, 1913): 54

coats of arms for many other and newer places', despite some cities and boroughs using arms for centuries.[180]

Post seventeenth-century heraldry, particularly civic, has been little studied and to an extent dismissed as not bearing comparison to its medieval predecessors. W.H. St. John Hope, in his manual, *Heraldry for Craftsman and Designers*, published in 1913 and forming part of *The Artistic Crafts Series of Technical Handbooks*, writes of the heraldic illustrations: 'It is thus possible to show the gradual rise and decline of heraldic art from the thirteenth to the seventeenth century, beyond which it is hardly necessary to go.'[181] Yet, paradoxically, the very fact that there was a need for a manual for craftsmen and designers in 1913 proves heraldry had reached new heights of popularity and ubiquity and is indicative of a growing need for artists to use heraldry correctly. Hope states that due to this ubiquity, many were failing in their attempts to depict heraldry and displayed an imperfect understanding of the art.[182] Craftsmen really needed to understand heraldry rather than simply copying a limited range of models such as in Willement's *Regal Heraldry* of the early-nineteenth century. The manual aimed to teach the correct method of representation of heraldry, yet its omission of nineteenth-century examples is striking and again shows a romanticising of the past at the expense of the great innovations and developments in heraldic art of the day which can be seen at Rochdale. Civic heraldry makes powerful statements and is very representative of nineteenth-century thoughts about power. Indeed, heraldry once again became a 'living art' in the nineteenth century.[183] Rochdale Town Hall is the very essence of this interest in civic identity, which links itself with the wider world and used coats of arms as an expression of not only civic, but geographical identity.[184]

The use of coats of arms for civic corporations was not new in the nineteenth century. In the Middle Ages, despite heraldry being used for genealogical purposes, some towns and cities used heraldry in symbolic devices on official and corporate seals. This began during the latter part of the twelfth century and became more

[180] Peter O' Donoghue. 'Afterword: From the Late Seventeenth Century to the Present Day' in Nigel Ramsay (ed.). *Heralds and Heraldry in Shakespeare's England*. (Paul Watkins Publishing: New Edition, 2014): 317

[181] W.H. ST. John Hope. *Heraldry for Craftsmen and Designers:* 14

[182] W.H. ST. John Hope. *Heraldry for Craftsmen and Designers:* 33

[183] Hope states that heraldry (or armoury) was still a living art, or science, during the middle ages, as opposed to the early twentieth century and utilised by all classes of worker: 34. My argument takes the opposite view.

[184] Peter O' Donoghue. 'Afterword: From the Late Seventeenth Century to the Present Day': 317

general in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and generally contained royal or religious emblems, castles or ships.

Examples are London, Norwich, Shrewsbury and Hull, and by 1700, 90 English cities and towns had acquired armorial bearings.[185] As towns grew and became more aware of their individuality and corporate spirit, they adopted armorial bearings which at first was done by placing the seal onto the shield, but in instances where the seal was too elaborate, the design for the arms was simplified and became symbolic. Since 1700, coats of arms became much more complex, with more than one theme often represented and the historic element was favoured over the religious. Many arms gave prominence to emblems of industry, which was most significant for northern towns. This indicates how the character of civic heraldry adapted for changing times, with emblems such as locomotives, corps of miners, glass-blowers, smiths and fishermen being represented, according to Giles, the 'industrious but un-picturesque figures who have been called from their work to uphold the arms of their cities.'[186] Therefore, heraldry is reflected as a living art which could represent the industrial town as well as a prominent member of the landed gentry.

By the time C.W. Scott-Giles was writing in 1933, 500 local authorities in England and Wales had obtained coats of arms, and three quarters of them had been granted only during the previous 100 years, which reflects the heraldic fervour of the nineteenth century. Civic heraldry was a modern growth with traditional roots; local government had passed from feudal families to democratic bodies such as borough and local councils, therefore the traditions of the local gentry transferred to the local council who wished to appropriate tokens of honour and authority, as conferred by coats of arms.[187]

Using the terminology of Fiona Robertson to describe heraldry in literature, the windows at Rochdale Town Hall are 'hyperobtrusive'; they force the viewer to look at them as the lancets are almost the full height and width of the space.[188] The civic coats of arms encompass the wider world, and Rochdale's place on an international scope. The coats of arms are overtly public, being positioned in the most open access area of the building, and there is an active dialogue between each of the

[185] C.Wilfred Scott-Giles. *Civic Heraldry of England and Wales*. (London: J.M. Dent & Sons Ltd, 1953): 3
[186] Ibid: 4
[187] Ibid
[188] Fiona Robertson. 'Hyperobtrusive Signs': 176

windows. Referencing 'The Purloined Letter' by Edgar Allan Poe (1844), Robertson states that the ducal mark on the red seal on the letter relays its 'identity, authenticity, and provenance, these being the qualities established by heraldic signs.'[189] Although different surfaces for heraldry, these words reflect the authentic qualities that heraldry stood for and its importance in the stained glass at Rochdale Town Hall. The industrial world has married into the aristocracy of the arcane world.[190]

Coats of arms were proudly displayed in religious settings to denote patronage and familial links to religious spaces, for example, at York Minster, the coats of arms of families are carved in stone between the arches of the nave and appear in the stained glass with which they are aligned, revealing the power and patronage of individuals. However, in the civic sphere of the Town Hall, local, national and international civic heraldry are brought to the fore from links via politics, commerce and trade, transforming this traditional usage into a modern, industrial art form. Heraldry now had a new narrative to perform in stained glass, and in the case of Rochdale, telling the story of the town's prominence in world industry, therefore creating a monument to post-medieval civic heraldry.

In the central window on the south-side of the building, the first with which the viewer is in close contact upon ascending the stairs, is the Royal coat of arms, with the motto 'Dieu et mon droit' denoted in a striking yellow glass with a blue background (Figs.98-99), and the date A.D. 1871 is painted at the top of the central panel (Fig.100). The renderings of the lion and the unicorn are spectacular, denoted in deep red glass and with much use of silver stain. Above are the arms of the Crown and Great Britain, surrounded by the motto 'Honi soit qui may y pense' (shame on him who thinks evil of it) of the Order of the Garter, the text of which is also present in the garters of the male monarchs in the Great Hall. This is surrounded by several silver stained pieces of glass with Queen Victoria's emblem V.R. (Victoria Regina) painted upon them. Above this are the thistle, the rose and the shamrock, each with their own light. These emblems are also intertwined with each of the Arms beneath.

The window to the left at the bottom depicts the arms of Liverpool with the motto, 'Deus Nobis Haec Otia Fecit (God has given us this tranquillity) (Figs.101 & 109),[191]

[189] Fiona Robertson. 'Hyperobtrusive Signs:' 177
[190] Fiona Robertson. 'Hyperobtrusive Signs:' 185
[191] Argent, a liver with a branch of laver in its beak, proper. Liverpool's coat of arms was granted in 1797

and in the middle are the arms of the Duchy of Lancaster. To the right of the central window are the arms of Manchester, granted in 1842, at the base, with the motto 'Concilio et Labore' (by wisdom and effort) (Fig.102 & 110)[192] and above this an incredibly intricate representation of the arms of Rochdale, with the motto 'Crede Signo' (believe in the sign) (Fig.111).[193] In this alignment of coats of arms, those given precedence are Royalty and the locality, with Manchester and Liverpool relegated to lower levels of significance. The elaboration of the central panels continues to those of the Duchy of Lancaster and Rochdale, with their central positions stating their power and importance of the Royal, the locality and the borough.

Rochdale's coat of arms was granted in 1857 and contains a fleece, woolpack, cotton and millrind, representing the wool, cotton, and iron industries. The motto, 'believe in the sign', is based on that of Lord Byron, who owned the manor. Rochdale's coat of arms is firmly in the northern civic tradition of modern heraldry which represents the industries of the town. The arms of Rochdale have been designed to stand out in a highly elaborate rendering, denoted in uniform cool tones of blue, green and grey with stylised, swirling leaves around them.

Above these central panels begin the representations of smaller local towns, some of which are the arms of the corporate towns in the Duchy of Lancaster, all well-placed as being the nearest in proximity to those represented beneath them, so also creating a visual geography. Above the coat of arms of Rochdale are Clitheroe, Blackburn and Bury and above the Duchy of Lancaster are Bolton-le-Moors, Lancaster and Preston (Figs.101 & 111).

The windows on the immediate east and west side represent the arms of other Lancashire and Yorkshire towns and the ports of Britain which had commercial trade links with Rochdale (Figs.103-104). These are Barrow, Oldham, Ashton, Burnley, Bootle, Wigan, Newton, Warrington, Bradford, Halifax, Huddersfield, Leeds, Sheffield, Wakefield, Glasgow, Southampton, Leith, Bristol, Hull, and London.

A selection of these coats of arms contain symbols of the industries of northern towns, fitting with the assimilation of modern subjects and each town having their

[192] Gules, three gold bendlets enhanced; on a chief argent a ship in full sail on the sea proper. Manchester's coat of arms was granted in 1842.
[193] Argent, a woolpack encircled by two branches of the cotton-tree in flower proper; a border sable charged with eight silver martlets. Rochdale's coat of arms was granted in 1857.

own specialism in certain trades. Interestingly, all but the distant ports were invited to the opening ceremony.[194] Blackburn's arms, granted in 1852, contain three bees volant, and bees were an emblem of skill, perseverance and industry (Fig.112). Bees also appear in the crest of Manchester's arms as well as the shields of Burnley and Barrow-in-Furness (Figs.113-115). Blackburn's white shield is also representative of the production in the town of calico (Fig.112). Their motto, *Arte et labore* (By skill and toil) has similarities with Manchester's *Concilio et labore* (By counsel and by labour).

Bury and Bolton's modern civic coats of arms had not been granted at this stage, therefore the arms of Bury are of the Bury family crest used on seals and not the 1877 version which represent iron, wool, cotton and paper-making industries. Bolton's arms are the seal of the municipal corporation of the Borough and not the 1890 version which contains the shuttle and spindle (Fig.116). It is notable that both Bootle and Huddersfield's arms were granted in 1869 and 1868 respectively, and the windows depict the new arms, revealing that the staircase windows may have been worked on later in the whole commission and were therefore able to reflect these very recent changes but also an intense awareness of the fervour for arms. Naturally, ships are prominent, with Liverpool, West India Merchants, Belfast, Barrow-in-Furness, Bristol, Trinity House and Levant Merchants all containing beautifully rendered vessels (Figs.117-122).

Stained glass modernised and industrialised the aesthetic of heraldry, with square quarries and daisy motifs used in the compositions. There is also much use of glasses which were the result of technological advances in glass-making and a good selection of mouth-blown streaky antiques are present, as well as acid-etching, particularly on the red glasses. There is a prominent use of flashed ruby and seedy glass, as well as blue grisaille paint to represent the sea, likely an example of Heaton's experimentations with pigments (Fig.122).

Coats of arms of international cities are placed furthest away from Rochdale, both geographically, and spatially in the windows. The next set of windows to the immediate east and west of this series represent the heraldry of countries which supplied raw materials to Rochdale, including Australia, Canada, the U.S.A., Malta, Brazil and the arms of trading companies such as the East India Company, the West Indian Merchants and the Levant, as well as Trinity House (Figs.105-108). There are also small lights at the lower parts of the windows closest to the Great

[194] Richard Thompson. 'Both Useful and Ornamental': 30.

Hall, depicting the red cross of St George, fleur de lys, lions and the initial R or a crown. The stained glass windows are joined by busts of noted M.P.'s on the landing; John Fenton, Richard Cobden, Thomas B. Potter and of course, John Bright. References to trade are also represented in carvings of various plants around the tracery windows, as well as the tracery lights which contain a sailing ship, a steamer, telegraph and railway (Figs.123-127). These little panels, almost hidden from view as they were so high up, are the pieces connecting the towns and cities represented beneath them. They are a fascinating addition to the composition of the windows and reflect the modern world that had come into being when the Town Hall was completed. This should not be underestimated; technology has replaced angels and other Biblical subjects as traditionally found in ecclesiastical lights. They allow for a reciprocal narrative around the staircase windows and complete the series of heraldic panels. Figural representation is not needed to narrate the story of Rochdale and its growth to a significant and powerful town; heraldry now tells this story. Rochdale is placed in a central position of the composition and all other towns and cities, both national and international revolve around the town and the Empire at the core.

The civic heraldry on the staircase is linked to the 'Exchange' on the ground floor, where the products of these national and international links are presented in the stained glass (Figs.128-129). Consequently, the narrative continues throughout the building. The Exchange was originally planned to provide a service area for local goods to be sold instead of in local public houses, but the space was symbolic rather than a functioning market area. There is an impressive Minton mosaic tile floor in the Exchange (Fig.130), depicting the Royal Arms, the county and the Borough, as well as united red and white roses of Lancashire and Yorkshire, which was designed by Clement Heaton under the direction of Crossland.[195] There is also a wonderful Islamic-style polychrome vaulted ceiling above,[196] with carved stonework containing a variety of animals hidden within. Two stained glass windows face the Esplanade and depict the arms of the countries with which Rochdale traded and received raw materials, such as Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Russia, France, Spain, Portugal, Austria, Prussia, Belgium, Turkey, Greece and Switzerland. Products which were bought from these countries are depicted in the traceries, such

[195] Ibid.

[196] James L. Maxim. *Rochdale Town Hall,* gives an excellent full descriptive account of the decorative detail of the building.

as tea, coffee, wheat, hemp, flax, jute, indigo, rubber, orange, tobacco, corn, vine and hop.

The World in a window: Empire

The stained glass on the staircase at Rochdale Town Hall also contains the coats of arms of countries of the wider Empire, including Australia and Canada, but also trading companies such as the East India Company, West India Merchants, both heavily linked with the British Government, and Levant Merchants. The arms of Trinity House, the regulators of lighthouse and coastal security, are also present. The primary function was to link Rochdale with the wider world and the importance of sea-faring for this purpose. Symbols of Empire may at first glance seem to be at odds with liberal Rochdale and the imagery in the Great Hall, discussed above, but Imperial power over dominions was not the objective; the key was the narrative and trade links between the town and the modern world. This is especially the case as the East India Company and the Levant Company had been dissolved by 1858 and 1825 respectively. Prevailing British influence in these countries is the key, as well as international trading links across the world. The British crown had established control over the Indian subcontinent as the British Raj by the time the windows were designed and placed in the town hall, following a brutal uprising which resulted in ownership of land on the subcontinent and 'civilising' the population by attempting to convert it to Christianity. The arms of the United States are represented in the stained glass above the West India Company, yet Britain had also already lost its thirteen colonies in North America in the eighteenth century. Trade had replaced direct rule as the means of connection between countries, including the triangular trade in slaves into the nineteenth century. Canada's arms are represented beneath those of Glasgow, and they established as a self-governing country within the British Empire in 1867.

However, stained glass powerfully displays notions of Empire at Belfast Harbour Office, using a combination of both heraldry and symbolic imagery (Figs.131-136).[197] Here, the stained glass is a monument to Imperialism and was also made by Heaton, Butler and Bayne, underlining their status as a company who were in demand for significant and expansive secular commissions of different styles[198] However, it would be remiss to discuss this window without recognising that with great progress came great suffering and poverty, as can be seen in all the windows.

[197] For a brief overview of Belfast Harbour Office, see Appendix 1: 230
[198] Stained Glass product catalogue of Heaton, Butler and Bayne, 1932: 25

The window blocks out the real world, as well as the industrial world behind it at the port – the key connection to the wider world.

The Harbour Office is the headquarters of the Belfast Harbour Commissioners, who are in charge of the operation, maintenance and development of the Port of Belfast.[199] There were two stages to the design of Belfast Harbour Office, with the first being by the Commissioner's engineer George Smith and erected in 1854. The extension of 1895 was designed by the Belfast architect William Henry Lynn. Both sections are in the Italian Palazzo style, and the window under discussion dates from this later extension. This choice of the Italian Palazzo style is an example of style as iconography, reflecting the patrons, who were industrial leaders, comparable to the princely merchant patrons of the Italian Renaissance such as the Medici's. Patrons would have used their riches to commission the height of sophistication of style, with the results being a secular Neo-Renaissance. Again, references to the past legitimise the present.

Of the other buildings which contain surviving stained glass of the period in Belfast, the City Hall chooses to demonstrate links with Empire through the use of heraldry. Ships are represented in medallions in small windows in the rear entrance passageways off the main entrance hall. Portraits of King Edward VII and Queen Alexandra are framed by Classical Canopies in the main staircase windows, along with notable episodes in the history of Belfast.[200] There is also a portrait of Queen Victoria in one of the large windows in the Great Hall.

There are several stained glass windows on the ground and first floors and one window on the ground floor symbolises commerce and faces the entranceway (Fig.131). The stained glass window is made up of three lights, the centre of which is the largest and depicts Neptune, the god of water and the sea, symbolising Commerce. He holds the globe in his right hand, his trident in his left and beside him is his horn of plenty, symbolising the prosperity of the city of Belfast through its sea trade. Neptune sits upon a wool bail and a tally book is beside his feet. An image of a mosque at Constantinople is behind him, signifying the gateway between the East and the West for trade. Italianate floral decoration denoted in silver stain surrounds the medallions.

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[199] Belfast Harbour: *The Harbour Office – A Visual Guide*. https://www.belfast-harbour.co.uk/news/inside-the-belfast-harbour-office-a-visual-guide-43/. Accessed 23/05/2022

[200] Paul Larmour. *Belfast City Hall: An Architectural History*. (Belfast: Ulster Architectural Heritage Society, 2010): 94-96

Patterns such as this were popular and well-documented by Jones in the *Grammar of Ornament*, a pattern book which would have adorned the shelves of many stained-glass studios like Heaton, Butler and Bayne.[201] Similarities to motifs in their windows can be found in the Renaissance and Italianate plates in the manual (Figs.137-138). Of the other surviving stained glass in the city of Belfast,[202] the pattern of the floral motifs which bear some resemblance to the glass at the Crown Liquor Saloon, a very well-known public house dating from the 1880s in the centre of the city. The maker of these windows, blown out several times during 'The Troubles', is unknown, but they were of Czech origin.[203] They indicate a local preference for an Italianate Aesthetic in painted decoration in the windows of secular settings.

The representation of Neptune is appropriate imagery for a city based beside the sea, but it is the four images in the medallions which are beside Neptune which depict specific aspects of Belfast's industry synonymous with Empire; Navigation, Weaving, Spinning and Engineering. Crowning these images are two crossed anchors. All the medallions are surrounded by sweeping floral motifs in silver stain, with flax flowers in-between the smaller medallions in the outer lights. The images in the windows are exotic and are inspired by faraway lands which are made accessible through commerce, so all are linked back to Neptune; they reference places and animals found thousands of miles away from Belfast, specifically across the British Empire, reflecting the trade of the port and the various imports and exports that came through the city and are therefore a parallel to the ideas found in the scheme at Rochdale Town Hall. The opening of the Victoria channel in 1849 was the beginning of the huge growth of the port of Belfast and many more docks and quays were opened in the 1850s, and by 1857 there were 57,000 vessels using the port.[204]

In the Engineering panel, two beavers sort and work timber, specifically relating to shipbuilding (Fig.136). The beaver in the foreground has a pile of thin cylinders of wood and holds one in its right paw. The beaver behind is standing inspecting one of the timbers. The beavers are situated beside a river, the water represented by thin strips of painted blue and green glass, with some woodland visible behind them.

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[201] Owen Jones. *The Grammar of Ornament*. (London, Studio Editions, 1989).
[202] Much decorative and stained glass in Belfast has been lost due to 'The Troubles'
[203] Email conversation with Colin Hatrick, Architect, who is a Belfast resident and stained glass expert for the city
[204] Emrys Jones, 'Late Victorian Belfast: 1859-1900' in Beckett, J.C. and Glasscock, R.E., *Belfast: Origin and Growth of an Industrial City*. (BBC: London: 1967): 110

The beaver inspecting the wood has an anthropomorphic facial expression, reflecting either that the artist may have struggled to recreate the look of an inquisitive beaver, or that he/she was deliberately drawing the parallel between the ingenuity and industry of beavers and humans. As a species, beavers are the creators and designers of their own living space. They build dams to float their building materials, canals and lodges. Beavers therefore represent the cooperative industriousness of Belfast and its success in engineering and mapping out the land for industry. They are used allegorically, as they had the power to change the world they lived in to suit themselves, which is what the people of Belfast were doing in a rapidly developing city. Beavers appear in other works by Heaton, Butler and Bayne, where they are the main subject matter of the window, such as in a design for a domestic window for the Honourable G. Stuart, c.1880 (Fig.139).

A spider and its web represents Spinning (Fig.135). In the top right panel, a delicate looking spider sits in the centre of its web. A second spider sits in a separate web to the left. Both are silk spiders, identifiable by the yellow spots on their backs. Beneath are two silkworms, both feeding on the purple-red fruit of mulberries beside them. Pink petalled flowers are also prominent. The silk trade between East Asia and the industrialised West was extremely important at this time,[205] although it was not Belfast's primary textile trade, which was linen. The depiction is therefore not a literal reflection of the textile trade in Belfast, but has symbolic virtue.[206]

The Weaver Birds represent weaving and are placed in the bottom right panel (Fig.133). Two birds work to feed their young chick, whose head protrudes outside of the intricately weaved nest, about to take food from the adult. The other Weaver bird flies away, in pursuit of more food to feed to the young. Another woven nest is placed to the left of the image. Weaver birds are specifically from Africa, south of the Sahara and some tropical areas of Asia, reflecting Belfast's links to the wider world. Again, this emphasises exotic lands for local trades.

The processes of weaving and spinning are more associated with women's work and in many societies, cloth is more closely connected with women.[207] These

[205] The Modern Silk Road: The Global Raw-Silk Market, 1850-1930. *The Journal of Economic History*. Vol. 56, No. 2, Papers Presented at the Fifty-Fifth Annual Meeting of the Economic History Association (Jun. 1996): 330-355

[206] This is evidence of more Imperial associations. There is lots of European silk production as well in the nineteenth century, in France and Italy for example. Indian silk is also a big imperial commodity in this period.

[207] Jane Schneider and Annette B. Weiner. 'Introduction' in Annette B. Weiner and Jane Schneider. *Cloth and Human Experience*. (London: Smithsonian Institution Press): 20

images are also regenerative and especially in the case of the weaver birds, represent the cycle of birth. However, capitalism and industry changed the symbolic potential of cloth; the processes of manufacture represented symbolically in these images had fundamentally changed so that the maker could not imbue the spiritual value of their work in the product, which was now being made by machine and not the hand.[208]

Navigation is represented in the top left panel for the connection to the sea;[209] It is the only representation which contains a single animal (Fig.132). The illustration is an argonaut or paper nautilus, which refers to the thin egg case which the females secrete. These and true nautiluses are pelagic octopuses.[210] There is an intermixing of the words argonaut and nautilus to describe the panel, as the two have a complex history. For example, the chambered nautilus was named after the argonaut. This image symbolises marine trade, with Argonauts, as we have seen, being sailors on the mythological ship Argo symbolising the importance of marine trade to Belfast. The ship is referenced in a window on the first floor. The Classical references harmonise with the Italianate architectural style. Two stained glass windows on the first floor depict Belfast's position in Britain at the time; one contains the coats of arms of the four major industrial cities/ports in the UK - Dublin, Glasgow, Liverpool and London - and this represents an empowering theme of civic pride. Greek mythology is again referenced in the second window. In the left panel, a ship is depicted with the word 'Argo' in a scroll above, referencing The Argo, the ship which carried Jason and the Argonauts from Iolcus to capture the Golden Fleece, protected by the goddess Hera. This is also a link with the Navigation panel of the commerce window, with the argonaut taking on a symbolic role.

The argonaut or paper nautilus has been chosen for its strength and agility, a metaphor for Belfast and its superiority as a primary port and city of trade. The intricately detailed shell of the argonaut sits on sea water which is denoted with wavy strips of different coloured glass, on which there is also the addition of painted wavy lines. The lead also gives the impression of movement with the dark wavy lines which surround the glass in order to further imitate waves. The colours are vibrant and exotic and appear bathed in the sun, hinting of a different land and the hotter climate of the tropics. The tentacles sprawl out beneath and the membranes

[208] Ibid: 3
[209] They're specifically pacific, and so associated with Cook's voyages of discovery.
[210] Confirmation from Ian Tittley, Natural History Museum. The Belfast harbour Office brochure states it is a Nautilus, which is not entirely correct.

of two tentacles are spread out above and act as sails for the navigation of the shell. The argonaut or nautilus uses jet propulsion to navigate the waters and the tube-like hyponome, or funnel, is visible at the left of the shell; this is the organ which is used for blowing out the water. Argonaut's are masters of navigating the sea, and its biology makes them so agile, equating them to the power of steam ships.

This stained glass imagery belongs to a wider cultural fascination with the natural world of the Empire. Shells were a fascination of the eighteenth century which developed throughout the nineteenth century. In *Hard Times,* the nursery has a 'little conchological cabinet,'[211] and the Shell Grotto in Margate, discovered in 1835, is a life's work of shell collection and worship placed in a shrine-like underground palace. Collections were amassed by individuals, such as the 2nd Duchess of Portland and Miss Chichester at Arlington Court, showing this interest in natural history was available to women as well as men. Margaret, Duchess of Portland amassed an unparalleled collection of shells, both native and exotic, some of which may have been gifted to her by Captain James Cook.[212] Shells were socially significant, and although they were natural objects, they became material culture rich in meaning. In the context of the window, they represent imperialism and mercantile capitalism's global circuits of commodity exchange.[213] Shells were aesthetic and decorative, and represented exploration, global trade, colonialism and the imperial infrastructure that enabled natural history collecting. Relating all this to the voyages of Cook further solidified the notion of the exotic,[214] not to mention that many of the ships carrying these objects would also have been carrying slaves. The people, and the objects from which they came, were taken and appropriated into European systems of thought.

With the scientific study of nature in mind, the image in the window is based on an engraving by Charles Bevalet, entitled, 'Argonaut sitting in the Open Sea', (Fig.140), which was published in 1868 in *Ocean World: Being a Descriptive History of the Sea and its Living Inhabitants* by Louis Fibuier.[215] Argonauts are found in tropical waters and Nautiluses are found in the Indo-Pacific and live in the deep coral reefs and depths of the sea. Nautiluses can symbolise expansion and renewal, as they

[211] Charles Dickens. *Hard Times*. (London: Penguin Books, 2003): 17
[212] Beth Fowkes Tobin. *The Duchess's Shells: Natural History Collecting in the Age of Cook's Voyages*. (London: The Paul Mellon Centre, 2014): 5
[213] Beth Fowkes Tobin. *The Duchess's Shells:* 10
[214] Beth Fowkes Tobin. *The Duchess's Shells:* 21
[215] Louis Fibuier. *Ocean World: Being a Descriptive History of the Sea and its Living Inhabitants*. (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1868)

grow into larger chambers throughout their life and their shells are lined with mother-of-pearl. This expansion therefore references Belfast's continual expansion as its industries grew to be some of the strongest in Britain.

The choice of a nautilus to represent Navigation also had links with literature, both ancient and modern. Firstly, in Aristotle's *History of Animals*, he describes the Nautilus and its movement through the sea, as follows:

> This is the nature of the malacia. It is brought to the surface with its shell inverted, in order that it may go out more easily and navigate in an empty shell. When it reaches the surface, it turns its shell over. There is a membrane extended between two of its tentacula similar to the web feet of birds, except that theirs is thick and that of the nautilus thin and like a spider's web. This it uses for a sail when the wind blows, and it extends two of its tentacula for rudders.[216]

The history of the argonaut and nautilus is long, and the Roman author Pliny, in his *Naturalis Historia* describes the creature as a sort of fish with sails,[217] and Callimachus, the Greek poet and scholar, in Epigram 5 impersonates a nautilus shell dedicated to Aphrodite-Arsinoë by Selenaia. At Troezen the nautilus was sacred to Aphrodite, partly explained by Aphrodite being worshipped as protectress of sailors.[218]

These passages are important as they demonstrate the uncertainty of the anatomy of these creatures which is carried over into the image in the window, although these would not have been known to those without a classical education, including the designer of the window and perhaps some of the intended audience.

The sails in the images were how they were believed to navigate, although this was actually done entirely by expelling water through the funnel. Pliny stated that the Nautilus was a mistaken interpretation of the genus Argonauta, a group of several species of pelagic octopuses, the female of which produces a distinctive egg case from tentacle secretions.[219] The argonaut is a living being in a shell and therefore akin to a sailor in a boat. The image almost has an element of the surreal in this sense. The tentacles which act as sails are shell-like and indicate the imagination of

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[216] Richard Cresswell. Aristotle's *History of Animals in Ten Books*. (Schleswig-Holstein: hansebooks, 2019)
[217] Pliny the Elder, *Natural History.* (London: Penguin Classics, 1991): 9.29
[218] Kathryn Gutzwiller. 'The Nautilus, the Halycon, and Selenaia: Callimachus's "Epigram" 5 Pf. = 14 G. – P. *Classical Antiquity*, Vol. 11, No.2 (Oct., 1992): 197
[219] Pliny, *Natural History*: 9.29: 139-141

the artist in representing the argonaut, as Bevalet reflects the sinuous, web-like skin between the tentacles.

There is, of course, a more contemporary reference for the window; Captain Nemo's ship/submarine was called Nautilus in Jules Verne's hugely popular *Twenty Thousand Leagues Under the Sea* (1870), part of a series of adventure novels Verne wrote, including *Journey to the Centre of the Earth* (1864) and *Around the World in Eighty Days* (1873). The sense of adventure infiltrates the image, as the nautilus sails smoothly along the bright sea under a bright blue sky and would not be out of place amongst the fantastical beasts that Verne referred to in his novels. Therefore, the choice of the argonaut or paper nautilus in this window is hugely significant and has a great capacity to reflect Belfast's standing in the world. The sea was Belfast's advantage and it is summarised succinctly by the argonaut.

The window celebrates the Victorians' love affair with nature and the natural world. Nature was a huge source of inspiration to figures such as Ruskin, who painted landscapes and studies of animals. This was also the period of production of elephantine works of art and scientific study of nature. For example, John James Audubon's studies of birds which were produced in life-size hand-painted manuscripts. These were erudite in their design and conception and the window ties in with this intense interest in the natural world.

Nature, like mind, was 'wilful, energetic, and dynamic.'[220] This love of nature can be found in Victorian mansions in every decoration such as wallpapers and furniture, as well as stained glass. Nature was being brought into the interior, and the contradiction of nature as innocent and pure, yet used to reflect the naturalness of industry is best summed up by Ruskin: 'For most men, an ignorant enjoyment is better than an informed one; it is better to conceive the sky as a blue dome than a dark cavity, and the cloud as a golden throne than a sleety mist'.[221]

Conclusion

By navigating through several spaces where stained glass was placed – the Town Hall, hospitals, castles and corporation headquarters – it has been shown that the medium contributes to the political, cultural and social history of the nineteenth century. Stained glass was a significant means by which ideas and prerogatives

[220] Carl Woodring. 'Nature and Art in the Nineteenth Century. PMLA, Vol. 92, No. 2 (March 1977): 196

[221] John Ruskin, *Modern Painters.* Vol.III. (New York: National Library Association, 2012): 307

could be displayed and manipulated for the populace by local civic dignitaries. Rochdale Town Hall reflects this in not one, but two, major schemes in separate sections of the building, both hugely significant yet very much unappreciated and understudied until now. The series of royal portraiture deserves its place in what was a long tradition of depicting the monarchs and contributes toward the early celebrity culture of the nineteenth century. It is also a key source in demonstrating how stained glass could be manipulated to convey local political messages and alignment with more radical politics of the nineteenth century. The series of heraldry is a major development in the representation of arms and how they were used to narrate local history and a small town's vision of itself as a prominent place in the wider world. It represents heraldry as a living art and opposes ideas that heraldry beyond the seventeenth century was not worth studying.[222] These representations in stained glass are therefore symbolic, and this symbolism is further developed in the ideas of Imperialism and Empire, as at Belfast Harbour Office, a window which uses trade links by the sea to denote ideas of the exotic, and therefore Imperialistic ideas combined with the natural world.

There is a dynamism and ambition about secular stained glass of the nineteenth century in these settings which constructs societal and class ideologies. A sense of pushing boundaries whilst using its imbued power and meaning to project grace upon the subjects depicted. This is certainly true of the heraldic representations on the staircase of Rochdale Town Hall, which are almost kaleidoscopic in their intricate colouration and design. This is also especially true for the image of Oliver Cromwell. Amongst so many paintings or portraits of the leader of the Commonwealth, stained glass captures a more graceful figure, despite his actions and politics causing huge chasms in the political and social beliefs of the British populace. He is simply another leader of the country in the image, and stained glass has the capacity to affirm his status and allows for no question of his presence.

[222] W.H. ST. John Hope. W.H. ST. John Hope. *Heraldry for Craftsmen and Designers:* 14

Chapter 2. North and South: Work, Labour and Stained Glass in Britain

… we do not look upon life as a time for enjoyment, but as a time for action and exertion. Our glory and our beauty arise out of our inward strength, which makes us victorious over material resistance, and over greater difficulties still.[223]

This chapter will discuss the rise of the trades and industry windows in cities outside of London, a new secular typology in stained glass that emerged during the later nineteenth century, hitherto overlooked, and particularly those who manipulated the format for their own locality. The above quotation from Elizabeth Gaskell's *North and South* (1854), spoken by the male protagonist, John Thornton, a powerful mill owner in Milton, a fictionalised version of Manchester, expresses the glory and vigour of those who worked in commerce and industry. The statement reflects the pride displayed in many images of industry depicted in secular stained glass of the period. Stained glass had the capacity to frame popular perceptions of work and industry through those who commissioned and created it. My work addresses this overlooked aspect of Victorian art and sets stained glass withing the wider context of art historical scholarship.

However, it was not mill-owners like Thornton who would have been undertaking the arduous, back-breaking work of the mill workers and labourers, which caused a wide division between worker and those in positions of authority. There is an interesting dichotomy here as those at whose behest the images are made were not those depicted. This chapter discusses images in stained glass of those who undertook the labour upon which the Empire was built, although their daily work and toil was often heavily romanticised and at times misleadingly represented, fitting in with the wider Victorian rhetoric of glorifying hard labour.[224] The language used to describe work is often quasi-religious, such as the 'gospel' of work, written by Samuel Smiles.[225] This is added to by those who were framing these ideals of labour in stained glass. This was often the donor, who was of a higher social standing and therefore characterised who these people were. Stained glass is

[223] Elizabeth Gaskell, *North and South*. (London: Penguin Books, 2000) 326. John Thornton speaks of the people of Milton after Mr Bell jokingly speaks of the town, its architecture and the way people live as very different to his own.
[224] See Thomas Carlyle. *On Heroes and Hero-Worship.* (London: Ward, Lock and Bowden Limited,1841)
[225] Asa Briggs. *Victorian People* (London: Penguin Group, 1990), discusses Samuel Smiles' role as 'the authorized and pious chronicler of the men who founded the industrial greatness of England': 124

therefore a significant contributor to these idealised images and a concealer of the often-harsh realities of everyday work.

Pugin used a visual language to celebrate the virtues of medieval society and was repulsed by industry, and, as such, dedicated himself to reviving Medieval architectural and decorative forms. Yet, barely a generation later, stained glass, a medium associated for many with the idyllic, Christian, Catholic rural past, became a propagator of urbanised industry. Windows depicting industry captured the ethos of the glory of work. There has been much interest in depictions of Victorian labour, yet the subject has so far escaped scholarly attention in the area of stained-glass studies. Tim Barringer's important text, *Men at Work: Art and Labour in Victorian Britain*, for example, captures the nineteenth-century fascination with labour as moralistic and virtuous,[226] an idea exemplified by the nineteenth-century historian and philosopher, Carlyle, who believed that work was both morally and physically good.[227]. Barringer's text does not, however, include representations of work and labour in stained glass as an important contribution to the social and cultural history of the nineteenth century. Stained glass was the perfect medium to represent ideologically the notion of the morals of labour and progressive technologies of the period.

In fact, my research shows that stained glass became a significant medium for expressing equality through representations of men and women at work, with women's work not being completely overshadowed by male labour. The windows representing work also create a new encyclopaedic tradition for nineteenth-century labour, linking to previous traditions in print and illustration. The medium of stained glass has power. It frames new narratives and puts them in the public domain which fine art cannot do. Some works in stained glass are also key works of Pre-Raphaelite art in the public domain. It also acted as a disciplining tool for those who had access to it.[228]

Northern English cities were defined and engendered by industry and its resultant wealth, such as Manchester and Liverpool, as well as Glasgow and Birmingham. The windows promote the achievements of cities of industry such as Birmingham, Newcastle and Glasgow as opposed to the capital. As such, there was a movement

[226] Tim Barringer. *Men at Work*. (New Haven and London: The Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 2005); Thomas Carlyle.
[227] See Thomas Carlyle. 'The Modern Worker' in *Past and Present.* (London: Ward, Lock and Bowden Limited,1841): 95-162
[228] This was an off-shoot of stained glass in religious settings.

towards ‘trade and industry’ windows, a definitive secular window type which could both empower and control those who viewed them, contributing to Foucault’s ideas of control by observation being key to disciplining behaviour.[229]

Many cities which became wealthy from industry felt like unfamiliar territory to those forced by necessity to find work in these urban centres. Cities of industry were, however, written about extensively in literature and discussed in the newspapers, giving many an idea of how they would look, feel, sound and smell, even if they had never physically visited there.[230]

The feeling of the north and the south as being distinct was a widely felt notion, as exemplified in *North and South*. The novel’s protagonist, Margaret Hale, is forced to leave the tranquillity of the rural South for the industrial North, which is presented as a brutal world very different to her home in Hampshire. Margaret expresses this feeling of wariness of the North, ‘with almost a detestation for all she had ever heard of the North of England, the manufacturers, the people, the wild and bleak country’.[231] Mill worker Nicholas Higgins reciprocates her sense of difference, when upon meeting Hale, states, ‘Yo’re not of this country, I reckon?’, and later, ‘Yo’re a foreigner’.[232] Factories and factory people seem alien to Margaret, and the landscape dark and threatening with its ‘lead-coloured clouds’.[233] Condescending statements abound towards the town of Milton, and Thornton, the spinning mill-owner, is pitied for only being a tradesman.[234] The novel also expresses how some felt about industry and trade. Hale’s expression of ‘I don’t like shoppy people’ is an all-encompassing statement referring to everyone involved in retail trade and commerce, rather than those occupations to do with land; ‘I like soldiers and sailors and the three learned professions, as they call them. I’m sure you don’t want me to admire butchers and bakers and candlestick-makers’.[235]

Gaskell was herself a Unitarian and was writing from a dissenting point of view, important for the storyline as Mr Hale questions his religion. Of all the Dissenters, Unitarians were the last to be offered full civil rights as they did not accept Trinitarian concepts, leading to a strong identification with being outside of society’s

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[229] Michel Foucault. *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison.* (London: Penguin Books, 1991): 170-194
[230] C. Dellheim. ‘Imagining England: Victorian Views of the North’. *Northern History*, 22:1, 1986: 216-230
[231] Elizabeth Gaskell. *North and South*: 40
[232] Elizabeth Gaskell. *North and South*: 73-74
[233] Ibid: 60
[234] Ibid: 77
[235] Ibid: 20

norms. Also important is that Manchester, the city on which the novel is based, had a large population of nonconformists. Other Northern cities, such as Leeds, also had strong dissenting populations and were also politically radical places.

This chapter will therefore widen the academic scholarship of stained glass to include cities which have rarely been given the attention they so deserve. Most stained glass scholarship has been perceived within the context of either Anglican or Catholic ecclesiastical settings, inherently eliminating the possibility of looking at non-conformist themes and ideas. Stained glass has an important contribution to make towards the social and cultural history of labour, showing the positive aspects of industry. The industry of stained glass itself also unifies physical and mental labour by its processes of design and physical work of cutting glass, painting and lead work, and therefore through its own place in industry is the prime advocate for mental and physical labour.

Contrasts of Industry: From Pugin's Gothic to Industrial Pride

The images in stained glass to be discussed in this chapter contribute towards a positive image of industry, therefore they must first be contextualised within the oeuvre of the celebration or detracting of modern industrial society in architecture and art. A dichotomy emerged between the romanticising of the Middle Ages in the early nineteenth century as a response to industrialisation, and the significant trend throughout the century towards the romanticisation of trade and industrial prowess. Many bemoaned mass production and industrial change and rather than see it as progress, very much viewed it as a destruction of tradition and common values. Industry was ugly and sinful, exemplified by William Blake's 'dark satanic mills' from his poem *And did those feet in ancient time*, printed in 1808.[236] However, much more scholarship has focused on this romanticisation of the past and less on the idealisation and glorification of industry and the industrial city.

Cities such as Birmingham, Manchester, Glasgow and Belfast had become wealthy from industry. They did not all have an ancient history like Oxford, Cambridge and London, and utilised these technological developments as symbols of progress and pride.

Pugin was a primary detractor of industry in the earlier stages of the nineteenth century. He celebrated the style of the Middle Ages in his designs for architecture and stained glass and offered a very different polemic to the celebration of industry.

[236] William Blake. *Milton: A Poem*. (London: Trianon Press for the William Blake Trust, 1967)

Pugin was so incensed by the impact of modern industry and mechanisation on art and society that he wrote his two treatises bemoaning contemporary methods of design. Pugin rejected all other architectural types, including Classicism, which he believed was the style of a pagan world. He believed in the honesty of materials and structure, and that Gothic was the ideal of order and beauty.[237] He had also converted to Catholicism, and for him, Gothic was the natural idiom of a Christian society. Pugin opens chapter one of *Contrasts* with the words, 'On comparing the Architectural Works of the last three Centuries with those of the Middle Ages, the wonderful superiority of the latter must strike every attentive observer'.[238] Images in *Contrasts* famously offer his views on modernisation by comparing vistas of towns in the Middle Ages and the present day. 'A Catholic Town in 1440' reflects the many spires of churches, vaulted ceilings and open spaces (Fig.141). The same town in 1840 has lost many of its spires to be replaced by billowing chimneys of gas and iron works and their warehouses and its monastery is shown as a ruin into which a factory building has been inserted, all of which bear a stark contrast to Pugin's idyll of the 1440s. Ultimately, *Contrasts* was an attack on the modern city, and all it stood for.

Landscapes also completely changed during the industrial revolution, and many paintings depict green hills with billowing chimneys of the towns and cities in the distance, such as William Cowen's *View of Bradford* (1849) (Fig.142). There is such a strong line between the green of the countryside and the brown edges of the encroaching town, the latter held at bay by no more than a country wall that has already fallen down in one place. In the foreground a couple and some cows look towards the contrasting brown, dark landscape from a rocky viewpoint. A painting by William Wilde, dating from 1852, entitled, *A View of Manchester from Kersal Moor* (Fig.143) also shares this sense of industry swallowing up the surrounding countryside. The view is across a bend in the River Irwell and the smoking chimneys literally appear to be an approaching army with a brown, polluted sky above them. A couple with a dog look on and there are sheep in the pastoral foreground. The days were numbered for this pleasant countryside. The message is simple; times were changing rapidly, and the world was becoming unrecognisable.

Nostalgia for a lost time of living in the countryside was felt by many who now lived or worked in the industrial, urban landscape of the city which slowly crept further out

[237] Rosemary Hill. *God's Architect, Pugin and the building of Romantic Britain*: 119
[238] A.W.N. Pugin, *Contrasts; or, a parallel between the noble edifices of the middle ages, and corresponding buildings of the present day*. 2nd edition. (Edinburgh, Grant, 1898): 1

into the green fields, creating suburbs from which many travelled into work from either by foot or omnibus.

Even the English essayist Thomas de Quincey (1785-1859), who was born in and lived in Manchester, found the new, modern city distasteful:

> I am living in a town where the sole and universal object of pursuit is precisely that which I hold most in abhorrence. In this place trade is the religion, and money is the god. Every object I see reminds me of those occupations which run counter to the bent of my nature, every sentiment I hear sounds a discord to my own. I cannot stir out of doors but I am nosed by a factory, a cotton-bag, a cotton-dealer, or something else allied to that most detestable commerce.[239]

Paul Morel, the protagonist in *Sons and Lovers* by D.H. Lawrence (1885-1930), also feels like a 'prisoner of industrialisation' as he begins working from a relatively young age as a clerk. [240] Even though not all may have wished to go to work, industry necessitated that people must.

De Quincey's disgust, as well as the opinions of the fictional Margaret Hale and Paul Morel, is the opposite of the pride felt in trades and industry depicted in stained glass. *North and South* is particularly relevant, as it characterises many ideas expressed in the windows. Particularly relevant is the sheer pride felt by manufacturers and mill owners. John Thornton is 'sagacious and strong, as he becomes a great tradesman.'[241] Yet there are indications of snobbishness even between the trades. The Milton manufacturers are very different to mere tradesmen.[242] Thornton is extremely well respected by his peers in the city and feared by the workmen. Margaret's father, Mr Hale, is dazzled by the energy of Thornton, the power of the machinery of Milton and the power of the mill-owners of Milton.[243] Thornton states later that, 'I am proud of belonging to a town […] the necessities of which give birth to such grandeur of conception'.[244] Thornton would rather be in a town such as Milton than 'lead a dull life in the old worn grooves of aristocratic society in the South and slow days.' Milton, and towns and cities of

[239] Alexander Hay Japp. Thomas de Quincey. *His Life and Writings: With Unpublished Correspondence.* (London: John Hogg & Co, 1877): 54
[240] D.H. Lawrence. *Sons and Lovers* (Hertfordshire: Wordsworth Editions Limited, 1999): 80
[241] Elizabeth Gaskell. *North and South*: 65
[242] Ibid: 65
[243] Ibid: 70
[244] Ibid: 82

industry represented ‘the new’. You cannot ‘rise and fly’ down South as you can in Milton.[245] People could rise to power in industry and manufacture; people could begin as a cashier, bookkeeper or clerk and respect and power should be earnt.[246] This defined the spirited character of industry and the men were great pioneers of civilisation.[247] They were the architects of their own fortunes and commerce was power.

Yet, as opposed to the views of Pugin, de Quincey and Lawrence, many longed for the city and its opportunities. In *Jude the Obscure*, Jude is desperate to go to the city where he seeks opportunities unavailable to him in his hometown of Marygreen. However, Hardy suggests that the reader is more knowing than Jude and realises that in his particular circumstances, it will end badly. Nevertheless, the character of Jude still expresses the opportunities that were available in cities and this longing for the city is evidenced in stained glass, such as at Glasgow’s Maryhill Burgh Halls, to be discussed later. Hardy further emphasises these opposing views in the novel by the striking quote regarding Jude: ‘He did not at that time see that medievalism was as dead as a fern-leaf in a lump of coal; that other developments were shaping the world around him, in which Gothic architecture and its associations had no place.’[248]

As we shall see, stained glass depicting commerce and trade celebrate the vitality of the workers rather than the mill-owners. Their labour is elevated as virtuous and moralistic, aligning with the ideas of Carlyle, but outside of these representations working men and women were reduced to a mass of mere ‘hands’ in the thoughts of the mill-owners.[249] Barely a generation later than Pugin was writing, stained glass, a medium associated for many with the idyllic, Christian, Catholic past, had become a propagandist of industry.

Typologies: Trade, education and industry: a new secular window type

Trades, industry and manufactures stained glass windows became a new typology during the later nineteenth century and importantly, they exemplify a sense of equality, but also of rivalry, with the capital. London’s dominance in industry had

[245] Ibid: 82
[246] Ibid: 84
[247] Ibid: 123
[248] Thomas Hardy. *Jude the Obscure*: 74
[249] The ‘hands’ are referenced in *North and South* and *Hard Times.* Dickens references the degrading use of the term in *Hard Times* with Bounderby and Grandgrind preferring the workers to have been born, ‘only hands, or, like the lower creatures of the seashore, only hands and stomachs.’: 66

become depleted by the regional, industrial specialties of other centres of industry around the country. Even by the early nineteenth century, for example, the silk weavers of Spitalfields were badly affected by competition from Manchester textile factories, ruining this once prosperous area.[250]

The proliferation of trades and industry window types were the result of increasing wealth of individual cities and the need to define and promote industrial strengths. The windows were essentially defined by the common theme of 'Work.' These are usually represented by groupings of figures, in single lancets or panels which each represent an industry or manufacture, usually with the title of the type of work represented painted underneath the figure. This can include, but is not limited to, the textile industries of Spinning and Weaving, and the more physical Mining and Ironwork, each with the tools and accoutrements of each trade or discipline. Commerce, as the activity of buying and selling goods, is almost always included in the groupings. Education is also present as a form of intellectual 'work' and this can be divided by discipline. Therefore a mix of pure and learned knowledge are portrayed, each being 'productive' labour, creating with the intellect or with the hands. This reflects the union of physical and mental work, which are very much divided in literature, as discussed.[251]

The aesthetics of the representations hark back to religious settings; single figures of saints in single lancets being the inspiration, thereby manipulating religious formats; tradesmen and women and workers, both physical and intellectual, are now the secular equivalent of saints. These new iconographies glorified work and workers, and industry was elevated to a spiritual level. Significantly, these expressions of work in stained glass could also be used to impose forms of power and control over citizens, with an ever-shifting line between subordination and empowerment. This would apply to those who frequented the civic spaces and saw the windows for themselves, echoing the effects of medieval stained glass windows inspiring their parishioners with a sense of awe.

Figures used to represent trades were often masculine, but there are several instances of women's work reflected as well as more typical allegorical representations, another echo of religious windows, where female figures were often used to represent the Virtues, such as Faith, Hope and Charity. To work was

[250] Dr Andrzej Diniejko, D. Litt.; Contributing Editor, *Slums and Slumming in Late-Victorian London*. http://www.victorianweb.org/history/slums.html. Accessed 12 June 2021
[251] Elizabeth Gaskell. *North and South*: 40

virtuous, so this transposition of saints to workers is natural. However, female figures are often much more active in these allegorical roles in the windows, representing an awareness of the value of women's work.

The mill owner and the miner: contrasts of 'work' in stained glass

Windows which are the epitome of this typology in the Northwest of England, are found at Leigh and Oldham in Greater Manchester. Oldham Town Hall, built in 1841, contained a large stained-glass window on the main staircase, which is now in storage awaiting relocation to new premises (Fig.144).[252] The window contains allegorical figures representing the town's civic pride in art, science, industry and commerce, as well as prominent local men.[253]

The trades and industry window at Leigh Town Hall is in the Council Chamber, where it forms a part of a much larger sequence throughout the entire building, depicting local coats of arms, both of significant families and towns local to the area.[254] The Council Chamber window depicts mining, engineering, spinning and weaving, as well as commerce and education (Fig.145-151-158). Both the windows at Oldham and Leigh are figurative and utilise the single figure in lancet design. The windows at Leigh were designed and made by Henry Gustave Hiller (1865-1946), unveiled on 25 June, 1908.[255] Hiller was based in Liverpool but had previously worked in the studio of Reuben Bennett (b.1849) in Manchester before moving to Liverpool to set up his own stained glass business. He was relatively prolific during this period and his work can be found in a number of buildings in the Northwest of England, including Accrington library (Figs.237-238). His distinctive Pre-Raphaelite style is notable in these windows, lending an erudite and sophisticated aura to the windows and the subject matter.

Significantly, the window was the gift of Mr Richard Thomas Marsh, J.P., High Peak, Kenyon. Marsh was managing director of The Mather Lane Company, which was a complex of cotton mills in Leigh. The mills became operational in 1878 and he was in the managing director role from its inception, with a second mill opening in 1883, and a third in 1891.[256] Marsh was a wealthy man and his wider family resided at

[252] Email conversation with Sean Baggaley, Curator at Oldham Art Gallery, November 2019
[253] James Vernon. *Politics and the People: A Study in English Political Culture, c.1815-1867*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009): 53-54
[254] For a brief overview of Leigh Town Hall, see Appendix 1: 236
[255] 'Leigh Town Hall: Stained Glass Window Unveiled'. *The Leigh Chronicle*. Friday, June 26, 1908. 8
[256] John Lunn. *History of Leigh*. New ed. (Leigh: P.& D.Riley, 1993): 7

Westleigh Old Hall, and after the death of his father Richard Marsh in 1895, he and his siblings built a new home in Kenyon named High Peak.

The window at Leigh Town Hall is the equivalent of the mill owner in *North and South*, John Thornton, or his colleagues and superiors donating a window to a civic building that represented some or all of the work of those that were employed in his cotton mill. Mill owners were by this period clearly wealthy enough and had the inclination to request and pay for stained glass windows to adorn municipal buildings that framed perceptions of labour. With this in mind, we gain some perspective of the pride of the mill owner and his duty to his town or city, but also a differentiation between the representations of the work that is portrayed in the window and the reality. The mill owner is detached from the work he presides over and the stained glass therefore contributes to the myth of the morality of work and hard labour. It is given an acceptable 'make-over' for the palates of the civic elite, who may not have wished to accept or listen to the hardships of their employees.

Of equal importance is the stamp of the local family's coats of arms above the figures in the window, and also displayed throughout the building in halls and doorways. The families of Shuttleworth, Atherton, Bradshaw, Tyldesley, Mort and Urmston were connected with the history of the town of Leigh and also in the case of Atherton, Tyldesley and Urmston, had local towns named after them. The use of ancient heraldry as well as historicist images of the past manifestations of modern industries and manufactures gives this a romantic 'back story', whereas Pugin would have shown both sides of the coin in 'Contrasts'. This makes clear that the historic noble families of the vicinity were also bound to the success of the Northern town in its primary industries and trades. The panels depicting the arms of the local families in this window, as well as the stained glass throughout the building were designed by the architect, James Caldwell Prestwich, and Hiller had the co-operation and suggestions of Mr W.D. Pink, F.R.H.S., and Pink was colourfully described in the local newspaper as enabling an interest beyond the mere decorative effect of the glass.[257]

Hiller was evidently given free reign for the trades and industry panels required by Marsh. He represents spinning and weaving in a very literal, but also a very anachronistic way in the left two lights of his six-light window, given how weaving and spinning had by now become industrialised activities on a huge scale in factories (Figs.149-150). Weaving is represented by a man in Renaissance dress

[257] Leigh's New Town Hall. *The Journal,* Friday, July 26, 1907:10

surrounded by the equipment of his trade, with the loom in front of him. He is in the process of cutting the fabric with plyers, and scissors protrude from his overcoat pocket. Spinning is represented by a female figure, also in Renaissance dress, with her spinning wheel in the background which she is in the process of threading up for work. For generations spinning was deemed as appropriate women's work in many cultures and the term 'spinster' derives from this traditionally female occupation.[258] Spinning was a virtuous and moralistic role for a woman and many portraits exist of women at the spinning wheel in domestic interiors.[259] The style is very much in the Pre-Raphaelite vein of Burne-Jones, with thoughtful and engaged faces of the people who represent their trades. The issue of how artists chose to represent these practices or how patrons wished for them to be represented, is in this case and others, a fascinating mixture of the modern versus the traditional.[260]

Yet, cotton was a source of deprivation and chronic illness for millworkers and Afro-American slaves, and not the symbol of prosperity for all it pertains to be in this window. Bessy Higgins in *North and South* becomes ill and eventually dies from byssinosis, a lung disease caused by inhaling textile particles such as cotton. She attributes this as 'the fluff' and the lack of care on the part of the masters who take no precautions to prevent their staff becoming ill from such hazards at work.[261] Again, this is a reflection of the attitudes of the mill-owners who glossed over the debilitating and disfiguring consequences of their industry.

In the engineering panel at Leigh, the figure suggests a professor of mechanics, explaining the construction of the Watts Beam engine of which he holds a model (Figs.146 & 151).[262] The figure representing mining is extremely significant for the locality and he presents a graceful figure (Figs.146 &151). He is a Lancashire collier and carries the mining pick on his shoulder, a safety lamp in his right hand and coal tubs can be seen in the background, as well as cans hanging at his belt. In opposition to all the other lancets apart from engineering, he wears modern-day dress, but not those necessarily appropriate to his daily work. The engineering

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[258] Linda Stone-Ferrier, 'Spun Virtue, the Lacework of Folly, and the World Wound Upside-Down' in Annette B. Weiner and Jane Schneider, *Cloth and Human Experience*. (London: Smithsonian Institution Press): 216

[259] Ibid:217

[260] Spinning and weaving, along with other trades and vocations, are often interpreted in a variety of different formats. Walter J Pearce at Bury Art Gallery chooses a symbolic method by using a cotton plant entirely denoted in glass and an expressive usage of lead (Figs.152-153). The cotton plant stands for the industry and the status that Bury felt it had in the world, and the industry that made the town wealthy.

[261] Elizabeth Gaskell. *North and South*: Chapter XIII

[262] *Leigh Chronicle*. 26 June, 1908: 7

figure wears waistcoat and trousers and he is draped in a gown appropriate to scholarly knowledge. The miner has been smartened up for the purposes of the stained glass window and there are no traces of the dirty physical work he undertook on a daily basis. The leading of the panel has almost been deliberately adjusted to give the impression that he wears a collared shirt and tie, when in reality, a singlet would have been worn. He is an imposing figure, but also very static. His arms show his strength but they are not in action, in opposition to other images to be discussed.

In the lancet depicting Commerce, a richly dressed figure in a fur-lined coat holds a ship in his right hand and a scroll or bond in the other, which is partially uncurled (Figs.148 & 154). Fur conjures the connections of the Arctic and Canada. The text of the scroll reads, 'Xenham merchant and shipowner of Bristol port. That I do ship and carry ye goods as herein named to ye ports of ye Indies & ye spice isles taking in exchange silks, spices, ivories & (text missing under lead). Agreed upon. To further sail my ship to the Kingdom of China and (text missing)'. This text refers to John Oxenham, who was executed in Lima, Peru in 1580. Oxenham was a wealthy landowner and the first Englishman to sail the Pacific with Francis Drake and explored Central America. A globe sits at his feet. This is an evocative image representing the importance of trade via the sea and in combination with the male figure who is dressed in Renaissance clothing, it becomes a heavily romanticised image. Working on the ships and travelling by sea would have been gruelling and exhausting, but again, these realities are hidden. The ship the man holds is a galleon, is also part of this glossing over the realities of the shipping trade at the time, and this is often seen in other windows, such as in the small series of windows at Cardiff's Coal Exchange. 'Ye olde order changeth' is a line of the Alfred Lord Tennyson's book *Idylls of the King* (1859-1885) which is used beneath representations of galleons at sail, representing a heroic age of exploration and the national myth of the Armada, as well as the global naval dominance of the British Empire from c.1815 until 1875 (Figs.208-209). This also demonstrates the nineteenth-century romanticisation of the past, the following line being 'yielding place to new.'

The selection of Bristol as the named port, rather than Liverpool, is telling. Bristol traded all types of goods and had a long history as a marine port, dating back centuries. However, Bristol was Britain's leading slave port in the eighteenth century and a high proportion of slaves were brought into slavery by companies registered

in Bristol.[263] The window side-steps this and the triangular trade between England, Northwest Africa and the Caribbean, with which Bristol was so heavily involved. Figures such as Edward Colston (1636-1721), the English merchant, who was involved in the slave trade as a member of the Royal African Company were prominent at this time.[264] This is possibly an attempt to distance the Northwest from the trade. Again, these windows which present such pride and positivity do not tell the full story of the realities of industry and commerce, yet these stories are fully embedded within the windows.

The window at Leigh nonetheless marries mental and physical labour within one window, illuminating the needs and wishes of those who worked in industry also to be erudite, or at least pertain to such ideals. In *North and South*, there is a strong feeling that men and women of industry had no need for learning, a view that could be expressed by tradesmen themselves as well as by gentlemen. In a condescending manner, Margaret Hale hears that some mill-owners are interested in private tutoring, she asks, 'What in the world do manufacturers want with the classics, or literature, or accomplishments of a gentlemen'.[265] This is also felt by some in Milton; men should be started young when going into industry, 'cutting away all off-shoots in the direction of literature or high mental cultivation, in hopes of throwing whole strength and vigour of the plant into commerce'.[266] This is a very interesting point which will be covered in the following example of the window at Birmingham University, where images of trades and industry were juxtaposed with more academic subjects as sources of civic pride, providing an unrealistic idea that trade was indeed equal to erudition and scholarship. This idea of the amalgamation of physical and mental labour also echoes the writings of Carlyle who attributed equal value to labour of the mind and body.[267]

However, not all believed that manual labour was equal to intellectual labour, such as the Scottish author and government reformer, Samuel Smiles (1812-1904), who stated that, 'Intellectual workers, who 'stand the first in worth as in command' form

[263] Bristol prepares to mark Black History Month". Bristol Post. 22 September 2015. Archived from the original on 2015-12-22. Retrieved 15 December 2015; https://www.bbc.co.uk/legacies/immig_emig/england/bristol/article_2.shtml
[264] A statue of Colston was torn down and pushed into Bristol Harbour in June 2020 as part of Black Lives Matter protests
[265] Elizabeth Gaskell. *North and South*: 40
[266] Ibid: 69
[267] Thomas Carlyle. *On Heroes and Hero-Worship*: 134-135

the true aristocracy of labour […] for it is not money nor station, but brains and work, that confer the highest rank.'[268]

The unification of the mechanical and liberal arts has echoes in contemporary nineteenth-century literature. As already discussed, it is Gaskell who represents this opposition of learning and industry, when in *North and South*, John Thornton's mother expresses surprise that he wishes to gain more of a formal education when he already commands a lot of power as the master of Marlborough Mills.[269] The mechanical arts represent cities of industry, and Margaret Hale initially scorns tradesmen and notes their lack of formal education. This idea is also present in *Jude the Obscure*, when Arabella wishes her husband would 'stick to his trade' and throw aside those stupid books for practical undertakings.[270] There is a consistent tension between trade and learning, however, and Jude was not alone. 'By caring for books he was not escaping commonplace nor gaining rare ideas; every working-man being of that taste now'.[271] These ideas are challenged at Leigh, as learning and manual work are celebrated together in one window.

'Work': Stained glass and contemporary painting

The celebration of manual and physical labour is found in other examples of trade and industry windows, such as the large window at Birmingham University, a window which necessitated reconciling a larger city's achievements in both manual and intellectual labour, as well as manufacturing, for which the city was known worldwide. Birmingham University strove to equate the applied and learned arts, and acknowledges that its students were the sons, and also daughters, of mill owners and manufacturers. However, this window should be contextualised first by discussing examples of work in nineteenth-century painting, which pre-date some of the ideas to be found represented in stained glass.

In his book, *Men at Work: Art and Labour in Victorian Britain*, Barringer discusses Ford Madox Brown's (1821-1893) important painting, *Work* (Fig.155), made between 1852 and 1865, and I will now draw important parallels between this painting and depictions of physical labour in the stained glass at Birmingham. This

[268] Samuel Smiles. *Life and Labour*. (London: John Murray, 1887): 40-41
[269] Gaskell sets this idea up so that she can knock it down, and thereby shows that this is a world and a context in which ideas are changing.
[270] Thomas Hardy. *Jude the Obscure*: 50
[271] Ibid: 57

contributes to the ongoing idealistic iconography of work as morally, as well as physically 'good'. Barringer refers to the central figure in 'Work' as having a classical physique akin to sculptures of Apollo, therefore an idealistic body type in painting, where his pose and stature are the blueprint of 'heroic and great men.'[272] As already indicated, this is also directly applicable to the men who toil away in the Birmingham window, except the classicist reference is overt as this historic era has been called upon to interpret modern work.

The morality of work was celebrated in many paintings during the nineteenth century and the window at Birmingham contributes to this artistic oeuvre. The importance of stained glass in contributing to these key messages of the visual arts in the nineteenth century has largely been unrecognised. The representation of the forgers, miners and bridge-builders in Spence's window echo the workers in *Work*, which was a reflection and commentary on the transformation in the mid-nineteenth century from rural to urban life for many people. The painting is the closest in sentiment and representation of the images of physical labour to the window at Birmingham, as well as the important alignment of manual and physical work. Brown's painting is an intricate study of modern life, social boundaries, the gendering of work and the differences and equalities between manual and intellectual work, something which is not entirely resolved. The figures which the painting centres are the working navvies, who labour at digging up the road for new water pipes to be laid, referencing labour as an agency of civilisation and improvement of life. There is a particular focus on the man to the left of the group, who digs with his left arm aloft and has a carnation between his teeth and again, according to Barringer, his stance references the Classical, the 'proletarian Hercules' of the composition.[273] There are a host of characters surrounding them, including a flower seller, a lady distributing flyers, those from the upper classes riding horses who stand at the background, those who search for work laying in the shade, and two figures to the front right, who are Thomas Carlyle and the Reverend F.D. Maurice. The navvies toil away in the sunshine, their sleeves rolled up revealing muscular forearms, the little flesh on display alluding to Barringer's concepts of 'lusty manhood' and 'muscular Christianity'.[274] These are not the starving, working-class factory workers from novels such as Dickens' *Hard Times* or Gaskell's *North and South*. These are the glorified heroes of the world of work.

[272] Tim Barringer. *Men at Work*: 37
[273] Tim Barringer. *Men at Work*: 39
[274] Ibid: 29 & 37-41

Labour is performance. As a showpiece, it is to be celebrated, to be admired and something to strive for. This painting, as well as Spence's stained glass, provides evidence of art and literature working in different ways and depicting the working classes as physical opposites.

The morality and productivity of labour is also reflected in William Bell Scott's (1811-1890) painting at Wallington, *Iron and Coa*l, dating from 1861, where a group of men work at Stephenson's Works in Newcastle, with the River Tyne and the high-level railway bridge in the background (Fig.156). The painting is subtitled, *In the Nineteenth Century the Northumbrians Show the World What Can be Done With Iron and Coal*.[275] The painting is part of Bell Scott's series of paintings specifically about Northumbrian achievements at Wallington. The painting focuses on the central figure of a smith about to swing his hammer, and, as in *Work,* and the miner and bridge-builder at Birmingham, he reveals his muscular arms and physique. Other muscular smiths are situated behind the central character, all engaged in their labour. The painting places industry on a par with more traditional historical images, specifically including Saints.

Another interesting development was the representations of industry in photography. Lewis Hine, the American sociologist, photographed men, boys and girls working in industry in the 1910s, such as a Steamfitter (Fig.157). Again, it is the physique of the man which is focused upon. This is very significant for the time period and a developing interest in representing industry in different formats.

Secular saints: the glorification of work at Birmingham University

The power of the message of the glorification of work and a strong male physique was still echoed over fifty years later in Thomas Ralph Spence's (1855-1913) work at Birmingham University, completed in 1908. Spence's manual labourers reflect the moral value of their work and their contributions towards the economy, prosperity and civic progress of Birmingham, culminating in a grand and important university. Representations of this kind in stained glass have never received the attention they deserve, but are part of a much wider agenda in art. As Paxman said of *Iron and Coal*, 'Victorian values are distilled in this terrific picture',[276] and the same can be said of Spence's window, albeit for the Edwardian period. However, unlike the stained glass discussed, both Madox-Brown and Bell-Scott's original paintings were

[275] Jeremy Paxman. *The Victorians: Britain Through the Paintings of the Age*. (London: Random House, 2009): 157-160
[276] Jeremy Paxman. *The Victorians*: 160

not viewed within an architectural framework. Madox-Brown's painting would however, have been widely known and accessible to audiences at Manchester and Birmingham Art Galleries, the former receiving the painting in 1885 and the latter in 1927. The audience for Bell-Scott's painting was more limited at the time, only accessible to guests in the house. The primary difference between the paintings and the stained glass is that these windows were not placed upon walls in a hushed gallery, but in buildings where there was a different level of exposure in a busier environment, and in the case at Birmingham, where students of these subjects and faculty could see representations and interpretations of local fields of work and the varied contributions towards the livelihood of the city.

The enormous southern-facing stained glass window situated in the Great Hall at the University of Birmingham displays visual interpretations of the applied sciences, commerce and academic arts and sciences (Figs.158-167).[277] . It strongly represents the ethos of the university's founder, Joseph Chamberlain, who wished for the new university to be distinctive and 'take some colour from the environment […] that it would also practically assist the prosperity and the welfare of the district in which it is situated, by the exceptional attention which it would give to the teaching of Science in connection with its application to our local industries and manufactures'.[278] The stained glass window is the embodiment of the equity of manual and intellectual labour and demonstrates a modern curriculum, [279] as well as the donors and patrons of the window being particularly proficient at celebrating the products of the city in stained glass. This reflected an ethos that the university was grounded in 'pure' knowledge as well as applied knowledge.

Stained glass as a medium unifies physical and mental labour by its very materials of glass, the design and paint work, the control of a firing process and then the stitching together of all parts with lead and putty.[280] Templating and design require a mixture of mathematical and artistic talent. The harmonisation of manual and intellectual labour was promoted by Carlyle. This unity obliterated class hierarchies, by heroicising the mental and the physical. Carlyle advocated the strong leader who was to be revered.[281] It is the use of allegory and the medium of stained glass as a

[277] For a brief overview of the Great Hall at Birmingham University, see Appendix 1: 231
[278] Eric W. Vincent and Percival Hinton. *The University of Birmingham: Its History and Significance*. (Cornish Brothers, Birmingham, 1947): 34
[279] Victoria University was a federal university based in Manchester also had expertise in the sciences
[280] See Tim Barringer on the physical labour of making art: 17
[281] Raymond Williams. *Culture and Society*, (London: Vintage, 2017): 107

great unifier which is used to project this message; celebrations of work in all formats find the perfect vessel in stained glass.

The roots of stained glass as a religious architectural adornment allows for the figures to be naturally imbued with a sense of worship, and these male and female figures were to be revered as modern-day secular saints. This fusion of stained glass and representation of physical and mental work echoes the words of Carlyle, when in *Past and Present*, he wrote, 'For there is a perennial nobleness, and even sacredness, in work'.[282]

Birmingham University was part of a new generation of modern, civic, 'red brick' universities after centuries of only Oxford and Cambridge Universities in England. They were characterised by being non-collegiate and focused on applied sciences such as engineering, and all had origins in older medical or engineering colleges. Birmingham was the first of the new civic universities and was granted its royal charter in 1899, opening in 1900, closely followed by the Victoria University in Manchester and Liverpool University in 1903, then Leeds and Sheffield in 1904 and 1905 respectively. The University of London was established before these more Northern civic universities, in 1836, and King's College and University College were the founding colleges. Yet it was in 1900 that the university was reorganised as a federal body after examples such as Victoria University. Later in 1909, King Edward VII, Queen Alexandra and Princess Victoria attended the ceremony of the opening of the new buildings at Birmingham and, in response to the official address from the University stated, 'For the wonderful progress of higher education in this country we have largely to thank the great universities established in our principal cities'.[283]

Birmingham's importance as a city of manufacture and science cannot be understated. Already by 1791 the city was described as 'the first manufacturing town in the world'.[284] Birmingham was home to thousands of workshops which specialised in a variety of trades, many of which were creative and therefore the economy was based on this burgeoning manufacturing expertise. There were pen-makers, gun and pin industries, coin and medal making as well as a variety of metal wares, such as electro-plating.[285].

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[282] Thomas Carlyle. *Past and Present.* (Book III. The Modern Worker. Chapter XI. Labour): 135
[283] Eric W. Vincent and Percival Hinton. *The University of Birmingham*: 87
[284] Eric Hopkins. *Birmingham: The First Manufacturing Town in the World, 1760-1840*. (Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1989): 26
[285] 'The First Manufacturing Town: Industry in Birmingham in the mid-19th Century, The New Illustrated Directory, 1858'. Revolutionary Players: Making the Modern World. West Midlands

The local Liberal statesman Joseph Chamberlain was Chancellor of Birmingham University and was key in the effort to raise money to allow the University to become an independent civic university. A major donor of funds was Andrew Carnegie, the steel tycoon and philanthropist, who stipulated the erection of new buildings.[286] The backgrounds of the founders and first members of the Council are notable for their diversity, which is important for the window. The window was inserted eight years after the University opened, allowing for the sentiments and philosophies of all those involved in the founding to be represented. Chamberlain, who had studied at University College School, London, had previously been a manufacturer of screws. The Vice-Chancellor, Charles Gabriel Beale also had commerce in his blood as his grandfather had been a leading merchant in Birmingham and his father was a solicitor. He went to Cambridge and afterwards joined his father's firm of solicitors.[287] Oliver Lodge was the first Principal of the University; he had studied for a BSc at the University of London and taught at Liverpool University for 20 years prior to moving to Birmingham. Robert Samuel Heath was the Vice-Principal and studied for an M.A. at Cambridge.[288] Finally, William Ashley, who created Birmingham's Faculty of Commerce in 1901, which was conceived for practical businessmen, was born to poor parents but gained scholarships and studied history at Balliol. He was Professor of Commerce 1901-1925 and Dean of the Faculty 1902-1923.[289] Aside from the Faculty of Commerce, there were the faculties of Science, Arts, Medicine, and Law.

Birmingham University's original buildings were designed between 1900 and 1909 by Aston Webb and Ingress Bell, and the Great Hall takes centre stage amongst them. The domed entranceway leads to the hall, which measures 45.7 by 22.9 metres and has a barrel-vaulted ceiling with bosses depicting the city and university arms by George Bankart of the Bromsgrove Guild.[290]

The stained glass window was the gift of Sir John Holder,[291] and the University Council 'commissioned Mr F.R. Spence (*sic*) to prepare designs symbolical of the

History. https://www.revolutionaryplayers.org.uk/the-first-manufacturing-town-industry-in-birmingham-in-the-mid-19th-century-the-new-illustrated-directory-1858/. Accessed 21 November 2019.

[286] Jacqueline Banerjee. 'Birmingham University, by Aston Webb & Ingress Bell. http://www.victorianweb.org/art/architecture/astonwebb/8.html. Accessed 15 October 2021

[287] Eric W. Vincent and Percival Hinton. *The University of Birmingham*: 79

[288] Eric W. Vincent and Percival Hinton. *The University of Birmingham:* 74

[289] Eric W. Vincent and Percival Hinton. *The University of Birmingham*: 134-136

[290] Andy Foster. *Birmingham*. Pevsner Architectural Guides. (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2005): 244

[291] Sir John Holder was a member of the Church of England

arts and crafts of Birmingham with the arms of the city and those of the neighbouring counties mentioned in the charter, together with the crests of the Chancellor (Mr. Chamberlain) and the donor.'[292] Sir John Holder, first baronet of Pitmaston in the County of Worcester, was a Justice of the Peace, High Sheriff of Worcestershire in 1903, Deputy Lieutenant of the county and a Knight of Grace of St John of Jerusalem. He was deeply religious and was a patron of the arts and had a large collection of paintings, some of which are now in Birmingham Art Gallery.[293]

Spence's major work of art is St George's in Jesmond, Newcastle (1906) (Figs.293-294),[294] of which he designed the entirety of the building and its interior. Spence's design at Birmingham is a very complex interpretation of the trades and industry window type and there are some idiosyncratic mixtures of ancient and modern within the imagery which reflects not only the liberal, progressive ideals of the founder, but also the flexibility of the model and its potential expansion to incorporate eclectic styles and subject matter. Not to mention Spence's enormous talent for interpreting a multitude of competing thoughts and ideals.

The round arched window at Birmingham is rich and lavish in colour and design and consists of two mullions and a transom, which separates the three separate sections of the window beneath (Fig.158). Within each of these there are seven panels dedicated to different aspects of learned and physical knowledge. In the top panels at the centre are the city coat of arms of Birmingham, with the allegorical figures of Art and Industry either side, which the window then proceeds to interpret in the panels beneath. The shields of counties of the Midlands are to the left and right of the city coat of arms, so that the decorative motifs 'expressed the conviction that there was a symbiosis between the University and the region.'[295] The arms of Benefactors are also displayed, alongside cherubs holding books in the upper traceries, referencing the learned space of a university. Heraldry had decorated churches and cathedrals for centuries in the form of relief sculpture both on the interiors and exteriors of buildings, and was also a common feature in the stained glass of secular buildings, as has been demonstrated in chapter one.

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[292] 'University Intelligence: Birmingham. Aug.26'. *The Times*. August 27, 1908

[293] 'Sir John Holder, 1838-1923.' Moseley Society. http://moseley-society.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2017/06/MP1-Holder.pdf. Accessed 05 April 2022.

[294] St George's, Jesmond, was the subject of the PhD thesis by Neil Moat, entitled, *A theatre for the soul : St. George's Church, Jesmond : the building and cultural reception of a late-Victorian church.* Newcastle University, 2011[295]Eric William Ives et al. *Birmingham: The First Civic University: An Introductory History*. (Birmingham: University of Birmingham Press, 2000): 118.

[295]Eric William Ives et al. *Birmingham: The First Civic University: An Introductory History*. (Birmingham: University of Birmingham Press, 2000): 118.

Beneath these panels, lies the complex and intricate display of figures representing work, industry and educated disciplines. From the left on the bottom row of the window are depicted Medicine, Healing and Surgery (Fig.164 &165), then the Arts of Peace and the Arts of War, subjects which Frederic Lord Leighton had depicted for his frescoes at the Victoria and Albert Museum between 1870 and 1872 (Fig.160). Then follows Records, Commerce and Barter (Fig.163). On the second row from left is Geometry, Mining, Forging, Geology, Physics and Electroplating (Figs.160-162, 164 & 166-167). The row above contains Literature, Arts and Languages, Engineering, Science and Bridge-Building (Figs.166-167). The design and placements of subjects in this window would have required much reconciling. The linking of the Fine, Liberal and Mechanical Arts in the window is reminiscent of the trivium and the four classical liberal arts of the quadrivium. The trivium consisted of grammar, logic and rhetoric and the quadrivium, meaning four ways, consisted of arithmetic, geometry, music and astronomy. Together, they were the seven liberal arts of the classical world. These were distinguishable from the practical arts, yet the mechanical arts and architecture were often linked with the quadrivium.[296] This method of teaching was used throughout the middle ages, and links with the Classical references in the imagery and the tendency to choose classical dress in the window over other periods, to be discussed.

Physical Labour

There is a deliberate promotion and celebration of physical labour in the window, one that belies the harsher realities of working life. This celebration of physical labour becomes an anti-religious sentiment: that work *is* the new religion. Physical labour is represented by the panels of mining, forging and bridge-building, each with a Classical influence in representation (Figs.160, 162 & 167). The men are all depicted in Roman skirts and tunics, with much exposed flesh; their torsos and backs are bare, to reveal their muscular physique and the influence of classical statuary. The strength and vitality of the city is contained in these male physical forms, who heroically go about their daily work with enthusiasm. However, those who worked in these roles would not have been those studying at the university, but this idyllic notion of the hero at work is symbolised as Birmingham's true spirit; they are figures to be looked up to and celebrated like warriors.

[296] See Walter Rüegg & Hilde de Ridder-Symoens. *A history of the university in Europe*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992): 307-336

The back-breaking labour is also concealed by the choice of artistic style; they are a fantasy of the working man and manual labour and the real working man is absent.[297] Yet this heroicising imagery is what was felt about the city of Birmingham by those who were instrumental in the formulation of the university, and what they wished others to think. The portrayals at Birmingham are ideological, but nonetheless show the gravitas and importance of these roles to society.

The placement of physical labour towards the upper panels of the window is also testament to Carlyle's theories of the equality of the applied and learned sciences. However, this unity was not always reflected in real life, despite the ethos of the founder; Lawrence, for example, describes the hierarchy of the mining townlet in which his fictional protagonist grows up. At the top was the clergyman, then bank manager, doctor, tradespeople and finally the workers, the colliers.[298] This is further reflected in John Tenniel's design for the front cover illustration of The Great Exhibition's' *Official Descriptive and Illustrated Catalogue* from 1851 (Fig.168). Manual labourers are placed at the bottom of the image, including a carpenter and a blacksmith, distanced from the practitioners of the liberal arts above. There are no women represented and body type is a key indicator of class. The manual workers are large and toned, while those representing the liberal arts are youthful, thoughtful and refined. The smith even looks upwards towards those representing the liberal arts on their higher level.

The miners' bodies in the Birmingham window are in full motion as they pull their poles backwards, the lead-line emphasising the curve of the poised body. The image of the miners is in opposition to the stationary depiction at Leigh, although the key message of both is to romanticise the worker. The miners are also young, yet the men in the forging panel are older, indicated by beards, and although not as active in the image, the man in the foreground still bares his large, muscular chest. The bridge-builder again displays his strength as he is engaged in his engineering work. Birmingham is well-known for its many bridges in the city, so this panel again represents a very important labour for the local landscape.

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[297] Tim Barringer, in *Men at Work,* discusses Messrs. Hibbert and Platt, and Co,'s Cotton Machines of the machinery department at the Crystal Palace, as illustrated in the *Illustrated London News*. Middle class visitors look at the machinery, but the workers are not portrayed: 8. There is a parallel to this absence of reality in the window at Birmingham and several other work-related imagery in stained glass

[298] D.H. Lawrence. *Sons and Lovers*: 48

Mining was a subject taught at Birmingham and its inclusion was heavily influenced by the vast mining area of the Midlands in which the University was placed. Mining, as well as engineering, were subjects which had application in practical life and were important to people of the city and its vicinity.[299] There was even a model coal mine at the University that occupied almost an acre next to the main university buildings. Students learnt about surveying, levelling of the site and pegging out, as well as excavation with the intention of becoming mining engineers or colliery managers, amongst other roles.[300] Again, physical labour has been chosen to represent the subject, rather than relying on more stationary imagery or figures engaged in thought by the side of a pit, for example. There is a dynamism to the representations of the men which contain a strong sense of movement and power, capturing the essence of the moment and the essence of the men. Mining and forging take place with electric light bulbs in the background, as they shine brightly to light the workers' way. They are a symbol of the progress of the electrical age, yet completely at odds with the classical setting. Technological advancement is juxtaposed with an archaic form of dress.[301] There is deliberate emphasis on the male body rather than the accurate dress of miners, emphasising an agenda which favoured physicality and strength. Work is physically good, rather than exhausting and disfiguring. However, the representations of the male anatomy are also not entirely correct, and this was never a strong point for Spence.[302]

There is a moralistic element to these representations of mining and forging which emphasise the strength of the male physique and, in turn, character. It is a 'good' thing to undertake hard labour and work.[303] Illuminating passages in *Jude the Obscure* reveal that many believed manual work to be superior above all else. 'He had to get up, and seek for work, manual work; the only kind deemed by many of its professors to be work at all'.[304] Each representation at Birmingham pushes the worker forward as the primary subject and encompasses Prince Albert's quote at the opening of the Great Exhibition that 'the workers, of all types, stand forth as the really great men,' as 'the working bees of the world's hive.' [305] Further, as Barringer

[299] Eric W. Vincent and Percival Hinton. *The University of Birmingham*: 89
[300] Ibid: 84
[301] Jacqueline Banerjee. 'South Window in the Great Hall of Birmingham University, by T. R. Spence (1845-1918).' http://www.victorianweb.org/art/stainedglass/spence/1.html. Accessed 25 May 2021.
[302] Neil Moat. *A Theatre for the Soul: St. George's Church, Jesmond: The Building and Cultural Reception of a Late-Victorian Church*. Unpublished PhD thesis, Newcastle University, 2011: 123
[303] Further exploration of notions of moralistic attribution to social behaviours is explored in chapter three when discussing sport
[304]Thomas Hardy. *Jude the Obscure*: 73
[305] Asa Briggs. *Victorian People*: 49

states, ‘the dignity of labour’ was a ‘proud and valuable watch-word’.[306] The male labouring body was a powerful expression of work as, to quote Barringer, ‘nexus of ethical and aesthetic value.’[307] A complex ideology is therefore produced that establishes spiritual meaning, as imbued through the working male body.

The strength of the male labouring body was an aesthetic ideal but the reality of this kind of work was harsher than the noble Renaissance or Classical attire in which the men are represented. Hard labour was also a punishment for criminals in the nineteenth century, such as Wilde was sentenced to after his trial. The image of mining also finds its opposite in a pair of stained glass panels of c.1890 by Daniel Cottier of miners at the Roanhead iron mines near Barrow in Furness on the Cumbrian coast (Fig.169-170).[308] They wear appropriate clothing as well as helmets with lights. A man pushes a coal cart to the right of the panel while another readies a cart to go up the mine shaft. A younger looking boy sits to the right of the panel on another cart with his eyes closed, perhaps through tiredness.

Mining was exhausting and dirty work and not at all like the idyllic, heroic work as idealised in the image in the window at Birmingham and Leigh. In *Sons and Lovers*, Lawrence describes the conditions of the miner in the character of Walter Morel, who returns from his work with his face black and smeared with sweat.[309] Men would not be hammering at a coal face with barely any clothes on, or in the case of the representation of the miner at Leigh, with shirt, trousers and shoes. In *Sons and Lovers*, Morel returns home with his scarf and singlet dirty and full of dried sweat, and his heavy pit boots are taken off as soon as he comes home. He also smelt of pit-dirt and, after a day’s work, was caked up with the dust.[310] Morel’s body is also covered in blue scars ‘like tattoo-marks, where the coal-dust remained under the skin’ and his ‘brownish hands all scarred, with broken nails.’[311] It was also an extremely dangerous job, with accidents a regular occurrence, with Morel shattering his leg in a pit accident on one occasion.[312] The primary role of the subject matter of stained glass when representing work was mostly ideological rather than realistic; concealing truths. The philosophy of work as positive for the individual and the wider

[306] Tim Barringer: *Men at Work*: 1
[307] Ibid: 2
[308] A recent monograph on the work of Cottier is Petra ten-Doesschate, & Max Donnelly with Andrew Montana & Suzanne Veldink. *Daniel Cottier. Designer, Decorator, Dealer.* (London: Yale University Press, 2021)
[309] D.H. Lawrence. *Sons and Lovers*: 30.
[310] D.H. Lawrence, *Sons and Lovers*: 32
[311] D.H. Lawrence, *Sons and Lovers*: 172
[312] D.H. Lawrence. *Sons and Lovers*: 74-75

population is present, so the texts of social critics, such as Carlyle, find their ideal partner in stained glass. The realities are not appropriate to depict for a population which was being driven to better themselves through the discipline of work.[313]

London

The window at Birmingham displays a typology which became important iconographically in urban centres outside of London. A window with comparable subject matter in London is at St Dunstan's College, Catford, and is interesting for the purposes of this study because it reveals essential differences of focus between London and cities further North (Figs.171-172). St Dunstan's College was founded in 1888 by local church parishioners with a focus on science and technology.[314] Six panels in the great hall contain imagery of men at work, but the interest lies in the types of work they are undertaking. From left to right as viewed, there is an ironworker, farrier, two stonemason panels, a goldsmith and a potter. The window was made by Lavers, Barraud and Westlake and dates from 1888, so close to the start of the Arts and Crafts movement and a possible craft reaction against industrialisation, another key difference between the windows. Portraits of figures from the various arts line the top and bottom of the window, such as Dante, Giotto, Raphael and Shakespeare. There are obvious links with ironworking and the Birmingham window, and a depiction of a goldsmith appears in another trades and industries window in Birmingham at Victoria Law Courts. Yet the work of stonemasonry and pottery are different subjects of work and are creative industries as opposed to some of the perhaps more typical industries chosen to be represented in windows further North. They certainly fit the typology, but the approach of the subjects, composition and depiction differs. The focus on the crafting of art objects, particularly sculpture within buildings represents a patron and an audience with different interests. There is a focus here on the art work itself rather than the labour taken to make it. The workmen also approach their work with a much softer touch and lack the physical urgency of the Birmingham windows and the painting by Brown. There are also multiple narratives within one panel, as the materials are worked on in the foreground by the workers such as the stonemasons and the potter, while in the background, the recipients marvel at their new wares, particularly in the scene of the potter, and they are clearly elite patrons. This

[313] See 'Panopticism' in Michel Foucault. *Discipline and Punish*. (London, Penguin Books, 1991): 195-228. Social control extended into everyday life for all citizens and work was a way of bettering the self. Carlyle's quote that there is a 'perennial nobleness' in work also reinforces this.
[314] See 'Our History'. https://www.stdunstans.org.uk/about/our-history. Accessed 6th June 2022

coupling of the workers and those who enjoy their hand-crafted art works also suggests a unification between maker and recipient. Artisans like those represented here were also not working class, so the divide between the figures is less so than the workers at Leigh and Birmingham and to be discussed, Glasgow. However, the artisanal aspects may not reflect reality. Of course, these six panels are overseen by two Bishops who are placed further up in the window's composition, therefore reflecting religious overtones. The setting of a Church of England College would necessitate these references, which is a key departure point from the other windows discussed at Birmingham and Leigh, which require no ecclesiastical authority figures to watch over them.

The depictions at Birmingham and Leigh are a key departure point from the religious, and the workers become secular saints requiring no other officiating presence other than themselves. This is further compounded by the representations of intellectual labour, which in themselves hint towards the anti-religious, particularly when modern scientific subjects are amplified in the composition.

Science and Women's Intellectual Achievements

Applied sciences were specialist subjects of the University of Birmingham. The subjects of Geology (Fig.161) and physics (Fig.167) are placed in the middle tier of the window beside electroplating, in the row above the representations of the processes of commerce. These subjects go back to the roots of the university, when in 1880 the Lapworth Museum of Geology, which is still situated on the Birmingham campus, opened. In 1882, other scientific departments such as chemistry, botany, physiology, physics and comparative anatomy were established at Mason Science College. Above geology is the Latin phrase *In medias res* (in the middle of things), above physics is *Tempus Omnia Revlet* (time reveals all things) above electroplating, *per angusta ad augusta* (through difficulties to honours), all of course relevant to studying at university.

The acknowledgement of geology is almost anti-religious in sentiment, as the scientific knowledge of the land. The male figure stands holding a globe-like representation of the ages of the land, including Igneous, Palaeozoic and Mesozoic. His finger points to the Latin *In medias res*. There is some symbiosis of the words with their meaning in narrative; entering into a situation which is part of a chain of previous events and will be developed. The earth will continue to age and form new

eras. The topic of geology was a complex debate in the nineteenth century. For some, geology was a sign of divine creativity and for others, increasingly the majority, it was not. Representations of geology are also to be found in other windows representing the scientific use of the elements, such as Walter Pearce's work of 1903 at Rochdale Art Gallery and Museum (Figs.316-317). In both these depictions, specific choices of glass have been made to depict the various layers of the earth.

Beneath images depicting Literature, Art and Languages sits geometry in a narrative depiction which sits across three lights (Fig.166). The motto above the central figure states, *Docendo Discimus* (We Learn By Teaching), which Ives believed showed Euclid in the classroom.[315] Euclid was active in Alexandria from the mid-fourth to the mid-third century BCE, and is known as the founder of geometry. The Latin phrases to either side are *vincit omnia veritas* (truth conquers all) and *sapere aude* (dare to know), all promoting learning in the educational setting. The use of Latin echoes Cambridge and Oxford Universities, yet Birmingham had Latin professors such as Sonnenschein, whose honorary D.litt. was Oxford's recognition of these researchers.[316] The shifting of composition between single figures and narrative reveals Spence as an artist who was not afraid of playing with composition and sources of inspiration.

Electroplating is placed alongside Physics, again making this modern process on a par with academic sciences (Fig.167). The figure who represents electroplating again wears ancient Greek dress, yet a Leclanché cell is prominent in the foreground on the ground to the left. The Leclanché cell was patented by Georges Leclanché in 1866, linking the achievements of the city and the university as a continuation of intellectual achievement in the modern age.

The inclusion of electro-plating specifically relates to Birmingham's industry and specialism in manufacture.[317] Sir Josiah Mason (1795-1881) was the founder of Mason Science College in 1880, which later grew into Birmingham University. Mason was an industrialist and philanthropist and became wealthy through mass manufacturing key-rings, pens and pen-nibs and he was heavily involved in the

[315] Eric William Ives et al. *Birmingham: The First Civic University: An Introductory History*. (Birmingham: University of Birmingham Press, 2000): 122
[316] Ibid: 102
[317] Electroplating is also represented in the local trades and industry stained glass window at Victoria Law Courts in Birmingham,

electroplating industry.[318] George Richards Elkington (1801-1865) was from Birmingham and patented the electroplating process in 1840. John Wright, also a Birmingham resident and a surgeon, discovered that a solution of silver in potassium cyanide was useful for electroplating purposes. Elkington and his cousin, also called Elkington, purchased the process and then patented it. They continued in the business and opened their electroplating works in the Jewellery Quarter on Newhall Street in Birmingham. Mason, who was a pen manufacturer joined them in 1841. The company diversified after Mason joined and made the products more affordable, including items of jewellery and cutlery which were popular in the Victorian market.[319]

These figures and subjects tell the story of Birmingham and its University and another outstanding element of the window is the significant prominence of female figures in key roles. Birmingham goes beyond the established approach to using female allegorical figures to a far more meaningful promotion of the city as a pioneer in higher education for women and in the sciences. Birmingham was a forerunner for women's education, with Florence Price becoming the first woman to matriculate and take a medical degree (MBChB) in 1900.[320] While the allegorical use of the female form in ecclesiastical contexts makes this imagery of women at work none too surprising for representation in stained glass, this idea is developed further and there is more than just allegory at work. Placed at the bottom of the window and therefore the clearest to the viewer in the hall, like the men who mine and forge, the women are also hard at work, particularly in the images of record-keeping and medicine, and are engrossed in their undertakings. The men in the window are also allegorical. As we have seen, they are mythologising the industries and subjects they portray and therefore there is an equality between the sexes in these different representations. This is an implied acceptance of the right of women to study at the University and a reference to the fact that not all space on campus was for the sole use of men.

In the bottom row of panels, there is particular emphasis on surgery and medicine and female figures are used for these representations, with the teaching of anatomy

[318] 'Our Heritage,' University of Birmingham. https://www.birmingham.ac.uk/university/history-and-heritage/our-heritage.aspx. Accessed 22 September 2021.
[319] "Elkington, George Richards". Encyclopædia Britannica. 9 (11th ed.). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 288
[320] 'Our academic history,' University of Birmingham. https://www.birmingham.ac.uk/university/about/history/academic-history.aspx. Accessed 22 September 2021.

being an area in which the University was particularly strong. Medical teaching in Birmingham was established in 1825 by William Sands Cox[321] and Birmingham's Mason College, established in 1875, had roots in the medical education seminars of Mr John Tomlinson of 1767-68, who was 'First Surgeon' to the Birmingham Workhouse Infirmary and gave lectures on anatomy, which was the first place in England outside of London to do this.[322]

The renderings of Medicine, Healing and Surgery are exquisitely detailed (Figs.164-165). Medicine is set in an apothecary, where the figure grinds the ingredients for medication and reads books containing recipes. Healing takes the form of a mother and daughter, with the mother's arm tenderly draped over her child who looks up to her. The woman's gown is pulled back to reveal a set of medical implements placed in a satchel, with their hands locked just above, as though the key to healing lies with the equipment. The figure representing surgery points towards a drawing of an anatomical representation of the male body, reflecting progression in knowledge. Pelvic bones sit on the shelf behind the figure. These images are striking, as this is a period in which medical training for women is contested.[323]

The panels on the right side of the window divert from the scholarly back to the civic interests of Records, Commerce and Barter (Fig.163). The Faculty of Commerce was set up as a new experiment at Birmingham and was intended to promote the academic training of merchants, men of business and leaders of industry and commerce, which was an important stage in university development.[324] This included a commercial education in the theory of trade, general knowledge of commercial law, accountancy/costing, shipping and railway practice, banking and exchange.[325]

Again, these images are represented by women who partake in the action of the imagery, with barter represented by haggling over fruits, commerce with a woman thoughtfully watching a galleon returning to shore, awaiting the goods which are on board, and records are meticulously written by the woman dressed in a red gown in the foreground, with a male figure assisting. The panel representing commerce is another contrast to the commerce panel at Leigh, where it is a man who holds the

[321] Ibid
[322] 'Our Heritage,' University of Birmingham. https://www.birmingham.ac.uk/university/history-and-heritage/our-heritage.aspx. Accessed 22 September 2021.
[323] Eric W. Vincent and Percival Hinton. *The University of Birmingham*: 124
[324] Ibid: 73
[325] Ibid: 139

galleon in his hand and has the world at his feet. The panels across the bottom row are interlinked by the striking use of red and purples in the clothing of the women.

Continuity: the continuance of encyclopaedic representations of trades

So far, I have established that the proliferation of trade and industry windows was a distinct nineteenth-century phenomenon due to prosperous industries, both on a national and local level. Yet, in fact, this trend was a continuation of an established format in other media, such as etchings and drawings. The representation of trades was a significant genre in the eighteenth century with a sense of pride being taken in work with examples from Britain and Europe alike. The stained-glass panels depicting trade at Leigh and Birmingham tap into these encyclopaedic traditions and modernise them for nineteenth-and twentieth-century audiences. Denis Diderot's seminal *L'Encyclopédie, ou Dictionaire Raisonné des Sciences, des Arts et des Métiers* was published from 1751 onwards, and articulated the necessity for the applied arts and sciences to be as respected as the traditional liberal arts, and for the educated person to be familiar with them. This is a philosophy shared by the patrons of the window at Birmingham produced over 150 years later.

Diderot wanted the world to know about the knowledge of these trades and occupations. It was art of the culture of Enlightenment and immediately preceded the French Revolution, fitting in with a secularising narrative of people becoming aware of the scientific world. It is this trajectory to which the trade and industry windows fit. Diderot stated:

> Let us at least give the artisans their due. The liberal arts have adequately sung their own praises; they must now use their remaining voice to celebrate the mechanical arts. It is for the liberal arts to lift the mechanical arts from the contempt in which prejudice has for so long held them, and it is for the patronage of kings to draw them from the poverty in which they still languish.[326]

In Diderot's work, each trade is described, with individual plates illustrating different parts of the process. An example is the series concerning iron foundry and forge, which includes mining, the furnace, casting, and wrought iron, then forging anchors and casting cannons, bells and statues (Figs.173-174). Mining, glass-making and

[326] Denis Diderot in the article 'Art' reprinted in Denis Diderot and Charles Coulston Gillespie. *A Diderot Pictorial Encyclopaedia of Trades and Industry*. Volume 1. New York: Dover Publications, 1959: IX

the Arts of War are also intricately detailed. Here there is a parallel with the window at Birmingham, which is the direct descendent of these ideas, artfully displayed in stained glass. Diderot was, of course, writing for an eighteenth-century French audience, but the sentiment of attempting to capture the intense labour in the processes of manufacture and industry is the same sentiment found in trade and industry windows as well as the paintings by Brown and Scott. The key difference is that Diderot described these processes immediately prior to the Industrial Revolution and describes the work of the manual labourer as artisanal. This idea of manual labourer as artisanal is reinstated in the window at Birmingham.

Maryhill Burgh Halls: a continuing tradition

The idea of the artisanal or thinking labourer whose productive work is elevated and seen as intrinsic to the economy is fully realised in the stained glass at Maryhill Burgh Halls in Glasgow.[327] Interpretations of the trades and industry window have so far fitted the prototype of the single figure or figures spread over lancets with the name of the work being displayed beneath and the figure holding the tools of their trade. Yet there are other windows of this category, such as at Maryhill Burgh Halls, which divert from the traditional format, but deliver the same message. The windows here are fascinating for their direct focus on industries which were pursued in the locality of Maryhill, a suburb to the North-West of the city of Glasgow.

Here, the glass represents contemporary occupations in the modern-day dress of the period, rather than looking to a period of the past for inspiration (Figs.175-195). This offers a contrast to the windows at Leigh and at Birmingham University, but display similarities in sentiment with the representations in Diderot, where all the workers wear contemporary dress and there is specific visual detail of work being carried out on site in the workplace. In these windows, the workers are working men, and significantly, women, in all types of specialisms local to the area. Some are deeply engaged in their work, whilst others are clearly being supervised. This representation of thoughtful labour combines both the mental and the physical, with the working classes specifically being portrayed. Yet there are points at which the windows remain emblematic and are not completely representative of labouring men, although remain on a much smaller scale than other windows in the typology.

Maryhill Burgh Halls opened in 1878 and were designed by Duncan McNaughtan, who was a local Glasgow architect. The building was created to house the

[327] For a brief overview of Maryhill Burgh Halls, see Appendix 1: 234

increasing judicial need in the area due to increased population through industrialisation. The building is in the French style and was owned by Maryhill Police Commissioners and included police accommodation, court room, bathhouse, washhouse, fire station and a public hall to seat 900, which is where the stained glass panels depicting the industries of the locality were placed.[328] The building is the equivalent of a town hall, housing the many municipal offices required to support a burgeoning suburb of an industrial city. Maryhill Burgh Halls is therefore a parallel to the Great Hall at Rochdale Town Hall, discussed in chapter one, except here it is the labourers rather than royalty who are celebrated in a portrait series. This is a potent trait of stained glass, to elevate different aspects of people's lives, from the rich to the poor.

Maryhill became a burgh in its own right in 1856 and was absorbed into the boundaries of Glasgow in 1891. MacKenzie referred to the city of Glasgow as the 'second city of the Empire' during this period and there was a lot of pride in place disseminated to the lower classes.[329] Iron foundries were important and heavy engineering had become important by 1860, and these industries are represented at Maryhill. Like Manchester, and other industrial cities, there was much deprivation in Glasgow, where the grandest architecture was built but the poorest housing standards were also present.[330] Maryhill itself was home to much working-class housing and the new canal waterway paved the way for industries such as boat-building, saw-milling and iron founding along its banks.[331] The building of the Glasgow, Dumbarton and Helensburgh Railway passed through Maryhill in the 1850s, which also brought work on the railways.

Maryhill Burgh Halls contained twenty stained glass panels created by the studio of Adam and Small and described by Urquhart as 'the finest collection of secular stained glass in Scotland'.[332] The studio was set up in Glasgow by Stephen Adam (1848-1910) in 1870. Adam, along with Daniel Cottier, was one of the most important Scottish stained glass designers in the late nineteenth century. Adam produced work for other sites including several locations in Scotland, including Paisley Abbey, St Columba's Church, Largs, Inverness Town Hall and some of the stained glass at Devonshire Gardens in Glasgow for William Burrell's house. Adam

[328] Maryhill Burgh Halls. www.maryhillburghhalls.org.uk/about-us. Accessed 15 January 2022
[329] John M. Mackenzie: 'The Second City of the Empire': 215
[330] Ibid: 218-219
[331] Ibid: 221
[332] Gordon R Urquhart. *A Notable Ornament. Landsdowne Church: An Icon of Victorian Glasgow*. (Glasgow: Four Acres Charitable Trust, 2011): 145

was born in the Bonnington district north of Edinburgh and in 1862 was apprenticed to James Ballantine of Edinburgh, a leading Scottish stained-glass firm.[333] Adam, although a great admirer of the Early English style of stained glass, believed that these styles should not be copied but modern artists should produce original work, stating 'that hankering after the past, in practice, and repeating of dead patterns, retards art, advancing backward with back to the light' (*sic*).[334] The Maryhill windows epitomise these words in finding a contemporary style in stained glass, both in content and form. The windows were likely commissioned by the local councillors of the Burgh of Maryhill who were all local businessmen who would have owned or managed local companies, so there was an element of self-promotion involved.[335] Art which depicted labour is relatively rare in Glasgow, despite its character as an industrial city.[336]

The Maryhill Burgh Hall windows each measure approximately 50x50cms and were placed high up towards the top of each window in the main hall. Many of the locations of the workshops and workers were based around Maryhill. There are few accounts of the stained glass in contemporary accounts and no photos of them exist in the hall.[337] There are also no records of the panels being given their titles in contemporary descriptions. The original order of the panels is not known. Themes are reiterated such as the physical labour involved in trade and industry. Specific trades and areas of work are transport, such as the Railway Men (Fig.187), The Wheelwrights (Fig.177), The Canal Boatman (Fig.183) and The Boatbuilder (Fig.179). Education is reflected by The Papermaker (Fig.178) and The Teacher (Fig.181), who teaches both boys and girls. Military representation is found in The Soldiers (Fig.186). Textile Industries are represented by The Dye Press Worker (Fig.195), The Calico Printers (Fig.180) and the Linen Bleachers (Fig.176). Other trades include The Sawyer (Fig.190), The Glassblower (Fig.182) The Iron Moulders (Fig.192), The Gas Worker (Fig.189), The Engineers (Fig.193), The Joiners (Fig.191), The Chemical Workers (Fig.184), The Blacksmiths (Fig.185), The Zinc

[333] The Maryhill stained glass was removed from the building in 1963 and has been in the care of Glasgow Museums ever since. The refurbishment and re-opening of the building in 2012 has allowed 11 of the original panels to be returned to the Main Hall for display.
[334] Stephen Adam. *Stained Glass: Its History and Modern Development*. (Glasgow: James Maclehose: 1877): 11
[335] Email conversation with Gordon Barr, the previous heritage manager at Maryhill Burgh Halls. 21/02/2022
[336] Ian R Mitchell. *This City Now: Glasgow and its Working Class Past*. (Glasgow: Bell & Bain Ltd, 2005): 95
[337] Maryhill Burgh Halls: Historic Stained Glass Windows. www.maryhillburghhalls.org.uk/about-us. Accessed 15 January 2022

Spelters (Fig.194) and The Bricklayers (Fig.188). This breakdown of trades into such specific areas is striking, and there is little allowance for more academic subjects. When learning is referenced, in The Teacher panel, it is very realistic rather than allegorical (Fig.181).

The representation of trades was a popular topic for Adam's firm, yet the realism and style of the portrayals of the industries and trades in the Maryhill windows contrasts with Adam's other stained glass treatments of similar subjects. His windows for Glasgow City Chambers (1882-90), for example, include depictions of workmen, but these are portrayed in classical clothing and poses. At Aberdeen Trinity Hall (1893), the figures are shown in Biblical and medieval settings (Fig.197); and at the Clyde Navigation Trust Building (1905-08) the industries are represented by classical nymphs or goddesses and the workmen and traders at the docks are dressed in late-medieval/Renaissance clothing (Figs.198-201).[338] Maryhill was also not the only setting in Glasgow which focused on work for the subject of stained glass. At No.12, University Gardens, Oscar Paterson's (1863-1934) small panels in the front door depict people at their everyday work (Fig.202).

The physique of many of the working men are muscular and fit, with strong arms revealed by their rolled-up sleeves, reflecting their everyday roles which required vigour. This is most evident in the Blacksmiths and the Engineers, where the urgency and immediacy of the job at hand is reminiscent of the miners at Birmingham University (Figs.160 & 162). The painting is not always entirely sophisticated, but the fresh, sketchy style has similarities with earlier Morris & Co. windows, such as the series at G.F. Bodley's All Saints church in Selsley (Figs.203-204). There is evidence of more than one hand across the panels, often the case with large firms fulfilling large orders. For example, The Wheelwrights panel shares the same painterly style as The Canal Boatman. The facial features are softly defined with trace lines and much use of silver stain. The Papermaker, The Glassblower and The Chemical Workers have features denoted in thinner lines of paint, particularly in their faces and strands of hair.

Most of the men and women are in the prime of health, several have beards or sideburns and are relatively young. However, the youngest workers in the panels are The Glassblower and the young boy to the left in The Wheelwrights (Figs.182 & 177). They are highly likely to be apprentices to the industries. The boys are of

[338] Ibid

smaller stature, and clearly much more youthful than the other working men, with no facial hair.

There was clearly intense scrutiny of the setting and the designers of the windows have gone to great lengths to accurately represent the equipment and machinery of the trades. This is evident in the Boatbuilder, Calico Printers, Chemical Workers, Dye Press Worker, Joiners, Iron Moulders, Papermaker, Sawyer and Zinc Spelters. Liquid zinc and molten iron is expertly denoted using the lead line to indicate it being poured into the moulds in the two separate panels. The equipment in the dye press worker is a very accurate rendering of a hydrostatic press which patterned cotton cloth with Turkey red dye (Fig.196).[339] Turkey red dying became a very important industry in the West of Scotland during the 1800s, which allowed whole cloths to be dyed at once.[340]

The only figure who appears to have any higher power in the series is the male figure on the left of the panel in The Engineers, likely to be one of the bosses, John or James Clarkson, who owned Maryhill Engine Works at Lochburne Road, on which the panel is based (Fig.193).[341] He is older, smartly dressed with a large, defined beard. The manager being present in The Engineers reminds the viewer that this kind of manual labour is coordinated and surveyed. The worker's movements are regulated by hierarchical observation; they are obedient subjects being surveyed, which is part of the force of production. The images very much follow the philosophy of Foucault's Panopticon and Panopticism in *Discipline and Punish*.[342]. The men and women are both externally policed, as well as internally surveying or policing themselves.[343] As D.A. Miller stated in *The Novel and the Police*, the term 'police' does not mean the modern institution, but 'social control' or 'policing function'.[344] Novels by Dickens, Trollope and Collins contained themes of social discipline and the frequent appearance of policemen is very evident.[345] In the

[339] 'Mystery solved over Maryhill Burgh Hall glass panel.' https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-scotland-glasgow-west-13269760. Accessed 15 January 2022
[340] 'Mystery solved over Maryhill Burgh Hall glass panel'. https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-scotland-glasgow-west-13269760. Accessed 12 January 2022
[341] Maryhill Burgh Halls: Historic Stained Glass Windows. www.maryhillburghhalls.org.uk/about-us. Accessed 15 January 2022: 11
[342] Michel Foucault. *Discipline and Punish*: 170-194; D.A. Miller. *The Novel and the Police.* (California: University of California Press, 1989)
[343] D.A. Miller. *The Novel and the Police*. (London: University of California Press, 1988): ix
[344] D.A. Miller. *The Novel and the Police*: vii & 2
[345] Ibid: 2

same way that the Victorian novel itself had ‘policing power’, so too do the stained glass windows.

Maryhill presents workers in their everyday working clothes which include shirts, usually with sleeves rolled up, heavy duty trousers, coats and boots, aprons, braces and hats. They look well-worn and ragged in several cases. This immediately alludes towards more representative images of daily work, where thick coats, heavy boots, and aprons to protect against the dirt and grime of the job, are openly portrayed. There is also a very interesting array of tam hats worn by the workers, particularly the Canal Boatman, the Dye Press Worker, the Engineers, the Iron Moulders, Joiners, the Railway Men, the Wheelwrights and the Zinc Spelters.

This secular format of dressing working figures in the modern dress of the day is very rare in ecclesiastical settings.[346] One exception is Pugin’s stained glass at St Mary’s, Oxford, dating from the 1840s. The two windows in question are in the Gothic style with the commemorated placed at the bottom of the windows, kneeling in prayer, which takes its form from medieval windows from the thirteenth century (Figs.205-207). They were designed for George Bartley, with one commemorating his son which dates from 1843 and was made by William Wailes, and the other was for his sister and was made by Hardman in 1848. The male figure in one window wears a frock-coat and has facial hair and in the other window, the female figure has ringlets in her hair and wears crinoline. Older forms of iconographies are updated and made contemporary and relevant to the modern day. The key contrast with the Maryhill windows is the lack of reliance on these old formats and the use of stained glass as the foremost medium to represent the modern day. Another contrast is the clear difference in class of those represented. This commemoration in a window in Oxford of the deceased was representing them in their finery, with the latest fashions on show for both the male and the female figure. Despite the different levels of class, both images elevate the subjects and there is a poignancy to this when considering the contrast of an industrial city with a medieval city.

Despite the aesthetic of the windows at Maryhill being a more accurate reflection of the everyday lives of working men and women, they once again illuminate the nobility and pride of work of the locality. Other sentiments are also present, such as a sense of lone working providing time for self-reflection and being. Many of the workers appear very thoughtful and deeply engaged with their work, such as the Chemical Workers, the Iron Moulders and the Paper Maker (Figs.184, 192 & 178).

[346] Although, of course, medieval saints are in effect represented in contemporary (medieval) dress.

Of course, by 1878 when the Burgh Halls were constructed, labour was regulated, with the Factory Acts of the 1840s-1860s specifically applying to working conditions in industrial occupations, aimed at making work safer and less dangerous. Even a sense of the loneliness and solemness of some of the characters can be felt, such as the single worker in The Boatbuilder, who looks upon his work languidly, The Calico Printers or The Canal Boatman, who labours on while wistfully looking towards the vista of the city (Figs.179, 180 & 183). He could almost be the main character of Jude, in *Jude the Obscure*, seeking a supposed better life in the city. A halo glows at night over the distant city of Christminster whilst Jude longs to be there.[347] This is reflected in the panel where the glow over the city is produced by silver stain.

The local scenery and sentiment represented in The Canal Boatman is significant (Fig.183). The man stands on the bank with a horse, on the aqueduct to the north of the Burgh Halls over Maryhill Road. The spire towards which the Canal Boatman looks is that of Maryhill High Free Kirk. Signs of industry also appear on the landscape, with chimneys appearing on the horizon along from the Kirk, juxtaposing the traditional with the modern. The clothing of the man is threadbare, with a patch of cloth sewn over his left knee, alluding to a body well worn by work, so there is evidence that work is tiring. Yet, these are restful, thoughtful moments of the lone worker; he is paused for thought, reflecting a deeper intellectual labour. This imbues the windows with nobility and morality; the men and women soldier on with their labour for the good of the city and there is pride in the many industries represented.

The interest in representing the locality and links with local scenery also continues ecclesiastical trends of figures being depicted with objects which were relevant to the locality. Saints were depicted holding the cathedral they were named after and local scenery could adorn the background, but this was added detail in medieval windows, and here it is the work in the area itself which is celebrated.

This panel challenges Pugin's proposition in *Contrasts* of the industrial city as debased. The Canal Boatman looks thoughtfully towards the modern city as a desirable place. Although Maryhill was a suburb of Glasgow, it is part of a bigger whole to which the man thinks he belongs. As already discussed, cities were glorified by the end of the nineteenth century and the panels of Maryhill celebrate modern life and labour in the city in a way that was very different to the ideas of

[347] Thomas Hardy. *Jude the Obscure*: 1-30

Pugin. The panels reflect the city that Glasgow had become along with the local area of Maryhill.

Again, the links with the work of Diderot are clear in that manual work is celebrated. Apart from The Teacher, all involve physical labour. The panels at Glasgow contain the themes of the window at Birmingham, but are more humble in their execution. The favouring of the dress of the day rather than looking to the past for the glorification of the subjects reflects the flexibility of the framework of the typology.

The 'Cries' and Maryhill

As there is a clear focus on the working man or woman in these images, the windows at Maryhill have much in common in sentiment with the genre of the 'Cries' of different cities, such as the Cries of London or Paris.[348] The Cries represented the reality of daily life of the poorer people on the streets, who sold their wares of different trades and would shout their calls in the open air. There had been a long tradition for illustrating the Cries which began from the time of James I until the early nineteenth century, when William Marshall Craig created his Cries of London prints in 1804.[349]

There were also the long-established tradition of musical interpretations for different street trades, such as Orlando Gibbon's (1583-1625) *The Cries of London*. People also wished to represent the costumes and character of the street cries in wood cuts to engravings and etchings,[350] so they were very well known and popular. Both men and women were selling wares as varied as fruits, silver-plating and coffee. This wish to represent working life as real as possible is found in the work of Adam and Small, and the windows are indebted to this popular method of representation, although the tradition had somewhat depleted in the nineteenth century. Barringer also states that Brown's *Work*, as well as Henry Mayhew's representations in *London Labour and the London Poor* (1851) also reference these traditions. This picking up of older traditions which was possible for prints of the Cries was not the case for stained glass. Stained glass was on a larger scale to small prints, as well as colour, expense, audience and patronage; it is not ephemeral, and not popular

[348] See Sean Shesgreen. *Images of the Outcast: the urban poor in the Cries of London*. Manchester: Manchester University Press 2002
[349] William Marshall Craig. *The Itinerant Traders of London in their Ordinary Costume, from Modern London; being the history and present state of the British Metropolis. Illustrated with numerous copper plates.* British Library, London. 10349.h.13.
[350] Lucy Broadwood. 'Some Notes on London Street Cries,' *Journal of the Folk-Song Society* Vol. 6, No. 22 (Jun., 1919): 43

culture. It is intended to be permanent and on an architectural scale. The echoes of the Cries in these representations of various labour at Maryhill reflect the capacity of stained glass to take on traditional concepts and move them forward, after all, the Cries did not represent those who worked in places such as chemical works. They create a new encyclopaedic tradition for nineteenth-century labour, where the harsh reality of manual labour is not always shown, but the further expansion of trades and industries is reflected; stained glass is again used to heroicise, much in line with the sentiment of the window at Birmingham as well as the paintings by Brown and Bell.

Women's work and education

At Maryhill, women's work is included in the spectrum of significant roles which were important to the community and locality. Men had many roles in labour intensive work, and in for example, The Soldiers panel, it is military work that epitomises male work and labour as women were banished from this sphere (Fig.186). In the texts of Carlyle and Brown's *Work*, women were banished from the male sphere of work, both mentally and physically, but the Maryhill and Birmingham windows show that this was not the case in reality, making these stained glass depictions of labour a more truthful reflection of society, breaking down the idea of the separate spheres of male and female work.[351]

Carlyle's exclusion of women outside of the intellectual sphere was his 'Man of Letters' ('A Hero is he who lives in the inward sphere of things') who was a hero as well as the man who undertakes physical labour.[352] This also excused the man who stays indoors to work. The windows are therefore ground-breaking in the acceptance of women who work. Despite Carlyle's text pre-dating both the Maryhill and Birmingham windows, they capture changing perceptions about work and cities or towns. Carlyle's divide of gendered work is not found in the stained glass which makes it a significant medium for equality. The windows oppose Carlyle's quest to exclude women outside of the intellectual sphere.

Of the twenty panels at Maryhill, two focus on the work of women. These are the Calico Printers (Fig.180) and The Linen Bleachers (Fig.176). The textile industry

[351] Barringer discusses Ford Madox Brown's painting, *Waiting: An English Fireside*, as following Carlyle's ideas of banishing women altogether from the male sphere of work. The female figure is sewing in the domestic sphere, waiting for the absent father to return from work: 53. The Maryhill Burgh Halls panels showing women's work are quite the opposite of the idea that women did not undertake hard labour

[352] Thomas Carlyle. 'The Hero as a Man of Letters' in *On Heroes and Hero Worship*. 115-141

was the main employer of women and in the panels all wear shabby-looking clothing, to be expected with this kind of work, along with clogs to keep their feet dry. The Calico Printers was likely based on workers at Kelvindale Mills which was situated on Bantaskin Street in The Butney, which was rebuilt after a fire in 1841. Adam must have visited the mill in the late 1870s to obtain his portrait.[353] The women in the image are pre-treating the cloth. In the panel depicting The Linen Bleachers, two women are laying out the sheets on bleachfields. This is likely to be anachronistic, as most engaged in this work in 1878 used chemical bleaching.

What is revolutionary about these representations of women is that they are not allegorical. Representations of women in religious stained glass often placed them at work, such as St Cecilia, or used the female form to represent virtues, yet the panels at Maryhill break away from this tradition and show women undertaking hard physical labour and reflecting the everyday lives of many women. The women are also not beautified in any way, in contrast to the female figures in the Birmingham university window where they wear Classical robes. Here, the women wear contemporary dress associated with the industry and there is evidence of the drudgery of their work.

The images are a telling pre-cursor for women's suffrage and the fact that ideas were developing in relation to social justice. In The Teacher panel, the teacher has two boys and a girl in the classroom. The Education Act of 1870 had made primary education compulsory and the scene depicted could be from any one of the three primary schools in Maryhill at the time of the painting. The teacher gestures towards the children and all read from books and a map of England is in the background.

The panels defy the idea of the separate spheres of men and women, which make the outdoors the male sphere, and the indoors, female. The work carried out by women is problematic for the masculine idea of muscular Christianity, and here it is muscular femininity that is on display; women who are working class and working to live. Women were expected to labour in the home, to clean and provide meals and children, which was declassified from 'laborious' intensive work.[354]

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[353] 'The Maryhill Stained Glass Panels by Stephen Adam.' https://www.maryhillburghhalls.org.uk/panels. Accessed 29 January 2022

[354] See Kristina Huneault: *Difficult subjects: working women and visual culture, Britain 1880-1914*. (Ashgate: Aldershot, 2002) for an analysis of the visual representation of late-Victorian working women.

Visions of an industrial age: transport

'*I'd rather sit in the railway station … that's the centre of the town life now. The cathedral has had its day'.*[355]

The Maryhill windows show labour with a focus on the hands that create and work the wood, iron or machinery. An important grouping for progress is those which represent transportation systems by water or by rail, as these are the key to the success of distribution of trade.[356] The Railway Men represents Maryhill Park Station, at Station Road, constructed in 1858 for the Glasgow, Dumbarton and Helensburgh Railway.[357] The porter has a trolley containing a parcel, on which he is about to pick up more parcels, which are depicted on the right of the composition. His arm is placed confidently on his hip and again, he appears thoughtful and is conversing with the train driver. The railway network was the pride of the Victorians and these new methods of transportations systems were deemed part of the new encyclopaedia of modern life. They show and contribute to documentation and the art historical record of changing times, being a stark contrast to the windows at Cardiff Coal Exchange, with the galleons setting sail above the line 'ye olde order changeth' (Figs.208-209). Maryhill reflects that it indeed had done. These are clear, new meanings given to stained glass which could reflect the industrial and urban environment.

Modern transportation systems are also celebrated in the stained glass at Manors Power Station, Newcastle, where electric trams feature in the window.[358] The building was designed by 'eccentric' architect, Benjamin Simpson, 'an architect who had no problem with celebrating the modern industrial age,'[359] for Newcastle Corporation, who wanted to build a power station to provide electricity for the tram system (Fig.210). The building has many ornate features, typical of Simpson's style, such as copper roof turrets (also to be found at his Emerson Chambers building in Newcastle) and the stone archway marking the entrance to the turbine hall (Figs.211-215). The window is composed of seven separate panels, with those at the top forming an archway containing two back-to-back figural representations of

[355] Thomas Hardy. *Jude the Obscure*: 120
[356] For an exploration of stained glass which has been placed in a railway station, see Karen Burns. 'Time and Telegraphy: Nineteenth-Century Contexts for Stained Glass' in *19: Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century 2020* (30), 2020, 1-18.
[357] 'The Maryhill Stained Glass Panels by Stephen Adam.' https://www.maryhillburghhalls.org.uk/panels. Accessed 29 January 2022
[358] For a brief overview of Manors Power Station, see Appendix 1: 242
[359] Grace McCombie. *Newcastle and Gateshead.* Pevsner Architectural Guide. (New Haven: London: Yale University Press, 2009): 23

the god Hermes. The lower central panel contains the arms of Newcastle, with the two outer panels depicting trams of 1878 and 1902, celebrating the function of the building itself as a source of energy for the trams.

The first horse tram service in Newcastle started in 1878, an event which the window commemorates on the left-hand side. The network was constructed by the City Council, but was operated initially by an independent company as leaseholders. By Act of Parliament in 1899, the council gained the authority to electrify the system and manage the service directly, and by the end of 1901 Newcastle Corporation Tramways was operating electric trams over 14 miles of track. By 1914 this had increased to 63 miles, including a route to Throckley, then beyond the city boundary.[360] The 1878 tram in the window appears to be a horse tram which would have been run by the Newcastle and Gosforth Tramways and Carriage Company and these were in service from 1878-1899 using a 4ft 8 1/2 inch gauge. The 1902 tram, depicted on the right hand side, is a Newcastle Corporation Tramways electric tram that began operating on 16 December 1901. From the date on the window this means that it is likely to be an A class electric tramcar built by Hurst Nelson and Co for Newcastle Corporation and they supplied 24 of these when the tramways were originally electrified.[361] The two trams are depicted entirely with silver stain, which has a striking effect (Figs.214-215). There is a vitality and vibrancy about this window as it celebrates the industrial age and the city of Newcastle and its industrial prowess. In this window, as at Maryhill, the industrial city wins as a symbol of power and attainment.

Conclusion

This chapter has revealed that stained glass windows depicting labour are an excellent resource for analysing Victorian and Edwardian attitudes towards work. The representations of work reflect the positive aspects of industry and what was important to the people who paid for and viewed the windows in each different locality. This makes the windows especially important for studies of society and the development of identity in the nineteenth century.

The literary and artistic references throughout the text aptly describe the distinctive qualities and identities of the different industrial towns and cities. They form a backdrop to the ideas behind the windows, which glorify workers and all that which

[360] Tyne and Wear Archives, Newcastle, T8 & T300

[361] David Croft & Adam Gordon. *A Bibliography of British and Irish Tramways*. Adam Gordon, 2009: 243. With thanks to Robert Morris at the Tramway museum for this information.

made a city modern, accomplished and superior. However, the darker sides of industry, such as pollution, dirt and poverty are entirely masked by the stained glass, often literally as well as symbolically. The differences between cities were felt for a long time beyond the boom of industrial towns and cities, and the heyday of the trades and industry windows that they created. George Orwell made these distinctions clear in *The Road to Wigan Pier* in 1937, in which he discusses the vast differences between his experiences in the North West of England and the South of England:

> But when you go to the industrial North you are conscious, quite apart from the unfamiliar scenery, of entering a strange country. This is partly because of certain real differences which do exist, but still more because of the North-South antithesis which has been rubbed into us for such a long time past.[362]

The legacy of the industrialisation of the North is also felt in paintings by L.S. Lowry (1887-1976), who celebrates areas of cities such as Salford and Manchester with a tinge of melancholy but also a dark glamourisation. His paintings of industrial landscapes, such as *Industrial Landscape, Wigan*, (1925) and *River Scene (Industrial Landscape)* (1935), shows the aftermath of industry with the still belching chimneys and polluted rivers (Figs.216-217). These industrial landscapes were celebrated just as much as scenery from the countryside was, with Lowry offering an alternate viewpoint of what was typically thought to be beautiful and a contrast to paintings such as Cowen's *View of Bradford.*

The differences between the north and south which were rubbed in for a long time past were well-expressed in Gaskell's *North and South*, and also the stained glass windows discussed. Yet Orwell also sees the aftermath of the collapse of the industrial town and its bleakness. This presents a very different version of the imagery in the stained glass, which is why the windows provide key evidence of the time they were made and a significant addition to the canon of views which oppose the theories and ideas of Pugin. Pugin, and later, Ruskin, deplored industrialisation and morally, both won the argument, but the world had transformed, and cities such as Glasgow thrived because of industrial change. The windows cannot portray the downfall of industry; they are a celebrant, and herein lies the difference between stained glass and painting on canvas. They do not have the same capacities of painting, yet the latter was made for much more limited audiences. Stained glass

[362] George Orwell. *The Road to Wigan Pier*. (London: Penguin Books, 1989)

can construct ideas of the vast changes in thought regarding industry between the beginning and end of the nineteenth century.

Chapter 3. Culture and Anarchy: Stained Glass, Class and Gender

This chapter examines stained glass in the settings of a public house, a library, and a public swimming baths in order to explore themes of gender, class and sexuality in the late-nineteenth and early twentieth-centuries. Stained glass in buildings of leisure and learning reveal learned and popular culture in both direct and subversive ways. Significantly, these types of buildings did not exclude the lower classes and were open to a broad spectrum of society, making these buildings of extreme importance when considering stained glass of the period. An increase in available leisure time in the later nineteenth century due to the enforcement of regulated working hours through the Factory Acts, expanded the time available for hobbies and leisure interests for the general populace, while public education was improved due to the Education Acts, introduced from 1870 to 1893.

The title of this chapter is a play on the title of Matthew Arnold's seminal work of 1869, *Culture and Anarchy*, which emphasised that culture encompasses all aspects of human nature, and therefore learned aspirations, such as we will see in the stained glass of the public house and the library.[363] Sporting imagery in stained glass, as seen at Victoria Baths, is strictly homosocial, yet the potential for transgressive behaviour is hinted at. There is also the potential for anarchy in all settings: alcohol consumption, radical politics and homosexuality, all of which the stained-glass masks, but also suggests to a more discerning audience.

Pubs, libraries, and public baths were not neutral or passive spaces; each encouraged a different kind of encounter, defined by their architectural and decorative setting. These varied social encounters are highlighted by the diversity of activities which took place within. Steinbach reflects on how 'a pub conversation could never take place in a church or bedroom,'[364] highlighting how architectural space altered atmosphere and concepts of respectability. Encounters in these spaces relied on the clientele in attendance, their social position, gender, occupation and education, and there is clearly a dialectic relationship between architecture and inhabitants, and buildings of leisure offer a different experience to town halls and office buildings.

Yet, spaces and places which served alcohol, provided entertainment, accommodated learning or allowed informal forms of dress in the case of sport or

[363] Matthew Arnold. *Culture and Anarchy*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006)
[364] Susie L. Steinbach. *Understanding the Victorians.* (London: Routledge, 2012): 11

semi-nakedness in the form of bathing were all heavily regulated. In these spaces, the social ordering of space was underlined by the subject matter of stained glass. Men and women were fully separated, for example, and the approach to the subject matter of stained glass is defined by this division. This was also reflected in the home, which also contained specifically gendered spaces; parlours were distinctly feminine, whilst billiard rooms and studies were masculine.[365] Stained glass references its setting in a direct manner, as in a church and its biblical tales, but could now reflect literary greats in a library setting or the social concept of masculinity could be re-emphasised in a public baths. Stained glass reflected and created the divided society in which it was produced.

Order and regulation of class and gender altered the supposed new freedom and access to the arts. It is also pivotal to ask how much could everyone actually *see* of the stained glass contained within these buildings, due to imposed regulations. The level of access and detail of stained glass varies, as will be seen in the case studies. It will be shown that it is libraries which had the most egalitarian approach in terms of public access to stained glass.

The long-standing ecclesiastical association of stained glass might be expected to have encouraged better behaviour in those secular spaces decorated with it, but an important theme of this chapter is while stained glass aids the 'policing' of the inhabitants in the buildings it also shows great potential for subversion. Stained glass reflected a divided society in which inequalities were rife and subcultures remained barely contained.

Drink and Victorian Culture: The Crown Posada, Newcastle

One outstanding example of public-house stained glass is in The Crown Posada, Newcastle, situated on The Side.[366] As it stands today, the pub is the result of a refurbishment of 1880 by William Lister Newcombe (1848-1929), but the structure dates to 1820 (Figs.218-219).[367] The pub is exquisitely detailed with an array of ornate decoration, including a wrought-iron entrance gate, carved wooden sculptural features, and an elaborate moulded ceiling. The pinnacle of the decoration are the two large stained glass windows which are situated at the front of the pub, one of

[365] Brian Spiller. *Victorian Public Houses*. (Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1972): 16
[366] For a brief overview of The Crown Posada, see Appendix 1: 240
[367] Geoff Brandwood. *Britain's Best Real Heritage Pubs: Pub Interiors of Outstanding Historic Interest*. (Hertfordshire: Campaign for Real Ale Ltd, 2016): 168

which is partly enclosed within the parlour or ‘snug’. They were clearly designed to take centre stage in this part of the pub and were purpose-built for the setting.

The pub itself is an elongated L-shape. As you enter through the gate, and turn immediately to the left, you are led into a narrow corridor towards the long bar, with a wooden partition wall to the left, about six feet in height, spanning almost the length it takes to get to the bar. There is an entranceway which leads to the original snug area. It is made of brown oak with panelling and contains small square panels of painted and stained glass in the upper portions. While these partition walls mirror the format of the original interior, the glass contained within them is from a later date. This snug area was divided from the public bar, therefore reserved for wealthier clientele.[368] The public bar was for the lower classes, such as dock workers and sailors, and stretched down towards the back of the pub. Other traders were positioned next to The Crown Posada along the narrow alleyway towards the back of the pub, including a chemist and an ironmonger, who provided more potential clientele for the pub.

The two stained glass windows reflect the wealth and grandeur of the pub, as well as the character of this area of the city at the time it was renovated (Figs.220-222). Each window contains a single figure, one male and one female, in the Aesthetic style, and both wear Renaissance dress, reminiscent of work by the Pre-Raphaelites. The male figure in the right light wears a short-belted tunic and the female wears a long flowing patterned dress (Fig.221). The male holds his glass high, in a salutary manner, whilst the female pours drink from a large beaker.[369] The light containing the male figure looks down over the enclosed snug area of the pub. The light containing the female figure (Fig.222), is situated to the side of the snug, fully outside of the enclosed area, and is the first window seen when accessing the pub, if the customer looks up towards their left, and the last image seen when leaving when walking back down the corridor, perhaps a reminder to the client to return for more.

The style of the windows follows the form of church windows depicting saints, with the single figure in each light. Each figure is surrounded in the outer frame by elaborate painted detail of cornicing, interspersed with cherubic faces, beneath a

[368] Part of the stained glass window could still have been seen above the partition wall.
[369] There has previously been some suggestion that there was some sexual politics around drinking involved here, with the man looking triumphant and the female looking downwards and solemn. However, this imagery plays into artistic and symbolic trends and it is unlikely that sexual politics would have been a consideration for representation at this time.

canopy of luscious looking fruits and leaves. There are also vertical strips of floral forms and leaves running up the sides of the panels, denoted in silver stain. Bullions and machine-made textured glasses make up the decorative detail at the base of the window, beneath the feet of the figures, some of which are later replacements. The different sets of skills present in the window, such as paint work, silver stain, textured and decorative glasses made them expensive.

The windows were designed and made by the studio of John George Sowerby (1849-1914) in Gateshead.[370] Sowerby & Co., and later Gateshead Glass were prolific in the region and beyond, producing commissions for Thomas Ralph Spence (1855-1903) at St George's, Jesmond.[371] T.R. Spence had previously been an employee at Sowerby's but later produced designs in his own right. There is little documentation available on Sowerby's but attribution can be made stylistically with several other windows the company produced, such as at The Bowes Museum in Barnard Castle, County Durham, and Eshott Hall in Morpeth, Northumberland. The composition of the windows are identical and use the same patterns of floral forms for background decoration, as well as the same painterly style of the figures.

Every detail in the windows is symbolic of its setting. At the top, the three pale orange circles represent wine barrels and the deep purple leaves represent vine leaves. Beneath this is a trough full of barley and wheat, symbolising the beer-making process, and the flames beneath represent 'the Boil', where these raw materials are warmed up and the yeast consumes the sugar to make alcohol. The juniper berries beneath represent gin. Therefore, the popular Victorian drinks of wine, beer and gin are all present, with the literal depiction of this in the man holding up his glass, which is denoted in red glass, indicating it may be wine in the cup. The image of the man raising the cup may be a portrait of John Sanderson, the local brewer.[372]

Sanderson took over ownership of The Crown in 1878.[373]. The pub is situated in a commercial district of the centre of Newcastle, which is well-known for its original Georgian architecture. The surrounding grand buildings on The Side and Grey

[370] I am grateful to Alastair Carew-Cox for alerting me to this attribution.
[371] St George's, Jesmond, was the subject of the PhD thesis by Neil Moat, entitled, *A theatre for the soul : St. George's Church, Jesmond : the building and cultural reception of a late-Victorian church.* Newcastle University, 2011
[372] Conversation with Andrew Nicholson and Clifford Jones. There is a striking resemblance of the image in the portrait to John Sanderson's son, W.J. Sanderson, who took over the brewery in the late 1870s and was Lord Mayor of Newcastle in the early 1900s. The image dates from 1907 and shows Sanderson in his mayoral garb.
[373] Ownership of the pub before Sir John Fitzgeralds bought it in 1897 is hazy.

Street are made up of offices and banks, and the Crown Posada, being of impressive quality both inside and out, was intended to serve those who worked nearby. The Crown Posada was originally named The Crown, and Posada was added in 1897, meaning 'resting place or inn' in Spanish.[374] Newcastle was a very rich city in the period, being at the forefront of industrial and technological progress, with its swing bridge, high-level bridges and the train station, which was the first roofed station in the world. With this technological ingenuity came trade. The area of The Side in which the pub is situated was home to many traders and warehouses, and close to the Spanish consulate, where the impressive Milburn House stands today (Fig.223). The Spanish consul in 1898 was Antonio Santamarina and the Crown was at the time owned by a wine importer named Gibson. The majority of wine imports came from Spain, which necessitated a good relationship with the Spanish consulate.[375] It is wine that is being poured and held in both images in the stained glass.

Sanderson would have perhaps wished to attract some of the consulate and the related traders and merchants to the pub at the time in order to bring in Spanish trade.[376] The pub is also situated close to the River Tyne, where various goods were brought. The stock exchange was positioned by where the Tyne Bridge tower stands, making the area an extremely busy hub of tradesmen and those looking for work. All coal produced in Newcastle had to leave by the River Tyne, so The Crown Posada was perfectly positioned for people from all walks of life to pass.

Stained Glass and the Division of Space

The stained glass at the Crown Posada public house stands out for its specific reference to its setting, but also because painted and stained glass as a form of decoration in pubs was relatively rare in the nineteenth century.[377] The reasons for its presence reflect major cultural and social issues of the turn of the century. Etched, cut and embossed glasses were more traditional forms of glass decoration used in pubs of the later nineteenth century, far surpassing the use of stained glass.[378] Some survives in pubs today, and gives a sense of the contrast which existed between the grandeur of the pub as an architectural feature on the main streets of cities and towns and the working lives of the people who passed them and

[374] An information panel in the Crown Posada, although not dated, gives this detail.
[375] Email conversation with Clifford Jones, local historian, 15 September 2019
[376] Conversation with the manager of The Crown Posada, Andrew Nicholson, 12 July 2019
[377] Other examples of stained glass in pubs are Blackfriars, London and The Queens, Crouch End.
[378] Mark Girouard. *Victorian Pubs*. (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1975):170

frequented them.[379] Decorative, leaded glass featuring the name of the pub, or the name of the room, was also popular and often used in the lower sections of windows and screens to conceal the inhabitants. Brightness and gaiety was a respite from otherwise arduous, laborious and monotonous work in dark buildings; an oasis which provided, 'warmth, bright lights, music, singing, simple games, newspapers and good company'.[380] For example, in *Sons and Lovers*, Lawrence relays the cosiness of the Palmerston pub, where the windows were steamed over and 'the air was warm, if foul, and full of the sound of voices and the smell of beer and smoke'.[381]

The stained glass of the Crown Posada would have been clearly on view to those walking on The Side and the impression the pub gave out must have been intense civility and sumptuousness. This had a significant purpose. Public houses and inns were a popular destination for the working classes and could offer warmth and friendship.[382] Housing quality was poor, therefore leading to time spent drinking and socialising. However, standards could be very low in these establishments, and descriptions of pubs in literature from earlier in the century often depict dirty and filthy conditions.[383] These rich, opulent pub interiors exemplified by the Crown Posada were anything but dark and dingy, and the large windows allow coloured light to beam in through them.

The strict division of space at the Crown Posada mirrors the words of the French writer, Alphonse Esquiros, (1812-1876) who believed that the structure of some public houses was representative of the structure of English society in general, specifically in relation to the separation of space within the building itself.[384]

> It is the aim of the publican to give each compartment some convenience or attraction of its own, be it publicity, or privacy, a snug corner or a 'jolly crush-in'. It is his object to separate the classes for whose wants he caters […].

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[379] Mark Girouard. *Victorian Pubs*. A chapter is devoted to these kinds of glass, such as decorative embossed, brilliant cut and enamelled glass in pubs in the London area, with a small epilogue on those outside of the city, including several in the North of England. Girouard states that stained glass never became a typical pub feature: 170

[380] John Greenaway. *Drink and British Politics since 1830: A study in policy-making*. (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2003): 7-8

[381] D.H. Lawrence. *Sons and Lovers*: 39

[382] Mike Huggins, Mike. *Vice and the Victorians*. (London: Bloomsbury, 2015): 80-81

[383] Conversation with Andrew Davison, 07/09/2018. See Charles Dickens, *Hard Times*. (London: Penguin Books, 2003): 33, refers to the 'dingy' Pegasus Arms. The contrast with these bright and opulent buildings from the later part of the century to literary evidence is striking.

[384] Alphonse Esquiros was writing in the 1850s, quoted in Brian Spiller. *Victorian Public Houses*. (Newton Abbot: David and Charles 1972): 16

> These arrangements, adjusted locally to the character of the particular districts, seem entirely to suit the peculiarities of the English social class system.[385]

A public house had 'three open rooms, freely inviting class distinction – the saloon, the parlour, the tap-room. Better furnished is the saloon bar, or smoke-room, next up in the hierarchy, next is lounge/parlour.'[386] The stained-glass windows at the Crown Posada, although clearly on view when entering the premises, become divided from the clientele. The figure pouring the drink is in the corridor, but the other is fully immersed in the snug. This would have given a sense of occlusion if a customer was drinking along the long public bar or towards the back of the pub.[387]

This closed-off and private space of the snug is akin to a well-to-do sitting room of a house and the interior of the Crown Posada is little changed since it was redeveloped in 1880.[388] The wooden dividing wall which separates the snug from the rest of the pub containing small, detailed painted panels of stained glass, highlights the ability of glass to conceal, reveal and give a sense of occlusion and privacy. This fits with the general make-up of pubs which divided classes, as the parlour was usually better decorated, cleaner, brighter and more respectable, appealing to the lower middle-class such as clerks and tradesmen.[389] The snug also has its own small serving bar, and the clientele within, who would have been insurance and patent clerks, or trade and businessmen, could knock to order more drinks. Extra privacy was provided by curtains which would have been pulled across to prevent the bar staff from looking in. Drinks would have been more expensive in this space. The pub also offered dining, therefore catering for different levels of society, and the snug area may even have served as a ladies' lounge at times.[390]

There are conflicting ideas about women and pubs. According to Steinbach, in the earlier part of the century, men and women both went to the pub, but around 1840, there was a growing tendency for women to stay away, certainly if they wanted to appear respectable.[391] This may indicate a gender shift in the middle classes which coincided with the accession of Queen Victoria in 1837, and a more straight-laced

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[385] Charles Booth, quoted in Brian Spiller. *Victorian Public Houses*: 22
[386] Westminster Gazette, 1899, quoted in Brian Spiller. *Victorian Public Houses:* 22
[387] The bar-room or 'public' bar was where customers stood up and went to the counter to be served.
[388] Geoff Brandwood. *Britain's Best Real Heritage Pubs: Pub Interiors of Outstanding Historic* Interest: 168
[389] Alphonse Esquiros, quoted in Brian Spiller. *Victorian Public Houses*: 16
[390] Conversation with the manager of The Crown Posada, Andrew Nicholson, 12 July 2019
[391] Susie L. Steinbach. *Understanding the Victorians*: 123

attitude toward women drinking in public bars. Yet, this was not entirely the case, as women of all classes consumed alcohol and were deemed by Hands as 'The Secret Army of Drinkers'.[392] Although society dictated that it was inappropriate for women to drink, working-class women would drink on the streets or in pubs, and upper-class women would buy alcohol from grocers to be consumed in the home.[393] Ladies' rooms in pubs also indicate they were allocated separate spaces. Women also worked in bars, as the character of Arabella in *Jude the Obscure* attests. Later in the novel she enters a pub to meet Jude and orders drinks and pays for them, further suggesting that women did frequent bars.[394] Another change in the landscape of drinking culture was that as the middle classes became wealthier, the expansion of the leisure and entertainment industries gave them more venues for recreation, such as restaurants and the theatre, where they could consume alcohol alongside other leisure pursuits.

Temperance and the Crown Posada

There is an interesting friction between culture and counter-culture in stained glass and pubs. A dichotomy emerges between public houses versus their critics in the temperance societies, or in other words, subversion versus conformity, and stained glass was the litmus test of high culture. This friction influenced decorative design, which was directly related to the levels of exposure to different levels of society.

A catalyst for the reinvention of pub design came from the Temperance Movement, which brought fraught times for the public house in the nineteenth century. Temperance was particularly fervent in areas of Yorkshire and Lancashire where textile manufacturing was the key industry, [395] with a large working population who would have gone to the pub after a long day working in the various factories and mills in towns and cities in and around Leeds, Manchester and Liverpool. Licensing laws did not restrict opening hours until after the outbreak of World War I.

Temperance Society campaigning closed many pubs, therefore extensive re-building commenced after 1880 to provide better standards and more services for the clientele, such as food and non-alcoholic drinks, as well as events which were

[392] Thora Hands, *Drinking in Victorian and Edwardian Britain: Beyond the Spectre of the Drunkard.* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018): 41
[393] Thora Hands, *Drinking in Victorian and Edwardian Britain:* 44
[394] Thomas Hardy. *Jude the Obscure*. Part 3, Chapter 6. Jude is also sat in the 'Private Bar' area
[395] Geoff Brandwood, Andrew Davison & Michael Slaughter. *Licenced to Sell: The History and Heritage of the Public House*. Swindon: English Heritage, 2011: 34.

intended to prevent excessive drinking.[396] In response to Victorian temperance movements which arose from the 1830s onwards, by making the public house akin to a grand temple, publicans could silence their detractors and critics. There were also several alternatives to the consumption of alcohol in the nineteenth century. Tea and coffee were now easily affordable and water supply was much improved, so consumption by all classes was available.[397]

Issues of alcoholism and "the 'Drink problem" was a major challenge faced by the government throughout the nineteenth century which variously encompassed the morality, virtue and purity of individuals, as well as social evils and social reform.[398] Alcohol was once thought to be safe and healthy to drink before the nineteenth century but had become demonised through perilous results of over-consumption. It was also believed that alcohol was the root cause of violence, crime and the moral degradation of the people. W.E. Gladstone was to declare, in 1881, that 'greater is the calamity and curse inflicted upon mankind by intemperance than by the three great curses war, pestilence and famine'.[399]

The support for temperance grew and the church became involved after encountering the poor who turned to drink as a temporary relief from poverty. This led to the formation of the Church of England Temperance Society in 1861, which by 1899, had over 7000 branches.[400] Temperance coffee house architecture mimicked pub design, offering the inhabitants similar experiences to that on offer in pubs, and could also contain decorative glass. One such example was the Cobden Hotel in Birmingham, opened in 1883, which was the most splendid of the 'coffee palaces' built to combat the late Victorian gin palaces (Figs.224-225).[401] Decorative glazing schemes were also transferred over to these environments.

Temperance billiard halls were also a later off-shoot of Temperance; the playing of billiards was removed from its regular setting in pubs to separate establishments, with both London and Manchester having a proliferation in each city. One of these was based in the Manchester suburb of Chorlton-cum-Hardy (Figs.226-228) and it is notable that this example of this building type, designed by Norman Evans, is

[396] Conversation with Andrew Davison, 07/09/2018.
[397] Geoff Brandwood, Andrew Davison & Michael Slaughter. *Licenced to Sell*: 33
[398] John Greenaway. *Drink and British Politics since 1830*: 4
[399] Gladstone quoted in John Greenaway. *Drink and British Politics since 1830: 9*. Greenaway notes that Gladstone's personal views on this were less fervent.
[400] Geoff Brandwood, Andrew Davison & Michael Slaughter. *Licenced to Sell*: 33
[401] I would like to thank Andrew Davison for sharing his knowledge of this building.

extensively decorated throughout with floral Art Nouveau stained glass.[402] Built by Temperance Billiard Halls Limited, this is a reflection of 'Temperance' buildings replicating the pub experience, but in an alcohol free environment.[403]

Pubs such as the Crown Posada became a spectacle to behold and could be so elaborately decorated that they almost served as a gallery for those who entered. The intention was that the proprietors were either attempting to civilise and educate their patrons through imagery, or were responding to outside critics for their selling of intoxicating liquors.

High culture at the Inn

A unique way in which the Crown Posada defies its critics from the temperance movement is through the imagery of the stained glass itself. Stained glass acts as the interpreter of social distinctions, reflecting the character of those people who were using the space. As Christopher Tilley has noted, 'material forms do not simply mirror pre-existing social distinctions, sets of ideas or symbolic systems. They are instead the very medium through which these values, ideas and social distinctions are constantly reproduced, legitimized, and transformed'.[404]

The clientele were faced with two windows which played into current trends in the art world, which essentially served the educated classes. The opulent decoration at the Crown Posada gave a sense of a more cultured, cultivated, respectable and even ecclesiastical setting; manifestations of 'the outward and visible signs of inward respectability' demanded by their clientele, such as the 'white-collar' workers and tradesmen who were a much more dominant presence in Newcastle.[405] These more respectable settings were also required for the transaction of business.[406]

Pubs which contained such imagery became akin to small viewing galleries for the customers, although instead of the quiet and deferential atmosphere of an art gallery these spaces were busy and noisy. Analysing these aspects of material culture in the more social settings of the pub is a useful tool as they reflect and illuminate popular culture, where chosen imagery was certainly projecting carefully

[402] Interestingly, The Sedge Lynn now serves as a pub, owned by J.D. Wetherspoon.
[403] Personal conversation with Andrew Davison, 07/09/2018
[404] Christopher Tilley, 'Objectification', in *Handbook of Material Culture*, ed. by Christopher Tilley, Webb Keane, Susanne Kuechler, Mike Rowlands and Patricia Spyer (London: Sage, 2006): 61
[405] Brian Spiller. *Victorian Public Houses:* 18
[406] Lower middle class office work could still be paid as little as working class jobs which required physical labour, but were preferable for those who did not want to enter into this kind of work and prospects of promotion were always a possibility.

planned personas.[407] These 'pretensions to sumptuous good taste'[408] would have deflected negativity towards the selling of alcohol and gave a sense of refinement.

The imagery in the windows in the Crown Posada is in the style of the Aesthetic movement and therefore very much in line with current trends in nineteenth-century art during the 1880s.[409] The Pre-Raphaelite circle popularised chivalric and Romance subjects in stained glass, with Morris, Burne-Jones and Rossetti frequently depicting scenes of medieval chivalry. The romanticised view of the Middle Ages was partly a 'protest against steamships and railroads, against textile factories and iron foundries, against the loss of revealed religion and the rise of science.'[410] In 1862 the tale of Tristram and Isoude was made into a series of 13 stained glass panels by Morris, Marshall, Faulkner & Co. for the textile merchant Walter Dunlop's home, Harden Grange, near Bingley, Yorkshire. They are based on Sir Thomas Malory's story in *Morte d'Arthur*. The firm was a progressive force in stained glass and moved between Aesthetic Movement principles to the Arts and Crafts. Burne-Jones depicted a scene of men going to battle, accompanied by the submissive women who inspired them in the tapestry depicting *The Arming and Departure of the Knights of the Round Table* (*c*.1890) (Fig.229). The women hand the armour to the men, who are all already sitting upon their horses, prepared for battle. The images in the windows at the Crown Posada have been adapted for a public house setting with a drink being consumed, instead of armour being given, before setting off for work.

The stained glass windows at the Crown Posada also represent high culture due to the capacity of the medium to mythologise and tell stories. Stained glass is utilised to reflect resistance to the growth of the urban environment and represent imagery from the past, reflecting a trend for whimsy and images which represent 'Merrie England', depicting figures in the dress of these earlier periods.[411] This representation of romantic medieval themes furthers the civilising agenda. The connection with Pre-Raphaelite art reflects a novel way of approaching the

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[407] Peter K. Andersson. How Civilised were the Victorians? *Journal of Victorian Culture*, 2015. Andersson advocates the use of material culture in reflecting on aspects of Victorian life, and stained glass could be a very useful addition to this.

[408] Brian Spiller. *Victorian Public Houses:* 16

[409] Two other examples of jovial public house stained glass are at the Imperial, Glasgow, and The Mountain Daisy in Sunderland. Both extend the themes of merriment and include references to Shakespeare and men in Tudor-style dress joyfully hold up their drinks at The Mountain Daisy.

[410] Jan March. *Pre-Raphaelite Women: Images of Femininity in Pre-Raphaelite Art*. (Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1987): 93

[411] This refers to the age of chivalry and a belief that the Middle Ages and the Tudor period were a much more moralistic period

detractors of the day, especially as by this time, the Pre-Raphaelites were viewed in many ways as the national style.[412] The huge popularity of Morris textiles and furnishings found in the homes of the upper and middle classes would have been beyond the pockets of many of those who frequented pubs.

Therefore, the windows represent the Victorian love of the Medieval Age of Chivalry, but with a twist. The male figure, whilst holding his drink high, holds a sword in the other hand, about to go into battle and about to take his final mouthful of drink. The female figure is pouring the drink, likely intending for it to be served. She also has a very solemn aura and there is sadness in her facial expression. Her features are unusually androgynous, and probably original, even though there has been damage to the face and a mending lead has been added at a later date. It is possible that this woman is based on Hebe, cup-bearer of ambrosia to Bacchus, which reflects the links of the to Classical imagery and wine importation, but also suggests that wine is akin to ambrosia and will set the drinker on the correct path.

The windows could be interpreted as a 'call to arms' to potential clients, preparing them to go about their daily work heroically – a battle cry for the middle-class workers in the urban sprawl which geared them up for their return to the stock exchange or office. Therefore, the windows indicate an underlying moralistic tone of the rewards of hard work.[413] There is an echo of a Foucauldian, 'disciplining' narrative here,[414] but it is novel that the aim is specifically at the middle classes, rather than the poorer working classes.

As already mentioned, the Crown Posada is a central pub close to the Tyne and the centre of Newcastle, so it is to be expected that it would have attracted a mixed clientele. Elaborate ornamentation didn't necessarily suggest a rise in social status as was also the case with late Victorian domestic architecture.[415] It was run by a middle-class businessman for middle-class tradesmen and its position could not have been better. The intention behind the windows is clear; they reflected the

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[412] Morris's impact as a craftsmen is detailed in Fiona MacCarthy. *William Morris: A Life for Our Time.* (London: Faber and Faber, 1994). See also A.C. Sewter. *The Stained Glass of William Morris and his circle*, Vols.1&2. (Newhaven and London: Yale University Press, 1975), for the vast stained glass output of the firm. William Morris fabrics are still produced today and decorate many homes, such as the Sanderson fabric and wallpaper range.

[413] This is certainly an ongoing theme of authors such as Charles Dickens, who reveals the varying struggles of the different classes in their fields of work. The middle and upper classes, such as politicians and bankers, are portrayed as working hard, despite Dicken's critique of the ways that they live.

[414] Michel Foucault. *Discipline and Punish*: 170-194

[415] Muthesius and Dixon. *Victorian Architecture*: 84

refined tastes of the proprietor, in this case, the local brewer, Sanderson, who was able to show off his knowledge and contacts in the elaborate decoration of the pub, and through this, attempt to elevate the morals, discipline and knowledge of his clientele.

The dependency on literary and artistic sources in the above examples reveals a shared familiarity that pertained to a higher learning of the patrons and clients, which may have crossed both working- and middle-class boundaries. Yet positioning is key, and segregation by class meant that clients may be at a distance from the stained glass, with only partial views possible over walls or through temporarily open doors. The layout of pubs and the subjects of the stained glass is comparable to other sites, such as libraries, yet in libraries, the barriers preventing the lower classes from coming into close proximity to stained glass are removed.

Stained Glass in the Library

Libraries could entertain every generation of both the working and middle classes, and emerged as a significant building type in the later nineteenth century. The provision of public libraries was born out of the philosophy that books ought to be brought to the people.[416] The Public Libraries Act was introduced in 1850, filling a gap hitherto only addressed by the private subscription library, therefore allowing more access to books for all levels of society. There was also concern amongst the middle classes that the lower classes should not be spending their free time in immoral pursuits, such as drinking, and encouraging them to read would be better for society. More educated working classes would also lead to lower crime rates and the drive to educate was heavily influenced by the temperance movement.

Attending public libraries and reading as a form of leisure was popular, as they became a place to read for pleasure and read about current affairs. Libraries are particularly interesting as they are spaces that did not cross-over to the upper classes. Decorative fixtures were heavily utilised in an eclectic variety of styles, with a mixture of features including stained glass and tile work, coupled with sculpted motifs both on the interior and exteriors of buildings. Libraries contain objects for viewing and reading, as in a museum, but in an area that is quiet and hushed, as in a church.

It was institutions in the North of England which were the first to introduce public libraries. Salford Museum and Art Gallery opened in November 1850 as The Royal

[416] Muthesius and Dixon. *Victorian Architecture:* 178

Museum and Public Library, with Manchester's library in Campfield opening in 1852, becoming the first to be established under the Free Libraries act.

Rochdale Free Library, 1884

The Rochdale Library, Museum, and Art Gallery building, collectively now known as Touchstones Rochdale, is an excellent showcase of the development and use of secular stained glass throughout the later-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries.[417] It is a prime example of a secular building containing stained glass that scholarship has overlooked.[418] The glazing scheme at Touchstones, although no longer complete, is an excellent example of how stained glass used modern materials to articulate space, gender, and class in ways that were ubiquitous in nineteenth-century culture. It also serves to underline local dynamics and preferences that have often been neglected in explorations of more national and metropolitan-centred trends. The building was originally opened as a public library in 1884 as a stand-alone structure that was extended twice to provide additional museum and gallery space: the second phase was opened in 1903 and the third phase completed in 1913. The stained glass in the Free Library, now removed, contained portraiture of well-known male and female authors and the glass from the second phase of development contained symbolic representations of the elements and the countries of the Union. The 1913 extension is not covered in this text but was designed by the Liverpool sculptor C. J. Allen (1862–1956) and incorporated additional museum space and two further galleries.

The portraiture in the public library, while an excellent expression of civic pride and the influence of donors, was also extraordinary in its reflection of the achievements of women in the arts and sciences, as well as in its representation of regional interests. It also underlines the importance of stained glass as a relevant and challenging contemporary art form.

[417] For a brief overview of Rochdale Art Gallery and Museum, see Appendix 1: 243

[418] There are no existing studies of the architecture and decoration of the building, although a brief description is provided in Clare Hartwell, Matthew Hyde, and Nikolaus Pevsner, *Buildings of England: Lancashire: Manchester and the South-East* (London: Yale University Press, 2004): 597; and Barrie and Wendy Armstrong, *The Arts and Crafts Movement in the North West of England* (Wetherby: Oblong Creative, 2005): 108.

James Ogden and Rochdale Free Library, 1884

Rochdale, now part of Greater Manchester, boasts an illustrious list of political pioneers and instigators of social change. It had a strong sense of its own past and the town and its people were shaped by a prevailing Liberal view in which community pride and progress were uppermost.[419] In 1844 Rochdale was the birthplace of the Cooperative movement, founded by the Rochdale Pioneers, who aimed to provide better standards of living for the lower classes in response to the desperate working and living conditions of the Industrial Revolution. The principles of the 'Co-op' were adopted internationally and had far-reaching effects. The radical and Liberal politician John Bright (1811–1889), co-founder of the Anti-Corn Law League, and free trade advocate, was born in Rochdale.

Rochdale was a booming industrial town in the nineteenth century and the prestige and enormous wealth this brought is demonstrated by its impressive architecture, including the magnificent neo-Gothic Town Hall, designed by William Henry Crossland (1835–1908), with the tower redesigned by Alfred Waterhouse (1830–1905) after a disastrous fire in 1883. The extensive and impressive glazing scheme is discussed in chapter one.

Rochdale Free Library was opened on 30 October 1884. It was designed by Jesse Horsfall (1859–1910), made of Yorkshire stone, and constructed by T. Berry and Son of Milnrow Road, Rochdale (Fig.230).[420] The library had previously been based at the town hall, until arrangements were made after the fire for the removal of the books to the new library. An old photograph of the building reveals that it was originally surrounded by housing and mills, showing that the library was at the heart of the community.

Most of the original decorative glazing in the reading rooms was removed in 1955 and replaced with plain glazing, when alterations to the interior were made in order to allow more light into the lending section.[421] Only one large quatrefoil above the original doorway, containing the arms of Rochdale, remains of the scheme. Fortunately, several good quality photographs taken in the early twentieth century survive which reveal the content of the windows (Figs.231-232). There are also

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[419] Patrick Joyce. *Visions of the People: Industrial England and the Question of Class, 1848–1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991): 57–58, 180–81.
[420] Rebe P. Taylor. *Rochdale Retrospect (*Rochdale: Corporation of Rochdale, 1956): 132; 'Our Heritage: Golden key opens door of knowledge on chilly autumn day …', *Rochdale Observer*, 21 June 1975: 13.
[421] 'Our Heritage'. *Rochdale Observer*: 13.

informative descriptions in local newspapers of the opening ceremony of the library. They reveal careful consideration of subject matter, as well as the personal tastes and preferences of the donor, James Ogden (1832–1907).

Ogden was another of Rochdale's influential men. He was a member of Rochdale Town Council representing Castleton East ward until 1891. His political affiliation was with the Tories and, significantly, he was a member of the council's library committee and throughout his life made generous benefactions to the town of Rochdale. He was known to some in the town as an eccentric character, and he never allowed himself to be photographed.[422] Only one painted portrait survives in the Rochdale Art Gallery collection. He was educated locally and entered into his uncle and father's business as a cabinet maker, until he received a generous bequest which allowed him to live by his own means.[423] Ogden was a lover of both art and his town, setting up a fund which still enables the gallery to purchase works today, 'not to be shut up in rich men's houses, but to be hung in the people's galleries'.[424] This benevolence was noted by others, with one commentator remarking:

> [He believed that] the poor should have free access to all avenues of intellectual advancement. And whether he learned it at the feet of [John] Ruskin, or absorbed the truth as he gazed on the great achievements of mediaeval craftsmen, he knows that labour dissociated from art is debasing, and that appreciation of the beautiful will increase the sum of happiness among the poor as well as among the rich.[425]

Ogden's wealth allowed him to travel and absorb the artistic and cultural riches of Europe, and he brought his knowledge back to the people of Rochdale. The decorative glass in the library is one example: the windows were originally intended to be only of clear, plain glass, but Ogden's donation enabled decorative glass to be used which was harmonious to the space.[426] The glass intrinsically changed the experience of the interior and the relationship of the user to the space, as well as acting as a blind to control the light.

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[422] 'Local Men of Mark', *Rochdale Monthly,* April 1903: 6.
[423] 'Death of Mr Jas. Ogden', *Rochdale Observer*, 6 February 1907: 4
[424] 'Death of Mr Jas. Ogden'; 'Mr Ogden's Will', *Rochdale Observer*, 9 February 1907: 7; 'Local Men of Mark': 6.
[425] 'Local Men of Mark', *Rochdale Monthly,* April 1903: 6.
[426] 'Stained Glass Windows for the New Free Library', *Rochdale Times*, 7 June 1884: 8.

Stained glass, space, and gender

The large main windows containing portraits of male and female authors, which can be considered a pair, were situated at the south-facing sides of the two library reading rooms. This approach reflects a complex interplay of intention and outcome as, despite this apparent equality, the spaces in which they were contained were divided by gender. The rooms were bisected by a central corridor which led off the front doorway, with the principal reading room to the right. This was the men's reading room and reference department, measuring a lofty twenty-four feet from the floor to the apex of the ceiling.[427] The women's reading room also had the same dimensions.

The composition of the windows is entirely denoted by the lead lines, and the simple use of coloured glass is brought to the fore, revealing a modern approach to design which relies on materials for effect. The expressive use of materials in the windows articulates Aesthetic Movement principles: in the words of one of its pivotal figures, Christopher Dresser, in 1873, 'A window must fulfil two purposes — it must keep out rain, wind, and cold, and must admit light; having fulfilled these ends, it may be beautiful.'[428]

The style of the south-facing windows was inspired by a window in Manchester Town Hall, 'the bordering being the same, but it has been so altered and adapted as to be substantively Mr Ogden's own design', a reference to the addition of the portraits.[429] The emulation of the windows at Manchester Town Hall reflects a spirit both of respect and competition with the nearby city that was characteristic of regional and civic pride in the industrialized North of England.[430] Manchester Town Hall achieved national celebrity when it opened in 1877. The windows were made by the London-based glazier Francis Tenant Odell (1820–1881), who produced the glass for Waterhouse's other major commissions in Manchester, such as the Whitworth Hall and Museum, as well as the rooms adjacent to the tower at Rochdale Town Hall.[431]

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[427] 'Opening of the New Free Library', *Rochdale Observer*, 1 November 1884: 6.
[428] Christopher Dresser, *Principles of Decorative Design* (London: Academy Editions, 1973): 153.
[429] 9 'Stained Glass Windows for the New Free Library', *Rochdale Times*, 7 June 1884: 5.
[430] C. Dellheim, 'Imagining England: Victorian Views of the North', *Northern History*, 22 (1986): 218–23. See also, Asa Briggs. *Victorian Cities* (London: Penguin, 1990): 33.
[431] Colin Cunningham and Prudence Waterhouse, *Alfred Waterhouse 1830–1905: Biography of a Practice* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992): 233.

The windows at Rochdale were made by local plumber and glazier, John Tonge, whose premises were on Livery Street, near to the town centre.[432] Tonge, it seems, was instructed to make the windows in the likeness of those at Manchester, which he would probably have seen for himself. In the 1881 census, Tonge is recorded as a master plumber, employing three men and one boy: a modest works.[433] Plumber-glaziers were not uncommon in earlier periods, and they remained active, but at a booming time for the stained-glass industry there was a conscious choice to use local craftsmen.[434]

The colours can be partially reconstructed from news reports which discuss them, as well as the single remaining quatrefoil panel above the original doorway, depicting the Rochdale Borough arms as granted in 1857 (Fig.233). The colouring of the Rochdale Library windows was predominantly red and several different shades of green, and the designs were specified so as not to occupy so much of the window space as to interfere with the proper lighting of the rooms. The remaining glass in the quatrefoil above the original doorway has a ruby red border and some mid-tone green leaves spread into each foil. The green and red mirror the newspaper reports, but some beautiful glasses are chosen for the mantling, such as antique streaky rubies which graduate through deep orange to red. Although there is some paintwork partly visible on the crest, the detail on the shield has almost entirely faded away, with some painted pattern work visible in the glass surrounding the arms. The Rochdale motto, *Crede Signo* (Believe in the Sign), is still visible in the scroll beneath.

The interior of the old library is now somewhat changed: the men's general reading room still serves as the local studies library, so a sense of the space as it was originally used can be gained, although there is now a mezzanine floor running the length of one bay beside the original window opening. Old photographs of the interior show men reading on long tables, bathed in the light beaming through the decorative glass. The carved wooden beams of the roof, the ornately patterned ceiling grids, and the walls have now been painted white, but the iron supports in the beams and their bolts can clearly be seen. This is a modern, industrial Gothic

[432] 'Stained Glass Windows for the New Free Library': 5

[433] Rochdale Local Studies Library, Census Records 1881, Registration District: Rochdale, Class: RG11, Piece: 4103, fol. 49, p. 50. I am very grateful to Janet Byrne at Rochdale Local Studies Library for her invaluable assistance with census records and other documentation. By the time of the 1901 census, Tonge was living on Drake Street, Rochdale, a very central and well-to-do location.

[434] James Moore. *High Culture and Tall Chimneys: Art Institutions and Urban Society in Lancashire, 1780–1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2018): 270.

structure which reinterprets traditional formats found in churches for a secular setting.

Each of the two five-light windows had four mullions and two transoms: a portrait within a medallion of a chosen literary figure sits within the middle sections. Those represented in the men's reading room were considered some of the greatest male poets and writers of the English language: reading from left to right, Spenser, Chaucer, Shakespeare, Milton, and Wordsworth.[435] Decorative floral motifs run the length of the windows and surround the portraits.

The section of the building to the left of the old entranceway now serves as the permanent museum, but was the original women's reading room. The room contained an impressive principal window depicting eminent female writers and is notable for many reasons. The window was particularly emphasized in the minutes of the library committee in 1885, which states that it typified 'the universality and greatness of the genius of woman in Literature during the Victorian era'.[436] The selection of portraits is fascinating and Ogden's decision to request a window celebrating female authors allows women equal stature and importance during a time when this was unusual. We would expect to find women depicted in a window that was designated female space, yet it is the celebration of education and learning which makes this a daring step for a space devoted to women. All the women represented were prominent in a particular branch of literature: novelist George Eliot (1819–1880); poet Elizabeth Barrett Browning (1806–1861); scientist and polymath Mary Somerville (1780–1872); art critic Anna Jameson (1794–1860); and novelist and poet Charlotte Brontë (1816–1855).[437] All these were modern authors and innovators in their respective fields, and their portraits would have been inspirational to the women readers who used the space.

The portraits in the windows are all based on popular images of those represented, derived from either drawings or early photographic images, and are painted in a dark pigment for the outline and shading. The prominent representation of novelists confirms the genre's significance, and the use of images based on early

[435] Spenser and Chaucer may have been swapped as they do not fit the chronological order of the window. All the portrait window openings have the same dimensions and the *Rochdale Times* report (1 November 1884) states that Chaucer was in the far-left light when first inserted (8).
[436] 'Library Committee Reports', in *Rochdale Corporation: Reports of the Various Committees of the Council on Works Done during the Year Ending March 25 1885* (Rochdale: Haworth, 1885): 18–19
[437] Photographs of the window from the early twentieth century show that there were changes in the layout which subdivided the space, so the window may not have been entirely on view to all those who used the library.

photographic methods also marks technical innovations of the nineteenth century. George Richmond's famous portrait of Brontë is visible in the far-left light, with Barrett Browning to her right. Barrett Browning's portrait is based on a daguerreotype by Elliott & Fry, after Macaire, and dates from 1858 (Fig.234). Eliot takes centre stage, with her image based on the well-known chalk drawing by Sir Frederic William Burton (1816–1900), dating from 1865. Jameson is to her immediate right and this portrait may be from a calotype of *c*.1843–48 by David Octavius Hill (1802–1870) and Robert Adamson (1821–1848). Jameson is followed by an image of Somerville based on J. R. Swinton's chalk drawing of 1848, held in the National Portrait Gallery.

This is an interesting regional challenge to the National Portrait Gallery in London, which was founded in 1856. Portraits of women at the National Portrait Gallery, specifically writers, were exemplars of the civilising influence of women in the national body and represented cultivated femininity, and the Trustees wished to recognise the importance of literary women to national life. [438] A high proportion of portraits of contemporary writers at the National Portrait Gallery were in 'minor' media such as watercolours, pastels, pencil sketches and miniatures and few oil portraits of eminent women writers were painted.[439] Interestingly, Barret Browning wrote that daguerreotypes were 'the very sanctification of portraits'.[440] Works on paper also encapsulated modernity that was present in the photograph; they were modest yet direct and a signification of the intellect of the sitter.

Stained glass contributes to the genre of portraiture at Rochdale by equalising gender. A photo of a screen of the gallery at Bethnal Green shows Eliot and Browning hung amongst their male colleagues, the former being the Burton drawing on which the image in the window at Rochdale is based (Fig.235). There is a real contrast between the dark oil portraits and the light-grounds of the drawings of the women authors, which creates a highly visual gendered difference.[441] Yet, there is no difference in the treatment of the male and female windows as they appear in the photos at Rochdale.

The women represented were vocal about contemporary political and social affairs, and their selection for the window suggests Ogden's sympathy for the rights of

[438] Lara Perry. *History's Beauties: Women and the National Portrait Gallery, 1856-1900*. (London: Routledge, 2017): 59-60
[439] Lara Perry. *History's Beauties*: 81
[440] Barret Browning, quoted in Lara Perry. *History's Beauties*: 81
[441] Lara Perry. *History's Beauties*: 84

women. Somerville, born in Jedburgh, Scotland, spoke of her disappointment about the lack of educational opportunities for girls.[442] At the time, women were discouraged from study as it was seen by many as a manly pursuit, with Somerville stating, 'From my earliest years my mind revolted against oppression and tyranny, and I resented the injustice of the world in denying all those privileges of education to my sex which were so lavishly bestowed on men.'[443] Unhappiness with the lack of opportunity for women is echoed throughout the writings of the other female authors represented. Brontë, Barrett Browning, and Eliot all expressed their frustration at these limitations: a frustration compounded, perhaps, by the need for both Brontë and Eliot to work under male pseudonyms. Jameson and Barrett Browning were also good friends, with the former staying with the latter on occasion when living in Italy.[444] Jameson was the author of significant art historical works as well as literary criticism such as *Characteristics of Women* (1832), which provided an analysis of Shakespeare's heroines from the female perspective.

It is noteworthy that in 1874, when based at the Town Hall before moving to the Free Library, the library reference collection contained works by all authors apart from Barret Browning. On the shelves was *Villette* by Brontë, *Middlemarch* and *Legend of Jubal and other Poems* under Miss Evan's pseudonym of George Eliot; Jameson's *Memoirs of the Early Italian Painters* and *Visits and Sketches at Home and Abroad*, Somerville's *Personal Reflections of, by her daughter*. By 1889, they had multiple titles by each author, including Barret Browning.[445]

What unites these women is an unconventional approach towards life and a sense of independence. All experienced adversity in their careers because of their gender, yet all were nonetheless prolific in their chosen fields. Political motivations united Barrett Browning, Somerville, and Eliot; Barrett Browning and Somerville were staunchly anti-slavery while Eliot was a freethinking radical who questioned the Christian faith.

Owing to the rarity of a window devoted to women authors at this early date and the careful choices made with every aspect of the portraits, it is tempting to believe that

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[442] Somerville Hall, now Somerville College, at the University of Oxford was founded in Somerville's memory in 1879 to promote higher education for women. This predates the opening of Rochdale library by just five years.
[443] Martha Somerville, *Personal Recollections, from Early Life to Old Age*, of Mary Somerville (London: Murray, 1874): 45–46.
[444] Judith Johnston, 'Jameson [née Murphy], Anna Brownell (1794–1860)', ODNB.
[445] *Rochdale Free Public Library. Catalogue of the Books in the Lending Department*. Compiled by George Hanson, Principal Librarian. Rochdale. E. Wright and Sons Limited, Printers, Acker Street, Rochdale, 1899 and 1874

Ogden may have felt an affiliation with these women and their works. How did this relate to his political allegiance? Interestingly, in an address given in 1945, A. N. Scott notes that Ogden received nominations from the Liberals to continue his membership of the town council until 1891, which certainly indicates that there was some respect from the opposing party and may go some way to explain his choices.[446] His views were also said to have broadened with the passing of the years and his beliefs that 'poor folk should have free access to all avenues of intellectual advancement' led one author to remark that he was a democrat to this extent.[447] However, the inclusion of such prominent women also plays into Rochdale's image of self-help and educational progress across all classes.[448] Ogden donated many texts to the collection, so he likely enjoyed the works of these female authors and wished to have exceptional talents of different disciplines on display to inspire the readers who used the space.[449]

Local interest is noted in the *Rochdale Observer* in 1884 about the inclusion of Brontë, who was described as a 'vivid describer of our local hill scenery which we feel proud to claim as a native of our immediate district.'[450] This refers to the proximity of Rochdale in East Lancashire to Haworth, in West Yorkshire, the home of the Brontë family, and the landscape of the intervening South Pennine hills. Lancastrian Rochdale claims the Yorkshire Brontë as its own, an illuminating reflection of the local thought processes involved in the selection of authors.

There was, of course, a long tradition of depicting women in religious contexts in stained glass, yet there are fundamental differences in their depictions. Saints and royalty offered female representation and female donors were also often recognized.[451] The development of the memorial window during the nineteenth

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[446] A. N. Scott, 'James Ogden and the Rochdale Art Gallery', *Transactions of the Rochdale Literary and Scientific Society*, 22 (1945): 72.
[447] 'Local Men of Mark,' *Rochdale Monthly*: 6
[448] Patrick Joyce. *Visions of the People*: 58
[449] Catalogues of the books held in the lending department confirm that in 1874, when the library was based at the town hall, works by Bronte (*Vilette*), Eliot (*Middlemarch, Legend of Jubal and other Poems*), Jameson (*Memoirs of the early Italian Painters, Visits and Sketches at Home and Abroad*) and Somerville (*Personal Recollections of, by her Daughter*) were in the collection. By 1899, the collection was vastly expanded and several titles by all authors were now in the lending library. George Hanson. *Supplementary Catalogue of the Books in the in the Rochdale Free Public Library*, *Town Hall Lending Department*. Rochdale. E. Wrigley and Sons, Atlas Steam Printing Works, 1874. George Hanson. *Catalogue of the Books in the Lending Department*. Rochdale. E. Wrigley and Sons Limited, Printers, Acker Street. 1899.
[450] 'Stained Glass Windows for the New Free Library', *Rochdale Times,* 7 June 1884: 5
[451] See Christine Hediger, 'Female Donors of Medieval Stained-Glass Windows', in *Investigations in Medieval Stained Glass: Materials, Methods, and Expressions*, ed. by Elizabeth Carson Pastan and Brigitte Kurmann-Schwarz, Reading Medieval Sources, 3 (Leiden: Brill, 2019): 239–50.

century also offered husbands and children the opportunity to memorialize their wives and mothers with female saints or virtues.[452] However, female representation was still less common, apart from the Virgin Mary who was often presented in relation to her son. During the Middle Ages, when women are represented, their vitae were often edited and manipulated to emphasize virginity or erudition. In the nineteenth century female figures were also used allegorically in order to embody particular qualities. For example, the memorial window dedicated to Grace Darling at St Aidan's church, Bamburgh (1855) (Fig.236), does not depict Darling herself. Darling was a lighthouse keeper's daughter who was famed for rescuing survivors from the shipwrecked *Forfarshire* in 1838. Her achievements are symbolized by the virtues Charity, Fortitude, and Hope. Darling herself is represented by Fortitude, who replaces the more common virtue, Faith, and she is holding an oar; her image still relies, therefore, on allegory rather than portraiture. Another example is the window at the Carnegie library in Accrington (Fig.237-238). Made by Henry Gustave Hiller of Liverpool in 1907, the window is spectacular both in size and execution, but relies on allegory in the form of a female figure, who represents 'Knowledge'. The figure has a statuesque manner, holds a lamp and an open book, while either side of her, edifying messages such as 'Knowledge is Power' and 'A Light to Guide' are placed alongside images of an owl, symbol of wisdom, and an hour-glass. The example at Accrington reveals again that highly ornate stained glass could be exposed to the lower classes, however, the representation of the women authors at Rochdale was distinctive in recognizing their intellectual merit and literary achievements.

Other secular contexts reflecting women and their achievements were slower to take hold. For example, the window inserted at the Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh, in 1891 depicts an all-male cast: members of the council of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland (Fig.239).[453] The Carnegie Library at Stockport, built in 1913–15, only contains references to male authors, such as Milton, on the staircase windows. The exceptional subject matter of the window at Rochdale is also in stark contrast to the stained glass at the neo-Gothic John Rylands Library in central Manchester, completed in 1899.[454] The two large windows at either end of the reading room each contain twenty figures, with no representations of women,

[452] For an overview of the development of the memorial window, see Michael Kerney, 'The Victorian Memorial Window', *Journal of Stained Glass*, 31 (2007): 66–93.
[453] For further discussion of this window, see D. V. Clarke, 'The National Museums' Stained-Glass Window', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 120 (1990): 201–24.
[454] See Appendix 1: 237, for a brief overview of John Rylands Library.

although the subject matter was largely chosen by a woman (Figs.240-243). The complex was dedicated by Enriqueta (1843–1908), widow of the entrepreneur and philanthropist John Rylands (1801–1888), but the windows reflect her religious and artistic preferences and, more generally, symbolize the collections of the library. The east window depicts figures relating to literature and art while the west represents those relating to theology. Enriqueta Rylands selected and placed the figures with advice from Dr Samuel Gosnell Green, the Baptist minister and scholar.[455] They were designed by Charles Eamer Kempe (1837–1907), a London-based artist, and use traditional late-medieval compositions consisting of single figures surrounded by architectural motifs. There is a significant distance between the user of the space and the large windows on either side of the main reading room, whereas the windows at Rochdale connect user and space. It is not until 1921 that windows celebrating the achievements of women were inserted in the Lady Chapel at Liverpool Anglican Cathedral (Fig.244).[456]

At Rochdale the gendered separation of space and the representation in stained glass of that division allowed women authors to be transposed from the domestic into the public sphere; indeed, to take centre stage in the absence of their male counterparts. The space is defined as feminine. However, while this room functioned as the women's reading room during the day, in the evening it became a reading room for boys, revealing the complexity of messages within the usage of one space, but also exposing the young to significant female figures of recent times.[457]

Other literary men were portrayed in medallions in the upper panels of the windows on the east side of the men's reading room at Rochdale. These comprised the novelists Scott, Thackeray, and Dickens, the historians Macaulay, Gibbon, and Grote, and, representing periodical literature, Bacon, Addison, and Defoe, echoing the female authors' window in representing different branches of literature. Significantly, regional interests are also exemplified in the inclusion of the local authors Edwin Waugh (1817–1890), 'The Burns of Lancashire'; John Collier (1708–1786), 'The Lancashire Hogarth'; and the author and banker John Roby (1793–1850). Lord Byron (1788–1824) presided over them in the window above: being Lord of the Manor of Rochdale, he was claimed as a local, notwithstanding his

[455] John Hodgson, '"Carven stone and blazoned pane": The Design and Construction of the John Rylands Library', *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester*, 89.1 (2012–13): 19–81: 54

[456] See *Noble Women: Windows in the Lady Chapel* (Liverpool: Liverpool Cathedral, 1951).

[457] *Rochdale Household Almanack and Corporation Manual for 1885* (Rochdale: Wrigley, 1885): 8

moral notoriety and his disposal of the manor, which had been owned by his family for generations.[458] Local pride evidently took precedence over controversy.[459]

The inclusion of local authors seems to represent an attempt to reconcile tradition with modernity through the use of local dialect. Language connected past and present, which was important for the identity of new boomtowns in the industrial North.[460] Collier, known by the pseudonym Tim Bobbin, was a character who did not shy from controversy. He was a caricaturist who produced illustrated satirical poetry in the Lancashire dialect and would travel to Rochdale to sell his work in the local pubs. His most famous texts are *A View of the Lancashire Dialect; or, Tummus and Mary* (1746) and the illustrated *Human Passions Delineated* (1773). Collier was also vocal about political ineptitude and attacked the clergy in his texts. These were not safe choices for representation in the library but reveal that local pride and steadfastness of opinion were favoured over societal norms. Collier is buried locally, just a short walk from the library in the churchyard of St Chad's. Waugh was born in Rochdale and his most famous Lancashire dialect poem was 'Come whoam to thi childer an' me' (1856). He discussed aspects of Lancashire life in his prose, such as *Besom Ben Stories* (1865) and *Home Life of the Lancashire Factory Folk during the Cotton Famine, 1862* (1867). Significantly, Waugh was present for the opening ceremony of Rochdale Library in 1884 and would have seen his own image in the decorative glass.[461] These local men contributed significantly to the 'canon of Lancashire literature', and their inclusion in the stained glass reveals that they were as significant to Ogden and the people of Rochdale as Shakespeare or Milton, and were represented alongside them. Their portraits are of the same scale, and they are also located centrally along the East wall.

The stained glass at Rochdale Library, Museum, and Art Gallery exemplifies the proliferation of its use in secular buildings in towns and cities in the nineteenth century, and reflects how stained glass was commonplace and an integral feature of such buildings. This thoughtful design and use of materials, along with the selection of authors chosen by Ogden, define the modernity of the Rochdale windows. Stained and decorative glass could serve many purposes in a building: it defined physical space while redefining spaces through imagery, and was critical in

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[458] 'Opening of the New Free Library', *Rochdale Observer*, 1 November 1884: 6.
[459] There was some criticism of this choice. It was 'rather a big stretch, for we are afraid the poetic inspiration did not spring from Rochdale' (*Rochdale Household Almanack*: 8).
[460] Patrick Joyce, *Democratic Subjects: The Self and the Social in Nineteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994): 168.
[461] Rebe P. Taylor. *Rochdale* Retrospect: 132

connecting audiences to buildings, and buildings to their locale. Secular settings widened the popularity of stained glass, yet it is its ubiquity that has often been its downfall in terms of later protection and conservation.

The windows at Rochdale were innovative in thought and design, individual in the representation of the interests of donors, regional in subject matter, and broadcast civic interests and ideals within public spaces. Close study of the windows at Rochdale reveals not only how stained glass interacts with the function and location of municipal buildings, but also how the medium represented and reflected issues of gender, class, and regionalism in the public sphere.

Sport, masculinity and class: Stained glass at Victoria Baths

Victoria Baths in Manchester (Fig.245-247) is a stunning example of an Edwardian public swimming pool and Turkish baths, and is decorated throughout its entirety with stained and decorative glass.[462] Like the Crown Posada and Rochdale library, stained glass reinforces segregation and separation by gender and class, but in an atmosphere of the semi-nakedness of bathing. Both working- and middle-class men are to be found in the sports windows along the front façade of the Baths, which represent cricket, football, boxing and wrestling, activities that had their own complex social histories and appealed to working- and middle-class audiences at various points of their history.

These images are not simply passive; they are used to define hierarchies of space and socially accepted concepts of manliness. This juxtaposition of these two sites of contrasting leisure pursuits construct different aspects of primarily masculine, as opposed to feminine, identity. There is unification in purpose of space and decoration. As with rules set out according to class and gendered spaces, sport and physical activity was dominated by rules, regulations and organising structures.[463] The representations in the stained glass create a complex interweaving of a deeply divided society with popular trends in sport, which makes the stained glass at Victoria Baths a rich source for the reflection and construction of society in the first decade of the twentieth century (Figs.248-249).[464]

[462] For a brief overview of Victoria Baths, see Appendix 1: 239

[463] John Lowerson. *Sport and the English middle classes, 1870-1914*. (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1993): 1

[464] To solidify this point, the pool sizes differ depending on gender and class; the first-class males had the luxury of the largest pool which was 40 feet long; the second class males pool was 35 feet long and the females had the smallest, which was 30 feet. The pre decimalisation cost of using the baths was two old pennies for female and second-class males to swim, four old pennies for first class

The Victoria Baths

Originally named High Street Baths, The Victoria Baths public wash house, swimming pool and Turkish baths, completed in 1906, were designed by Henry Price (1867-1944), Manchester's first city architect, and located in Chorlton-upon-Medlock, Manchester. It was quite usual to have Turkish baths as part of a public baths complex because they were seen as another type of hot air bath.[465] Stained glass is present in every section of the building; the three pools, above doorways, the paying booths, vestibules, toilets and restrooms, making the complex consistent in its design throughout. The most well-known stained glass in the complex is in the Turkish baths area, which consists of four large windows along the front of the building, containing landscape scenes and a water sprite. The Lord Mayor at the time of construction, J. Herbert Thewliss, described the baths as 'this Water Palace of which every citizen of Manchester will be justly proud'.[466] It was the first public baths to have a gala pool where spectators could watch. Swimming already had a long-standing role in many communities as a competitive sport from the third quarter of the nineteenth century,[467] and the proliferation of swimming facilities throughout the nineteenth century reflects its huge growth in popularity. The 1908 Olympic Games in London were the first to have a pool for competitive swimming.

Despite extensive restoration work, Victoria Baths' continues to operate and its external and internal features are unparalleled in a building of this type. Surviving Municipal and Turkish baths with narrative stained and decorative glass are rare,[468] and Victoria Baths was fully intended to shine out amongst other buildings of its type, whilst also reflecting the power and prestige of the city of Manchester.

Public Baths were first opened in 1828 in Britain and the Baths and Washhouses Act was introduced in 1848 which were to facilitate first-and-second class users. Turkish Baths were a new kind of social space from the 1860s.[469] David Urquhart, who campaigned to bring Turkish baths to the UK and wished to popularise Turkish culture, designed the Hammam at Jermyn Street in London (Fig.250), initially conceived of them as utopian spaces which allowed for levelling social distinctions

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males. On 'dirty days' the pools were even cheaper to use, as the water had been in the pool for a few days.

[465] Malcolm Shifrin. *Victorian Turkish Baths*. (Swindon: Historic England, 2015): 128

[466] Quoted in Prue Williams. *Victoria Baths: Manchester's Water Palace*. (Reading: Spire Books, 2004): 13

[467] John Lowerson. *Sport and the English middle classes:* 5

[468] Other municipal baths containing decorative glass are at Withington in South Manchester, Moseley in Birmingham and Bramley, Leeds

[469] See Malcolm Shifrin. *Victorian Turkish Baths*. 2016

and the classes to mix,[470] although the cost of using these spaces made them unattainable for the working classes.

The process of the three hot rooms at the Turkish baths is actually based on the principles of Roman baths – tepidarium, calidarium, laconicum -involved bathers sweating in a room heated by hot dry air followed by a shower or plunge pool, shampooing and then relaxing in the cooling room. This type of bath raised awareness of personal hygiene and cleanliness after severe outbreaks of cholera from 1831 to 1853 and became part of the Victorian leisure industry.[471] The Manchester Corporation had already built a number of public baths in Manchester, including those at Withington and Harpurhey, all containing decorative glass. Key to the success of these buildings was good travel networks, and Manchester had a sophisticated rail and omnibus service which allowed easy movement around the city.[472]

In terms of authorship of the glass, there have been attributions to the Manchester stained-glass firm belonging to Cundiff and Pointer, whose studios were based at London Road, Manchester and in 1906 moved to Grosvenor Street in Manchester, although this is not yet supported by documentary evidence (Fig.251).[473] Another candidate for consideration must be George Wragge who provided the wrought iron gates to the complex, as he did at The Midland Hotel in the centre of Manchester, where he also provided the stained glass. Wragge's firm also provided the plaque in the entranceway with a decorative mosaic of lilies around the shield. Stylistic evidence, discussed in chapter four, reveals that they were certainly by a Manchester firm. There is extensive use of textured glasses, reflecting this strong aesthetic of the stained-glass industry in Manchester.[474] But the casement window back plates do not match any of the models produced by Wragge's as these were extensively documented in their catalogues.

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[470] Malcolm Shifrin. *Victorian Turkish Baths*: 97. Urquhart had seen classes mixing freely in the baths of Constantinople.

[471] Malcolm Shifrin. *Victorian Turkish Baths*: 5-6

[472] Simon Inglis. *Played in Manchester*: *The architectural heritage of a city at play* (Played in Britain Series). (Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, 2004):18

[473] During the first restoration phase of the baths, family members of Pointer came forward with images of sports depicted in stained glass and claimed they were images from the Victoria Baths. However, the photograph depicts glass that was clearly made for another building entirely.

[474] There is some evidence of companies collaborating on occasion; George Wragge and W.G. Sutherland must have worked in close partnership to produce windows for Sir Joseph Verdin in Cheshire as Wragge advertises designs in his 1897 catalogue as 'The Sutherland Glass'. Also, in Sackville Street building Walter Pearce designed and made the extensive stained glass, but the casement window back plates and handles are by George Wragge.

Archive photographs show William Pointer's niece standing outside his home at Portland Crescent, Chorlton-upon-Medlock, Manchester, on her wedding day in 1923 (Fig.252).[475] The front door contains a decorative glass peacock which has some notable stylistic similarities to the glass at Victoria Baths, for example, in the long blades of grass which are evident in the window containing the female figure with butterfly wings in the Turkish baths, surrounded by various birds and flowers. The house has since lost its decorative glass, but the house next door still retains stained glass in the upper panels of the ground floor window and first floor windows, with many textures evident (Fig.253-255).

Other houses in the local area also contain decorative glass with similar themes to those of Victoria Baths. Two houses on Anson Road in the Victoria Park area contain windows on the staircase; at number 37 (Fig.256-259), an image of a galleon is depicted in textured glasses, along with many landscape images in the upper panels of the doorways. Next door, the main window on the staircase depicts flowers in the Art Nouveau style, denoted in red and green (Fig.260-261).

The Sportsmen windows

Images of popular sports in stained glass were prominently located in the entranceways and pay offices of Victoria Baths. From left to right on the front of the building, sporting images depict cricket and football, then are intersected by the Turkish Baths windows, wrestling, boxing, running and golf (Figs.262-268). There are no images of swimming depicted, suggesting that the sportsmen windows had a different agenda.[476] Also absent are rugby and lawn tennis, which is rather surprising, as the land the Baths were built upon were previously used as tennis courts (Figs.269-270). However, rugby and tennis were more middle-class sports, with rugby having a very particular public-school history as its name implies.

The sports windows were the result of a long developing interest in sport and its rise to prominence in cities. Active recreation became a popular past time in the nineteenth century and sport became integral to city life and gave a sense of

[475] Victoria Baths archive relating to conversations with Joyce Leah, William Pointer's Great Niece.
[476] A stained glass window depicting Sunny Lowry was added to the room which connects the females waiting room to the females pool in 2004, to add the image of swimming but also to address the gender imbalance of the sports windows.

tradition, belonging and identity.[477] In Manchester, 'by the 1880s, sport was part of the city's social and commercial fabric. Its moral fabric too.'[478]

The stained-glass windows represent the manliness of sport, the glorification of the male physique and were there to inspire, invigorate and remind the customers of the physical activity and competition that could take place in the building, whether this was against the self or as part of a team. The windows are therefore a challenge to the Victorian post-war anxieties of 'degeneration',[479] the reverse evolution of post Boer War Britain in which there was a crisis of masculinity.[480] A multitude of places such as swimming pools and libraries emerged to make people better who lived in large cities where urban living was viewed as harmful to the individual.

John Lowerson states that, after 1870, 'On to the great mid-century virtues of Work, Punctuality, Thrift and Respectability was grafted a sports ethic'.[481] By the 1870s, the cult of athleticism had become an important element in formulations of masculinity associated with public schools and universities; the boat race, for example, shouldn't just be for the pleasure of toil, but pleasures, of 'useful muscular work'.[482]

Sport supported a society divided by class, full of rules and regulations, with restricted club memberships, controlled environments, and divisive terms such as 'amateur' and 'professional'. Gentlemen do not need to be paid to 'play'. The windows therefore underline hierarchies and reinforce current orthodoxies. The sportsmen windows act as posters for popular sports and reflect popular culture,[483] and Manchester was influential and active in sport due to the huge growth in the urban population, which is where the roots of working-class sports lay. Changes in working laws, such as the Early Closing Movement, allowed for more free time to participate or watch sports for both the working and middle classes. Commercial

[477] Simon Inglis. *Played in Manchester:* 18
[478] Simon Inglis: *Played in Manchester*: 19
[479] Various writers wrote about their fear of degeneration. See Sir Edwin Ray Lankester, Degeneration: A Chapter in Darwinism (London: Macmillan, 1880)
[480] Seth Koven. 'From Rough Lads to Hooligans: Boy Life, National Culture and Social Reform' in Andrew Parker, Mary Russo, Doris Sommer and Patricia Yaeger. *Nationalisms and Sexualities*. London: Routledge, 1992: 366
[481] John Lowerson. *Sport and the English middle classes*: 2
[482] J.A Morgan. *Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian public school*. (London: Routledge, 2012): 72
[483] See Jasmine Allen. *Windows for the World: Nineteenth-Century Stained Glass and the International Exhibitions, 1851-1900*. (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2018): 110, for a discussion of stained glass and the relation to poster design and graphic qualities.

work was generally a six-day week and manual workers had a half day on Saturday and, in the 1870s, office or 'white collar' workers reaped the same benefits.[484]

Sport was male territory and the first-class males, second-class males and females all had separate entranceways at Victoria Baths. For men, partaking in sport meant a myriad of positive attributes, but for women it was defeminising and not respectable, 'detrimental to grace, figure and child-bearing alike'.[485] There are no representations of women playing sport in the stained glass, despite women using the building as much as men. Where an image of a woman participating in sport would have been appropriate, in the females' waiting room,[486] which is at the far right-hand side of the building, instead, a lone male golfer is represented in mid swing.[487] When women are represented at Victoria Baths, they are in the form of nymphs and mermaids in the sculpture on the gables of the exterior of the baths (Fig.247).

Masculinity and Class: Football

The image of football is displayed in the window on the opposite side of the first-class males' entrance, in a separate pay booth area (Fig.263). There are two men in the painted image, with the man in the forefront, who is about to kick the ball, being particularly large and muscular, demonstrating an ideal masculine physique. He is also young, with prominent features such as his pronounced eyes and lips.[488] He wears a red open-collared short-sleeved top with blue shorts, a gold belt and white socks pulled up to the knee with stripes denoted in silver stain. His arms swing confidently in his movement toward the ball. This image is placed within sections of delicately patterned and textured glass with flowing elongated leads. The setting for the game is on a field with trees and bushes in the background.

Football was an urban, inner city and masculine sport and, by 1900, was an important part of British popular culture, having being brought from rural areas and small towns to cities by this time, making it an obvious choice for the stained glass

[484] John Lowerson. *Sport and the English middle classes*: 16
[485] Tony Mason. *Sport in Britain: A Social History*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989): 59
[486] A further point to illustrate the inequality of the sexes, was that women who used the Baths required a waiting room, evidently to be chaperoned to and from the Baths. This room would have been where they waited for their company.
[487] This room was altered in the 1950s and became the aerotone, which had the capacity to treat both physical and mental ailments.
[488] William Pointer's granddaughter claimed that this image was based on Pointer's grandson, who later died in the First World War. This has not so far been authenticated by archives or any other documentation.

of Victoria Baths. By 1906, the city of Manchester already boasted the two successful teams of Manchester United and Manchester City,[489] each with its own important stadium, although the kit depicted in the window does not reflect either team.[490] Football had risen for both players and spectators from being a working man's game, as well as having roots in the church, to a sport that was enjoyed by all classes.[491]

Manchester United was formed in 1878 under the name of Newton Heath Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway, therefore steeped in working-class, industrial roots. 'The workers in the railway yard at Newton Heath indulged their passion for association football with games against other departments of the LYR and other railway companies.'[492] They became Manchester United in 1902. The Football League was originally created with teams from the North West and the Midlands, so areas which were rich in industrial heritage and trade, reflecting the window at Victoria Baths as having northern representation and roots. The time taken to rise from the sport of the inner-city working classes to part of the sporting cultural interests of the middle-classes was short, and the window at Victoria Baths reflects this huge rise of popularity.

Football also had strong associations with the church; Manchester City was founded in 1880 as St Mark's (West Gorton) and became Ardwick Association Football Club in 1887 and finally, Manchester City, in 1894. Other Northern teams with religious associations were Liverpool Football Club and Everton, both teams originating as Methodist Boys' Clubs. Again, this timeframe reflects that both City and United were popular when the Baths were built, and these images were relatable to those who entered.

Images of footballers were popular on cigarette cards, providing a whole new catalogue of imagery to draw upon (Figs.271-273). Therefore, the windows were also encouraged by what was deemed lower-level culture that was available to all. Celebrity culture was rife during the nineteenth and early-twentieth century and had been influenced by the nation desiring to know what these sporting figures looked

[489] Members of City and United were known to have used the aerotone facilities at the Baths during the 1960s.
[490] The website, *Historical Football Kits,* has detailed images of kits throughout the history of teams in the English Football League. www.historiacalkits.co.uk. Accessed 20th August, 2019
[491] Tony Mason. 'Football' in Tony Mason (Ed.). *Sport in Britain: A social history*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989): 146
[492] Manchester United: The Story So Far. www.manutd.com. Accessed 19th August 2019

like 'in the flesh'.[493] The footballer at Victoria Baths is much more of a bulkier figure than is portrayed in the cigarette cards and given the sport was born from the urban working classes, this is significant. The footballer in the background of the window is also secondary and not playing a role in the action. The body of the footballer is glorified; he has muscular arms and legs and a look of determination in his facial features. The masculine body on display required effort to attain and was desirable amongst other men, as demonstrated in Trollope's tale of the Turkish Baths where men undertake the scrutiny of themselves as compared with others (Fig.274).[494] It is most alike in spirit to the representation of the runners, who are also presented as young and physically strong.[495] Athletics was also popular all over the country from the 1870s, with strong regional associations in the North and the Midlands.[496]

There is a stark contrast between the masculine subject in the painted image and the 'feminine' design and style of the overall window (Fig.275). The window designs are Art Nouveau in style, with soft curves and elongated forms surrounding the central medallion. Design was traditionally more feminine territory, which related to the domestic environment, whilst architecture was deemed as masculine, so there is a gendered narrative within the fabric of Victoria Baths,[497] with femininity infiltrating masculine space.

This feminine aesthetic is also reflected in the choice of colour with light pastel tones in the floral, textured and delicate designs. This delicateness is also found in the large windows at opposite ends of the female pool, where a floral pattern is delineated in pastel colours, with flowing leaves and stems which reach upwards. This distinctly feminine aura is to be seen again in the Turkish Baths area, where the female figure with butterfly wings takes centre stage, this time denoted in rich purples and oranges. The sportsmen images were also surrounded by other

[493] Celebrity culture during the nineteenth century, specifically in relation to the Royal Family, is discussed in chapter one.
[494] Anthony Trollope: 'The Turkish Bath' in *Mary Gresley, and Other Stories*. (London: Penguin Classics, 1993)
[495] Conscription for the First World War revealed the terrible physical state of a large number of working-class recruits. See J. M. Winter. 'Military Fitness and Civilian Health in Britain during the First World War.' *Journal of Contemporary History*, April, 1980, Vol. 15, No. 2 (Apr., 1980): 211-244. The windows therefore create a model to aspire to and are unlikely to represent the physical shape of the working classes using the pools. See also Peter Jackson's *They Shall Not Grow Old*, Warner Bros., 2018, which shows footage of recruits in poor states of health when enlisted.
[496] Jeremy Crump. 'Athletics' in Tony Mason (Ed.). *Sport in Britain: A social history*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989): 5
[497] John Potvin*: Vapour and Steam: The Victorian Turkish Bath, Homosocial Health, and Male Bodies on Display*: 320 referencing J. Attfield and P. Kirkham. *A View from the Interior: Feminism, Women and Design*. (London: The Women's Press, 1989)

decorative glass above door panels and in pay booths, all of which depicted flowers and leaves, so there is a real distinction between subject matter and form.

Stained Glass: Class, Health, Cleanliness and the cult of Masculinity

The choice of glass and paint used to represent the flesh of the main footballer is of a darker shade (Figs.276-277),[498] identifying him as a man who works outside, which directly links him to the working-class roots of football and the 'second class' male in terms of the nomenclature of the building and its spaces. For the elite, a sun-darkened skin, stained by outdoor manual work was a visible stigma of class, but also linked them with other races.[499]

Public baths, of which Victoria Baths is one of the most remarkable examples, provided the poorer urban classes with bathing and laundry facilities often unavailable at home. The spectre of communicable disease was never far from public consciousness, especially in the overcrowded housing of the industrial north. Cleanliness was a fixation for the Victorians, with members of the Manchester and Salford Association producing pamphlets such as 'Hints to working people about Personal Cleanliness'.[500] 'Dirt could emanate from an unhygienic body or an immoral body and foul the atmosphere of a room or building.'[501] David Urquhart, the First Secretary at the British Embassy in Istanbul, in his text *The Pillars of Hercules; of a Narrative of Travel in Spain and Morocco in 1848*, stated that 'the body is a fountain of impurities, to which man is more subject than the beast'.[502] Crowds were another concern of the Victorians, and a symbol of unhealthy, urban living and a facet of industrialisation.[503] The lower classes were therefore seen as needing to be sanitised, physically as well as morally.

Returning to the ideas of Foucault and the disciplining of working-class society, sport was to be encouraged, as it engendered discipline and social control as well as bodily health and cleanliness, and was prominent in the recreations of the middle classes of industrial and urban societies.[504] Sport and cleanliness are aligned;

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[498] This is also the case when examining pre-conservation photos of the stained glass (Figs.276-277)
[499] Anne Mcclintock. *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest*. (London: Routledge, 1995): 211
[500] Prue Williams. *Victoria Baths: Manchester Water Palace*. 17
[501] Alison Bashford. *Purity and Pollution: Gender, Embodiment and Victorian Health*. (New York: St Martin's Press. 1998): 7, quoted in John Potvin. *Vapour and Steam*. 320
[502] David Urquhart. *The Pillars of Hercules; of a Narrative of Travel in Spain and Morocco in 1848*. (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1850): 29
[503] See Gustave Le Bon. *The Crowd: A Study of the Popular Mind*. (New York: Dover Publications, 2010)
[504] John Lowerson. *Sport and the English middle classes*: viii

'Cleanliness, purity and maleness became the essence of 'manly' activities.[505] Soap was civilisation and being clean was a measure of Britain's superiority.[506] Soap stood for social purification, class denigration and imperial racism. Cleanliness was the upper-class white man's virtue,[507] and a form of class control; it was 'the cleaning of the great unwashed', which was their moral salvation.[508] The working classes such as the footballer were purified in the Victoria Baths, the footballer himself depicted in glass, a shining material which lent itself to be easily washed clean. This fixation with purifying the working classes also crossed over into racial hygiene. An advert for Pears Soap, c.1880, depicts the body of a young boy of colour being washed white by the soap, with his face remaining darker skinned. This reflects a fetishism for clean, white, 'pure' bodies. The upper classes would buy powders and creams to ensure the purity of their complexions to differentiate themselves from the lower classes.[509] This division of the pure white and the sun-darkened or African skin was heavily influenced by the Boer War. Those who entered the baths were rendered clean by soap and the water in which they bathed.

The portrait of the footballer and the emphasis on his youthfulness is significant. Lowerson states: 'concern with athletic and team sports focused essentially on the young, almost in cultic forms.'[510] There are echoes of Arnold's discussion of culture and the young playing sport being compared with class:

> the result of all the games and sports which occupy the passing generation of boys and young men may be the establishment of a better and sounder physical type for the future to work with. Culture does not set itself against the games and sports; it congratulates the future, and hopes it will make a good use of its improved physical basis; but it points out that our passing generation of boys and young men is, meantime, sacrificed.[511]

This text reveals how embedded sport had become in culture at the time the book was published in 1869. Sport taught the subordination of the self.[512] It was 'good' to participate in these specifically manly activities which were defined by strict rules. This is very much in line with social reformist ideas of the later-nineteenth century

[505] Ibid: 67
[506] Anne Mcclintock. *Imperial Leather*: 207
[507] Ibid: 32-33
[508] Ibid: 207
[509] Ibid: 212
[510] John Lowerson. *Sport and the English middle classes*: 67
[511] Matthew Arnold. *Culture and Anarchy*. (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2006): 46
[512] John Lowerson. *Sport and the English middle classes*: 68

which sought to combat anarchy by using culture to unite the upper-and-lower classes. Citizenship involved performing duties for the benefit of the community and nation, and sport was a way in which this could be completed and overturn degeneration.[513] In this way, sport was linked with military prowess and imperial strength as a symbol of strength and morality. It was a protection against the ever-present danger of hooliganism, a dangerous form of masculinity, and anarchy of the working classes, which needed to be trained and disciplined, particularly in the aftermath of the Boer War, when the Victoria Baths were built. The sportsmen are treated as heroes and success stories of training and discipline, very much on a par with representations in stained glass of military heroes of the time. Examples are Robert Baden-Powell, the celebrated general and later, founder of the Scout movement, and Frederick Roberts, one of the most successful British military commanders of hie time, who are depicted above the fireplace at The Philharmonic pub in Liverpool. This also ties in with reflections of sport in literature. In *Tom Brown's Schooldays*, the description of the first rugby match in which Tom is involved is compared with a military battle. Brooke, the 'cock of the School' and 'best kick and charger in Rugby,'[514] glances at his array as the author 'would hope to see in my general when I go out to fight'.[515] A battle would look the same as the players on the two sides, 'except the balls would be iron; but a battle would be worth your looking at for all that, and so is a football match'.[516] Games are morally good for men; 'Something to try the muscles of men's bodies, and the endurance of their hearts, and to make them rejoice in their strength.'[517]

This idea of maleness and sport is echoed in E.M. Forster's *A Room with a View* (1908), which defines the 'tough guy' and the 'effeminate intellectual.'[518] A tennis match on Windy Corner takes place between four main characters, and the difference between the manly sporting man of action and the ineffectual man of intellect is made clear in the character of Cecil Vyse. While Freddy, Floyd and George play, Cecil paces around reading from a romance novel.[519] George 'wanted to live now, to win at tennis, to stand for all he was worth in the sun' while Cecil 'had

[513] Seth Koven. 'From Rough Lads to Hooligans: Boy Life, National Culture and Social': 367
[514] Thomas Hughes. *Tom Brown's Schooldays*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008): 98
[515] Ibid. 104
[516] Ibid. 106
[517] Ibid. 41
[518] Theodor Adorno, quoted in Seth Koven. 'From Rough Lads to Hooligans': 369
[519] E.M. Forster. *A Room with a View.* (London: Penguin Classics, 2006): 235. This is also a satire of something which he considers to be 'popular' and inferior.

been rather a nuisance all through the tennis, for the novel that he was reading was so bad that he was obliged to read it aloud to others.'[520]

As Masterman stated in 'The Heart of the Empire', a work about social reform, urban conditions and childhood, his goal was to 'weld together into a compact and homogenous people a nation that seems breaking up into isolated atoms'.[521] This is exactly the message of the sportsman windows, where everyone is disciplined and trained for the benefit of the community, no matter what the actual reality was.

The Upper Classes – Cricket at Victoria Baths

The figure of the footballer particularly stands in contrast to the depiction of the cricketers in the stained glass of the first-class male entranceway (Fig.262). These are the 'pure' upper classes, depicted with deliberately white skin and pure cricket whites, yet not as visibly strong. Cricket was a typically elite, imperial and increasingly middle-class sport, and a moustached man is the batsman in front of the wicket, with a fielder in the background.

The cricket whites are of the Edwardian period, with loose, tucked in long-sleeved shirts with the sleeves rolled up, along with batting pads. They wear yellow caps and play the game on a grassy field, with a small slate-roofed building in the background to the right. In the background is a large hill, which gives a sense of the rural countryside. A variety of glass colours have been used to create the scene.

Sources for the imagery also align with cigarette cards and signs from public houses, so therefore paradoxically are made more familiar by what was deemed lower-level culture (Figs.278-281). There were trends for depicting well-known cricketers such as W.G. Grace in pub signs. The backgrounds are also rural, yet the cigarette card images are heavily staged. The player is stood at the crease in the cigarette cards and the wicket keeper is prominent in the pub signs. The image in the stained glass differs, as it is an action shot of the batsman and there is no wicket keeper, just a distant fielder who wears no gloves and is secondary to the composition.

Significantly, cricket has been placed to align with the clientele for whom the entrance was made. Also in the entranceway are Ellison's wrought-iron turnstiles,[522]

[520] Ibid
[521] Seth Koven. 'From Rough Lads to Hooligans': 377
[522] Ellison's were famous for their turnstiles, which were also placed at Wembley Stadium. They are still fully functioning at Victoria Baths.

extravagant textured glass in partition doors, intricate tile work by Pilkington's on the walls of the stairway and beneath the feet, a stunning pale mosaic floor depicting leaping and jumping fish all along the way to the swimming pool. Galleons are represented in the centre of the two large windows in the first-class men's pool, which are high up at each end. (Fig.282-283). The image is aspirational and imperial with the link of the galleon and the Elizabethan origins of Empire; this would have been where spectators came to watch swimming competitions and would symbolise Manchester's great industrial heritage and dominance through sea trade. There is also more stained glass present in the first-class men's pool, with symbolic imagery referencing 'Aqua' and 'Zephyr'. One opening is currently empty and it is not known what was originally depicted, but the theme of the elements is likely.[523]

Throughout the nineteenth century cricket was entwined with the class system; it remained the sport of 'gentlemen' or aristocrats and senior military officers, into the early twentieth century, and along with rugby, was played at public schools.[524] Therefore, the stained glass is reflecting and emphasising class divisions and inequalities. Images such as the representation of cricket distanced these men from the working classes depicted in the football window, and those who would have been using the slipper baths. This was respectable upper-class camaraderie, which is carefully reflected by the fact the men have been presented as older, with the moustaches indicating officer class.

Headlocks and Handkerchiefs: Sexuality in Boxing and Wrestling

The images of sport in the stained glass are the definition of homosocial; they are heterosexual, but with definite homosexual, erotic possibilities.[525] The baths were a hive of potential for the transgression of the boundaries of sexuality, and the images of boxing and wrestling in particular, offer the viewer a glimpse of sublimated eroticism. It was socially acceptable for men to develop relationships with each other when playing these sports, particularly when male friendships had become

[523] Images of the elements were popular in stained glass, such as at Rochdale Museum and Art Gallery, where work by Walter J. Pearce on the stairway depicts the elements, and date from 1903.
[524] Jack Williams. 'Cricket' in Tony Mason (Ed.). *Sport in Britain: A social history*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989): 116
[525] Michael Hatt explores Aesthetic interiors and homosexuality in, 'Space, Surface, Self: Homosexuality and the Aesthetic Interior.' *Visual Culture in Britain,* v. 8, n. 1 (01 June Summer 2007): 105-128. Through the figure of the narcissistic Aesthete, there was a slippage from heterosexuality to homosexuality. With the various caricatures and texts circulating of those using Turkish Baths, there was an obvious uncertainty of these spaces for some, and in this way the very space of the Baths is the pivot of a moral slide from norm to deviance.

more constrained due to the fear of 'sexual inversion',[526] which reinforced anxiety about a 'degenerate' homosexual subculture.[527] Sports were dirty and sweaty, and required differing levels of clothing. Swimming itself required only a bathing suit and was an area where men may have searched out 'physical release and fleeting intimacy'.[528] The addition of the Turkish Baths allowed men and women to be semi-naked together in designated male and female only sessions, allowing for indulgence in the appreciation of each other's bodies, especially with the separate cubicles. Although women's time was much more limited for using the Turkish Baths, so the possibility of female homosexual transgression would have been much more limited.

Boxing and wrestling are represented in the central windows of the building, with boxing in the second-class males' entranceway (Figs.264-265). As combat sports, boxing and wrestling were both extremely tactile and extremely competitive, but also potentially much more violent and could cause bodily harm.

In the later nineteenth century, boxing was proletarian as a participatory sport, again because the lower classes tended to have more physical and active jobs and were therefore much more capable of playing a physically demanding sport. There were strong boxing cultures in the North of England and Birmingham. The rules for boxing were relatively recent and were introduced by gentlemen, to make the sport more socially acceptable and shifting away from the unregulated violence of bare-knuckle fights.

This regulated form of the sport is what we see in the stained glass at Victoria Baths. In the boxing image the two men are in action, with their boxing gloves in full punch and defence mode. They wear white tops and trousers which are fitted, with high socks to their knees. Their hair is slicked backwards and they appear to be in their late 20s. The man in the forefront has a speckled handkerchief protruding from his belt. There is a full semiotics of handkerchiefs in back pockets which became popular in the nineteenth century. While this was unlikely to be the intention of the painter, viewers who preferred their own sex may have looked upon the imagery with a more knowledgeable eye. There was an elaborate language of words and gesture in nineteenth-century gay London, where sexual meanings could only be understood by those who knew the code.[529] The boxing ring is in a field, again with

[526] Seth Koven. 'From Rough Lads to Hooligans': 369
[527] Seth Koven. 'From Rough Lads to Hooligans': 375
[528] John Potvin. *Vapour and Steam*: 331
[529] Seth Koven. 'From Rough Lads to Hooligans': 373-374

hills and trees in the distance. The man on the left appears to have darker skin with a different choice of glass and darker shading used for his face and arms to the man on the right, who is moustached. The man to the left is also visibly more muscular, again indicating a man who undertakes manual labour, therefore the two boxers are depicted as being of different social classes.

Boxing was a heavily romanticised sport. In the 1890s, boxing transformed into a popular activity of the masses and as well as football, was the sport of the urban, industrialised inner cities.[530] Boxing could be watched in pubs and working men's clubs and later, in music halls and church halls, and was therefore noisy. Boxers represented the spirit of the community and became local heroes. Later, around 1911, boxers became personalities through newspaper coverage and music hall appearances.

The wrestling image (Fig.265) is placed in the Turkish baths rest room. Two men tussle, with the figure on the right in an arm-and head-lock and both wear closer-fitting tops. The figure on the left wears shorts and the figure on the right wears trousers tucked into his boots. Again, they are in field with a glowing sunset in the background. This is an image of amateur wrestling, as opposed to professional wrestling, and would have been represented at the Olympic Games. The setting and clothing attest to this. This emphasis on combat sport and pugilism gives an indication of a strong interest in these sports in the Manchester area.

Although referring to French wrestling in the 1950s, Roland Barthes speaks of the amateur-professional tensions in sports, which separated the classes. True, wrestling for Barthes was amateur wrestling and was performed in second-rate halls which is what the windows represent. For Barthes, wrestling was literature expressed in bodily form and gestures. A series of moments in time, film-like and in the image of passion; 'the perfection of an iconography'.[531] Wrestling was moralistic, where good and evil fight, and ethical, as justice is ultimately delivered.[532] It is full of excessive gestures and the image in the stained glass is displaying one of these. The wrestler is suffering in the hold.

The two men who wrestle are placed in the closed-off rest-room of the Turkish Baths. The space of the Turkish Baths is likely to have been erotic for those who

[530] Stan Shipley. 'Boxing' in Tony Mason (Ed.). *Sport in Britain: A social history*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989): 98
[531] Roland Barthes. *Mythologies.* (London: Vintage, 1993): 20
[532] Roland Barthes. *Mythologies*: 22-25

preferred their own sex. As Malcolm Shifrin states, 'it would be nonsensical to suggest that, even in the early Victorian Turkish Baths (where the sexes were invariably separated), there were not some bathers who enjoyed looking at the bodies of others, exchanging meaningful glances, feeling attraction, or even desiring physical contact.'[533] As Michael Hatt stated of Aesthetic interiors, the Baths were 'spaces where private desire and public self were integrated' and quoting Hoffmanthal, discussing interiors for their erotic homosexual possibilities is 'to read what was never written.'[534] For those who this was the case, the space and the glass would have added to their sensual and visual pleasure, where they could gaze at male bodies, and perhaps arrange to meet up elsewhere later.[535]

Time and money prevented the lower classes from using the Turkish Baths. They cost one and sixpence and took two-to-four hours to fully use.[536] The cooling room, or *meshlak*, often featured the most ornamental design in any Turkish Baths[537] and Victoria Baths is no exception. They were an ideal place for businessmen to meet in the ostentation and exoticness of the rest room, facing the elaborate stained glass. This mirrors bathing in Ancient Rome, where it was the upper classes who used the baths, although they were attended by an entourage, and could walk and chat to friends.[538]

Given the nature of the types of business interactions which may have taken place in the space, the combat displayed in the window could almost be an interpretation of this intellectual tussle. There is also a barely acknowledged sexuality and eroticism of the image in a space where men would regularly have seen it while using the Turkish Baths and the semi-naked bodies which surrounded them. There is an eroticism of the headlock in which the men are engaged; the tactility of the image combined with semi-nakedness and social interaction, even of a business kind, may have been suggestive of a sensuality that many attendees were cognisant of and read from an alternate, queer perspective.

The wrestlers, as well as the other sportsmen in the windows represent healthy and virile male bodies. The architectural space is defined by these 'seemingly invisible

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[533] Malcolm Shifrin. *The Victorian Turkish Bath*: 286
[534] Michael Hatt. 'Space, Surface, Self: Homosexuality and the Aesthetic Interior': 105
[535] Malcolm Shifrin: *The Victorian Turkish Bath*: 291-293
[536] Catherine Spooner. 'Modes of Wearing the Towel: Masculinity, Insanity, and Clothing in Trollope's 'The Turkish Bath': 78, in Katharina Boehm (ed). *Bodies and Things in Nineteenth-Century Literature and Culture*. (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012)
[537] John Potvin. *Vapour and Steam*: 324
[538] J.P.V.D. Balsdon. 'The Shape of the Day' in *Life and Leisure in Ancient Rome*. (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2002): 28

relations of male same-sex sensuality that traversed the spatial, psychical, and class boundaries.'[539] As already acknowledged, sport allowed for same-sex bonding and forged identity and this is replicated in the social space of the Turkish Baths which were spaces of illusion and heightened sensory experiences; an oasis from the outside world. Green tile-work adorned the walls and carpets were underfoot. Nakedness and semi-nakedness were intrinsic to this differentiation and alternate state of being.

The presence of the winged female figure with butterfly wings in the stained glass of the cooling room, the final room of the process, is therefore reassuring to the hetero-normative world and the potential eroticism of close-combat sports (Fig.286). Nakedness could be a cause for trepidation and awkwardness; the Victoria Baths was built in the aftermath of the Wilde trials (1895) and the earlier Cleveland Street Affair (1889), which made the public more aware of alternative sexualities.[540] This unease is represented in Anthony Trollope's *The Turkish Bath* about the clothed and unclothed body and what was deemed proper and improper ways of using the towels provided to cover parts of the body.[541] George du Maurier, in a cartoon of 1866 published in *Punch*, satirised this scenario in a group of men relaxing in a Turkish Bath (Fig.284). Another cartoon dating from 1861, entitled *Mr Punch visits the Turkish Baths*, shows men wrapped in large sheets, seemingly coy about revealing any part of their bodies to other users (Fig.285). The fact that these spaces were an object of fun and satirised directly attests to the general discomfort.

The capacity in this space, as in the swimming pools, to look at other male bodies and scrutinise oneself against them is undeniable.[542] Trollope makes this clear in his text; 'With an absence of all bashfulness which soon grows upon one, we had divested ourselves of our ordinary trappings beneath the gaze of five or six young men lying on surrounding sofas'.[543] The Editor also notes that young Walker of the Treasury, 'looks almost as fine a fellow without his clothes as he does with them,'[544]

[539] John Potvin. *Vapour and Steam*: 327
[540] John Potvin. *Vapour and Steam*: 330
[541] Anthony Trollope: 'The Turkish Bath' in *Mary Gresley, and Other Stories*: 49-94
[542] The Turkish Bath as a queer space is explored by John Potvin in Vapour and Steam; The Victorian Turkish Bath, Homosocial Health, and Male Bodies on Display. *Journal of Design History,* Vol. 18, No. 4 (Winter 2005): 319-333
[543] Anthony Trollope. 'The Turkish Bath.': 50
[544] Anthony Trollope. 'The Turkish Bath.': 50

certainly allowing for admiration and sensualisation of these bodies at close quarters where social and physical bonds could be forged outside of the home.[545]

As Potvin notes in his discussion about the Hamman on Jermyn Street: 'The Hamman was conceptualized as a space in which through peace, calm and health men could bond without aggression often associated with the fraternalism of sports characterized by their display of virility and often sexually explicit banter'.[546]

Therefore, the contrast of the intended peace of the setting and the intended violence and bodily contact of the image is reconciled by the presence of the female figure (Figs.286-288). Images of female figures with butterfly wings were a popular Art Nouveau motif, being created in jewellery of the period in the form of brooches. There is also the element of the Victorian fascination with fairies, and the female figure is surrounded by natural forms such as flowers and birds, giving a sense of a mystical waterscape.[547]

Conclusion

There were several factors influencing the subject matter and elaborateness of stained and decorative glass in buildings of leisure and entertainment, including social pressures and who was expected to be using the space, which directly relates to issues of gender and class. There were deeper meanings and intelligent messages in use, such as literary or learned connotations, reflecting a specific use of the medium. It reflected the function of the building, and the interests and tastes of the patron, as well as the clientele, revealing the burgeoning intellectual aspirations of the middle class and the working-class desire for knowledge.

Stained glass therefore becomes more hierarchical in secular settings. There were always limitations to what people could actually see of stained glass in a church, as divisions such as chantry chapels were always in place, yet there would have been some stained glass accessible to parishioners in the Middle Ages in the nave, and later in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, after the Reformation, the spaces of churches were more open, making the imagery in the stained glass more accessible. This is certainly not the case for stained glass in spaces of leisure and

[545] John Potvin. 'The Aesthetics of Community: Queer Interiors and the Desire for Intimacy': 171, in Jason Edwards and Imogen Hart. *Re-thinking the Interior, 1867-1896*. (Surrey: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2010)
[546] John Potvin. *Vapour and Steam*. 327
[547] See Nicola Bown. *Fairies in Nineteenth-Century Art and Literature*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001)

entertainment. However, the windows at Rochdale Free library buck this trend, and allowed elaborate stained glass to always be seen by the lower classes, thus levelling out the social strata. Yet, aside from libraries, the most elaborate glass is always reserved for the rich in their closed off spaces such as bar lounges and Turkish Baths, which the poorer people could not afford, although this would change later in the twentieth century when these rigid societal structures broke down.

Chapter 4. ‘To its materials it is bound’: Stained glass and the aesthetic of texture in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries

This chapter aims to discuss the aesthetics of stained and decorative glass, particularly in the period between 1890 and 1905 in relation to its qualities of texture, pattern and colour. What is fundamental to the glasses to be discussed is the fascination with changing the surface of the glass. Instead of pattern through paint there is pattern through texture. Three-dimensional, sculptural surfaces of glass took the place of two-dimensional paint, and the firms who were using these textured glasses pre-empted later movements in glass where the focus was on the metaphysical qualities of the material. During the last decade of the 1800s and the early years of the 1900s, there was a conscious shift and development in aesthetic for several British companies producing secular stained glass towards total expression through the form of the material of glass itself. The designs relied upon the textures of the glass, instead of paint, to denote form and materials, whether they be machine-made, opalescent or mouth-blown antique. The availability of these textured glasses reflected and contributed to the late-Victorian and Edwardian desire for pattern in interiors more generally. This distinct design aesthetic has been discussed to a small degree in the scholarship relating to some individual artists and companies, but has so far been largely unrecognised as a unique trend in the design and execution of secular stained glass. This is the progressive element of stained glass where there is pure exploration of the sculptural qualities of colour and texture. Texture in stained and decorative windows allowed the glass to come alive through three-dimensional, deep, undulating surfaces, smooth curves, knots and bulges, sometimes uneven and unordered, sometimes regular and formal. Textured glasses could resemble many things, from the soft patterns of light upon water drops to bud-like, floral forms. Above all, they were versatile, and much experimentation must have been undertaken to realise which texture suited which form.

The British phenomenon of utilising texture over paint in stained glass is a distinctive and separate development to the innovative stained glass work of John La Farge (1835-1910) and Louis Comfort Tiffany (1848-1933) in New York, as well

as Victor Horta (1861-1947) in Brussels,[548] showing there was a significant trend in Britain which has not previously been highlighted. The work of Charles Rennie Mackintosh (1868-1928) in Glasgow, included much use of these glasses but his work can be seen not only as part of the wider Glasgow School, but a wider movement that covered many cities in Britain.

There were already efforts made in Britain as early as the mid-nineteenth century to investigate the capability of the material of glass itself to replicate form. Patterns were being pressed into glass by James Powell and Sons in the company's stamped quarry patterns. Molten glass was then pressed into the moulds. An example where they were used is in the east window of the church of St Thomas, Kingly Street, London, 1847, and now in the Stained Glass Museum, Ely Cathedral (Fig.289).[549]

The availability of textured glass was made possible by technological developments and progression in glass production during the nineteenth century. Designs embraced products made by the machine as well as the hand-made, and this amalgamation was extremely progressive. Stained glass of this type and design often appears in the work of companies whose base was in the industrial, urban settings of larger cities in Britain. Significantly, the textural aesthetic was entirely profane in its design ethic, in that there was intrinsically a focus on the qualities of harmony of materials in the composition. In several cases, this type of stained glass was combined with numerous other decorative features, such as tiles, friezes and marble to create 'Immersive Interiors', where being within the space could be a multi-sensory experience for those who used them.

Within the Arts and Crafts Movement, and later art criticism, there was a general dismissal of this kind of stained glass; Charles Connick, leading American exponent of Arts and Crafts stained glass, reacted against Tiffany and La Farge's pictorial style, although in his early career he had very much admired it. In 'Adventures in Light and Color,' he states that, 'Coming to the craft, as I did from the abysmal depths of opalescent picture windows, it is natural that my reaction to twelfth-

[548] There is a plethora of texts on the work of Tiffany, but see in particular, Alastair Duncan, Martin Eidelberg, and Neil Harris. *Masterworks of Louis Comfort Tiffany*. (New York: Abrams, 1989); Patricia C. Pongracz (ed.). *Louis C. Tiffany and the Art of Devotion*. (London: GILES, 2012). For analysis of the work of Horta, see David Dernie and Alistair Carew-Cox. *Victor Horta: The Architect of Art Nouveau*. (London: Thames and Hudson Ltd, 2018). Horta's use of textural glass was conceived of as part of his holistic interiors.

[549] The Stained Glass Museum. Accession number: ELYGM:1973.1.2. See also Jasmine Allen. *The Stained Glass Museum: Highlights from the Collection*. (Scala Arts & Heritage Publishers Ltd: 2017)

century masterpieces, when I saw them, was significant in the extreme.'[550] Connick grew to appreciate transparent colours in glass and the splendours of reds, blues and golds that were not 'muffled with sticky opal,'[551] and wished for a return to medieval forms, yet Tiffany was very much inspired by medieval techniques. The use of textured and opalescent glasses was seen as antithetical to the correct tradition of the ecclesiastical 'Gothic Revival' glass.[552] There was a lack of acknowledgement that despite the expressive use of glass being quite 'purist' in terms of the Arts and Crafts ideals of truth to materials, this was a new and progressive interpretation of these principles. New, machine-made glasses could now be adopted into windows made by firms who were 'Arts and Crafts' in their ideals and style.

Stained glass has rarely been discussed in relation to the sensory, tactile potential of the materials.[553] When permeated by light, these textures are brought to life, celebrating the many and varied, unique features of glass which creates flowing form and movement. As Allen stated, 'These meta-glass thematics, which emphasised recursivity and reflexivity, were eminently modernist.'[554] The use of glass as a multisensory material in many of the examples examined in this study can be shown to have pre-empted modernist ideas such as the Expressionist architect, Bruno Taut's (1880-1938) glass pavilion made for the 1914 German Werkbund exhibition in Cologne.[555] Taut created a unique architectural space made of coloured glass with a concrete frame where the glass was elevated as a spiritual component. Stained glass is so often thought of as having flat, even surfaces, with little or no potential sensory or sensual nature. Textured and patterned glasses, whether made by machine or hand, appear in all manner of interiors and were, and still are, experienced by many on a daily basis in their homes or places of work, and this proximity makes them so much more accessible. Fiona MacCarthy talks of her experience of stroking objects made by William Morris, such as wallpapers, to better

[550] Charles Connick. *Adventures in Light and Colour*. (London: G.G. Harrap & Co. Ltd, 1937): 136
[551] Charles Connick. *Adventures in Light and Colour*: 134
[552] 'It is here that Mr. Tiffany finds himself in direct opposition to the principles which our own workers in glass have been accustomed to look upon as irrefragable'. Horace Townsend. 'American and French Applied Art at the Grafton Galleries. *The Studio*, 17. 1899: 41 & 42
[553] Peter Cormack has previously discussed the various qualities of slab glass, much used by Christopher Whall and his circle. *Arts and Crafts Stained Glass*. (London: Yale University Press, 2015): 157-159
[554] Jasmine Allen. *Stained Glassworlds: Stained Glass at the International Exhibitions*: 218
[555] Kai K. Gutschow. 'From Object to Installation in Bruno Taut's Exhibit Pavilions'. *Journal of Architectural Education* (1984), May, 2006, Vol. 59, No. 4.

understand textures.[556] First-hand experiences of encountering Victorian and Edwardian interiors can contribute to gaining a fuller knowledge and understanding of what their lived experiences may have been. Most interiors discussed within this section are still being experienced first-hand by those people who work for companies which still occupy them today; they are still 'lived' in, 'worked' in and used on a daily basis, with constantly evolving and changing audiences.

Far from being mass-produced, these windows were of as much value and importance as their ecclesiastical and painted counterparts, with new messages to convey such as new ideas about composition, subject matter, modern technological developments and reflections of modern, secular public and private space. Stained glass as a medium has been caged and confined by the styles and methods of its medieval predecessors, and subsequent nineteenth-and twentieth-century revivalists who refused to acknowledge the medium's potential for further expression and growth, and the inherent qualities of the materials as central.[557]

Context: The Victorians and Pattern

The development of patterned and textured glasses was a specific response to nineteenth-century tastes in visual design. Pattern and texture were an important feature of Victorian interiors, in both ecclesiastical and secular settings; there was a general fascination with filling surfaces with patterns in all types of media. Decoration of the mid-century, as can be seen in examples from the Great Exhibition of 1851, became highly ornate, with every surface of an object a potential for extravagant detail. This was notable in the home, where these effects could be 'overwhelming'.[558] Candelabra, cups, tables and cutlery are just some examples, with each surface transformed by its extra detail, almost towards a complete metamorphosis into another object entirely.[559] The objects' original usage could also be entirely disguised by the fascination with altering their original flat surfaces,

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[556] Fiona MacCarthy. *William Morris: A Life for our Time.* (London: Faber and Faber, 1994):5-6; Jason Edwards and Imogen Hart (eds). *Rethinking the Interior, c.1867-1896: Aestheticism and Arts and Crafts*. (Surrey: Ashgate, 2009): 9

[557] Pugin's role in the gothic revival is discussed in chapter one.

[558] John Gloag. *Victorian Taste*: *Some Social Aspects of Architecture and Industrial Design, from 1820-1900.* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1962): 137

[559] There is an interesting reflection and criticism on the fascination with patterning interiors in Charles Dickens' *Hard Times,* where the gentleman speaker asks his classroom of children whether they would paper a wall with horses or carpet a floor with flowers. This was seen from the gentlemen's perspective as not true to reality and not based on fact, therefore the adorning of everyday household decoration with excessive detail was a contradiction of fact and should therefore not be pursued. 'You don't find that foreign birds and butterflies come and perch upon your crockery'. Charles Dickens. *Hard Times.*(London: Penguin Books, 2003): 12-14

seemingly just for the sake of it; every household utensil had the potential to be an object of art.[560] This was pure eclecticism in decorative pattern work, much aided by sources such as Jones's *The Grammar of Ornament*, which would have been on the shelves of most working artistic design studios as a reference point.

Painted stained glass could also be extremely detailed with several layers of interlacing patterns and design motifs, so very little of the original glass was left in its natural, translucent form. An example which reflects this use of extravagant detail is an Annunciation, window by Alexander Gibbs, superintended by William Butterfield, at the church of St. Bridget, Brigham, Cumberland,, which uses a complex series of painted patterns in its design (Fig.290).

Jason Edwards and Imogen Hart have usefully discussed the inter-relation of Aesthetic and Arts and Crafts interiors and the Victorian taste for numerous patterns and objects within domestic and public spaces.[561] There was a preponderance for describing these interiors as 'cluttered', but these spaces need to be thought about in terms of the inter-relations of the objects, rather than their outward appearances or as separate entities.[562] The Victorian expertise and skill in this manner was exceptional, but largely derided by the Modernist movement who favoured minimalist interiors and saw such tendencies for patterning surfaces as unnecessary. Yet, this inter-relation between objects involves an inter-mixing of textured and patterned surfaces which the owner would have interacted with on a daily basis. They were not viewed as museum-like objects that were distant from the viewer, as we would view them today in galleries or photographs, but as every-day loved and wanted objects with a prominent visual, tactile sensual presence. It is this proximity between object and viewer in which textured stained glass is placed.

Interiors by Morris, Marshall, Faulkner and Company are prime examples of the interest in pattern and texture, and reveal their use in a refined and uncluttered way when juxtaposed. Two examples by 'The Firm'[563] are the Tapestry room at St James's Palace (1866) and the Green Dining Room at the South Kensington Museum. Gilt panelling, fireplaces, flowers and tapestries fill the room at the former

[560] The ideas of John Ruskin and Thomas Carlyle, amongst others aimed to counteract this perceived excess in decoration in their design reforms.
[561] Jason Edwards and Imogen Hart (eds). *Rethinking the Interior, c.1867-1896: Aestheticism and Arts and Crafts*. (Surrey: Ashgate, 2009): 3-24
[562] Ibid: 13
[563] The name used to refer to the company of Morris, Marshall, Faulkner and Company by themselves and contemporaries.

(Fig. 291); 'The effect of so much pattern is psychedelic'.[564] Yet each separate decorative feature is entirely designed to harmonise with the other. There is alignment in the horizontal patterns which surround the pictorial scenes of the tapestries. The grid pattern-work on the floor mimics and compliments the panels above the fireplace. It is indeed psychedelic, but it is ordered and aligned, garnered by a sophisticated knowledge of the media used, their materials, colours and textures.

Designed by Philip Webb (1831-1915), the Green Dining Room (Figs.292-293) contains a 'complicated interplay of elements, using the technique of layering pattern upon pattern which was to become almost the hallmark of the Firm'.[565] The walls contain a plethora of pattern and texture, including dado, panelling, stained oak panels and painted panels of the labours of the months and Zodiac signs, designed by Burne-Jones, complemented by herb drawings and moulded plaster panels with olive branches in relief. Above, there is a frieze of dogs chasing hares, designed by Webb. The ceiling also has a leaf pattern painted upon it. There is also stained glass in this room (Fig.293), containing dozens of rows of bullseyes with four small figural panels in the upper sections. Elaborate light shades also hang low from the ceiling.

It is the interaction between the different elements which is so important, and the use of colour which mellows a room so filled with dazzling detail. The different textures of each separate section are close and within touching distance. It is these very qualities which stained glass could also encapsulate when incorporating a myriad of textures, full of intricate detail, yet never looking overcrowded.

A key example of the juxtaposition and layering of pattern and texture in an ecclesiastical Arts and Crafts style is at St George's, Jesmond, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, designed by T.R. Spence between 1885-1891 which makes use of several media for its dazzling interior (Figs.294-295).[566] A combination of mosaic work, tiles and exquisite stained glass is used in its decoration, reflecting the taste and desire for these intricate interiors in religious settings as well as domestic, and over a significant period of time, from the Victorian to Edwardian eras.

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[564] Fiona MacCarthy. *William Morris: A Life for Our Time*: 211

[565] Fiona MacCarthy. *William Morris: A Life for Our Time:* 212

[566] For a detailed analysis of the church, see Neil Moat. *A Theatre for the Soul: St George's Church, Jesmond. The Building and Cultural Reception of a Late-Victorian Church*. Unpublished PhD Thesis. Newcastle University. 2011

New glass types and the companies who made them

The stained-glass industry in the nineteenth century was shaped by modern technology. Experiments were made to improve the quality of glass for use in stained glass during the second quarter of the nineteenth century by Pugin , working with John Hardman and James Hartley .[567] Pugin was desperate to replicate medieval glasses in his work; however, it was Charles Winston , the eminent glass-historian of the nineteenth century, who was inspired by the quality of glass in the Middle Ages and wanted to recreate the textures and chemical compositions for modern stained glass work.[568] Prior to 1849, glass was thin and watery, and Winston had samples of medieval glass analysed for reproduction. He enlisted Dr Medlock from the Royal College of Chemistry to do the analytical work and Edward Green of James Powell and Sons to make the glass.[569] However, the new glass was little used until later in the 1850s, the first being Thomas Ward's series of windows in Temple Church, London in 1852,[570] and George Hedgeland's great west window in Norwich Cathedral in 1853. Other firms, such as Hardman's, when producing the designs of Pugin, were using flint glass by Lloyd and Summerfield, which was of comparable quality.[571] The results of Winston's experiments were, however, not always a success and were more successful when used in restoration.[572]

The interest in using specific glass colours and textures can also be found at Cardiff Castle in the work of the architect, William Burges, during the late 1860s and 1870s. Quality of materials was of the upmost importancein the work of William Saunders (1837-1923), the stained-glass firm that was the first choice for Burges.[573] Only Saunders provided Burges with the kind of glass he favoured. Burges was concerned about some modern windows which when put in place, lose transparency, 'and look like a painted deal board,'[574] due to lack of artistic study and

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[567] See Stanley A. Shepherd. A.W.N. Pugin and the Making of Medieval-Type Glass. *The Journal of Stained Glass*, Volume XXI, 1997: 1. James Hartley may have been undergoing chemical analyses of medieval glass samples. Pugin wrote to Hardman in 1849 stating he had obtained glass samples from Evreux for Hardman to analyse. Hartley's were certainly making glass for Hardman's earlier than those that were sent from Pugin.

[568] Charles Winston's texts, *An inquiry into the difference of style observable in ancient glass paintings especially in England, with hints on glass painting (1847)* and *Memoirs Illustrative of the Art of Glass-Painting (1865)* are some of the most significant of the nineteenth century revival of stained glass.

[569] Charles Winston. *Memoirs*, 1865: 10-11 and 182

[570] *The Ecclesiologist*, February 1853: 178. Winston's advances in glass research is acknowledged

[571] Martin Harrison. *Victorian Stained Glass*: 23

[572] Ibid: 37

[573] William Burges. 'Ancient and Modern Stained Glass'. *The Builder*, 1861. 529

[574] Ibid

the quality of the glass. Another issue for Burges was the glass cutter cutting all the pieces of one colour from the same sheet of glass, rather than varying colour and adding depth by using different tints or using streakies. Burges also complained of the difficulty in obtaining good glass, as Powell's were the only manufacturer at the time, and they kept the best glass for themselves.[575]

By 1880, the firm who specialised in this type of glass, commonly referred to as 'antique', was James Hartley and Co, later Hartley Wood of Sunderland. Their surviving record books reveal that stained glass firms all across Britain, including Scotland, were ordering their stock from Hartley's.[576] James Hartley and William Chance visited Germany together and returned with sufficient information to adapt their method of manufacture of the cylinder method, adopted from Germany. The glass is blown into a cylinder shape about 10" wide and 50" long.[577] After being separated from the blow pipe, it is split down its length with a diamond glass cutter and then reheated and flattened.[578] The resultant sheet then measured around 10 square feet. James Powell and Sons, Lloyd & Summerfield and Hartley all exhibited coloured samples of new 'antique' or cylinder glass at the 1862 International Exhibition.[579]

The Hartley Wood Archive, Tyne and Wear

The surviving Hartley Wood & Co. records at the Tyne and Wear Archives in Newcastle are an exceptional resource for monitoring the rise and popularity of antique, mouth-blown textured glasses. The invoice books are in three volumes: Volume One, 1892-1896; Volume Two, 1913; Volume Three, 1914. The invoice books give the stained glass historian a rare and fascinating insight into what glasses were being purchased by firms across Britain, as well as revealing glass buying trends and tastes over the decades. This therefore greatly enhances the physical evidence of the windows. The variety of glass types available hugely increased between the 1892-1896 volume to the February 1913 volume. By 1913, many different types of coloured sheets were available, such as Venetian, opalescents, streakies, Norman slabs, rippled, crackled and seedy, all of which

[575] Ibid
[576] Hartley Wood & Co. Invoice Books. Tyne and Wear Archives, DS/HW/3/1-3
[577] See Appendix 2: 259-260, for images of the blown cylinders.
[578] See a video of the process at, 'Making Mouthblown Glass – Lamberts – Pearsons Glass.' https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=d5ermp_SQoE. Accessed 07/07/2022
[579] Jasmine Allen. *Windows for the World: Nineteenth-century stained glass and the international exhibitions*. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2018): 95

were non-existent by the end of 1896.[580] Virtually all firms recorded in the volumes were ordering these textured glasses by 1913. Ambitty glass was by far the most popular type of glass being ordered between 1892 and 1896 and this was a speciality of the company, as it is named on their business logo (Fig.296).[581] Ambitty is still ordered later, but the variety of glasses available at this point naturally decreased its interest.

Many regional firms were making orders by the 1910s. This includes several Manchester firms such as Wragge, Pearce. Lightfoot, Bennett and Pearson. The Manchester firm of W.G. Sutherland and Charles Lightfoot were beginning to appear in the invoice volumes for 1896, showing the diversifying of the industry and interest in materials. Glasgow firms also begin to become more prolific with orders at the end of the 1896 volume, such as C.J. Malloch, William Miekle & Sons and Glasgow Glass Supply, showing the growth of the stained glass industry across the country in the later 1890s. Notably, many of the larger stained glass firms such as Clayton and Bell, Heaton, Butler and Bayne, Lavers, Baraud and Westlake and Burlison and Grylls, were placing orders for pot metals and clears in the 1890s but these firms are absent from the later volumes.[582] This is a very interesting change, certainly as many firms discussed in this thesis are regional. However, Heaton, Butler and Bayne, examples of whose work are featured in chapter one, were certainly using a variety of antique glasses in the later 1860s and 1870s, as evidenced at Rochdale Town Hall (Figs.297-299).[583] As they were London-based, they may have chosen to order glass from James Powell and Sons, also based in London and producing mouth-blown glass. Another possibility is that being a major firm, they may have become more reliant on machine-made glass for many commissions, only utilising more expensive glass for special cases.

Ruby glass was generally very popular during the 1890s and beyond, and there were numerous variations of ruby, including ruby on white, ruby on blue (Fig.297), ordinary ruby, ruby on green, ruby on yellow, streaky and varied sheet ruby, plus the intriguingly titled ‘curious ruby’. All firms, both established and new, were ordering

[580] See Appendix 2 for a description of all of these glass types.
[581] This glass is referenced in Arthur Louis Duthie. *Decorative Glass Processes* and Tony Benyon’s Glossary of 19th-and 20th- Century Glass terms for stained glass for the BSMGP Newsletter, 1995. Duthie described it as ‘a very fine glass of a ‘sheet’ nature varying from an almost transparent surface to a surface as obscure as Muffled.’: 27
[582] For example, Clayton and Bell, 12 July 1895, order yellows and greens and 16 August 1895 order pot metal yellows. Heaton, Butler and Bayne, 23 July 1894, order greens and blues and 15 November 1894, simply ‘pot metals’.
[583] I have seen the variety of ruby antiques first-hand in my conservation work on the windows.

this glass, proving it was a staple of the Hartley Wood output. Again, the variety of ruby glass had also expanded by 1913 to include 'specky', 'sanded', with flashed and gold-ruby remaining popular, as it still is today.[584]

The invoice books show the particular interest in the use of textured mouth-blown glasses by many firms in Northern England and Scotland, but are also a fascinating repository of information about the distribution of glass throughout the country. They also reveal several firms that remain unknown and under-researched. Of particular note in this regard are the London firm of Miller and Beale, who are prolific in their orders throughout the 1890s and later in the 1910s, and Manchester firms such as R.B. Edmundson and Sons, C&A Philipson and Atwell and Cotton.

Machine-made glass

Machine-made glasses were also popular and were used in conjunction with antique mouth-blown glass in many compositions by different stained glass firms. James Hartley was granted the patent in 1838 for manufacturing glass by casting hot glass onto an engraved surface and then rolling it (Fig.300),[585] and the glass was used extensively in the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[586] Several other glass manufacturers made rolled plate glass, including Chance Brothers of Birmingham and Pilkington Brothers Limited in St Helen's (Fig.301).

The Glasgow Plate Glass Company were the first firm to produce Figured Rolled sheet glass. Some of the first patterns were, Diaper, Lustre, Ovate and Muranese (Figs.302-303), but they were superseded by Chance Brothers who also patented figured rolled glasses and then invented the double-rolled roller (Figs.304-305). The patterns were created on the surface of the glass by rollers which impressed the design straight onto the molten glass when on the production line. There were different categories to describe the patterns such as 'Rolled' or 'Figured-Rolled', the latter being more heavily textured, with prominent patterns 'rolled' into them.[587] For

[584] Tyne and Wear Archives, DS/HW/2 and DS/HW/3
[585] 'Old Window Glass: History of Textured and Patterned Sheet Glass.' https://sashwindowspecialist.com/blog/history-patterned-window-glass/. Accessed 02 August 2021
[586] See a Lamberts video demonstrating the process. 'Rolled Table Cathedral Glass Production Credit Glashütte Lamberts by B M C.' https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XNLvhsnNyKg. Accessed 07/07/2022
[587] For a detailed discussion of these firms and glass types, see Zoe Harrigan, *Glassmaking and Stained Glass in England 1830s-1913: A Review of Glass Types, Examples of their Use and Assessment of Significance*. Unpublished MA thesis, University of York, 2015

example, Figured Rolled Ripple, was a machine-made glass with a very thick and densely defined ripple texture and was made by Chance Brothers.[588]

Good examples of windows containing machine-made glasses can particularly be found in public houses from the late 1800s to the mid-twentieth century. One typical example is the interior glass of the Castle Hotel pub on Oldham Street in Manchester city centre (Figs.306-307). Originally built in 1789, the premises were later repurposed as a public house and the present interior dates from circa 1897. The pub still has some typical Art Nouveau features, such as the typology of the name of the pub on the exterior. The composition of the glass in the interior partition walls is entirely made of machine-made textured, figured rolled glasses. As well as obscuring and shielding views to those outside of this interior room,[589] these patterns in glass were designed to create a composition with different ways of catching and diffusing light. Soft and strong patterns are used tonally and glass-types present within the composition are Figured Rolled Glistre and Maxine, along with Cathedral glasses Hammered Cathedral No.1 and Hammered Cathedral No. 3.[590] Hammered Cathedral No. 3 is used centrally in larger pieces and therefore creates a softer tone, allowing the Glistre glass in the framework to manipulate light at various trajectories. The corner squares of Hammered Cathedral No.1 provide a mid-tone to the window with its web-like hexagonal shapes. Maxine provides a calmer central strip though the high-tones of Glistre. Window compositions such as these are a fascinating insight into the many possibilities of machine-made glass and reveals an intrinsic interest in pattern.

These strongly patterned machine-made glasses utilised for stained glass have been problematic for stained glass scholars whose texts focus more on the cult of the artisan. For example, Peter Cormack, who has written much on the work of Christopher Whall and his circle, mentions the use of 'machine-made' glasses in the work of George Wragge Ltd of Salford in a pejorative way.[591] He does not see this as a positive and progressive development for the medium of stained glass, in which modern materials are included into the design and be a part of the aesthetic of windows. Instead, its use is taken to be a measure of the commerciality of the

[588] See Appendix 2: 250-258, for a selection of figured rolled glass found in the case studies of this thesis. There was also a wide variation of Ripple textured glass, examples of which I photographed at the Glasgow Museums Resource Centre (GMRC), Nitshill, Glasgow

[589] This shielding of views created from clear glass is in opposition to Armstrong's transparent glassworlds, such as the Crystal Palace.

[590] See Appendix 2: 246-249, for a description of Cathedral glass.

[591] Peter Cormack. *Arts and Crafts Stained Glass*: 125

products. This implied lesser cultural value of machine-made glasses in stained glass has pervaded stained glass scholarship throughout the twentieth and twenty-first centuries so far, and resulted in a subsequent lack of interest in this type of work. On the contrary, these types of glass were extremely versatile, revealing their adaptability to each new setting.

Arthur Louis Duthie, writing in 1908, refers to the popularity and diversity of these glass types in his *Decorative Glass Processes*.[592] Duthie, originally from Edinburgh, moved to Manchester after working at James Powell and Sons, where he freelanced for W.J. Pearce, reflecting the city as a hub of opportunity, before moving on to set up business in Liverpool. The text is highly significant, as Duthie gives advice on the best uses of both antique and machine-made glasses, as well as their aesthetic qualities. It is useful to refer to this text as it reveals the deliberate choice of many stained glass firms to emphasise glass texture over paint. Figured Rolled glasses are noted for being of no artistic merit in stained glass,[593] and Duthie also states that large pieces of Venetian glass are unsuitable.[594] This shows the contrast in ideas between Duthie and some of those producing the works in stained glass that used textured glass, which is significant, as he would likely have known designers such as Pearce who were using the materials in very different ways.

Colour and Rhythm: New aesthetics in stained glass

These glasses required a new kind of expertise; the artist and maker in stained glass would be skilled in the placement of individual pieces to achieve harmony of form and alignment. Where glass represented natural forms such as petals, placement was key in order to achieve the desired effect, thus the 'making' of these works was heavily based on touch and familiarity with the material of textured glass.

In the later nineteenth century, a number of companies showed an interest in taking things further in finding alternative methods of representation to paint, including plating, flashing and acid-etching.[595] This is epitomised in the experiments of Meikle and Company and Oscar Paterson who developed acid-etching techniques, known as the 'Cameo' process, along with textured glasses, to entirely eliminate the need for paint in order to secure as much as possible the longevity of the materials. This

[592] Arthur Louise Duthie. *Decorative Glass Processes*. (London: Constable, 1908): 14
[593] Ibid: 19
[594] Ibid: 23. See Appendix 2: 268-271, for a detailed description of the process of making Venetian glass with a mould.
[595] See Appendix 2: 262-263, for a description of flashed glass.

involved stripping back the surface of flashed glasses, only leaving flashed areas that had been masked off to denote facial features and hands; an incredibly complex and time-consuming process.[596] This was a reaction to issues of paint loss in windows, which dogged the work of several companies, such as John Hardman of Birmingham as well as Morris & Co.[597] Faces and hands, being perhaps some of the most intricately detailed areas of the human form, and one to which the viewer is physiologically conditioned to focus, were difficult to replicate using these techniques, so hierarchically, they gain the most importance and only paint can replicate the detail.

Later practitioners in the craft, such as Leonard Walker, who became prolific in the 1920s, continued to focus on glass to denote form rather than paint. *The Future of Stained Glass* is the title of a work by Enid Marx dedicated to Walker's stained glass and this is key to understanding how forward-thinking and progressive this type of work was. Commentators on the work of Walker stated that, 'in principle, the use of glass is not to be painted upon', that it had become restricted and lifeless due to its associations with religious subject matter, and needed to be 'rescued' from its misuse and 'set going again as a true and independent art.'[598] Walker's aesthetic relied on the thicknesses, tones and colours of glass to project light at different angles, which were built up 'like a craftsman bringing precious stones together to form a gigantic jewel',[599] and the lead was then used to accentuate the colours and rhythms of the different parts (Figs.308-309). Walker abandoned the use of paint apart from for features such as faces, feet and hands and used streaky antique glass and textures, glasses which were especially made for him. These glasses were used to denote different attributes in a composition, which was entirely bound to its material.[600] This is indicative of later practitioners building upon unrecognised trends in British stained glass.

In addition to Arts and Crafts practitioner Walker, several more 'commercial' stained glass firms in Britain utilised textured glasses in their work and they represent a

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[596] For a more detailed study of this process, see Charlotte Roden. *The 'Cameo Process': the twentieth-century acid-etching technique by William Meikle and Sons in Glasgow, Scotland*. Unpublished MA thesis, University of York, 2016

[597] The use of certain pigments and bad applications of paint led to the failing of paint work on many windows in the nineteenth century. See Alison Gilchrist. *'The Tears Wept by our Windows': Severe Paint Loss from Stained Glass Windows of the Mid-Nineteenth Century.* Unpublished MA thesis, University of York, 2010

[598] Enid Marx. *The Future of Stained Glass: Mr Leonard Walker and His Art*. (Curwen Press, 1930)

[599] Ibid: 4

[600] 'To its materials it is bound' in *The Future of Stained Glass: Mr Leonard Walker and His Art*: 6

good geographical spread, reflecting that these ideas were not unique to one particular place or company. It can therefore be argued that this was a national phenomenon, driven by the secular interest in the use of material. Some examples are that of John C. Hall in Glasgow when working with W.G. Morton, who created the stunning suite of windows at the Miller and Lang Printing Works, Pollokshields, to be discussed, as well as several items of Morton's work now held at Glasgow Museums. Oscar Paterson, whose windows adorn many public and private buildings of Glasgow, and William Stewart when designing for J. & W. Guthrie were also significant Glasgow stained glass makers.[601] Oscar Paterson was one of several prolific Glaswegian stained glass makers at the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Much of his work still remains in secular settings in and around Glasgow, in both public and private, domestic buildings.[602]

Paterson used the lead lines as the principal expression of form in his windows, and when not using enamels, silver stain or paint upon the glass, sought to create a 'harmony of textures, lightness and sparkling brilliance 'stopped with occasional flashes of silence', [603] also reflected in the windows at The Castle pub in Manchester. Paterson used various techniques, and one which differs from works by other companies is his use of thick, unevenly cut, bevelled glass, which creates a very distinct look. This can be seen in his domestic glass at Dowanhill, Glasgow, 12 University Gardens and Bute Gardens, also at the University of Glasgow (Fig.310).

These firms represent a much broader interest in the use of textures in stained glass in the city of Glasgow, and one that went beyond the work of Charles Rennie Mackintosh and The Four, and linked to the work of artists and companies in England.[604] This shared aesthetic is further solidified by the tendency of Scottish artists moving location to work in English, specifically Northern, stained and decorative glass firms.

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[601] Martin Harrison. *Victorian Stained Glass*:71. Martin Harrison comments on the large amount of extant domestic stained glass in certain areas of Glasgow, as compared with London. However, there was clearly increased demand throughout Britain as Christopher Whall produced a pamphlet in 1900 which reproduced designs for domestic and commercial settings which aimed to raise the standard of this kind of work.

[602] Oscar Paterson. 'Modern Domestic Stained Glass.' In Charles Holme (ed.) *Modern British Architecture and Decoration.* (London: The Studio): 1901

[603]'Arts and Crafts.' *The Studio*. 18. 1900

[604] The Charles Rennie Mackintosh and the Glasgow Style exhibition which originated at the Kelvingrove Art Gallery and Museum, Glasgow, in 2018, entirely focused on Scottish artists working in the field of the decorative arts. All work was referred to as 'The Glasgow Style' and there was little recognition of the nuances of individual artists work, and no stylistic links to other countries in Britain.

John Edgar Mitchell (1871-1922), when working in conjunction with George Gavin Laidler (1843-1918) in Newcastle, also heavily utilised these glasses. Many other windows in cities and towns remain anonymous, but reveal an acute interest and trend in the use of glass for form and expression, with little or no use of paint. These include windows such as the Queen Victoria District Nursing Association building in Liverpool, discussed below, a window very much inspired by Art Nouveau, the Royal Turks Head Hotel in Newcastle, with its opalescent and ripple-textured lantern and stairway lights. Therefore, artistic hubs for this work were Glasgow, Newcastle, Liverpool and Manchester.

There were several stained-glass firms in Manchester which explored the use of textured glass and were very much aligned to the work of the Glasgow firms. George Wragge (1862-1932) of Salford, a major metal work and applied arts company based in the North West of England represented by several extant examples in Manchester, Liverpool and Newcastle. [605] The fantastic Victoria Baths in Manchester, displays an array of glass types used in all parts of the building, yet this highly distinctive work has never been convincingly attributed to a single company.[606] These, as well as other examples in the city of stained glass which relied on texture contributes to a significant trend in the North-West which paralleled other movements in Britain.

This focus on the inherent qualities of materials to replicate texture and form contrasts with the teachings of Christopher Whall, the pre-eminent exponent of the Arts and Crafts Movement in British stained glass. Whall, in his *Stained Glass Work,* both a teaching and philosophical manual on the processes of making stained glass, discussed the use of paint as 'clothing the raw glass with texture and bringing out its nature and life.'[607] For Whall, the glass acted as a canvas in the traditional painterly manner and the picture was created on the surface of the material to give character to the raw material of the glass. In contrast, other British companies, as well as Tiffany and La Farge in the USA, used the glass itself as both canvas and picture, discarding the need for paint.

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[605] Veronica Smith. 'George Wragge's Manchester: a consideration of Arts and Crafts stained glass in secular contexts. *The Decorative Arts Society: 1850 to the Present.* Journal 41, 2017. In this article, I explored the aesthetic of the work of the company of George Wragge and discussed in more detail the windows at the Midland Hotel and its combinations of textured glasses, particularly Antique Venetian and Figured Rolled Ripple.

[606] See the discussion of the stained glass at Victoria Baths in chapter three.

[607] Christopher Whall. *Stained Glass Work*. (London, 1905): 219

Whall made much use of Norman slab, a glass produced through the modern technique of filling a square mould with molten glass which allowed for different thicknesses in the same sheet.[608] Yet, Whall painted the glass, thus removing the ability of the glass itself to reveal form and texture. Therefore, there becomes a fascinating opposition of working with glass, akin to painter versus sculptor. Figures such as Whall used paint to create texture, but those who used textured glass utilised the sculptural qualities of glass to manipulate and 'sculpt' the light.

Texture and Art Nouveau

The interest in texture closely aligned itself with developments in Art Nouveau. Art Nouveau was heavily in vogue on the near Continent and many of these textured glass types were utilised in the works of prolific architects such as Horta, especially machine-made 'Ripple'. This connection is found in all the work of artists who are discussed in this chapter and all worked in the style of Art Nouveau in their secular works.

The lack of recognition of the close links between Art Nouveau and textured glasses may be due to a general sense in Britain that the style was the antithesis of 'Britishness'. In a Symposium held in 1904, in which a group of painters, designers, architects and sculptors discussed the movement was published in the *Magazine of Art*.[609] All were sceptical and architect Mr W. D. Caröe (1857-1938) states that 'its roots are in the squirmy tree which sprouted afresh out of the mud of the Gothic Revival' and 'there is a strange absence of that freshness and joy which are essential factors of all great art', to quote only two of many disparaging comments throughout the symposium.[610]

This sentiment explains why there has never been a recognition or focus on these types of works, not only in stained glass, but other architectural art forms in Britain. Specimens are to be found in many types of buildings across the United Kingdom and this lack of recognition is a cause for concern for their conservation and importance to the history and development of aesthetics in stained glass.

It is important to note that some examples of this kind of stained glass, unfortunately, remain anonymous, such as at Liverpool District Nursing Association building (Figs.311-314). This four-tiered staircase window incorporates swirling

[608] See Appendix 2: 266-267, for a more detailed description of Norman Slab.
[609] Marion Harry Spielmann (ed.) *The Magazine of art;* London / New York Vol. 2, (Jan 1904): 324-327
[610] Marion Harry Spielmann (ed.) *The Magazine of art*; London / New York Vol. 2, (Jan 1904): 324

waterlily motifs and uses a dazzling variety of machine-made and mouth-blown textured and opalescent glasses for its effects. It dates from 1906 and is a dazzling celebration of texture and is entirely Art Nouveau in its design. Subtle tones of coloured antique glasses rise through the central section of the window to their crescendo at the top, with a circular shape containing the heads of lilies whose stems have twisted around the central section like vines. The window is in a state of disrepair and is a good example of a relatively unknown work that is little known about and not cared for.

The glow of living palpitating colour: Walter Pearce at Rochdale Art Gallery

An important example of the proliferation of the aesthetic of texture and art nouveau style in stained glass is at Rochdale Museum and Art Gallery (Fig.315).[611] Textured and antique glasses feature in the windows by Walter Pearce, one of the city of Manchester's most prolific and significant stained glass makers. The art gallery and museum were built in 1903, to the West of the Free Library, which opened in 1884. The whole complex presented the town of Rochdale as a centre of high culture.[612] The art gallery had been planned since the Free Library was completed, as there was a need for a space in which the public could view art.[613] This section of the building now contains the main entrance to the art gallery and museum and opens out onto a foyer, from which a large stone stairway leads up towards the galleries. At the top the visitor is met by the symbolic Art Nouveau glass work of Walter John Pearce (1857-1942) (Figs.316-321).

Pearce was a significant figure in the arts scene in Manchester at the beginning of the twentieth century, producing much secular and ecclesiastical stained glass for the buildings of the North-West of England and beyond. His work reveals changing perceptions and usages of glass in the years between the opening of the library and museum phases of the complex. In the library windows, there was already a suggestion of reliance on the properties of glass and lead to denote subject and manipulate light, and the glass in the museum and art gallery reflects the full development of this idea, achieving an overall effect of 'glassiness'.[614]

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[611] For an overview of Rochdale Museum and Art Gallery, see Appendix 1: 243

[612] James Moore. *High Culture and Tall Chimneys*: 262-63.

[613] *Rochdale Household Almanac*k *and Corporation Manual for 1885* (Rochdale: E. Wrigley and Sons, 1885): 8.

[614] See chapter three for a description and analysis of the free library windows.

Pearce was a prominent member of the Northern Art Workers Guild, serving as Master in 1903. His firm was based on Albert Street, Manchester, before moving to Gartside Street and later to Wilmslow.[615] As well as designing and making stained glass, Pearce had many other talents. He published a standard text entitled *Painting and Decorating* in 1898, designed several typefaces, patented a glass mosaic process called 'Vitre-mure' or 'Vitremuraine', and was an accomplished painter, as well as an avid photographer.[616] He also provided complete decorative glazing schemes for other municipal buildings, such as Bury Museum and Art Gallery, completed in 1901 (Figs.322-323),[617] university buildings such as Sackville Street in Manchester and the Empire Music Hall in Rochdale (1904) (Fig.324). All these examples rely on the combination of textured and antique glasses in the composition.

At Rochdale, there is complete symmetry to the exterior façade of the second phase, part of which is set back from the library (Figs.315 & 325). All windows on the ground floor contain decorative, floral patterns (Figs.326-327). Above the doorway, orange flowers are depicted with curving and swirling stems, the lead-lines swooping between the panels. Three lights of alternating red and green elongated floral forms are placed either side of the doorway. Directly above, on the first floor, there are two sets of four lights, each with a matching lead matrix. Inside the building, and in the area which is now known as Gallery One, a large, colourful glass dome illuminates the space beneath (Fig.328).[618] This artistic use of glass is also found in the glass dome, where the same plant formations of a leafy base which rises to a bloom can be seen in the repeated pattern. Here, Pearce introduces a different texture of glass. It is used in the leaf forms and the central sections of the spherical pattern which circles the central pinnacle of the dome.

This glass is also used in the palette of Pearce's work at the Empire Music Hall (Fig.324), just down the Esplanade from the art gallery on Town Hall Square, and is also fully decorated with textured Art Nouveau glazing. These windows incorporate stunning opaque, figured-rolled Ripple in the large, bulbous floral motifs which now surround the doorway of the first-floor balcony. Ripple glass could have many variations in colour and the ripple itself could be loose or tight. The windows are

[615] *Pearce, Manchester* (Manchester: Chorlton & Knowles of Mayfield Press, c. 1910-15)
[616] Discussion with David Pearce, Walter Pearce's grandson, February 2019
[617] See Appendix 1: 232, for a brief overview of Bury Museum and Art Gallery.
[618] A further pair of windows was placed in this room depicting medieval printers' marks.

representative of Pearce's Art Nouveau style.[619] The lead-work defines the bulbous and leafy forms at the base of each window. They are connected to the rest of the composition by a central stem, before blooming again at the top. Within this bloom is contained the symbolism or theme of the window. The ironwork of the balustrades on the staircase harmonises with the elongated lead-lines in the decorative glass. On the first floor of Touchstones, the windows are connected by wavy, vine-like green glass which flows horizontally across all four panels, seemingly uninterrupted by the mullions (Figs.316-318). Pearce also utilises several textured glasses, and creatively combines machine and mouth-blown glass to great aesthetic effect. Representations of ancient science and major contemporary scientific discoveries are present. The left set of windows are symbolic representations of the elements of fire, water, air, and earth whereas, on the right, the exploitation of the elements through science are represented by chemistry, geology, astronomy and hydroelectricity (Figs.329-331). This focus on science and the elements reflects the external carved relief stone sculpture by John Jarvis Millson (1850-1919) representing science, art and literature, which is classical in style and represents the functions of the building. The inclusion of geology also neatly reflects the museum's geological collections. There is an eclectic intermingling of styles in the choice of decoration, which combines the Gothic, Classical and Art Nouveau, showcasing the contemporary taste for combining many design styles within one building.[620] The set of windows on the staircase on the left, containing the four elements, prioritise colour and texture over painted decoration and only utilise paint in the depictions of earth and air. This demonstrates careful cutting of the sheets of glass by skilful and knowledgeable glaziers, taking into account the movement and direction of the pattern, and the properties of each individual sheet.

In a paper read before the Institute of British Decorators in 1913, Pearce discussed the potential of the varieties of machine-made and mouth-blown glass that was now available.[621] '[W]e are not driven to the use of small scraps of glass […] but can obtain all the necessary fluctuations in a sky or a pool of water, without destroying

[619] Pearce worked collaboratively with other significant artists in his stained glass designs, such as Lewis Day (1845-1910) and Arthur Lewis Duthie (d. 1940), and this could affect aesthetic. When working with Day, Pearce used slab glass, popular with Arts and Crafts workers in stained glass. Work by Pearce which uses slab glass can be found in St Chrysostom's church, Victoria Park, Manchester, and dates from 1906.

[620] See J. Mordaunt Crook. *The Dilemma of Style: Architectural Ideas from the Picturesque to the Post-Modern* (London: John Murray, 1987).

[621] A contemporary account of the variety of glass available for the stained glass industry is contained in Arthur Louis Duthie*, Decorative Glass Processes: Cutting, Etching, Staining and Other Traditional Techniques* (Corning: Corning Museum of Glass in association with Dover, 1982)

its breadth by a network of scaffolding.'[622] The almost limitless palette available could 'produce the glow of living palpitating colour'.[623] Pearce believed in truth to materials, stating, 'Every bit of paint takes from the lustre and prime glory of our material.'[624] This attachment to honest and functional design was central to the Arts and Crafts movement.[625] Texture and colour, along with 'the indefinable space of atmosphere', were what was required to produce the effect of the paintbrush.[626]

A lecture written by Alfred Wood of Hartley Wood & Co. in 1904, discusses the glass industry and the procedure for making a stained-glass window, and argues heavily for the role of the glass maker in the process and not just the glass designer. 'It is my opinion that the general public gives too much praise to the stained-glass artist in the production of a window'.[627] Even having over 100 different shades of colour in stock could not enable the firm to produce one half of the orders. Hartley Wood had to produce three or four colours in a sheet with as many different shades of some as possible and then undergo the further processes of procuring, soft cutting, brilliant surfacing and producing permanency of colour. Wood states that these processes connecting with achieving colour shows 'our share in the production of a good window is considerable'.[628] Wood also wrote that when the artist was not able to obtain the specific colours required, they used paint and stain, which 'do not enhance the appearance of the window'. He also notes that in much recent work by stained glass firms there is an absence of paint or stained compared with windows 20 years old or more'. Wood's statement aligns with Pearce's words, in that he is thinking about colour, but also the stages prior to it being part of a window, in the very making of the glass.

This is reminiscent of Isobel Armstrong's description of glass-blowers making clear glass in the furnaces, their very breath being infused into the molten glass, with these air bubbles incorporated into the glass in windows.[629] It is very evocative of a sensuality of glass, each piece moulded by hand and mouth. In the representations of the elements of fire and water, flashed ruby glass is used to embody the licking

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[622] Walter J. Pearce, 'Stained Glass, Being a Paper read before the Institute at the Painters-Stainers' Hall, London', *The Incorporated Institute of British Decorators*, 5 December 1913: 15
[623] Ibid
[624] Ibid
[625] See Peter Cormack, *Arts & Crafts Stained Glass*
[626] Ibid
[627] Tyne and Wear Archives. DS/HW/12. Text of lecture by Alfred J. Wood, entitled, 'The Glass Industry': 4
[628] Tyne and Wear Archives. DS/HW/12
[629] Isobel Armstrong. *Victorian Glassworlds: Glass culture and the imagination 1830-1880*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008): 3-5

flames of fire, the effect of undulating, flickering flames which gradate from white to orange, to bright red achieved by acid etching, producing a simple pattern with a striking effect. Blue is chosen for the background, a colour that links all four images. Varying tones of machine-made blue glass make up the composition of the panel depicting water (Fig.329); a carefully chosen piece of glass for the sky progresses from white with flecks of blue towards deeper blue. The texture of the glass also rises and falls with its uneven surface and the glass looks almost like a richly painted canvas of thick oil paint. The sea is a varying mixture of turquoise and darker greens, chosen to achieve a more accurate representation of undulating waves following the lead lines. This expressive use of glass is present in the windows representing the exploitation of the elements. In the image representing hydroelectricity, the waterfall is represented by clear Muffled Sheet, which again catches the light and sparkles, mimicking the movement of water.[630] The different layers of the earth in the panel depicting geology are differentiated by texture as well as colour (Fig.330). This also applies to the rocks in the hydroelectricity image, with the texture moving in a particular direction to accurately represent a rocky plain, with indentations visible, which naturally recreate the surface of the hills and rocks (Fig.331).

The minimalistic paintwork of the hot air balloon, signifying air, shows a preference for the glass and lead work to primarily signify subject matter. A rotating earth depicting the continents of Europe and Africa, perhaps reflecting the 'New Imperialism' of the late Victorian and Edwardian periods, is denoted simply with a dark outline and an orange stain for the land. This theme of imperialism is further emphasised in the windows on the ground floor, where there is further exploration of the creative qualities of glass. These windows contain symbolic representations of Scotland, England and Ireland:[631] a thistle for Scotland, a red rose for England and also Lancashire (Figs.326-327), and a shamrock for Ireland.[632] These floral forms are set against clear rectangular background quarries, as were the windows in the library, and Pearce makes much use of Antique Seedy glasses, cleverly used to

[630] See Appendix 2: 264-265. Muffled Sheet is a machine-made textured glass with a regular uneven surface of medium-depth bumps. It was a very popular glass which could be manipulated and placed in many directions in order to create specific effects.
[631] Wales was considered a Principality and therefore united with England.
[632] A mistake was made during a previous restoration of the windows. In the set to the left of the doorway as entered, a shamrock window has been recreated, when this should have been thistles, representing Scotland.

direct the eye and the light.[633] Where the light would have shone on the tops of the leaves of the plant, the bubbles of air in the Seedy glass catch the light and soften the shade of the green and add natural sparkle.

The flame-like colours of the petals of the red roses in the panel representing England also utilise Antique Seedy glass which transforms into flames on torches. Thin slivers of green glass weave behind the flowers, rising to hold these torches. The shamrock windows are largely made from varying shades of Antique Seedy green glass, with some Antique Streakies being effectively interspersed in-between. Antique Seedy and Streaky glass is again used for the purple thistles, with a red striation running through a blue, demonstrating the use of select pieces of glass.

The same ethos is found in the work of the neighbouring Salford-based firm of George Wragge Ltd. Wragge's window in the mezzanine level at the Midland Hotel, and also at the Eagle Insurance building in Manchester, are prime examples of this and the shared ideals of Manchester firms.[634] Examples by Wragge outside of the city can still be found at Buxton museum and art gallery, the Liverpool Produce Exchange and the Elephant pub in Ashingdon, Newcastle upon Tyne. These examples, in particular, were likely created by Wragge's head designer at the time, John E.C. Carr, who had previously worked at the prominent Glasgow-based company, William Miekle & Co. and had been inspired by the work of Morris after visiting him in London in 1896.[635] Carr was responsible for the Art Nouveau influence in these windows, utilising smooth, flowing, rhythmic forms in the lead line as well as an eclectic mix of textured glasses.

The examples of Pearce andWragge show a deeper interest in the expressiveness of glass textures and effects. As well as being a national phenomenon, this interest had parallels with continental and international firms.

Pearce, Tiffany and stained glass as a secular art

Pearce and other British firms were part of parallel, but distinct, movement of the exploration of the textural qualities of glass to the American practitioner in stained glass, Louis Comfort Tiffany, who used textured, opalescent glasses extensively in

[633] See Appendix 2: 271. Antique Seedy is a mouth-blown glass with small bubbles or 'seeds' of air within the material, with a scale from those with intermittent to a multitude of seeds.
[634] See Veronica Smith. 'George Wragge's Manchester: a consideration of Arts and Crafts stained glass in secular contexts. *The Decorative Arts Society: 1850 to the Present.* Journal 41, 2017: 140-159
[635] Michael Donnelly. *Glasgow Stained Glass: A Preliminary Study*, (Glasgow: Glasgow Museums and Art Galleries, 1985): 23

his work, both secular and religious. Interestingly, the work of these companies has never been aligned or their interest in the textural capacities of glass seen as more of a global phenomenon. 'American Stained Glass' was driven by the efforts not only of Tiffany, but also of John La Farge, who patented the method of his 'Colored-Glass Window' in 1879.[636] Despite legal wrangles with Tiffany over ownership of the method, they were both catalysts for changes in glass aesthetics in America. Driving them both was the desire to create glasses which achieved 'the luminosity and artistry of medieval windows',[637] which echoes the progress of figures such as Winston earlier in the century, but also a desire to create modern stained glass windows.

For example, to make Tiffany's 'Drapery' glass, the molten glass was manipulated and forced into folds and wrinkles to achieve realistic effects such as clothing.[638] The glass was developed to eliminate the extensive use of leads and enamels for painting the folds of dress. Drapery glass has 'a texture resembling silk' which allowed in more light 'by forming a prismatic net-work' that spreads and multiples it from many minute angles.[639] Connick describes how glass cutters struggled with Drapery glass which was in great chunks.[640] There was even one occasion where a strike was averted due to a liberal increase in the cutter's wage, as they had to hammer and chisel the glass. Drapery glass also worried the glazier when they reached the bench.[641] Other glasses produced by Tiffany were Ripple, Streaky, of which there were British equivalents, Confetti or Foliage glass, Spotted or mottled, Hammered and Luster.[642] All served specific purposes; Ripple suggested water or leaves, Confetti to denote leaves and Spotted was used for landscapes and sunlit foliage.[643]

For Tiffany, true expression of the medium was to deliver meaning through materials. He saw his approach as a revival of the *honest* use of glass, which he termed, 'the mosaic motive', largely ignored at the time of the Gothic revival in

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[636] Julie L. Sloan and James L. Yaranall. John La Farge's patent for the American opalescent window. *Journal of Stained Glass. America Issue,* Volume XXVIII: 31-45
[637] Ibid: 31
[638] Louis Comfort Tiffany. 'American Art Supreme in Colored Glass': 624
[639] Samuel Howe. 'The Making of the Glass': 367
[640] There is one British example of Drapery glass being used in a window at the Midland Hotel, Manchester. The window by George Wragge Ltd uses a piece of Drapery glass for the petal of a flower. See Appendix 2: 264, for the listing on Drapery glass.
[641] Charles Connick. *Adventures in Light and Color*: 134
[642] Lindsy R. Parrott. 'Unimaginable Splendours of Colour': Tiffany's Opalescent Glass in Patricia C. Pongracz, *Louis C. Tiffany and the Art of Devotion.* (New York: Museum of Biblical Art, 2012) 102-105
[643] Lindsy R. Parrott. 'Unimaginable Splendours of Colour': 102-105

Europe and very much unique to the American style.[644] Tiffany saw a clear and distinct line between painted glass and his expressive use of glass to denote form, and boldly stated the painted pathway in stained glass was a 'mistake', entirely lead by the church.[645] The painted window therefore represented 'faith'. Colour was the most important factor for Tiffany, which lamentably, was not the focus in the later medieval periods when figural drawing surpassed the importance of colour, and the introduction of yellow stain 'had a marked and unfortunate influence'.[646] The eighteenth-century approach to glass painting, with its pictorial treatment of the glass surface, as well as there being no attempt to make the lead line an integral part of the composition and denoting of the iconography, was seen as 'the death of the art'.[647]

Despite the art of mosaic having religious connotations and being a major religious art form in the Medieval Christian world and beyond, its cultural meaning and usage dates back to the Romans who used the method to decorate their villas, therefore serving a secular purpose in the Ancient World. Tiffany championed the production of stained glass of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries for its mosaic-like qualities and absolute celebration of colour and texture, with imperfections such as air bubbles and varied thicknesses within the glass breaking up the light, again echoing the work of Winston.

Tiffany's stained-glass work, as well as his Favrile blown glass ware, was known to British audiences through *The Studio,* and in the late 1890s and described as a 'new art'.[648] However, it was discussed with an air of condescension. Referring to Tiffany's work as 'industrial' art, Cecilia Waern stated in 1897 that, 'the art outcome of a country and a period does not, unfortunately, confirm to the taste of the highest type, but to the demand of the general public' and America still needed educating in terms of 'higher' art.[649] This anticipates the words of Peter Cormack when

[644] Louis Comfort Tiffany. 'American Art Supreme in Colored Glass': 623.
[645] Louis Comfort Tiffany. 'American Art Supreme in Colored Glass': 622. Tiffany's viewpoint here, however questionable and debatable, is very interesting for this piece as it throws light on an entirely unique and separate strand of thought in the development of the design of stained glass, which throws off the historic development of painted and stained glass, specifically as a medium for devotion and worship. Although whilst unusual and unique, you cannot discount centuries-worth of the historic development of painted glass, whether it be in a sacred or profane setting.
[646] Louis Comfort Tiffany. 'American Art Supreme in Colored Glass': 622
[647] Louis Comfort Tiffany. 'American Art Supreme in Colored Glass': 622
[648] Horace Townsend. 'American and French Applied Art at the Grafton Galleries: 39
[649] Cecilia Waern. 'The Industrial Arts of America; The Tiffany Glass and Decorative Co. *The Studio,* 11. 1897:156

discussing the work of George Wragge Ltd and referring to it as 'commercial'.[650] The industrial art of Tiffany was viewed as a lesser art and not considered entirely on its own merits as a strand of stained glass art.[651] It is tempting to suggest that these comments were made purely because it was 'not British'.[652] This is further qualified by a discussion later in the article where The Tiffany works are compared to those of Morris and Co., the latter whom wished to educate public taste whereas the Tiffany aim was defined as commercial and without the need to elevate or instruct. This is another interesting parallel with the work of the British firms whose work is discussed in this chapter, as their output is often described as purely commercial.

Despite the Arts and Crafts dismissal regarding this way of using glass,[653] Tiffany's, as well as the British firms' methods, was the epitome of the Arts and Crafts principle of the designer being involved in all stages of the process, not to mention drawing figures from life, a principal Tiffany also expounded. Tiffany was even involved at the stage of the physical making of the glass in order to direct the colour, and then superintended the glazier in the selection, cutting and arrangement of the glass.[654]

It should be noted that Tiffany's designs were never popular in Britain, with only two examples of his work to be found in England.[655] However, there was no identifiable conscious desire to create these glasses for specific purposes in Britain and also Europe, but more of a deep concern with materials being represented by textures and the versatility of glass.[656] Whereas with Tiffany, as well as La Farge, the desire for texture to replicate form drove production.

Secular windows in ecclesiastical settings

Tiffany's aesthetic spread across both his ecclesiastical and secular windows, but British companies, such as Pearce and Wragge, utilised the different varieties of glass particularly in their secular windows, making this juxtaposition of textures a predominantly secular trend; one that was also untrammelled by tradition.

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[650] Peter Cormack: *Arts and Crafts Stained Glass*: 124-125

[651] See chapter three for a discussion of the industrial arts being elevated in importance to academic subjects. This is a total affirmation of the point.

[652] Cecilia Waern. 'The Industrial Arts of America.' *The Studio*. 11. 1897: 156

[653] Peter Cormack. 'Recreating a Tradition: Christopher Whall (1849-1924) and the Arts and Crafts Renasence of English Stained Glass in Nicola Gordon-Bowe. *Art and the National Dream*. 38. Charles J. Connick. *Adventures in Light and Colour*. (London, 1937): 4-5

[654] Louis Comfort Tiffany. 'American Art Supreme in Colored Glass': 624

[655] There is a stained glass window by Tiffany in St Andrew's Church, Kimbolton, Cambridgeshire

[656] There is little evidence in archival material to reflect this.

One exception to this is Pearce's set of windows at St Aidan's, Didsbury, now Didsbury United Reformed Church, where a stunning set of windows using symbolic Art Nouveau floral designs as a unifying theme are placed throughout (Figs.332-338). Religious themes, are however, expressed through the language of flowers, which allows for a much freer and complex use of the textured glasses available. A series of seven floral windows are present, all of which stretch the whole length of the tall lancets, with their base of leaves at the base interspersed with the flowers which then grow to the top of the window where they bloom. The flowers include the Iris (Fig.332) symbolising the Virgin Mary and Her sorrow, the Periwinkle (Fig.338), symbolising eternal life, the Madonna Lily (Fig.337), symbolising purity and chastity and the Daisy (Fig.336), the symbol of the innocence of the Christ Child. Importantly, Pearce used these Art Nouveau floral motifs in the windows and he worked with this format in many of his secular commissions, as already seen at Touchstones and Bury Art Gallery, but also notable at the University of Manchester's Sackville Street Building (Figs.339-342). Pearce also makes much use of floral motifs in the large windows in the great hall at Sackville, where Periwinkles, Gentians and Lilies are also present, amongst many others (Fig.342). Therefore, Pearce's secular format spread to church commissions and it is the former which influences the latter.[657]

The language of flowers were, and still are, universal and straddled the religious and secular worlds and Pearce's aesthetic style is one of the most recognisable of the Manchester firms. In this way, his output in Britain is a close parallel to Tiffany's work in America, as Tiffany exploited the use of flowers for symbolic meaning in his landscape windows, for example, The Charles Duncan and William Hegardt Memorial window, c.1924, in the Pilgrim Congregational church, Duluth, Minesota, contains lilies, vines and irises (Fig.343).[658] Tiffany did not have a natural affinity for traditional, ecclesiastical art and portraiture was not his forte; however, throughout the 1890s he gained confidence from the reception of his secular commissions at various Expositions to introduce non-figural windows into ecclesiastical settings.[659] However, this method of rejecting the figural and choosing the natural world for religious symbolism was deemed irreligious and unworthy of the neo-Gothic building

[657] Pearce also undertook traditional, figural stained glass for church settings. The windows at Didsbury URC are therefore an exceptionally rare and interesting example of the secular window in a church setting.
[658] Sarah Brown notes that Tiffany's Biblical, figural scenes were far less successful than his landscape scenes in *Stained Glass: An Illustrated History.* (London: Studio Editions, 1992): 154
[659] Alastair Duncan, Martin P. Eidelberg, Neil Harris. Masterworks of Louis Comfort Tiffany. (New York: Abrams, 1989): 124-126

in which it was placed by Ralph Adams Cram, the architect of the First Presbyterian church, Far Rockaway, Long Island, where Tiffany's Russel Sage Memorial window was placed in 1910 (Fig.344).[660] This observation that choosing the floral, symbolic, over figural, narrative, has important repercussions for my argument. This is that the use of textured glass and symbolism was more of a secular trend, and this therefore reflects a strand of church stained glass that was secularised. It was indeed a rare occurrence to have church windows that are entirely denoted without figural narratives, although this has changed throughout the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.[661]

Textured Lead

One other fascinating quality of Tiffany's work, and some rare British examples, is that the lead work of a window also had an artistic function during the Art Nouveau period. The textural qualities of the lead work is found in windows by Tiffany at the Second Presbyterian Church, Chicago. Colourless, textured glass is surrounded by lead which has had small pieces of the metal soldered to the surfaces (Fig.345).[662] Tiffany lead work had an aesthetic purpose as well as practical when leading Drapery glass, which could be incredibly thick and uneven, lead was trimmed to the contour of the glass and covered with solder. Again, this was functional but also produces an artistic effect where the surface of the lead is manipulated.[663] The Butterfly window by Tiffany, made in 1885, contains lead where the surface has been remodelled to produce a relief structure so they are three-dimensional in reflected light. (Fig.346).[664] Lead lines were also deliberately varied to complement compositions in many works by Tiffany and British firms, such as the Wragge window at the Midland Hotel, where this is particularly evident due to the larger, clear glasses which they surround, as well as the changes between sweeping leads and the geometric shapes at the top of the window.

Other methods for altering the surface of the lead was done by using metal coatings or patination, such as tinning or gilding. Shiny black finishes, as well as bronzed and coppered leads were achieved through polishes and patinas such as copper

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[660] Sarah Brown. *Stained Glass: An Illustrated History:* 154

[661] Desire for traditional, figural glass is however, still high on the agenda for many Dioceses.

[662] Greer Ashman. *The Tiffany Windows of Second Presbyterian Church, Chicago: New Approaches to the Conservation of Opalescent Windows*. Unpublished MA thesis. University of York, 2013

[663] Ibid: 19-20

[664] Nancy Georgi. *The Glazed Screens of Trinity Street Station, Bolton: a case study in the care and conservation of decorative leaded glazing*, Unpublished MA thesis, University of York, 2010: 27

sulphate, copper strips or electroplating.[665] This is a very deliberate effort to make all surfaces a focus for decoration and texture, creating a *gesamtkunstwerk,* where glass and lead harmonise entirely through sensory perception. Copper was placed on the lead surface of stained glass screen dividers between first and second class in at Trinity Street Station, Bolton.[666] The panels, now in the National Railway Museum at York, would have had the copper placed on them to protect the metal surfaces from corrosion in what was a heavily polluted area. Yet this extra material had decorative as well as functional qualities.

Opalescent Glass

Experimentations by Tiffany produced opalescent glass of varying density, semi-transparency, and translucency, which contributed to revolutionising the art of stained glass.[667] Tiffany consciously created and developed opalescent glass to represent certain forms and textures.[668] According to its admirers, opalescent glass had 'luminosity and sparkle with the peculiar iridescent quality of the pearl and the opal.'[669] Its potential for providing texture was manifold; it could be dark, thick and stony, or thin, crisp and brittle with texture like satin which felt like thin shell – 'so thin that to handle it is to enjoy the liquid-like surface' with 'web-like' channels between the thick ridges.[670] These words by Samuel Howe, a former employee of the Sowerby Glass Works, Gateshead, and who later worked for Tiffany in America are already evocative of the multitude of textures present in this magnificent glass. Opalescent glass was selected to express something, to tell a story, or convey a thought,'[671] it 'stimulates the imagination,' prompts the heart and according to Howe, was the best material to create a decorative scene.[672]

The tones and textures of opalescent glass can vary depending on whether it is viewed in reflected or transmitted light; they can be harsh and crude but suddenly glorious when the light shines through, 'like a sunset all at once illuminating the sky in this land of brilliant effects; the light playing richly, as through clouds and haze,

[665] Ibid: 28
[666] Ibid: 25
[667] Louis Comfort Tiffany. 'American Art Supreme in Colored Glass': 623
[668] See Appendix 2: 274-275, for a description of opalescent glass and more British examples of its use in windows.
[669] Samuel Howe. 'The Making of the Glass,' *The Craftsman 3* (March, 1903): 366
[670] Ibid: 367
[671] Ibid: 367
[672] Ibid: 368

with the varying density and textures of the glass.'[673] Cecilia Waern, writing for *The Studio* in 1898, discusses the unique traits of Favrile, as well as opalescent glass, and states: 'It is impossible to supress the feeling that there is no need for elaborately designed, pictorial windows with a material of this intrinsic value. A slab of these richly-veined, transparent marbles, with a border of deeper tones, or of the discs, knobs, and jewels that abound, make as sumptuous and poetic an ornamental window as the heart of man or woman can desire.'[674] Like other textured glasses, opalescent glass can suggest many forms in a window, such as metals, mosses or the clear crests of waves on the seashore, yet always retains its *glassy* quality. The material conveys a richness with its ability to create shimmering, iridescent, multifaceted and multi-coloured effects. These effects were hard won by scientific research by Tiffany, who studied the decomposition of antique glass and the causes of these phenomena.[675]

This was firm 'progress' in stained glass which Tiffany said could never have been dreamt of in the past. 'True art is ever progressive and impatient of fixed rules'.[676] The very fact that Tiffany felt the need to continuously defend his style of making stained glass in his writings reflects the opposition to his creative aesthetic. Tiffany truly believed in the qualities of the glass itself, and stated that glass could obtain pigments that paintwork could never do. Artistic lead work was used to emphasise drawing and deepening shadows.[677] Opalescent glass was intended to soften and control the much stronger rays of sunlight in America,[678] something which was not as much of a requirement in Europe, yet they would be utilised to great effect in Britain. Duthie, writing for a British readership, stated that opalescent rolled glasses were valuable because of the broken colour they afforded and this placed them on a level with the most expensive Antique glasses, with the rippled surface type had a particular glitter. Opalescent and Antique glasses are also noted for their use in 'high-class work'.[679]

There were one or two early instances of the combination of textured and opalescent glass in the work of companies across the country, including Shrigley and Hunt of Lancaster, at Pownall Hall in Cheshire (c.1898), and J&W Guthrie in

[673] Cecilia Waern. The Industrial Arts of America: II. The Tiffany or 'Favrile Glass'. *The Studio.* 14. 1898: 17
[674] Cecilia Waern. The Industrial Arts of America: II: 17
[675] Ibid: 20
[676] Louis Comfort Tiffany. 'American Art Supreme in Colored Glass': 625
[677] Ibid
[678] Samuel Howe. 'The Making of the Glass': 365
[679] Arthur Louise Duthie. *Decorative Glass Processes*: 20-22

partnership with William Stewart at Ruthven Towers, Auchterarder (c.1897-1898), the latter of which particularly seems to have adopted Tiffany's style and use of glasses, including 'spotted' effects and plating in a domestic setting (Figs.347-350).

'Choice opalescent, Venetian and Antique.'[680]

A fundamental attribute of British textured stained glass was the combination of two or three of opalescent, Venetian, antique and machine-made glass. Pearce and Wragge's combined a variety of textured and opalescent glasses in their stained glass work and Wragge clearly defines this as a trait of the company in the opening words of a company catalogue of 1897. He states he wished in the company's stained glass for the 'form to be quite subsidiary to the colour effect' with effects 'got entirely by choice opalescent, Venetian and Antique glass and leading'.[681] Wragge's made extensive use of 'Ripple' figured rolled machine-made glass, very often combined with mouth-blown Antique Venetian, as well as many other textured glasses, such as Muffled sheet and Montene. Here, there are echoes of the words of Tiffany, whose pursuit of colour as the prime motive in his work was also that of Pearce and Wragge's.

Venetian glass was heavily incorporated into the works of British firms and the following case studies highlights its versatility. Venetian glass was an antique, mouth-blown glass with a lozenge pattern running repeatedly through the sheet of glass.[682] The lozenges allow light to bounce and reflect in different directions which encouraged its use in denoting many different forms such as water or clothing. However, its versatility was not recognised by contemporary writers and practitioners such as Arthur Louis Duthie, who stated that using large pieces of Venetian glass was unsuitable for stained glass work. The glass was only really suitable when cut up, and the lozenges on the pattern used as jewels in decorative work.[683] Duthie's opinion is quite the contrary to the physical evidence of windows which contained the glass. He also collaborated with Pearce,[684] therefore reflecting the differing opinions of practitioners. It is a strong indicator that it was a real skill to

[680] George Wragge, (1897), *Some Suggestions for leaded lights and stained glass for domestic and ecclesiastical purposes,* has a section with this title, indicating the regular glass types used.
[681] Ibid. Wragge's use of these terms reveals that clients will have been familiar with these glasses, reinforcing just how popular and in demand they must have been.
[682] See Appendix 2: 268-270, for a description of the process of blowing Venetian glass.
[683] Arthur Louise Duthie. *Decorative Glass Processes*: 1908
[684] Arthur Louise Duthie. *Decorative Glass Processes.* Duthie illustrates Pearce's designs within the text: 12, 55 & 97

work with these materials and once it was mastered, the possibilities were potentially limitless.

Venetian glass can be found in several works by Wragge in Manchester, such as in the decorative ceiling of Lloyds Bank on King Street, now a branch of L'Antica Pizzeria da Michele restaurant. Both these examples are leaded lights, rather than stained glass, yet this exemplifies the interest in the use of the glass by the company in different kinds of environments and settings. Wragge's also used Venetian in the window on the mezzanine level of the Midland Hotel, where the central female figure dances to the tune of two piper's placed either side of her.[685] Venetian is used a little more sparingly, yet represents parts of her clothing and water droplets at the base of an Art Nouveau motif.

Scottish firms such as Oscar Paterson also used Venetian glass in semi-abstract designs at the University Gardens buildings in Glasgow (Fig.351). The 'peacock' window on the first floor of number 2 uses Venetian glass for its strong, sculptural attributes within a myriad of other textures and the glass gives the bird's feathers a delicate, elegant touch (Figs.352-353). Venetian can also be found in the entrance lobby windows at the Tate Britain where it takes on a more architectural quality in a composite window of textured glass (Figs.354-356). Significantly, it is a glass that still holds fascination to the English artist Richard Wright, who uses these textured glasses, specifically Venetian, to create complex optical effects which shift the viewer's perceptions of the architectural space for which they are created.[686] The firms who were using this glass for aesthetic and sculptural effect in the later-nineteenth and early twentieth-centuries were pioneers of the material. They anticipated later movements and developments of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, where the metaphysical qualities of glass were utilised for artistic effect.

Laidler and Mitchell, Newcastle

The examples of windows in Britain which utilise opalescent glass develop the ethos of its usage by combining them with translucent, as well as opaque, heavily textured antique and machine-made glasses. These windows are distinctly different from American glass, and represent a unique strand of stained glass design in Britain.

[685] See Veronica Smith. 'George Wragge's Manchester: a consideration of Arts and Crafts stained glass in secular contexts. *The Decorative Arts Society: 1850 to the Present*. Journal 41, 2017. 140-159

[686] Venetian glass is especially commissioned for these projects, in conjunction with York Glaziers Trust, by English Antique Glass who still retain the mould. See Appendix 2: 270.

The Newcastle-based company of George Gavin Laidler (& Son) Ltd, when executing the designs of John Edgar Mitchell (1871-1922), was responsible for creating several unique works in stained glass in Newcastle and Durham.[687] There is also a clear comparison with the works of Wragge and Pearce in Manchester, with the juxtaposition of opalescent, vividly coloured and textured glasses such as Antique Venetian and Ripple used in their commissions for secular settings, revealing a clear direction in design ethic in the secular work of these geographically distant companies in two separate Northern English cities.

There are two examples of work by Mitchell working in conjunction with Laidler in the city of Newcastle: the staircase window at The Laing Art Gallery (Fig.357), dating from 1904 and the single window in the Leazes wing, Royal Victoria Infirmary (Fig.358) depicting a female figure in a landscape.[688] Alexander Laing (1828-1905) donated the Laing to the city of Newcastle and Mitchell was employed to produce windows for both the Laing and the Infirmary. There is also a large stained glass scheme by John Edgar Mitchell, also made by Laidler's at the Old Shire Hall in Durham, now renovated into an upmarket hotel.

The Laing Art Gallery window is entitled 'The Marriage of the Arts'[689], with fine arts of painting and sculpture being married in the centre, with figures on either side in the outer panels representing the decorative arts of pottery and textiles. The arms of Newcastle are portrayed in the top light and flanked on either side by vertical flame-like shapes denoted by the lead-line and further surrounded by sweeping leads which represent cloud-like formations. The figures wear long gowns and headdresses and have a line of textured and coloured opalescents which are in line with their heads. In the outer panels, these opals are heart-shaped, and a more extended version of this is in the central light. Each panel contains branches of trees, with varying tones of green antique glasses used to represent the variation in colour of the leaves. These windows are heavily inspired by Art Nouveau and depict motifs synonymous with the movement, such as expressive, elongated lead-lines and natural, flowing forms. Rose motifs sit at the top of the central female figure's head and the flowing, weaving forms of the tree branches surround her shoulders.

[687] Two of John Edgar Mitchell's designs for stained glass were singled out by *The Studio* as being part of a selection of 'art treasures' which were accumulated by the Laing Art Gallery, Newcastle when it was first opened. These designs were for his work at The Old Shire Hall in Durham. Studio-Talk. *The Studio*, 35. 1905.158-159

[688] For a brief overview of the Laing Art Gallery, see Appendix 1: 241

[689] The window was conserved by Iona Art Glass, Morpeth, Northumberland.

This window contains an expert composition of textured and opalescent glasses. There is a vast amount of white glass in this window, including an intense focus on using Venetian glass for the clothing of the main figures, as well as clear Ripple machine-made glass at the base. The only colour is reserved for the opals in the background, which are vivid blues and greens, the faces, feet and accessories of the figures, such as satchels, and some details on their garments. The arms of Newcastle are depicted in brightly coloured opals, with some small flecks of colour in the Venetian flames either side of it. Paintwork is only used for facial features, hands and feet. There is a hierarchy of colour in this window, in that the colour is reserved for the central line below the mullion. The familiar variegated, iridescent Ripple is used within these sections, as well as vivid opals.

This use of large pieces of Venetian glass in this way is the total opposite of the advice given by Duthie. Laidler specifically uses Venetian glass for tonal effect and in these windows, it is embraced as a substitute for colour and paint. Venetian has an arresting and striking texture and, when used, it stands out above other glasses, making it a focus in any composition. Other textures such as Muffled Sheet are much lighter or quieter in tone, and these therefore, work harmoniously, almost orchestrally, with other textures. As I discussed with figured-rolled glasses, a comparison of samples of these glasses shows these effects (Figs.359-365). Tonal qualities are highlighted; Muffled sheet allows for the sculptural, architectural qualities of Venetian to stand out. It is an arresting texture and draws the viewer into its rolling, swelling surface, as well as playing with light as it bounces onto its surface. Venetian is a more difficult glass to cut and shape, due to its uneven, lozenge surface, but Laidler and Mitchell utilise the artistic quality and practicality of Venetian; they mastered the art of creating compositions using the raw material of glass.[690] The glass itself was not cheap to use and has been placed in these windows for the sense of luxury they portray.[691] Each large piece of Venetian is placed in a different position to indicate the flow and direction of each part of the clothing. When looking at the drapery of the central female figure, the Venetian glass has been turned completely horizontal, making this area of the material stand forward. This approach animates the window and gives a strong sense of movement. This is particularly notable in the arms, chest and skirt area which have

[690] Through my own experiences as a maker and user of glass, I have found these textured surfaces require a delicate hand and practice in order to achieve the required cut piece.
[691] Arthur Louis Duthie. *Decorative Glass Processes:* 29, details a comparative list of glass prices. Venetian white cost 1s 9d, Venetian streaky cost 3s 6d and Venetian opalescent cost 3s 6d. Antique streaky cost 2s.

an almost three-dimensional, sculptural effect precisely because of the way that the light falls on the dimples of the glass. Much more defined areas of the glass appear to have been used where this effect was particularly needed, whereas the softer areas, such as in the lower parts of the clothing where there was less contour and definition of form use Antique Venetian Ripple glass, precisely for its less well-defined texture, having a lighter and softer dimpled effect. The characteristic texture of Venetian was not as defined at the edges of the sheets as at the centre.

Just as large pieces of Venetian are used for clothing in the Laing Art Gallery window, so they are also utilised for the gown of the female figure at the Royal Infirmary, and dark green Ripple glass is used to denote trees, showing that Mitchell was using the same palette of glasses for several projects at a similar time. The glass in the Infirmary figure is used in much the same way, with the direction of the pattern drawing the eye in, just as the shading and tone of paint would do. The downward trajectory of the glass forces shadow into the dimples of the glass. In this window, Mitchell also introduces tinted streaky pieces of Venetian glass which give depth to the folds of the drapery. A variety of opalescent glasses are also used in a thoughtful way in this composition, which harmonise with the colours in the clothing of the female figure. Even the sky has pinkish tones.

Mitchell introduces more textured glasses into his windows; there is also the prolific use of antique 'crackled', where the surface literally looks as though it is cracked, and the movement is in all directions.[692] It is real and authentic in appearance. This is introduced in some of the clear background glass at The Laing, as well as the scroll above the heads of the figures which runs across the length of the window. It is yet another subtle texture added to the window, revealing Mitchell's interest in the complex combination of several textures into one composition, and yet another example of the intense interest of the period in experimentation with pattern and textural forms.

The use of Crackled-textured glass was popular in the North-East and appears in several stained glass works across the city, as well as in the area in general. The company of George Gavin Laidler also executed the door panels for the King's Hall in the Armstrong building at Newcastle University in 1905-6 (Fig.366), part of a scheme of glazing for the designer T.R. Spence (1845-1918), whose work on St George's, Jesmond, has already been discussed. These panels incorporate several textured glasses, with heavy use of Crackled in the central sections of the

[692] See Appendix 2: 261, for a description of Crackled glass.

decorative glass. This time, the Crackled is opalescent with a blue tint. The usage of these glasses in such significant buildings creates a sense of luxury, intended to impress. The King's Hall is still used today for important visitors who come to give talks to both students and the public, and these glasses happily co-exist with other decorative features in the room, such as the decorative wood and iron work, as well as the stained glass depicting coats of arms in the main windows.

Mitchell's work at the former Old Shire Hall in Durham is further evidence of this style and favouring of a variety of textured and opalescent glasses.[693] The Old Shire Hall, the location of Durham County Council, was designed by Barnes and Coates and built by Rankin of Sunderland from 1896 to 1898. Mitchell's windows are part of the 1905 extension for the education annexe, and are therefore representations of learning. The windows in the octagonal chamber include Music, Elocution, Art, Handicraft and Chemistry (Figs.367-373). They are very similar to the Laing Art Gallery window in design, with two figures facing each other, wearing gowns made from Venetian glass, each piece placed so as to catch the light and suggest movement and flow of the material. There is also the usage of elongated Art Nouveau floral designs in the background.

Large expanses of clear, crackled glass are found in the corridor windows, adding interest to an otherwise plain and flat surface (Figs.372-373). The mimicking of a cracked surface plays with the light; there are larger cracks and tiny, micro-cracks which spin off in every direction, creating a self-conscious haphazard effect. Interestingly, when these different varieties of crackled glass are used in conjunction together on a large area in the composition, it has the effect of rain running down the panes, as if in a heavy downpour. Whether this was the intention or not, it has a wonderful visual effect.

In contrast to these secular schemes, there is a distinct lack of textured glass used in windows for religious settings and particularly an absence of the striking tones of Venetian and Figured Rolled textures. There is only one of two instances known to this author, in which larger pieces of Venetian glass are used in Margaret Chilton's window in Pilton Parish Church, Somerset, dating from 1907 (Fig.374). Venetian glass is used in the billowing clouds behind Jesus and spreads between the three lights of the window. Here it has certainly been used for its sculptural qualities, but the execution is less successful perhaps due to a lesser proficiency with the material. Smaller pieces of Venetian are used in a later window by George Wragge,

[693] See Appendix 1: 233, for a brief overview of the Old Shire Hall.

dating from 1918, in a church in Gorton, where it has been used to represent wings. However, here the glass has been painted over and so the lozenges can only be identified when looking at the glass from a low angle and the glass therefore loses its translucency and sparkle, which was its original purpose.

Texture and Touch: Miller and Lang Printing Office, Pollockshields, Glasgow

A truly stunning set of windows by John C Hall in conjunction with W.G. Morton are at the Miller and Lang Printing Offices, Glasgow (Fig.375).[694] These windows represent the pinnacle of experimentation with a variety of textured and opalescent glasses and the interior is entirely immersive, providing a 'tyranny of the senses'[695] with its interactive usage of other decorative features with the stained glass (Figs.376-388). Here the textured glasses are used in a vibrant and effervescent manner to great artistic effect, with combinations of smaller pieces of a whole host of textured glasses used. There is an incredible sense of the tactile, especially as the glass is at ground level, where the channels of the patterned glass can be physically touched.

The Miller and Lang Printing Offices, designed in 1902 by D.B. Dobson, is a building which is entirely Art Nouveau in inspiration and design, with carved figurative detail on the exterior and a statue of Minerva placed at the pinnacle of the gable to the right of the building (Fig.375). The section containing the stained glass is now the offices belonging to the Youth Community Support Agency, and they are a fabulous suite of Art-Nouveau-inspired windows along the corridor, filling every partition wall and doorway opening; it is a feast for the eyes made from textured glasses, both machine-made and mouth-blown, showing a sophisticated manipulation of a palette of richly coloured glasses, giving an almost kaleidoscopic effect. The windows are clearly a one-off, designed to fulfil the wishes of a single patron and therefore a

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[694] For a brief overview of the Miller and Lang Printing Office, see Appendix 1: 235. There are virtually no archives for this building and its interiors. It only has a brief mention in the Pevsner guide to Glasgow, which is the only source that gives any indication of the original meaning of the series. Other local history sites which mention the building can be found at:
'Pollokshields Heritage. 37 Miller & Lang Art Publishers Ltd.'
https://pollokshieldsheritage.co.uk/Trail%202/37.html. Accessed 10 March 2022
'Pollokshields Heritage. William Gibson Morton (1871-1946).
https://pollokshieldsheritage.co.uk/Trail%203/Morton.html. Accessed 10 March 2022
'The Conservation and Protection of Glasgow Style Interiors.'
https://www.glasgowheritage.org.uk/exhibitions/the-preservation-of-glasgow-style-interiors/.
Accessed 10 March 2022

[695] Walter Pater. 'The Child in the House' in *Imaginary Portraits*. Introduction by Bill Beckley. (New York: Allworth Press, 1997): 11

personal choice. The windows represent the capacity of the material of glass to create a picture without the use of paint.[696]

Once up the stairway from the main entrance, passing through Art Nouveau motif tiling and mosaics, as well as a stained-glass window representing the Birth of Venus, based on the painting by Botticelli (Fig.381), the viewer enters an almost dream-like setting of glass and marble. As with the Morris interiors, there is an interplay of different media in the corridor, with pink marble walls, patterned art nouveau tile work, ceramic friezes depicting snakes, mosaics, decorative tile work, beaten copper plates, elaborate door handles with snakes, woodwork, and a large stone dragon statue at the end of the corridor which sits overlooking the other features (Fig.382). There is a plethora of tactile qualities to be absorbed.

There is an arresting partition wall to the right, around six and half feet tall, where clients would have originally entered the reception of the company (Figs.376, 385 & 387). 'Enquiries' is marked on the right panel beneath a huge whale with a voluminous, cavernous mouth, represented in varying shades of red and pink rolled cathedral glass, its large tongue characterised in varying tones of blues, the tip of which is a green-ish Ripple figured-rolled glass (Figs.379 & 387). Large, brightly coloured fish frolic beneath and above the water beside the whale, which look almost as though they are about to enter into the mouth of the whale (perhaps a visual metaphor for the enquires office!). The whale is partnered by a huge shark on the left partition wall, also with accompanying flying fish, with their wing-like fins spread in mid-flight (Figs.376 & 377).[697] The central doorway between the two panels is replete with galleon, beneath which lies seaweed, and a seahorse interweaves between the strands, all entirely made from rippled and antique glasses (Fig.386). The eyes of the creatures stare out at the viewer, all using simple central sections of bullseyes or small glass jewels. It is a dazzling composition which entertains, perturbs and amuses all at once, and is arresting to the viewer who is surrounded by the glass all at eye level and within touching distance. The positioning of these larger partition walls at Miller and Lang are perfectly placed so that light from the large front windows passes through and above them and is able to dance around the corridor.

[696]The degree of engagement with the people who work there now is important. When I visited the building, those who worked there said how much they enjoy working amongst it and have endeavoured to learn more about it.

[697] The imagery of the whale and the shark is fantastical. To address the potential issue of religious connotations with the Biblical tale of Jonah and the Whale, there is no human presence in the glass.

The doors in the surrounding corridor all contain a window made of decorative glass, each with surrounding copper plates with intricate and beautifully embossed images from nature, such as bats and birds, as well as art nouveau door handles (Fig.380). A mermaid swims under water in the doorway adjacent to the shark (Fig.378), and following the doors clockwise around the space from this window, there is a scene of a female figure holding a skull and then in the next scene, she holds a small child, then next an under-water plant with a face in the centre, possibly representing Neptune. Other doors now removed for their protection, contain images of bearded men.[698] It is hard to know the sources of the imagery, which appear to be a very personal choice of the patron and may have been inspired by fairy tales and fantasy. Pevsner's Buildings of Glasgow suggests the imagery is representing the seasons and the passage of time, including Father Time, Father Christmas, Neptune, Mother and Child and Death, and may relate to the imagery of the greetings cards that the firm produced, although copies of these have not survived.[699]

It is the textured stained glass which is the dominant force in the composition of the space, with paint only used minimally for very small areas such as faces, reminiscent of the windows at Rochdale Art Gallery, Newcastle's Laing Art Gallery and Tiffany's ideals for his stained glass. At Glasgow, rather than using expanses of white glass to allow for smaller areas of colour to take centre stage, there is endless colour and texture in the arrangements. Green-tinted Venetian has been placed amongst pieces of other glass types and the lozenges of the glass reflect light upwards and outwards and refract and diffuse the light, which gives the effect of the shimmering sea. Here, the Venetian glass has a soft undulating effect and the maker has been careful to only use this in strips, as using larger sheets may not have given the required effect of the rising and falling of the waves and the ripples on the surface. A variegated blue-ish white glass has been interspersed with the Venetian to add varying colour tones, as are realistically seen in seawater when studied closely; again, the textures contribute to this very vivid and memorable effect. A plainer rolled cathedral glass is also interspersed with these glasses. This knowledge of the effects of texture shows a highly sophisticated understanding of materials on the part of the stained-glass maker. This was a time-consuming skill

[698] The current state and position of the doors, which were stacked, made it impossible to view them in full on my visit. As the offices are used for a Youth Service, staff are not prepared for assisting visitors. Hopefully a return trip may provide more evidence.
[699] Elizabeth Williamson, Anne Riches & Malcolm Higgs. *The Buildings of Scotland: Glasgow*. (London, Penguin Books, 1990)

which needed much training in order to make the glass work in several different types of compositions. This is reminiscent of those working in Tiffany's studios, who would have to hunt through 'hundreds if not thousands of pieces of glass before he found the one which would give the *impression* […] of the face of the figure with which the workman was at that time dealing'.[700]

Other parts of the compositions use different types of glasses; Muffled sheet is used to add sparkle where highlights are required on the shark and whale, such as the sections of the cheek beside the eye (Fig.376).[701] The Ripple glass has been used in combination with this, and provides a much more subtle highlight which is gradual, from being quite dark at the eye, and then slowly picks up the light on the individual ripples as it moves towards the curve of the back of the head. The Ripple glass has been placed in this direction with this knowledge of the material in mind, understanding its capacities to refract and direct the light. It is the combination of textured glass which creates these glittering effects with the mosaic of colour and light uniting to create a unique texture in itself. It is the interplay of colour, light and texture which the designer and maker of the glass have used to seduce the viewer into 'feeling' they are both beneath and surrounded by the water inhabited by the various sea creatures represented.

As well as the interplay between the various textures of the glass and colour, the lead line again emerges as a strong factor in the composition, such as with the divisions it makes between the different textured strips of glass which represent the sea. The line work weaves and flows along the cut of the glass, undulating like the waves. The sky is also broken up with strong diagonal leadlines, also dividing the different textures but delivering an almost art deco feel, with their severe and definite angles, an opposite to the curves of the sea (Fig.376).

The textures within the glass are constantly moving and shifting, creating an intoxicating vista. Here, stained glass truly breaks away from its Gothic Revival roots, as Tiffany believed. Experimentation was unhindered by setting. These secular settings offered the opportunity for artists to break out of the ecclesiastical format of church windows and its regular subject matter and this can be seen in the variety of different styles that can be found, and the Miller and Lang Printing Works are an excellent example.

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[700] Horace Townsend. 'American and French Applied Art at the Grafton Galleries. *The Studio*, 17. 1899: 42

[701] In England, this glass was made by Chance Brothers of Birmingham.

Touch and stained glass

The proximity of these windows to the viewer has implications for interaction with the users of these spaces. Unlike many windows in ecclesiastical settings, this suite of windows can be touched; they are not at a distance and viewed from afar, which immediately changes the relationship of the viewer to the object. If you are close enough to touch the windows, you can feel, and not just see, the plethora of textures with your fingertips. There can be a museum-like quality to stained glass windows when placed at a distance in the setting of a church. The message of church windows can also sometimes be unreachable because they can be difficult to actually 'see' and interpret, yet these windows at Miller and Lang invite the viewer to revel in their imagery up close and engage with their intense colours and textures.

Constance Classen, in her work on the sense of touch, discusses the museum and the deference paid to objects in modern day museums where they can only be seen and not touched. Yet at Miller and Lang, touching the windows 'annihilates distance and physically unites'.[702] The glass becomes less curious and bringing stained glass windows down from the lofty heights of churches and into intimate knowledge is the ultimate in profanity of the medium. Sight can only render surfaces and colours, but touch allows one to know objects intimately.[703] Like sculpture, here the sense of touch is essential and the stained glass becomes a multi-sensory experience where the toucher comes into contact with the multiple hands and mouths of the stained glass manufacturers and makers.

Their accessibility gives them a tactile nature which therefore has much more impact at a lower level, as opposed to a sacred and hushed church interior. Oscar Paterson (1863-1934), the Glaswegian-based stained glass designer and maker who used a multitude of textured and bevelled glasses in his work, spoke of the positioning of windows in relation to their material qualities: 'Mr Paterson believes that if it be high then the design should make for quality of light, on the other hand if the window be near the eye quality of material should be the prominent feature.[704] Therefore, it was quite right that such textured and patterned surfaces were used in these settings, closer to human interaction and providing a visual and tactile feast.

[702] Constance Classen. 'Touch in the Museum' in Constance Classen (ed.) *The Book of Touch* (Oxford: Berg, 2005): 277
[703] Constance Classen. 'Touch in the Museum': 279
[704] Gleeson White. Some Glasgow Designers and Their work. Part IV. *The Studio,* 13. 1898

The windows mesmerise the eye with their mimicking of the surfaces of clothing, leaves, feathers, or the ruffled breast of a bird in flight. The sense of touch is as important as the visual; further knowledge of the consistency of the glass and its appearance is gained through a sensory perception which has been neglected in relation to perceptions of the arts in general, but one which may have been entirely regular to men and women of the nineteenth century, who created this world imbued with pattern and texture. The textures deflect and refract the light and dazzle the eye which encourages the need to touch. The Arts and Crafts ethos of 'truth to materials', is inherent in this way of using textured glass to mimic texture and form, and evokes Walter Pater's sense of the 'visible, tangible, audible loveliness of things.[705] They are objects in which to delight and imprint themselves on the mind, becoming part of a tactile memory.

Touch and texture are prominent from the earliest stages of the design of windows, to their formation on the workbench, to then being placed in-situ. Stained glass, like all other processes of creating art, involves an acute sense of 'touch' which also involves the mastery of the cutting of the glass and the correct 'force of hand'.[706] Too much force and the glass can break or shatter. These new textured and opalescent glasses could also be tricky to handle in the firing process, changing colour in the kiln.[707] The very tactile processes of the physical making of glass have been expertly described by Isobel Armstrong, who describes the very breath of the glass-blowers caught within its fabric for its lifetime, along with the physical exertion in the making of the sheets of plate glass.[708] Texture is 'felt' through the sense of touch, but texture may also be seen through sight. The texture of colour also plays a significant role, as textured glasses were often variegated and iridescent, with the interplay of the colour and the refraction and deflection of light inter-weaving playfully. This interweaving of material objects and their textures is again reminiscent of Pater's descriptions of interiors and objects which impress themselves on the minds of children and how they are remembered in later life. They are *a part of* the very texture of that memory and therefore inextricable from other aspects of life: *'inward and outward being woven through and through each other into one inextricable texture - half, tint and trace and accident of homely colour*

[705] Walter Pater. 'The Child in the House' in *Imaginary Portraits*: 8; Jason Edwards and Imogen Hart (eds). *Rethinking the Interior*: 9
[706] Heather Tilley. 'Introduction: The Victorian Tactile Imagination'. *19: Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century, 19* (2014): 16
[707] Arthur Louis Duthie. *Decorative Glass Processes:* 20
[708] Isobel Armstrong. *Victorian Glassworlds:* 3-5

and form, from the wood and the bricks; half, mere soul-stuff, floated thither from who knows how far.'[709] The light delicately plays with the textures of the glass and reveals their flamboyant colours.

The textured glass designs were also related to other artistic features. The decorative glass mermaid in the doorway panel has been expertly coupled with the metal doorplate which is embossed with swimming fish. Even the door handle is in the shape of a swirling fish, giving so much movement to the door. The copper plates which are placed between the images of life and death in the doorways have bats embossed into them, along with Art Nouveau handles (Figs.380 & 384). Bats signify the night, which is here associated with time, as with all the stained-glass panels. The image of Venus is in an oval window, surrounded by a thick line of white tiles, then beneath there are textured, patterned green tiles with a frieze below depicting serpents. All are contained within surrounding pink marbled walls with black streaks running through. It is at once mesmerising but clearly all features were designed to echo subject matter and themes as a whole, and the textured, stained glass is key to this significant work of art.

There are other instances where textured glass featured in larger, inter-related decorative schemes. Manors Power Station (Fig.389), discussed in chapter two, is one such interior which can be classed as an installation, and has an immersive effect on those who enter. The section containing the stained glass is now a relatively closed off space to the rest of the building. The window is composed of seven separate panels, with those at the top forming an archway containing two back-to-back figural representations of the god Hermes, a standard architectural motif which can be found above entranceways to many buildings of the period. The lower central panel contains the arms of Newcastle, with the two outer panels depicting trams of 1878 and 1902, celebrating the function of the building itself as a source of energy for the trams.

There is a mixture of effects within the stained-glass window, including silver stain, paintwork, as well as the use of textured glass for dramatic effect. There is an interesting use of streaky antique glass in Hermes's clothing which draws the eye through the composition, but there is use of 'crackled' textured glass in the beams of the sunlight, as well as large bullseyes to represent planets at the base of Hermes's feet. Another planet-form with a ring around, presumably Jupiter, is also present.

[709] Walter Pater. *The Child in the House:* 4

These textured glasses are used in a different way than in the work of Miller and Lang, but are purposeful in their usage in this immersive interior.

It is the interaction between the window, its textures and the palpable darkness of the tiles which is of particular interest here. As the whole room is tiled in two varying tones of green, the light from the window bounces and reflects across the tile work, creating a sense of space much larger than the room itself (Figs.390-391). A frieze of sea-horse-like creatures with webbed hands swim around the upper section of the space, clearly especially designed for this interior (Fig.392). It is akin to being plunged under water. In the way that Miller and Lang created this effect through textured glasses, here it is executed in an entirely different way but also as effective, using the glass and the tiles to create this impression. The sea horse-like creatures in the tile work mimic those in the window within the civic heraldry, as if they have literally swam out of the window and are now spiralling around the room.

This exploration of the tactile and three-dimensional nature of interiors is especially pertinent for spaces such as those of Miller and Lang. The stained glass has a child-like and dream-like quality, where an imagination has been allowed free reign to create interiors which were intended to be used in everyday working life, which gives a new lease of life to stained glass. Here, the glass is a part of an immersive, tactile interior where its vastness and scale surrounds the viewer who interacts with the space.

These ideas significantly pre-date those of continental Expressionist architects such as Bruno Taut. The walls of his Glaushaus of 1914 were made from Luxfer prisms which carried light into dark recesses of rooms,[710] and there was stained glass, glass prisms and brick, metalized ceramic, tiles and glass globes.[711] The structure itself was dedicated to Paul Scheerbart, an ‘evangelist of glass’ whose poetic words were inscribed above the entrance to the structure: ‘Colored glass/destroys all hatred at last.’[712] This very focus on material in all the examples discussed in this chapter echoes and therefore pre-empts these ideas and the metaphysical conveyed through the material of glass itself. This was modernist thought and

[710] Noam M Elcot. ‘Kaleidoscope-Architecture': Scheerbart, Taut, and the Glass House’ In Josia McElheny and Christine Burgin (eds) *Glass! Love!! Perpetual Motion!!! A Paul Scheerbart Reader*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2014: 111; Kai K. Gutschow. ‘From Object to Installation in Bruno Taut's Exhibit Pavilions’. *Journal of Architectural Education* (1984-), May, 2006, Vol. 59, No. 4
[711] Noam M Elcot. ‘Kaleidoscope-Architecture': 112
[712] Noam M Elcot. ‘Kaleidoscope-Architecture': 111

evidence that these artists of textured stained glass were laying the foundations for ideas later in the twentieth century.

Conclusion

All these textured glasses were at the peak of their popularity in Britain throughout the late 1890s and early 1900s. By around 1910 and certainly after the Great War, these glasses were used much less frequently and variously,[713] so this period of intense interest in the use of heavily textured and expressive qualities of glass spanned a period of around 20 years in Britain. The exception to this rule is Venetian glass, which continued in use for longer, certainly into the 1920s and 1930s, as it appears in household decoration catalogues, such as Baxendales (Fig.5), in their stained-glass window designs of c.1920. Venetian glass is also used extensively in The Rose Villa Tavern, Birmingham. Built from 1919-20 by Wood and Kendrick, the pub contains Venetian glass in various colours such as deep blue, green, pink and yellow in the decorative borders of the several large windows positioned throughout the space (Figs.393-395).

The ethos of using texture to replicate form was continued for a while in the work of Leonard Walker (1879-1965). His work is a useful addendum to the theories and philosophies discussed here. He was prolific from the 1920s onwards and his work explored the textural and expressive qualities of antique glasses, creating works which were entirely unique and identifiable in their aesthetic.

[713] Discussion with the late Dr Neil Moat, July 2016

Conclusion

This thesis has demonstrated how intrinsic secular stained glass is to the understanding of culture and society in the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. It also highlights the importance of regional glass artists and underappreciated, understudied buildings and stained glass schemes. Stained glass acts as a litmus test for societal values and cultural ideals and is crucial to understanding nineteenth-century attitudes. Stained glass in secular buildings fundamentally changed the relationship between people and the art form in the nineteenth century as it infiltrated every aspect of daily life in the buildings in which people worked, studied and enjoyed themselves. The medium impacted any secular space in which it was placed with its accessibility inspiring new relationships with the viewer.

So far, the scholarship of stained glass in this period has focussed almost exclusively on stained glass for ecclesiastical settings, and yet this thesis has shown that the wider Victorian world was saturated in stained glass. This highlights conservation concerns as it is a world which is fast disappearing due to re-development of cities, demolition and neglect, making an appreciation of its significance and value all the more critical. It is hoped that many of the surviving buildings which still preserve their original stained glass will continue to be cared for by current and future owners. I have met and talked with home and building owners referred to in this study who mostly admire and revere their stained glass. However, through lack of knowledge attempts are made to make changes or alterations which are detrimental to the window, as well as to stained glass studies. This is also particularly relevant for textured glasses, as most are no longer available and there is a lack of understanding and skills to recognise their significance. This thesis has gone some way to redress this balance. Researching stained glass in a variety of secular settings reveals the agendas and ambitions of the patrons, as well as what subjects or symbolic imagery was deemed appropriate for each setting and its audiences. In these secular contexts, stained glass was a truly modern medium which engaged with current trends in the art world. It could be adapted for any setting both in terms of subject and materials. The stained glass industry in Britain diversified during the period and while international influences are evident in artistic style, a distinctive British aesthetic blossoms from c.1895, incorporating localised subjects and the specific use of certain textured glasses.

This thesis has provided an important contribution to the history of nineteenth-century glass in an area which has surprisingly escaped the attention of scholars, as

well as filling a gap in the historiography of the subject. The thematic approach was gathered from visiting multiple sites and collecting data on subjects, which should complement previous studies of stained glass and inspire new ways of approaching a medium which is so often misunderstood or unrecognised within the history of art. It is also intended to contest chronological and historiographical conventions of stained glass studies. Stained glass was so ubiquitous that its various manifestations in different contexts provide plentiful evidence for the better understanding of the period. Public houses, universities, museums, libraries, public baths, town halls and offices are just some of the new architectural contexts for stained glass in the period, reflecting the medium as a dynamic artform.

This thesis covers only a small selection of surviving secular windows and discusses only a fraction of the buildings visited nationwide in the formulation of the study. Several examples visited had yet more localised subject matter in the stained glass, opening up opportunities for individual studies of the make-up of stained glass in different cities, towns or even villages. This study discusses cities and towns of industry which were primarily born of the Victorian age, and has demonstrated the value of in depth and contextualised interpretation of local themes and issues. There has not yet been a thorough study of stained glass in London, and secular stained glass has largely been ignored in studies of the capital. There are, of course, many other towns which will provide interesting examples that have significant contributions to make to the history of the subject. Individual city guides to stained glass in Britain would be an excellent resource and would parallel explorations of other media in this way, such as sculpture.[714] Some of the Pevsner city guides would also benefit from this research as detail of stained glass in public buildings can be scant. Guides to stained glass in cities of other countries exist, such as the Espacio Transparente books from Chile, who offer a stained glass restoration service. The German *Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi* have also produced guides for individual cities in Germany.

Developments in stained glass in Britain beyond the time period of this study would also be very fruitful, especially due to the world wars and the effects on the industry and the aesthetics of post-war stained glass.

An obvious path for further research is to take the study onto an international scale, and obvious choices for comparative studies are cities on the other side of the

[714] See the *Public Sculpture of Britain* series. There are over twenty volumes in the series which have individual texts on cities, as well as volumes on the counties around Britain.

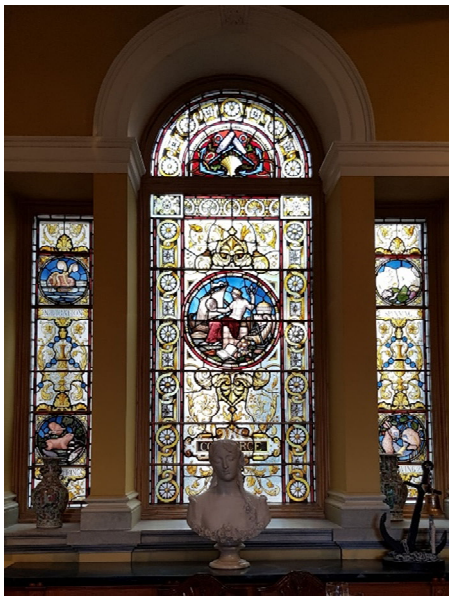
Atlantic Ocean, such as New York, Chicago and Philadelphia. Trends could be compared as well as the cross-over of ideas between cities, especially as several individuals moved between the continents. A wider comparison with European countries such as France and Belgium would also reveal trends of style, technique and material.

It is hoped that secular stained glass windows are now no longer ‘forgotten glassworlds,’ perceived as passive decoration within interior schemes. They were part of holistic interiors and are often the dominant decorative feature. Secular stained glass windows are a vital element for the study of the cultural and social history of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Appendix 1: Case-study overviews

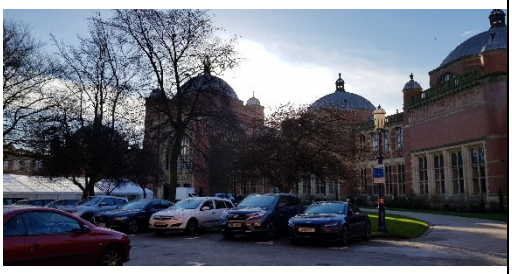
(Please note: Case studies are listed by city).

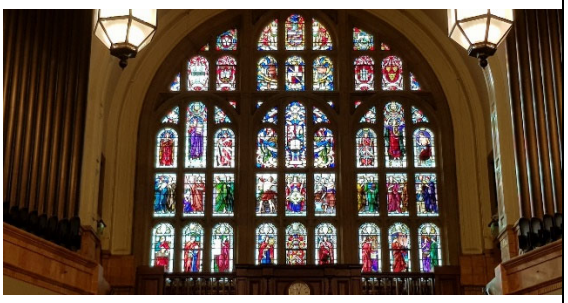
BELFAST

Belfast Harbour Commissioners Office	
	
Overview	
Architect: William Henry Lynn (original section designed by George Smith in 1854) Stained glass: Heaton, Butler and Bayne Grade A The extension to the original building was completed in 1895 and is designed in the Italian palazzo style. The building has been the headquarters for the Harbour Commissioners for more than 150 years. On entering the building, there are marble mosaic floors and also on the first floor lobby. The flax flower is seen throughout the building, emphasising the importance of the linen industry to Belfast and Belfast Port. The Harbour Offices has some beautifully ornate rooms, such as the Barnett Room, with its curved ceilings and stained-glass windows, and artwork reflecting the maritime history of the Harbour. Stained glass is present throughout the building and depict industry, commerce and enterprise, as well as the coats of arms of the many ports and cities with which Belfast traded with in the past.	

BIRMINGHAM

Birmingham University – Great Hall

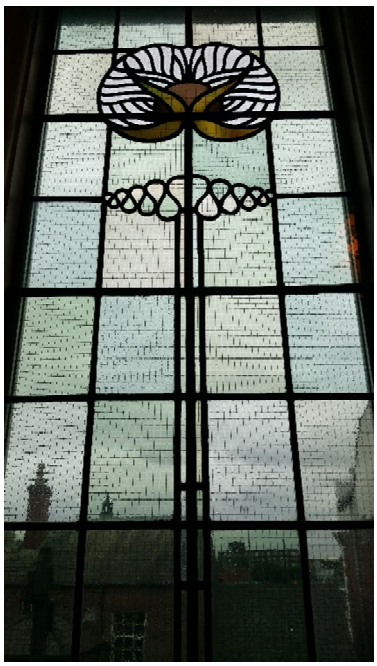




Overview

Architect: Aston Webb and Ingress Bell
Stained glass: T.R. Spence
The original buildings of the university by Webb and Bell date from 1900-1909. The style was deliberately distanced from Oxbridge Colleges to differentiate the first English university which was primarily devoted to science.
The site is incredibly complex and the buildings are placed on two terraces and the basic plan is D shaped with the Great Hall at the centre, containing the window by T.R. Spence. The Great Hall has a square entrance pavilion of three storeys and is surmounted by an octagonal drum which supports a ribbed dome and tiny lantern. There are square turrets at the corners capped by ribbed domes where the rounded arched window is placed. In the spandrels are the arms of the Midland counties that the University wished to serve. Above, a ceramic frieze depicts the goddess, Learning, handing the wreath of scholarship to the University, represented by a kneeling male figure. The frieze is by Robert Anning Bell. Over the doorways are carved various immortals such as Beethoven, Virgil, Michaelangelo, Plato, Shakespeare, Newton, Watt, Faraday and Darwin, so representatives of the arts and sciences. They were carved by Henry Pegram.
Inside, the barrel-vaulted ceiling has plaster enrichments of the city and university arms by George Bankart of the Bromsgrove Guild. The stained glass window is at the north end of the hall.

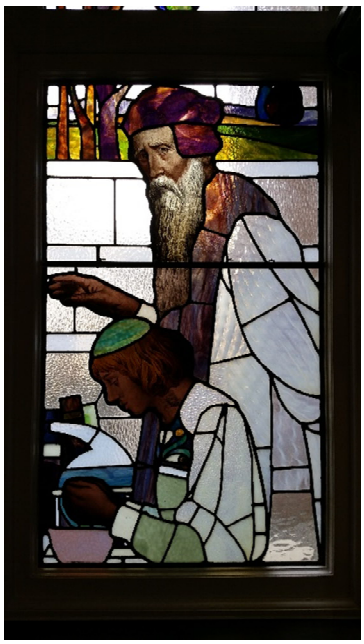
BURY

Bury Museum and Art Gallery	
	
Overview	
Architect: Woodhouse & Willoughby Stained glass: Walter J. Pearce The building was opened 9 October 1901 by the Earl of Derby. A competition was held to design the new gallery and museum in 1897 and was won by Woodhouse & Willoughby. The style is recorded as English Renaissance of the eighteenth century. it is faced with ashlar and punctuated by three gable-fronts with an applied gatehouse motif. The galleries are on the first floor. There is an off-centre entrance on Moss Street by a four-column portico. The ground floor contains the library. The exterior sculpture depicts processions of allegorical figures by J.J. Millson. They reference architecture, sculpture, literature and the applied arts. Walter J. Pearce produced a full scheme of windows for the building.	

DURHAM

The Old Shire Hall





Overview

Architect: Harry Barnes and Frederick E. Coates
Stained glass: John Edgar Mitchell
Grade II
Built between 1896-8 with extensions of 1905. It was designed in the Baroque Revival style and built by David and John Rankin of Sunderland. The design has a symmetrical main frontage in red brick with nine bays in red terracotta with projecting end bays.
The stained glass by John Edgar Mitchell dates from the 1905 extension. The building is now a branch of the Hotel Indigo and several rooms have the stained glass as part of the features.

GLASGOW

Maryhill Burgh Halls



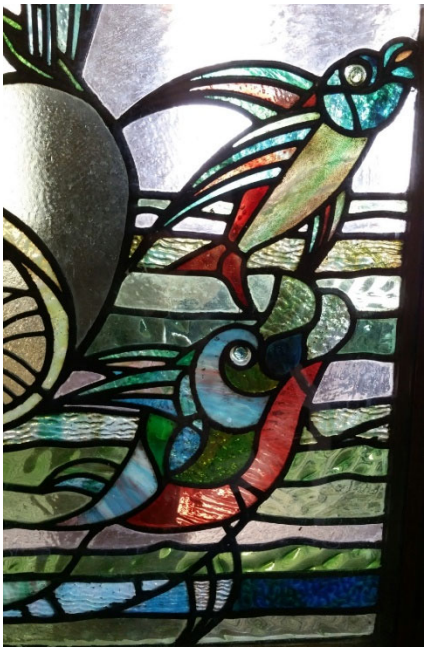


Overview

Architect: Duncan McNaughtan
Stained glass: Stephen Adam
Category B and C
Built between 1876-8 in the French Renaissance style, including the shell-topped aedicule enclosing the clock. There were a complex of buildings, including the Halls, police and fire stations, plus tenement above where the firemen lived. Swimming baths and washhouses were added later. The public hall is made up of one storey with Corinthian pilasters between long round-headed windows with carved spandrels and heads for keystones.
The stained glass in the public hall consisted of twenty panels reflecting local trades. They were removed for conservation and some still are kept at the Glasgow Archives, whilst ten of the panels have been placed back in the hall. The original sequence is not known.

Miller and Lang Art Publishers

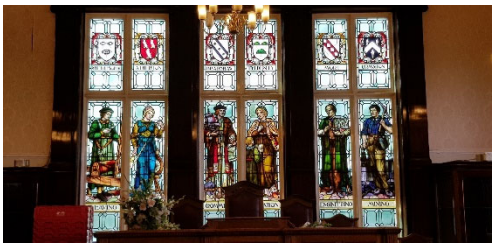




Overview

Architect: D.B. Dobson of Gordon and Dobson
Stained glass: W.G. Morton for John C.Hall & Co.
Designed between 1901-3 in the Art Nouveau style. The exterior is eclectic with moulding embracing the entranceways and above this are two oriels, one large and one shallow with a stepped parapet with a figure atop. The staircase leading into the building from the street is very decorative, with a mosaic floor and enamelled panel of a female figure alongside flowery tilework and stained glass roundels. The interior is full of lavish decoration, including mosaics, enamelled panels and hammered copper handles and widow frames. The fingerplates are hammered with plant forms and, above the doors, sits a dragon made from marble. Textured, stained glass covers several topics, including Roman gods and goddesses such as the Birth of Venus and Neptune, plus other imagery relating to the passage of time.

LEIGH

Leigh Town Hall	
	
Overview	
Architect: J.C. Prestwich Stained glass: Henry Gustave Hiller of Liverpool Grade II Completed in 1907 in the Edwardian Baroque style. The building is three storeys with two main facades, one facing the Civic Square and the other lined with shops. It is made of Darley Dale sandstone ashlar under a steeply pitched Westmorland green slate roof with belvedere and ornamental cupola. Stained glass is present throughout the building, with local family and the towns' coats of arms on the staircases, with other decorative glass in door as glass partitions. The trades and industry window is situated in the council chamber.	

MANCHESTER

John Rylands Library





Overview

Architect: Basil Champneys
Stained glass: Charles Eamer Kempe
Grade I
Completed in 1899 in the Neo-Gothic style. Founded by Enriqueta Augustina Rylands in memory of her husband, John Rylands. It was designed to resemble a church in a decorated neo-Gothic style with Arts and Crafts details. It is constructed of Cumbrian sandstone, the interior a delicately shaded 'Shawk' stone (from Dalston, varying in colour between sand and a range of pinks) and the exterior, dark red Barbary stone from Penrith. Built around an internal steel framed structure and brick arched flooring. The heart of the building is the Reading Room, where two large stained glass windows are placed either side and depict literary, artistic and religious figures.

Lloyds Bank
King Street, Manchester City Centre





Overview

Architect: Charles Heathcote. Completed 1915
Stained glass: George Wragge Ltd.
Grade II
Baroque style, made from Portland stone. Carvings and statuary by Earp, Hobbs and Miller. The banking hall is made of coloured marble. The glazed barrel vault ceiling contains adjacent civic heraldry. There are decorative motifs above the doorways and a stained glass window designed by E.A. Taylor.

Victoria Baths





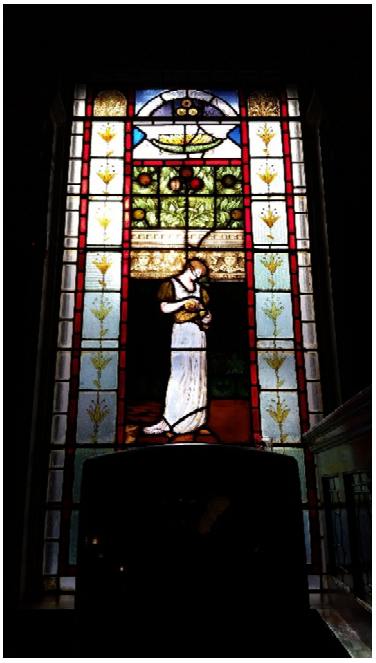
Overview

Architect: Henry Price.
Stained glass: unknown but certainly a Manchester firm
Grade II*
Public baths, wash house and Turkish Baths. Completed in 1906, based on designs by T. de Courcy Meade and his assistant Arthur Davies. Made with striped red Ruabon brick and pale yellow terracotta. The architectural detail on the terracotta was supplied by J.C. Edwards of Ruabon. It is symmetrical in the design of the front façade, with gables and a clock cupola. There is also a flat on the first floor which used to house Manchester's Superintendent of Baths and Wash houses.
The first-class males entranceway contains tiles by F.C. Howells of Pilkingtons and a large copper plaque by George Wragge Ltd. All pools have galleries and glazed roofs. Stained glass is present throughout the building. The glass in the Turkish Baths area is Art Nouveau in design and depicts day and nighttime scenes, as well as the female figure in the central panel.
The building is now largely used as an event space.

NEWCASTLE

The Crown Posada





Overview

Architect: W.L. Newcombe
Stained glass: John George Sowerby
Grade II
Rebuilt in 1880 for local brewer John Sanderson, made of grey granite and sandstone. It is a long and narrow pub in an L shape and retains its three drinking areas. At the front of the interior is a small, screened-off snug. The two stained glass windows are in the Aesthetic style. A female figure pours the drink and the make figure in the window facing the snug holds up his drink. There is also some decorative glass towards the back of the pub. The ceiling has ornate moulding and the mahogany bar-back has four bays.

Laing Art Gallery





Overview

Architect: Cackett and Burns Dick
Stained glass: John Edgar Mitchell
Grade II
Founded in 1901 by the Scottish wine and spirit merchant, Alexander Laing, the gallery opened in 1904. The gallery was designed in the Baroque style with Art Nouveau elements. It has a corner tower with high-relief frieze and a open octagonal lantern. Inside there is a marble staircase. The stained glass dates from 1904 and the subject matter is the marriage of the arts. There is also a large decorative ceiling light also by Mitchell.

Manors Power Station/Newcastle Tramways Offices

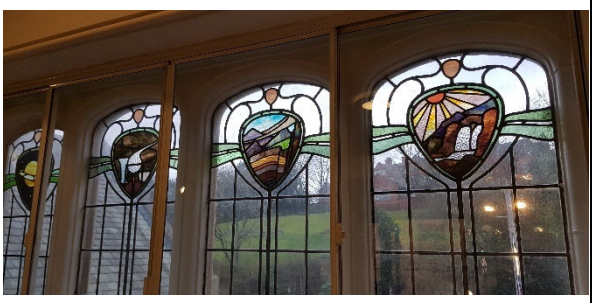




Overview

Architect: Benjamin F. Simpson
Stained glass: unknown
Grade II
Completed c.1904 and decommissioned in 1936. The building was the Tramways Generating Station and was coal-fired, providing power for the tramway as well as offices. The building has many ornate features, typical of Simpson's style, such as copper roof turrets, also to be found at his Emerson Chambers building in Newcastle, and the stone archway marking the entrance to the large turbine hall. The stained glass is situated above the original ornate doorway and opposite the staircase, where there is much ornate green tile work.

ROCHDALE

Rochdale Library, Museum and Art Gallery (Touchstones)	
	
Overview	
Architect: Jesse M. Horsfall Stained glass: John Tonge (library, now removed), Walter J. Pearce (museum, 2nd phase) Grade II The building, now Touchstones Art and Heritage Centre, is made up of three buildings; the Free Library opened in 1884 and was designed by Jesse Horsfall of Todmorden; the extension of the Art Gallery and Museum, also by Horsfall, opened in 1903 and in 1913, the final extension was completed and designed by the Borough Architect, P.W. Hathaway. The Art Nouveau stained glass of the second phase by Pearce is placed on the ground floor, stairway of the museum and gallery space, as well as the glass dome of gallery one. The stone carvings on the front of the building were modelled by C.J. Allen and carved by J.J. Millson.	

Rochdale Town Hall





Overview

Architect: W.H. Crossland. Alfred Waterhouse (tower, 1885-7)
Stained glass: Heaton, Butler & Bayne
Grade I
Completed in 1871 in the Neo-Gothic style. Crossland won the competition to design the Town Hall in 1864, which originally contained a library, fie station and police cells.
The building is divided into three compartments: mayoral on the left, public in the middle and judicial on the right. The exterior is impressive, with four gilded lions on the porte cochère. All three compartments of the building are independently roofed. There are spiral staircases at each end of the building. The original tower by Crossland was destroyed by fire in 1883 and was part of the original mass of the building, but Waterhouse separated the tower from the main building, but an arch connects them.
The interior was supervised by Heaton, Butler & Bayne with Minton's encaustic tiles on the ground of the main entrance foyer, designed by Heaton. The mural by Henry Holiday in the Great Hall was completed in 1870-71, but later work was needed to repair damage from the fire. The stained glass in the Great Hall depicts the British monarchs from William I until Queen Victoria and includes Oliver Cromwell. The staircase windows contain coats of arms of the Queen, Rochdale and then localities, followed by national and international cities and towns with which Rochdale traded. The stained glass in the foyer depicts products brought into Britain through trade such as coffee and tea. The Rochdale crest

can be found in the stained glass quarries in the staircase areas. The council chamber contains stained glass of significant figures relating to law-making.

Appendix 2: Illustrated inventory of glass types

Variegated Rolled, Figured and Cathedral Glass

Rolled glass is a translucent glass, made by rolling molten glass either on a table or between rollers, resulting in both surfaces being uneven and direct vision is partially obscured.[715] McGrath lists five rolled glasses being produced in 1937.

Cathedral glass has an irregular texture. This type of glass was patented in 1847 by James Hartley,[716] and it was first shown at the Great Exhibition in London in 1851.

Molten glass can either be poured onto a flat purpose-built table and then the pattern is rolled over the glass by an iron roller in order to achieve a sheet, or the semi-molten glass is passed through two rollers to apply texture and achieve the desired thickness. One side has a slight semi-formal pattern impressed. This allows a certain amount of brightness and vision is partially obscured through the glass.[717] It was made in white, tints and several pronounced colours.[718] McGrath lists 13 Cathedral glasses which can be divided into Non-formal and Semi-formal textures.[719]

The term 'Figured Rolled' describes a machine-made process of making glass in which one surface has a deep formal pattern impressed. This gives a high degree of brightness to the glass and vision is almost obscured.[720] McGrath lists 35 Figured Rolled glasses which can be divided into Formal Patterns, Diffusion Patterns and Complete Diffusion and Obscuration.[721]

[715] Raymond McGrath. *Glass in Architecture and Decoration*, (London: Architectural P., 1937): 572
[716] T.C. Barker. *The Glassmakers. Pilkington: the Rise of an International Company, 1826-1976*. (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1977): 102; Raymond McGrath, *Glass in Architecture*: 344
[717] Raymond McGrath. *Glass in Architecture:* 582
[718] Arthur L. Duthie. *Decorative Glass Processes*. (London: Constable, 1908): 17
[719] Raymond McGrath. *Glass in Architecture*: 576
[720] Raymond McGrath. *Glass in Architecture*: 585
[721] Raymond McGrath. *Glass in Architecture*: 576

Cathedral glass

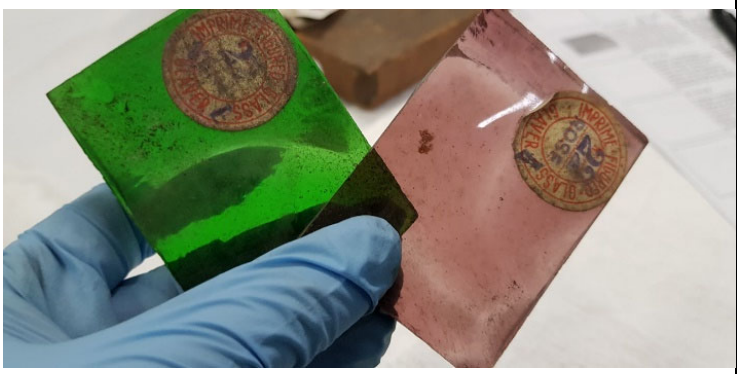
Image	Title & Description	Example locations and colours
	**Double-Rolled and Clear Cathedral** One surface has an irregular texture. Vision through the glass is partially obscured.	**The Midland Hotel, Manchester** Clear Turqoise
		**Collection of Glasgow Museums Resource Centre (GMRC) – samples from the collection of the glass distributer – James Hetley & Co**
		

Image	Title & Description	Example locations and colours
	**Cathedral** (Unknown) The pattern has the effect of tree bark and is very uneven and varied across the surface, with more linear patterns in some areas, and then changing to a more wavy and broken formation	**The Midland Hotel, Manchester** clear

Image	Title & Description	Example locations and colours
	**Hamered Cathedral No.1** Rolled glass with semi-formal pattern. Obscures vision through the glass.	**The Castle, Manchester** - clear

Image	Title & Description	Example locations and colours
	**Hammered Cathedral No.3** Rolled glass with semi-formal pattern. Obscures vision through the glass.	**The Castle, Manchester** - clear

Figured Rolled

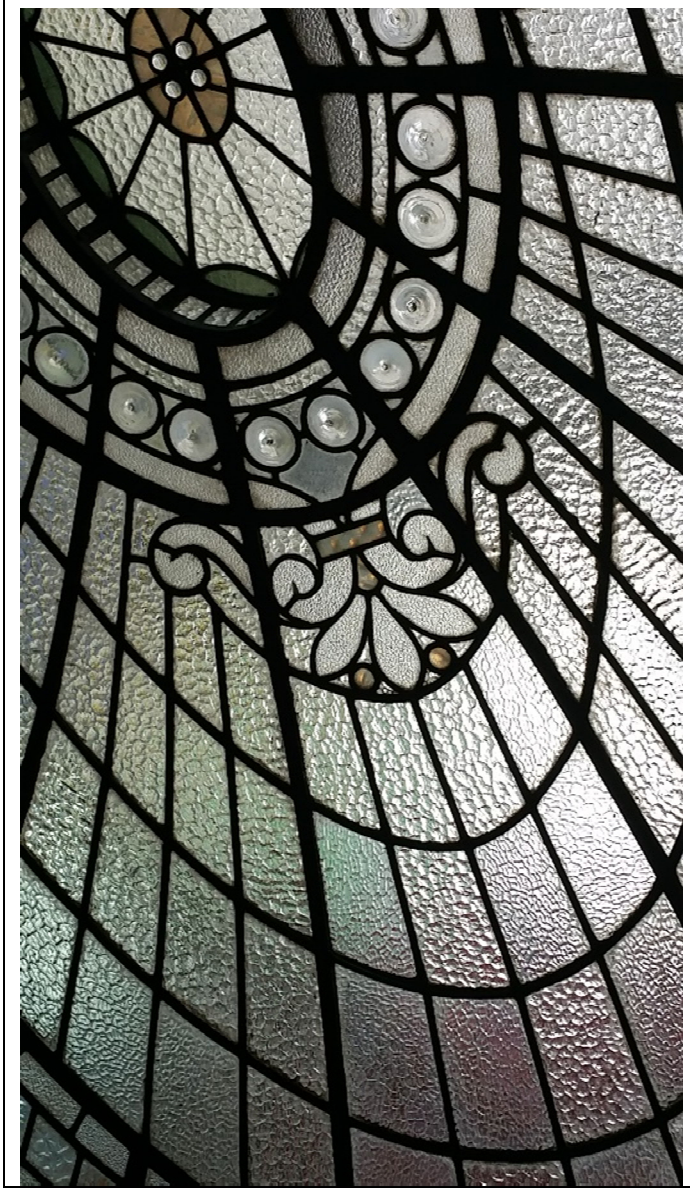
Image	Title and Description	Example locations and colours
	**Arctic and Morocco (large)** **Arctic -** A deep pattern is pressed onto one surface. It is very bright as the light catches the surface. Not transparent. **Morocco -** A deep pattern is pressed onto one surface. Direct vision through the glass is obscured.	**Glasgow Art Gallery** - clear

Image	Title & Description	Example locations and colours
	**Glistre, small** A deep pattern is pressed onto one surface. It is very bright as the light catches the surface. Not transparent.	**The Castle, Manchester** **-** clear

Image	Title & Description	Example locations and colours
 	**Majestic** Deep, formal pattern. The glass is bright due to the way it catches the light and oscures vision through the glass.	**Collection of Glasgow Museums Resource Centre (GMRC) – samples from the collection of the glass distributer – James Hetley & Co**

Image	Title & Description	Example locations and colours
	**Maxine** Deep, formal pattern. The glass is bright due to the way it catches the light and oscures vision through the glass.	**The Castle, Manchester** - clear

Image	Title & Description	Example locations and colours
	**Montene** Irregular pattern across the surface which has the effect of varying high-peaked mountains over a landscape when seen from a distance. When used by Wragge, a paint is applied across the surface McGrath (1937) lists it as a Figured Rolled glass (p.596)	**Eagle Insurance Building, Manchester** - streaky orange and yellow

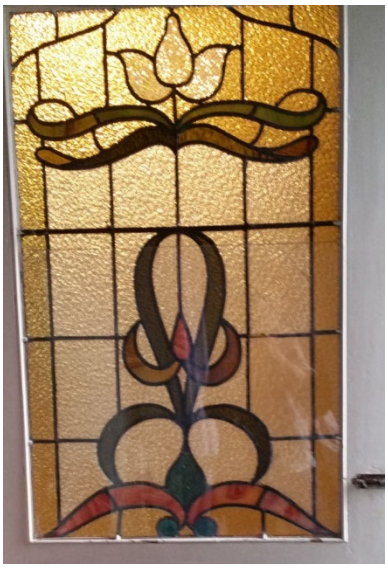
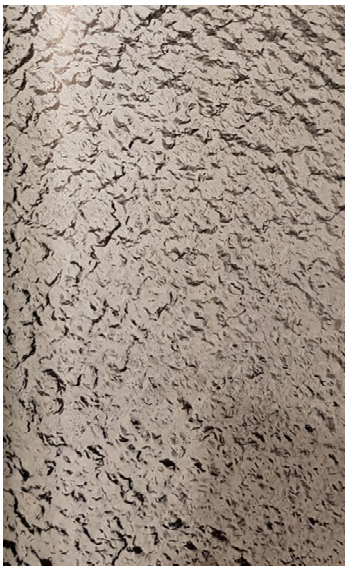
Image	Title and Description	Example locations and colours
 	**Pattern G** A deep, formal pattern is pressed onto one side of the glass. Vision through the glass is completely obscured.	**31 Anson Road, Manchester** - clear

Image	Title & Description	Example locations and colours
 	**Ripple** Well defined uneven 'rippled' pattern over the surface. Very much like the rippled effect on sand from the sea There are several versions of Ripple. Each with varying thickness and spacing. Appears in many different colours and could be described as Variegated Rolled or Figured Rolled. McGrath (1937), describes it as a Figured Rolled.	**31 Anson Road, Manchester** **-** clear **Eagle Insurance Building, Manchester** - yellow/orange **Midland Hotel, Manchester** - triple variegated yellow, orange and blue **The Hollies, Manchester** - yellow, pale green, orange, weavers windows - turqouise **Miller and Lang Printworks, Glasgow** - Multiple colours **Victoria Baths, Manchester** - Multiple colours, varigated, including blue/purple, green and red

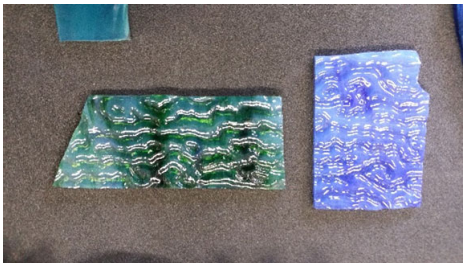
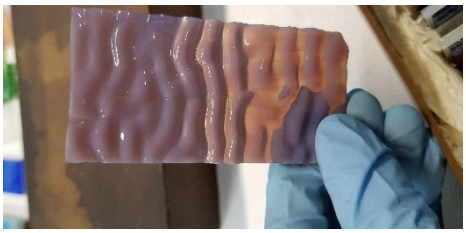
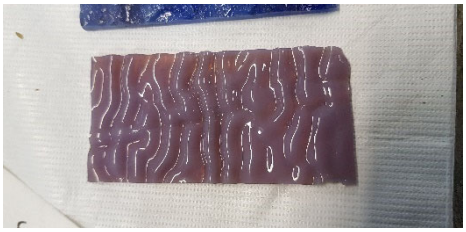
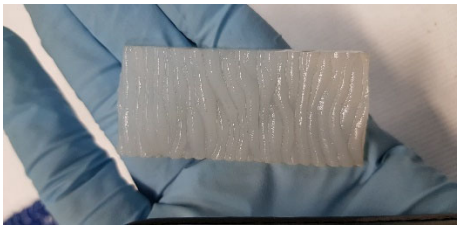
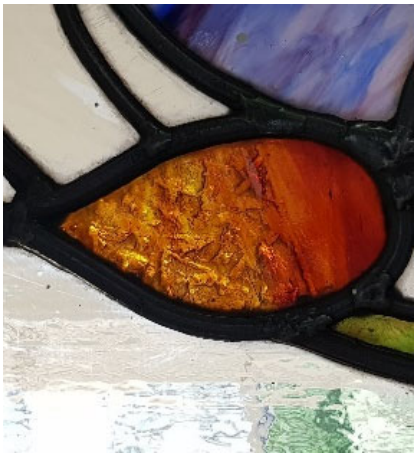
     	The collection at the GMRC shows the variety of ripple textured glasses that were available to the market. Some of these glasses may ne mouth-blown, due to their uneven surfaces.	**Collection of Glasgow Museums Resource Centre (GMRC) samples from the collection of the glass distributer – James Hetley & Co**

Image	Title and Description	Example locations and colours
	**Venetian Rippled** A series of asymmetrical ‘bubbles’ in the glass McGrath (1937) list it as a Figured Rolled glass (p.598) Made by Chance Brothers & Co	**Midland Hotel, Manchester** Triple variegated yellow, green and orange **The Hollies, Failsworth** Turqouise

Image	Title & Description	Example locations and colours
	**Figured Rolled – unknown** Even, regular, deeply impressed pattern on the glass. There is no reference to this glass in McGrath.	**The Clergy House, Huddersfield** - clear

Image	Title & Description	Example locations and colours
 	**Figured Rolled – unknown** Even, regular, deeply impressed pattern on the glass. There is no reference to this glass in McGrath.	**Art Gallery and Museum, Buxton. Windows by by George Wragge Ltd** - orange/yellow

Antique Glass

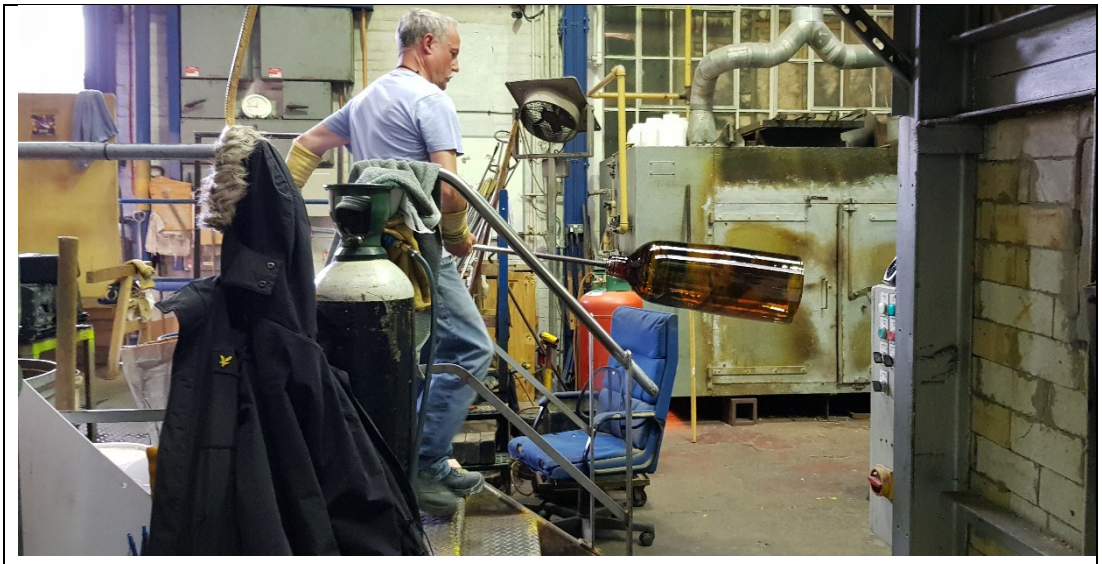
A hand-blown glass of uneven thickness, often referred to as cylinder glass, both surfaces of which are textured, made chiefly for stained glass windows in a variety of types imitating in character the mediaeval glass used for that purpose.[722] Antique glass became widely available in the later 1850s,[723] is produced by blowing the glass into a cylinder, is then annealed and cooled. The cylinder is then scored and reheated in order to allow the glass to fold into a flat sheet. This gives the glass its irregular thickness and appearance, with varying amounts of bubbles and striations, which mimics the characteristics of medieval glass.[724] Antique glasses are available in such variations as pot metal, which is glass with a single colour, Streaky Antique, Muffled Sheet and Antique Venetian.[725]

Examples of cylinders





[722] Raymond McGrath. *Glass in Architecture*: 610
[723] Tony Benyon, 'The development of Antique and other glasses used in 19th and 20th century stained glass' in *The Journal of Stained Glass*, Vol XXIX, 2005, 184-88
[724] T.C. Barker. *The Glassmakers* 1977: 56-58
[725] Raymond McGrath. *Glass in Architecture*, 1937: 562



Blowing sheet glass at English Antique Glass. The glass is being taken to the annealing chamber.

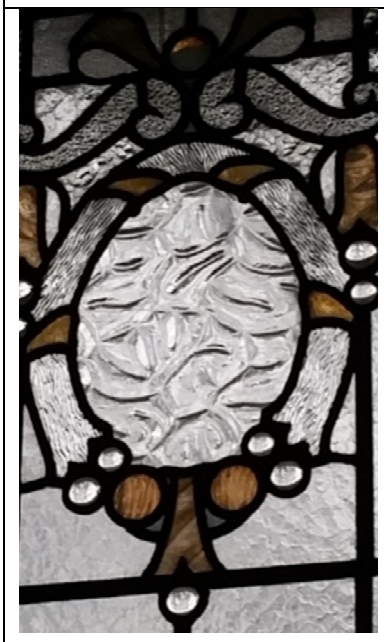
Image	Title and Description	Example locations and colours
	**Antique Celtic** Mouth-blown glass of uneven thickness.	**University Gardens, Glasgow** - clear

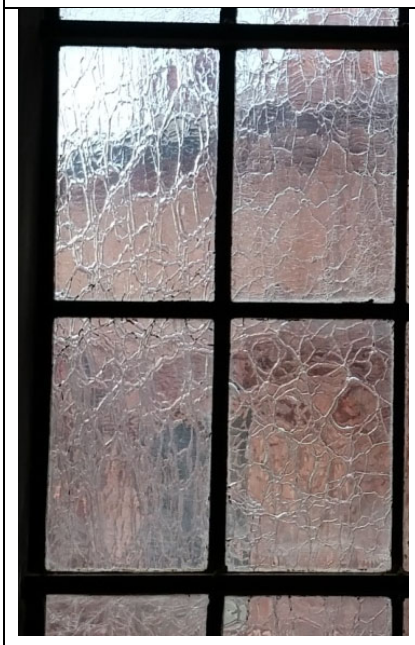
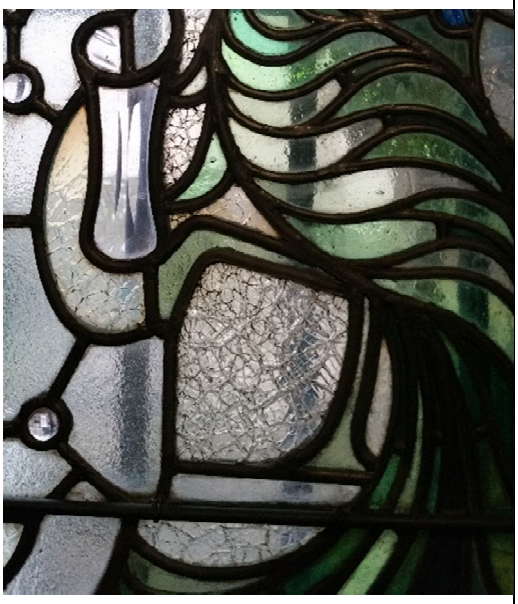
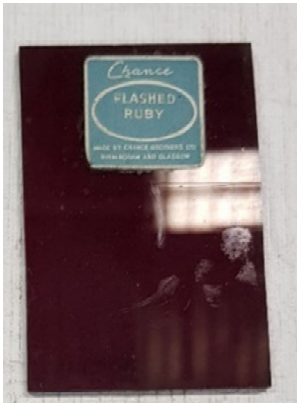
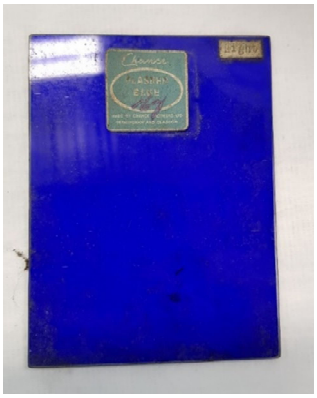
Image	Title & Description	Example locations and colours
 	**Antique Crackled** Mouth-blown glass of uneven thickness. Has a very distinct, 'crackled' surface and is used to great effect in compositions.	**Old Shire Hall, Durham** - clear **Manors Power Station** - yellow **Wigan Town Hall** **-** blue **University Gardens, Glasgow** **-** clear

Image	Title and Description	Example locations and colours
   	**Flashed** Mouth-blown sheet glass, with a thin layer of coloured glass fused to the base glass. The thin layer of glass can then be manipulated to create designs and to let in more light.	**Collection of Glasgow Museums Resource Centre (GMRC) - samples from the collection of the glass distributer – James Hetley & Co** **Rochdale Town Hall** A flashed blue glass on clear has been etched and silver stain added to the fleur-de-lys A flashed blue glass on clear has been etched and silver stain added. A flashed ruby on clear has been etched and silver stained added.

		A flashed ruby on clear has been etched and silver stain added. A flashed blue on yellow has been etched to create the pattern on the clothing.

Image	Title and Description	Example location
	**Flashed - Ruby on Blue** A mouth-blown sheet of blue glass and a thin layer of ruby fused together. The bubbles in the glass reveal the blue layer beneath.	**Rochdale Town Hall**

Image	Title and Description	Example locations and colours
	**Drapery** Strong uneven pattern, with rolling, folded, 'draped' formation over the surface (This glass is not represented in McGrath, 1937) This glass appears to be extremely rare in Britain and is used sparingly	**The Midland Hotel** - pale blue

Image	Title & Description	Example locations and colours
	**Muffled Sheet** Distinguished by a peculiar rippling surface which is rather more marked on one side, and frequently varies considerably in the length of a sheet. Diffuses light well Made by Chance	**Collection of Glasgow Museums Resource Centre (GMRC) samples from the collection of the glass distributer – James Hetley & Co** **The Midland Hotel** - Variegated - in floral motifs

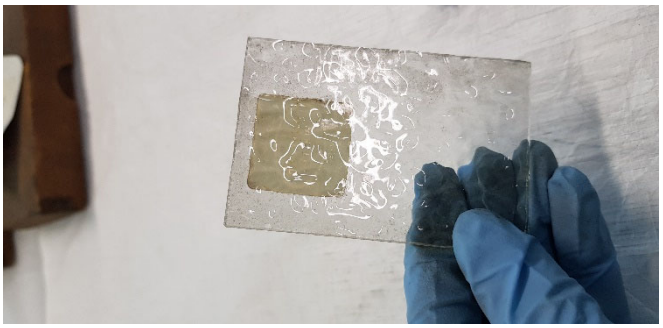
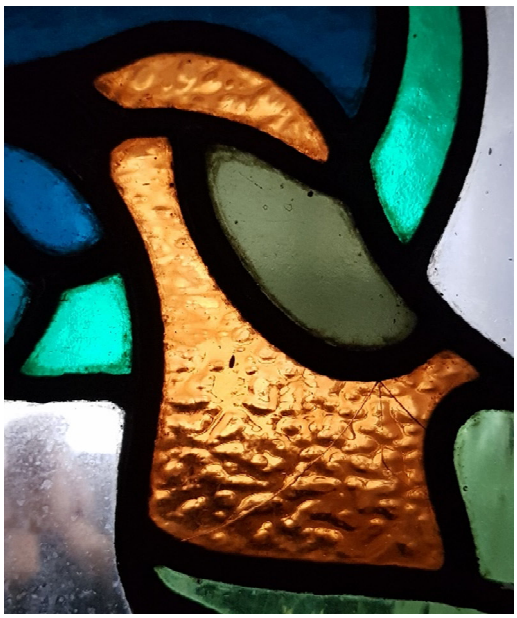
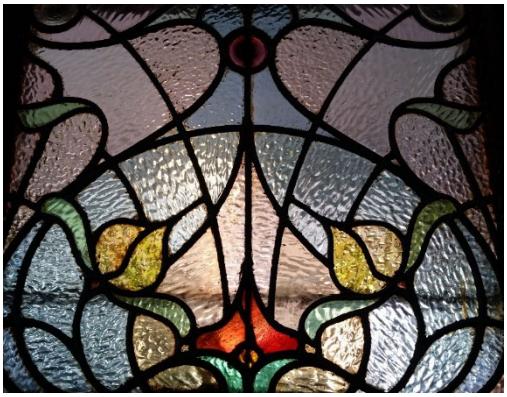
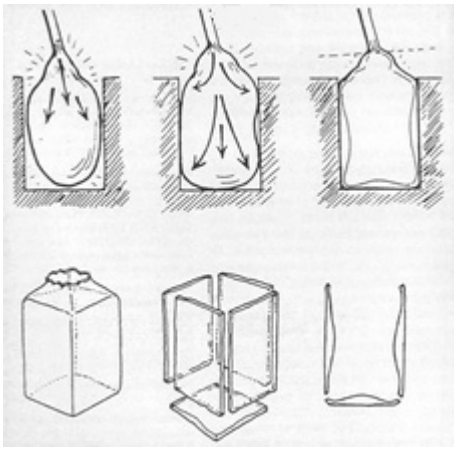
   	Brothers & Co	**The Clergy House, Huddersfield** **Huddersfield Edgar Wood house** **The Anchor pub, Birmingham – all the glass is muffled sheet in different colours for different tonal effects.**

Image	Title and Description	Example location
	**Nailsea Cathedral (blibe)** Mouth-blown sheet glass of a pale green tint. The blibe version is characterised by small bubbles throughout the sheet, resulting is slightly obscured vision.	**Collection of Glasgow Museums Resource Centre (GMRC) samples from the collection of the glass distributer – James Hetley & Co**

Image	Title and Description	Example locations and colours
 	**Norman Slab** Molten glass is blown into a square mould. The slabs are cut from the sides, with one side being slightly convex and the thickest part in the centre of the slab. Examples of slabs	**St Leonards Church, Middleton - windows by Christopher Whall- multiple colours.** **Christ Church, Timperley – windows by George Wragge Ltd**

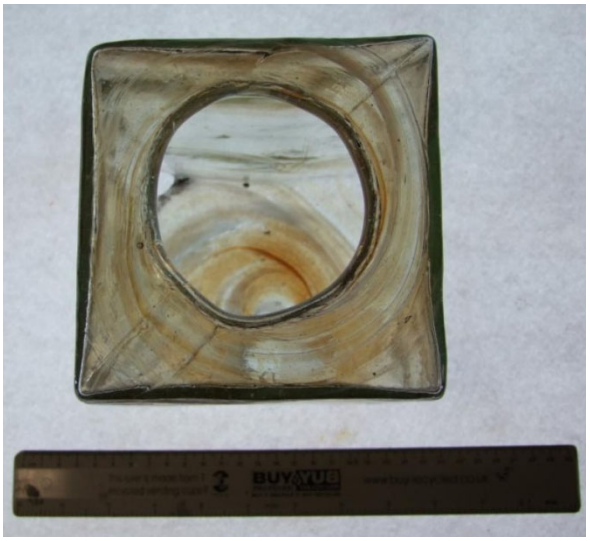
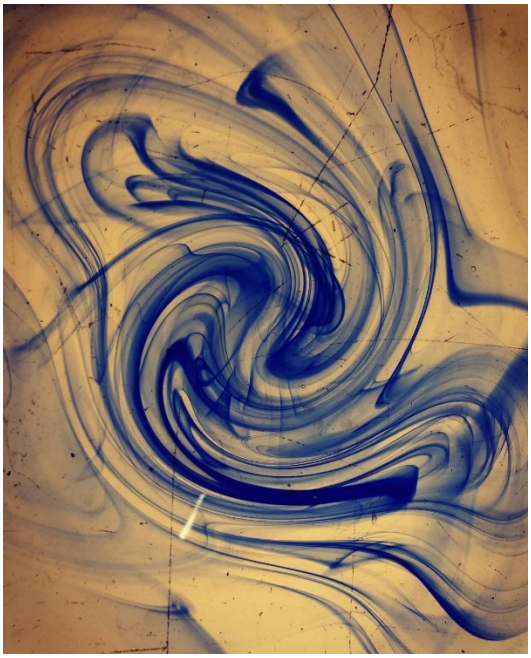
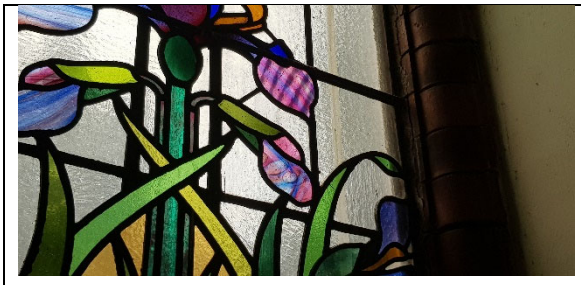
	Example of glass before being cut into slabs. This example is held at Ely Stained glass Museum.	
	Example of a pattern in a Norman Slab.	

Image	Title & Description	Example locations and colours
 	**Venetian** A lozenge pattern across the whole surface, which can vary in definition due to the stretching of the bubble whilst being blown into a muff. It is made by blowing a 'bubble' of glass into a cylindrical iron mould having a strongly-marked screw pattern on the interior surface. It is then removed to another mould with a reversed, or left-handed, screw pattern. Between the two is produced a lozenge pattern which loses some of its definition and regularity in the subsequent stretching of the bubble to a full-sized "muff".[726] Made by Chance Brothers& Co, Hartley Wood & Co	**Eagle Insurance Building, Manchester** Green tinted Orange Opaque pale blue **Lloyds Bank, Manchester** - All panels - clear **The Midland Hotel, Manchester** - orange - yellow tinted **Parr's Bank** - door panels Yellow tinted **Laing Art Gallery -** opaque **Old Shire Hall, Durham –** opaque and clear

[726] Duthie, *Decorative Glass Processes*, 22-23

  	Example of the depth and tone of Ventian glass	**Didsbury Unitarian Reformed Church –** streakies **Lyn Tara – Belfast** - green tint

ANTIQUE VENETIAN MOULD





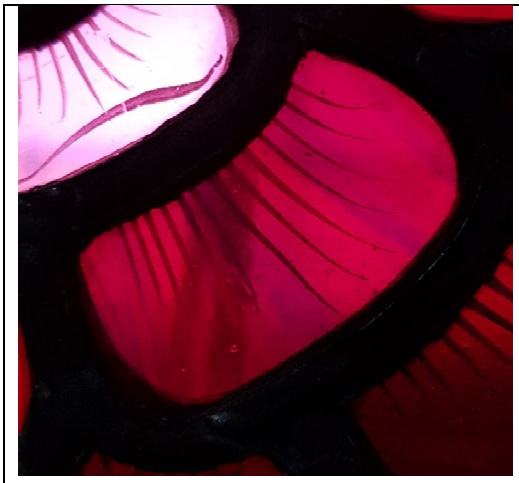
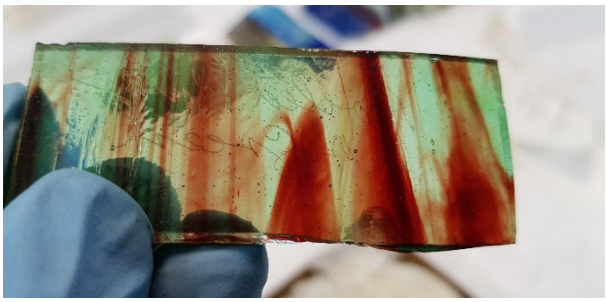
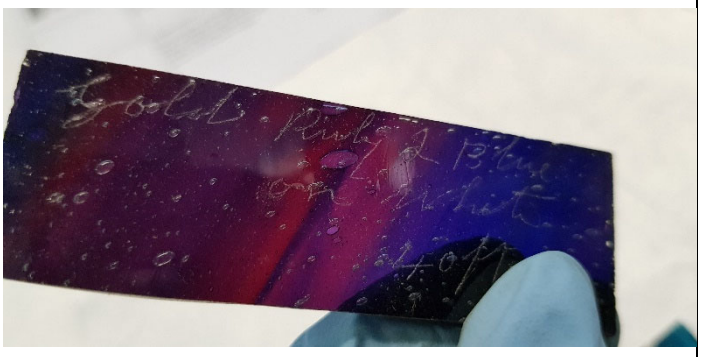




Image	Title & Description	Example locations and colours
	**Venetian Ripple** This glass is blown into a metal cone which has a screw pattern inside, just one time, and has a less well defined pattern than Antique Venetian	**Eagle Insurance Building, Manchester** - tinted green

Image	Title and Description	Example locations and colours
	**Seedy** A coloured sheet of glass with bubbles running through it. Made by W.E. Chance & Co	**Parr's Bank, Manchester** Green – all panels **The Hollies, Manchester** Clear – all panels

Image	Title and Description	Example locations and colours
 	**Streaky** A coloured sheet of glass with streaks of one or more other colours running through it Made by Chance Brothers & Co and Hartley Wood & Co	**Eagle Insurance Building, Manchester** – Green/light green **The Midland Hotel, Manchester** Panels 2a&2d - Orange/green Blue/green/grey **Parr's Bank, Manchester** Green/purple Clear/ruby Blue/ruby **The Hollies, Manchester** Purple/green Clear/ruby

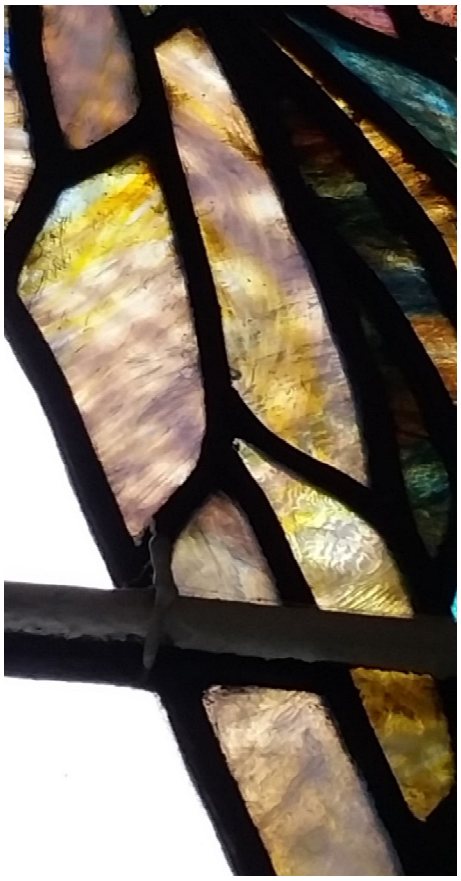
    		**Rochdale Town Hall** - red/purple **Collection of Glasgow Museums Resource Centre (GMRC)** **- samples from the collection of the glass distributer – James Hetley & Co**

Opalescent glass

Opalescent glass was developed in the late 1870s by John La Farge and Louis Comfort Tiffany. It has a milky appearance and is a machine-made glass, and can vary in its opacity from solid to translucent. It can be made as a single colour, or polychromatically, with the pigments mixed to give the glass a streaky, mottled, or clouded appearance, with or without surface texture.[727] Opalescent glasses are valuable for the great variety of broken colour which they afford. Opaque glass reflects the light, and when seen in transmitted light all the colours in the opaque glass can be seen, which creates marble-like effects.[728] It is used in the work of Wragge in combinaiton with a variety of Figured Rolled and Antique glass in order to create a variety of textures and tones in the work.

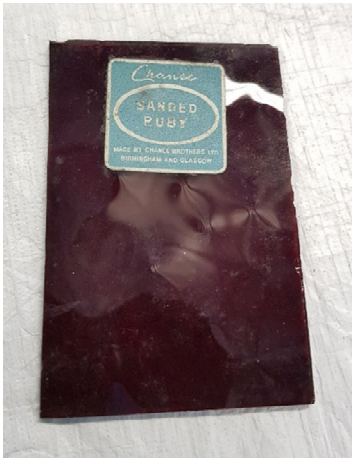
Image	Title and Description	Example locations and colours
 	**Opalescent Rolled** Duthie notes that these glasses are bad for cutting, and the pressure of the diamond is quite sufficient to smash a large sheet, and the unequal and sometimes “thready” surface is apt to make the cut a very unsteady one. They cut very well under the wheel, however, and it is generally found best to use it alone on glass of this nature.[729]	**Eagle Insurance Building, Manchester** Pale Purple/pink Dark purple/pink **The Midland Hotel, Manchester** Pale Purple/pink Dark purple/pink **The Hollies, Manchester** Brown/white Green/blue - weavers windows

[727] A. Duncan. *The technique of leaded glass.* (London & New York, 1975): 26
[728] Nancy Georgi, *The Glazed Screens of Trinity Street Station, Bolton: a case study in the care and conservation of decorative leaded glazing*, Unpublished MA thesis, University of York, 2010, 25
[729] Arthur L. Duthie. *Decorative Glass Processes*: 20

Image	Title and Description	Example locations and colours
	**Opalescent Reamy** The opal is flashed upon one side in irregular streaks and splashes and is nowhere solid white.	**The Midland Hotel, Manchester** Streaks of yellow, blue, brown/purple Streaks of red, brown, yellow, orange

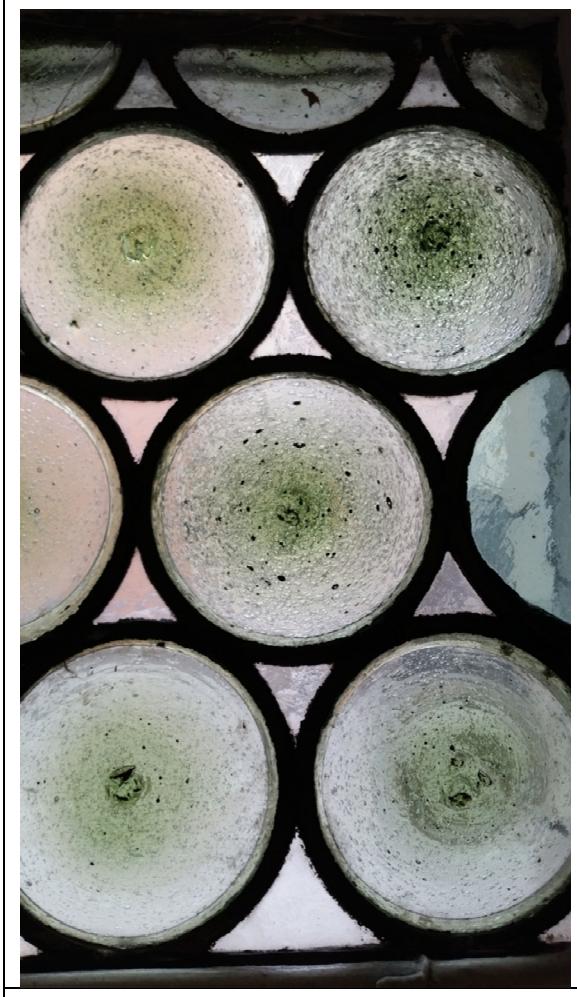
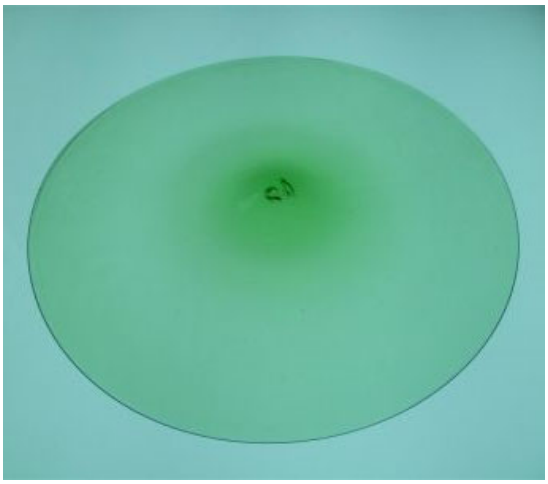
Other techniques

Image	Title and Description	Example locations and colours
	**Bevelled glass** The sharp edge of the glass is cut and shaped at an angle. The process involves grinding, smoothing and polishing	**University Gardens, Glasgow**

Image	Title	Example location
	**Sanded Ruby** 	**Collection of Glasgow Museums Resource Centre (GMRC)** **- samples from the collection of the glass distributer – James Hetley & Co** The glass has a slight indented, dimple pattern on one side.

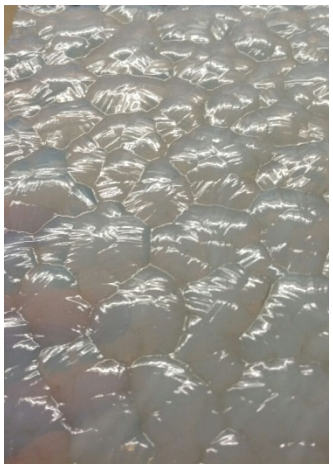
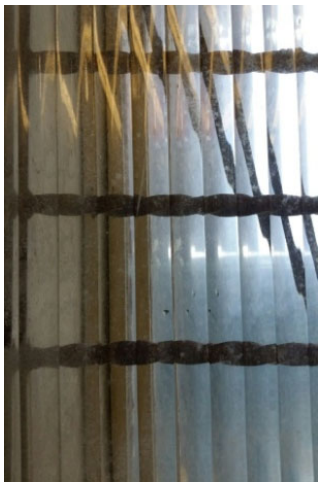
Others

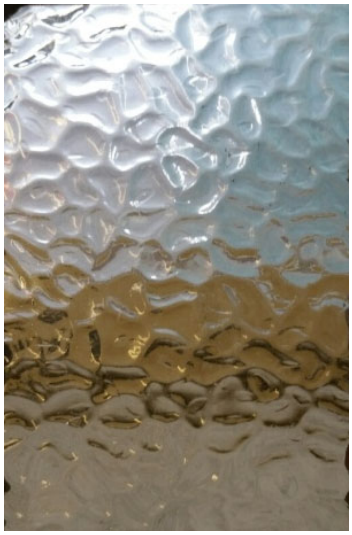
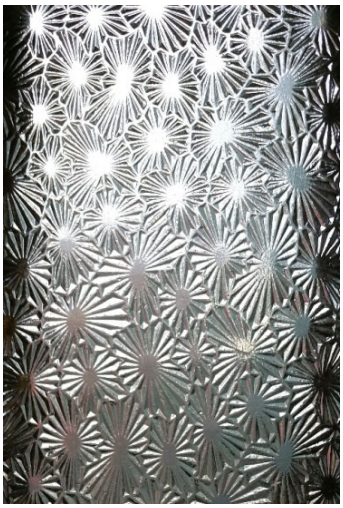
Bullseyes are thick and circular pieces of glass and they formed the centre of sheets of crown glass. Crown glass was mouth-blown through a pipe into a circular disc, with the central bubble section cut, which forms the bullseye.

	**Bullseye** Small, circular glass with a central raised bubble. They were the central sections of Crown glass. There was such a vogue for these features in windows, originally the centres of sheets of crown glass, that they were being taken out of old windows in cottages, farmhouses and workshops in order to supply demand.[730].	**The Midland Hotel** - Clear All panels **St Clement's, Chorlton** Courage and faith window - tinted and clear
	**Example of Crown glass**	

[730] Ibid., 28

Other Cathedral and Figured Rolled glass (collection of Design Lights, Blackrod, Bolton)

	Arctic Large	White, standard tints and opalescent Pilkington Brothers
	Glistre (large)	Pilkington Brothers
	Broad Reeded	Chance Brothers & Co and Pilkington Brothers

	Glasgow Hammered	White and standard tints Chance Brothers & Co, Pilkington Brothers (also make real ruby)
	Imperial	Chance Brothers & Co
	Muranese	White and standard tints Pilkington Brothers

	No.2 Hammered	White and standard tints Chance Brothers & Co and Pilkington Brothers (also make real ruby)
	Old Flemish	White and standard tints Chance Brothers and Co

	Rimpled Cathedral	White and standard tints and ‘real ruby’ Pilkington Brothers
	Dewdrop (In France, is named Goutte d’eau’ (water drop))	White and standard tints Made by Chance Brothers & Co and Pilkington Brothers
	Spotlyte	Pilkington Brothers

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Illustrations



Fig. 1. Adolphe Valette, Oxford Road, Manchester, 1910, oil on canvas 127.4 x 101.5cm. Manchester City Galleries (source: poulwebb.blogspot.com)



Fig. 2. St. Paul's Monastery, Jarrow. 7th Century stained glass. (source: https://stephenliddell.co.uk/2018/08/22/st-pauls-monastery-in-jarrow-and-the-oldest-stained-glass-window-in-the-world/)



Fig. 3. ‘Faith’, ‘Hope’ and ‘Charity’ window, 1878, at St. Martin’s church, Brampton, Cumbria. Morris and Co (source: http://www.stmartinsbrampton.org.uk/)



Fig. 4. ‘Faith’ ‘Hope’ and ‘Charity’ window, 1870-71, Oxford Cathedral. Morris and Co. (source: http://goldfish.aminus3.com/image/2012-06-01.html)

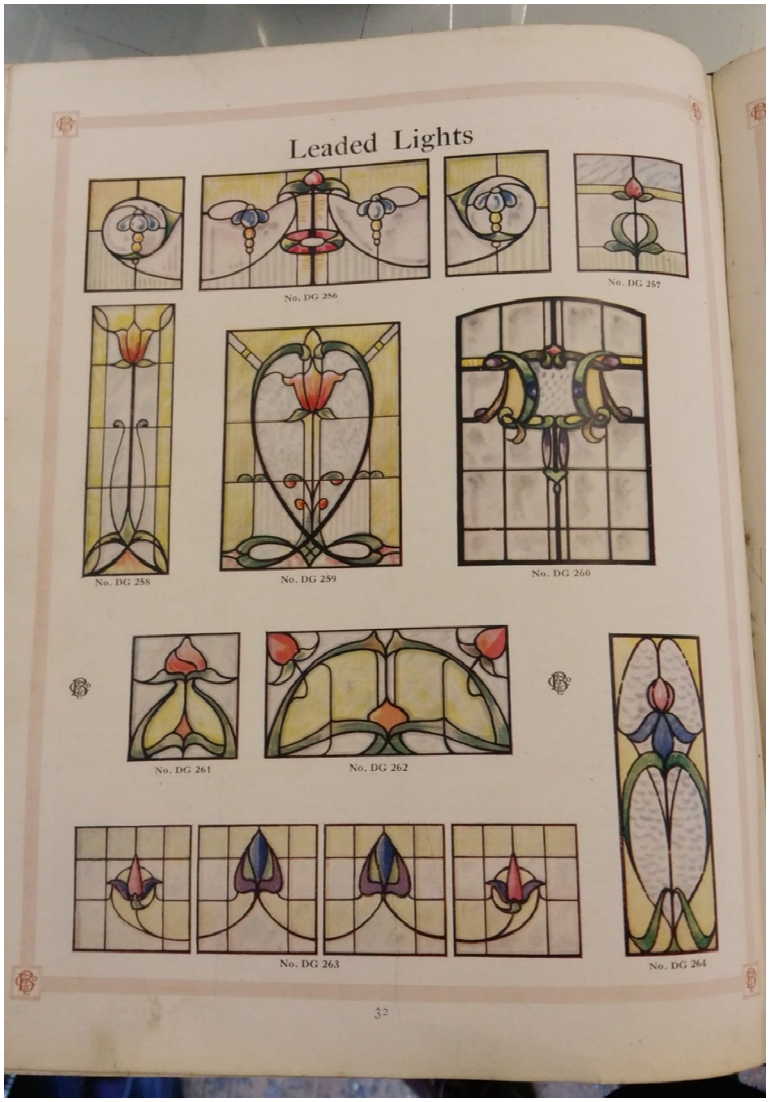


Fig. 5 . Baxendales Product Catalogue, c.1920. Some of the glass is Venetian, such as No. DG250



Fig. 6 . Wilfred Bosworth Jenkins (1857-1936). A Country House by Moonlight, c.1900. Oil on board, 46.3 x 36.2 cm (source: mysteriousartcentury.wordpress.com)



Fig. 7. The Hollies, 1903, Failsworth, Oldham. Stained glass window by George Wragge Ltd, situated on the stair landing



Fig. 8. St Martin's church, Marple, 1895. Lady Chapel designed by Henry Wilson and Chrsitopher Whall, showing 'Tree of Life' imagery with swallows. (source: http://www.stmartinsheritagetrust.org.uk/history-and-heritage.html)

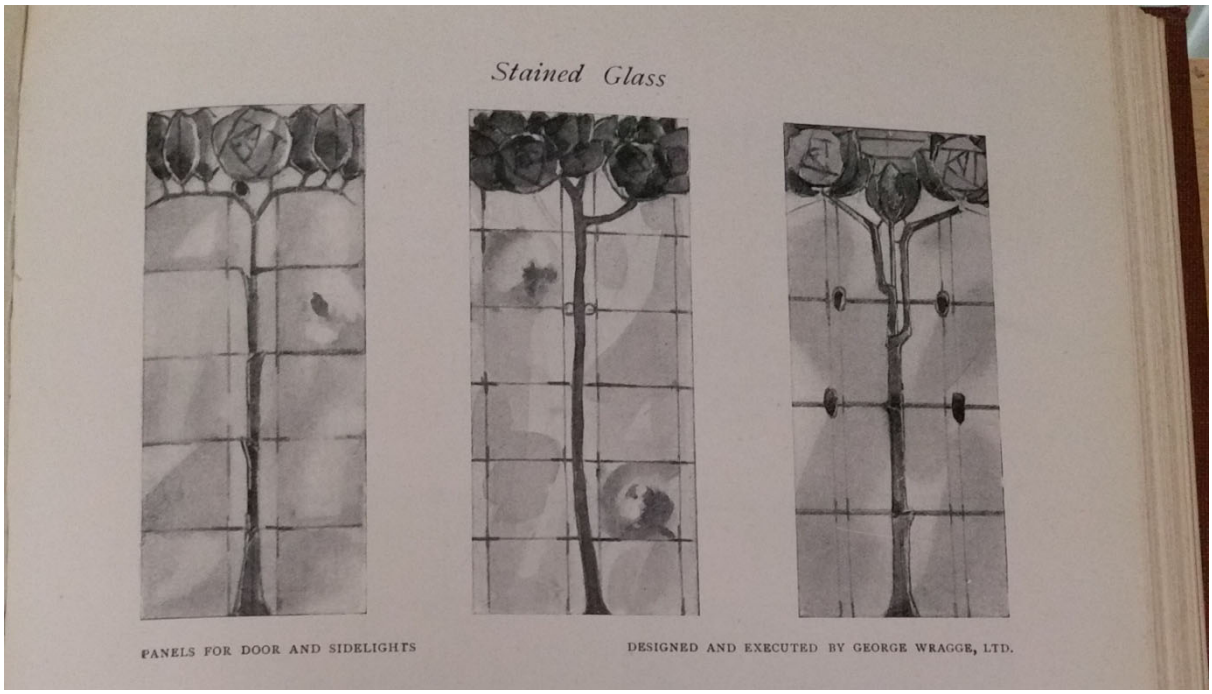


Fig. 9 . Panels for door and sidelights by George Wragge Ltd, very much in the spirit of the window designs at The Hollies, (source: *Studio Year Book* 1906, 153)



Fig. 10 . 39, Chantry Road, Moseley, Birmingham. Semi-detached house, staircase window, 1896

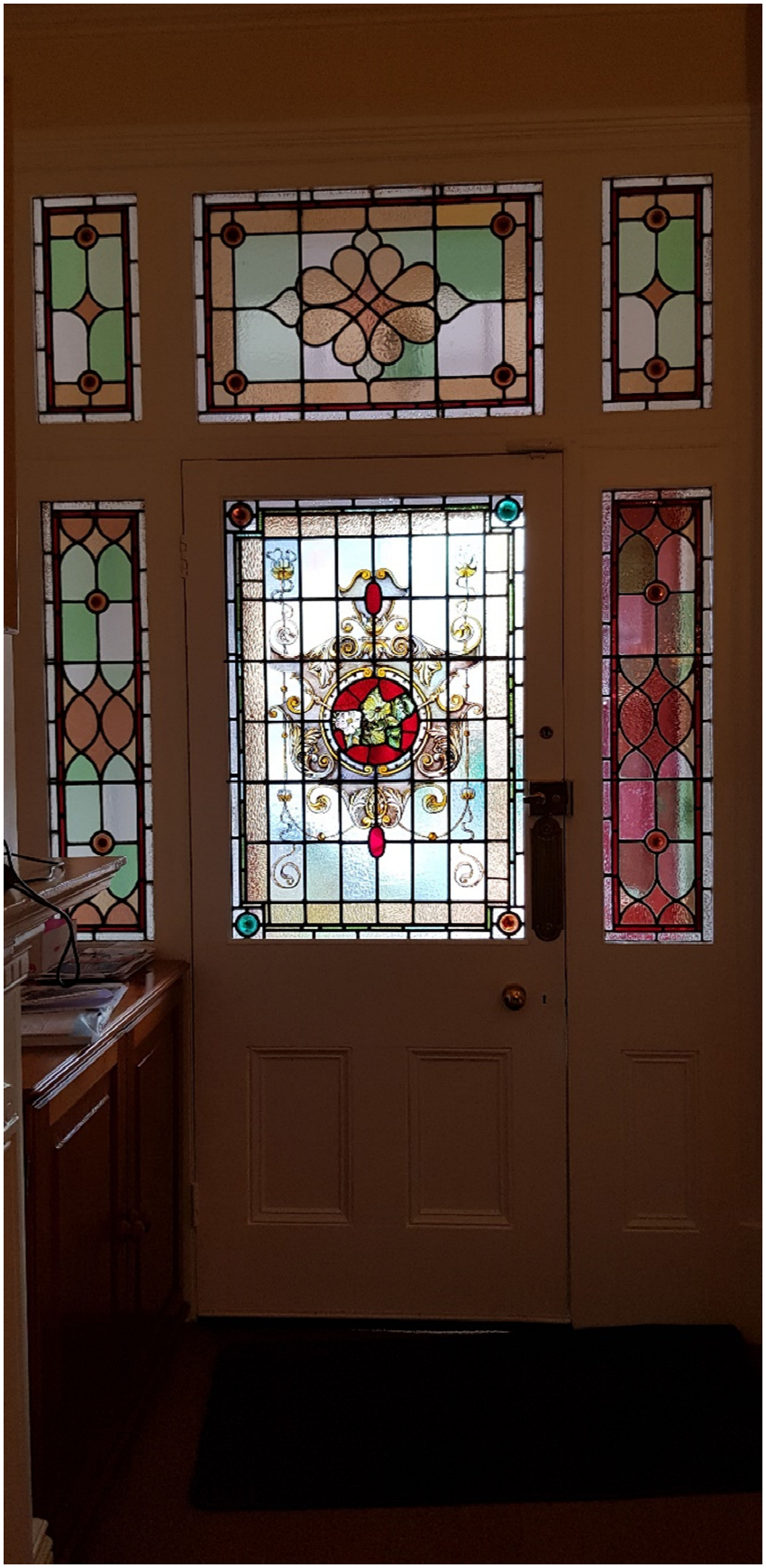


Fig. 11 . 41a, Chantry Road, Moseley, Birmingham. Semi-detached house, front door window, 1896

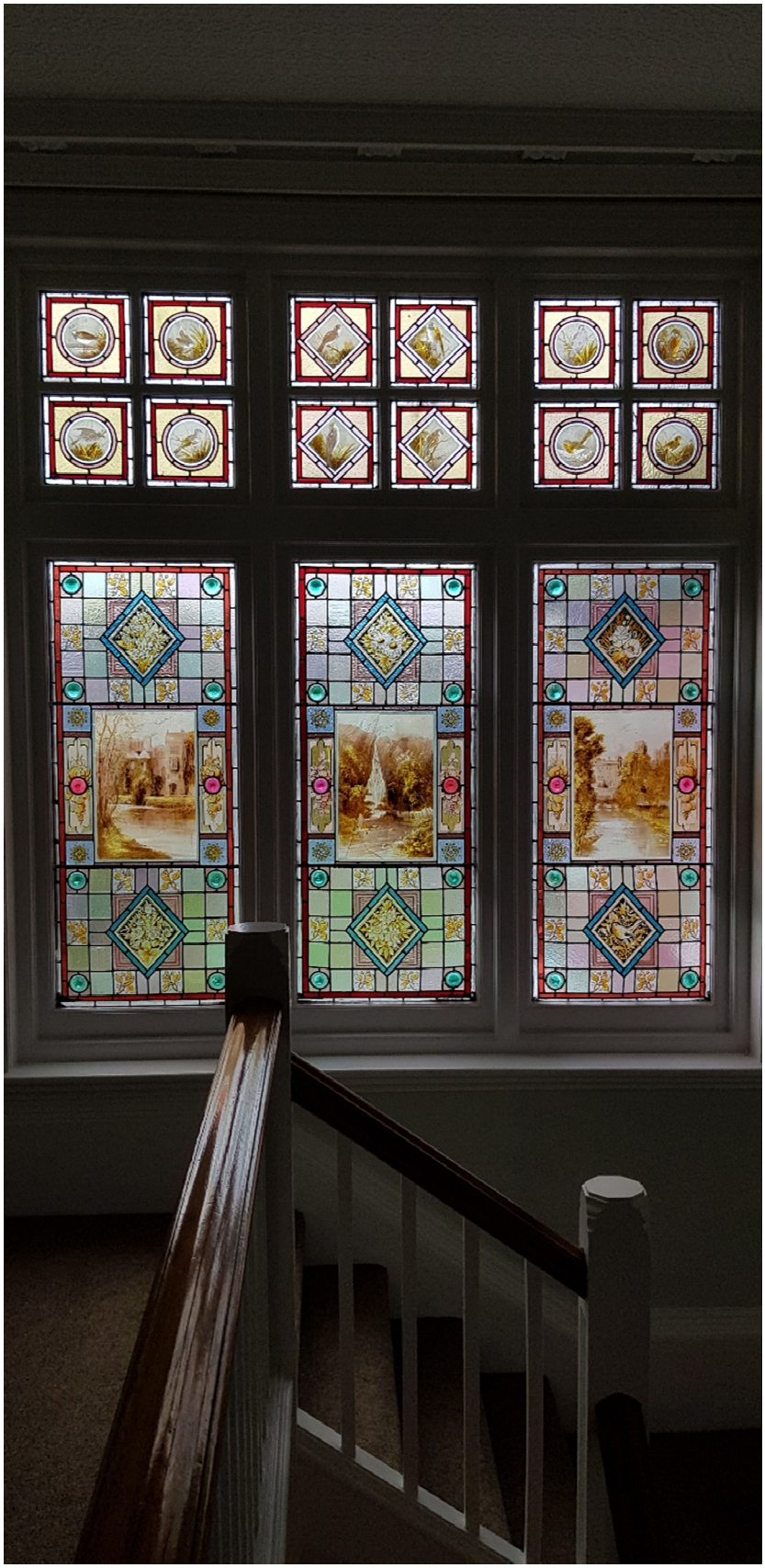


Fig. 12 . 32 Chantry Road, Moseley, Birmingham. Detached house, staircase window, 1880



Fig. 13 . 32, Chantry Road, Moseley, Birmingham. Detached house, detail of staircase window, 1880



Fig. 14 . 32 Chantry Road, Moseley, Birmingham. Detached house, detail of staircase window, 1880



Fig. 15 . 32 Chantry Road, Moseley, Birmingham. Detached house, detail of staircase window, 1880



Fig. 16 . 32, Chantry Road, Moseley, Birmingham. Detached house, detail of staircase window, 1880

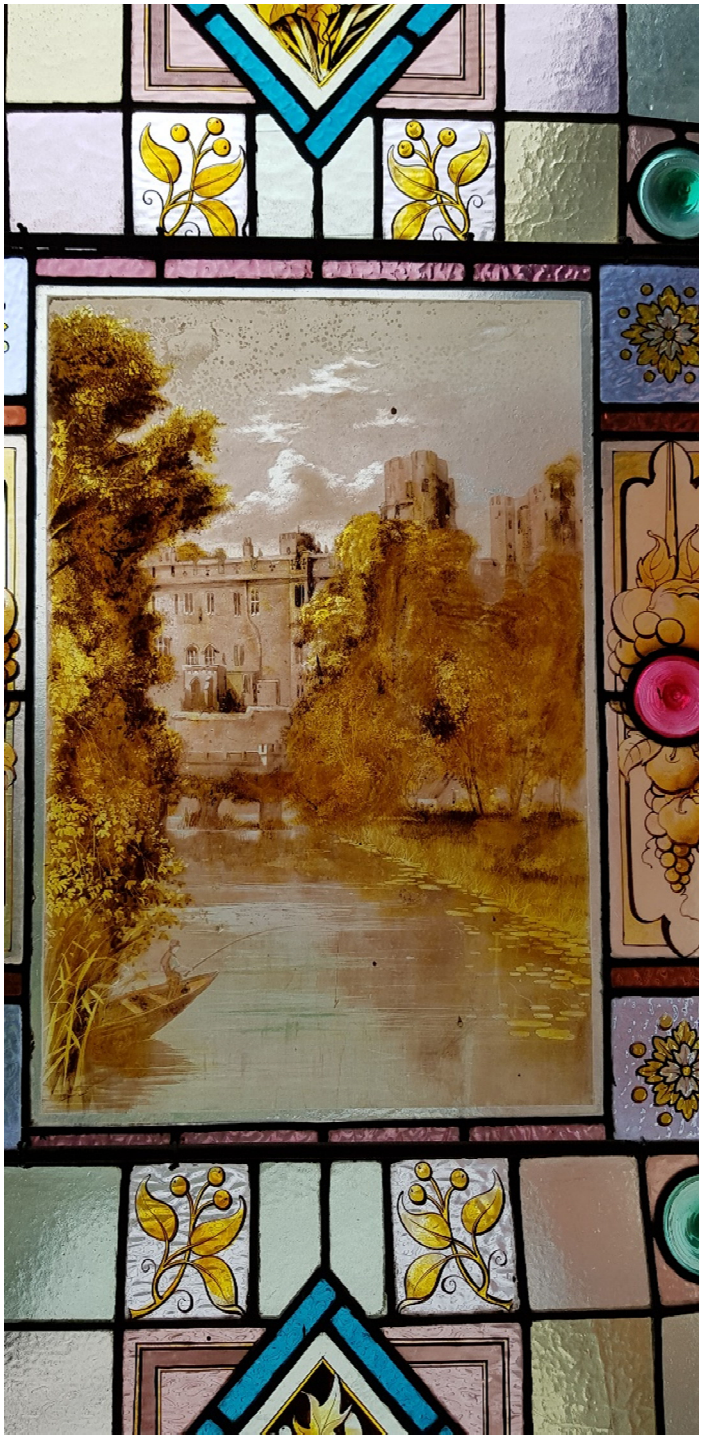


Fig. 17 . 32 Chantry Road, Moseley, Birmingham. Detached house, detail of staircase window, 1880



Fig. 18 . Rochdale Town Hall, completed in 1871, by William Henry Crossland. Clock Tower by Alfred Waterhouse, completed in 1877 after the original was destroyed by a fire in 1883.

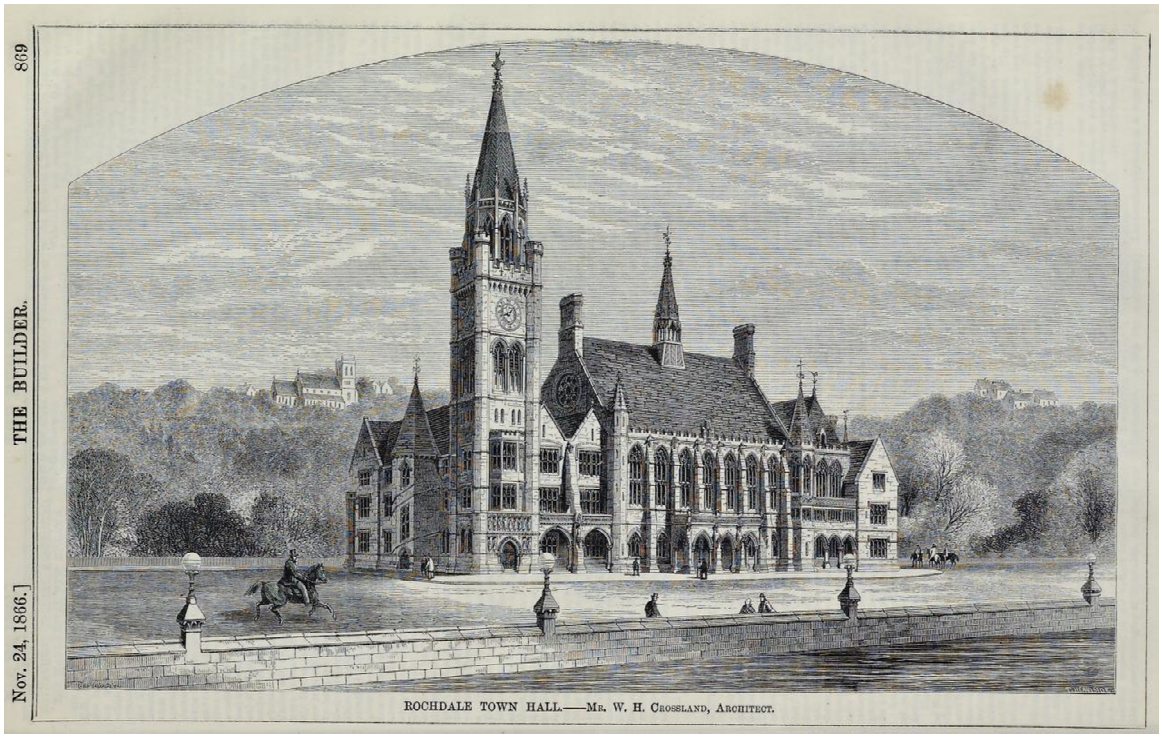


Fig. 19 . Rochdale Town Hall, *The Builder*, 21 November 1866: 869

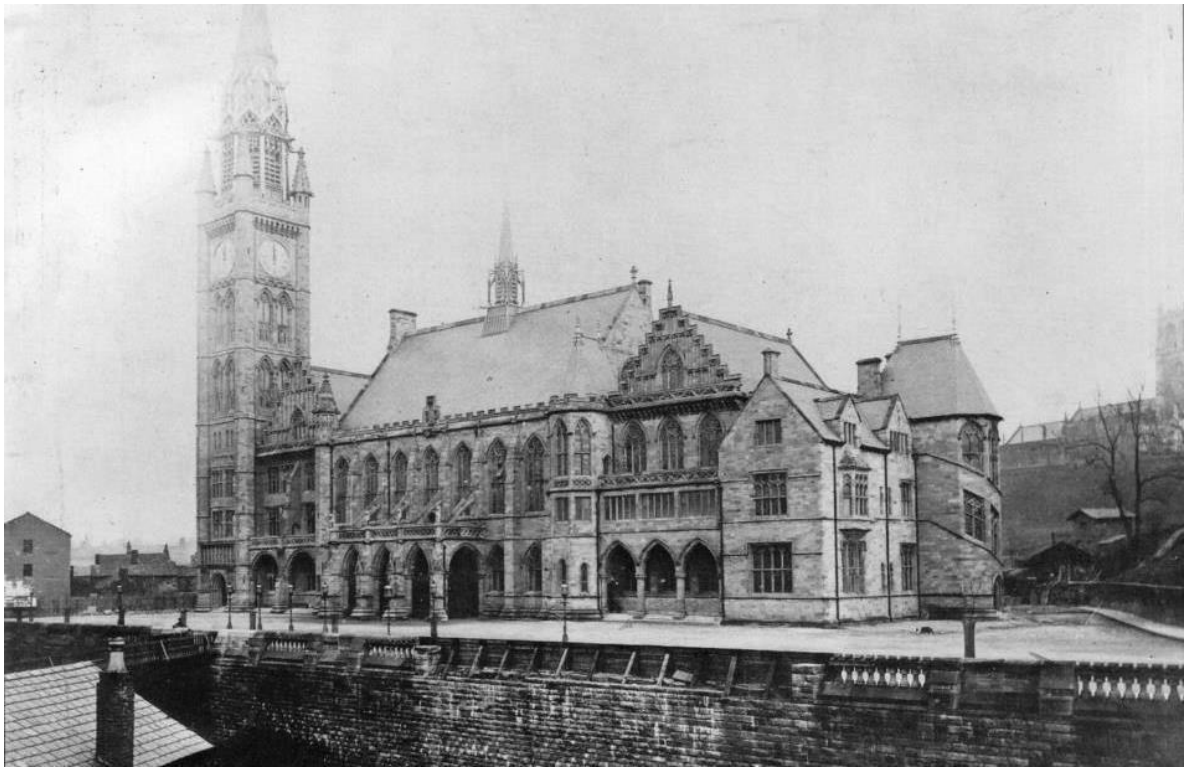


Fig. 20 .Rochdale Town Hall, c.1876. Image courtesy of Rochdale Arts and Heritage Service.

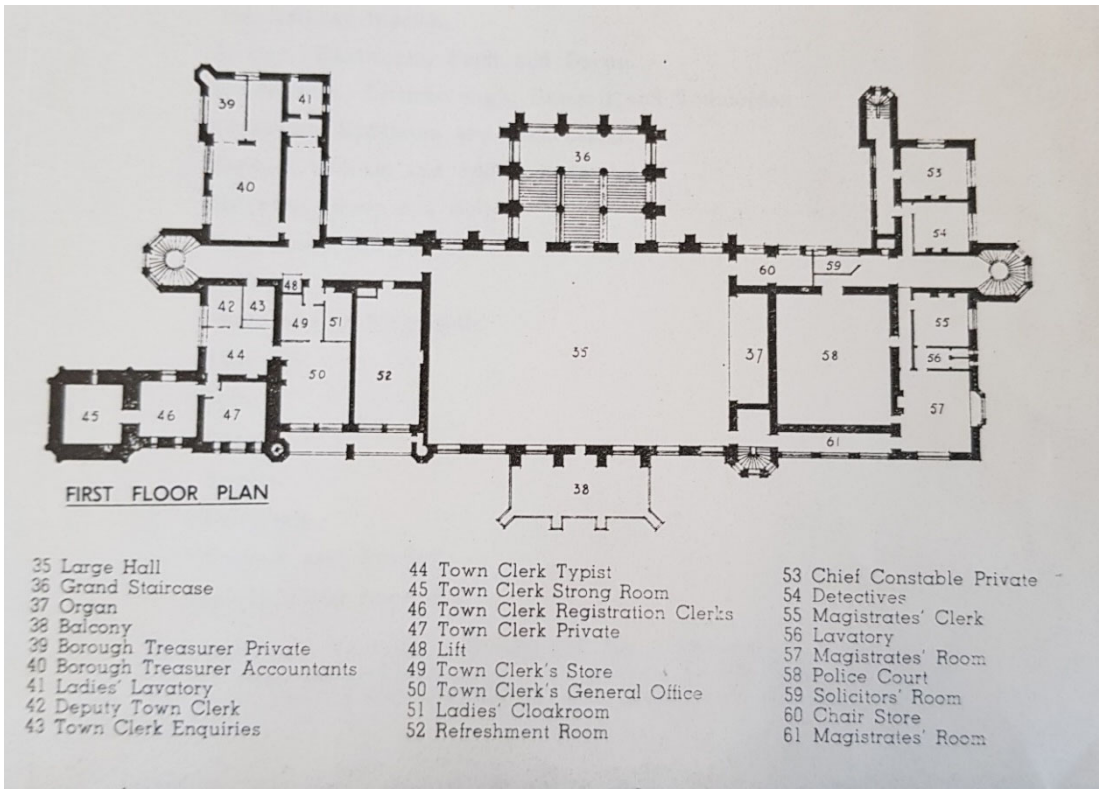


Fig. 21. Rochdale Town Hall. First floor plan, showing the Staircase and Great Hall.



Fig. 22 . Manchester Town Hall, designed by Alfred Waterhouse and completed in 1877 (source: visitmanchester.com)



Fig. 23 . Heaton, Butler and Bayne, 1896. North Manchester General Hospital

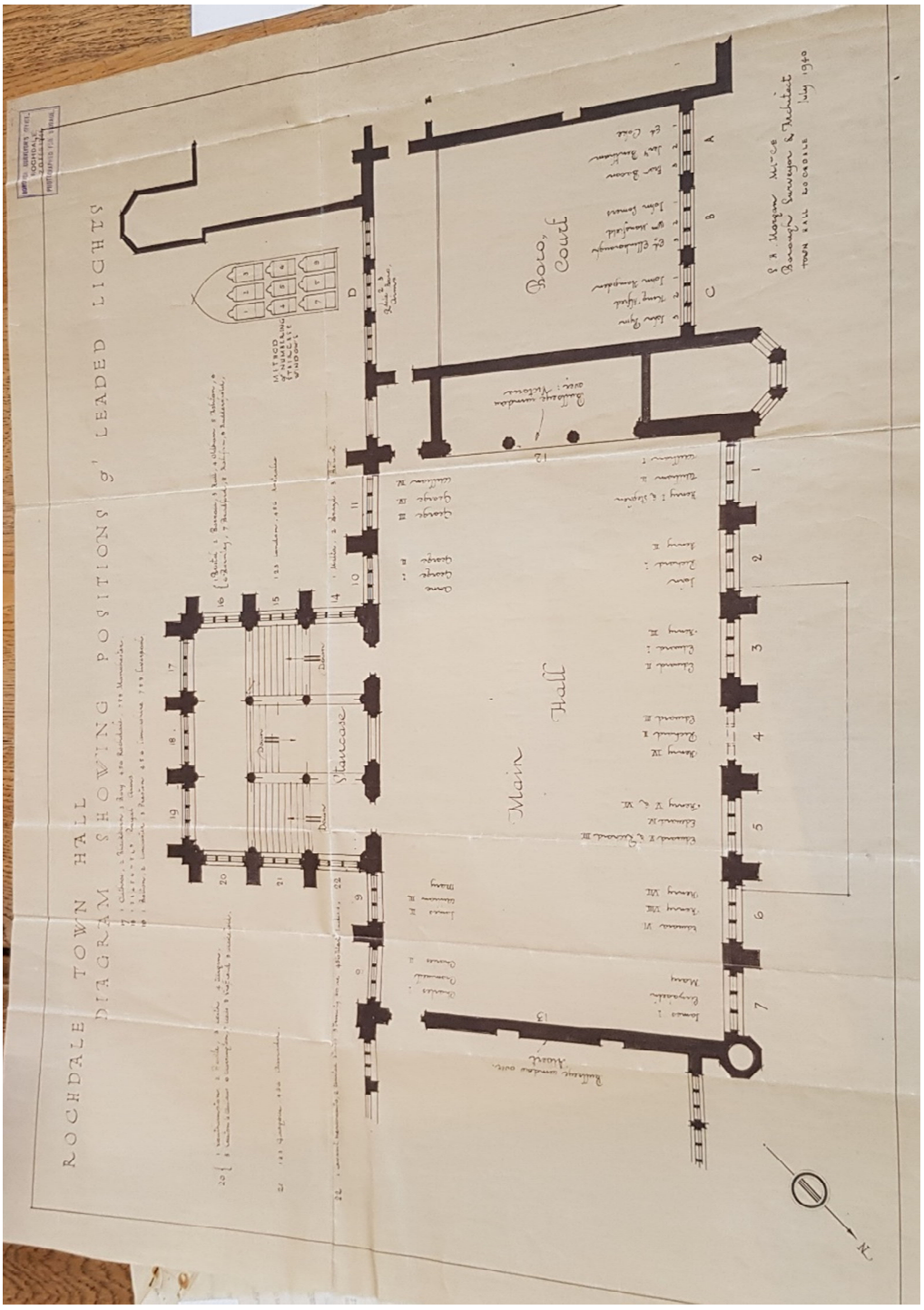


Fig. 24 . Rochdale Town Hall. Diagram Showing Positions of stained glass in the Great Hall, 1940. Rochdale Arts and Heritage Service



Fig. 25 . Heaton, Butler and Bayne, 1871. Rochdale Town Hall, Great Hall. North wall with monarchs from William I to James I.



Fig. 26 . Heaton, Butler and Bayne, 1871. Rochdale Town Hall, Great Hall, North wall with monarchs from Henry III to James I

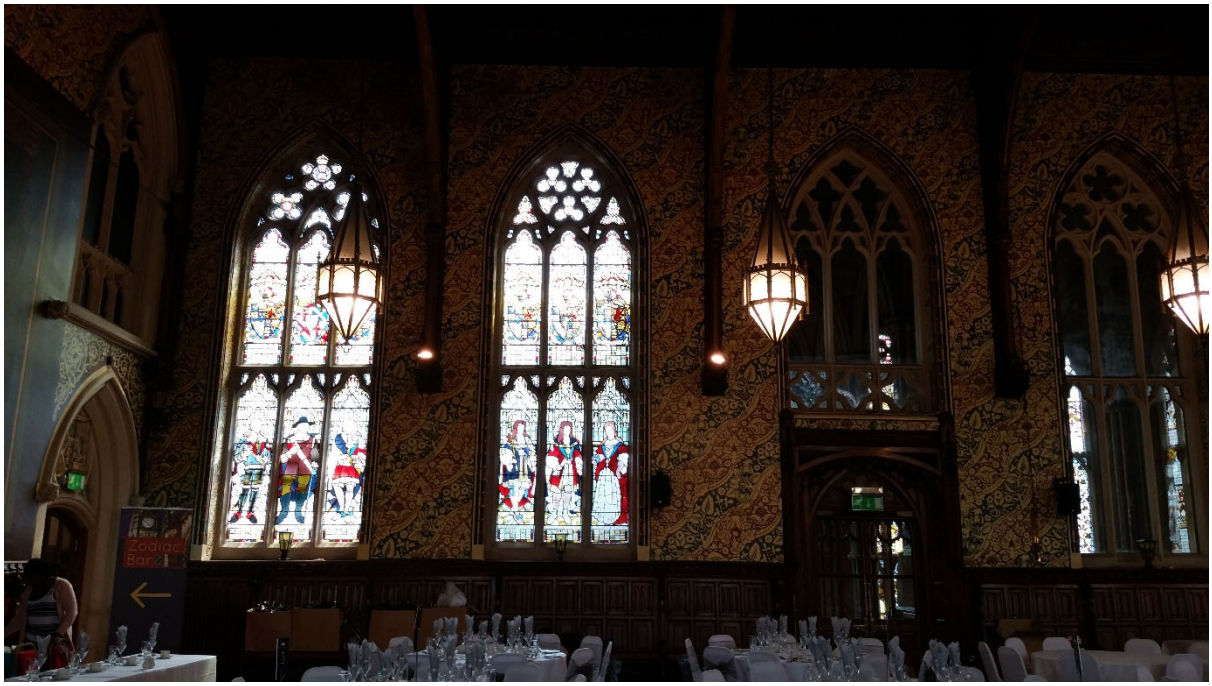


Fig. 27 . Heaton, Butler and Bayne, 1871. Rochdale Town Hall, Great Hall, South East corner, depicting Charles I to Queen Mary



Fig. 28 . Heaton, Butler and Bayne, 1871. Rochdale Town Hall, Great Hall, North wall window depicting William I, William II, Henry I and King Stephen



Fig. 29 . Heaton, Butler and Bayne, 1871. Rochdale Town Hall, Great Hall, North wall window depciting Henry II, Richard I and King John



Fig. 30 . Heaton, Butler and Bayne, 1871. Rochdale Town Hall, Great Hall, North wall window depicting Henry III, Edward I and Edward II



Fig. 31 . Heaton, Butler and Bayne, 1871. Rochdale Town Hall, Great Hall, North wall window depicting Edward III, Richard II and Henry IV



Fig. 32 . Heaton, Butler and Bayne, 1871. Rochdale Town Hall, Great Hall, North wall window depicting Henry V Henry VI, Edward VI, Edward V and Richard III



Fig. 33 . Heaton, Butler and Bayne, 1871. Rochdale Town Hall, Great Hall, North wall window depicting Henry VII, Henry VIII and Edward VI



Fig. 34 . Heaton, Butler and Bayne, 1871. Rochdale Town Hall, Great Hall, North window depicting Mary I, Elizabeth I and James I



Fig. 35 . Heaton, Butler and Bayne, 1871. Rochdale Town Hall, Great Hall, South wall window, depicting Charles I, Oliver Cromwell and Charles II



Fig. 36 . Heaton, Butler and Bayne, 1871. Rochdale Town Hall, Great Hall, South wall window depicting James II, William III and Queen Mary



Fig. 37 . Heaton, Butler and Bayne, 1871. Rochdale Town Hall, Great Hall, South wall window depicting Queen Anne, George I and George II



Fig. 38 . Heaton, Butler and Bayne, 1871. Rochdale Town Hall, Great Hall, South wall window depicting George III, George IV and William IV



Fig. 39 . Heaton, Butler and Bayne, 1871. Rochdale Town Hall, Great Hall, detail of South wall window depicting George III, George IV and William IV

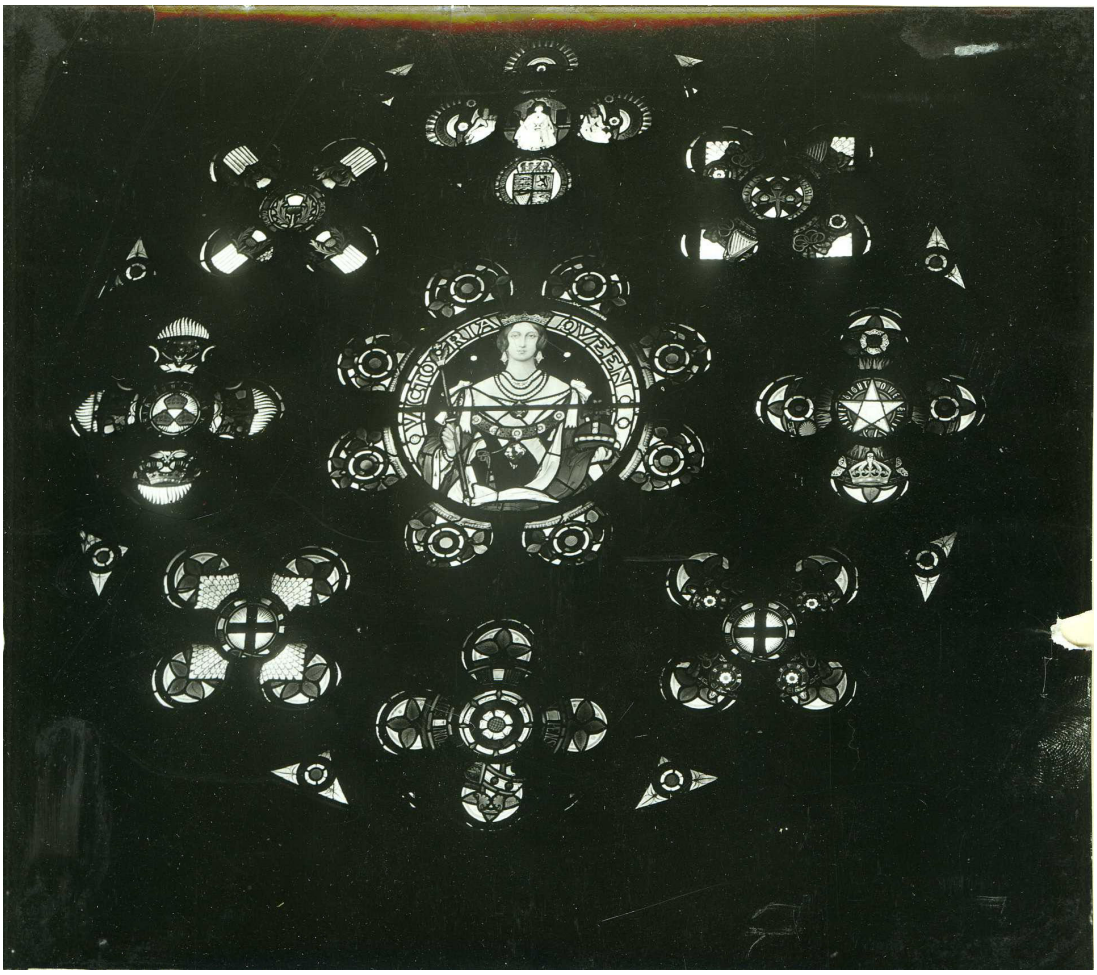


Fig. 40 . Heaton, Butler and Bayne, 1871. Rochdale Town Hall, Great Hall, Queen Victoria in rose window, West wall. Image courtesy of Rochdale Arts and Heritage Service

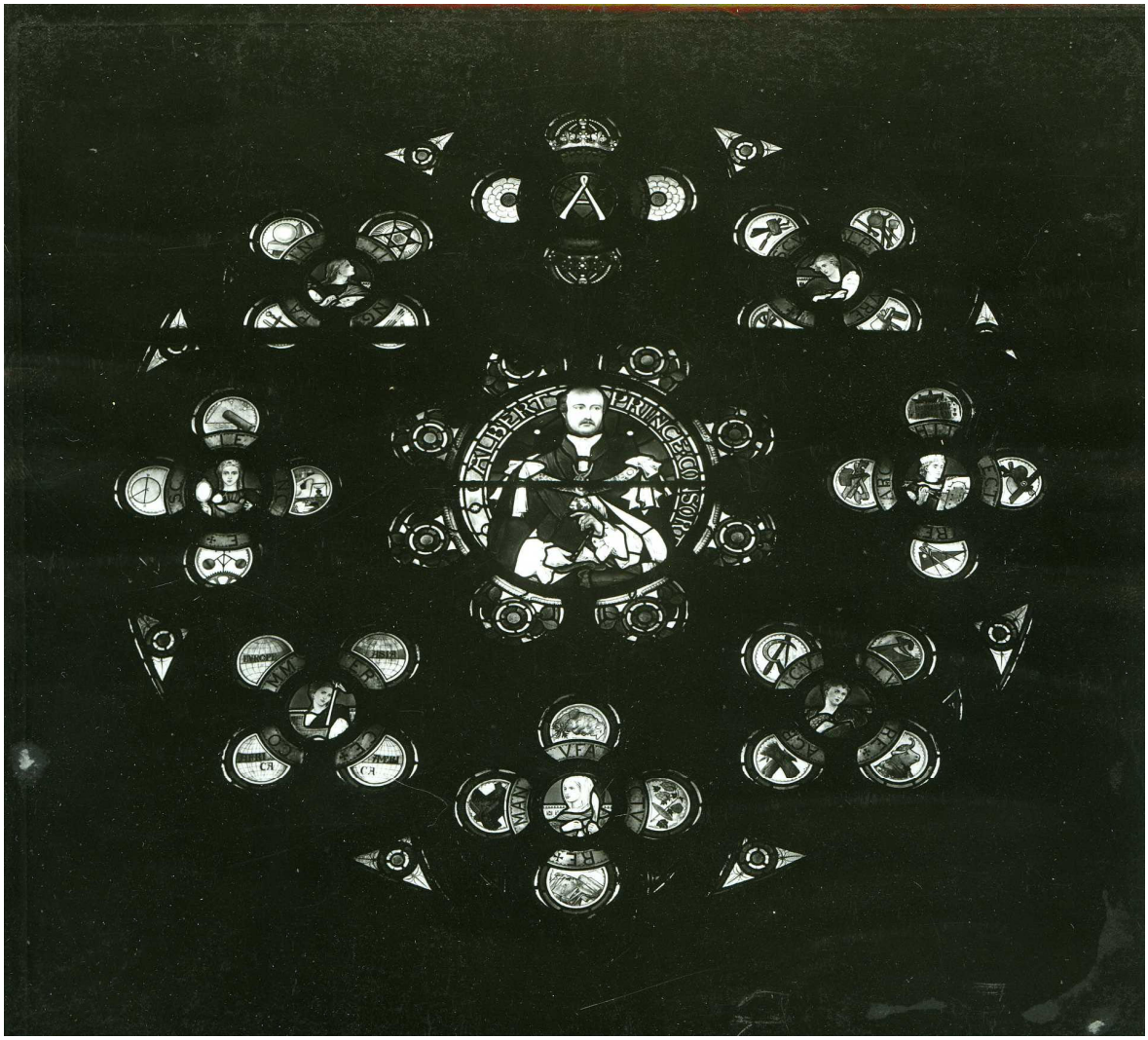


Fig. 41 . Heaton, Butler and Bayne, 1871. Rochdale Town Hall, Great Hall, Prince Albert in rose window, East wall. Image courtesy of Rochdale Arts and Heritage Service



Fig. 42 . Heaton, Butler and Bayne, 1871. Rochdale Town Hall, Great Hall, detail of Prince Albert in rose window, East wall



Fig. 43 . Heaton, Butler and Bayne, 1871. Rochdale Town Hall, Great Hall, detail of Prince Albert in rose window, East wall



Fig. 44 . Heaton, Butler and Bayne, 1871. Rochdale Town Hall, County Court, containing image of Alfred the Great beteen John Hampden and John Pym



Fig. 45 . Heaton, Butler and Bayne, 1872. Chester Cathedral, Chapter House

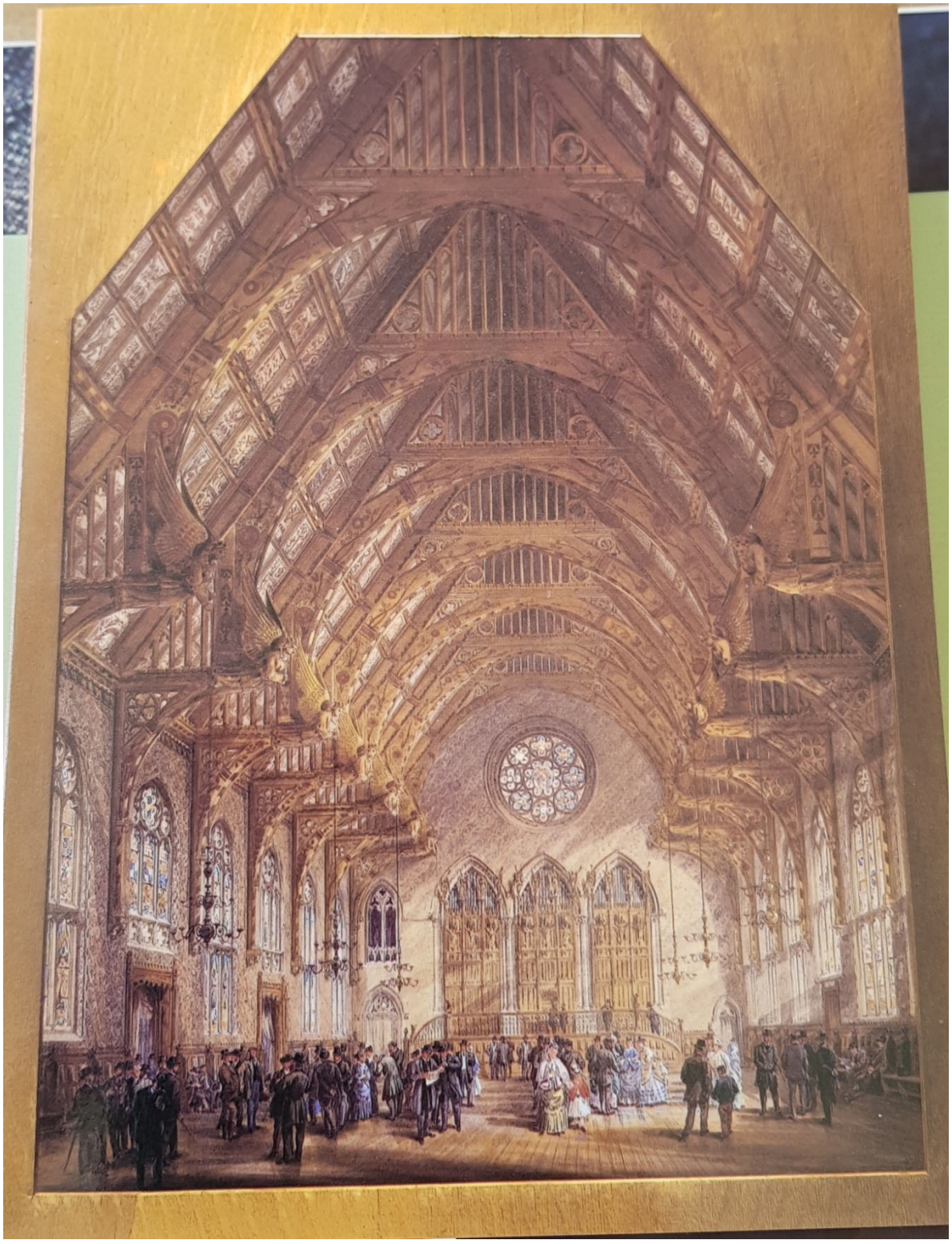


Fig. 46 . Edward Walker. The Great Hall, Rochdale Town Hall. Watercolour, c.1870. Rochdale Art Gallery Collection

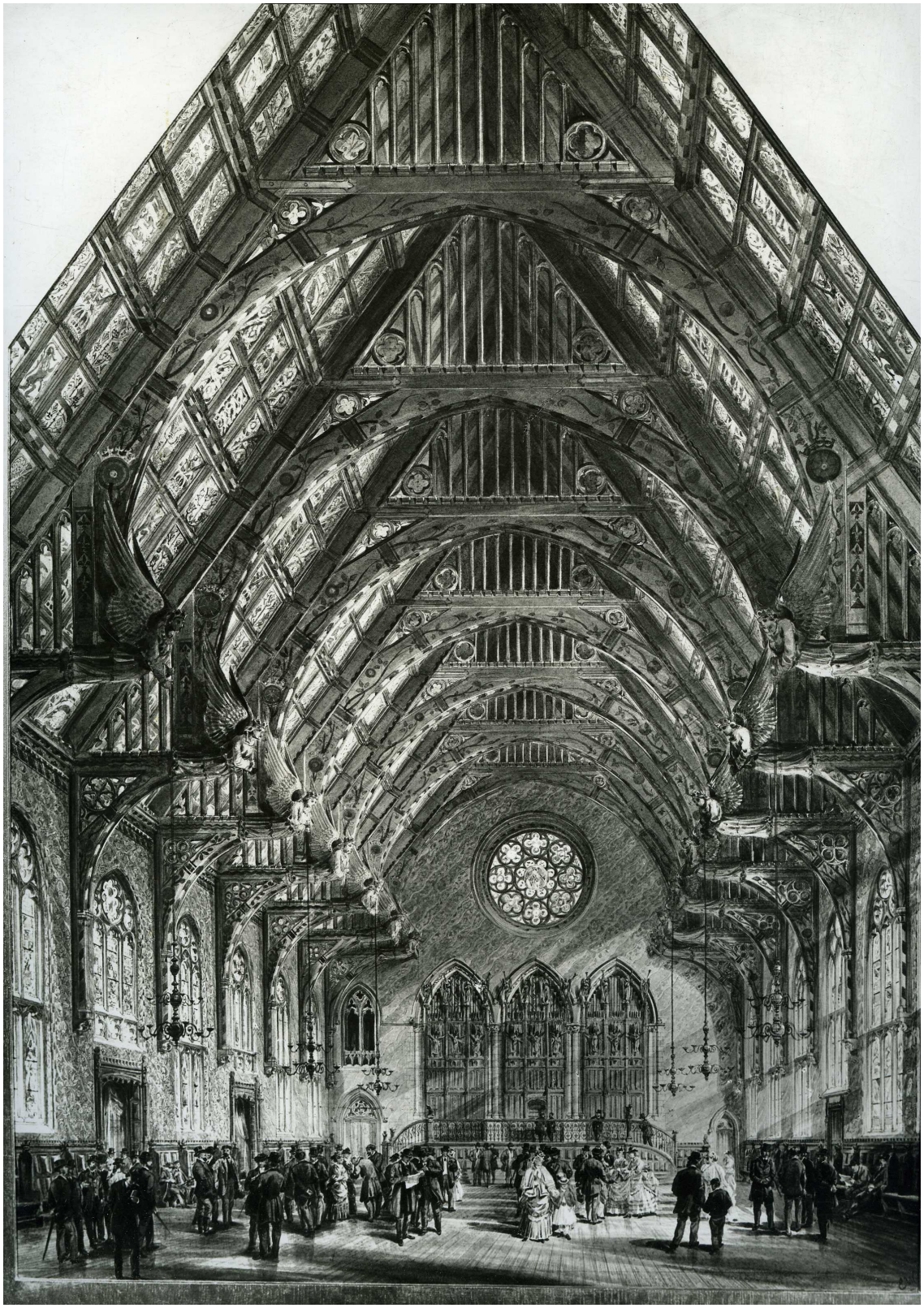


Fig. 47 . Illustration of Rochdale Town Hall, Great Hall, 1870. Etching of Edward Walker painting of the Great Hall.

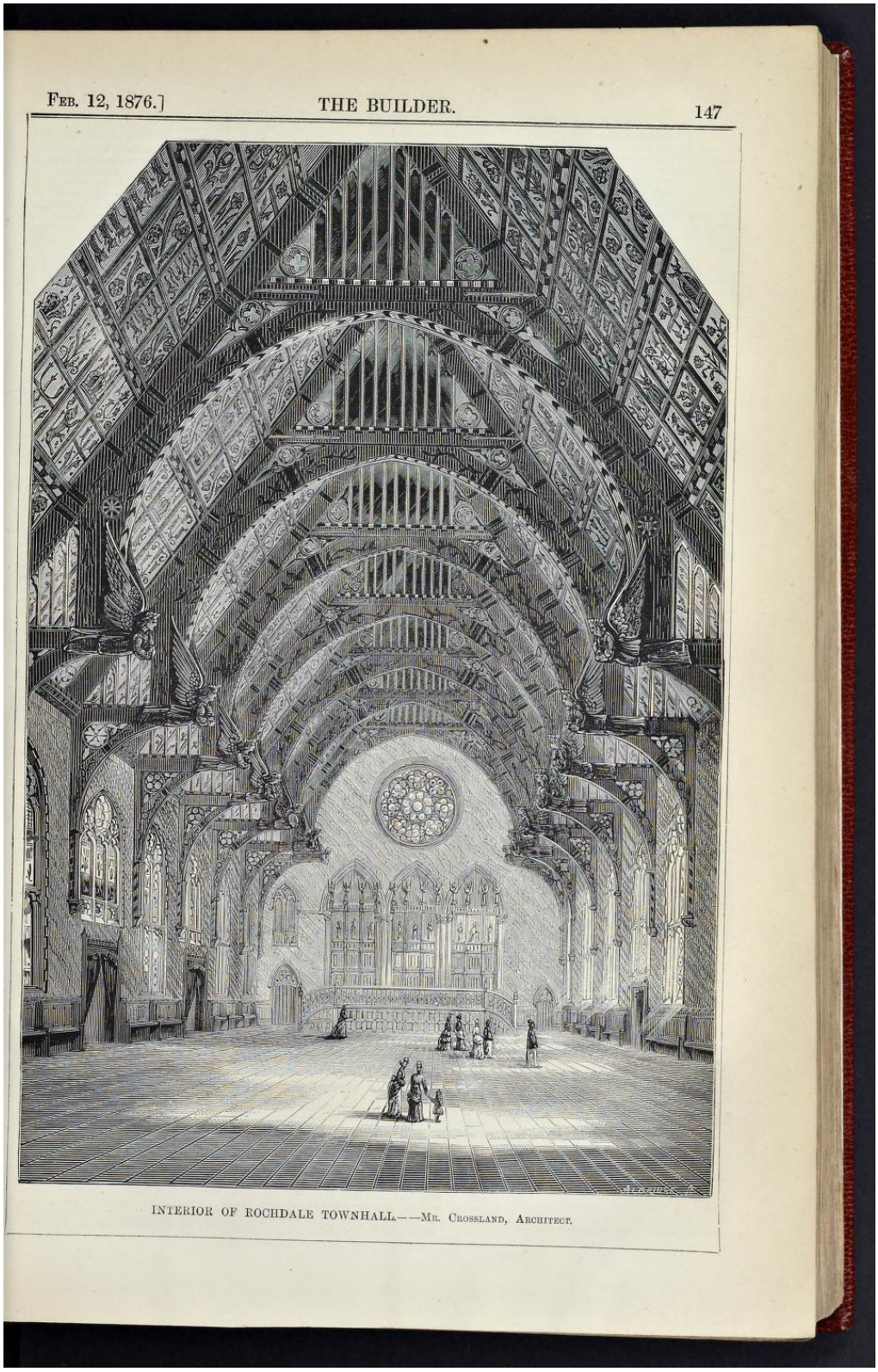


Fig. 48 . Image of ‘Interior of Rochdale Town Hall’. *The Builder*. February 12, 1876: 147



Fig. 49 . Heaton, Butler and Bayne, 1871. Rochdale Town Hall, Great Hall roof with wall paintings depicting the arms of England, Scotland and Ireland



Fig. 50 . Rochdale Town Hall, Great Hall organ, 1913



Fig. 51 . Player's Cigarettes card depicting Edward II published by John Player & Sons, after George Vertue colour relief halftone cigarette card, 1935. NPG D48120



Fig. 52 . Set of 25 Antique Prints of English Royal Portraits, Dated 1788 (source: 1stdibs.com)



Fig. 53 . A Royal Game. Interesting and Instructive. Her Majesty the Queen, Empress of India, Children and Grandchildren, 1896. Patent No. 17184. RCIN 52525 (source: rct.uk)



Fig. 54 . English kings and queens, oil on panel, 1590-1610, NPG 4980 (1-16)



Fig. 55 . Heaton, Butler and Bayne, 1871. Rochdale Town Hall. Detail of Queen Victoria in rose window, West wall

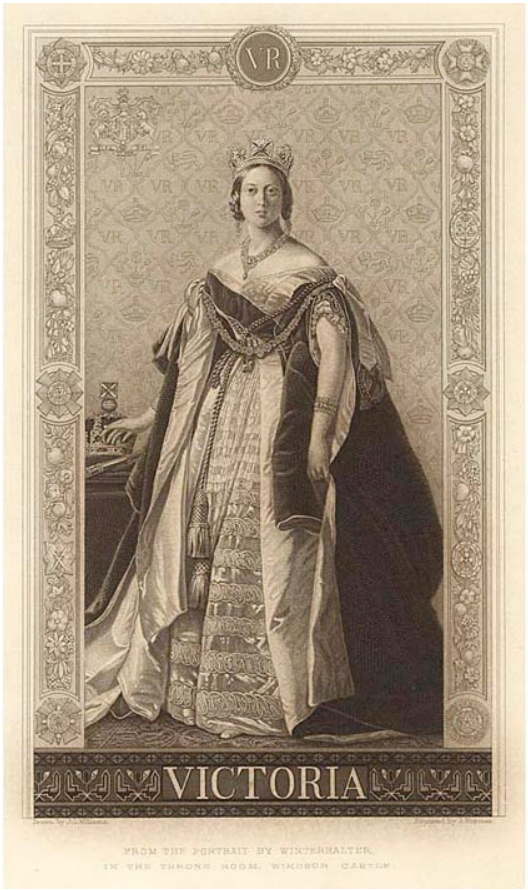


Fig. 56 . Queen Victoria (Alexandrina Victoria; 1819 -1901) Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and Empress of India. Drawn by J. L. Williams and engraved by A. Krausse, from the portrait by Winterhalter, for 'Pictures and Royal Portraits II



Fig. 57 . Prince Albert's portrait at Rochdale is based upon an 1860 photograph by Camille Silvy & Co. Prince Albert (1819-61) 1861. Albumen print | 9.9 x 6.4 cm (whole object) | RCIN 2418597 (source: rct.uk)



Fig. 58 . Heaton, Butler and Bayne, 1871. Rochdale Town Hall. Elaborate decoration of the shoes of Edward III



Fig. 59. Heaton, Butler and Bayne, 1871. Rochdale Town Hall, Great Hall, North wall window. Henry III's figure is too big for the lancet and the proportions are not entirely successful.



Fig. 60. Heaton, Butler and Bayne, 1871. Rochdale Town Hall, Great Hall, North wall window. Henry III's figure is too big for the lancet and the proportions are not entirely successful



Fig. 61. Charles Lightfoot archive, showing folders full of images under separate categories for the glass painter to copy



Fig. 62 . Portrait of Queen Elizabeth I, by Unknown artist, oil on panel, early 17th century with 18th century overpainting. NPG 542



Fig. 63 . CRISPIJN DE PASSE THE ELDER (1564-1637). Elizabeth I c.1603. Engraving with etching and drypoint | 31 x 19.8 cm (sheet of paper) | RCIN 601073



Fig. 64 . Charles Turner, Elizabeth I, etching and mezzotint, 390 x 265 mm (London, National Portrait Gallery) NPG D34875



Fig. 65 . Portrait of Edward VI by Guillaume Scrots, c.1550, oil on panel, 168 x 88 cm. Musée du Louvre, Paris



Fig. 66 . Circle of William Scrots, c.1550. Portrait of Edward VI, oil on panel, height: 37 in (93.9 cm); width: 28 in (71.1 cm)



Fig. 67 . Portrait of Edward VI (1537-53), oil on panel, c.1546, attributed to William Scrots (active 1537-53)



Fig. 68 . Portrait of Charles II in Garter robes, 1660s. Studio of Sir Peter Lely (1618-80), 30 x 25 inches 76.2 x 63.5 cm



Fig. 69 . King Charles II, 1831. Enamel miniature in the collection of Her Majesty the Queen. Enamel on copper, rectangular, 151x115mm. Henry Bone R.A. after the original by Peter Burslaer. RCIN 422388



Fig. 70 . Full length portrait of King Charles II, after Sir Peter Lely, oil on canvas, 91 x 55in (231.2 x 139.7cm), 1674



Fig. 71 . Portrait of Charles I by Daniel Mytens, oil on canvas, 1631 85 in. x 53 in. (2159 mm x 1346 mm), NPG 1246





Figs. 72 & 73. Heaton, Butler and Bayne, 1871. Examples of the same painter working on the portraits of Henry IV and Charles I



Fig. 74 . Portrait of King Henry VII, Unknown artist, oil on panel, 1597 – 1618. National Maritime Museum



Fig. 75 . Portrait thought to be of Edward I, Westminster Abbey (source:englishheritage.org.uk)



Fig. 76 . A 19th century portrait of King Edward II (source: alamy.com)



Fig. 77 . Heaton, Butler and Bayne, 1871. Rochdale Town Hall. Richard II



Fig. 78 . King Richard II, 1836. Enamel on copper, rectangular, 131x102mm. Painted by Henry Pierce Bone. RCIN 422364



Fig. 79 . King Henry IV, 1815. Enamel on copper, rectangular, 150x118mm. Painted by Henry Bone R.A. RCIN 422372



Fig. 80 . King Henry V, 1837. Enamel on copper, rectangular, 147x120mm. Painted by Henry Pierce Bone. RCIN 422355



Fig. 81. Heaton, Butler and Bayne, 1871. Rochdale Town Hall, Great Hall, North wall window. Detail of Richard III with Edward V peering over his shoulder.



Fig. 82 . Portrait of George I, by the studio of Sir Godfrey Kneller. oil on canvas, 1714-1725, based on a work of 1714. 75 3/4 in. x 54 in. (1924 mm x 1372 mm). Transferred from British Museum, 1879. NPG 544



Fig. 83 . Portrait of George II, oil on canvas by Thomas Worlidge, painted between 1700 and 1766. Oil on canvas, 94.2 x 71.5 cm.; 37 1/8 x 28 1/8 in. (source: mutualart.com)



Fig. 84 . George III (1738-1820) 1809, SIR THOMAS LAWRENCE (1769-1830) Oil on canvas | 172.3 x 116.2 cm (support, canvas/panel/str external) | RCIN 402405

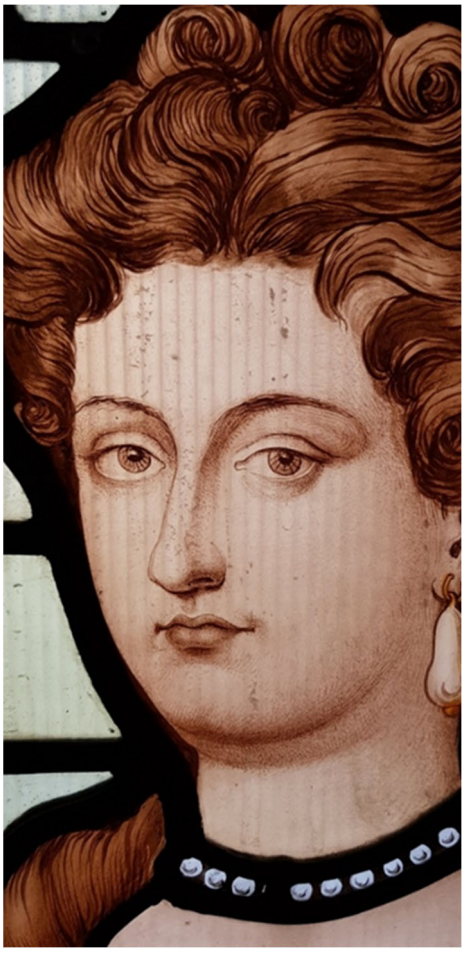


Fig. 85 . Portrait of George IV, 1820-30. Oil on canvas by the studio of Sir Thomas Lawrence (1769-1830). Oil on canvas | 272.0 x 190.0 cm (support, canvas/panel/str external) | RCIN 404933



Fig. 86 . Portrait of William IV, 1835, by Sir Martin Archer Shee PRA (1769-1850). Oil on canvas, 2704 mm x 1782 mm x 40 mm. Royal Academy of Arts, 03/1308





Figs. 87 & 88. Heaton, Butler and Bayne, 1871. Queen Mary and Queen Anne, Rochdale Town Hall. Detail of eyes



Fig. 89 . Queen Mary II, 1836. Enamel on copper, rectangular, 150x122mm. Painted by Henry Pierce Bone. RCIN 422386#



Fig. 90 . Queen Anne, 1835. Enamel on copper, rectangular 145x121mm. Painted by Henry Pierce Bone. RCIN 422385



67. Charles Turner, *Oliver Cromwell Between Two Pillars*, proof before letters, etching and mezzotint, 0 × 265 mm (London, British Museum).

Fig. 91 . Charles Turner, Oliver Cromwell Between Two Pillars , proof before letters, etching and mezzotint, 0 x 265 mm (London, British Museum)



Fig. 92 . Portrait of Oliver Cromwell in armour, Wellcome Trust (source: wellcomecollection.org)



Fig. 93 . Portrait of Oliver Cromwell, after Samuel Cooper, oil on canvas, feigned oval, based on a work of 1656 29 3/4 in. x 24 3/4 in. (756 mm x 629 mm). Purchased, 1879. NPG 514



Fig. 94 . Image of Roundhead soldiers (source: alamy.com)



Fig. 95 . Rochdale Town Hall, Great Hall with Henry Holiday fresco



Fig. 96 . Henry Holiday, 1871, Rochdale Town Hall, fresco in the Great Hall

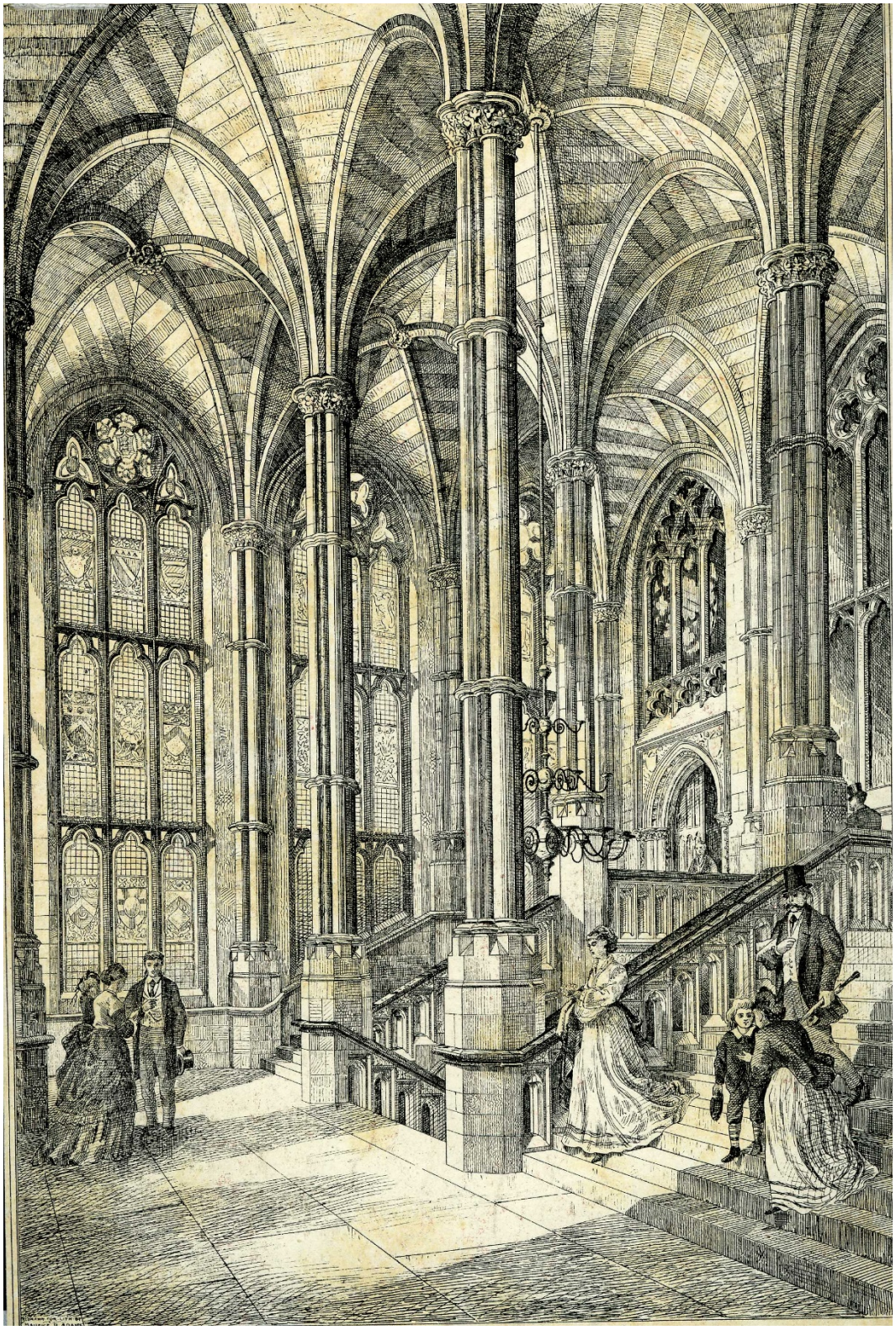


Fig. 97 . Illustration of Rochdale Town Hall staircase. Image courtesy of Rochdale Arts and Heritage Service.

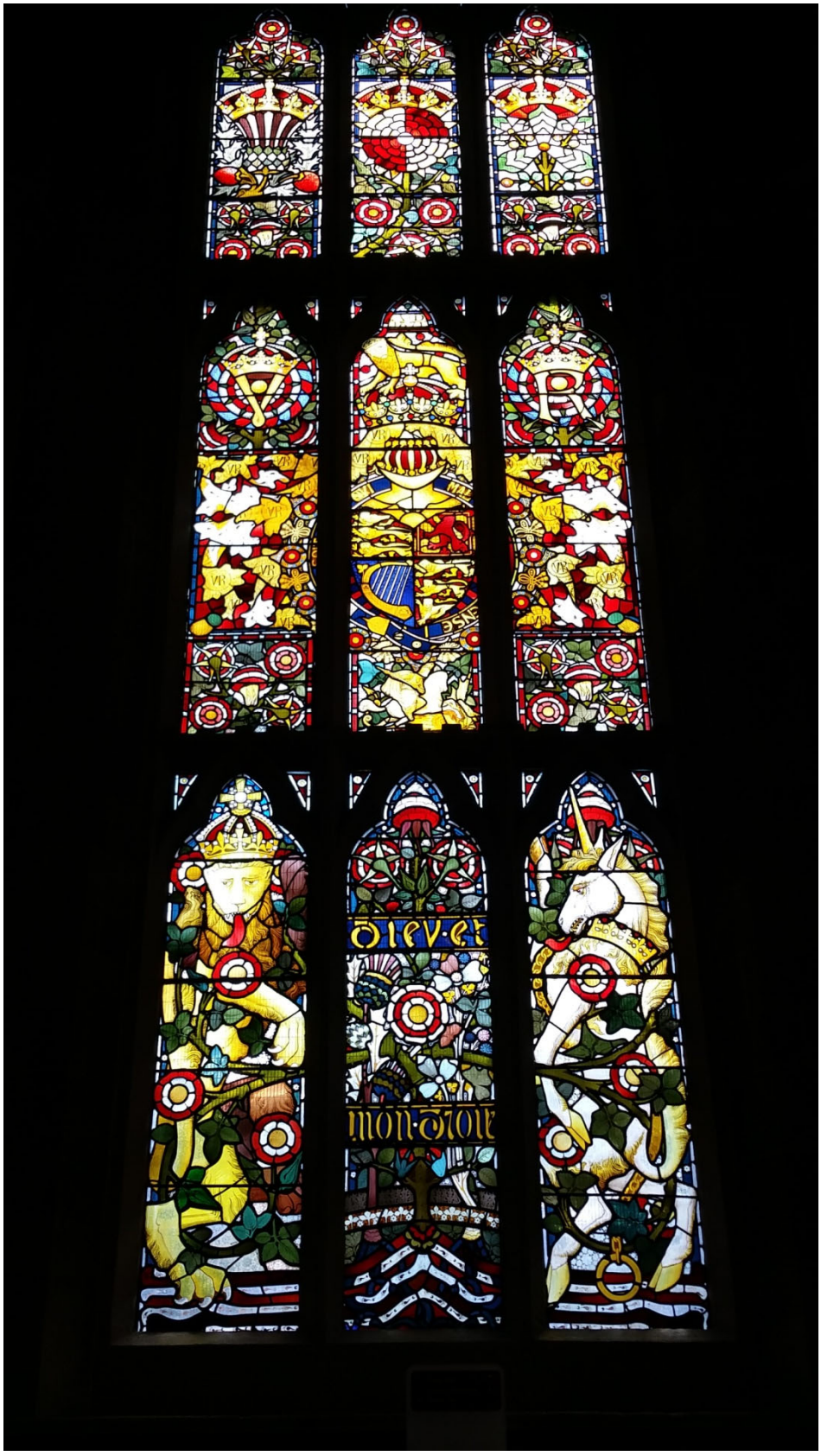


Fig. 98 . Heaton, Butler and Bayne, 1871. Rochdale Town Hall, staircase window depicting the arms of Queen Victoria



Fig. 99 . Heaton, Butler and Bayne, 1871. Rochdale Town Hall, detail of staircase window depicting the arms of Queen Victoria



Fig. 100 . Heaton, Butler and Bayne, 1871. Date of opening of Rochdale Town Hall, painted on the top of the lancet of the arms of Queen Victoria

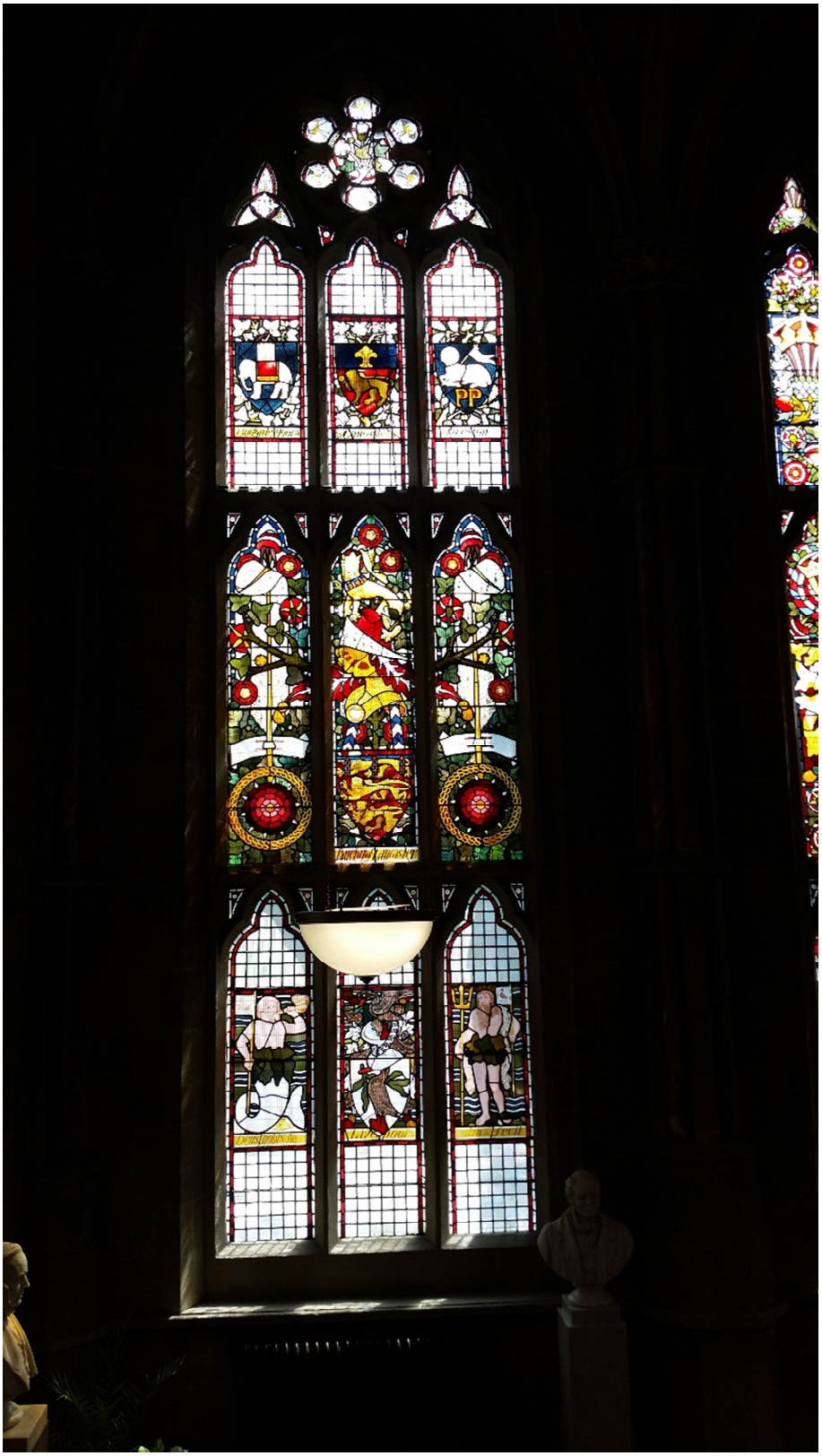


Fig. 101 . Heaton, Butler and Bayne, 1871. Rochdale Town Hall, staircase window depicting the arms of Queen Victoria, Liverpool, Bolton-le-Moors, Lancaster and Preston

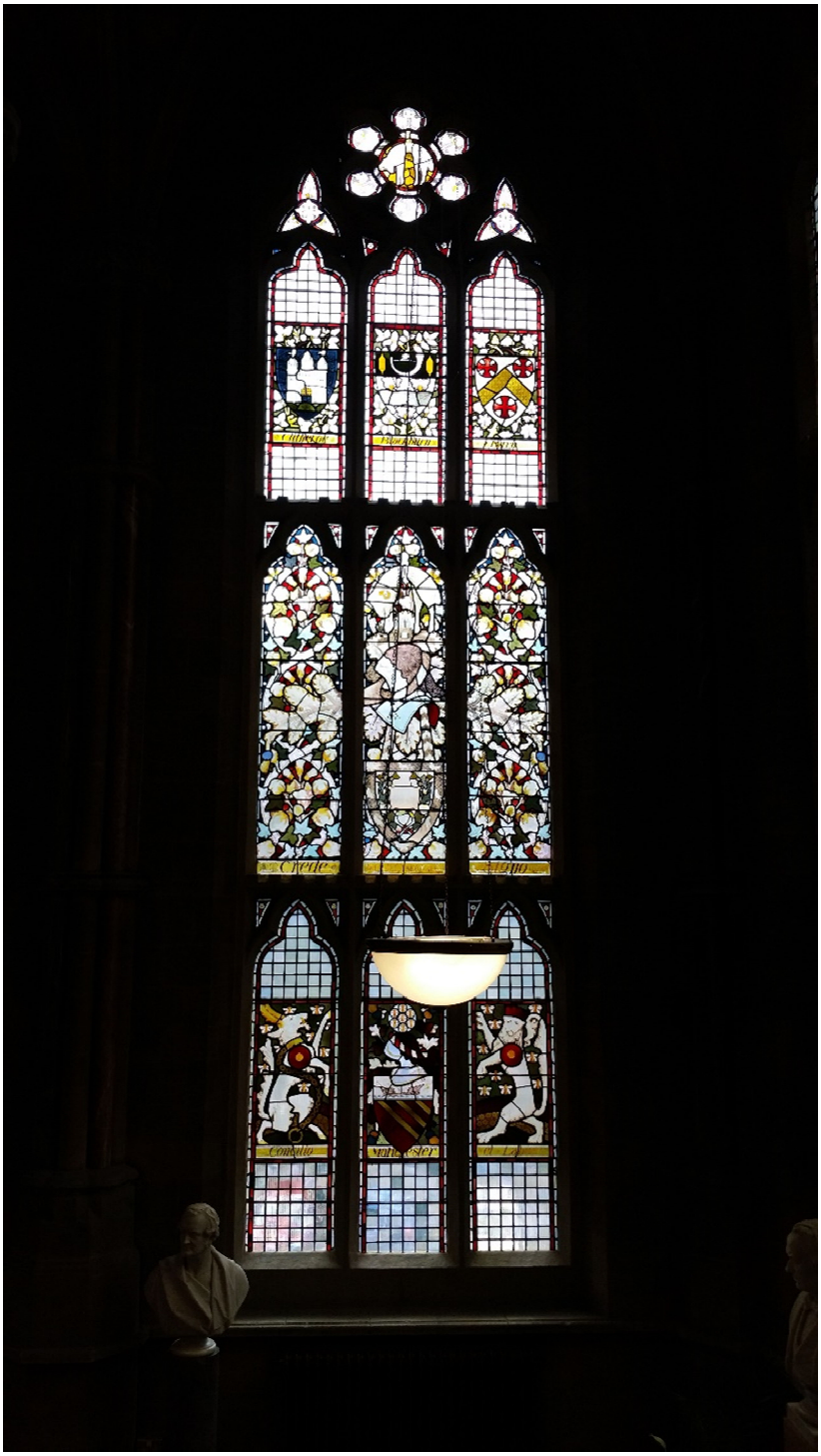


Fig. 102 . Heaton, Butler and Bayne, 1871. Rochdale Town Hall, staircase window depicting coats of arms of Rochdale, Manchester, Clitheroe, Blackburn and Bury

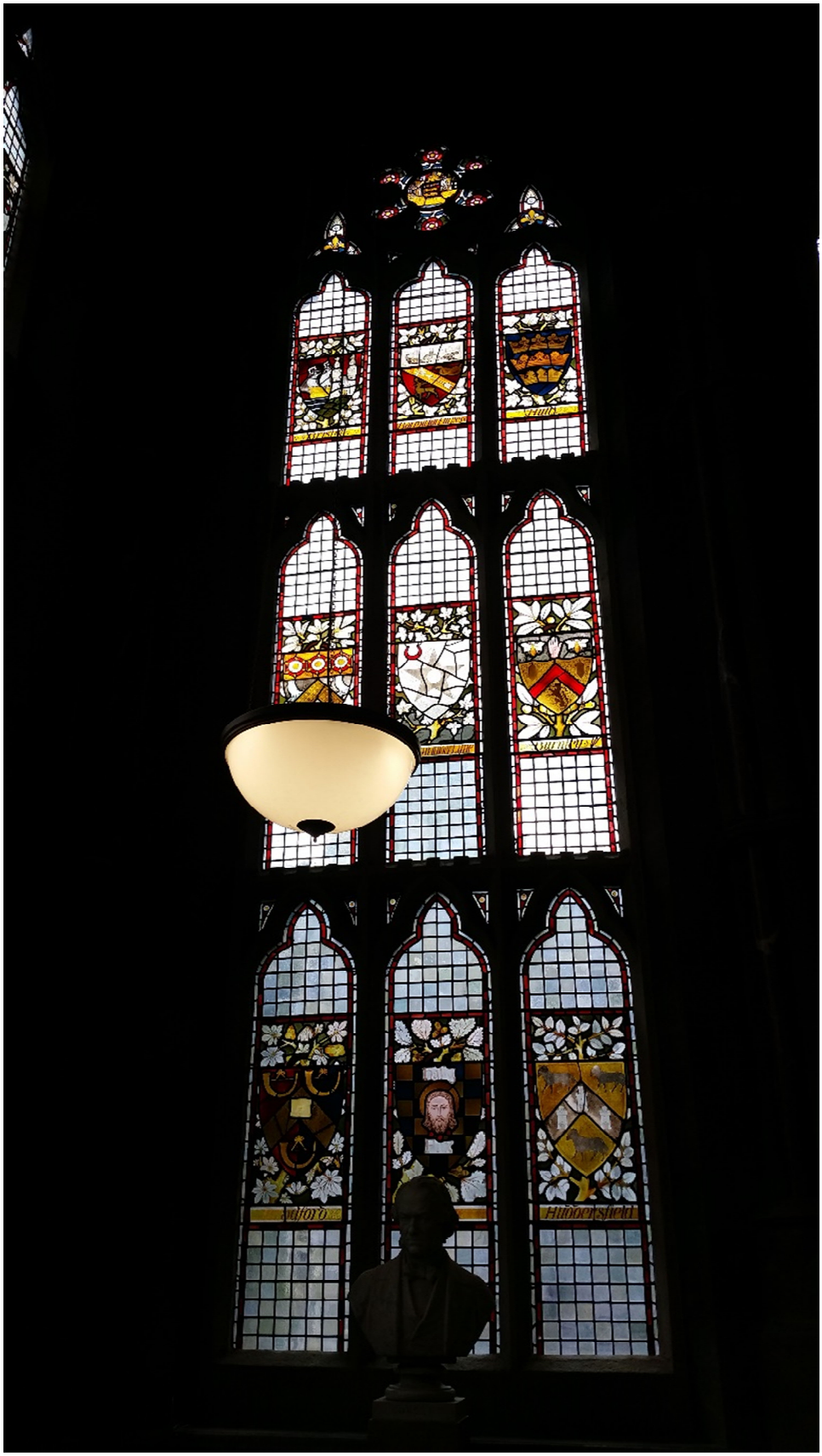


Fig. 103 . Heaton, Butler and Bayne, 1871. Rochdale Town Hall, staircase window. Top: Bristol, Barrow-in-Furness, Hull. Middle: Oldham, Ashton-under-Lyne, Burnley. Bottom: Bradford, Halifax, Huddersfield

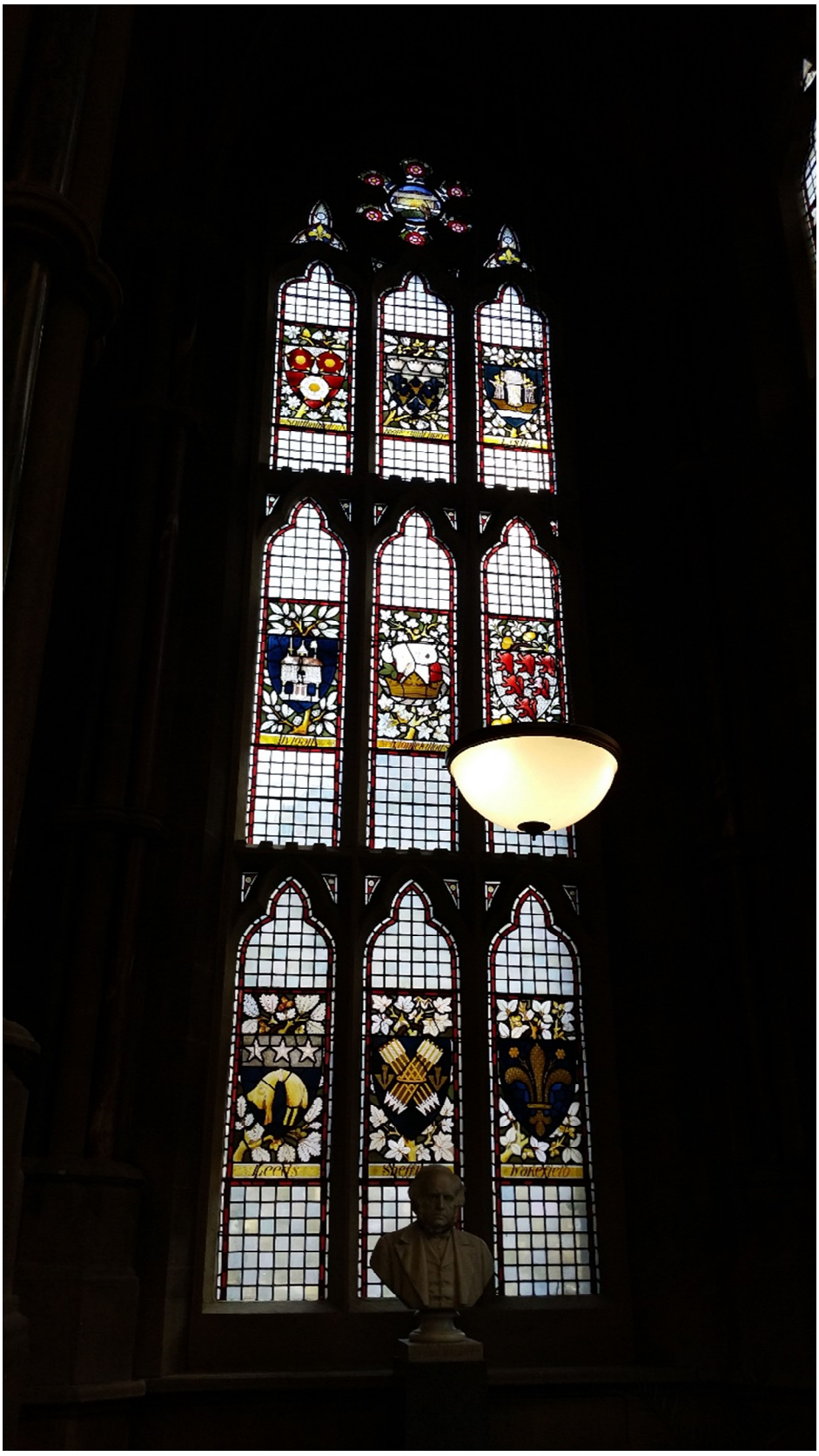


Fig. 104 . Heaton, Butler and Bayne, 1871. Rochdale Town Hall, staircase window. Top: Southampton, Bootle-cum-Linacre, Leith. Middle: Wigan, Newton-le-Willows, Warrington. Bottom: Leeds, Sheffield, Wakefield

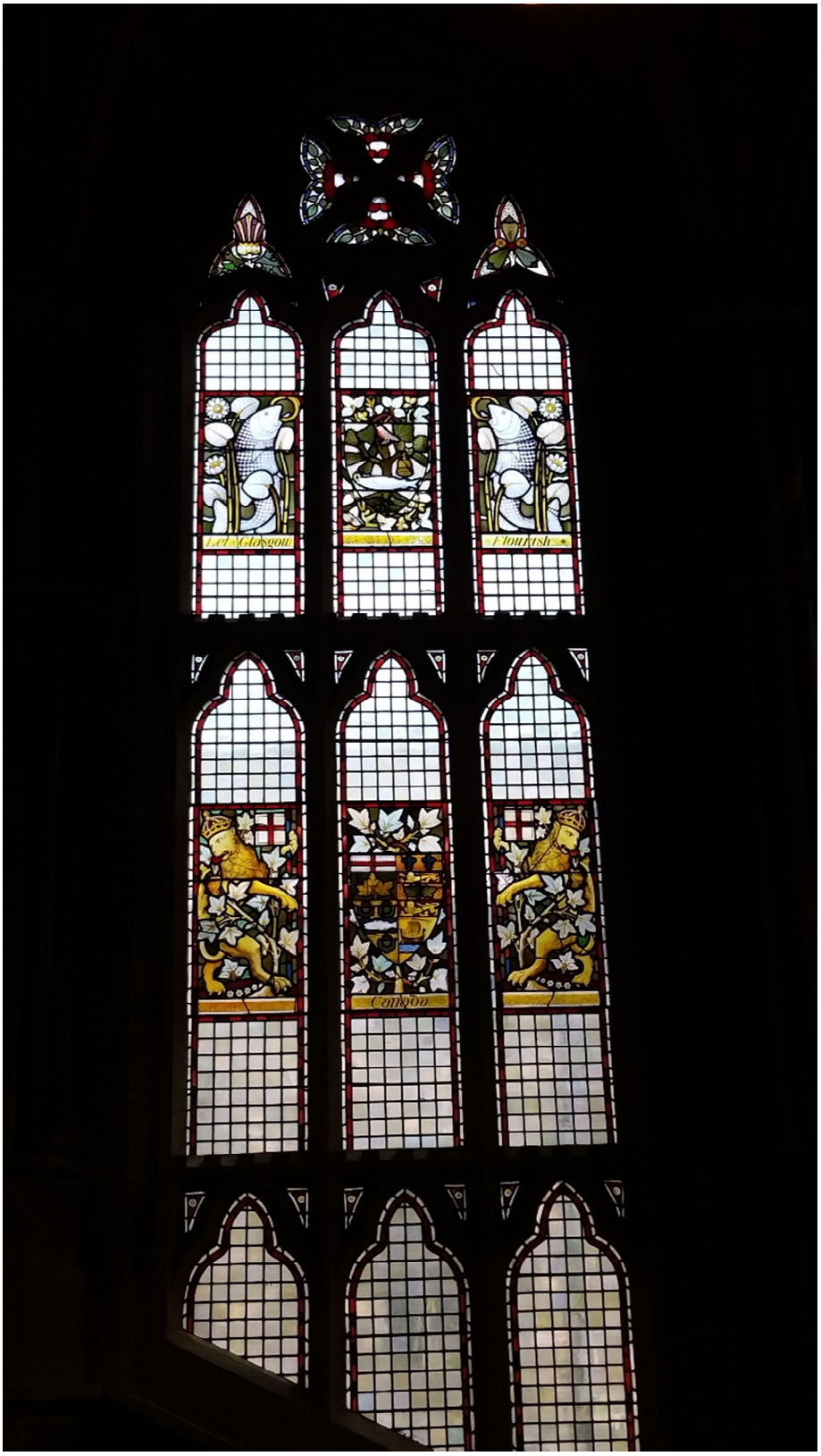


Fig. 105 . Heaton, Butler and Bayne, 1871. Rochdale Town Hall, staircase window, Glasgow and Canada

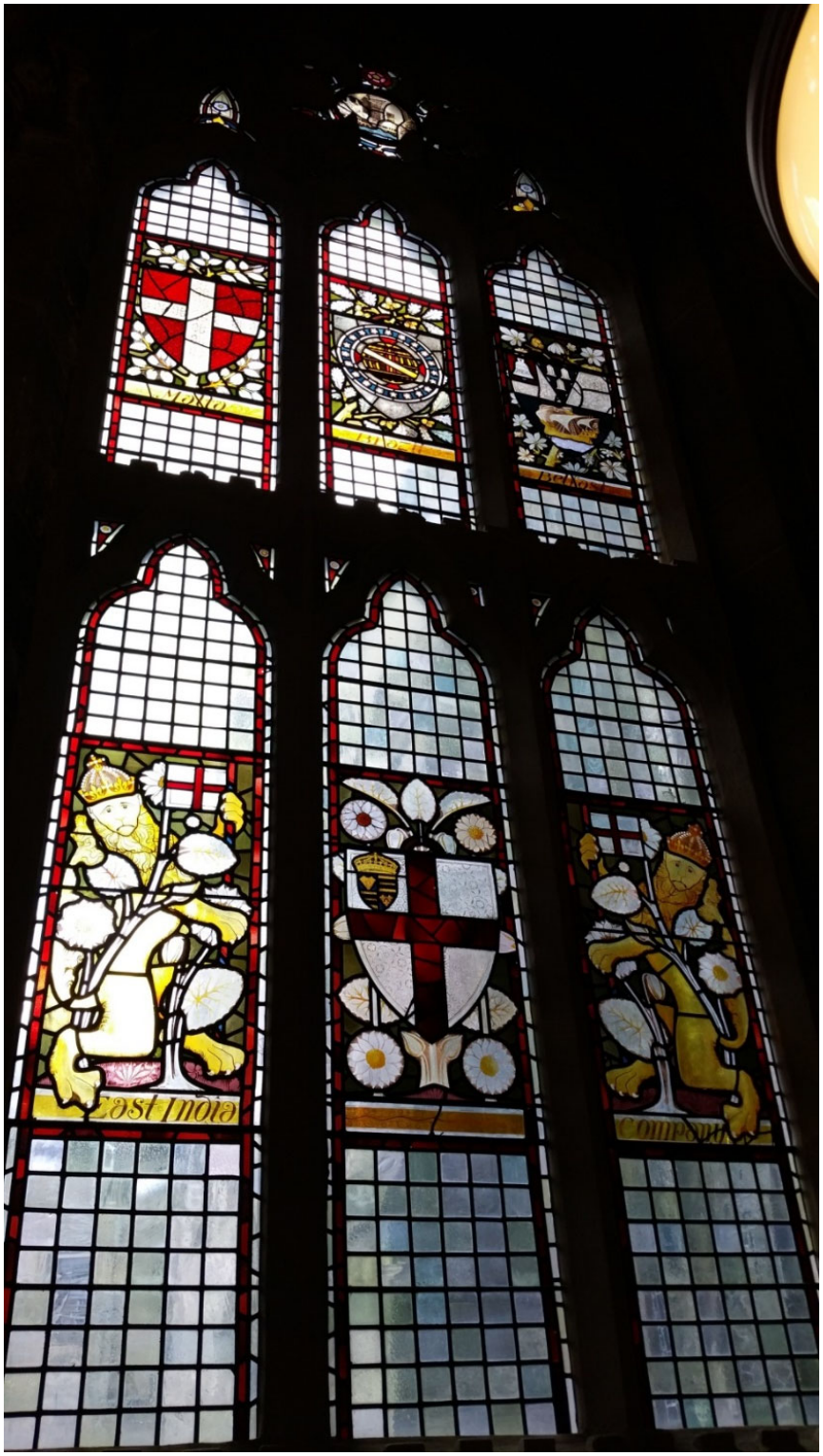


Fig. 106 . Heaton, Butler and Bayne, 1871. Rochdale Town Hall, staircase window. Malta, Brazil, Belfast, East India Company

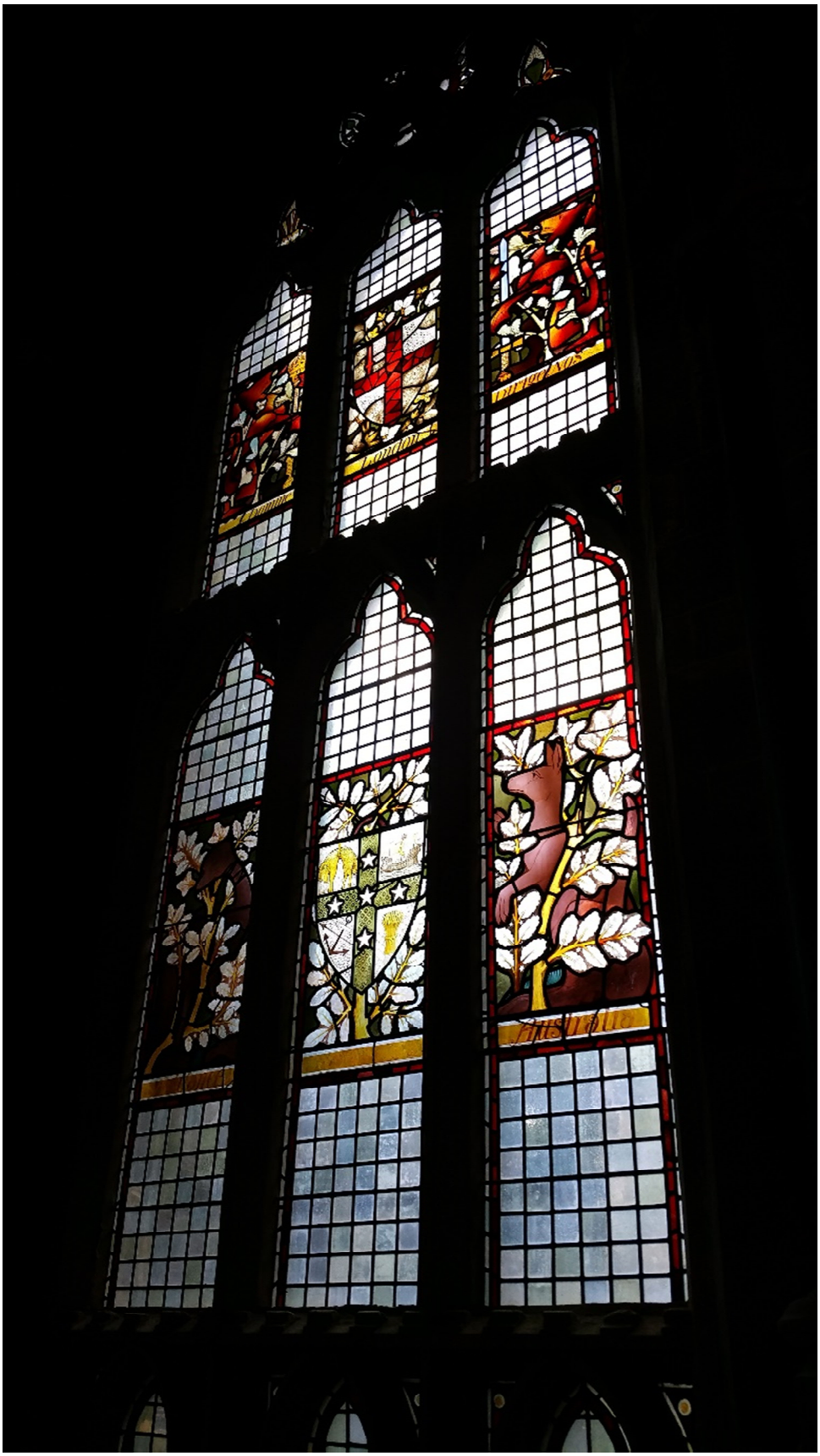


Fig. 107 . Heaton, Butler and Bayne, 1871. Rochdale Town Hall, staircase window. London and Australia.



Fig. 108 . Heaton, Butler and Bayne, 1871. Rochdale Town Hall, staircase window. Levant Merchants, United States, Trinity House, West India Merchants



Fig. 109 . Heaton, Butler and Bayne, 1871. Rochdale Town Hall, staircase window, coats of arms of Liverpool



Fig. 110 . Heaton, Butler and Bayne, 1871. Rochdale Town Hall, staircase window, coat of arms of Manchester



Fig. 111 . Heaton, Butler and Bayne, 1871. Rochdale Town Hall, staircase window, Rochdale coat of arms



Fig. 112. Heaton, Butler and Bayne, 1871. Rochdale Town Hall, staircase window, Blackburn coat of arms



Fig. 113. Heaton, Butler and Bayne, 1871. Rochdale Town Hall, staircase window, crest of Manchester coat of arms



Fig. 114. Heaton, Butler and Bayne, 1871. Rochdale Town Hall, staircase window, Barrow-in-Furness coat of arms



Fig. 115. Heaton, Butler and Bayne, 1871. Rochdale Town Hall, staircase window, Barrow-in-Furness coat of arms



Fig. 116. Heaton, Butler and Bayne, 1871. Rochdale Town Hall, staircase window, Bolton-le-Moors coat of arms



Fig. 117. Heaton, Butler and Bayne, 1871. Rochdale Town Hall, staircase window, Barrow-in-Furness coat of arms



Fig. 118. Heaton, Butler and Bayne, 1871. Rochdale Town Hall, staircase window, West India Merchants coat of arms

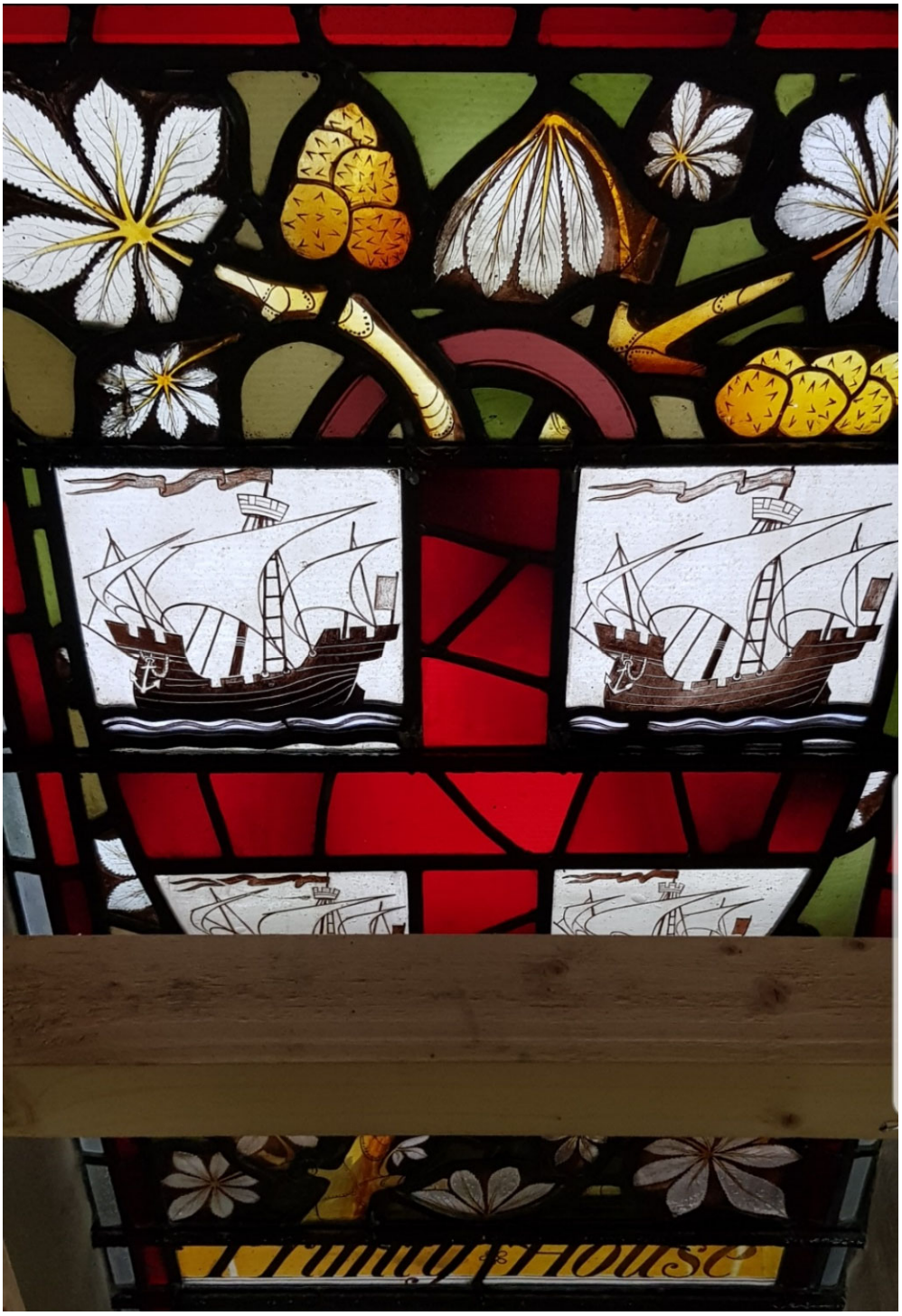


Fig. 119. Heaton, Butler and Bayne, 1871. Rochdale Town Hall, staircase window, Trinity House coat of arms



Fig. 120. Heaton, Butler and Bayne, 1871. Rochdale Town Hall, staircase window, Levant Merchants coat of arms



Fig. 121. Heaton, Butler and Bayne, 1871. Rochdale Town Hall, staircase window, Liverpool coat of arms



Fig. 122. Heaton, Butler and Bayne, 1871. Rochdale Town Hall, staircase window, Australia coat of arms. The sea is pained with blue grisaille paint.

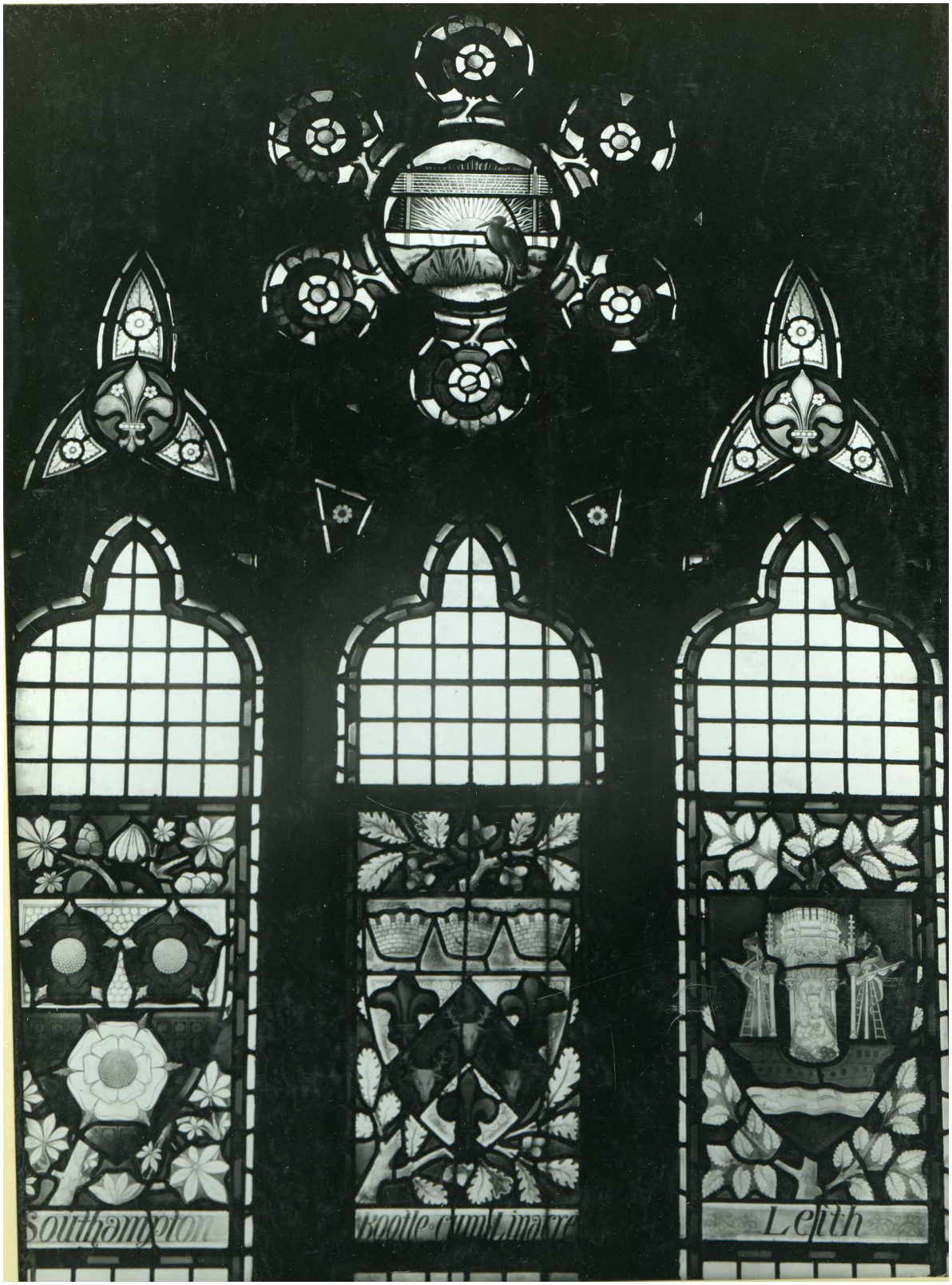


Fig. 123 . Heaton, Butler and Bayne, 1871. Rochdale Town Hall, staircase window, with tracery image representing the telegraph



Fig. 124 . Heaton, Butler and Bayne, 1871. Tracery window depicting the telegraph



Fig. 125 . Heaton, Butler and Bayne, 1871. Tracery depicting the railway



Fig. 126 . Heaton, Butler and Bayne, 1871. Tracery window depicting a sailing ship



Fig. 127 . Heaton, Butler and Bayne, 1871. Tracery window depicting the steamer



Fig. 128 . Heaton, Butler and Bayne, 1871. Exchange window depicting Greece, France, Belgium, Turkey, Russia and Portugal

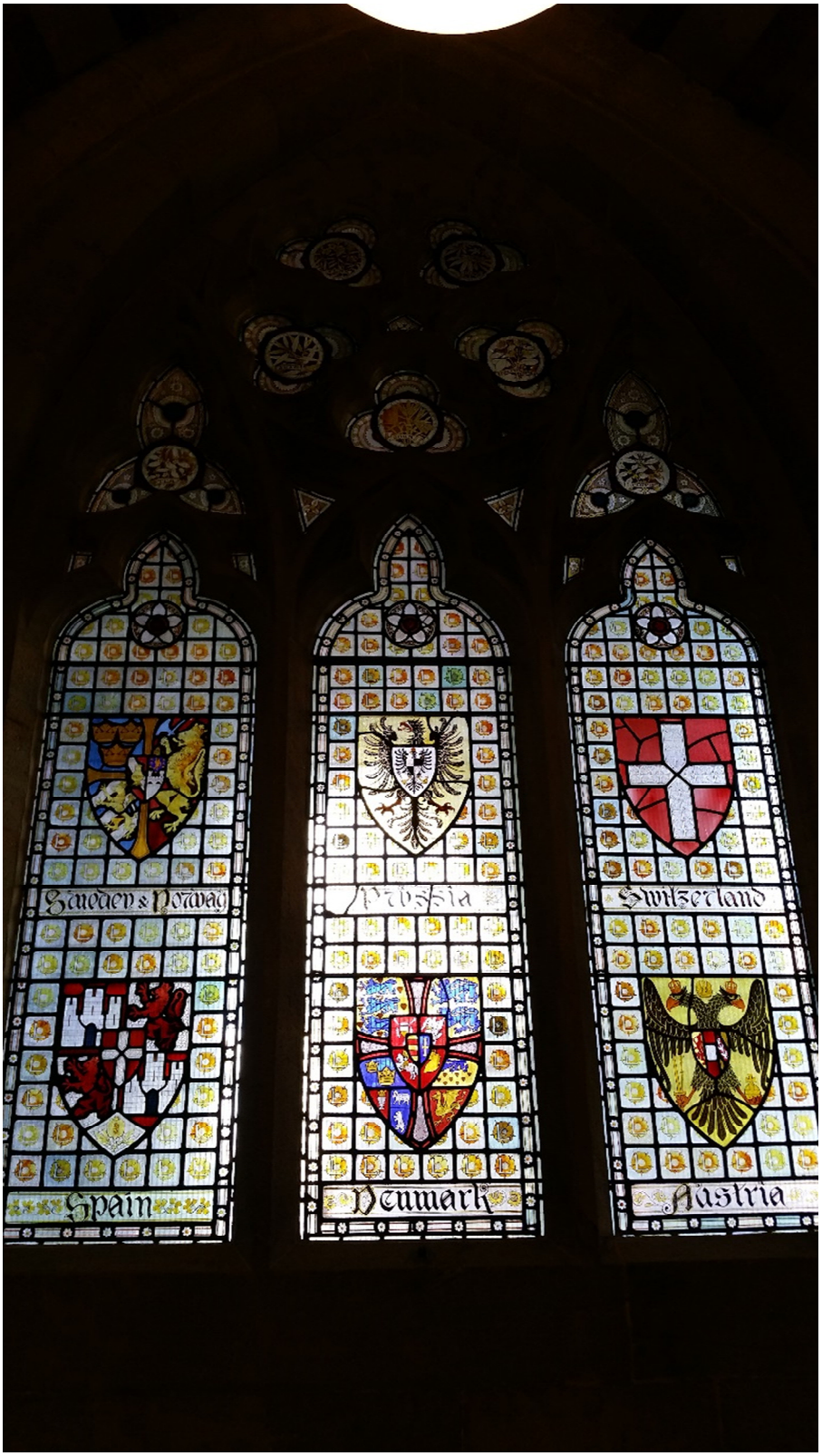


Fig. 129 . Heaton, Butler and Bayne, 1871. Exchange window depicting Sweden/Norway, Prussia, Switzerland, Spain, Denmark and Austria



Fig. 130 . Rochdale Town Hall. Exchange with Minton tiled floor

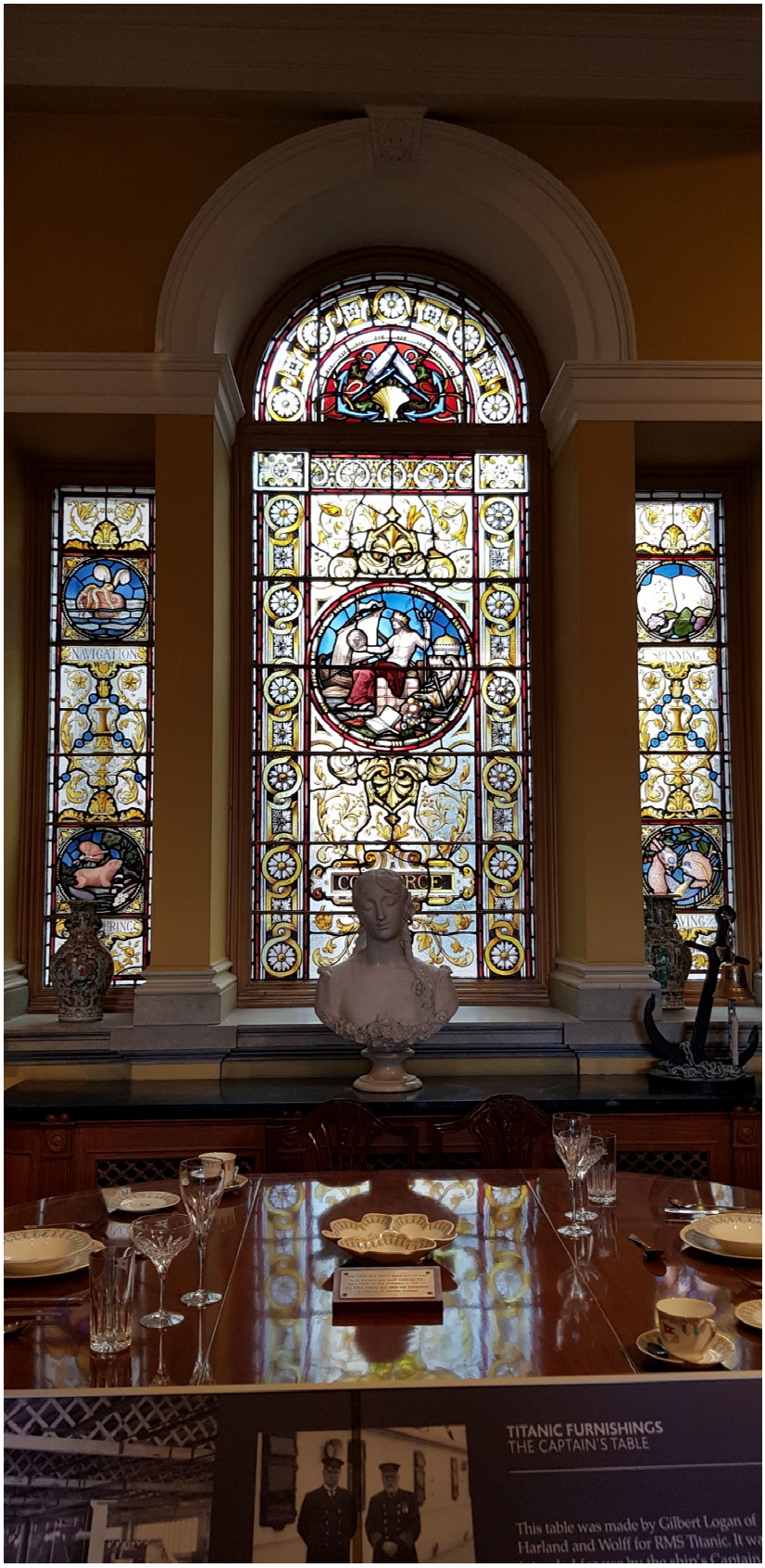


Fig. 131 . Heaton, Butler and Bayne, 1895. Commerce window, ground floor of Belfast Harbour Office



Fig. 132 . Heaton, Butler and Bayne, 1895. Navigation panel, Commerce window, Belfast Harbour Office

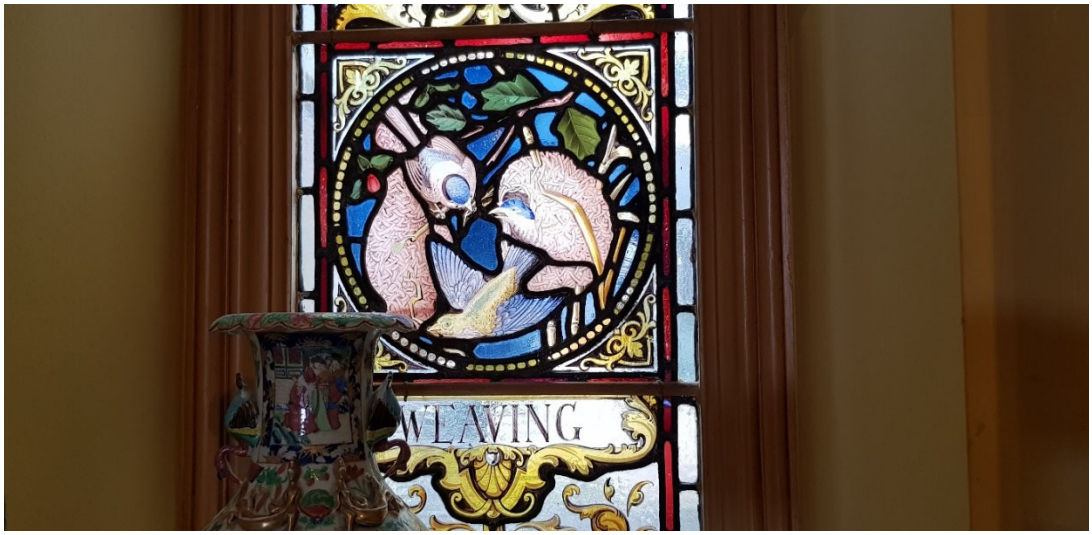


Fig. 133 . Heaton, Butler and Bayne, 1895. Weaving panel, Commerce window, Belfast Harbour Office



Fig. 134 . Heaton, Butler and Bayne, 1895. Commerce panel, Commerce window, Belfast Harbour Office



Fig. 135 . Heaton, Butler and Bayne, 1895. Spinning panel, Commerce window, Belfast Harbour Office



Fig. 136 . Heaton, Butler and Bayne, 1895. Engineering panel, Commerce window, Belfast Harbour Office



Fig. 137 . Owen Jones. The Grammar of Ornament. Renaisance designs



Fig. 138 . Owen Jones. The Grammar of Ornament. Italian designs



Fig. 139 . Heaton, Butler and Bayne, c.1880. Beavers in a Landscape. Design for a domestic window for the Hon. G. Stuart (source: Bayne, Simone. Heaton, Butler, Bayne: A Hundred Years of the Art of Stained Glass. 1988)

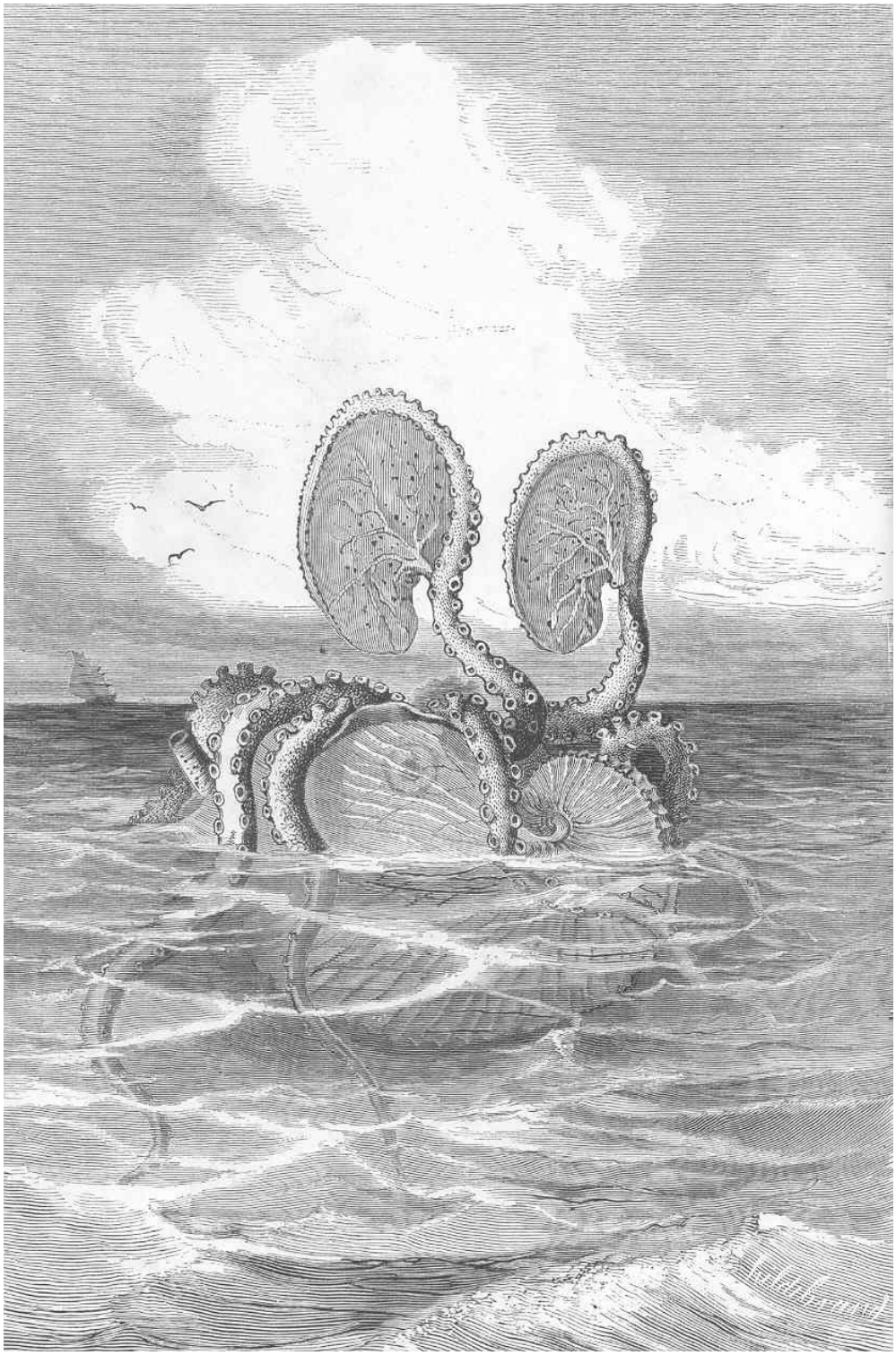


Fig. 140 . Charles Bevalet. ‘Argonaut sitting in the open sea’ in Louis Fibuier. Ocean World: Being a Descriptive History of the Sea and its Living Inhabitants. (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1868).



Fig. 141 . A.W.N. Pugin. ‘A Catholic town in 1440’ in Contrasts; or, a parallel between the noble edifices of the middle ages, and corresponding buildings of the present day. 2nd edition., Edinburgh, Grant, 1898



Fig. 142 . William Cowen. View of Bradford. Oil on canvas, 1849, H 71 x W 141.5 cm. Cartwright Hall Art Gallery (source: artuk.org)



Fig. 143 . William Wilde. A View of Manchester from Kersal Moor. Oil on canvas (source: chartistcollins.com)



Photo by Marcroft. **AN HISTORICAL STAINED GLASS WINDOW.**

The principal staircase of the Town Hall is lighted by a large stained glass window, containing allegorical figures representing art, science, industry, commerce, spinning, and mechanism. They include those of Hugh Oldham, Bishop of Exeter and founder of Manchester Grammar School; Sir Ralph Langley, who rebuilt the Parish Church in 1475; Dr. Lawrence Chadderton, who took an active part in the Reformation, and was the first master of Emmanuel College; James Assheton, who founded the Oldham Grammar School in 1611; John Lndworth, who became Lord of the Manor in the reign of King John; and Sir Watts Horton, High Sheriff in 1774.

Fig. 144 . Stained glass window at Oldham Town Hall, previously on the staircase and now in storage at Oldham Gallery. Image courtesy of Sean Baggaley



Fig. 145 . H.G. Hiller, Leigh Town Hall, Council Chamber, 1908. Trades and Commerce window



Fig. 146 . H.G. Hiller, Leigh Town Hall, Council Chamber, 1908. Trades and Commerce window

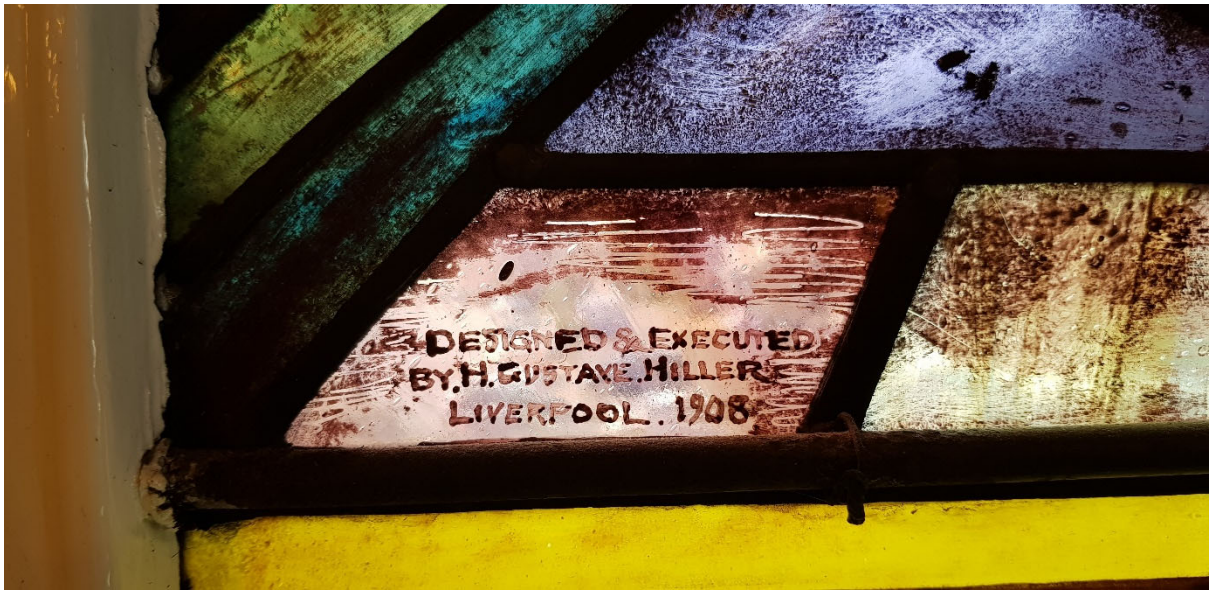


Fig. 147 . H.G. Hiller, Leigh Town Hall, Council Chamber, 1908. Signature of H.G. Hiller



Fig. 148 . H.G. Hiller, Leigh Town Hall, Council Chamber, 1908. Commerce, Education



Fig. 149 . H.G. Hiller, Leigh Town Hall, Council Chamber, 1908. Weaving

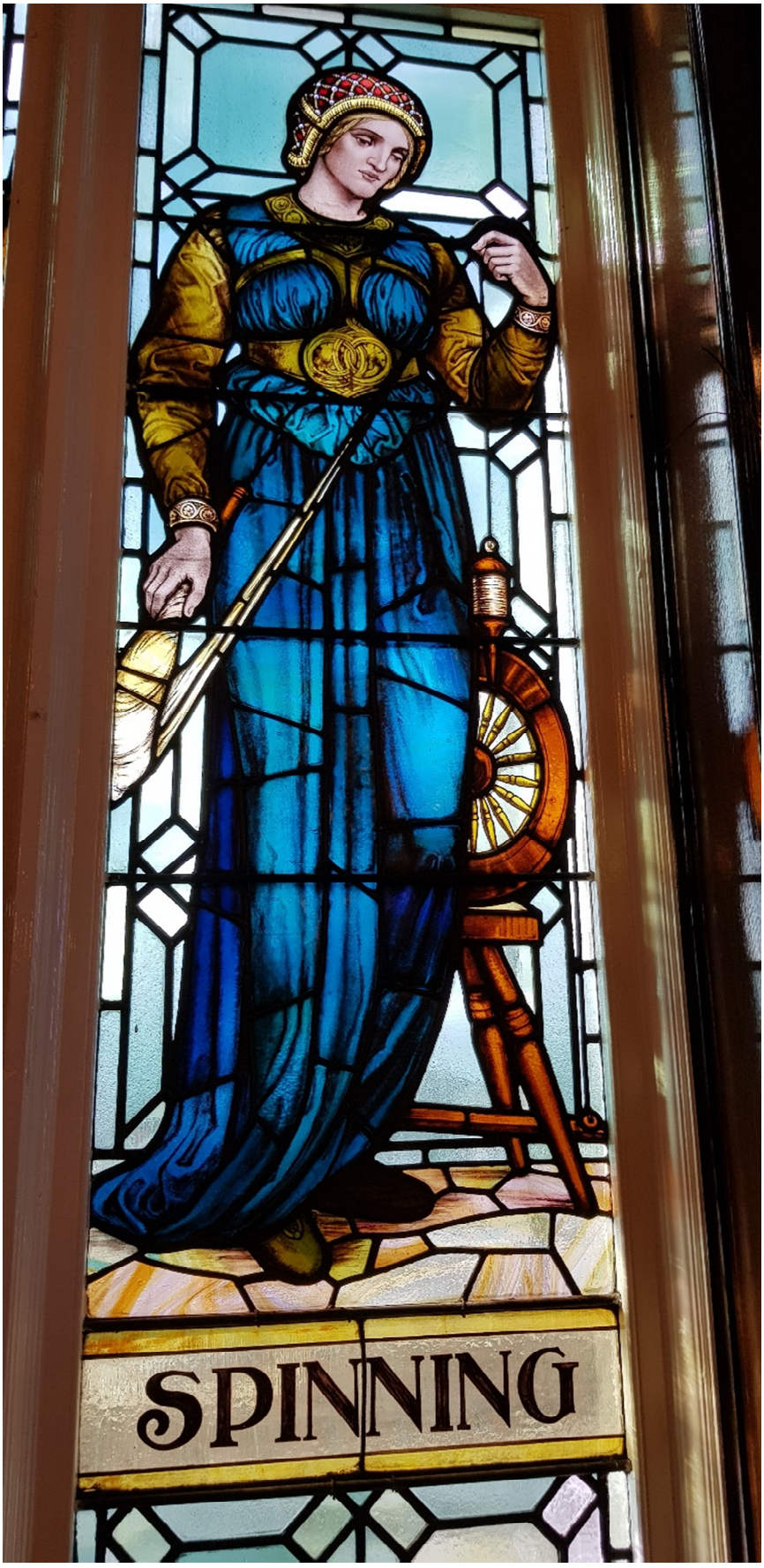


Fig. 150 . H.G. Hiller, Leigh Town Hall, Council Chamber, 1908. Spinning.



Fig. 151 . H.G. Hiller, Leigh Town Hall, Council Chamber, 1908. Engineering, Mining



Fig. 152 . W.J. Pearce, Bury Art Gallery and Museum, 1901. Staircase window, showing cotton plants



Fig. 153 . W.J. Pearce, Bury Art Gallery and Museum, 1901. Detail of cotton plant

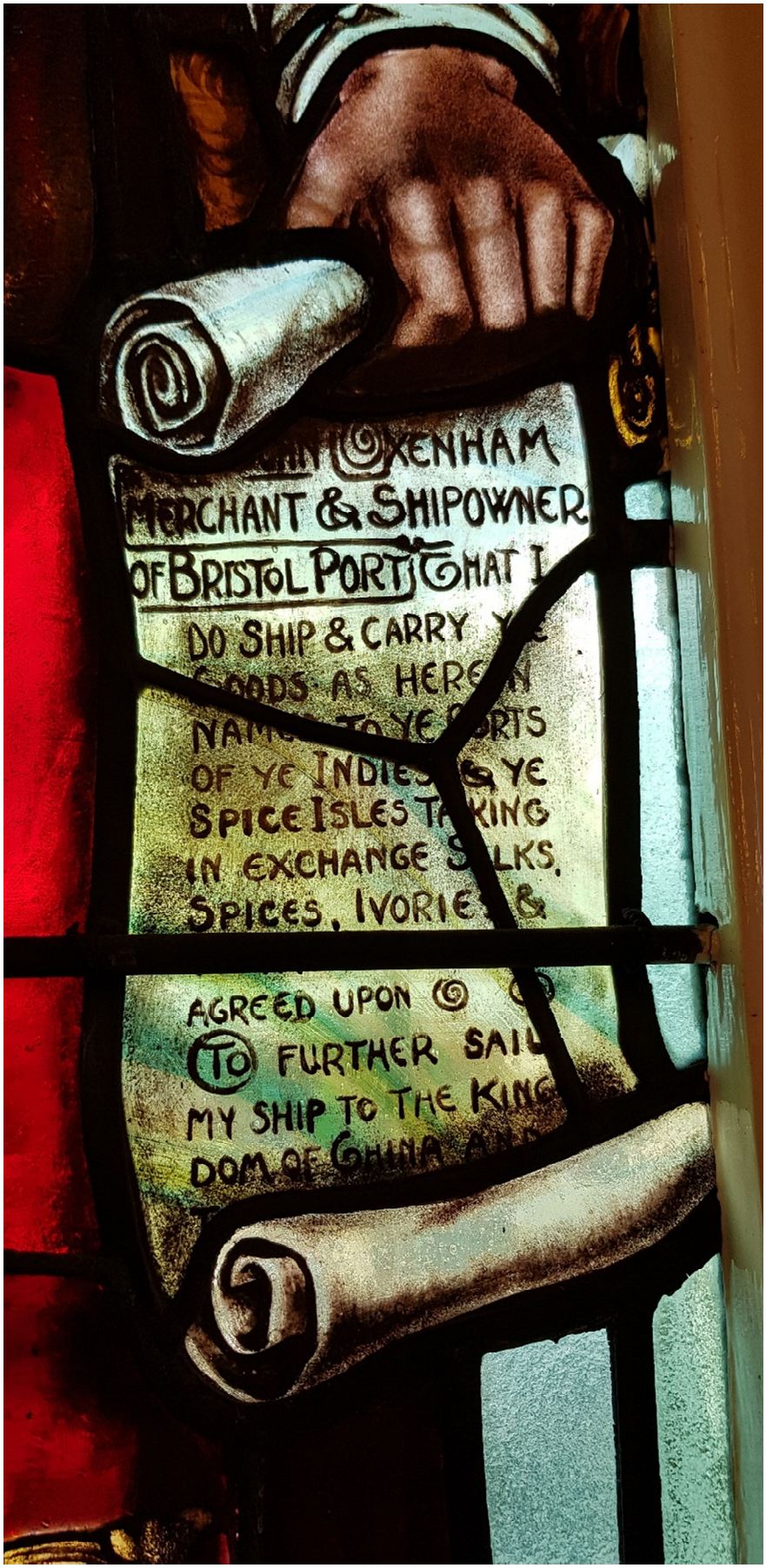


Fig. 154 . H.G. Hiller, Leigh Town Hall, Council Chamber, 1908. Scroll from commerce panel



Fig. 155 . Ford Madox Brown, Work. Oil on canvas, 137 cm × 198 cm (53.9 in × 77.9 in), 1852-65. Manchester Art Gallery



Fig. 156 . William Bell Scott. In the nineteenth century the Northumbrians show the world what can be done with iron and coal. Oil on canvas, H 185.5 x W 185.5 cm, 1861. Wallington, Northumbria. Courtesy Wallington, the National Trust



Fig. 157 Lewis Hine, The Steamfitter. Gelatin silver print, 42.1 x 30.9 cm (16 9/16 x 12 3/16 inches), 1921 (source: metmuseum.org)

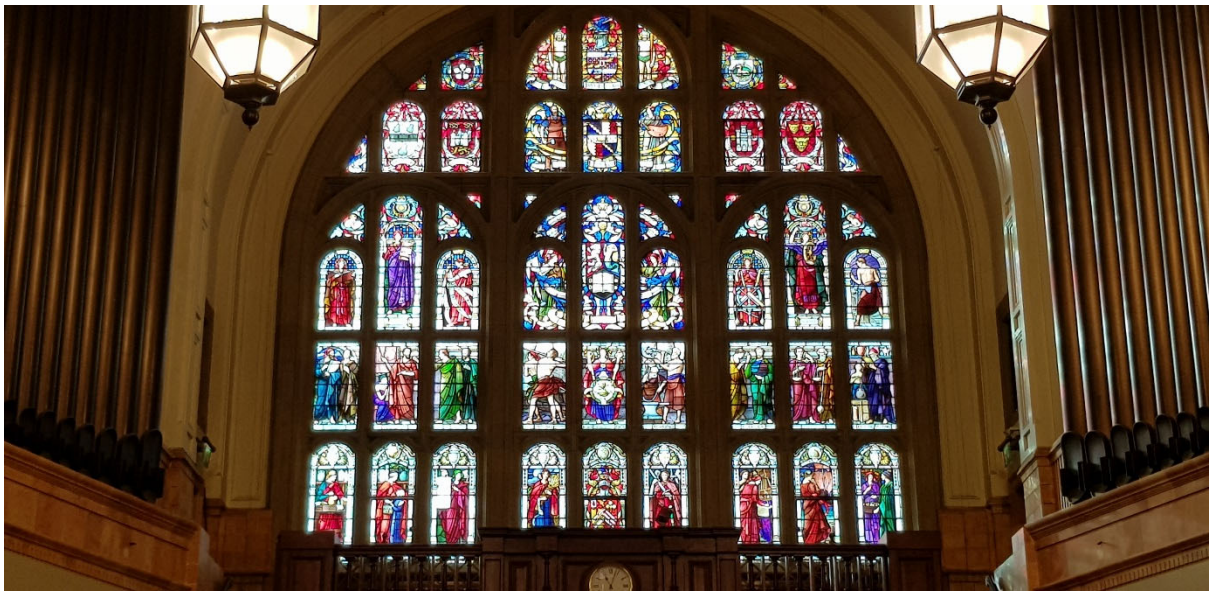


Fig. 158 . T.R. Spence, Birmingham University, Great Hall, 1908

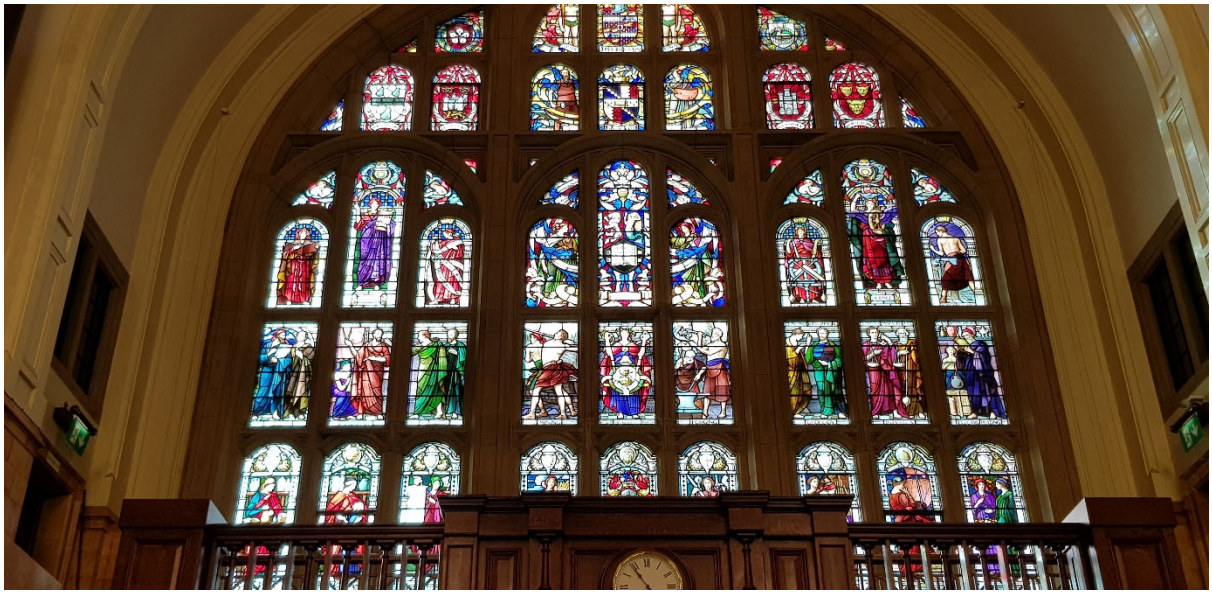


Fig. 159 . T.R. Spence, Birmingham University, Great Hall, 1908

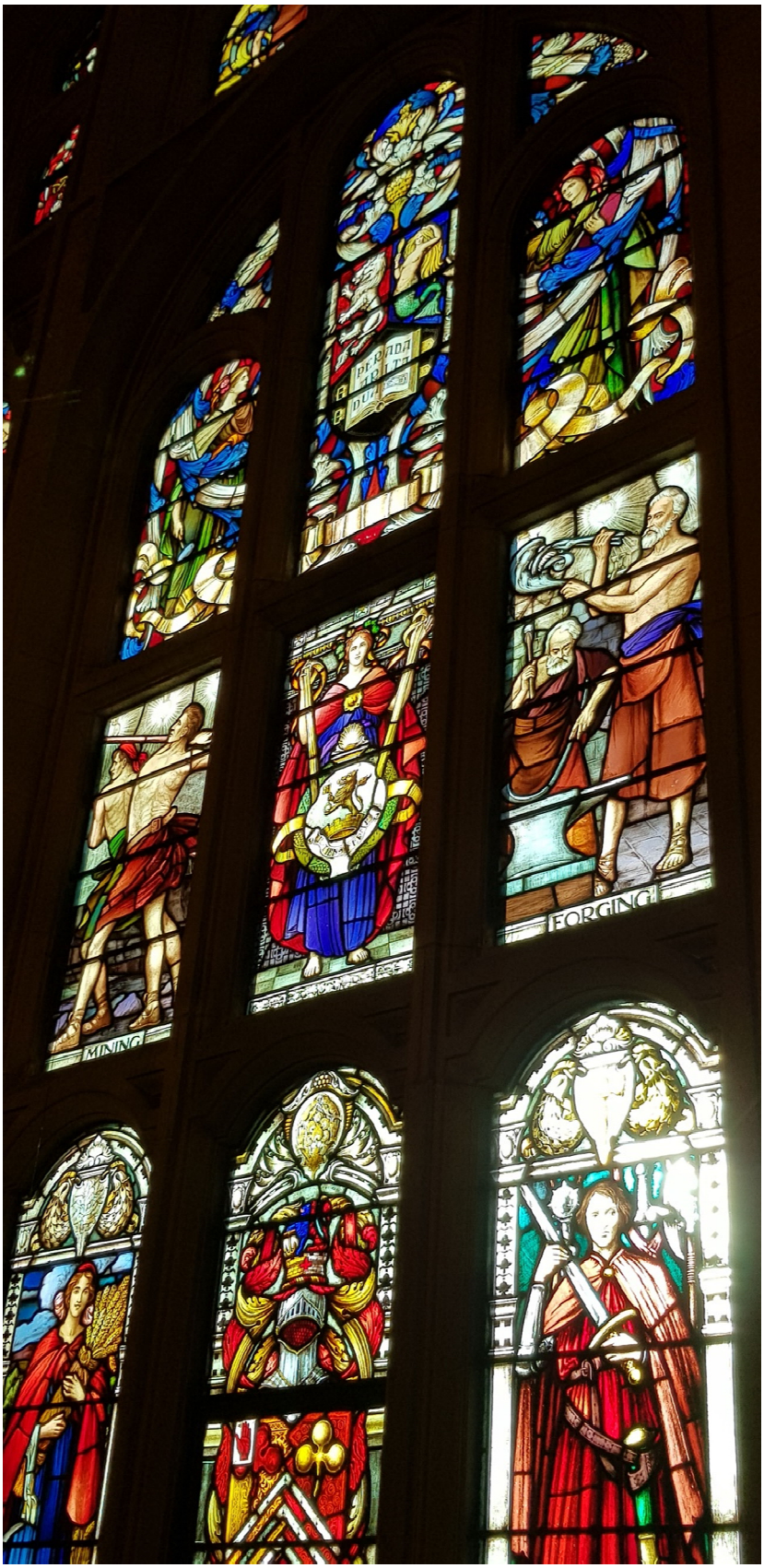


Fig. 160 . T.R. Spence, Birmingham University, Great Hall, 1908



Fig. 161 . T.R. Spence, Birmingham University, Great Hall, 1908. Geology



Fig. 162 . T.R. Spence, Birmingham University, Great Hall, 1908. Mining



Fig. 163 . T.R. Spence, Birmingham University, Great Hall, 1908. Records, Commerce, Barter



Fig. 164 . T.R. Spence, Birmingham University, Great Hall, 1908



Fig. 165 . T.R. Spence, Birmingham University, Great Hall, 1908. Medicine, Healing, Surgery



Fig. 166 . T.R. Spence, Birmingham University, Great Hall, 1908. Geometry



Fig. 167 . T.R. Spence, Birmingham University, Great Hall, 1908. Geology, Physics

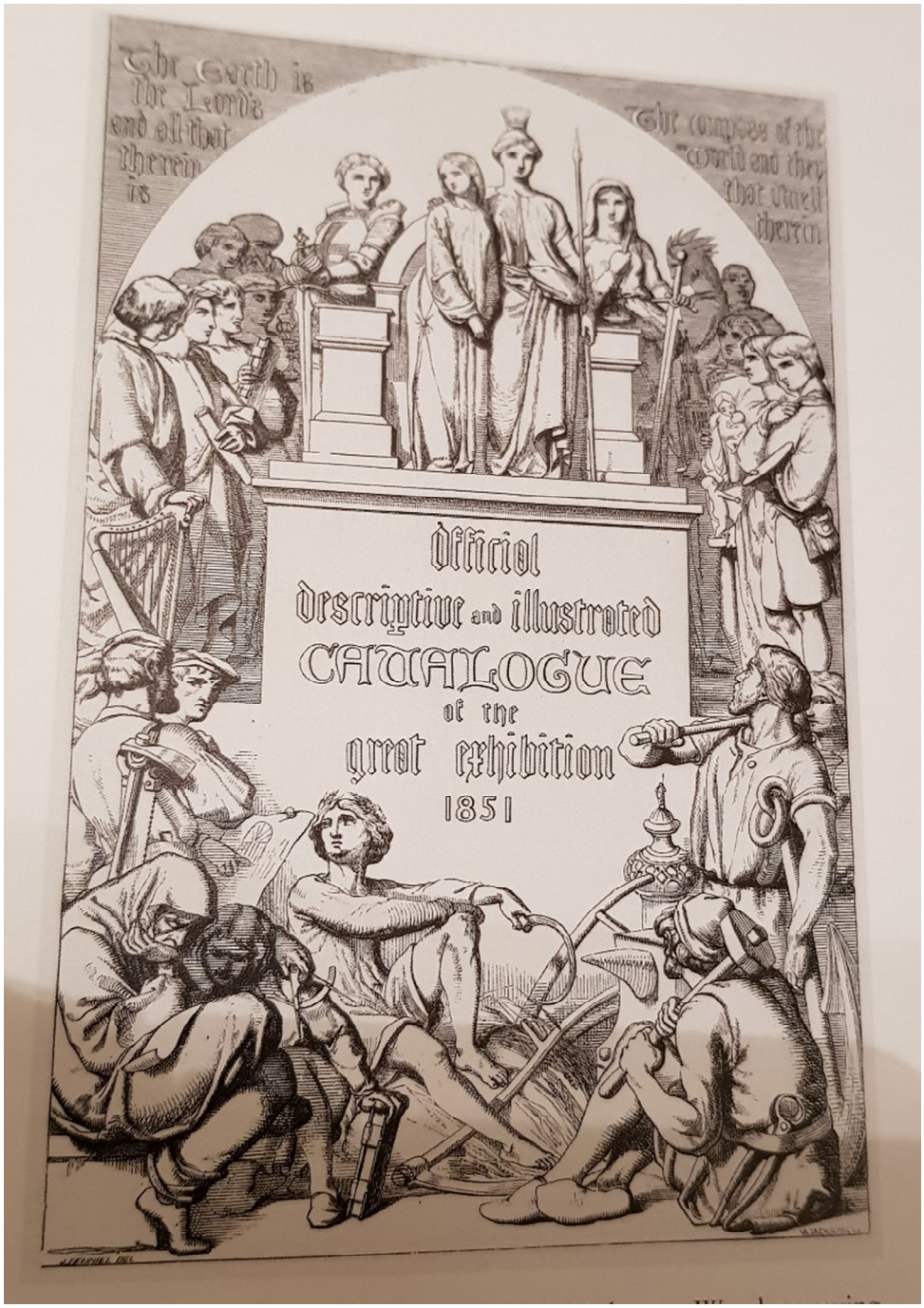


Fig. 168 . Mason Jackson after John Tenniel. Wood engraving from Robert Ellis, ed., Official Descriptive and Illustrated Catalogie of the Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry and All Natins, 1851, 3 vols. (London: Spicer Brothers, 1851). Yale Center for Brit



Fig. 169 . Daniel Cottier, Roanhead stained glass window, c.1890



Fig. 170 . Daniel Cottier, Roanhead stained glass window, c.1890

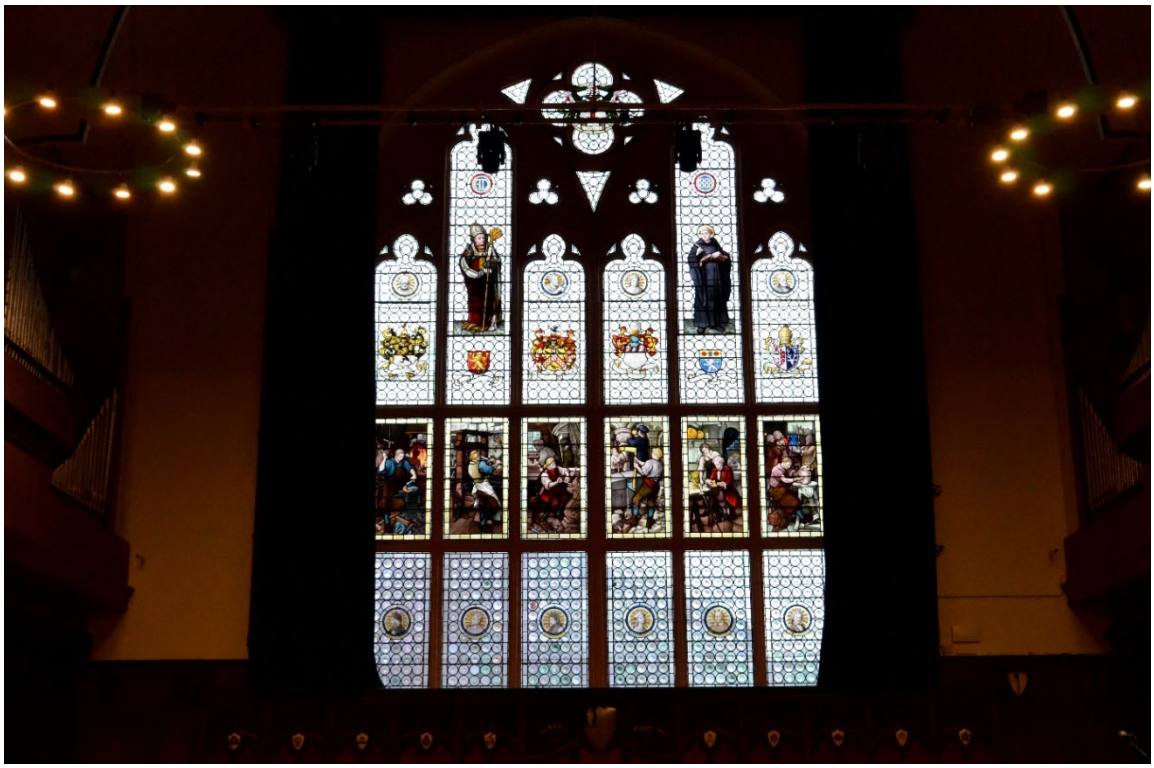


Fig. 171 . Lavers, Barraud and Westlake, St Dunstan’s College window, great hall window, 1888



Fig. 172 . Lavers, Barraud and Westlake, St Dunstan’s College window, great hall window, 1888

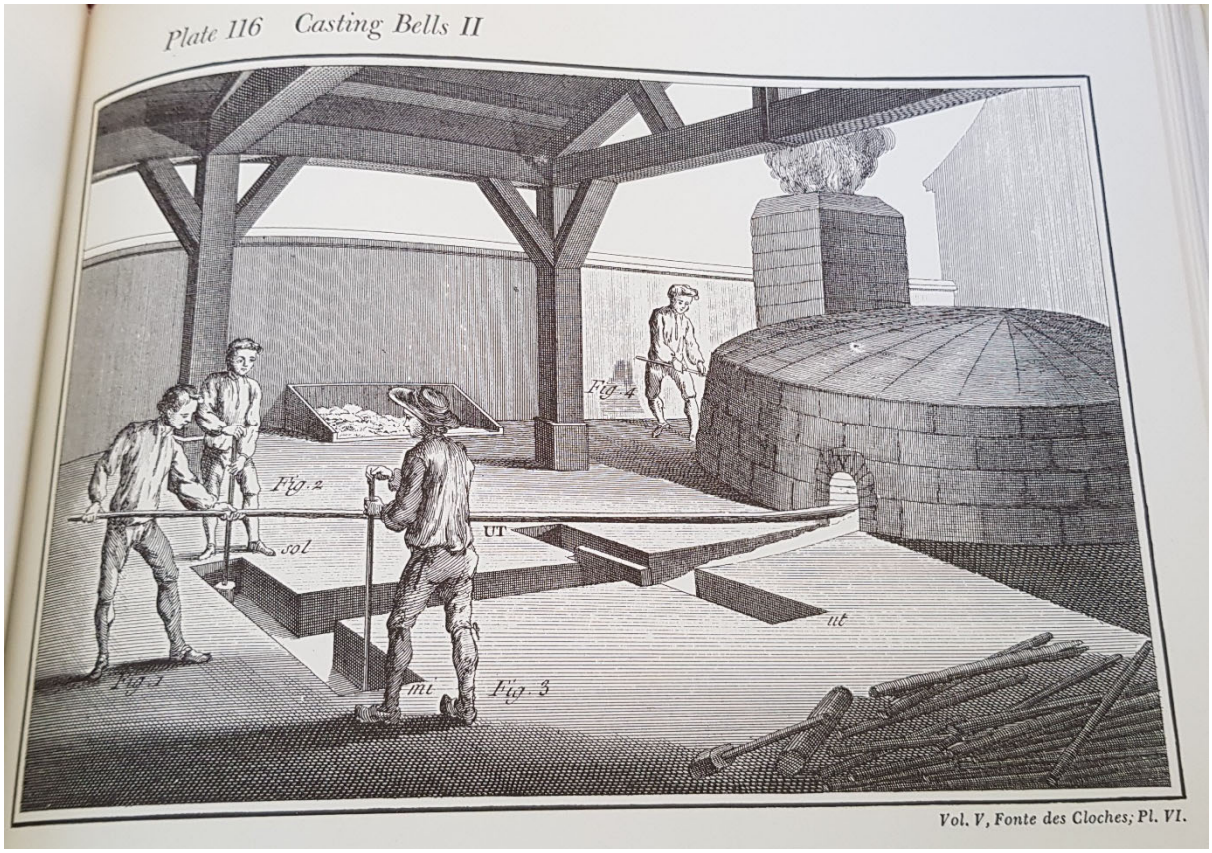


Fig. 173 . Casting Bells in Denis Diderot and Charles Coulston Gillespie. A Diderot Pictorial Encyclopedia of Trades and Industry. In Two Volumes. New York: Dover Publications, 1959

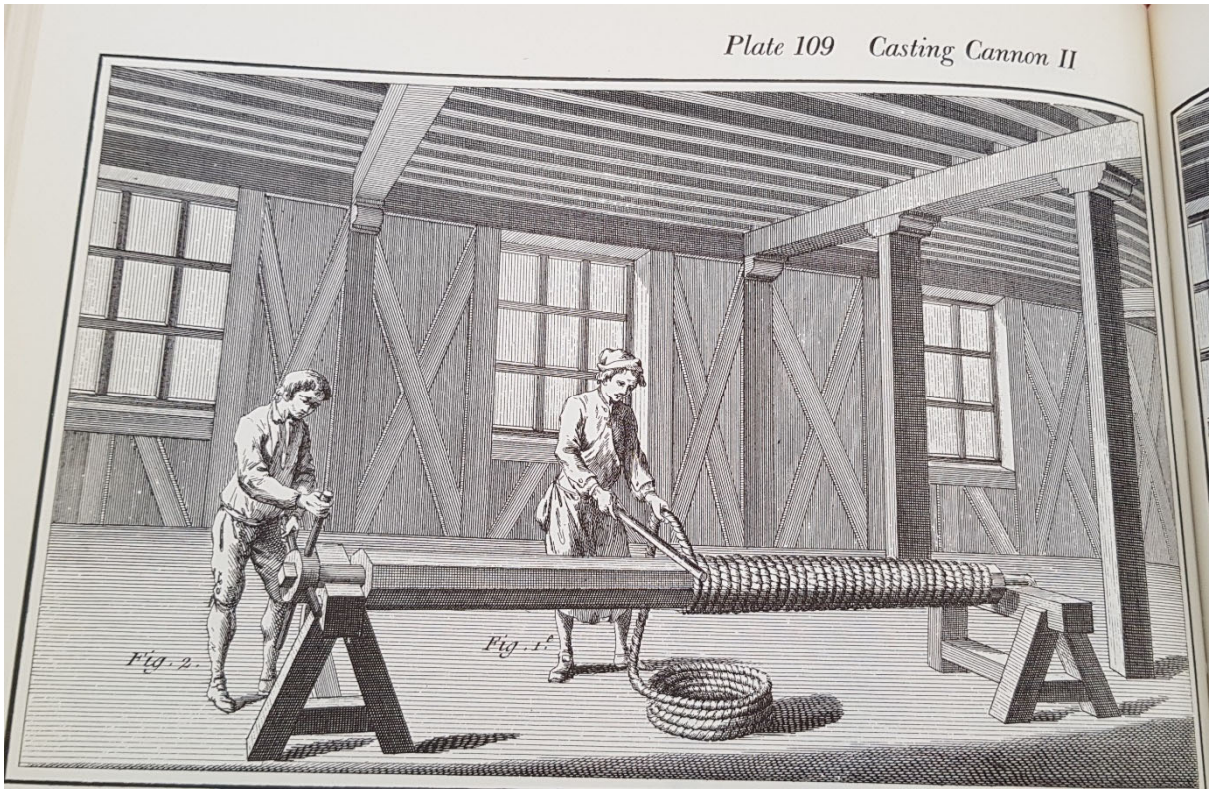


Fig. 174 . Casting Cannon in Denis Diderot and Charles Coulston Gillespie. A Diderot Pictorial Encyclopedia of Trades and Industry. In Two Volumes. New York: Dover Publications, 1959



Fig. 175 . Maryhill Burgh Halls, Main Hall, Glasgow, showing ten panels in-situ after being re-installed in 2012



Fig. 176 . Adam and Small, Mary Hill Burgh Halls, Glasgow, 1878. The Linen Bleachers



Fig. 177 . Adam and Small, Mary Hill Burgh Halls, Glasgow, 1878. The Wheelwrights



Fig. 178 . Adam and Small, Mary Hill Burgh Halls, Glasgow, 1878. The Papermaker



Fig. 179 . Adam and Small, Mary Hill Burgh Halls, Glasgow, 1878. The Boatbuilder



Fig. 180 . Adam and Small, Mary Hill Burgh Halls, Glasgow, 1878. The Calico Printers



Fig. 181 . Adam and Small, Mary Hill Burgh Halls, Glasgow, 1878. The Teacher



Fig. 182 . Adam and Small, Mary Hill Burgh Halls, Glasgow, 1878. The Glassblower



Fig. 183 . Adam and Small, Mary Hill Burgh Halls, Glasgow, 1878. The Canal Boatman



Fig. 184 . Adam and Small, Mary Hill Burgh Halls, Glasgow, 1878. The Chemical Workers



Fig. 185 . Adam and Small, Mary Hill Burgh Halls, Glasgow, 1878. The Blacksmiths



Fig. 186 . Adam and Small, Mary Hill Burgh Halls, Glasgow, 1878. The Soldiers



Fig. 187 . Adam and Small, Mary Hill Burgh Halls, Glasgow, 1878. The Railwaymen

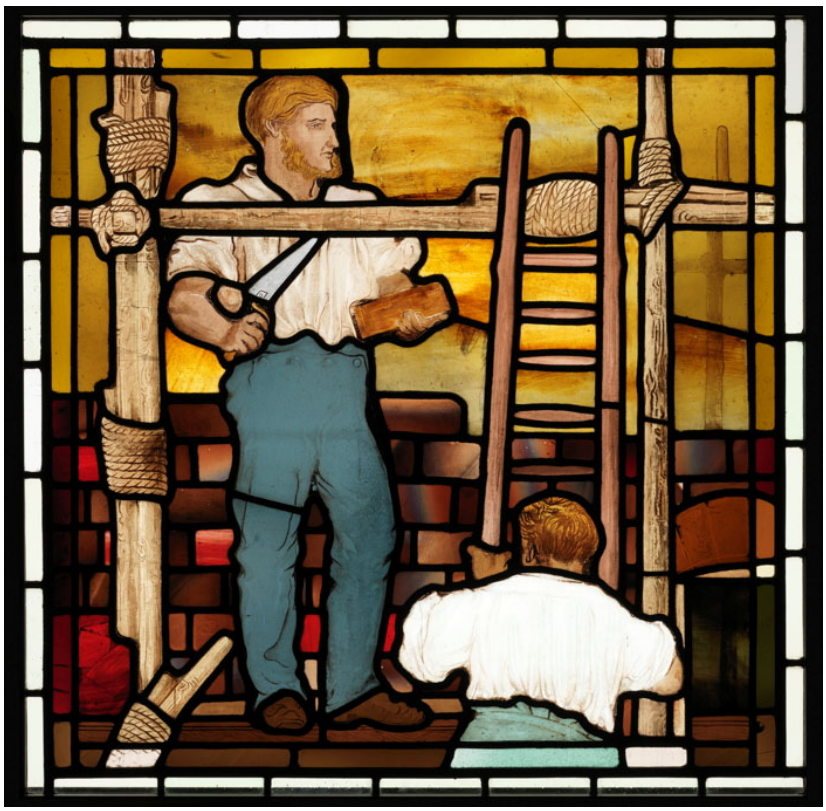


Fig. 188 . Adam and Small, Mary Hill Burgh Halls, Glasgow, 1878. The Bricklayers



Fig. 189 . Adam and Small, Mary Hill Burgh Halls, Glasgow, 1878. The Gasworker



Fig. 190 . Adam and Small, Mary Hill Burgh Halls, Glasgow, 1878. The Sawyer



Fig. 191 . Adam and Small, Mary Hill Burgh Halls, Glasgow, 1878. The Joiners



Fig. 192 . Adam and Small, Mary Hill Burgh Halls, Glasgow, 1878. The Iron Moulders



Fig. 193 . Adam and Small, Mary Hill Burgh Halls, Glasgow, 1878. The Engineers



Fig. 194 . Adam and Small, Mary Hill Burgh Halls, Glasgow, 1878. The Zinc Spelters



Fig. 195 . Adam and Small, Mary Hill Burgh Halls, Glasgow, 1878. The Dye Press Workers

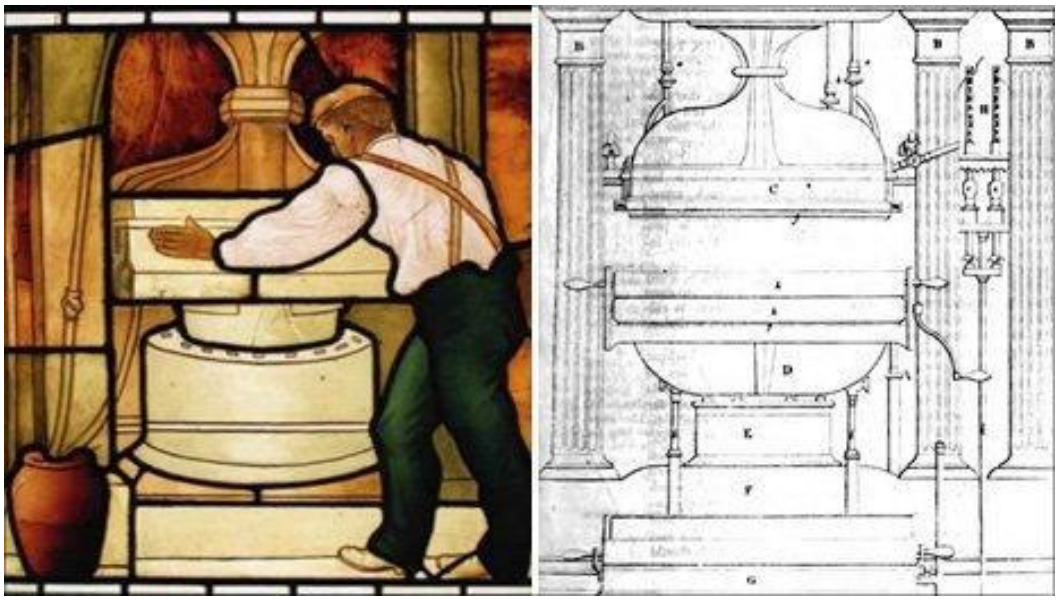


Fig. 196 . The Dye Press worker panel and diagram of original machinery. (source: bbc.co.uk)



Fig. 197 . Stephen Adam. The Hammerman, Aberdeen Trinity Hall, 1893



Fig. 198 . Stephen Adam. Clyde Navigation Trust building, 1905-1908. Commerce panels



Fig. 199 . Stephen Adam. Clyde Navigation Trust building, 1905-1908. Shipbuilding panels



Fig. 200 . Stephen Adam. Clyde Navigation Trust building, 1905-1908. Engineering panel



Fig. 201 . Stephen Adam. Clyde Navigation Trust building, 1905-1908. Engineering panel, Clyde Navigation Trust building



Fig. 202 . Oscar Paterson, front door panels, 12 University Gardens, Glasgow, 1900



Fig. 203. Morris & Co., 1862. The Annunciation, south window of chancel in G.F. Bodley's All Saints, Selsley, Gloucestershire (source: victorianweb.org)

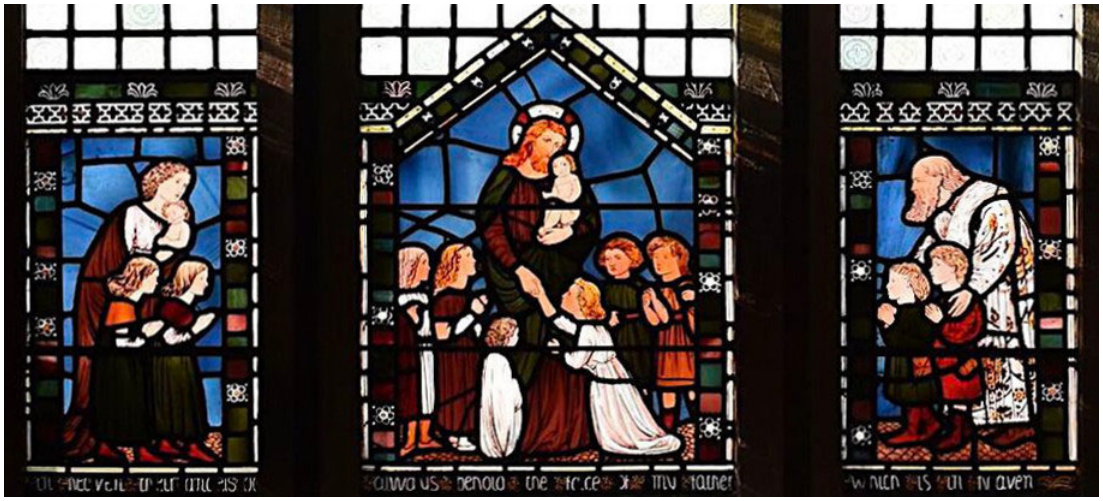


Fig. 204 Morris & Co., 1862. Christ with the Children, in the nave of chancel in G.F. Bodley's All Saints, Selsley, Gloucestershire (source: victorianweb.org)



Fig. 205 . A.W.N. Pugin window, St Mary's, Oxford, 1843. Made with William Wailes. Male figure in bottom left wearing frock-coat.



Fig. 206 . A.W.N. Pugin window, St Mary's, Oxford, 1848. Made with Hardman. Bottom right panel depicts a female figure wearing crinoline



Fig. 207 . Detail of A.W.N. Pugin window, St Mary's, Oxford, 1848. Made with Hardman. Showing female figure wearing crinoline



Fig. 208 . Cardiff Coal Exchange, 'Ye Olde Order' panel, bar area, c.1905



Fig. 209 . ‘Changeth’ panel, Cardiff Coal Exchange, bar area, c.1905



Fig. 210 . Manors Power Station by Benjamin Simpson, Newcastle, 1902



Fig. 211 . Manors Power Station, stained glass window in original entranceway, 1902, showing glass reflected in the tile work



Fig. 212 . Manors Power Station, stained glass, detail of Hermes



Fig. 213 . Manors Power Station. Detail of decorative tile work with sea horse creatures continuously running along the upper sections



Fig. 214 . Manors Power Station. Stained glass window, detail of 1878 tram



Fig. 215 . Manors Power Station, stained glass window, detail of 1902 tram

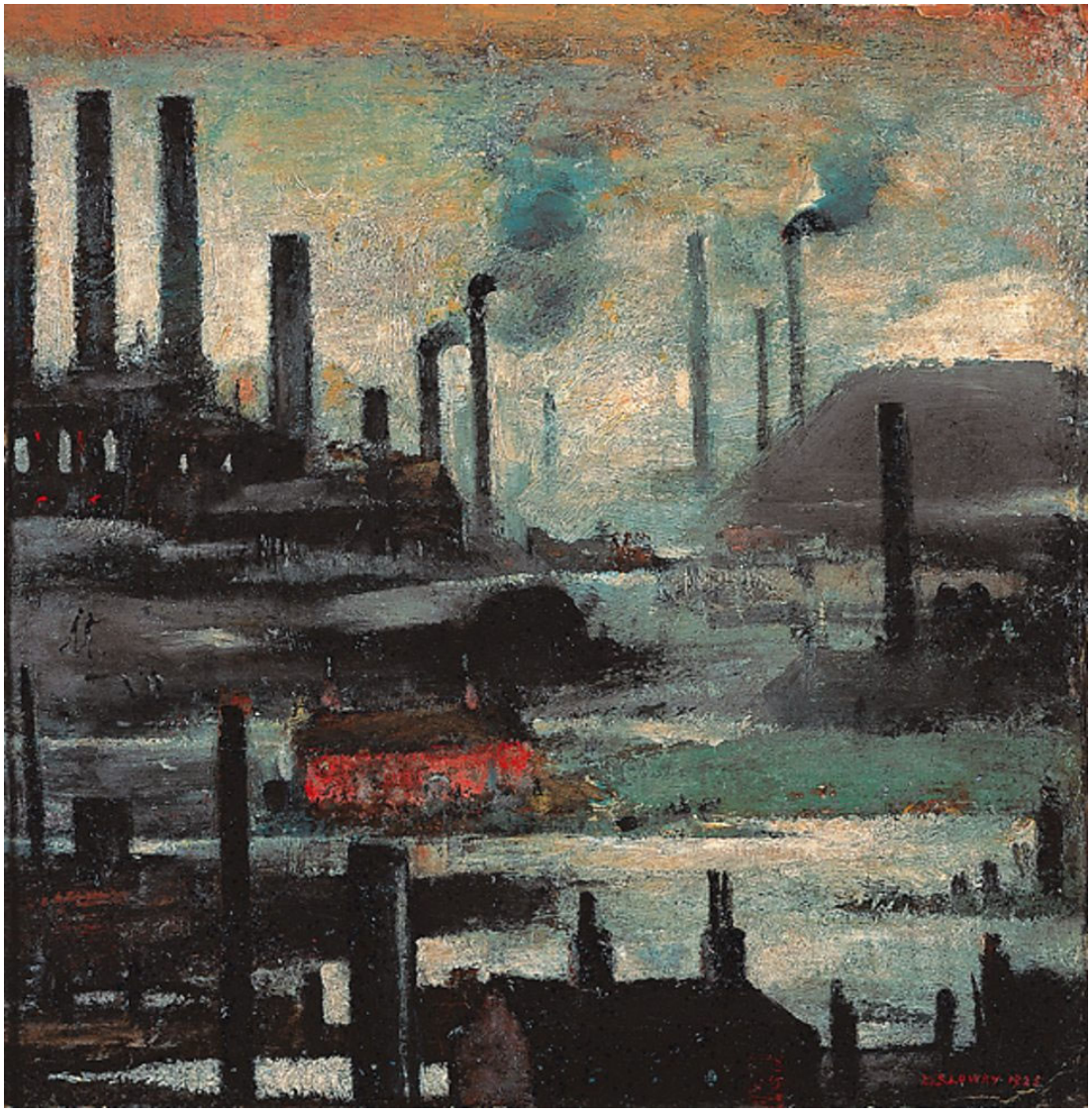


Fig. 216 . L.S. Lowry. Industrial landscape, Wigan (1925) (source: bbc.co.uk)



Fig. 217 . L.S. Lowry. River scene (Industrial Landscape) 1935 (source: tate.org.uk)



Fig. 218 . Exterior of the Crown Posada public house, 1880 refurbishment by William Lister Newcombe. Newcastle

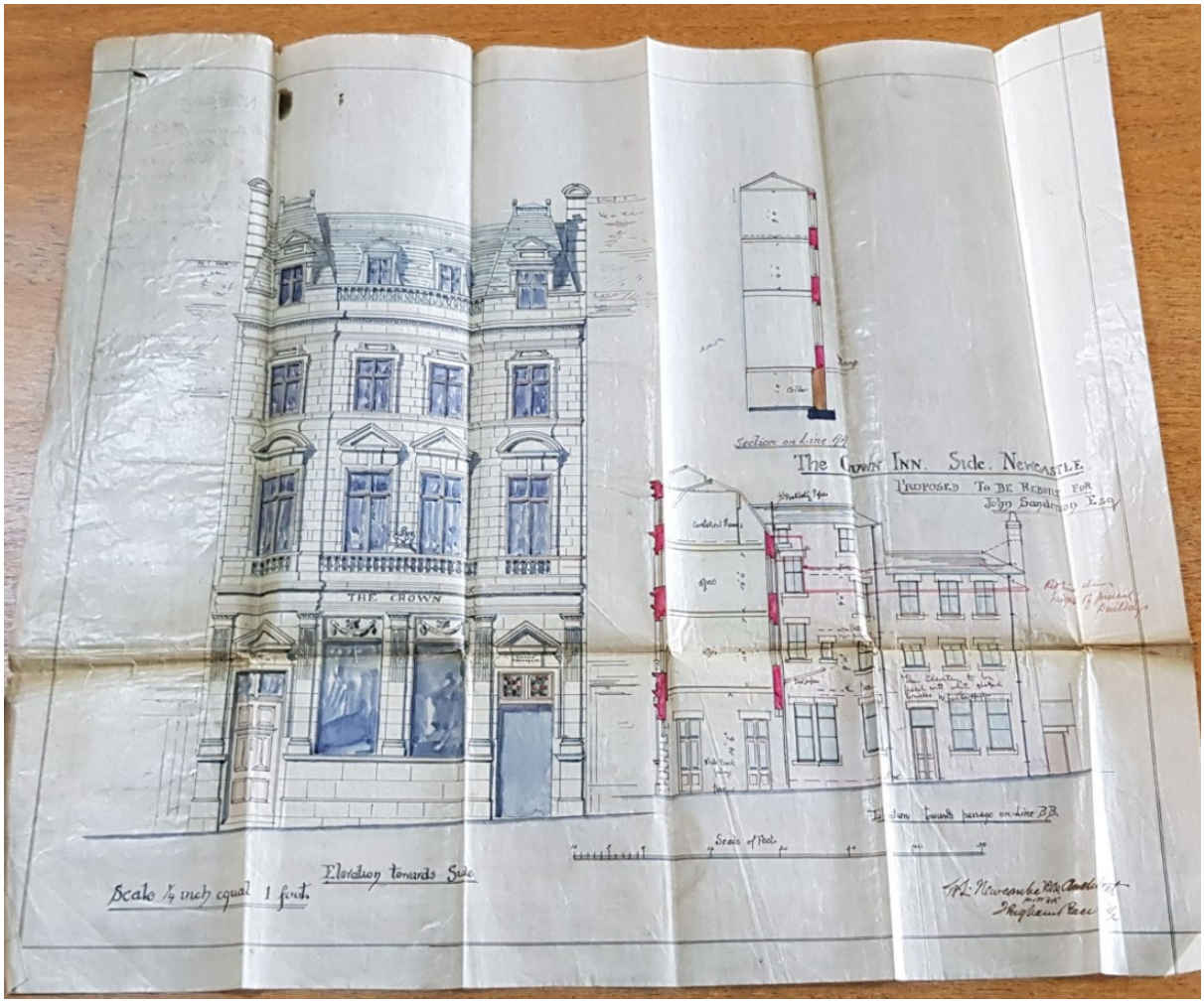


Fig. 219 . W.M. Newcombe's Architects plans for Crown Posada, 1880. Tyne and Wear Archives

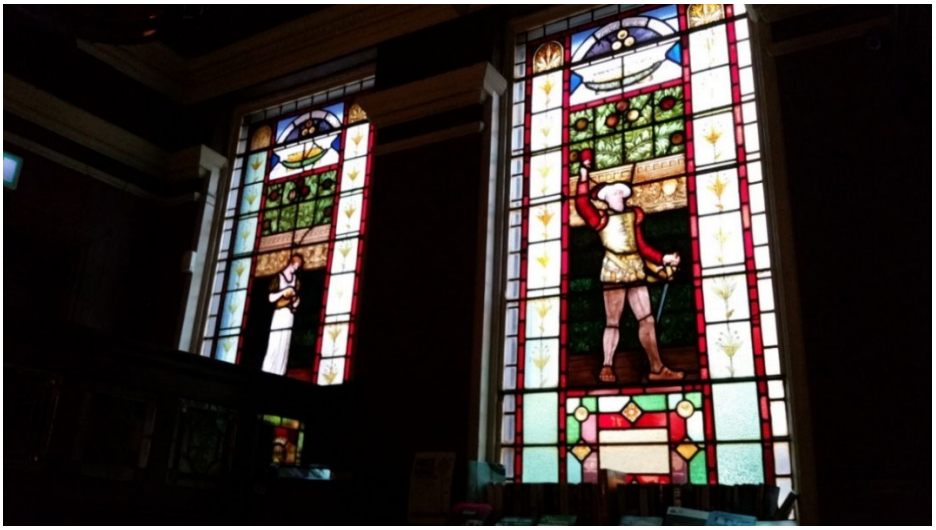


Fig. 220 . John George Sowerby, 1880. Crown Posada, stained glass windows

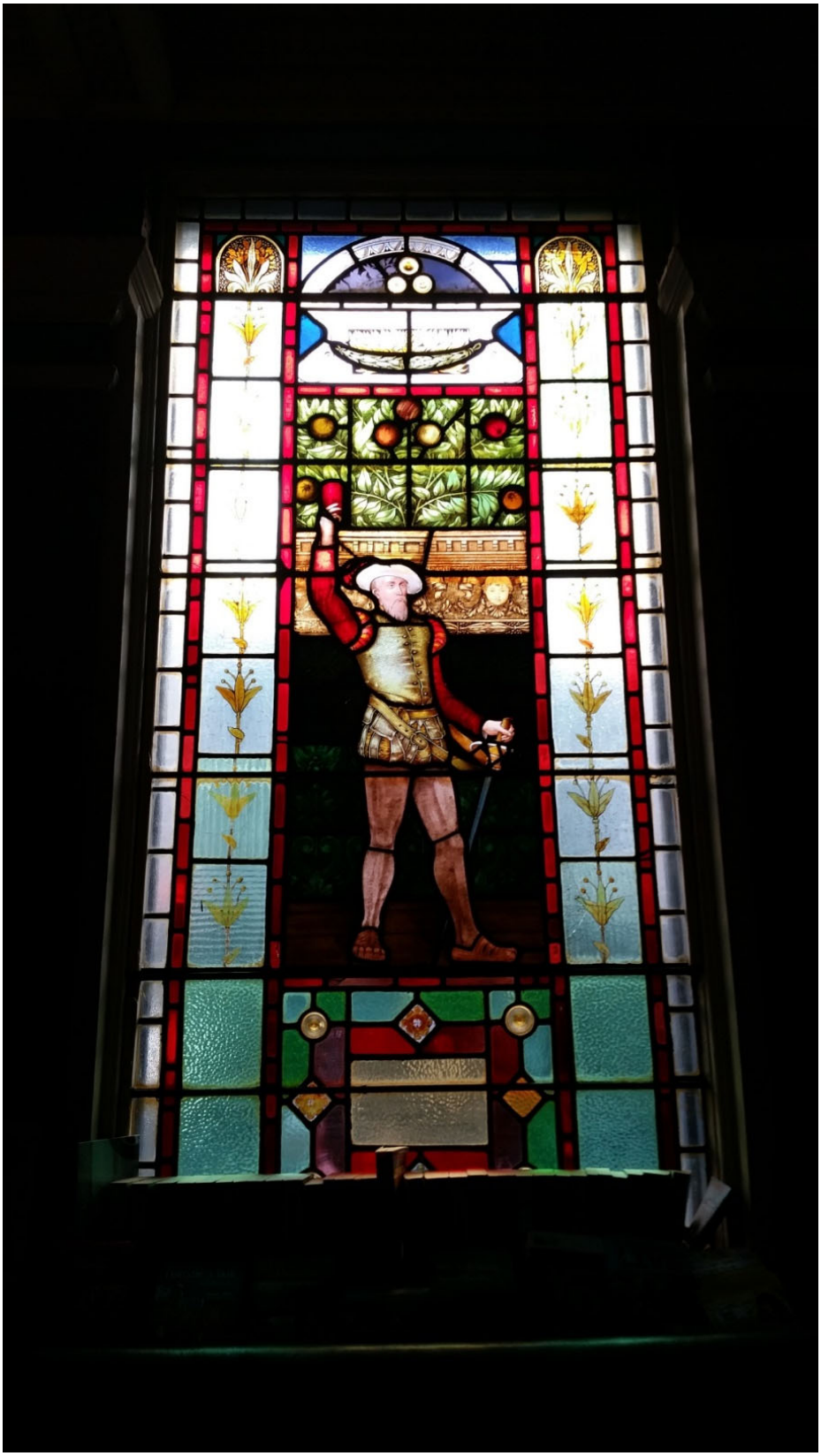


Fig. 221 . John George Sowerby, 1880. Crown Posada, stained glass window with male figure holding cup

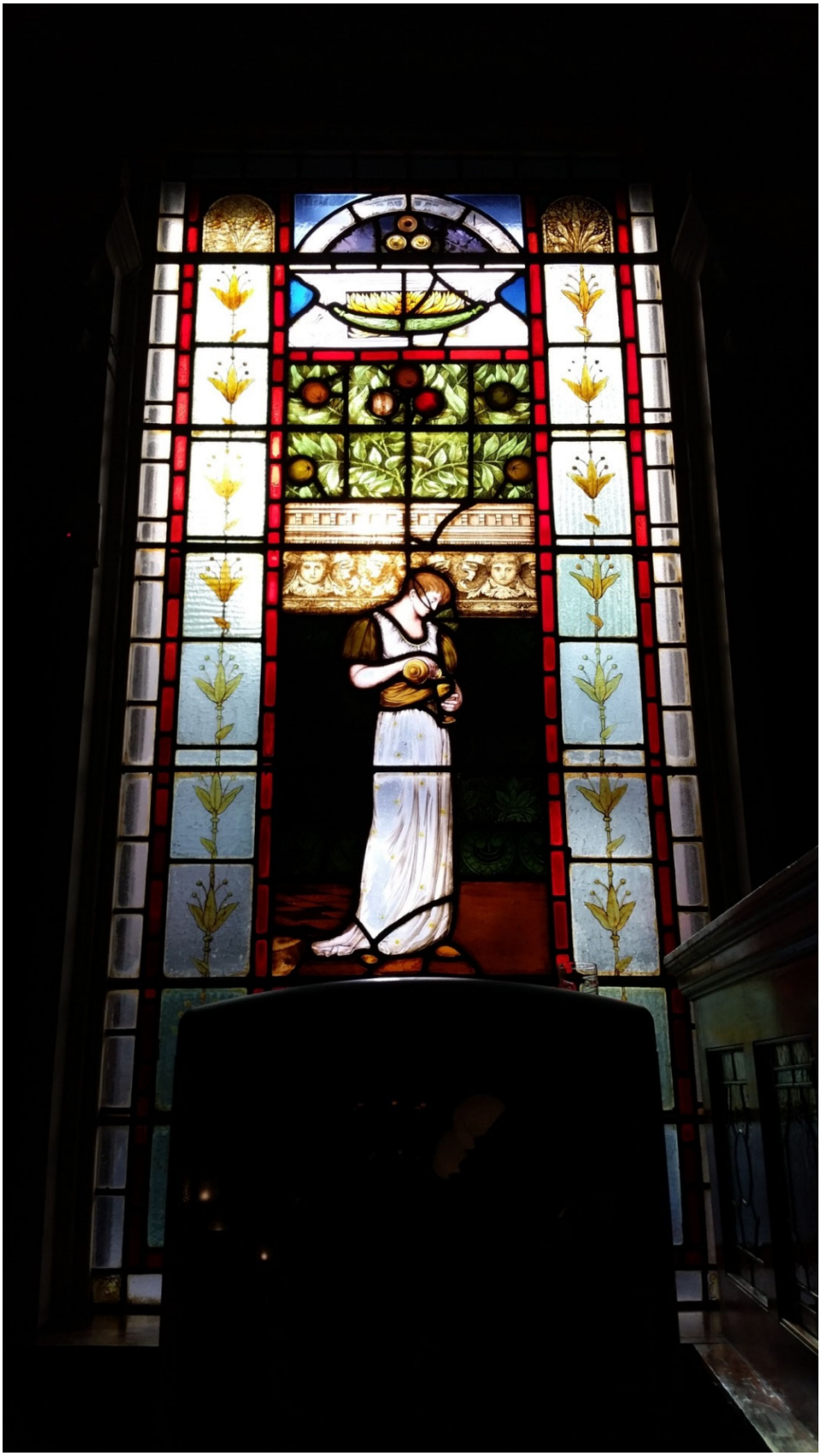


Fig. 222 . John George Sowerby, 1880. Crown Posada, stained glass window with female figure pouring drink



Fig. 223 . Street map of Newcastle, including The Side, 1896. The road bends round from the River Tyne and The Crown Posada is listed.



Fig. 224 . Cobden Hotel, Birmingham, 1883. Image courtesy of Andrew Davison



Fig. 225 . Cobden Hotel, Birmingham, 1883. Image courtesy of Andrew Davison



Fig. 226 . The Sedge Lynn, Chorlton, c.1907. The pub was originally a Temperance Billiard Hall

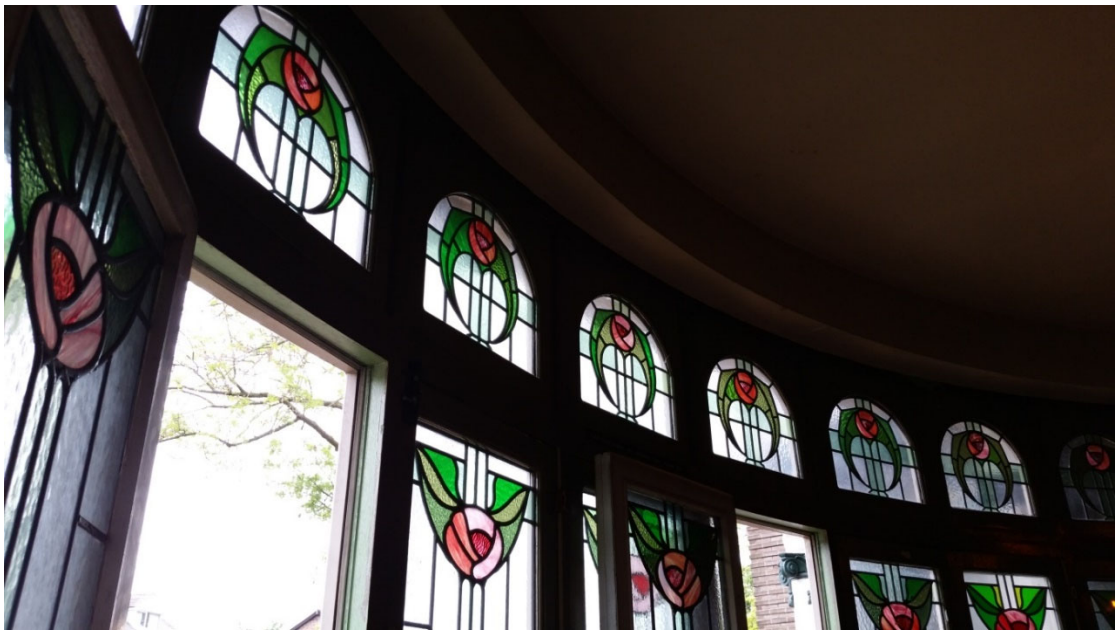


Fig. 227 . The Sedge Lynn, Chorlton, c.1907. Art Nouveau windows at The Sedge Lynn, Chorlton



Fig. 228 . The Sedge Lynn, Chorlton, c.1907. Art Nouveau windows at The Sedge Lynn



Fig. 229 . Edward Burne-Jones. The Arming and Departure of the Knights of the Round Table on the Quest of the Holy Grail. 1895-1896. 244 x 362 cms | 96 x 142 1/2 ins. Wool and silk tapestry on cotton. Birmingham Museums and Art Gallery



Fig. 230 . Photograph of Rochdale Free Library, c.1890, depicting mills and housing in the background. Image courtesy of Rochdale Arts and Heritage Service.



Fig. 231 . Rochdale Free Library, women's reading room, c.1920. Portraits of female authors are visible in the window. Image courtesy of Rochdale Arts and Heritage Service.



Fig. 232 . Men’s reading room, c.1920, with windows depicting, from left, fiction writers, local authors, historians, and principal window. Image courtesy of Rochdale Arts and Heritage Service.



Fig. 233 . Original quatrefoil above Free Library entrance doorway, with Rochdale coat of arms and motto. Photo by the author.



Fig. 234 . Elliott & Fry, after Macaire, Elizabeth Barrett Browning, albumen carte de visite, mid-1860s (September 1858). © National Portrait Gallery, London, NPG x136269.



Fig. 235 . Emery Walker. National Portrait Gallery at Bethnal Green, photograph, c.1895 (source: Lara Perry. History's Beauties: women in the National Portrait Gallery, 1856-1900. London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2017



Fig. 236 . Stained glass window depicting Grace Darling at St Aidan's church, Bamburgh, 1885 (source: gracedarling.co.uk)

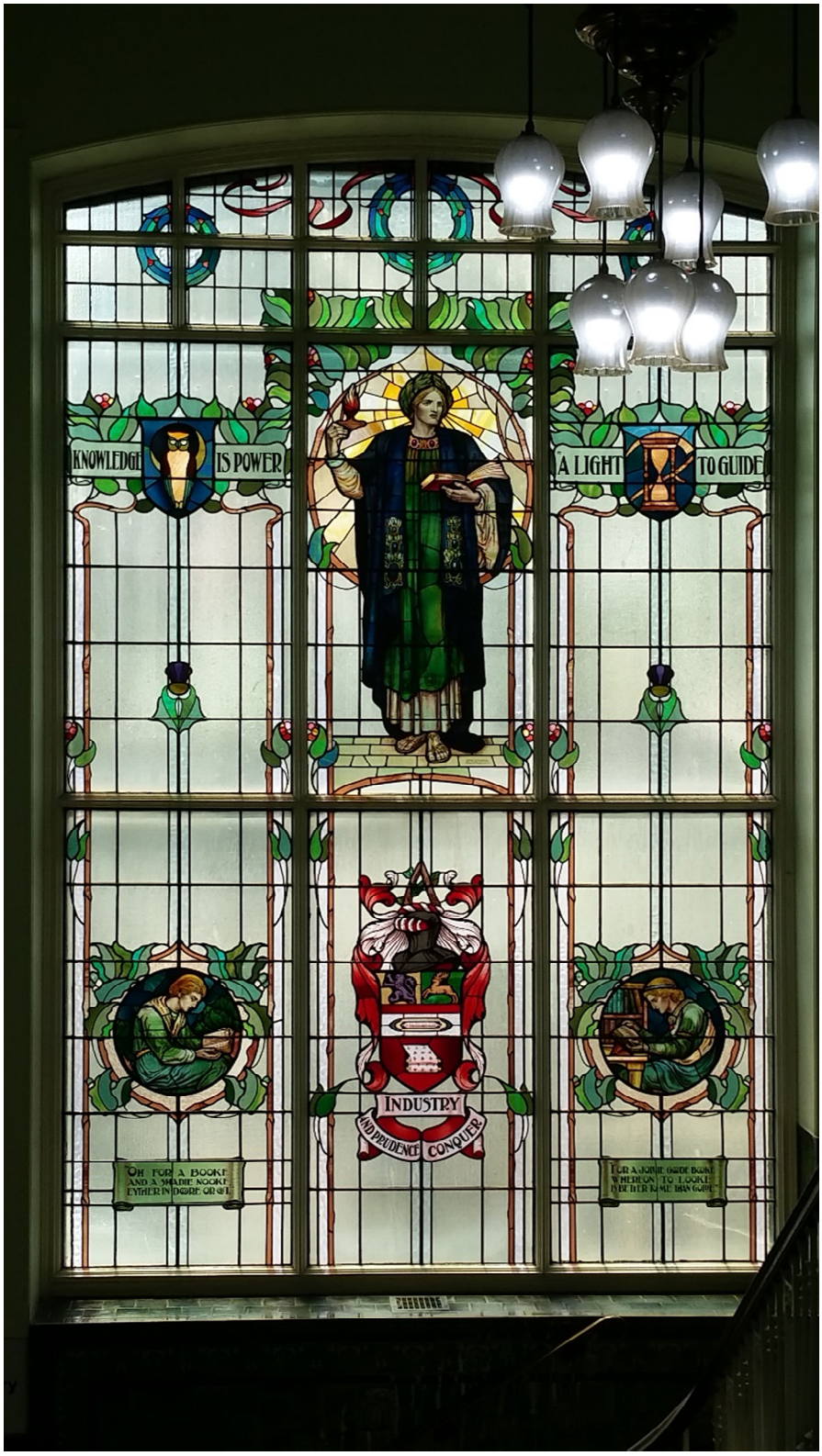


Fig. 237 . H.G. Hiller, 1907. Carnegie Library, Accrington staircase window



Fig. 238 . H.G. Hiller, 1907. Carnegie Library, detail of Accrington staircase window with the figure of ‘Knowledge’



Fig. 239 . Stained glass window at the Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh,1891 (source: alamy.com)



Fig. 240 . Charles Eamer Kempe, 1899. Stained glass window in the John Rylands Library reading room



Fig. 241 . Charles Eamer Kempe, 1899. Stained glass window in the John Rylands Library reading room



Fig. 242 . Charles Eamer Kempe, 1899. Detail of figures in the stained glass window in the John Rylands Library reading room



Fig. 243 . Charles Eamer Kempe, 1899. Detail of stained glass window in the John Rylands Library reading room

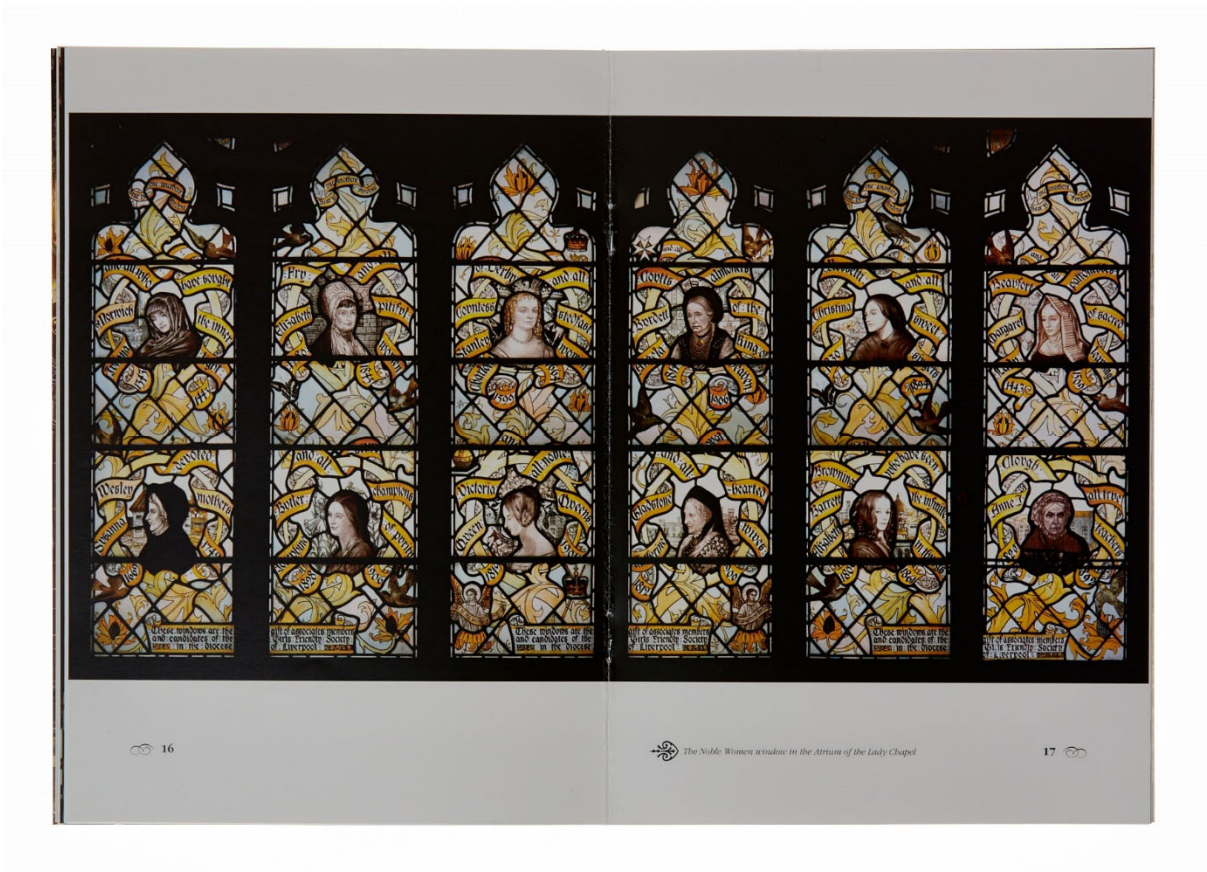


Fig. 244 . Sections of the Noble Women window at Liverpool Anglican Cathedral, 1921 (source: barryhale.co.uk)



Fig. 245 . Victoria Baths, 1906, designed by Henry Price (source: photoluminaire.co.uk)



Fig. 246 . Victoria Baths, 1906, designed by Henry Price (source: historicpools.org.uk)



Fig. 247 . Victoria Baths, 1906, designed by Henry Price (source: historicpools.org.uk)

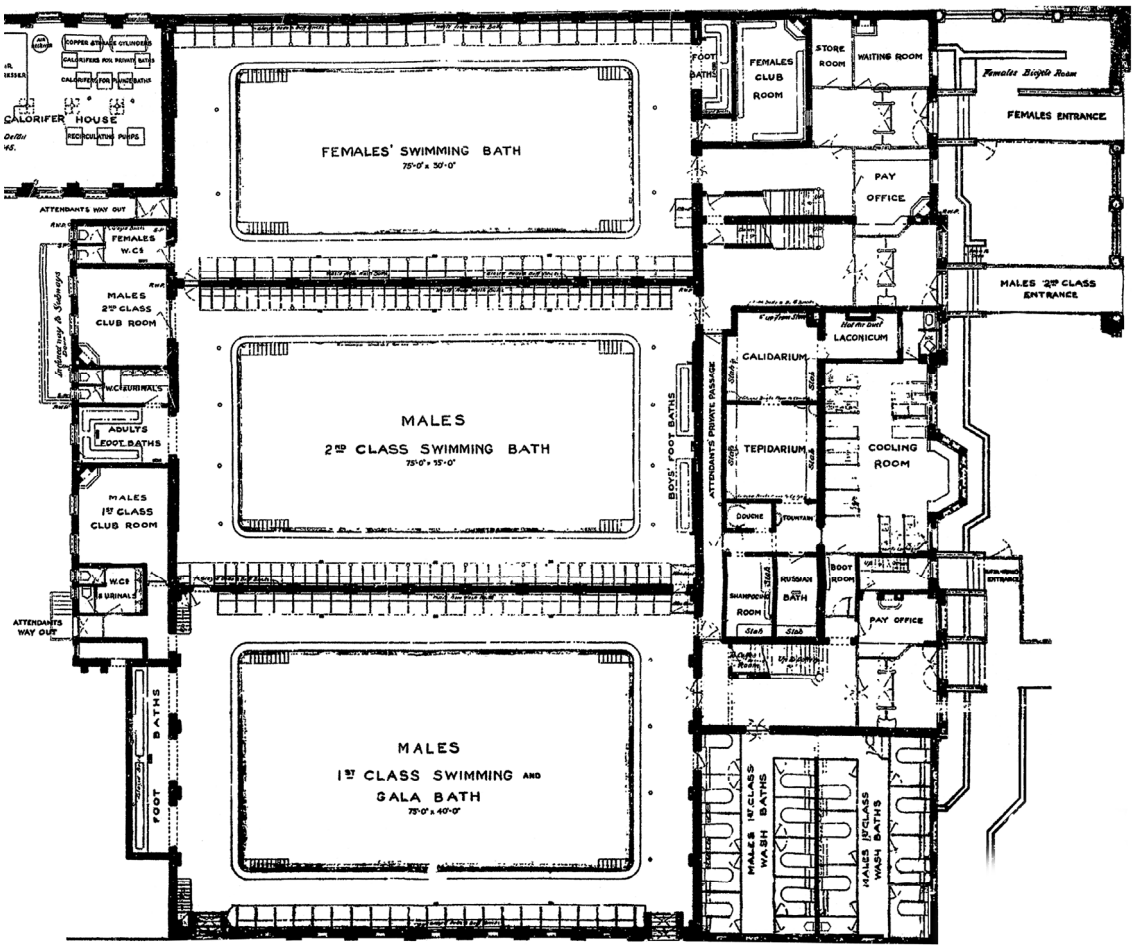


Fig. 248 . Ground floor plan of Victoria Baths (source: Victoria Baths Archives)

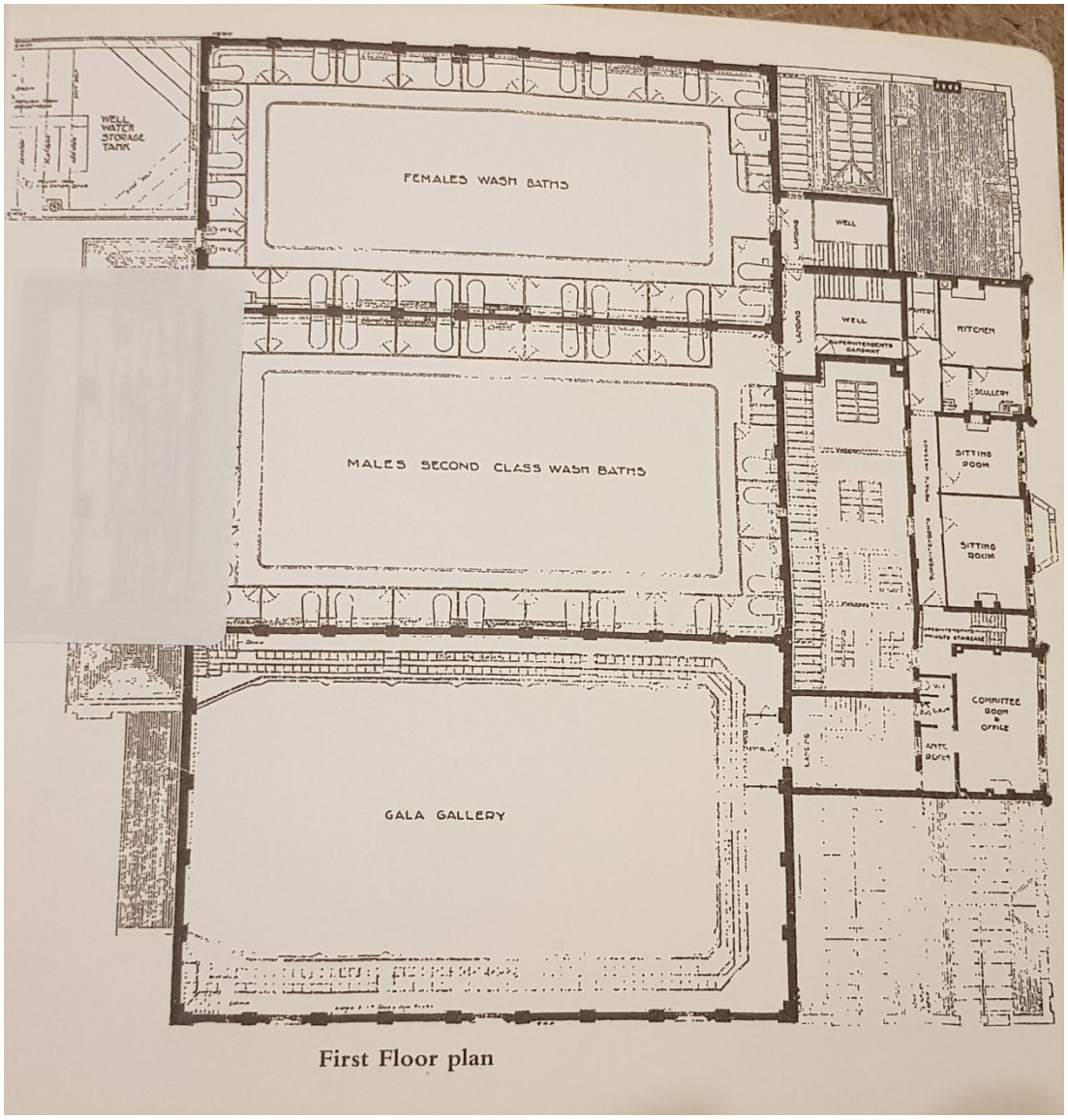


Fig. 249 . First floor plan of Victoria Baths, showing the slipper baths areas for second class males and females (source: Victoria Baths Archives)

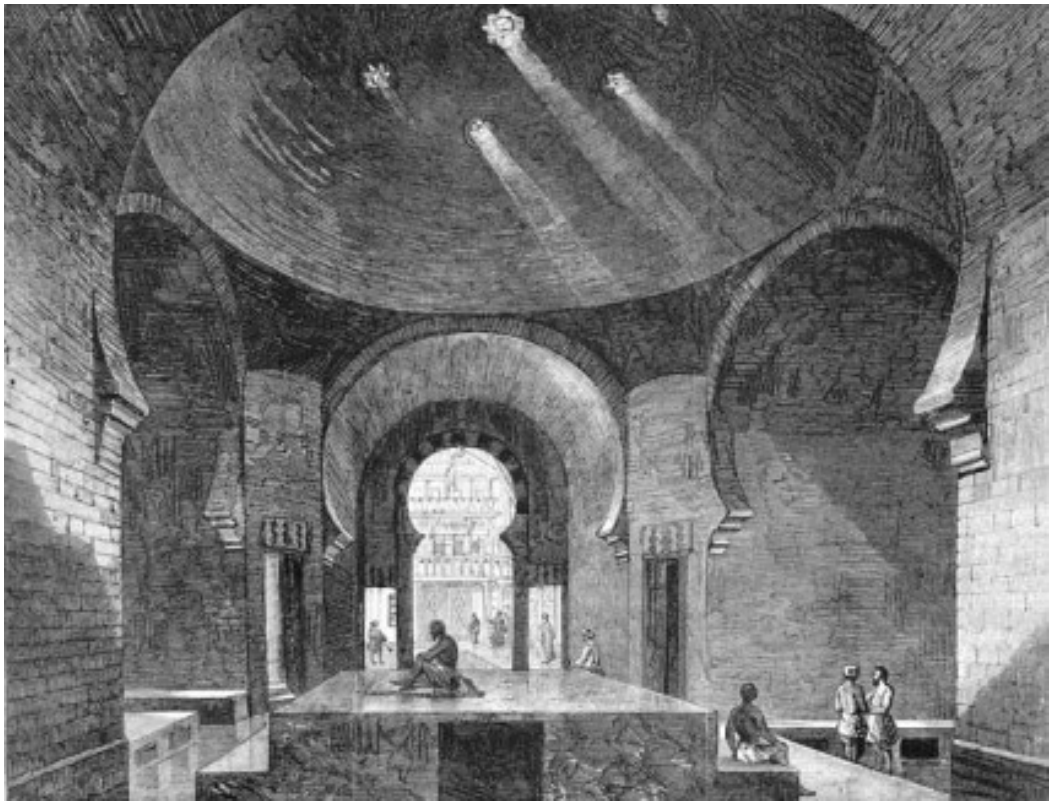


Fig. 250 . Hammam at 76, Jermyn Street in London, 1862, designed by David Urquhart (source: nickelinthemachines.com)



Fig. 251 . William Pointer's studios, date unknown. Photo courtesy of Victoria Baths archives.



Fig. 252 . Photograph of William Pointer’s niece, Lily Leah, outside William Pointer’s house, Portland Crescent, 1923. Photo courtesy of Victoria Baths archives.



Fig. 253 . Photograph of William Pointer’s house, on the right. The house on the left still retains its original stained glass.



Fig. 254 . Close-up photograph of the house next door to Pointer’s, Portland Crescent.



Fig. 255 . Close-up photograph of the house next door to Pointer's, Portland Crescent.



Fig. 256 . 37 Anson Road, Manchester



Fig. 257 . Interior door of 37 Anson Road, Manchester



Fig. 258 . Interior door of 37 Anson Road, Manchester

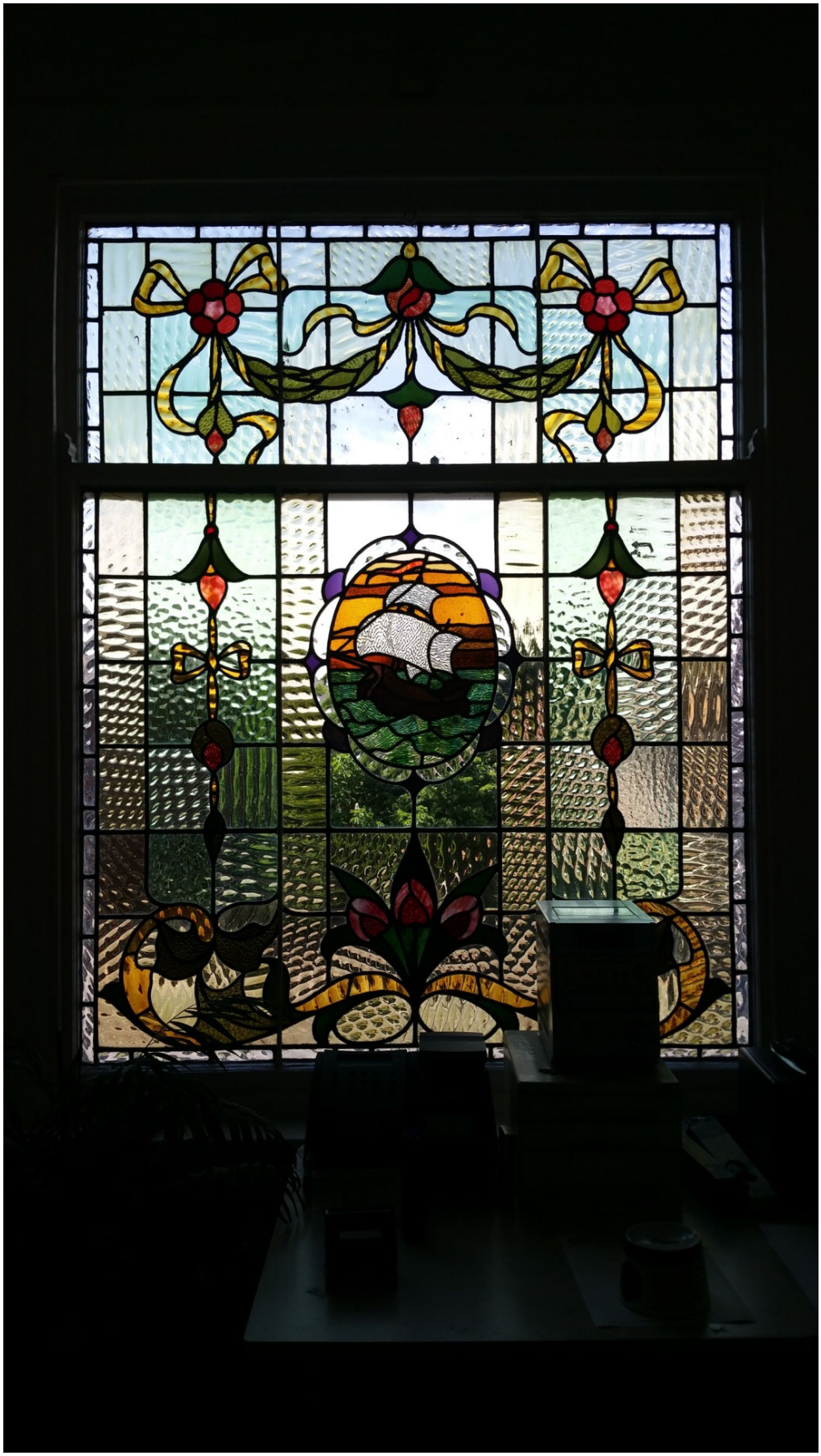


Fig. 259 . Upper landing window depciting a galleon, 37 Anson Road, Manchester



Fig. 260 . 35 Anson Road, Manchester

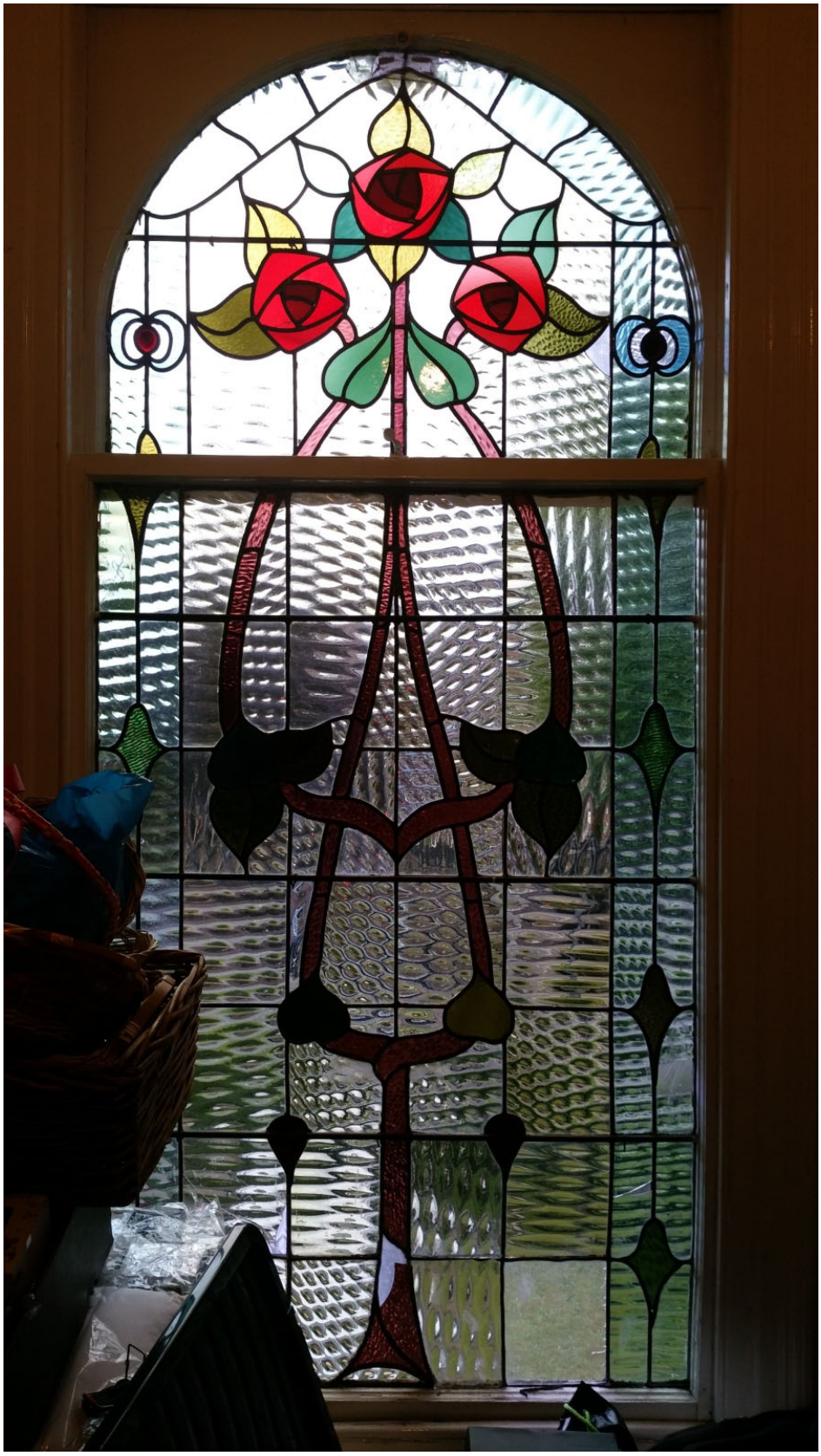


Fig. 261 . Upper landing window depicting decorative rose design, 35 Anson Road, Manchester



Fig. 262 . Victoria Baths, 1906. Ground floor stained glass window depicting cricket



Fig. 263 . Victoria Baths, 1906. Ground floor stained glass window depicting football



Fig. 264 . Victoria Baths, 1906. Ground floor stained glass window depicting boxing



Fig. 265 . Victoria Baths, 1906. Ground floor stained glass window depicting wrestling



Fig. 266 . Victoria Baths, 1906. Ground floor stained glass window depicting athletics



Fig. 267 . Victoria Baths, 1906. Ground floor stained glass window depicting golf

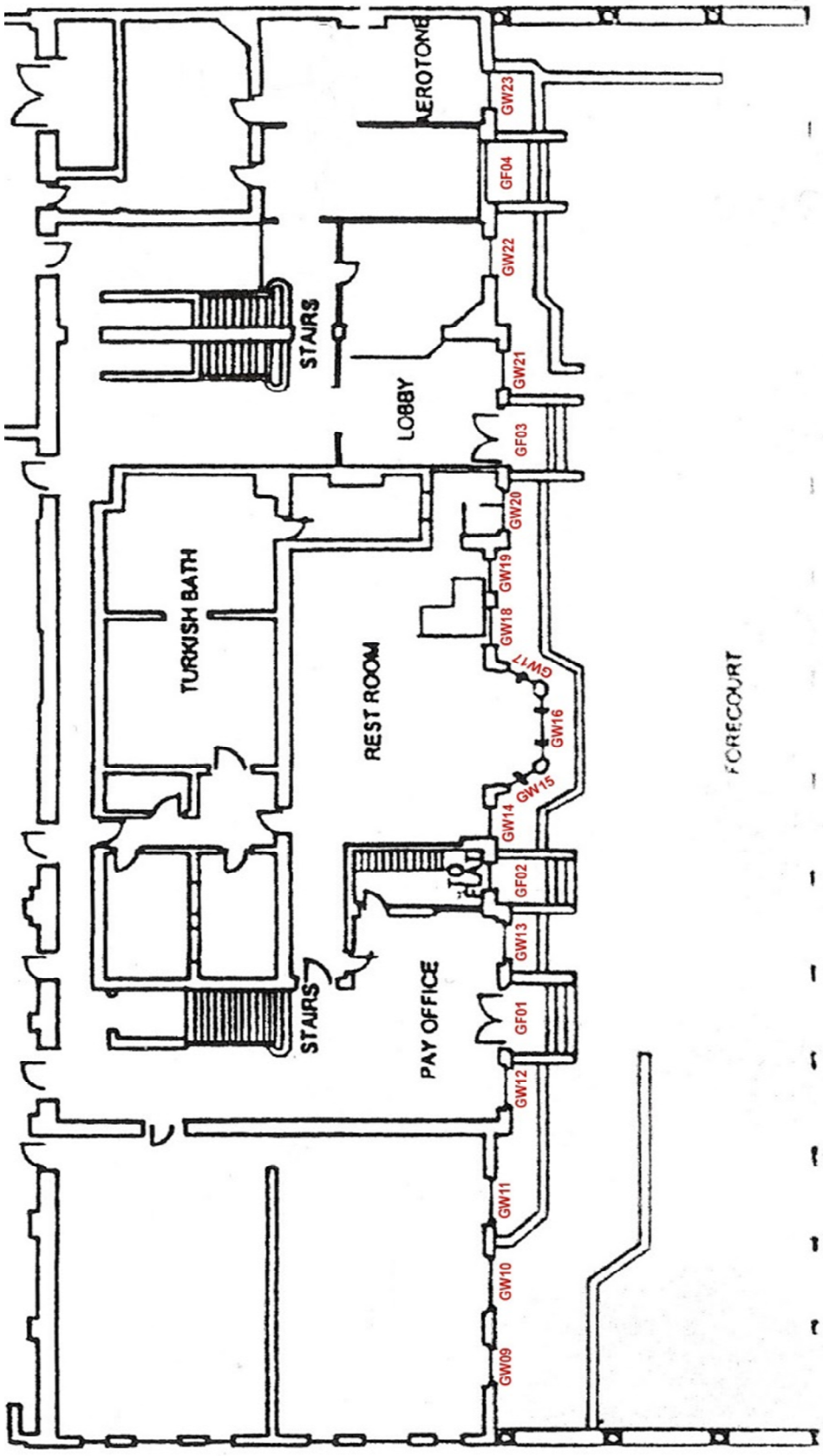


Fig. 268 . Ground Floor Plan of Restoration Phase One showing numbered windows (Key on next page)

Key to numbering system on plan:

GF 01, 02, 03, 04	Fan Lights over the Entrance Doors
GW 03 - 11	First Class Males Wash Baths
GW12	Cricketer
GW13	Footballer
GW14	Landscape: Dawn over the Mountains
GW15, 16, 17	Angel with butterfly wings
GW18	Landscape: Cottage in Fields at daytime
GW19	Landscape: Castle by the Sea at Night
GW20	Wrestlers
GW21	Boxers
GW22	Runners
GW23	Golfer



Fig. 269 . OS Map 1889. The highlighted section shows the land on which Victoria Baths was built was a lawn tennis ground



Fig. 270 . OS Map 1889. The highlighted section shows Victoria Baths. The map also shows the level of development around the area since the 1889 map



Fig. 271 . Mitchell's "Prize Crop" Cigarettes, Sports (series of 25 issued in 1907) probably Aston Villa v Newcastle United in the 1905 FA Cup Final (source: flickr.com). Note the distant player in the background



Fig. 272 . Cigarette card by Gallaher Ltd depicting William Wedlock, Bristol City (source: digitalcollections.nypl.org)



Fig. 273 . Cigarette card depicting Bolton Wanderers footballer (source: footballsoccercards.com)

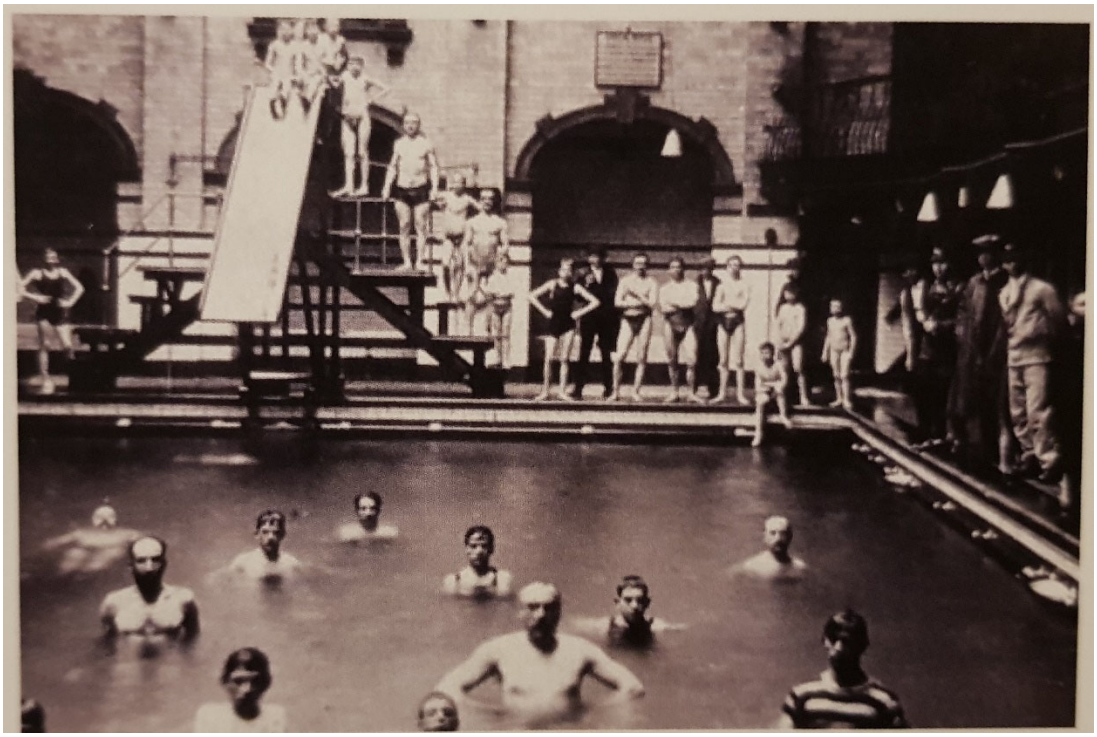


Fig. 274 . Male swimmers in the First Class Pool at Victoria Baths, 1906 . Photo courtesy of the Victoria Baths Archives. The photo is a good reflection of the male physique on view at the baths.



Fig. 275 . Victoria Baths, 1906. Ground floor stained glass window depicting football



Fig. 276 . Victoria Baths, 1906. Detail of Footballer window pre-restoration



Fig. 277 . Victoria Baths, 1906. Detail of Footballer window post-restoration.

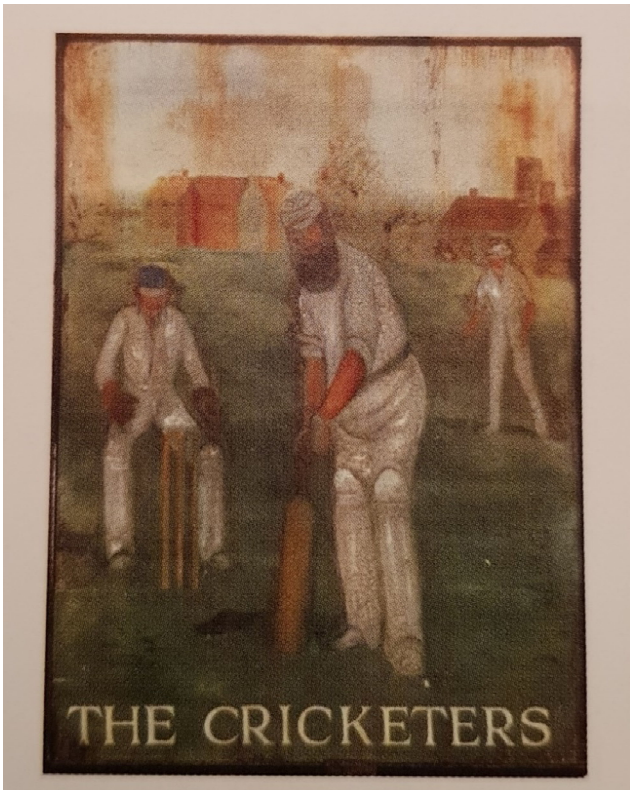


Fig. 278 . Pub sign for The Cricketers depicting W.D. Grace, Littlewick Green (source: Collis, Anthony & Wellsteed, Geoff. Inns and Outs: A book about cricket-related inn signs and pub names. Stourbridge: Square Leg Publications, 2010

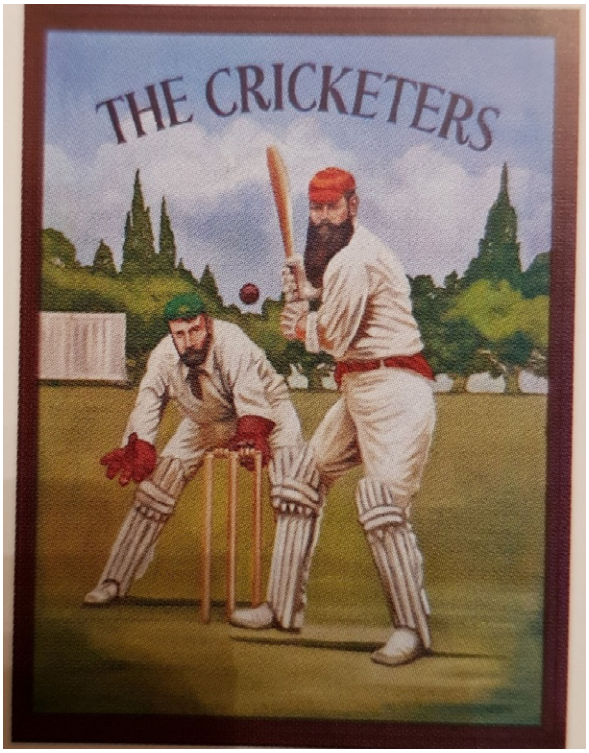


Fig. 279 . Pub sign for The Cricketers depicting W.D. Grace, Chelmsford. (source: Collis, Anthony & Wellsteed, Geoff. Inns and Outs: A book about cricket-related inn signs and pub names. Stourbridge: Square Leg Publications, 2010

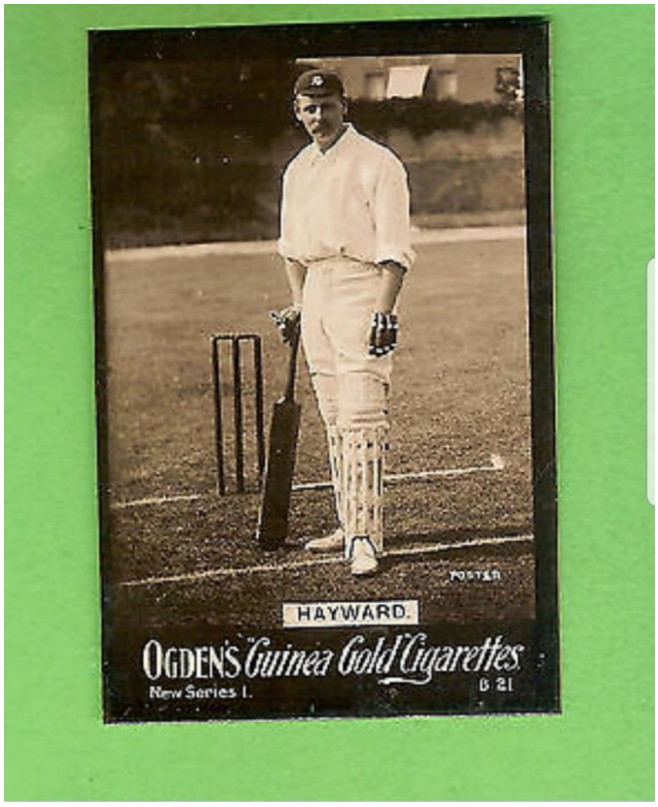


Fig. 280 . Cigarette card depicting the cricketer, T. Hayward, 1901 (source: picclick.co.uk)

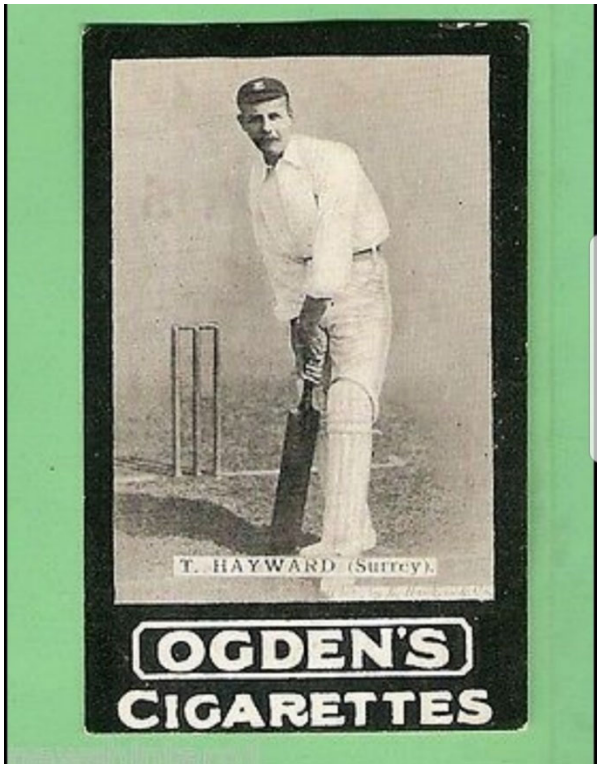


Fig. 281 . Cigarette card depicting the cricketer, T. Hayward, 1901 (source: picclick.co.uk)



Fig. 282 . Victoria Baths, 1906. First class males pool window with galleon at the centre



Fig. 283 . Victoria Baths, 1906. Detail of first class males pool window with galleon at the centre

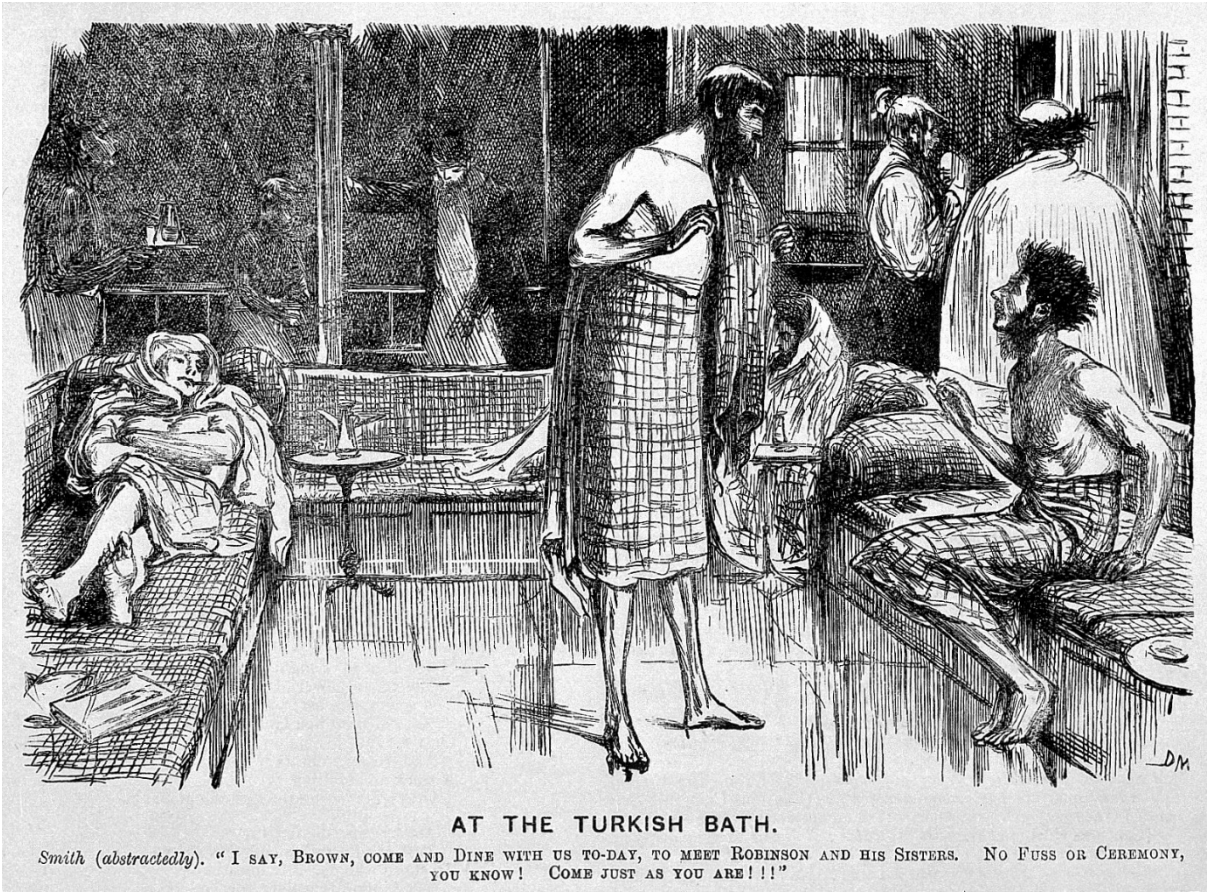


Fig. 284 . George du Maurier, 'At the Turkish Bath,' 1866, Punch (source: victorianturkishbath.org)

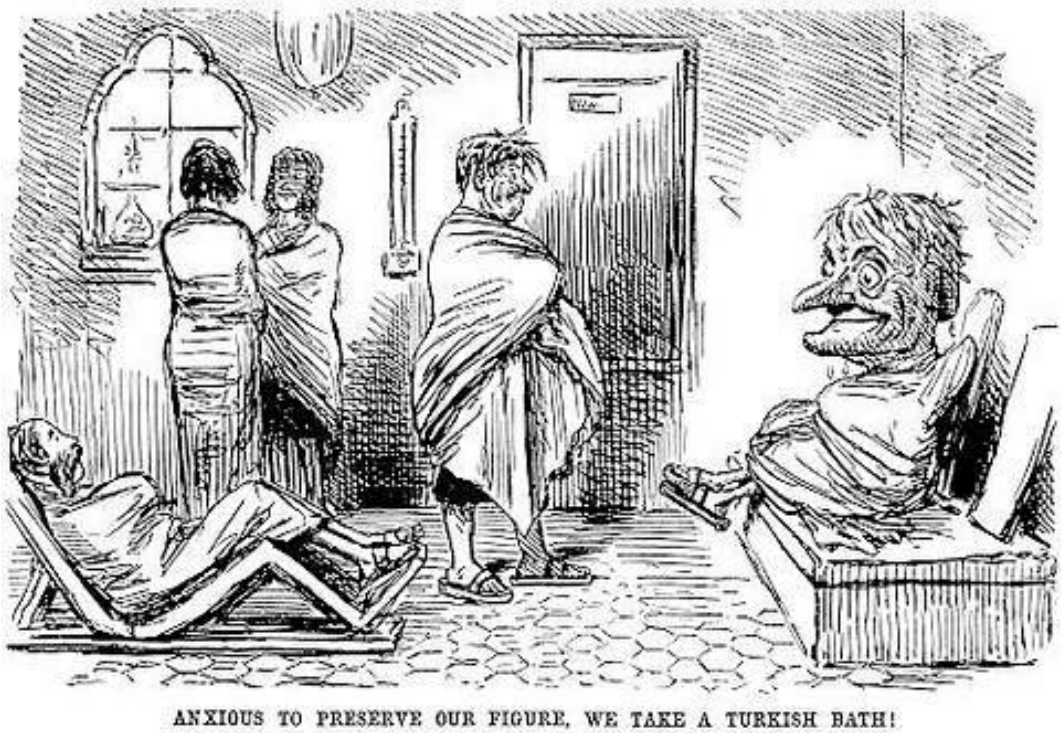


Fig. 285 . Mr Punch visits the Turkish Baths, 1861 (source: victorianturkishbath.org)

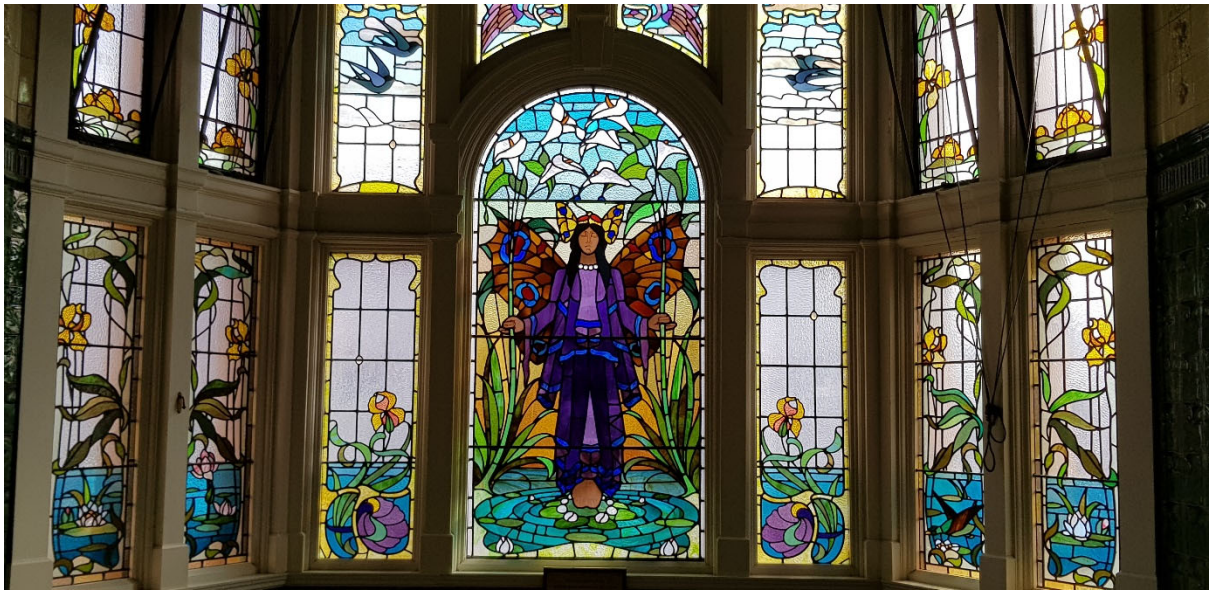


Fig. 286 . Victoria Baths, 1906. Ground floor stained glass windows in the Turkish Baths cooling room. Female figure with butterfly wings



Fig. 287 . Victoria Baths, 1906. Ground floor stained glass windows in the Turkish Baths cooling room. Stained glass representing ‘Dawn’

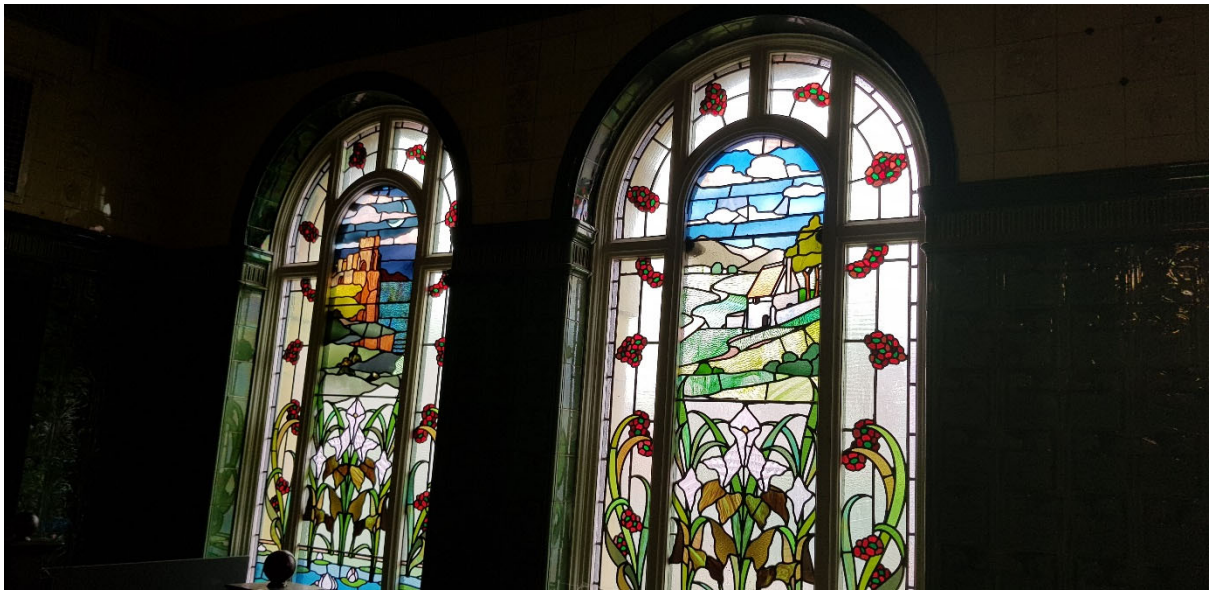


Fig. 288 . Victoria Baths, 1906. Ground floor stained glass windows in the Turkish Baths cooling room. Stained glass represents daytime and evening

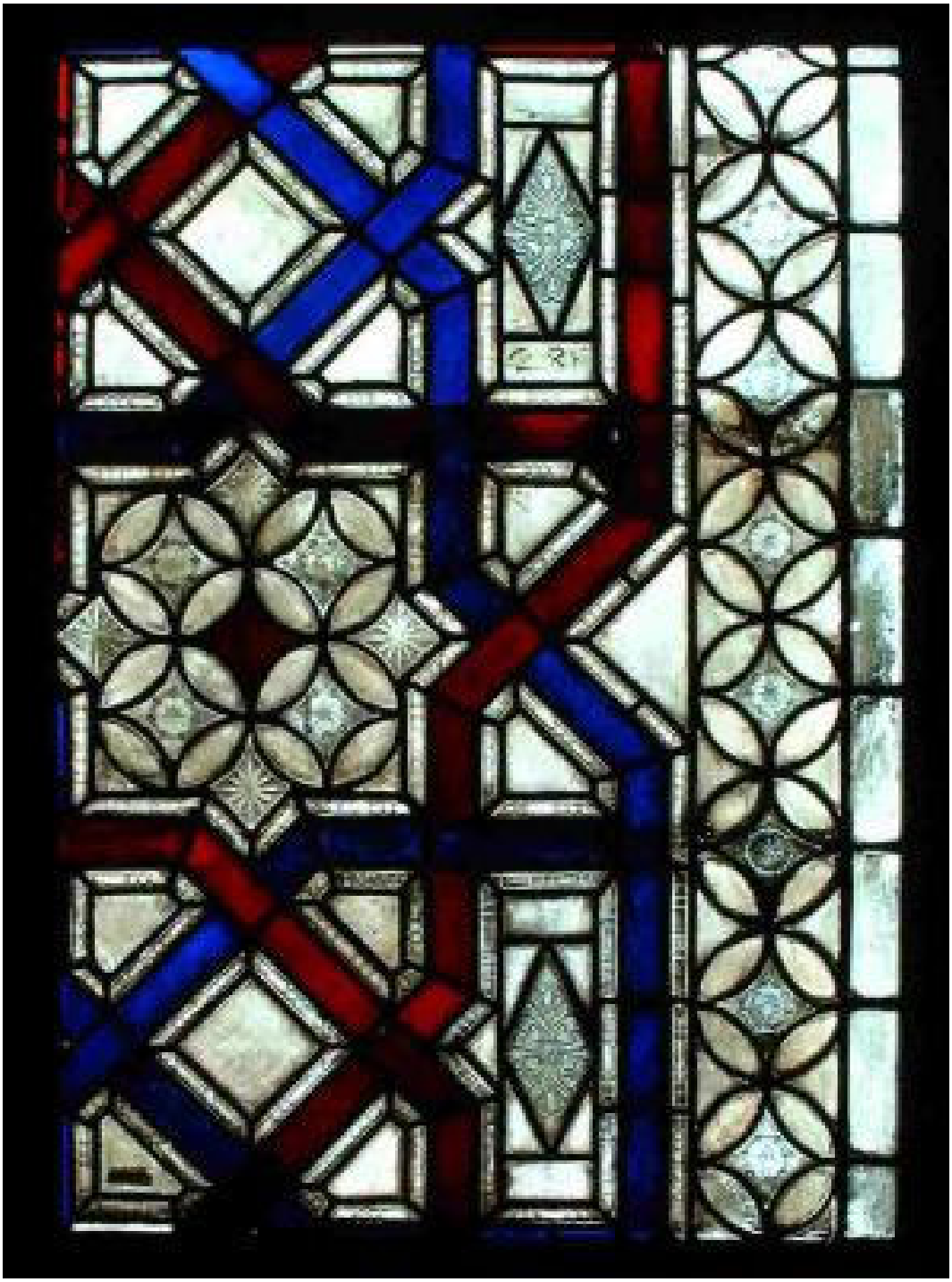


Fig. 289 . James Powell and Sons, 1847. Stained glass panel with stamped quarries with patterns of interlocking squares and circles, showing the diversity of effects achieved by stamping, rolling and pressing soft glass into indented moulds. Part of a three light window. Height: 1140mm, Width: 800mm. Originally located at St Thomas Church, Kingly Street, London W1. Acquisition: gift 1973. Accession number: ELYGM:1973.1.2.

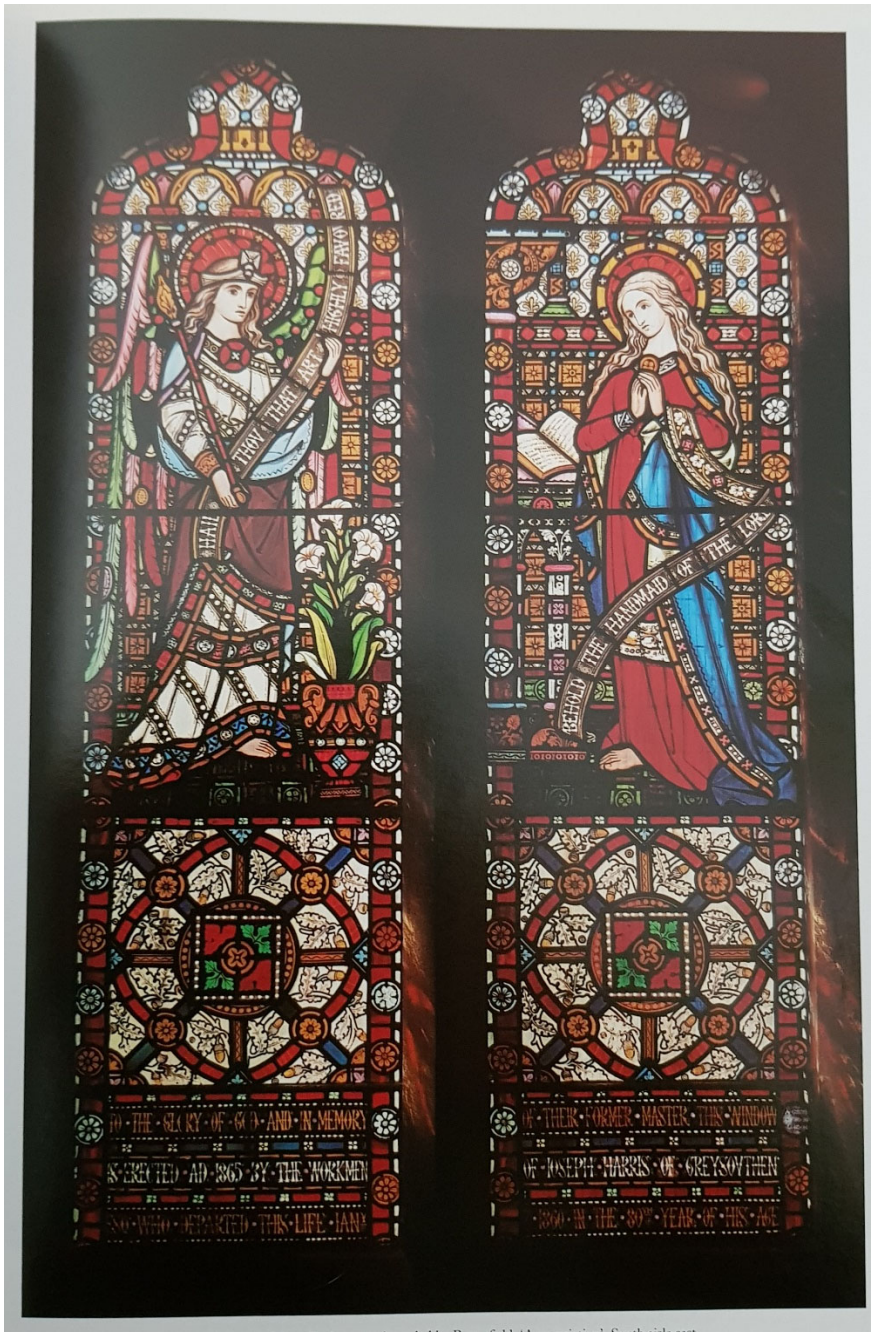


Fig. 290. Alexander Gibbs. Annunciation. South aisle east window, St Bridget, Brigham, Cumberland, 1864



Fig. 291 . The Tapestry Room at St James's Palace (source https://www.pinterest.com/pin/71846556529187776/)



Fig. 292 . The Green Dining Room at the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (source: https://www.pinterest.com/pin/218635756887378220/)



Fig. 293 . The Green Dining Room at the Victoria and Albert Museum (source: https://gayleclemans.com/2012/10/11/required-images-for-midterm/greendiningroom/)



Fig. 294 . T.R. Spence. St George's, Jesmond, 1885-1891. West window.



Fig. 295 . T.R. Spence. St George's, Jesmond, 1885-1891. Decorative mosaic and tile work, East end.



Fig. 296 . Hartley Wood & Co, Memo letterhead. Tyne and Wear Archives



Fig. 297 . Heaton, Butler and Bayne, 1871. Rochdale Town Hall, Great Hall. Ruby on blue from Rochdale Town Hall

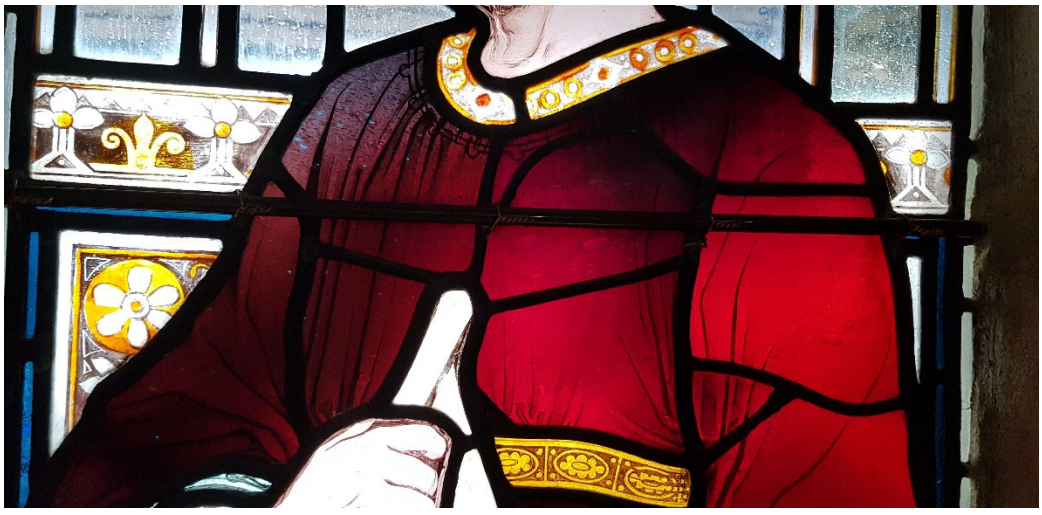
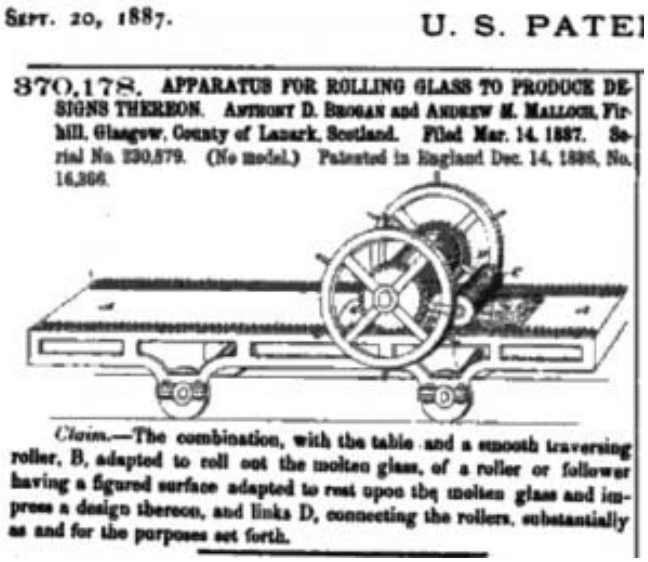


Fig. 298 . Heaton, Butler and Bayne, 1871. Rochdale Town Hall, Great Hall, Variances in ruby glasses to create depth



Fig. 299 . Heaton, Butler and Bayne, 1871. Rochdale Town Hall, Great Hall.Ruby on white



SEPT. 20, 1887. U. S. PATE

370,178. APPARATUS FOR ROLLING GLASS TO PRODUCE DESIGNS THEREON. ANTHONY D. BROGAN and ANDREW M. MALLOCH, Firhill, Glasgow, County of Lanark, Scotland. Filed Mar. 14, 1887. Serial No. 230,879. (No model.) Patented in England Dec. 14, 1886, No. 16,266.

Claim.—The combination, with the table and a smooth traversing roller, B, adapted to roll out the molten glass, of a roller or follower having a figured surface adapted to rest upon the molten glass and impress a design thereon, and links D, connecting the rollers, substantially as and for the purposes set forth.

Fig. 300 . Rolled sheet method (source: sashwindowspecialist.com)



Fig. 301 . Chance Brothers & Co.,1905. Figured Rolled Glass Advert (source: sashwindowspecialist.com)

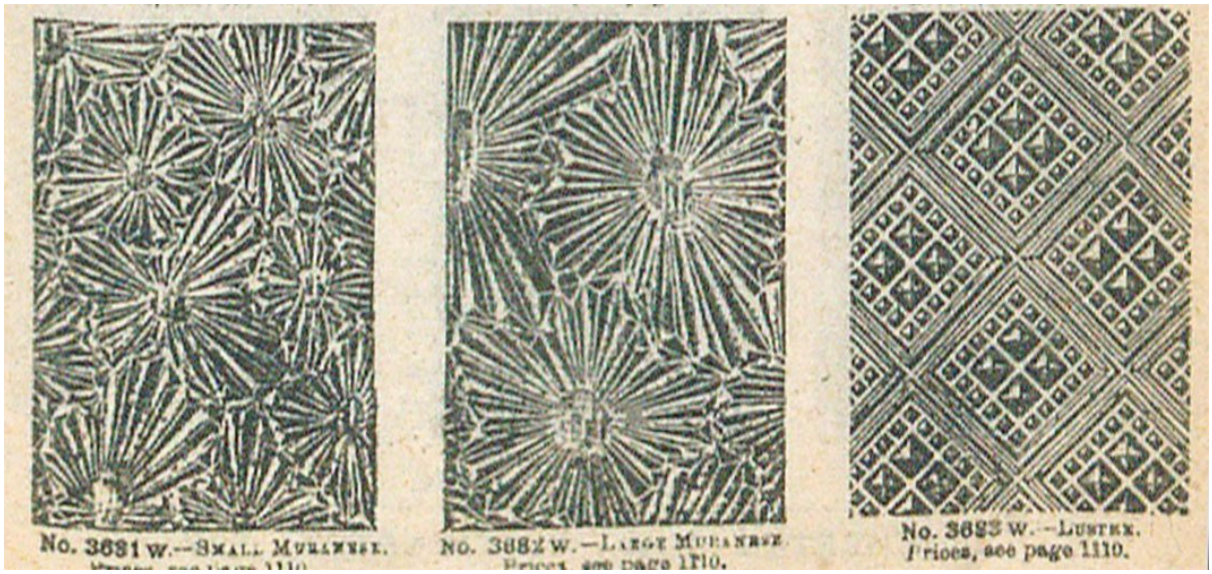


Fig. 302 . Glasgow Plate Glass Company. Small and large Muranese, and Lustre (previously called Lustex) (source: sashwindowspecialist.com)

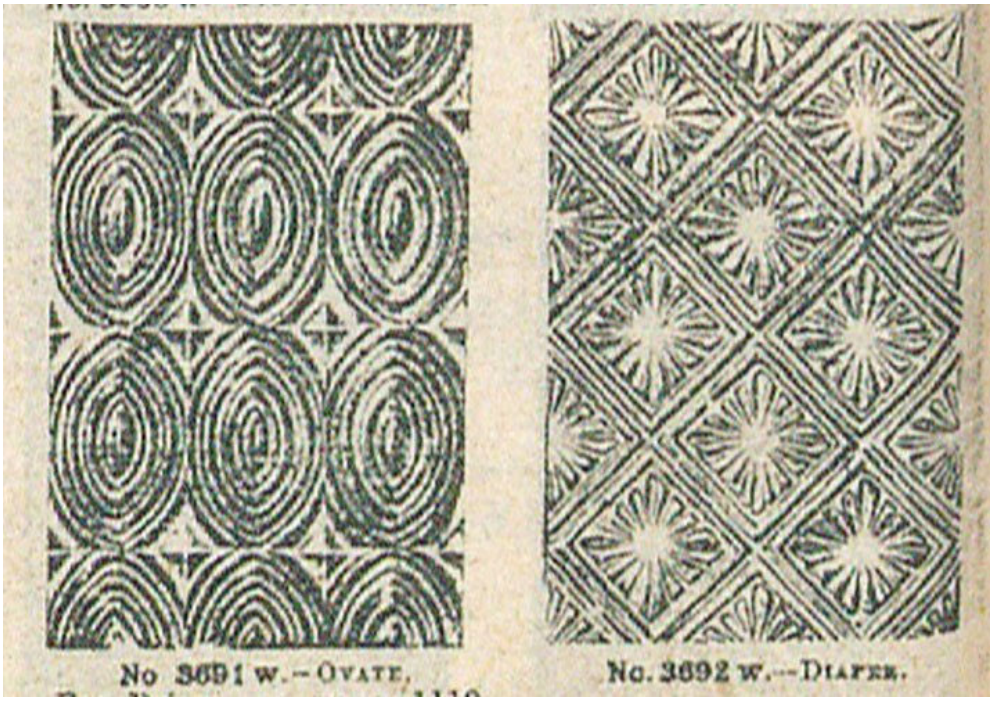


Fig. 303 . Glasgow Plate Glass Company. Ovate and Diaper Figured Rolled Glasses (source: sashwindowspecialist.com)

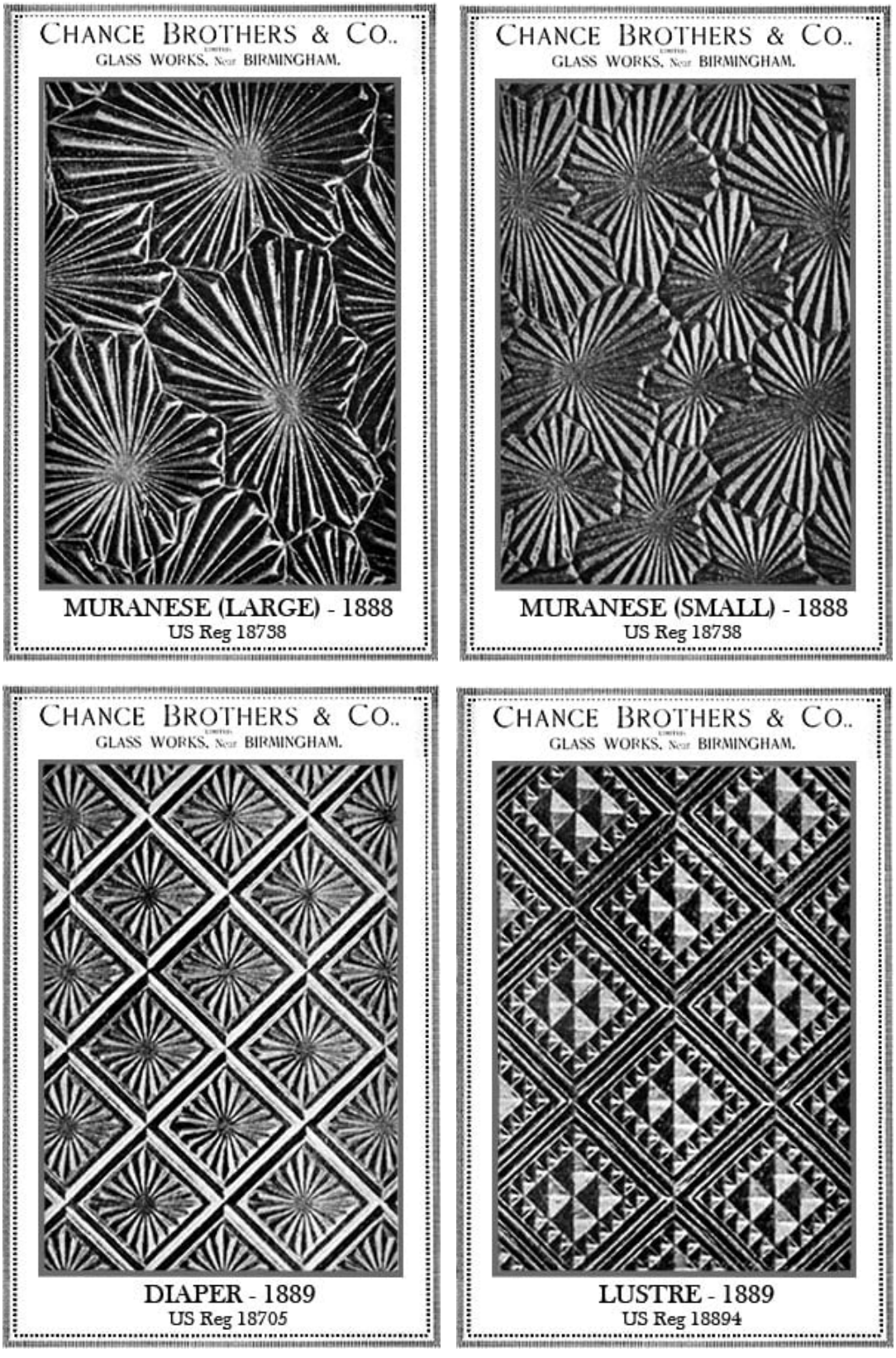


Fig. 304 . Chance Brothers & Co. Muranese (large), Muranese (small), Diaper, Lustre (source: sashwindowspecialist.com)

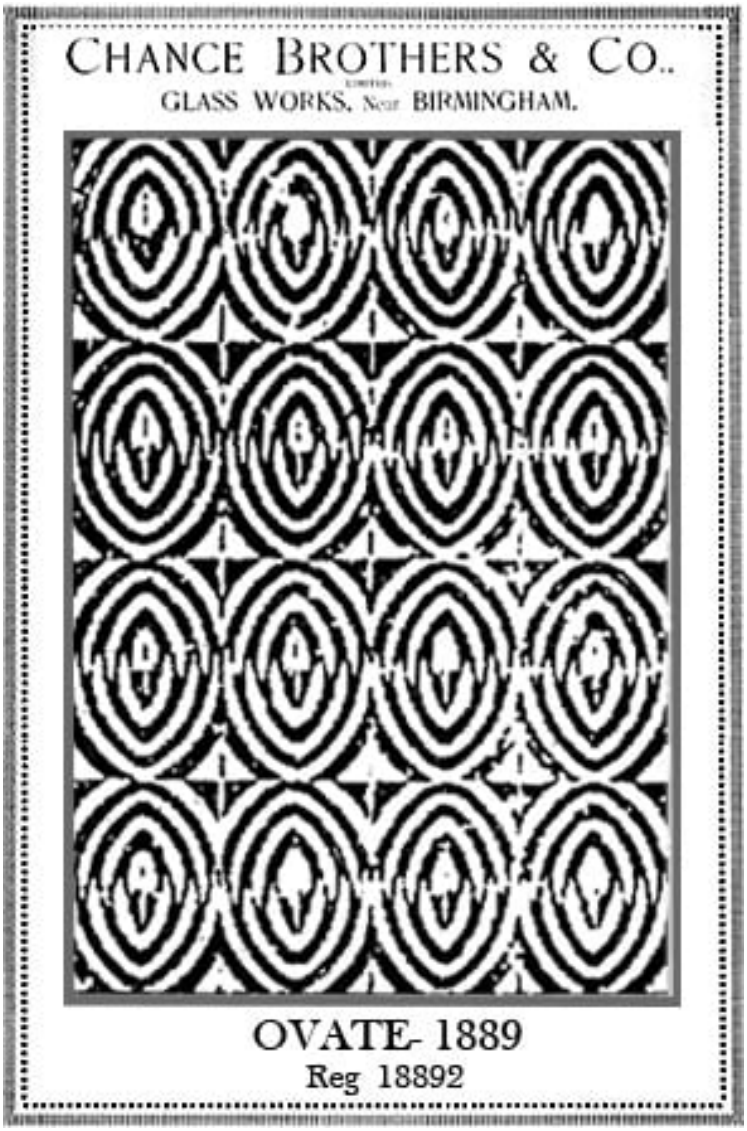


Fig. 305 . Chance Brothers & Co. Ovate (source: sashwindowspecialist.com)



Fig. 306 . The Castle, Oxford Road, Manchester. Partition walls glass, with Figured Rolled Glistre, Majestic, Hammered Cathedral No.2 and Maxine

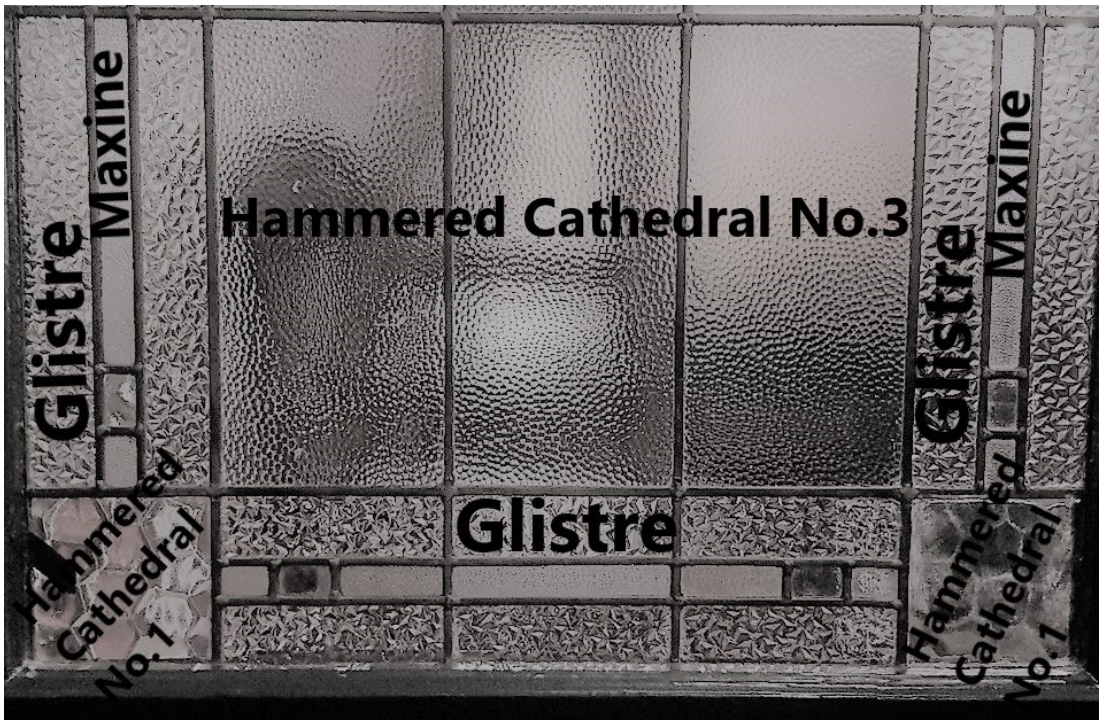


Fig. 307 . The Castle, Oxford Road, Manchester. Partition wall glass with Figured Rolled glasses labelled



Fig. 308 . Leonard Walker. Sailing Ship. Ely Stained Glass Museum. Stained glass window with a central roundel depicting a sailing ship, surrounded by rectangular panes. Panel made by Leonard Walker in about 20 . Height: 820 mm, Width: 520 mm. Accession number: ELYGM:1980.13



Fig. 309 . Leonard Walker. Commerce. 1923. Ely Stained Glass Museum. Stained glass roundel, depicting the allegorical figure of Commerce as a female with billowing garments. Made in 1923 by Leonard Walker. The roundel is a replica of the centre of a large window made for the Hong Kong and Shang



Fig. 310 . Oscar Paterson. Bute Gardens, University of Glasgow

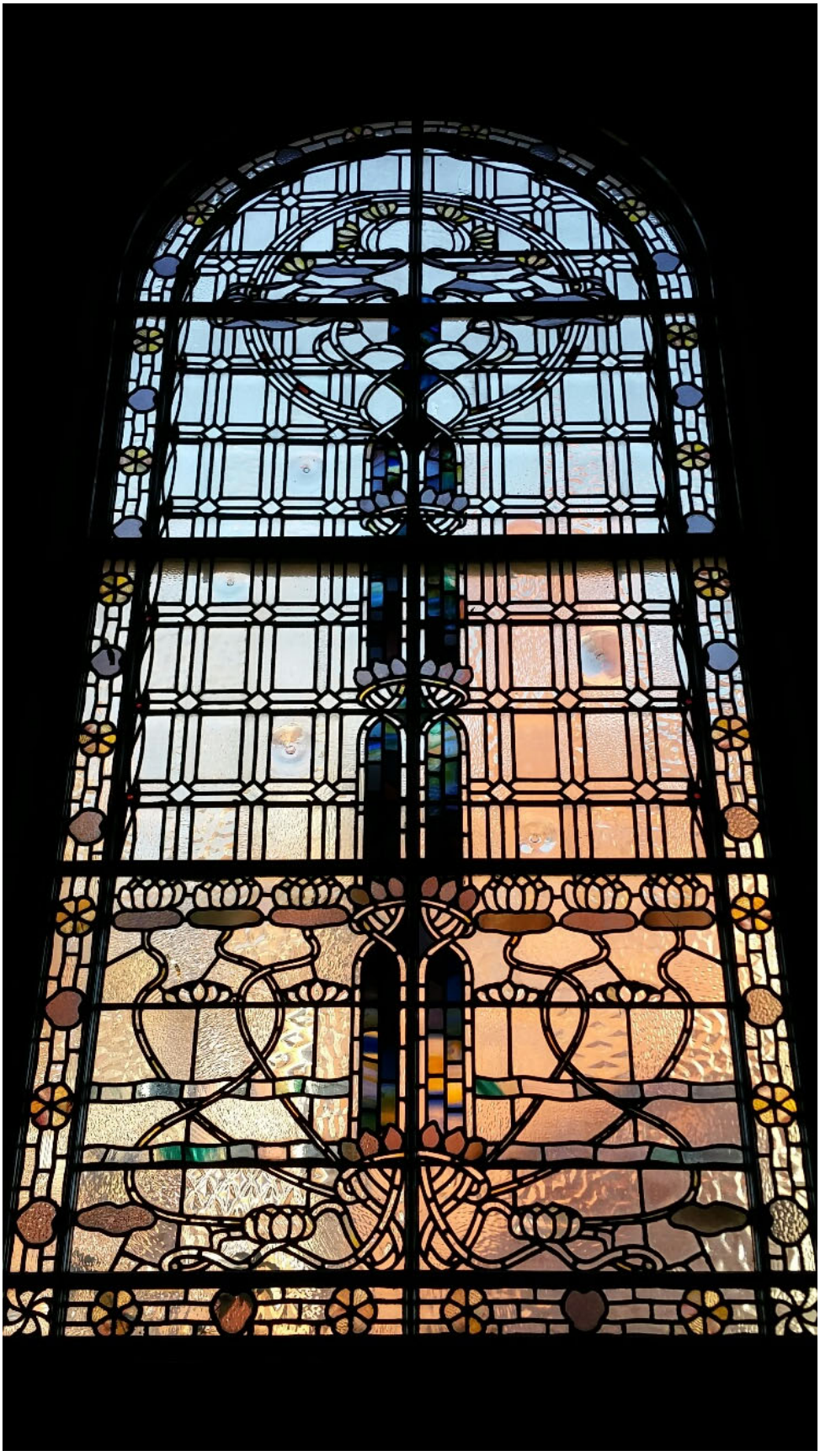


Fig. 311 . Liverpool District Nursing Association building, 1906. Staircase window

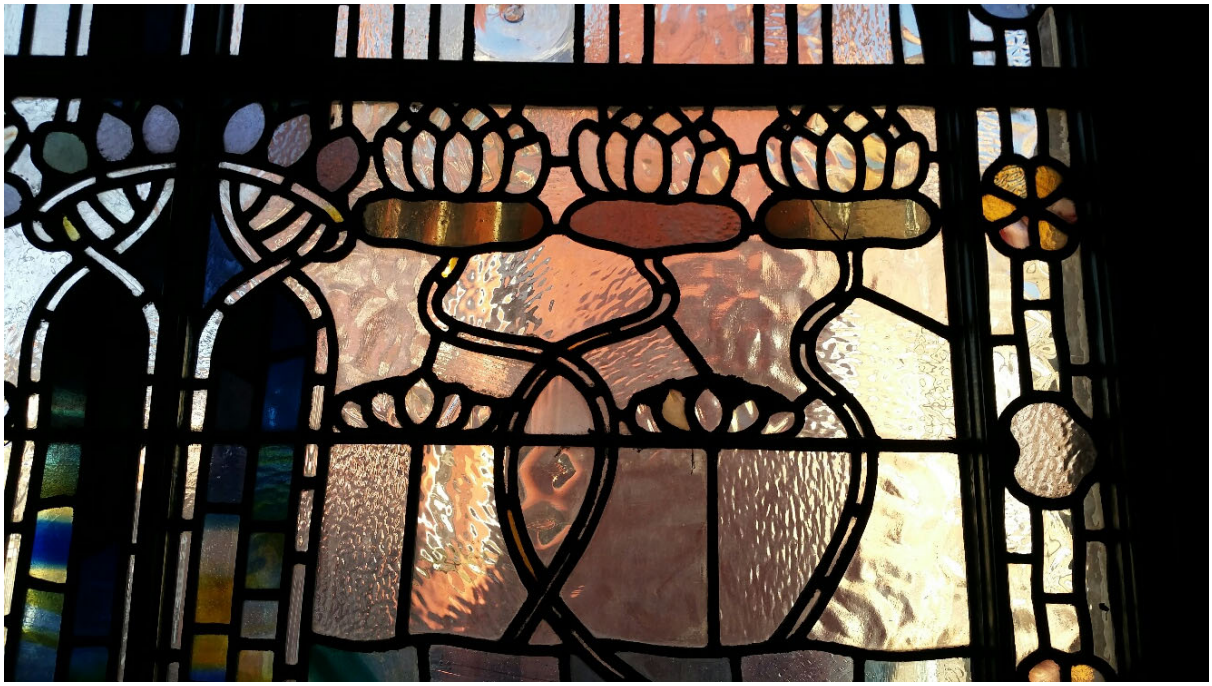


Fig. 312 . Liverpool District Nursing Association building, 1906. Detail of textured glasses



Fig. 313 . Liverpool District Nursing Association building, 1906. Detail of ripple glass



Fig. 314 . Liverpool District Nursing Association building, 1906. Detail of textured glasses, including Venetian



Fig. 315 . Touchstones, Rochdale. Extension of 1903, which is set back from the Free Library, to the right of the image. The uniformity of Pearce's designs can clearly be seen.



Fig. 316 . W.J. Pearce, 1903. Staircase window, Rochdale Art Gallery (now Touchstones) showing fire, earth, air and water



Fig. 317 . W.J. Pearce, 1903. Staircase window, Rochdale Art Gallery (now Touchstones) showing fire, earth, air and water



Fig. 318 . W.J. Pearce, 1903. Staircase window, Rochdale Art Gallery (now Touchstones), showing astronomy, chemistry, geology and hydro-electricity



Fig. 319 . Rochdale Art Gallery (now Touchstones), staircase leading to the first floor with W.J. Pearce stained glass windows



Fig. 320 . Rochdale Art Gallery (now Touchstones), staircase leading to the first floor with W.J. Pearce stained glass windows



Fig. 321 . Rochdale Art Gallery (now Touchstones), staircase leading to the first floor with W.J. Pearce stained glass windows



Fig. 322 . W.J. Pearce, 1902. Bury Art Gallery and Museum, windows on staircase, showing cotton plants



Fig. 323 . W.J. Pearce, 1902. Bury Museum and Art Gallery, window detail of cotton plant



Fig. 324 . W.J. Pearce, 1904. Detail of glass at Empire Building, Rochdale



Fig. 325 . Photograph of the library, c.1903, with addition of the second extension



Figs. 326 . W.J. Pearce, 1903. Ground floor panel representing England



Figs. 327 . W.J. Pearce, 1903. Ground floor panel representing Scotland

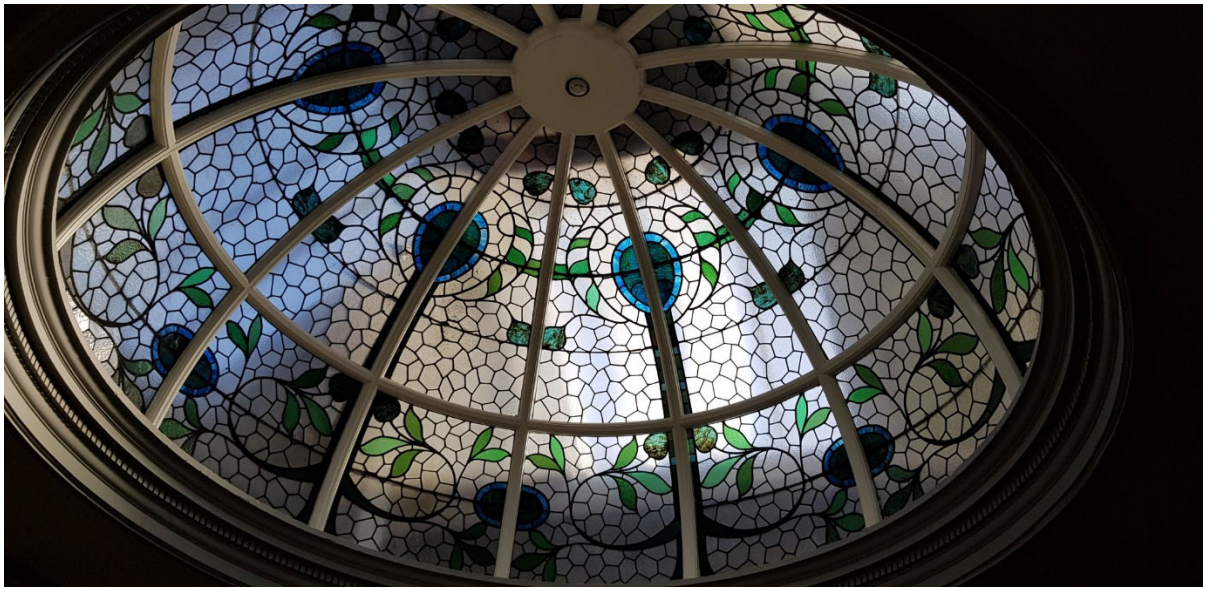


Fig. 328 . W.J. Pearce, 1903. Glass dome in gallery one



Fig. 329 . W.J. Pearce, 1903. Staircase window, Rochdale Art Gallery (now Touchstones), Detail of panel representing the element of water



Fig. 330 . W.J. Pearce, 1903. Staircase window, Rochdale Art Gallery (now Touchstones), Detail of textured layers of geology panel



Fig. 331 . W.J. Pearce, 1903. Staircase window, Rochdale Art Gallery (now Touchstones), Panels representing geology and hydro-electricity



Fig. 332 . W.J. Pearce, 1904. Didsbury United Reformed Church. Iris window.

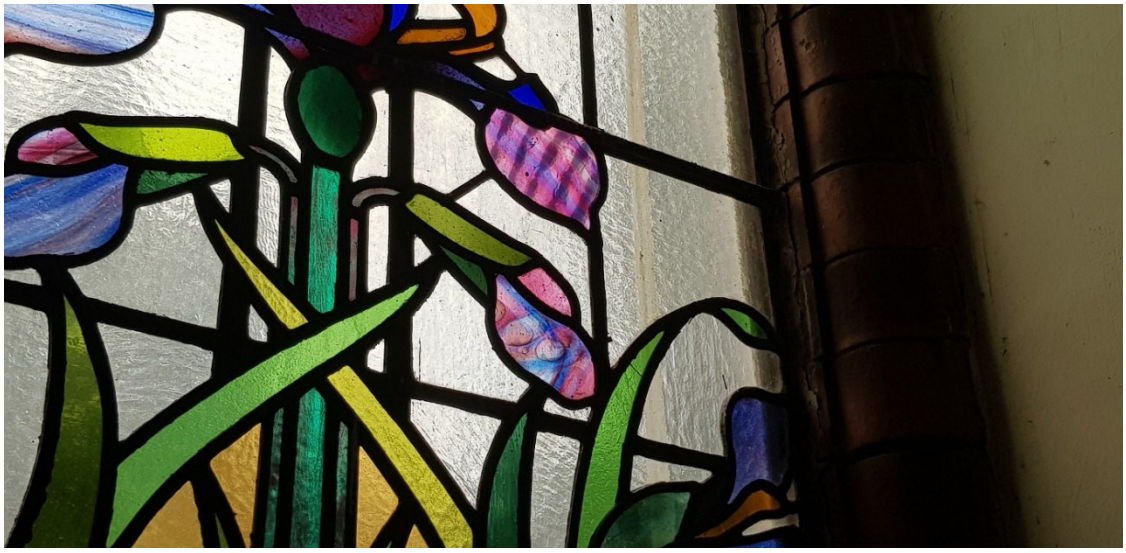


Fig. 333 . W.J. Pearce, 1904. Didsbury United Reformed Church. Detail of the Iris window

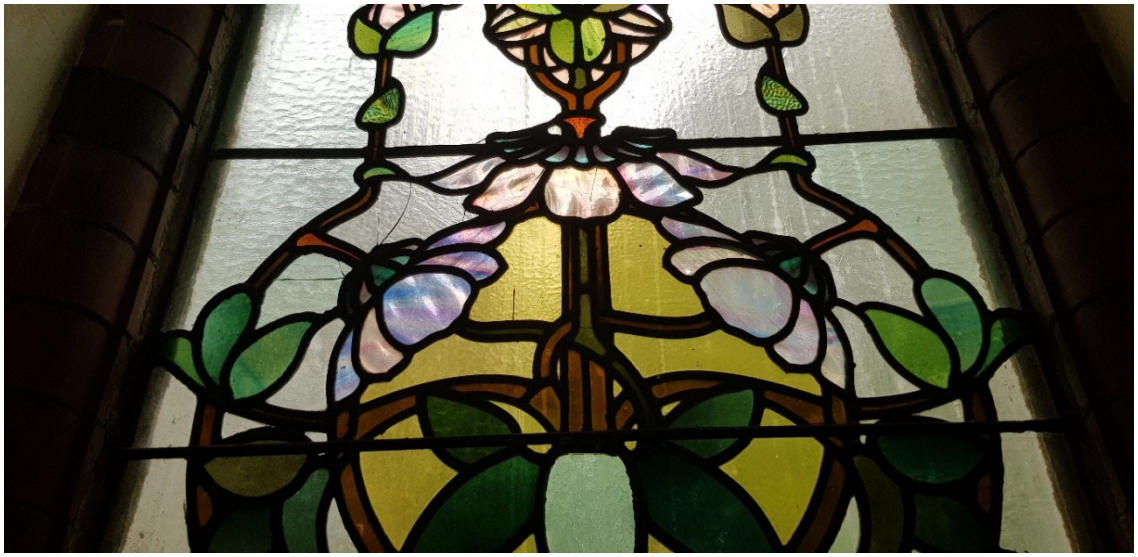


Fig. 334 . W.J. Pearce, 1904. Didsbury United Reformed Church. Detail of the Daisy window.



Fig. 335 . W.J. Pearce, 1904. Didsbury United Reformed Church. The Gentian window



Fig. 336 . W.J. Pearce, 1904 Didsbury United Reformed Church. The Daisy window



Fig. 337 . W.J. Pearce, 1904 Didsbury United Reformed Church. The Madonna Lily window



Fig. 338 . W.J. Pearce, 1904 Didsbury United Reformed Church. The Periwinkle window



Fig. 339 . W.J. Pearce, 1904. Sackville Street Building, University of Manchester

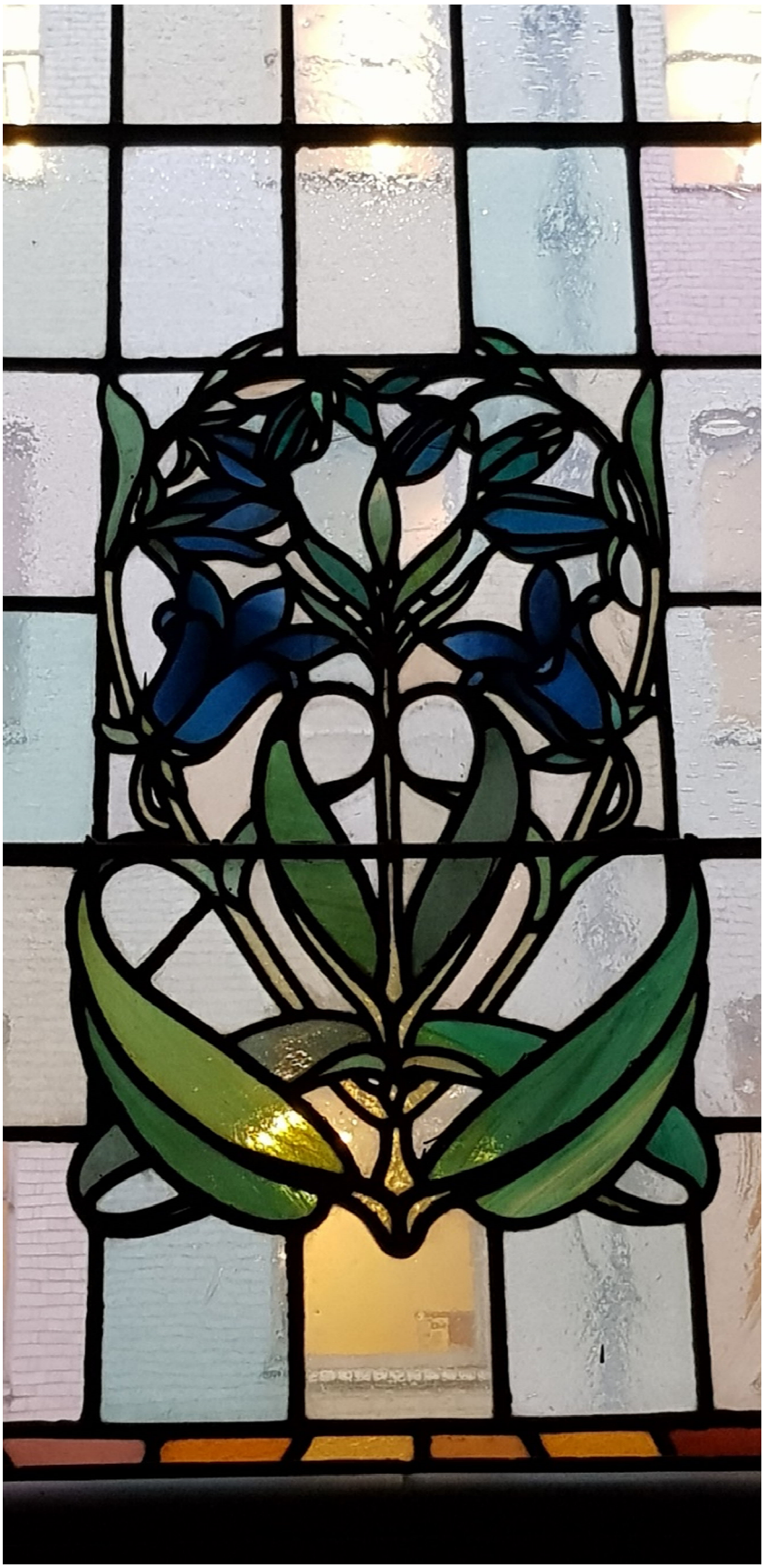


Fig. 340 W.J. Pearce, 1904. Sackville Street Building, University of Manchester. Gentians

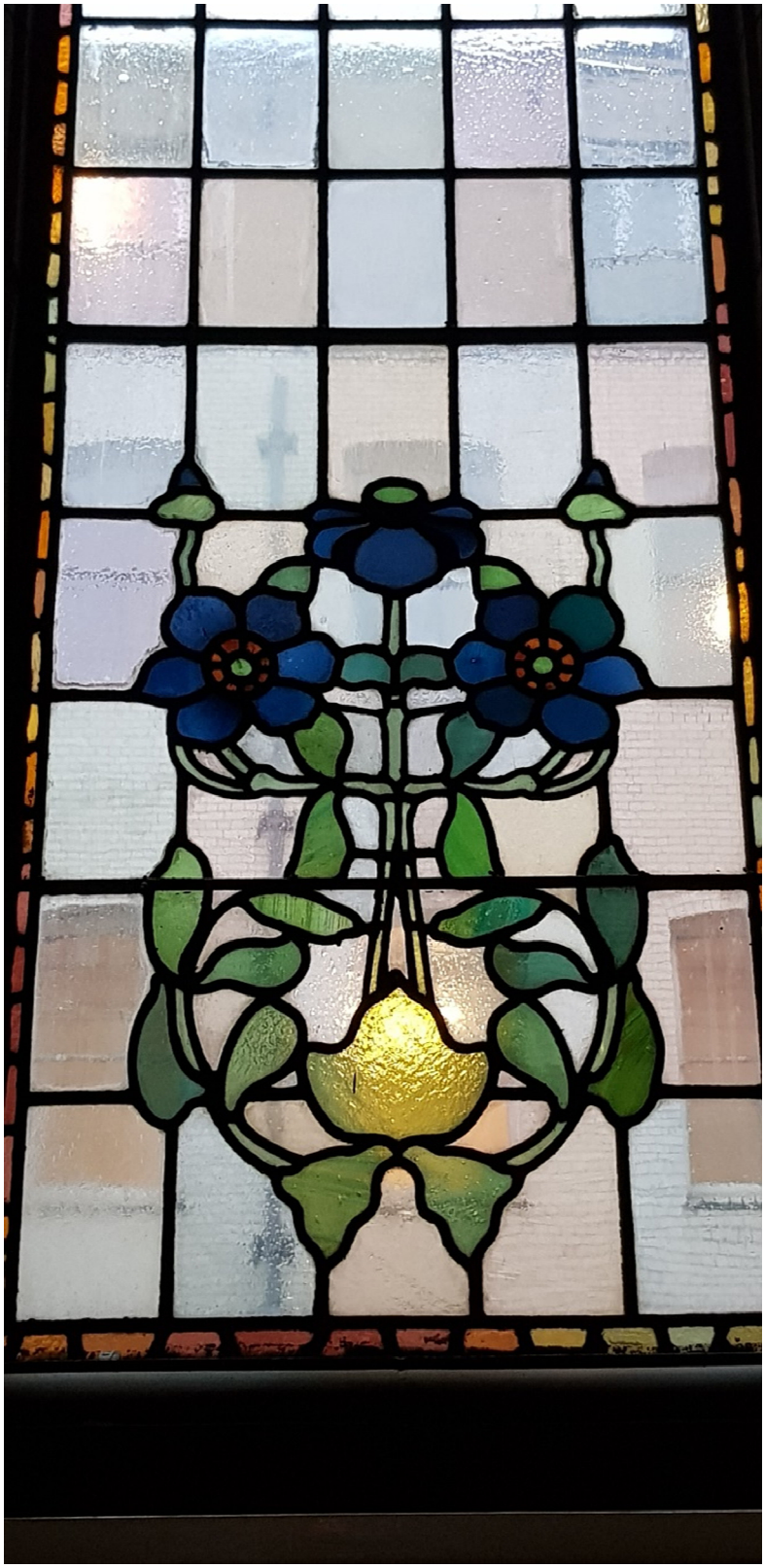


Fig. 341 . W.J. Pearce, 1904. Sackville Street Building, University of Manchester

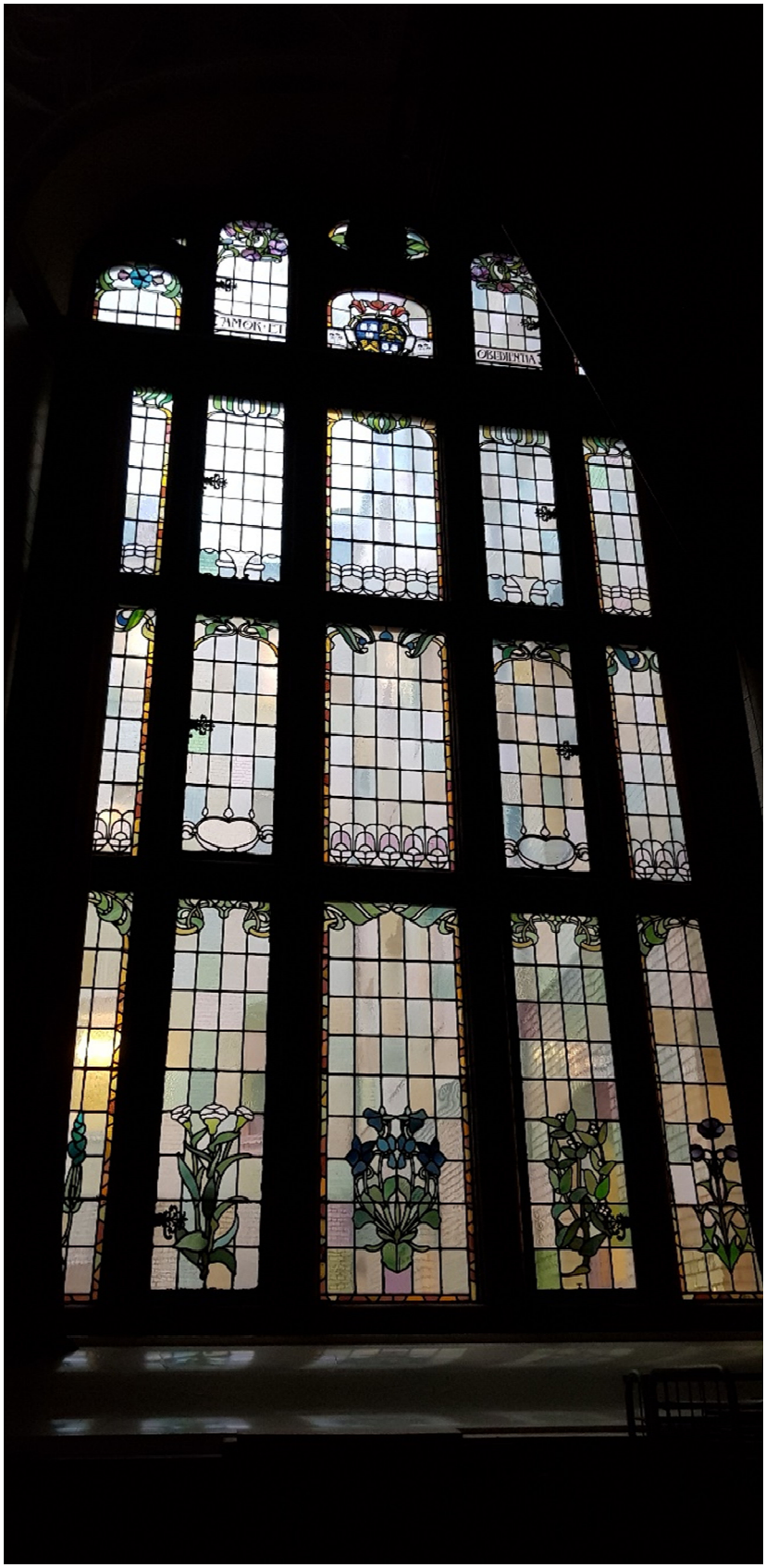


Fig. 342 . W.J. Pearce, 1904. Sackville Street Building, University of Manchester



Fig. 343. Louise Comfort Tiffany, c.1924. The Charles Duncan and William Hegardt Memorial Window, Pilgrim Congregational Church, Duluth, Minnesota

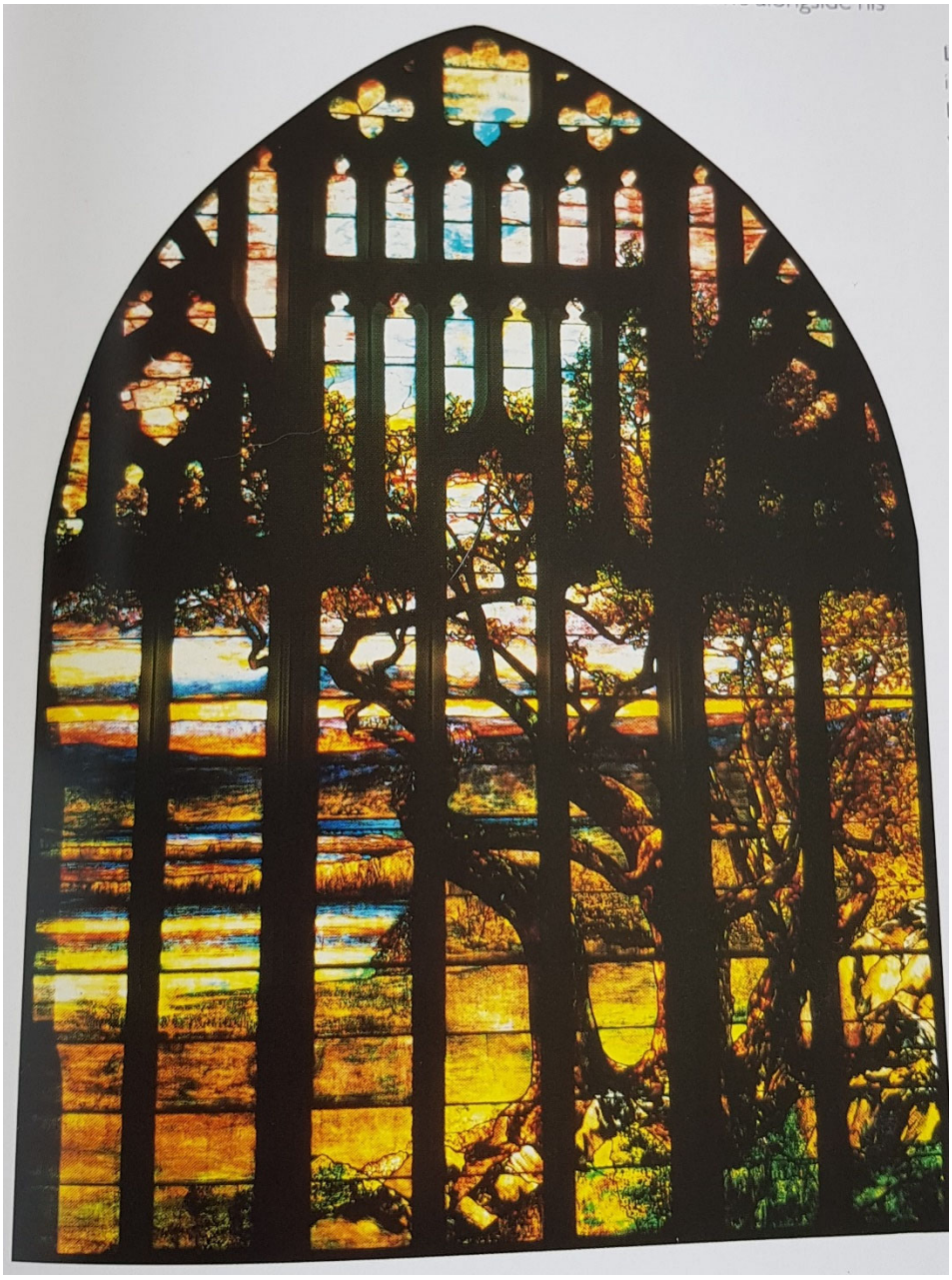


Fig. 344. Louis Comfort Tiffany, c.1905. The Russell Sage Memorial Window, Frist Presbyterian Church, Far Rockaway, Long Island

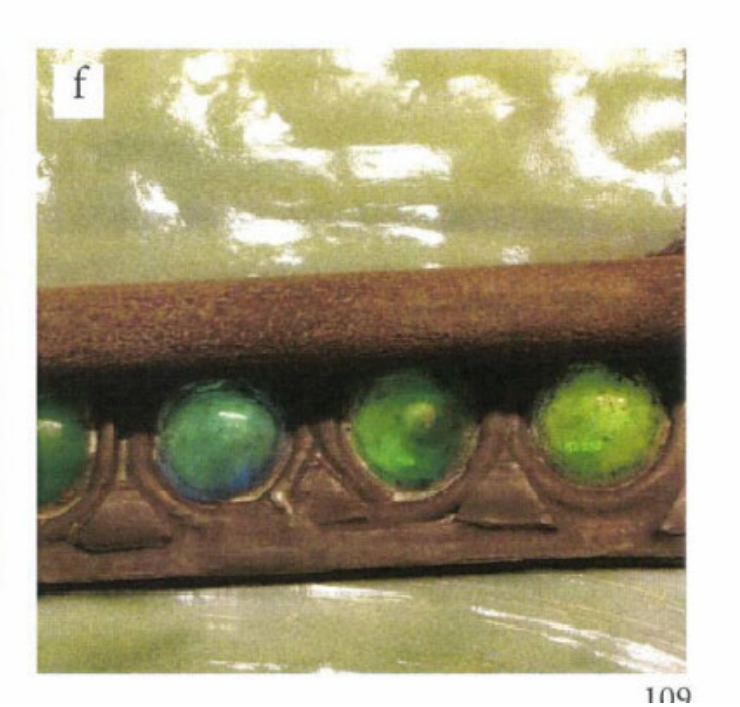


Fig. 345 . Louis Comfort Tiffany, Second Presbyterian Church, Chicago, c.1905, window nII



Fig. 346. Louis Comfort Tiffany, detail of Butterfly window, c.1885

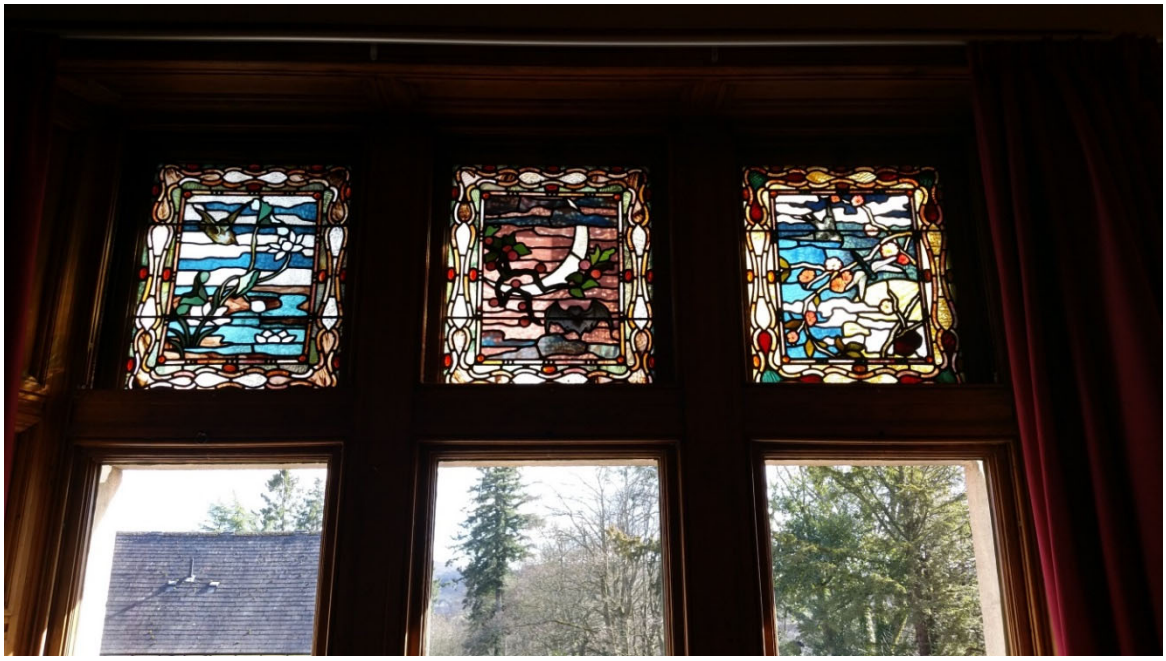


Fig. 347 . J&W Guthrie in partnership with William Stewart, Ruthven Towers, Auchterarder (c.1897-1898), showing bird, bat and dragonfly windows in textured and opalescent glasses



Fig. 348 . J&W Guthrie in partnership with William Stewart, Ruthven Towers, Auchterarder (c.1897-1898). Bat window. Ruthven Towers



Fig. 349 . J&W Guthrie in partnership with William Stewart, Ruthven Towers, Auchterarder (c.1897-1898. Dragonfly window

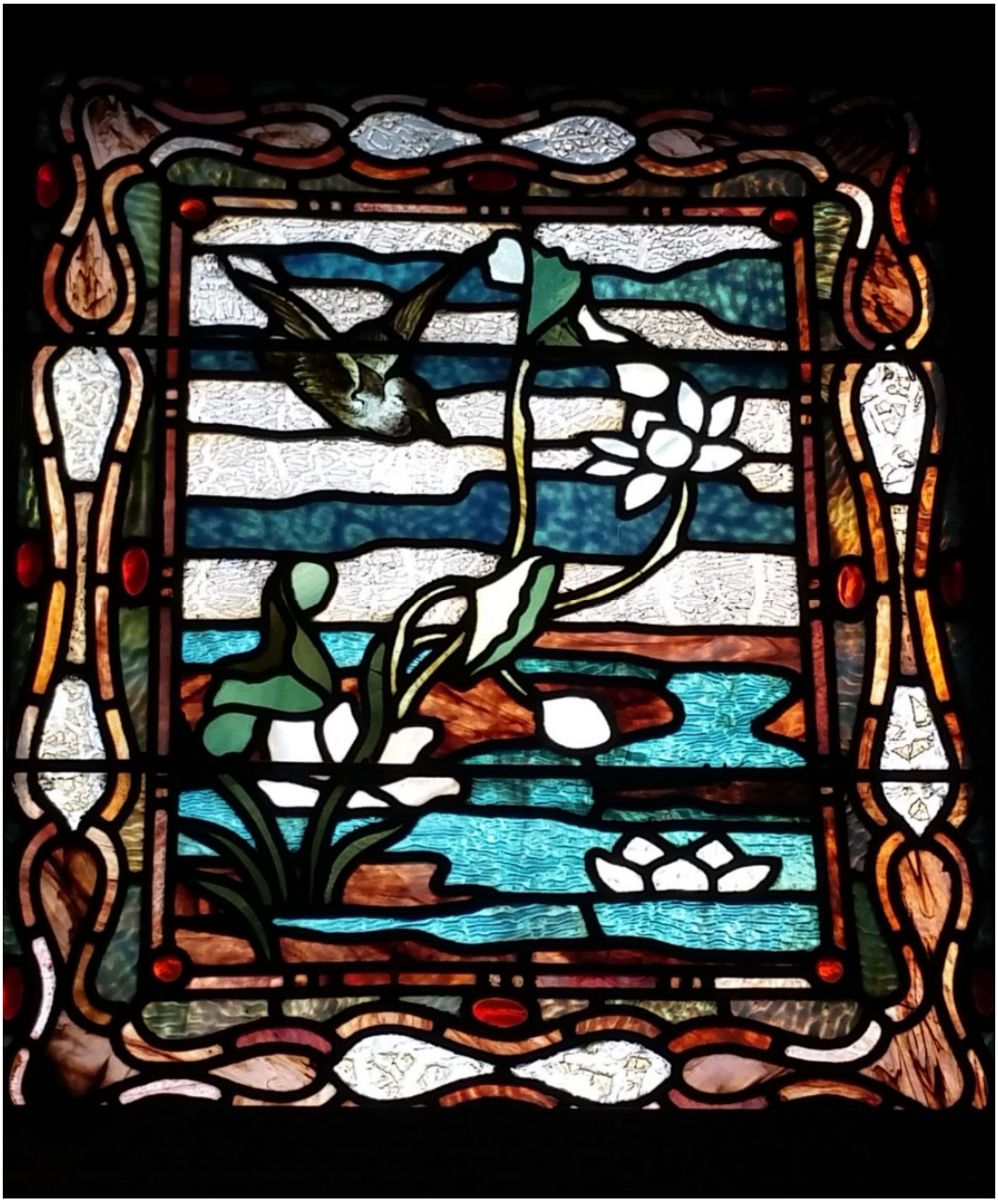


Fig. 350 . J&W Guthrie in partnership with William Stewart, Ruthven Towers, Auchterarder (c.1897-1898. Bird window. Detail of ripple and various textured glasses



Fig. 351 . University Gardens, Glasgow

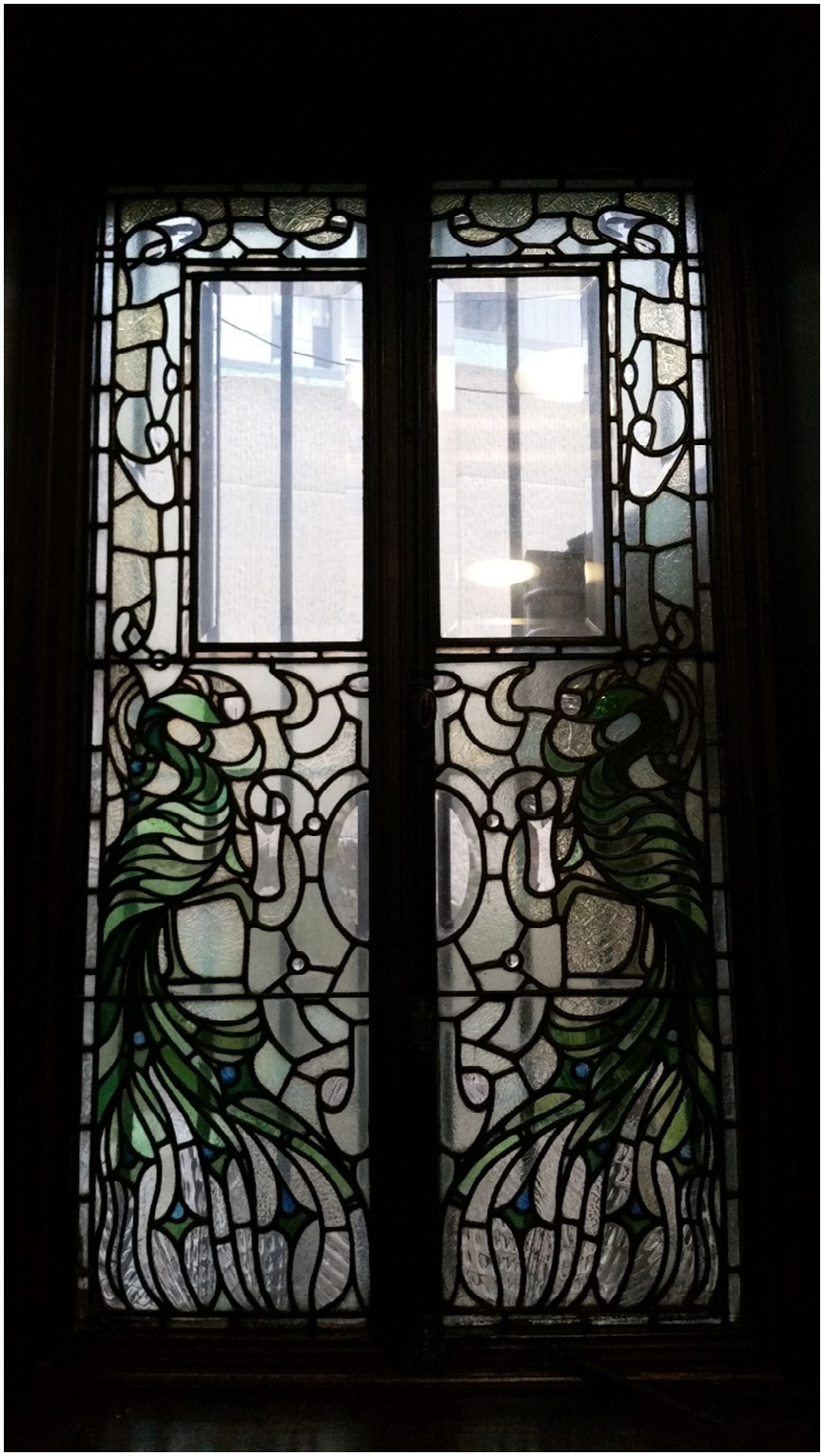


Fig. 352 . Oscar Paterson. University Gardens window



Fig. 353 . Oscar Paterson. University Gardens. Detail of peacock window

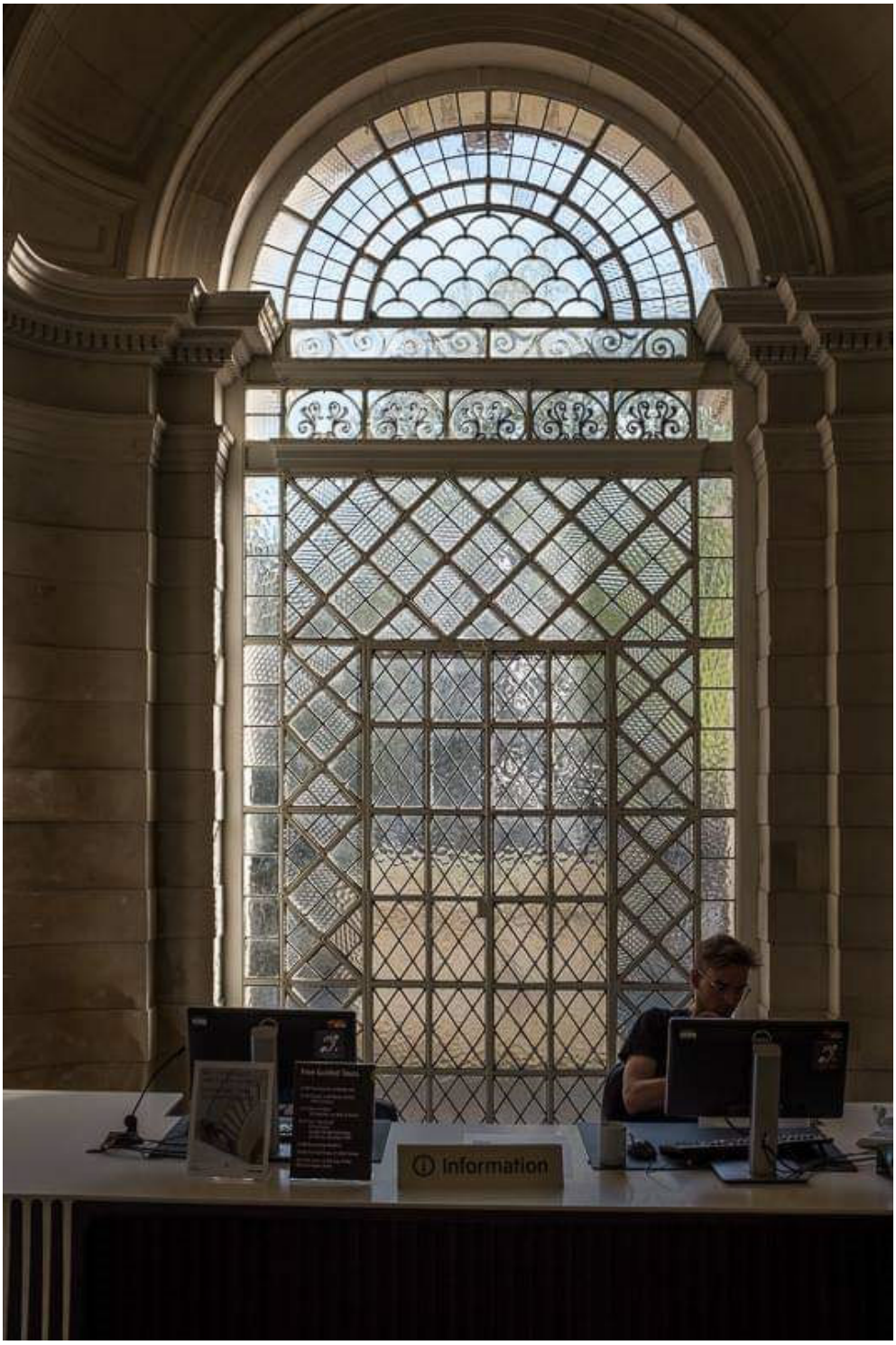


Fig. 354 . Tate Britain, ground floor windows with Venetian glass

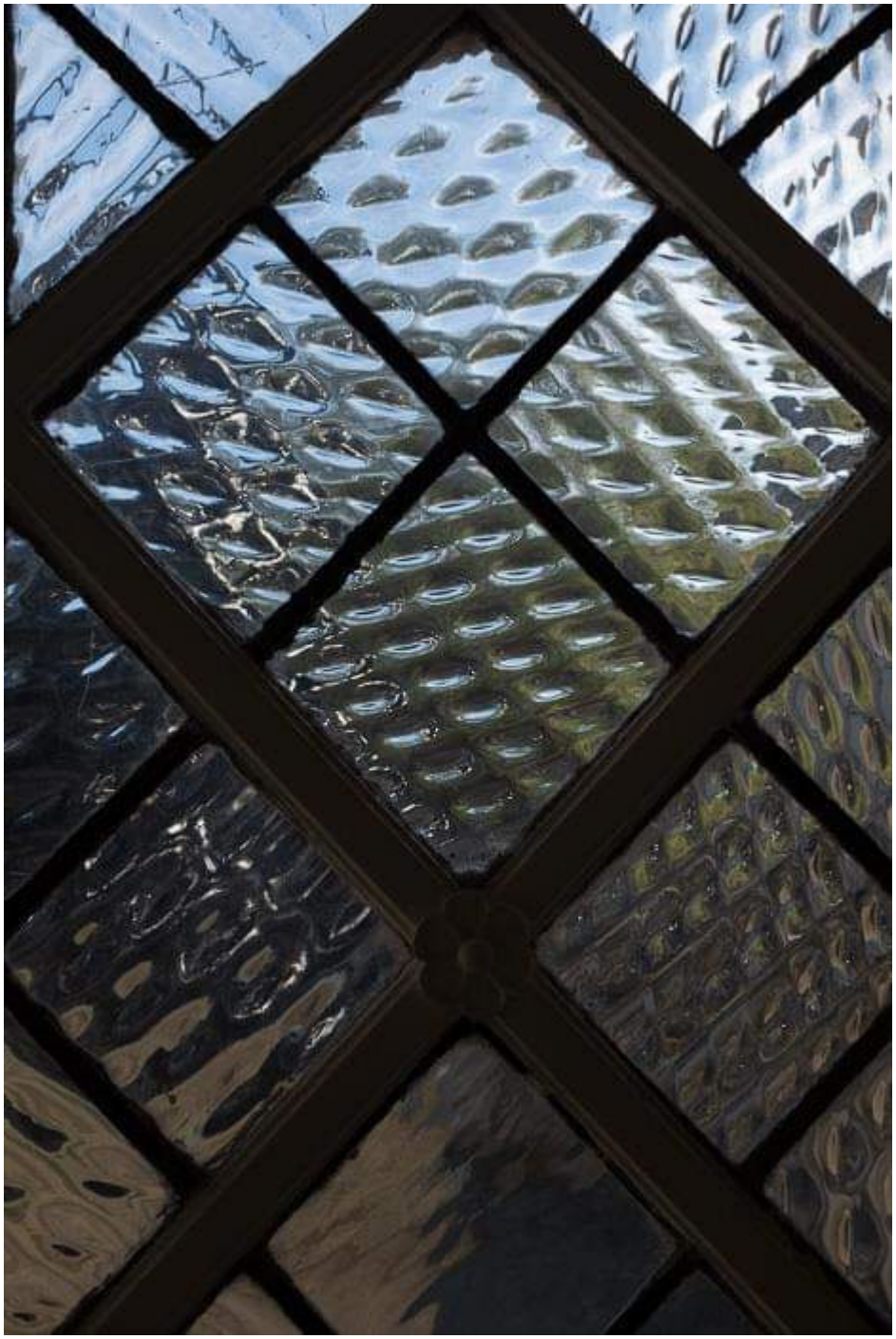


Fig. 355 . Tate Britain, detail of ground floor windows with Venetian glass



Fig. 356 . Tate Britain, detail of ground floor windows with Venetian glass



Fig. 357 . John Edgar Mitchell and George Gavin Laidler. 1904. Laing Art Gallery, Newcastle. The Marriage of the Arts window,



Fig. 358 . John Edgar Mitchell, c.1904. Royal Victoria Infirmary window, Newcastle



Fig. 359 . Examples of textured glasses and tonal qualities. Muffled sheet (machine-made) and Venetian (antique, mouth-blown)



Fig. 360 . Examples of textured glasses and tonal qualities. Venetian Rippled (machine-made) and Venetian (antique, mouth-blown)



Fig. 361 . Examples of textured glasses and tonal qualities. Dewdrop (machine-made) and Venetian (antique, mouth-blown)

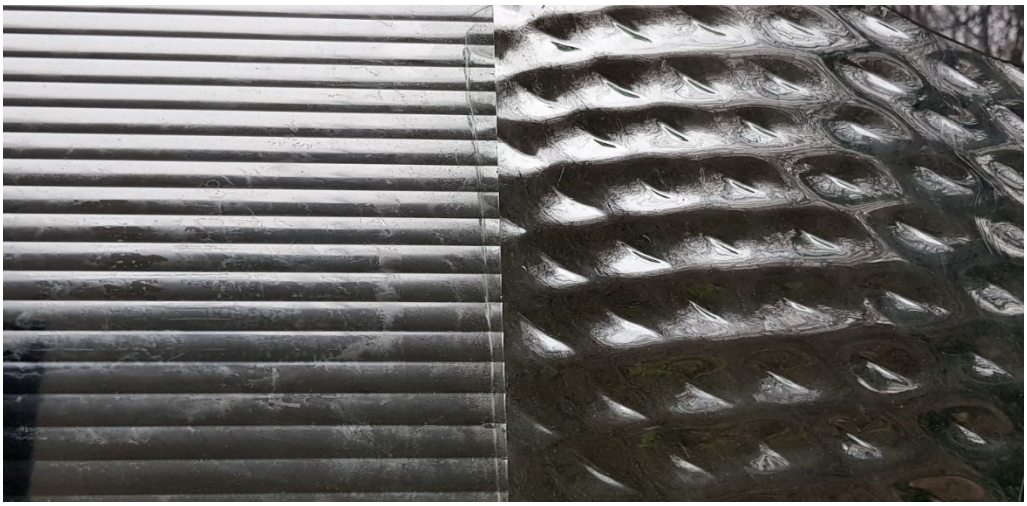


Fig. 362 . Examples of textured glasses and tonal qualities. Fluted sheet (machine-made) and Venetian (antique, mouth-blown)

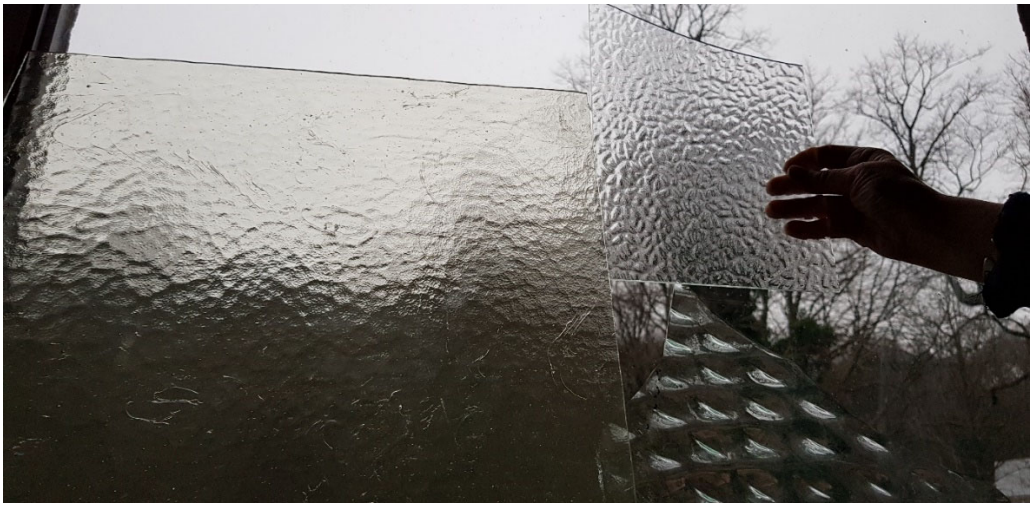


Fig. 363 . Examples of textured glasses and tonal qualities. Muffled sheet, Venetian Rippled (machine-made) and Venetian (antique, mouth-blown)



Fig. 364 . Examples of textured glasses and tonal qualities. Muffled sheet, Venetian Rippled (machine-made) and Venetian (antique, mouth-blown)



Fig. 365 . Examples of textured glasses and tonal qualities. Muffled sheet, Venetian Rippled (machine-made) and Venetian (antique, mouth-blown)

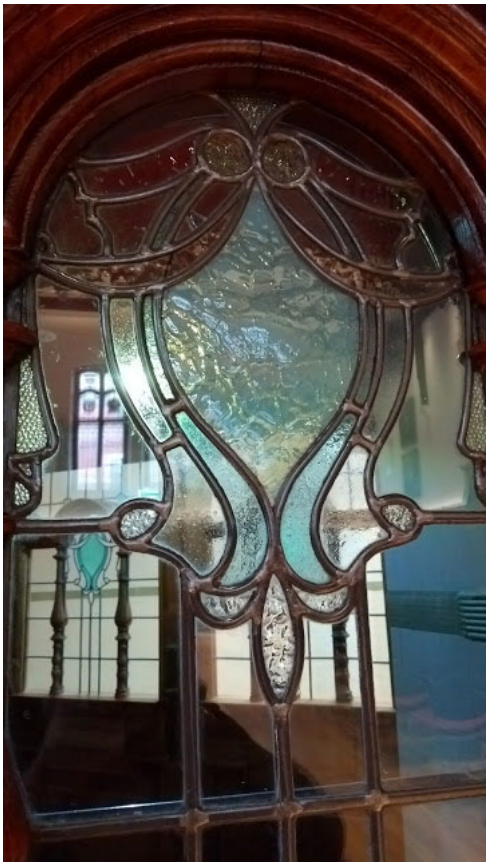


Fig. 366 . George Gavin Laidler, Armstrong building, King's Hall, Newcastle University in 1905-6. Door panels containing crackle glass



Fig. 367 . John Edgar Mitchell, Old Shire Hall, Durham 1905. Music and Elocution



Fig. 368 . John Edgar Mitchell, Old Shire Hall, Durham 1905. Art Handicraft and Chemistry

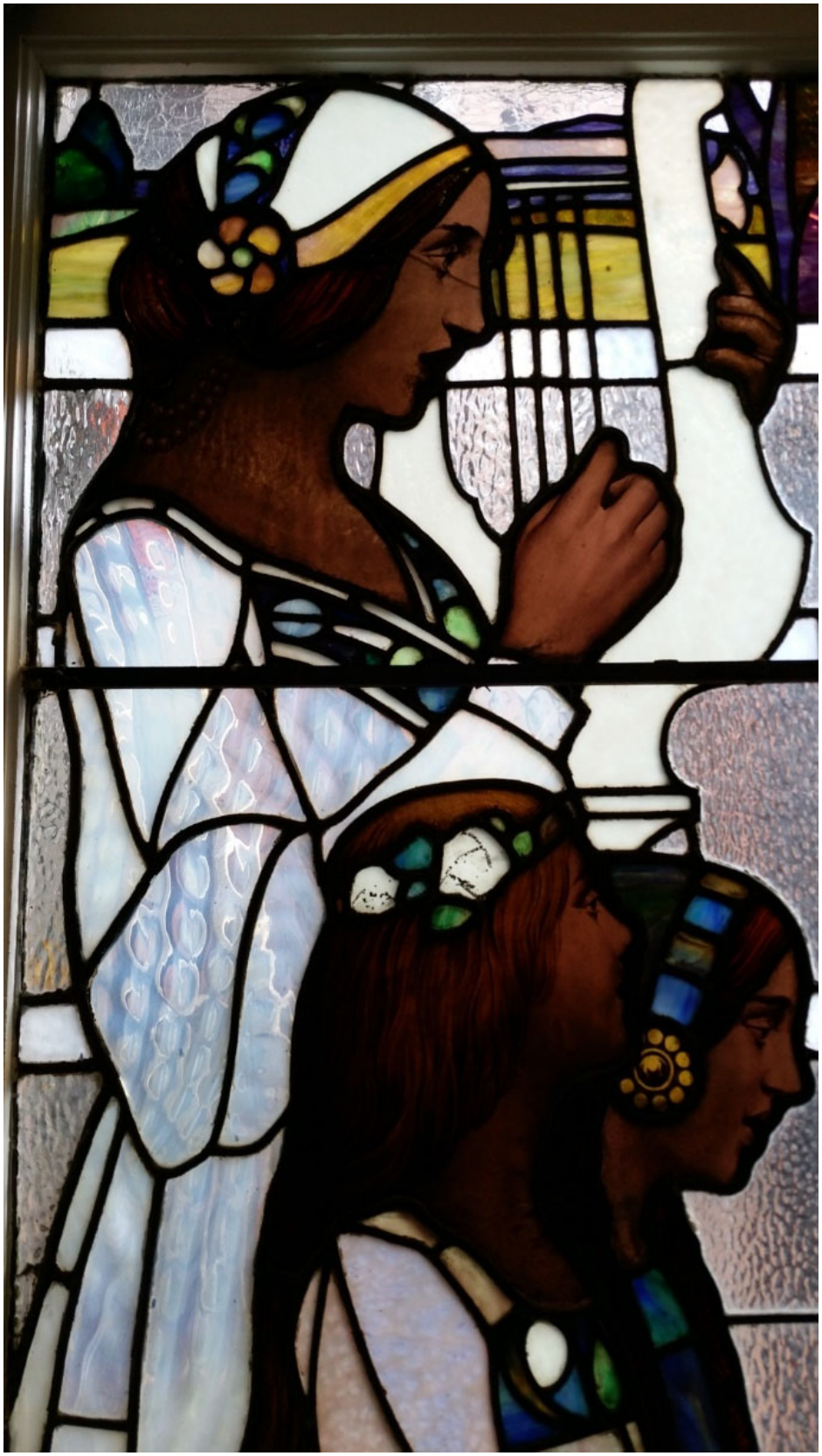


Fig. 369 . John Edgar Mitchell, Old Shire Hall, Durham 1905. Detail of Venetian glass



Fig. 370 . John Edgar Mitchell, Old Shire Hall, Durham 1905. Detail of textured antique and opalescent glasses



Fig. 371 . John Edgar Mitchell, Old Shire Hall, Durham 1905. Detail of textured glasses in clothing



Fig. 372 . John Edgar Mitchell, Old Shire Hall, Durham 1905. Corridor windows with crackle glass



Fig. 373 . John Edgar Mitchell, Old Shire Hall, Durham 1905. Window containing crackle glass



Fig. 374 . Margaret Chilton, Pilton Parish Church, Somerset, 1907



Fig. 375 . Miller and Lang Printing Office (Now McCormick House Business Centre)

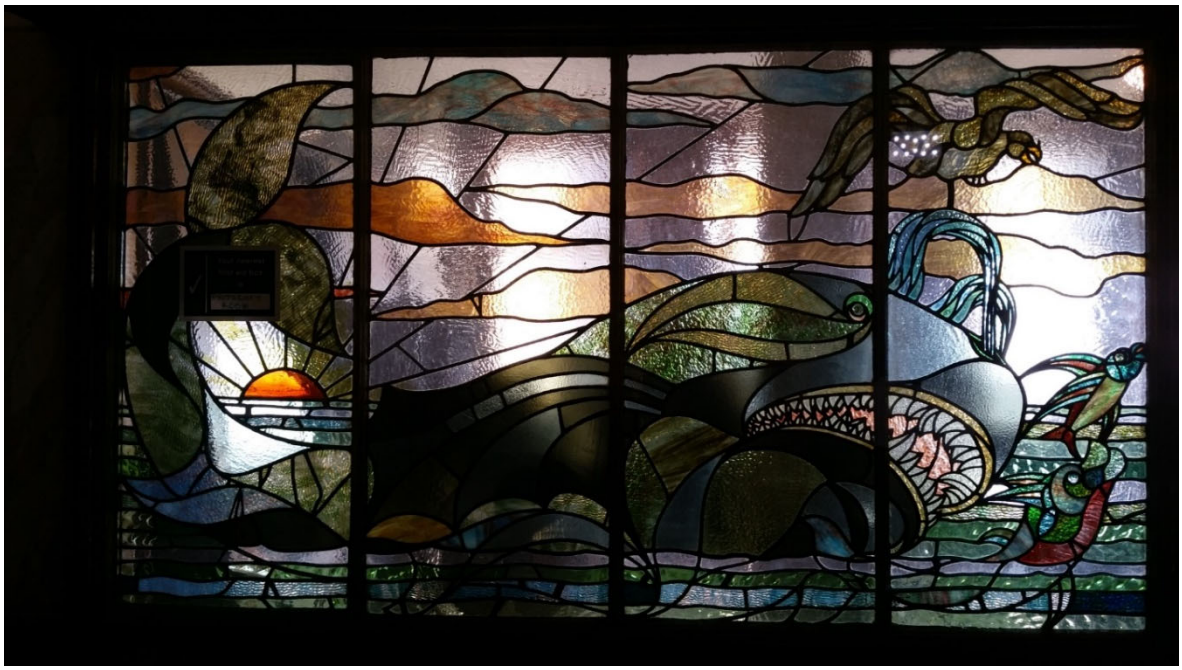


Fig. 376 . John C Hall & W.G. Morton, Miller and Lang Printing Office, Pollockshields, Glasgow, 1902. Shark design, partition wall

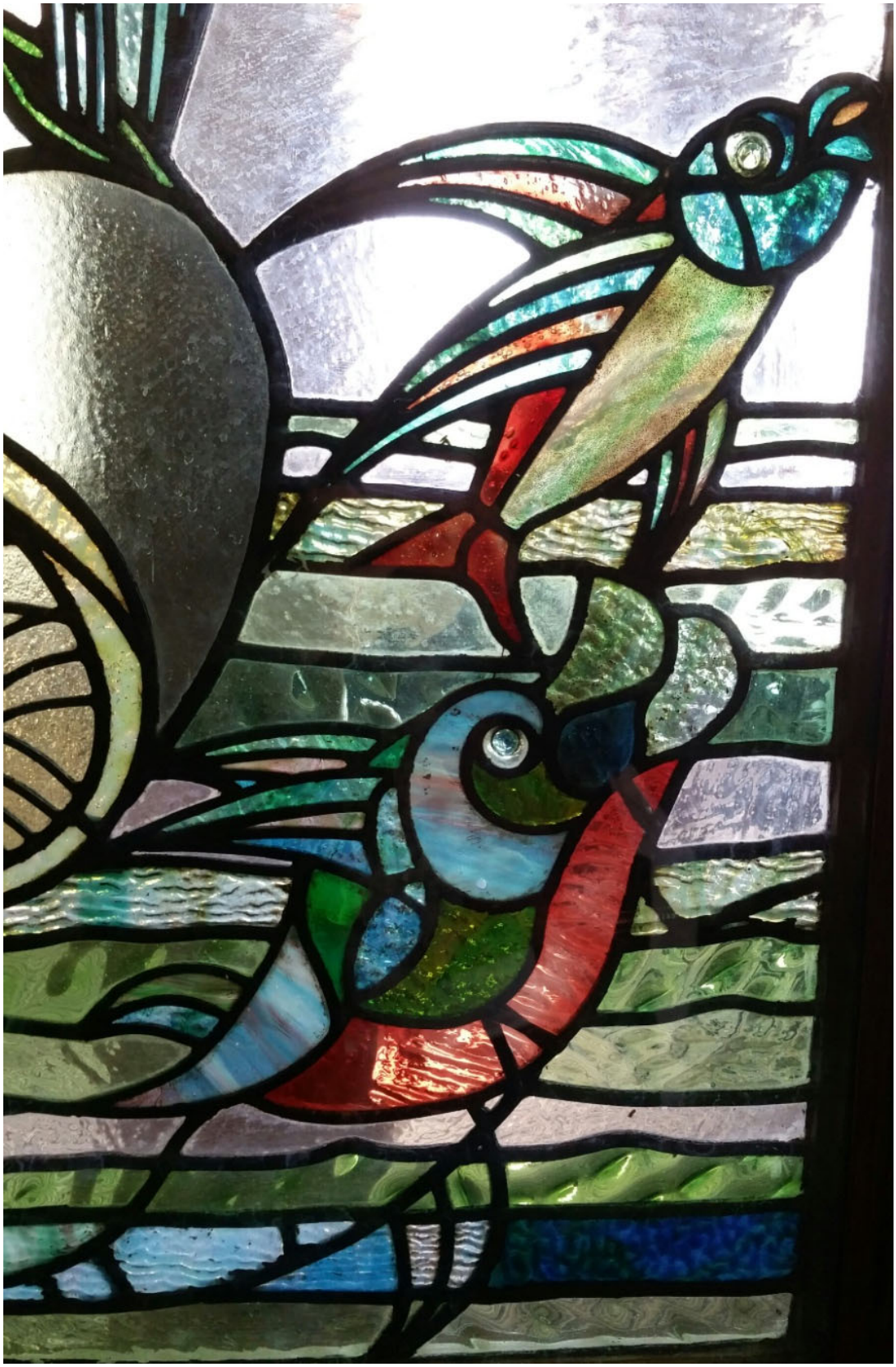


Fig. 377 . John C Hall & W.G. Morton, Miller and Lang Printing Office, Pollockshields, Glasgow, 1902. Detail of fish



Fig. 378 . John C Hall & W.G. Morton, Miller and Lang Printing Office, Pollockshields, Glasgow, 1902. Mermaid in door panel

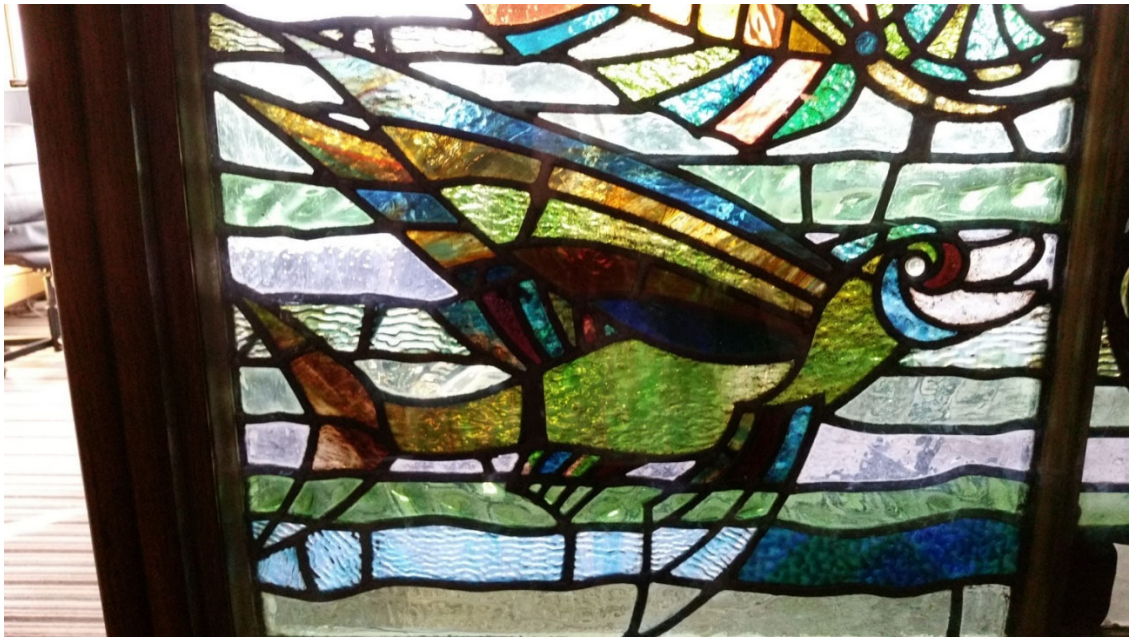


Fig. 379 . John C Hall & W.G. Morton, Miller and Lang Printing Office, Pollockshields, Glasgow, 1902.
Detail of fish in partition door



Fig. 380 . John C Hall & W.G. Morton, Miller and Lang Printing Office, Pollockshields, Glasgow, 1902.
Detail of copper embossed door plates with bats and Art Nouveau handle



Fig. 381 . John C Hall & W.G. Morton, Miller and Lang Printing Office, Pollockshields, Glasgow, 1902. Venus oval window on staircase with decorative tiles and serpent frieze



Fig. 382 . John C Hall & W.G. Morton, Miller and Lang Printing Office, Pollockshields, Glasgow, 1902. Corridor

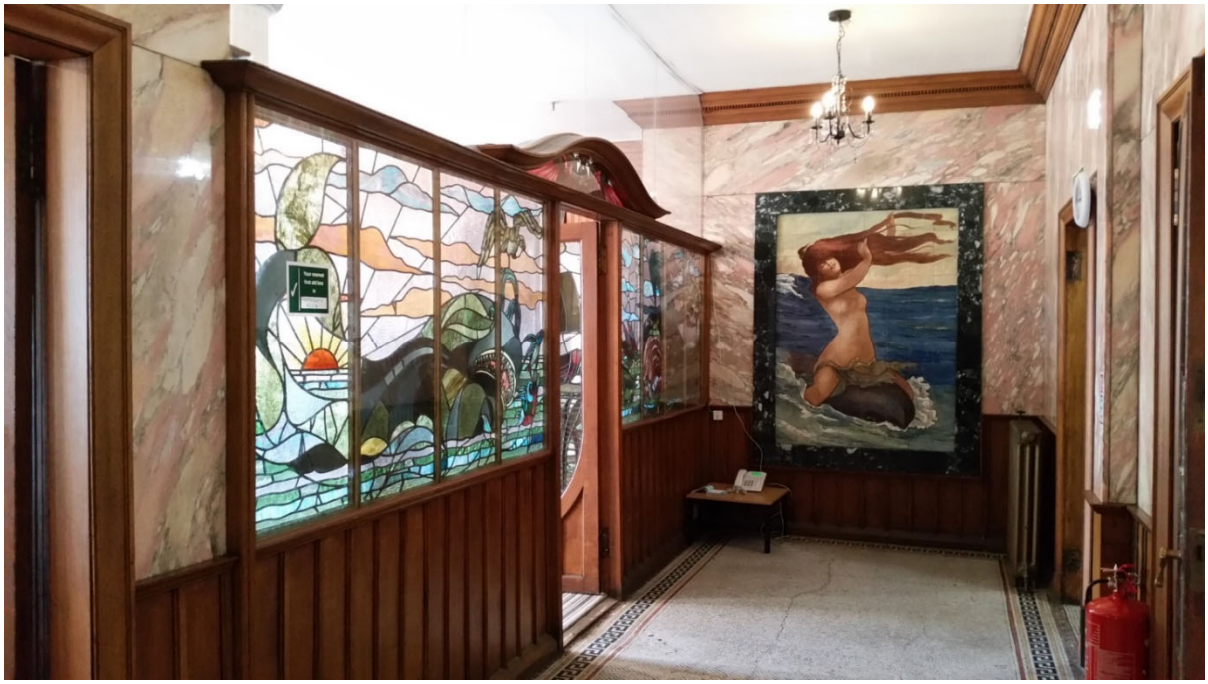


Fig. 383 . John C Hall & W.G. Morton, Miller and Lang Printing Office, Pollockshields, Glasgow, 1902. Corridor



Fig. 384 . John C Hall & W.G. Morton, Miller and Lang Printing Office, Pollockshields, Glasgow, 1902.
Panels in office doorways



Fig. 385 . John C Hall & W.G. Morton, Miller and Lang Printing Office, Pollockshields, Glasgow, 1902.
Enquiries office panels and doorway



Fig. 386 . John C Hall & W.G. Morton, Miller and Lang Printing Office, Pollockshields, Glasgow, 1902. Detail of seahorse beneath galleon in office doorway. Ripple textured glass.

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Fig. 387 . John C Hall & W.G. Morton, Miller and Lang Printing Office, Pollockshields, Glasgow, 1902. Whale partition window marked ‘Enquiries’

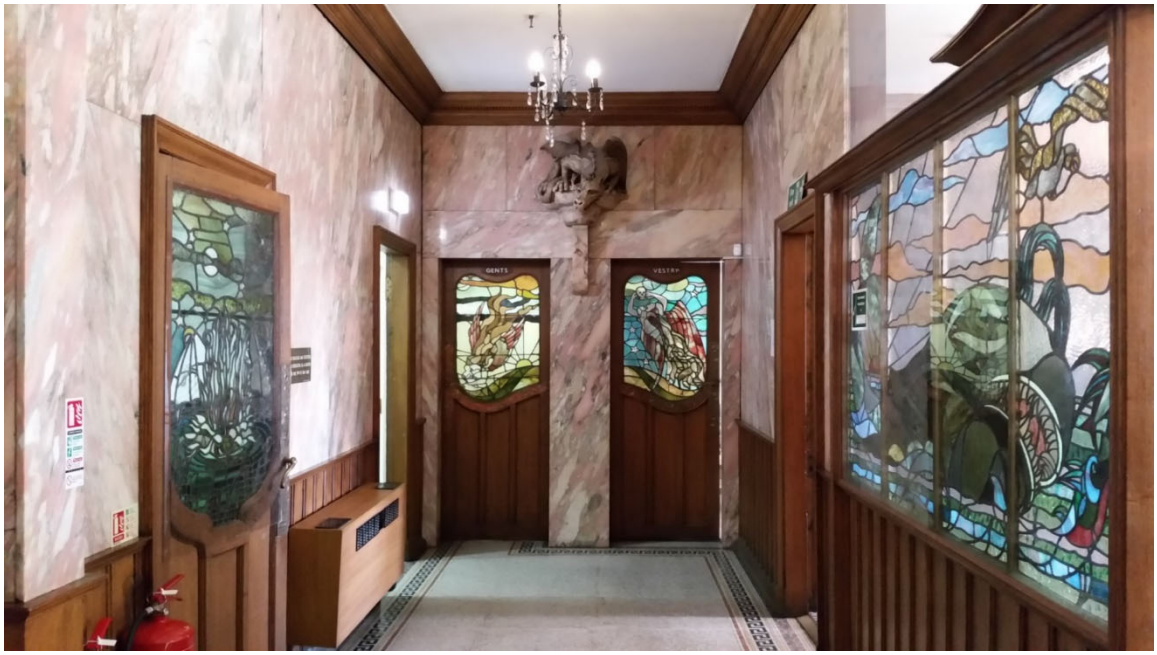

Fig. 388 . John C Hall & W.G. Morton, Miller and Lang Printing Office, Pollockshields, Glasgow, 1902. Another view of the corridor windows. ‘Neptune’ window on the left.



Fig. 389 . Manors Power Station, Newcastle. Now Castlegate.



Fig. 390 . Manors Power Station stained glass window, showing glass reflected in the tile work

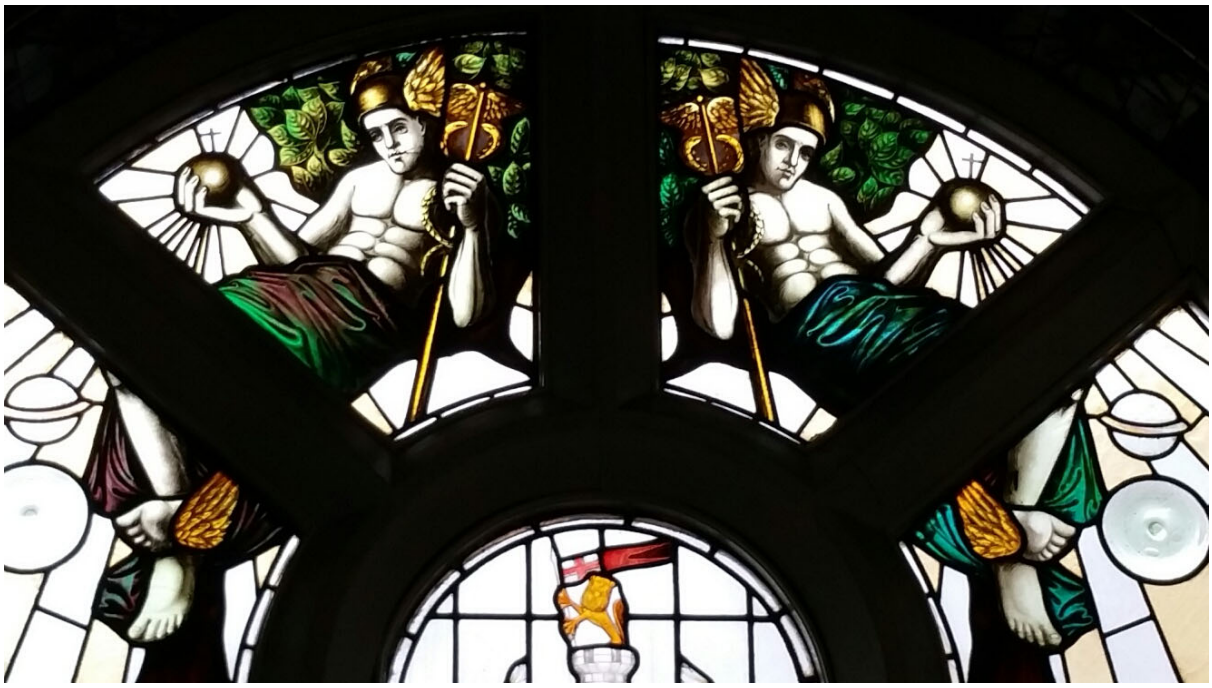

Fig. 391 . Manors Power Station. Detail of Hermes



Fig. 392 . Manors Power Station. Detail of decorative tile work with sea horse-like creatures continuously running along the upper sections



Fig. 393 . The Rose Villa Tavern, Birmingham, 1919-1920.



Fig. 394 . The Rose Villa Tavern, Birmingham, 1919-1920. Detail of Venetian glass.

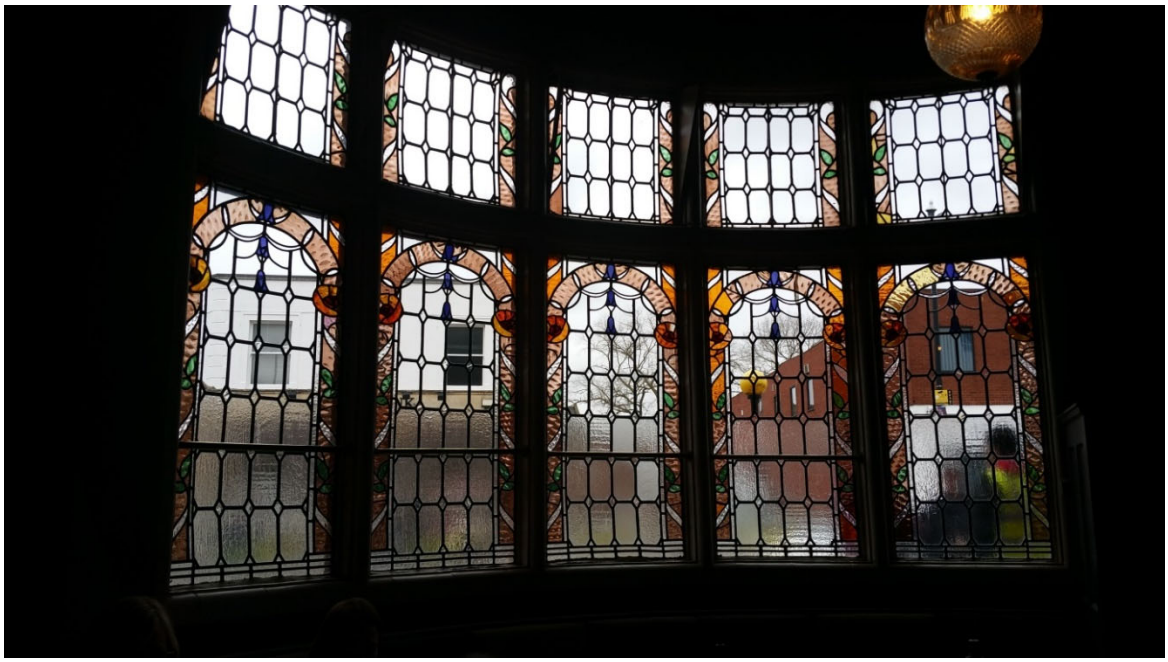

Fig. 395 . The Rose Villa Tavern, Birmingham, 1919-1920