A STAINED GLASS MASTERPIECE IN VICTORIAN GLASGOW

STEPEHEN ADAM'S CELEBRATION OF INDUSTRIAL LABOR

Lionel Gossman

with Ian R. Mitchell and Iain B. Galbraith

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PREFATORY NOTE AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The Burgh Halls of Maryhill – a district in the north-western section of Glasgow[1] -- are adorned by twenty stained glass panels of extraordinary power, beauty, and originality. Created some time between 1877 and 1881 by the barely thirty-year old Stephen Adam in collaboration with David Small, his partner in the studio he opened in Glasgow in 1870, these panels are unique among stained glass works of the time in that they depict the workers of the then independent burgh not for the most part in the practice of traditional trades (baker, weaver, flesher, cooper, hammerman, etc.) (see Pt. II, 2, Figs. 1-3), not clad in traditional, biblical or classical costume -- as, for instance, in the contemporary windows of the Trades Hall in Aberdeen, also by Stephen Adam -- but realistically, as workers dressed in modern working clothes and engaged in the tasks required by the many small modern workshops that had opened in Maryhill, even as vast industrial complexes, such as the Tennant chemical works, employing over a thousand workers in the 1840s, were set up in adjacent burghs on the north side of Scotland's then continuously expanding industrial metropolis. The style is also simpler and starker than was common in stained glass art at the time, with exceptionally strong leadlines, larger than usual glass pieces, and a similarly

unusual color palette highlighting the composition and producing an effect of both sober, meticulous realism and neo-classical idealism. Salvaged and kept in storage for many years as the Burgh Halls fell into disrepair following the drastic twentieth-century decline of industry in Glasgow, and partly restored only recently to their original site after the Halls' rehabilitation as a community and conference centre[2] (see Part III:3, fig. 7), the panels have lately attracted the attention and admiration of a small number of scholars and writers -- notably Michael Donnelly, Iain Galbraith, Ian Mitchell, and Gordon R. Urquhart. "The finest collection of secular stained glass in Scotland" (Urquhart [3]) rarely figures, however, even in books and articles devoted to nineteenth-century stained glass.

I have written this essay with the aim of bringing Stephen Adam's panels to the attention of amateurs of the arts beyond Glasgow and Scotland and especially in the United States, and thus lending what modest support I can to the pioneering studies of Donnelly, Galbraith, Mitchell, and Urquhart. However, as the history of stained glass and the main esthetic issues that arose concerning it in Adam's time are a relatively unstudied and unfamiliar topic among non-specialists (including, until quite recently, the writer of these lines), I have devoted a substantial part of my study to questions of context. Part I reflects my puzzlement, on discovering Adam's panels, at my own general ignorance of and

even indifference to the art of stained glass, despite a longstanding interest in and enjoyment of other visual arts. Why is stained glass so little known and poorly understood? In Part II I have attempted to acquaint the reader with the conditions in which Adam's work was produced: the revival of stained glass in the nineteenth century and the lively debates, in which Adam himself participated, about what authentic stained glass is, what it should and should not be. Part III is devoted to the work of the Adam studio and to the panels themselves and their unusual, perhaps even unique style. Three appendices fill out this section. The first, by Ian R. Mitchell, a revised version of a section on the Maryhill panels in his highly readable and richly informed 2013 book *A Glasgow Mosaic: Cultural Icons of the City* (Edinburgh: Luath Press) describes and explains the real historical background of the various activities reflected in the panels; the second, an article by Iain B. Galbraith in the *Journal of Stained Glass*, vol. XXX (2006), provides a brief but comprehensive overview, by a scholar of stained glass, of Adam's career and accomplishments in his chosen medium; and the third offers a provisional chronology of Adam's work in glass over the four decades of his productive life.

I have been helped and encouraged by many people as I explored Adam's work or sought to obtain images of it or information about it. The generosity and

responsiveness of almost everyone I contacted has been moving and inspiring. I would like to express my gratitude, first and foremost, to Ian Mitchell and Iain Galbraith, not only for permitting me to include sections from their own work on Adam in the present volume but for their continued advice, and for acting as my proxies in Glasgow, providing me with photographs, and looking into the historical background of particular works. In particular, I could not have done without Ian Mitchell's constant encouragement and active intervention.

In addition, I am indebted to Tom Barclay of the Carnegie Public Library in Ayr for photographs of the Adam window; to Gil Barlow for a photograph of one of Frederick Preedy's windows at Church Lench in Worcestershire; to the energetic Scottish conservationist and gifted photographer Gordon Barr, for sharing his remarkable photographs of Adam's Clyde Navigation Trust building (Clydeport) panels with me; to Mary Kay Bosshart for photographs of guild windows at Chartres; to Dr. Phil Brown for a photograph of a modern window marking the 750th anniversary of the Church of Our Lady and All Saints in Chesterfield, Derbyshire; to Ray J. Brown in distant Australia for permission to reproduce a photograph of one of many Munich windows installed in Australian churches in the nineteenth century; to Kathleen Cohen of San Jose State University in California for an image, from her vast collection, of a panel

representing workmen at Freiburg Cathedral; to the eminent scholar and photographer of stained glass Painton Cowen for permission to reproduce part of his photograph of a window by Charles Connick at the Cathedral of St. John the Divine in New York; to Dr. Robin Darwall-Smith, F.S.A., F.R.Hist.S., archivist for University College and Magdalen College in Oxford, who generously donated an outstanding photograph of a Van Linge window at University College; to Sam Fogg of the Sam Fogg gallery in London for permission to use two photographic reproductions of 16th century roundels displayed on the gallery's website; to John Gorevan, an authority on Glasgow pubs, for taking pictures of Adam's humorous but hard to reach stained glass panels in the Imperial Bar on Howard Street; to Rev. Roddy Hamilton, the minister of New Kilpatrick Church in Bearsden, for checking on windows in his church for me; and to History Girls Scotland -- Karen Mailley-Watt and Rachel Purse -- for a high resolution image of the fine window in that church that Alf Webster designed in tribute to his teacher, employer, and friend, as well as for other images of windows by Alf Webster; to David Lewis, for images of the windows in the parish church at Alloway; to Andrew Macnair for permission to use images from his father's book on the stained glass windows of Glasgow Cathedral; to Brian McCormick, Jim McCreery, and Andy Shearer of Eastwood Photographic Society, who made their photographs of the windows in

photograph of the interior of the beautiful eighteenth-century St. Andrew's Church in Glasgow where Adam carried out one of his earliest commissions; and last, but by no means least, to Gordon R. Urquhart not only for his prompt and helpful responses to my requests for information, but for invaluable, unsolicited contributions and several high resolution images.

Christine Grady of Maryhill Burgh Halls Trust and Winnie Tyrell, the Photo Library Co-ordinator for Glasgow Life/Glasgow Museums, did everything they could to facilitate reproduction of photographs of the Adam panels themselves in the present volume, while Marie-Luise Stumpff, Senior Conservator at the Burrell Collection of the Glasgow Museums, who worked on the restoration of the Adam panels, communicated essential technical information about them. To all those wonderfully kind-hearted and generous contributors to this work, I wish to express my heartfelt thanks.

ALBUM OF PANELS BY STEPHEN ADAM

In

MARYHILL BURGH HALLS

The Chemical Workers

The Iron Moulders

The Boat Builder

The Glassblower

The Papermaker

The Joiners

The Gas Worker

The Hydrostatic Dye-press Worker

The Linen Bleachers

The Calico Printers

The Sawyer

The Blacksmiths
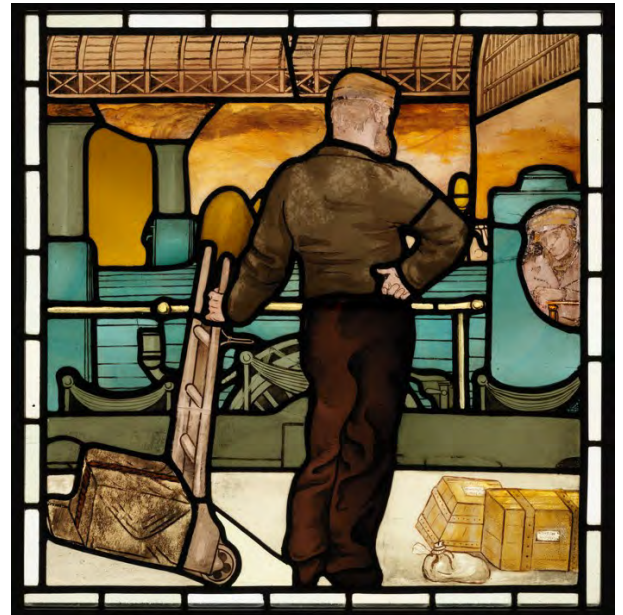
The Railwaymen
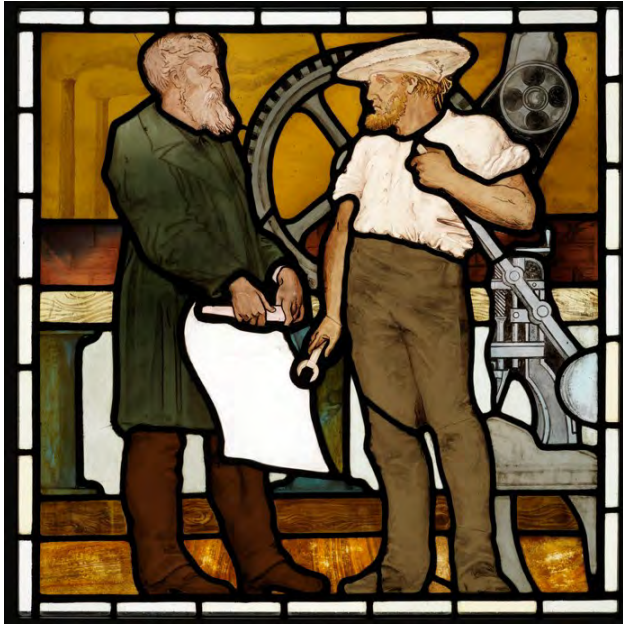
The Engineers

The Zinc Spelters

The Soldiers

The Teacher

PART I

"CINDERELLA TO HER SISTER ARTS." REFLECTIONS ON THE STANDING OF STAINED GLASS AS ART

> Glass has [. . .] long been the Cinderella of her sister arts, wearing their cast–off clothes, instead of her own fairy wardrobe, and walking in a lower place, instead of hand in hand with them, as in the old times.
> -- Fras. W. Oliphant, *A Plea for Painted Glass* (Oxford: Henry Parker, 1855), p. 25.

Though it is still being produced in many studios and workshops in Britain,

France, Germany, and the United States, continues to be installed in churches,

synagogues, inns, restaurants, and some private homes,[4] and attracts amateurs as

a craft hobby, stained glass is not a widely appreciated or well understood

medium today. Among the throngs of visitors to our public art museums, a fair

number are likely to have a general knowledge of painting since the Renaissance

and to have developed particular and informed tastes. Some may have heard of

and even seen the stained glass works designed by celebrated modern painters

such as Chagall, Matisse, Braque, Léger, Jacques Villon, John Piper, and the writer

and painter Jean Cocteau, (Figs. 1, 2) or the decorative formal designs of famous

turn-of-the-century architects such as Charles Rennie Mackintosh and Frank Lloyd

Wright. (Fig. 3) But though there is probably a general awareness of the stained

glass in the churches and great cathedrals of the Middle Ages, only a small

number of museumgoers, primarily students of the Middle Ages or serious

travellers in Europe, will have a clear or informed knowledge of these. Above all,

very few can be counted on to know the names of the numerous artists engaged

in the production of stained glass since the revival of the medium in the

nineteenth century or indeed to have much familiarity with their creations. Even the name of Tiffany probably evokes images of lamps and vases rather than of his grander and more ambitious windows. "Windows were the main emphasis of Louis Comfort Tiffany's work," one reads on the cover of Alastair Duncan's beautiful *Tiffany Windows* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1980). "Yet today Tiffany windows have never been seen by the public, and until now no book on the subject has ever been published."

Public ignorance in the matter of stained glass is especially striking in an age of ever expanding numbers of museum visitors and lively public interest in the arts, but it is not new. At the end of the nineteenth century, the heyday of stained glass's revival as an artistic medium after its relative decline in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and the highpoint of its great popularity as a decorative feature not only in public places but in bars and private homes, Henry Holiday, one of the revived medium's most talented practitioners, already noted that while "a large number of persons in every civilized community frequent picture galleries, and most of these claim to understand something about the art of painting, [. . .] as regards stained glass, very few [. . .] know even

what they like." "The case is further complicated," Holiday added, "by the prevailing vague impression that stained glass should be *rather* mediaeval. How mediaeval it should be, or why it should be mediaeval at all [. . .] is not clear, but that it should be mediaeval in some undefined way is a popular belief. Little wonder then that the amateur feels no firm ground under his feet when approaching the subject of stained glass."[5] In a chapter entitled "The Craft Nobody Knows" of his 1937 book *Adventures in Light and Color: An Introduction to the Stained Glass Craft* the well-regarded twentieth-century American stained glass artist-craftsman, Charles Connick, recounts an imaginary conversation with a fellow-traveler in a train:

"Evidently you are a lecturer!"
"Not a professional, but I do lecture occasionally."
 "What's your subject?"
"Stained glass."
"Gosh-a-mighty, what a fine subject! Nobody knows anything about it, nobody can check you up on it!"[6]

Not much, it would seem, has changed since Holiday and Connick wrote in 1896 and 1937 respectively. In describing himself proudly as a "Master-Craftsman

Connick clearly did not intend in any way to diminish the standing of the "craft" he

practiced. But when a modern twenty-first century scholar asks "Is stained glass a

branch of the fine arts -- or is it a craft?" the question reflects continued

uncertainty in the general public about what stained glass is and how it is to be

thought of.[7] In addition, despite its presence in many nineteenth-, twentieth-, and

twenty-first-century domestic and secular buildings,[8] despite its having engaged

some of the most eminent modern painters, stained glass is still widely associated

with the Middle Ages and, in our own day, with churches. "Some people love the

way coloured glass images animate an interior. But modernists hate it," Sally Rush,

an expert on stained glass at Glasgow University, has observed. "Others associate

it with a rather vulgar period of design, and there's a common myth that all

stained glass looks churchy and casts a dim, religious light."[9] Churches and, more

recently, synagogues have in fact been the most consistent patrons of stained

glass workshops.

Factors related to the conditions in which stained glass is produced and

employed have doubtless contributed to the still uncertain standing of the

medium. Even in the early years of its nineteenth-century revival, there was

reluctance to acknowledge it as an artistic rather than a "merely" artisanal practice. Charles Winston, a successful English barrister who devoted himself to the study of stained glass and became a generally recognized authority on it on the strength of his pathbreaking *Inquiry into the difference of style observable in ancient glass paintings, especially in England, with hints on glass painting, by an amateur* (1847), and of important later experiments in the chemical analysis of medieval colored glass that enabled him to rediscover the processes of its manufacture, deplored "a very unfounded prejudice in the minds of some persons against the claims of glass painting to be considered one of the fine arts, because some of its processes are necessarily conducted by artisans, as burning the glass, leading it together, and setting it up in its place, &c." In contrast, Winston objected, "the sculptor is not thought less worthy of the title of artist, because he employs a number of assistant workmen to hew the marble roughly into shape, to prepare it for his own chisel, and to erect the statue when finished."[10] But Winston readily conceded that in his own time there are many "purely mechanical persons who paint glass pictures at so much the square foot." Good stained glass, however, "requires far greater knowledge than is possessed

by a mere draughtsman. [. . .] If therefore we are anxious to cultivate glass painting as an *art*, we must encourage *artists* to practise it, by ceasing to countenance those mere *artisans* who at present make it their trade, and confine it to the lowest depths of degradation."[11]

In Henry Holiday's words, easel painting is generally viewed as "art proper" while stained glass is "technical art."[12] Ideally, to be sure, the artist-designer – when there is one, rather than simply a group of artisans imitating the styles of the past -- works closely with the craftsmen who cut and shape the glass pieces, lead them, and compose them to his design. Christopher Whall, another prominent and gifted late nineteenth-century stained glass artist, close to William Morris's Arts and Crafts movement and thus hostile to the division of labor required by modern industrial production, insisted that designers should have direct, hands-on knowledge and experience of the handiwork involved and that, correspondingly, craftsmen should have experience in design, even if the specific talent of one lies in design and of the other in the actual cutting and leading. This was indeed Morris's own view.[13] In point of fact, however, in the early decades of the Gothic Revival, until the influence of the Arts and Crafts movement began to

be felt and -- in the words of a scholar of our own time -- "a new generation of artist glass painters learnt their trade not as apprentices but as students at art school where design and technical execution were taught as being fundamentally inseparable,"[14] the two activities of design and handiwork were frequently quite distinct, with the designer having little to do with the material translation of his cartoon into glass.[15] Especially at a time when artist-designers, such as Burne-Jones, were still unfamiliar with the processes of cutting, staining, painting, and assembling the pieces of colored glass used in composing a window or panel, the input of the workshop's craftsmen was often a determining influence on the finished product. In the early years of the William Morris studio, one scholar has observed, "a great deal of the translation of the cartoons into glass was left to the craftsmen of the studio."[16] Discussing the glass produced by John Hardman & Co., a firm that began to make stained glass at the urging of Augustus Pugin, the pioneer Gothic Revivalist of the first half of the nineteenth century, another scholar writes that

> Hardman's operation was an awkward affair chiefly because it took
> place in different locations. Pugin was in charge of drawing the

cartoons, and this operation was based at his home, the Grange in Ramsgate. The finished cartoons were then sent by post to Hardman, who oversaw the production of the windows in Birmingham. The windows were then installed by either Hardman's journeyman or local glaziers. Pugin and his two pupils, his son Edward and his son-in-law John Hardman Powell, manned the cartoon room. Pugin initially drew the delicate sections, the face painting and figure groups, while the pupils did more repetitive work. To complicate matters, Pugin used Francis Oliphant (who had quitted his position as chief designer for Wailes in 1845 [i.e. William Wailes, whose studio dominated the stained glass market in the 1840s and 1850s – L.G.]) on a freelance basis to assist with designs. Oliphant[17] worked mainly from his base in London and would send his cartoons to Pugin for approval, at which point they were quite frequently altered. [. . .] So in the late 1840s, when commissions were starting to flood in, a cartoon might be drawn in London, altered in Ramsgate, and then sent to Birmingham for production. Pugin [. . .] himself wrote in a letter of circa 1849: "Our great disadvantage is never seeing the work in progress. I make the cartoons & that is all, but I am sure that the old men watched everything & I predict that we shall never produce anything very good till the furnaces are within a few yards of the easel."[18]

Moreover, a reputable stained glass workshop might -- and usually did -- employ a number of designers, so that, even when the name of the workshop is inscribed on a stained glass panel or can be documented, it is often difficult to attribute the original design to any clearly identifiable individual.[19] The neglect, loss, or destruction of the records of many workshops, due to company closures, bombing raids during WWII, or simply the lack of importance attached to stained glass as an artistic medium as distinct from painting and sculpture, has made attribution even more difficult. In our current culture of extreme individualism and belief in the artist as "loner, [. . .], genius, and 'maestro'" -- in the words of a contemporary British stained glass artist -- such uncertainty as to the particular authorship of a work can be a significant handicap.[20]

Above all, painters made their mark as individuals thanks to the autonomization of painting, its emancipation from architecture and wall-painting or fresco, especially in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. For the artist in stained glass, in contrast, the work of architecture remained (and still remains) the *Gesamtkunstwerk* -- as Sir Nicholas Pevsner, the eminent historian of architecture, put it in a striking critique of modern easel painting since the

"bourgeois" art of seventeenth-century Holland and of the entire salon tradition –

in which the stained-glass artist's own work has its place, to which it contributes,

and of which it is an inseparable part.[21] Pevsner, it is worth noting, was echoing a

view held not only by many of Stephen Adam's mid- to late nineteenth-century

contemporaries, such as the Glasgow architect James Salmon (1805-1888), who

insisted in the mid-1850s that the selection of new stained glass windows for

Glasgow Cathedral was "entirely an architectural question,"[22] or various

champions of mural painting in France and the United States,[23] but by Gropius,

the founder of the modern Bauhaus school and the hero of Pevsner's *Pioneers of*

the Modern Movement: from William Morris to Walter Gropius. To Gropius "the

complete building is the final aim of the visual arts," the "noblest function" of

which "was once the decoration of buildings." He himself aspired to "conceive

and create the new building of the future, which will embrace architecture and

sculpture and painting in one unity and which will rise one day towards heaven

from the hands of a million workers like the crystal symbol of a new faith."[24] The

revolutionary Russian poet Maiakovsky also rejected an art that finds its ideal

home in a museum, "a mausoleum of art where dead works are worshipped," and

called instead for "a living factory of the human spirit -- in streets, in tramways, in factories, workshops and workers' homes."[25]

Unlike easel painting, which became and remains – along, to a lesser extent, with sculpture -- the dominant mode of art in modern times, despite the rise of conceptual art and other forms designed to self-destruct, stained glass was only exceptionally, as in the popular panels or roundels created as gifts for special occasions in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, especially in Switzerland, Germany, and the Netherlands, a stand-alone art. "Stained glass was never made for exhibition or sale," the Scottish designer Francis Oliphant noted in his *A Plea for Painted Glass* of 1855; "it must have a purpose to fulfil, and a place provided for it." [26] And unlike painting and sculpture it is infrequently bought and sold or put up for sale at the great auction houses and, with some notable exceptions, is for good reason not usually well represented in our public museums. When it does come up for sale, it is almost always after the collapse or demolition of the building of which it was part.[27] As the eminent modern American artist in stained glass, Robert Sowers (1923-1990), wrote in 1981, "The best stained glass, whether ancient or modern, enters into an indissoluble relationship with its architectural

setting, in which each vitally qualifies the form, luminous effect, and overall expressive import of the other." For this reason, that is, because of "its refusal of autonomy,"

> the art of stained glass is bound to frustrate the aesthetic expectations of the viewer whose primary orientation is to the pictorial tradition of European painting from c.1400 until our own time. Which is to say, the aesthetic experience of most viewers. [. . .] Until the recent wave of anti-museum activities the art world had become so highly museum- and gallery-oriented that it could scarcely credit as art anything that was not readily and regularly exhibited within its own special milieu. [. . .] In almost every respect stained glass is an outsider, a mode of expression that is all but exhibition- and event-proof. For stained glass windows are usually commissioned directly from the artist; normally bought and sold just one time, they also entail the commitment of a particular space to a particular work for an indefinitely long time.[28]

An inevitable consequence of the dependency of stained glass on architecture has been that the medium has languished in those periods when architects did not favor it and preferred plain glass.

As noted, the mode of production of much stained glass was yet another obstacle to its being considered as art. The rapid population increase associated with the Industrial Revolution in England and Scotland led to the building of many more churches, construction of which was facilitated, in accordance with the Church Building Act of 1818, by government funding (£1 million in 1818 – the equivalent of about £65 million or $101 million in 2015).[29] In the context of the Gothic Revival, most of the new churches were built in Gothic style and this created a tremendous demand for Gothic-style stained glass windows. Windows were also required to replace those destroyed or damaged during the Reformation. Large workshops, employing up to a hundred and more workers, were set up to turn out such "medieval"- looking windows in quantity, and designs were copied and repeated in order to satisfy the many commissions from within Britain, as well as from abroad.[30] In the words of Francis Oliphant, a "revived taste" for stained glass "brought an increased demand, and from a trade it became a matter of enterprise; and many embarked on it, whose previous pursuits were very uncongenial, and whose undertaking was commercial rather than artistic; and so a market was established for the article, and a price current

quoted, like any other merchandise." A modern scholar writes of "the mass-production methods of Gothic Revival glass" and "the factory-like processes of so many Victorian studios."[31] Stained glass was exported in large quantities from Britain to the United States, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. In his 1877 essay *Stained Glass: Its History and Modern Development*, Stephen Adam himself, writing from the perspective of a new generation of artist-technicians trained in art schools rather than only as apprentices in a workshop, complained that "the country is overrun with 'stock saints and evangelists' of all sizes, at per foot prices, say a trifle extra if Peter has *two* keys; [. . .] Medieval glass, forsooth! This is no art. What can future historians term it? Let it be nameless."[32]

Still, Adam himself, like nearly all stained glass artists, including those who took their art seriously and disdained the mere copying of old medieval designs, relied on commissions to keep his workshop going, and the work that resulted inevitably reflected the interests and desires of the individual or institution that commissioned it. As most stained glass commissions were from church committees and from individuals donating windows to a church in memory of a relative or friend,[33] his work, like that of other stained glass artists of his

generation, is overwhelmingly focused on religious figures and Biblical scenes and does not fundamentally depart from the representational conventions of the better ecclesiastical stained glass of his time. "How important a role was played by the client's own ideas, in suggesting possible subjects and arrangements, in criticizing sketch-designs and proposing changes," A. Charles Sewter observes in his comprehensive study of the William Morris studio, "remains largely a matter of conjecture. [. . .] It is likely that important decisions were reached in personal discussion when the client called at the firm's premises, or a representative of the firm visited the building where the window was to be erected. [. . .] Always, of course, the client had the last word, and this fact alone is sufficient explanation of many inequalities of merit in both design and iconography."[34]

A related constraint on the appeal of stained glass to art lovers in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries may well be the narrative or symbolic thematics, most often Biblical or heraldic, of much of it, especially in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries -- an inevitable consequence of the fact that, in spite of the growing popularity of decorative glass in domestic contexts, churches continued to be the principal source of commissions. As modern "high"

art -- the efforts of Pugin and the German Nazarene painters notwithstanding -- has become ever more secular and, despite some notable exceptions, has moved decisively away from any representational function, viewers have become unaccustomed to the representation of religious figures and narratives in modern art.[35]   At the same time, the non-figurative, decorative element of most nineteenth-century stained glass windows may well strike the modern viewer as imitative of medieval designs rather than, as in the case, for example, of the stained glass designs of Charles Rennie Mackintosh and Frank Lloyd Wright at the end of the century, anticipations of modern abstraction. (See Fig. 3) The decorative function of stained glass is in any case inescapable, not only in obvious cases like art nouveau domestic designs, but even when it represents episodes from the Bible and the Lives of the Saints, since -- as noted – it is an inseparable part of the architectural structure that it adorns, be it church, synagogue, theatre, bar, or home. In the eyes of Charles Winston, the already mentioned champion of the revived medium in the middle decades of the nineteenth century, this did not preclude its being art of the highest order: "Glass paintings are, to a certain extent, a species of architectural decoration; but not more so than fresco

paintings, yet the greatest authorities have not considered a display of high art in a fresco incompatible with its decorative character."[36] In modern times, however, as the general expectation has come to be that art should be absolutely autonomous, like the modern artist himself, decorative work that lacks this autonomy (as distinct from the pure arrangements of color and line admired by Kandinsky) tends to be dismissed as "merely" decorative.[37]

Finally, it is possible that an essential feature of stained glass has contributed to its comparatively poor popular appreciation as an artistic medium. Whereas the material supporting the artist's design or vision in painting and drawing (canvas, board, paper) usually plays at best a relatively minor role in the finished work of art and, until fairly recently at least, has not normally itself been an essential element of the viewer's attention, the glass itself, together with the changing natural light that shines through it and illuminates it, is a determining -- and also constraining -- element in any stained glass window or panel. More precisely, it is a determining element in "authentic" stained glass, as that was defined by those nineteenth-century writers on the topic who, as we shall see later, distinguished "authentic" stained glass from works featuring pictures

painted in enamel on the surface of large colorless glass panes, that is to say,

works in which the glass, performing the same function as canvas or board, is no

more than the material on which the artist projects a pictorial image.[38] In this

respect "authentic" stained glass bears some resemblance to sculpture, wood-

carving, and architecture, inasmuch as in those arts the material with which the

artist's design or vision is fashioned is likewise an essential part of the work itself.

There is simply no getting around the material the artist works with. Whatever

the style or the particular vision to be communicated, the material is always

powerfully present, defining and limiting at the same time.[39] True stained glass, it

would seem -- i.e. glass which is colored through and through in the process of

fabrication, rather than glass on which color is only painted -- does not lend itself

to perspectival representation. On the contrary, even when it purports to

represent depth, as in some of Tiffany's windows, for instance, the viewer is

always conscious of the flat pieces composing it -- and that flatness, both in the

design and in the color, may well be in fact one of the strengths of stained glass as

an art and could, one would have thought, have appealed to those familiar with modern

art, characterised as the latter is by a similar flatness and absence of illusionism.

Even when it purports to represent real scenes, stained glass cannot be illusionistic, as

painting can be. It has to be a stylized art, an art of signs and symbols. This was a

central theme of Francis Oliphant's *A Plea for Painted Glass*, published in 1855:

> The power of glass [. . .] to convey colour is quite unique; no kind
> of painting can at all come up to it. [. . .] But we must not shrink from
> the restrictions while we dwell upon the advantages of our art. We
> cannot have the infinite gradations of our great oil colourists; we
> cannot round one colour imperceptibly into another. [. . .] We cannot
> have our colours otherwise than distinct and individual, for we paint
> not upon an unfeatured canvass, but upon the light itself; and all those
> brilliant qualities, so difficult of attainment in other departments of art,
> are here latent in the material, and ready to wake at the slightest touch
> of the magician who spreads our canvass for us, the great world-
> illuminator, the sun. [. . .]
>
> This art will never surprise you by the lifelike appearance of its
> figures; all illusion is out of its sphere; there is no blood coursing under
> those uniformly tinted cheeks, or mantling in the lip -- nor are its
> personages arrayed in silk or serge, or domiciled in houses either of
> wood or stone; nor is aught, aught but what it is, and that is, glass. But
> there is a strange harmony between the limits of glass painting and its
> requirements, its powers. [. . .]
>
> Its sphere is not so much to give an actual representation, as a
> beautiful and complete suggestion. Its pictures are not intended to

delude us with an appearance of reality, but to flash upon us bright and palpable visions of the floating pictures in our own mind.[. . .] We do not recognise in the groups and figures of painted glass, portraits or subject-pictures, but a series of beautiful hints and suggestions, [. . .] a sweet embodiment of our own conceptions, and incitement to our own thoughts.[40]

Yet another effect of the material composing stained glass works is produced by changes in the light shining through them and rendering them visible. As a result these works do not have the stability usually expected of works of art. As Charles Connick observed, "at best you can get only a hint of two or three moods of [a] window in two days spent before it, if one were sunny and one cloudy. You might get its infinite variety and its persistent message through the months from August to December." In contrast, "the popular notion of stained glass has made a static thing of it," one reason for this being "that windows have been confused with pictures and pictures are static." Moreover, "the resemblance has been strengthened by illustrations of windows .[. . .] Only one illustrator, Viollet-le-Duc, has suggested that pictures, at best, can show only one fleeting

aspect of a window. Even color photographs, like some of those reproduced herewith, are inadequate for that reason."[41]

One may speculate at length on the reasons for the poor public recognition of works of art in stained glass. The fact itself seems unfortunately beyond dispute. In the largely Victorian and Edwardian city where Stephen Adam had his studio much fine nineteenth-century stained glass was lost as buildings, including many by notable Victorian architects, were wantonly demolished in the haste to rebuild and renew that marked the 1960s and 1970s. Thus when Park Parish Church in Glasgow's elegant West End was demolished in 1968, no attempt was made to save the William Morris glass in the building. As late as 1997, when J.J. Stevenson's Townhead Parish Church of 1865-66 was demolished, all the decorative work by the eminent Victorian stained glass artist and decorator Daniel Cottier was demolished along with it.[42] The dismantling in 2008 of the grand stained glass window by Robert Sowers which had been a prominent feature of the American Airlines Terminal at John F. Kennedy Airport for almost half a century did provoke some protest, but went ahead all the same. Even scholars writing of architecture sometimes pay scant attention to the stained

glass in the buildings they are writing about. Despite close collaboration of the great Glasgow architect Alexander ("Greek") Thomson with his highly regarded contemporary Daniel Cottier, there is no mention of that collaboration and no illustration of the work produced by Cottier for some of Thomson's most celebrated buildings in two outstanding, richly illustrated recent books on the architect.[43]

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Fig. 1. Chagall, Cathédrale Saint Étienne, Metz, France

Fig. 2. Léger, Central University of Venezuela, Caracas
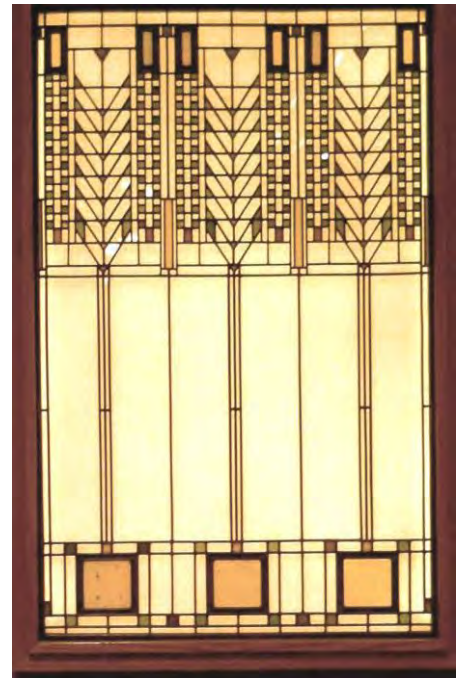
Fig. 3. Frank Lloyd Wright, window of house in Buffalo, N.Y. Princeton University Art Museum

PART II

Stephen Adam's Work in Historical Context

1. *THE REVIVAL OF STAINED GLASS IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY*

The originality of Stephen Adam's panels at Maryhill Burgh Halls can best be appreciated against the backdrop of the practice of stained glass in his own time and in the decades before him. As is well known, a number of technical innovations added to the range of stained glass creation even in the medieval period, such as the introduction of silver (yellow) stain in the fourteenth century -- which, penetrating the glass itself in the firing process rather than being simply applied to the surface, expanded the range of colors available to the artist and also made it possible to have two colors on the same piece of glass[44] -- and of the technique of stippling, which allowed for shading while retaining a degree of transparency. Nevertheless, the essential elements remained the "pot metal" colored glass itself (i.e. glass colored during the production process by the addition of various metal oxides to the clay melting pot – iron oxide for red, copper oxide for green or yellow, cobalt or aluminum oxide for blue, magnesium for purple) and the black leading that holds the pieces of glass together and, in the best cases, imparts formal strength to the total composition.

With the rise of modern oil painting in the Renaissance, however, and the possibilities opened up by the availability of colored enamel paints in the sixteenth century, combined with a shortage of the old colored glass as a result of political disturbances in the seventeenth century, the traditions of glass painting were undermined. What had been distinctive about it – the carefully produced, richly colored, yet always transparent glass itself and the shaping lines of the leading – was gradually abandoned as stained glass artists sought to emulate painters and to produce effects similar to those of painting by applying new kinds of enamel paint to the surface of the glass, and thus rendering it increasingly opaque. "Towards the end of the fifteenth century," one scholar writes, "the influence of Burgundian and Flemish artists, as well as new Italian Renaissance styles, began to be felt. The most important features were the use of receding perspective techniques, particularly with landscapes, and a painterly approach to subject scenes which treated windows as a single canvas, rather than as separate lights. Expressive, portrait-like images also appeared."[45] (Figs. 1, 2) By the second half of the sixteenth century stained glass aspired more and more to achieve the pictorial effects of painting. A striking example of this new style is to be found in

the windows designed by the Flemish artist Abraham van Linge for various Oxford colleges (Balliol, Christ Church, Lincoln, University, Wadham) in the 1630s. (Figs 2, 3) By the eighteenth century, stained glass windows had come to resemble oil paintings on glass. Some, such as the East window of St. Alkmund's in Shrewsbury (Fig. 4), painted by Francis Eginton in 1795 after an Assumption of the Virgin by Guido Reni, or a painted glass window by William Collins (Fig. 5), derived from a tapestry cartoon by Raphael of St. Paul Preaching at Athens, were indeed copied from the work of celebrated artists of the Renaissance and Baroque. Others were painted after designs by living artists. Thus a window made by Joshua Price in 1712-16 for Balstrode Park, a country estate in Berkshire, is said to be based on a work by Sebastiano Ricci (1659-1734).[46] (Fig. 6) The best known of such windows are now doubtless those at New College, Oxford, which Thomas Jervais painted on glass in 1783 after oil cartoons by Sir Joshua Reynolds. (Fig .7) The Reynolds windows might have had to share their celebrity with the great East and Quire Aisle windows installed in the Royal Chapel at Windsor in 1779-1801 to designs by Benjamin West, had these not been removed in the mid-19th century in response to a major change in taste. As Eleanor Cracknell, an archivist at the Windsor Royal

Chapel wrote recently, West's "new East Window represented the latest fashion

for vast picture windows, with large panels of glass being painted as if a canvas.

This technique enabled the designers to create images which had expression and

filled the whole space, without being broken up by lead supports."[47] The early

decades of the nineteenth century saw little change: "There is, if possible, even

less sense of the quality of the glass itself in a window such as Joseph Backler's

Ascension of 1821 in St. Thomas's Church, Dudley," it has been observed, "than in

Francis Egerton's Faith of 1795, after Guido Reni, in St. Alkmund's, Shrewsbury.

Though skilfully and not insensitively painted, Backler's work is simply a coloured

painting in enamel colours, mostly on clear glass panes of regular rectangular

shape."[48]

   With the vastly increased importance of pictorialism, two of the most

essential features of the medium, the translucency of its brilliantly colored glass

and the shaping role of the leadlines, were drastically diminished. Light no longer

penetrated through the enamel-painted and shaded parts of the window.[49] By the

1840's, a reaction set in and as the Gothic Revival moved into high gear, Eleanor

Cracknell continues, "the fashion for painted glass was dying out, tastes were

changing and what had been all the rage was now considered vulgar and out of

keeping with the medieval surroundings." Thus, "the first of West's aisle windows

at Windsor was removed in 1847, to make way for a new window by Thomas

Willement, and the East Window was replaced in 1862 as part of the Dean and

Canons' memorial to Prince Albert."[50]

Responding to the change in taste, a stained glass workshop, founded in

the early years of the nineteenth century at Munich, under the patronage of

Ludwig I of Bavaria, achieved enormous popular and commercial success with a

style that combined the painting on glass of the seventeenth and eighteenth

centuries with the use of traditional elements. "Munich windows," according to

one definition, "were made of traditional hand-blown antique glass" but "typically

eschew the flatness and emphatic leading of medieval windows in favor of an

idealized naturalism and spatial realism."[51] Stained glass from the *Königliche*

Glasmalerei-Anstalt and its successor workshops is to be found in many parts of

the world, including the United States and then far-off Australia. (Figs. 8, 9) At the

Great Exhibition in London in 1851, and again at the 1862 exhibition, the

"Munich" style, as it came to be known and as it was practiced almost

everywhere on the Continent, dominated the stained glass section, and the exhibits in this style were seen by many as superior to those of the English stained glass workshops, public criticism of the style by the English Gothic Revivalists notwithstanding.

Prominent among those impressed by the Munich windows was the already mentioned authority on stained glass, Charles Winston. "Any candid observer," Winston declared in a paper read in January 1856 at the Architectural Exhibition, "must have perceived that, in the exhibition in Hyde-park, the English glass painters were beaten hollow by foreigners, in every respect, whether in those works whose only merit consisted in their conformity with mediaeval drawing, or in those of higher pretentions. [. . .] I question if more than two could be named which, in point of art, would bear a comparison with the modern windows at Munich or Cologne." Later in the same year Winston wrote Charles Heath Wilson, the Director of the Government School of Design in Glasgow from 1848 until 1863, that "the West window at Norwich [1853, by John Hedgeland, 1825-98] is [. . .] the only English window, in point of *art*, which will bear comparison with the Munich windows."[52] (Fig.10) That window, not surprisingly, is strikingly close in

style and execution to the work of the Munich glass makers. Munich windows

were indeed being installed all over Britain -- in Oxford and Cambridge colleges,

Gloucester Cathedral, Parliament Hall in Edinburgh, even St. Paul's Cathedral in

London, as well as in the churches of small towns and villages, such as Irvine (St.

Andrew's Parish Church) and Dalry (St. Margaret's Parish Church) in South-West

Scotland. (Fig. 11) Moreover, most English workshops were so focused on the

demands of the market, the German scholar Elgin Vaassen has noted, that even

those that usually turned out copies of early medieval windows "were quite

prepared to provide a fully pictorial window if the occasion (or the client)

demanded."[53]

One of the triumphant successes of the *Kgl. Glasmalerei-Anstalt* was its

winning the commission, in 1857, to create an entire set of stained glass windows

for Glasgow's thirteenth-century Cathedral, a few paid for by the British

government, most by local subscribers. The Subscribers Committee's award of the

commission to the Bavarians, which had been strongly endorsed by Winston,

provoked a lively and sometimes angry debate between supporters and

opponents of the decision. While some of the opposition was certainly motivated

by frustration at the loss of such an important assignment to a foreign workshop,

opposition to the Bavarians was also inspired by genuine disapproval of their

methods and style.[54]

The champions of the Gothic Revival, whose aim was to return to the pure

practice of the medieval stained glass craftsmen, rejected the Munich style as a

matter of principle. In this they were followed in large measure, albeit far less

dogmatically, by the innovating Pre-Raphaelites and, a few years later, by the

adherents of William Morris's Arts and Crafts movement. Their common position

was expressed by Ruskin in an appendix to vol. II of *The Stones of Venice* (1851-

1853):

> In the case of windows, the points which we have to insist upon are, the
> transparency of the glass and its susceptibility of the most brilliant
> colours; and therefore the attempt to turn painted windows into pretty
> pictures is one of the most gross and ridiculous barbarisms of this pre-
> eminently barbarous century. It originated, I suppose, with the
> Germans [. . .]; but it appears of late to have considerable chance of
> establishing itself in England: and it is a two-edged error, striking in two
> directions; first at the healthy appreciation of painting, and then at the
> healthy appreciation of glass. [. . .] This modern barbarism destroys the

true appreciation of the qualities of glass. It denies, and endeavors as far as possible to conceal, the transparency, which is not only its great virtue in a merely utilitarian point of view, but its great spiritual character; the character by which in church architecture it becomes [. . .] typical of the entrances of the Holy Spirit into the heart of man; [. . .] and therefore in endeavoring to turn the window into a picture, we at once lose the sanctity and power of the noble material, and employ it to an end which is utterly impossible it should ever worthily attain. 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. In a word, this perfection has been consummated in the designs, never to be surpassed, if ever again to be approached by human art, of the French windows of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[55]

Ruskin's judgment, which was also that expressed in the clearest possible terms around the same time by the great French architectural scholar and restorer of medieval buildings, Eugène Viollet-le-Duc,[56] was confirmed as late as the first decade of the twentieth century by Lewis F. Day, the Vice-President of the Society of Arts and the author of many books on design and ornament.

It is usual to confound 'stained' with 'painted' glass. Literally speaking, these are two quite distinct things. Stained glass is glass which is coloured, as the phrase goes 'in the pot.' [. . .] In painted glass, on the other hand, the colour is not in the glass but upon it, more or less firmly attached to the glass by the action of the fire. [. . .] Strictly speaking, then, stained and painted glass are the very opposite one to the other. But in practice the two processes of glazing and painting were not long kept apart. The very earliest glass was no doubt pure mosaic. It was only in our own day that the achievement (scientific rather than artistic) of a painted window of any size, independent of glazier's work, was possible. Painting was at first subsidiary to glazier's work; after that for a time, glazier and painter worked hand in hand upon equal terms; eventually the painter took precedence and the glazier became ever more and more subservient to him. But from the twelfth to the seventeenth century, there is little of what we call, rather loosely, sometimes 'stained' and sometimes 'painted' glass, in which there is not both staining and painting; that is to say, stained glass is used and there is painting upon it. The difference is that in the earlier work the painting is only used to help out the stained glass and in the later the stained glass is introduced to help the painting.[57]

The bottom line is that "the finest work in glass which aims at the pictorial and depends upon painting ends always in being either thin or opaque in effect. [. . .] Pictures being what they are, what they were already by the end of the sixteenth century, pictorial treatment does not make for good stained glass."[58]

Ruskin and Day expressed the point of view – and, following the example set by Thomas Willement in the 1840s (fig. 12), the practice -- adopted by most British stained-glass workshops, whether they simply churned out more or less decent copies of medieval windows or were run by craftsmen/artists. Thus in his *Treatise of Painted Glass* of 1845 James Ballantine of Edinburgh, Stephen Adam's first teacher and employer, had already expressed concern that "in Bavaria, where the art of painting on glass has been practised recently, the glass artists, although skilful in their manipulation, have lost sight of the leading principles of their art." The essential requirements of true stained glass art, in Ballantine's view, are, first, the use of pot metal colored glass, for "the brilliant colour and mosaic character are lost in the same ratio as shading is attempted" and, in addition, "fluxed colours do not penetrate the glass, but are merely vitrified on its surface and are therefore neither transparent nor enduring"; and, second, the use

of leadlines "to convey a distinct idea of form." "Shew your artistic skill," he urged

the glass-maker, "in making the leaden lines, as far as possible, appear your

outline."[59] These recommendations of Ballantine were endorsed and, on the

whole, followed by the most serious nineteenth-century English stained glass

artists – by Pugin's protégés, John Hardman and the latter's nephew John

Hardman Powell (the husband of Pugin's daughter), by the pre-Raphaelites

Rossetti, Burne-Jones, and Morris, and by the latter's followers in the Arts and

Crafts Movement (figs. 13 - 16), as well as by the best known Scottish stained-glass

artists – Daniel Cottier, Stephen Adam himself, and their immediate successors Alf

Webster, Oscar Paterson, and David Gauld. (Figs. 17-20)

Adam's position with respect to the esthetics of stained glass was more

nuanced, however, than that of the most dogmatic Gothic Revivalists or than his

occasionally harsh criticisms of the painterly style in general and of the Munich

windows in particular would suggest. It turns out, in fact, to be not significantly

different from that presented by Charles Winston in his groundbreaking *Inquiry*,

which appeared just a few years before Ruskin's *Stones of Venice.* Though

Winston brought his considerable influence to bear on Charles Heath Wilson,

who, as head of both the Glasgow School of Design and the Committee of Subscribers, led the negotiations with the Bavarians on the new stained glass windows for Glasgow Cathedral, his own judgment of Munich glass was by no means uncritical. While pointing to what he considered its deficiencies, however, and urging Wilson to pressure the Bavarians into abandoning some of their practices in their work for Glasgow, Winston also freely acknowledged the artistry of the work of the Munich school and took care to draw a line between his own views and those of diehard Gothic Revivalists. As Adam appears to have been a close reader of Winston, it will be useful to offer a summary account of Winston's position before taking up Adam's own essays on stained glass of three decades later.
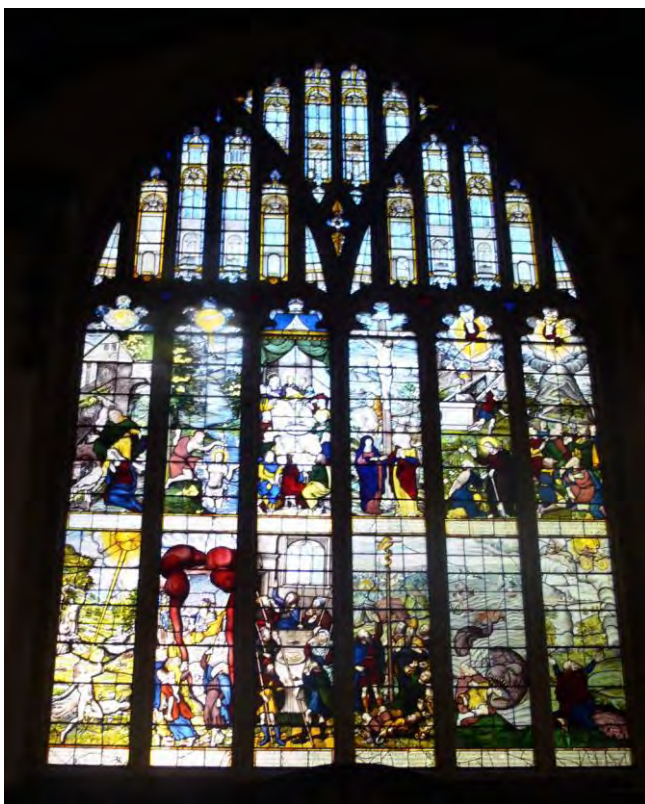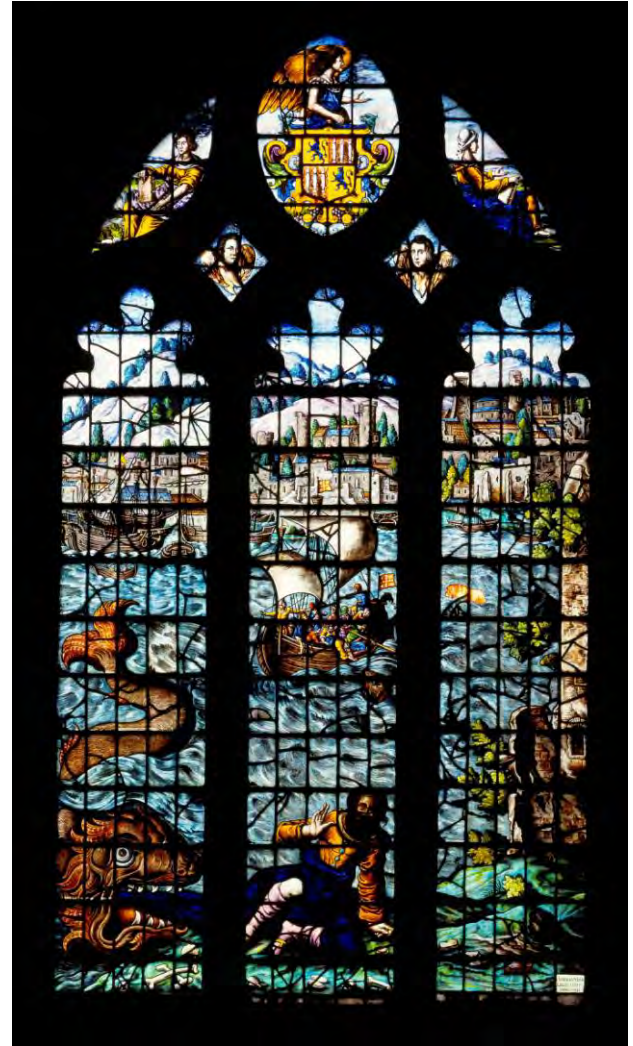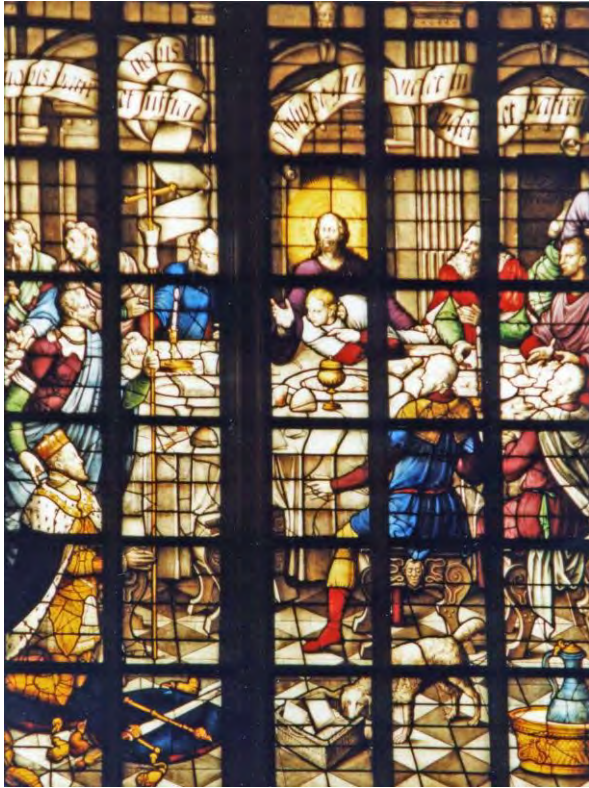
Fig. 1, upper left. Dirck Crabeth. The Last Supper [detail]. Gouda, St. Janskerk, 1557.

Fig. 2, upper right. Abraham van Linge. Jonah and the Whale. University College Chapel, Oxford.

Fig. 3, lower left. Abrahan van Linge. East window of chapel, Lincoln College, Oxford.

Fig. 4, upper left. Francis Eginton, "Hope." St Alkmund's, Shrewsbury. 1795.

Fig. 5, lower left. William Collins, "St. Paul preaching at Athens." Enamel paint on glass after Raphael tapestry cartoon. 1816.

Fig. 6, upper right. Joshua Price, "Conversion of St Paul" (said to be after Sebastiano Ricci). 1719. Now at St. Andrew's by the Wardrobe, London.

Fig. 7, upper center. Thomas Jervais, "The Virtues" (after oil cartoon by Sir Joshua Reynolds). West Window, New College, Oxford.

Fig. 8, lower left. Maximilian Ainmuller, "Moses returning from Sinai with the Law." Peterhouse, Cambridge.

Fig. 9, lower right. Franz Xavier Zettler, St. Stephen's Catholic Cathedral, Brisbane, Queensland. 1879
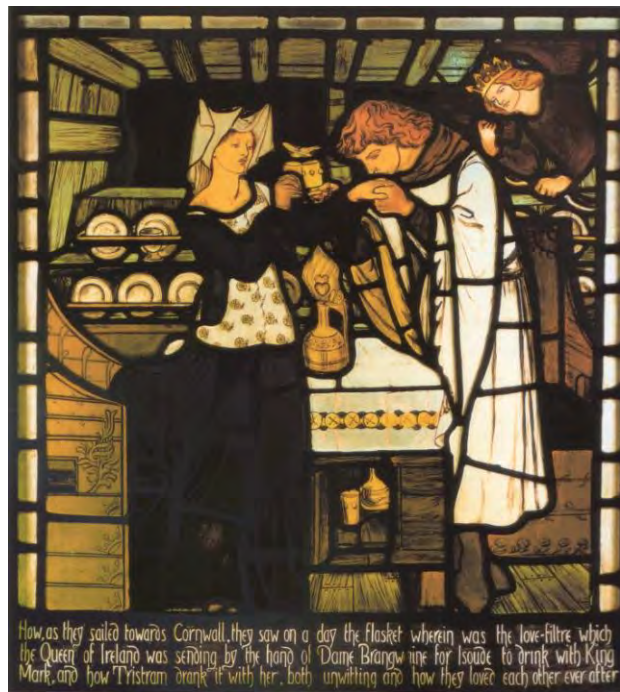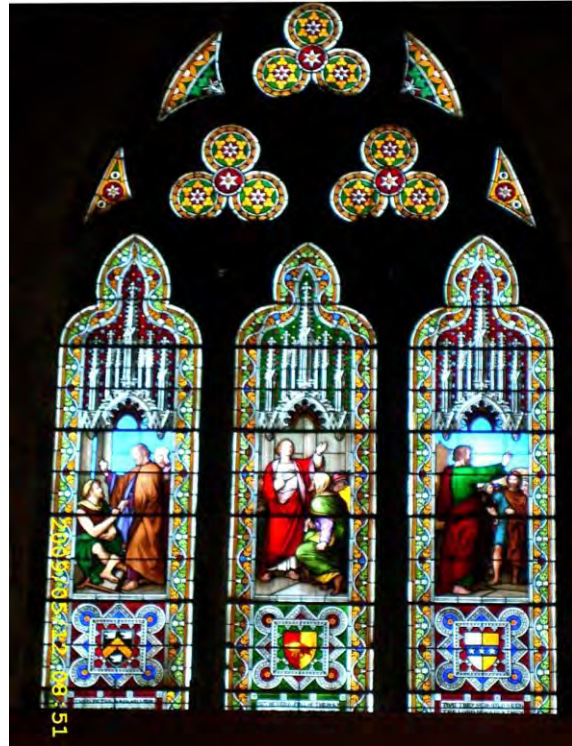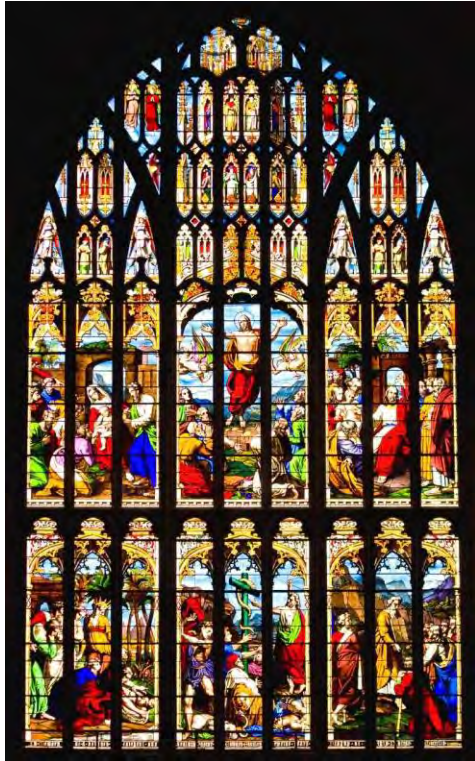
Fig. 10, upper left. John Hedgeland, West Window, Norwich Cathedral. 1854.

Fig. 11, upper right. Baird Window, St. Margaret's, Dalry, Ayrshire.

Fig. 12, lower left. Thomas Willement, East Window, St. Peter and St. Paul Parish Church, Belton. 1847.

Fig. 13, lower right. Dante Gabriel Rossetti, "Sir Tristram and la Belle Ysoude." 1862.

Fig. 14, upper left. William Morris, "Queen Guenevere
        and Isoude aux Blanches Mains." 1862.
Fig. 15, upper right. Edward Burne-Jones, "The
        Temptation of Adam," Jesus College,
        Cambridge. 1873-1876.
Fig. 16, lower left. Caroline Townshend and G.B. Shaw,
        Fabian Window, London School of
        Economics, 1910.
Fig. 17, lower right. Daniel Cottier, "Miriam."
        Dowanhill Church, Glasgow. 1865-66.
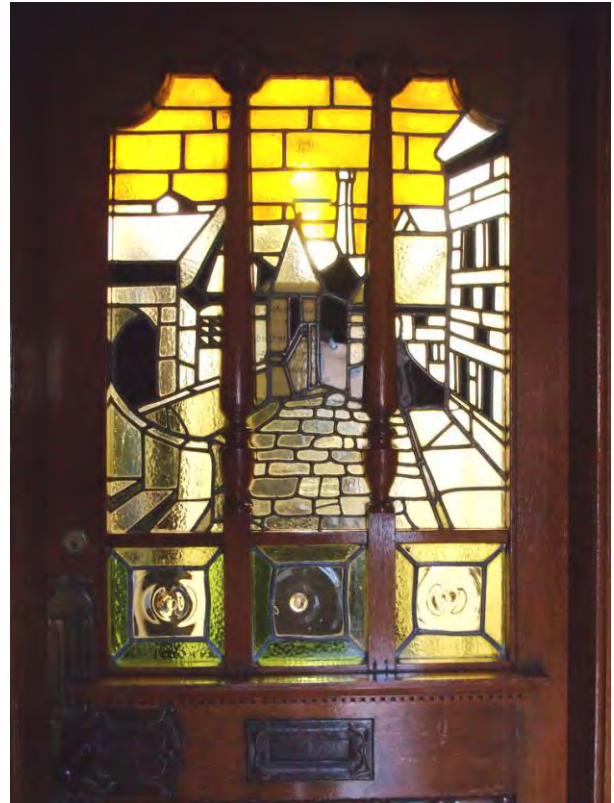
Fig. 18, upper left. Alf Webster, "The First Fruits." In
Memory of Stepen Adam. Bearsden, New
Kilpatrick Parish Church. 1911 or 1915.
Fig. 19, upper right. Oscar Paterson, "The Quaint
Village." Doorway at 28 Bute Gardens,
Hillhead, Glasgow. c1890.
Fig. 20, lower right. David Gauld, "Music." 1891.

2. CHARLES WINSTON ON STAINED GLASS

Winston opens his *Inquiry* by distinguishing among "three distinct systems of glass-painting, which for convenience sake may be termed the *Mosaic method*; the *Enamel method*; and the *Mosaic Enamel* method," the first of these being essentially windows made of pieces of colored "pot metal" glass, held together by leadlines, with at most some silver -- i.e. yellow -- staining and application of brown enamel (fig.1); the second being clear glass to which enamel paint of many colors has been applied (fig. 2); and the last, as the name implies, a combination of the first and the second (fig. 3). Of the three, Winston asserts, the Mosaic system, which "as now practised may [. . .] be considered a *revival* of the system which prevailed throughout the Middle Ages and until the middle of the sixteenth century," is "admirably adapted to the nature of the material." It is "unsuited for *mere* picturesque effect" and has "the flat and hard, though brilliant character of an ancient oil painting." In contrast, the glass painters of the sixteenth century, excited by the "extraordinary efforts then achieved in oil painting, by which the hard and dry illumination of the Middle Ages was transformed into a beautiful

picture, glowing with the varied tints of nature, and expressing to the eye, by a nice gradation of colouring, the relative position of near and distant objects [. . .] strove to render their own art more completely an imitation of nature and to produce in a *transparent* material the atmospheric and picturesque effects so successfully exhibited by the *reflective surfaces* of oil and fresco paintings." Their efforts were facilitated by the "discovery of the various enamel colours about the middle of the sixteenth century," which led rapidly to their "extensive employment." By the eighteenth century these had "entirely superseded the use of coloured glasses in large works." This development, however, was "not without its disadvantages. The paintings lost in *transparency* what they gained in variety of tint; and in proportion as their picturesque qualities were increased by the substitution of enamel colouring for coloured glass, their *depth* of colour sensibly diminished."[60]

The essential rule is that, while the modern artist in stained glass should not consider medieval practice the *ne plus ultra* of his art but rather "should endeavour to develop its resources to the fullest extent, he ought not to seek excellencies which are incompatible with its inherent properties. [. . .] The artist

who undertakes to practise glass painting should bear in mind that he is dealing

with a material essentially different from any with which he has hitherto been

familiar, and his first object should be to obtain a thorough knowledge of the

peculiarities and of the extent of the available means of his art." Glass, in sum, is

not canvas or wood. "The chief excellence of a glass painting is its translucency. A

glass painting by possessing the power of transmitting light [. . .] is able to display

effects of light and colour with a brilliancy and vividness quite unapproachable by

any other means."[61] But one important consequence of this same "diaphanous

quality" is a "limited scale of colour and of transparent shadow [. . .] of which its

inherent flatness is a necessary result."

Another characteristic of stained glass is the indispensable part played in it

by its mechanical construction – i.e. "lead-work and saddle-bars," which it is

impossible to conceal on account of their opacity. The specific features of glass

painting thus "render it unfit for the representation of certain subjects. Such as

essentially demand a picturesque treatment are better suited to an oil or water

colour painting than to a glass painting," inasmuch as the latter is "incapable of

those nice gradations of colour and of light and shade, which are indispensable

for close imitations of nature and for producing the full effect of atmosphere and distance." The subjects "best suited to glass paintings," Winston proposes, "are ornamental patterns, and a variety of other designs capable of being properly represented in a simple, hard, and somewhat flat manner; by broad masses of stiff colouring, hard outlines, and vivid contrasts of light and shade."[62]

Nonetheless, Winston emphasizes that he is "by no means" of "the opinion that a glass painting is to be estimated merely in proportion to its sparkling brilliancy and the beauty of its colours, without regard to its pictorial qualities." If that were the case, "pattern glass paintings would always be preferred to picture glass paintings." He would claim only that "the best picture glass painting is that which most fully combines the qualities of a good picture, with a display of the diaphanous property of glass."[63]

In the end, of the three "systems of glass painting" that Winston identifies at the beginning of his work, the modern artist is advised to adopt the Mosaic system "because under this system the most brilliant effects of light and colour can be produced. [. . .] Whether it is white or coloured, [the glass] is equally transparent; but this is not the case in general with the glass either of an Enamel

or a Mosaic Enamel glass painting. In these paintings such portions of the picture as are coloured either wholly or in part with enamels, are not so transparent as the white parts." As for the more limited scale of colour available in the Mosaic system, that is "more than counterbalanced by its superiority over the Enamel in strength of colour, and over the Mosaic Enamel, as well as the Enamel, in point of brilliancy."[64] As, in addition, the leadlines play a constructive and formative role in the Mosaic system, whereas they are confusing and distracting in the other two systems, Winston feels he is "justified in concluding that the Mosaic system of glass painting is, on the whole, the best system to be adopted."[65]

The two systems involving enamel paint come in, in fact, for quite severe criticism, even though Winston distinguishes between good and bad practitioners of them. Thus the custom of "heightening the deeper shadows with broad, smear, unstippled patches, or dabs of Enamel brown [. . .] in the Dutch glass paintings of the latter half of the sixteenth century and the works of the Van Linge school, coupled with the absence of clear lights, [. . .] transformed glass paintings from translucent pictures, to objects scarcely exceeding in actual transparency, fresco, or oil paintings."[66] In general, the works of the Van Linge school are "over-

painted," "dull," and "heavy."[67] As for the nineteenth-century Bavarians, who "have adopted the Mosaic Enamel system," "their practice is to spread a very heavy coat of white enamel all over the back of the glass," "with the object probably of reducing the brilliancy of the manufactured coloured glass to a level with the dullness of the glass coloured with enamel colours." "The work in consequence assumes a dull, heavy, and *substantial* appearance, quite opposed to the translucent and unsubstantial character of a true glass painting." Indeed, "some of the smaller works of the Munich school rather resemble in their opacity and high finish paintings on porcelain than glass paintings."[68]

Nonetheless, as noted earlier, Winston insists that mere imitation of the work of medieval stained glass artists will not in itself produce good work and warns against "the error of regarding a conformity with style, not as an accessory to the glass painting, but as constituting the sole end and essential object of the work." It is to be deplored that at the present time "a copy, or mere compilation, scarcely rising in merit above a copy, of some ancient glass [. . .] is so often preferred to a design, which attempts, however artistically, to carry out an ancient style in *spirit*, rather than in conventionality only"[69] and that "the great

majority of the English glass paintings of the revived Mosaic style are either direct copies of an original work or mere compilations in which each individual part is taken from some ancient example."[70] Claiming that the art of glass painting had not yet "attained that perfection of which it is susceptible" when its decline set in as a result of "the peculiar circumstances of the sixteenth century," Winston announces that he does not accept "the generally received opinions of the age"— i.e. that it is essential to return to medieval practice. Instead, he advocates, "as the surest means of effecting the true advancement of the art, the total relinquishment of all copies or imitations of ancient glass whatsoever, whether perfect or imperfect in themselves; and the substitution of a new and original style of glass painting, founded on the most perfect practice of the *Mosaic system* and sufficiently comprehensive to include within itself designs of the most varied character, some for instance bearing a resemblance to Early English glass paintings, some to Decorated glass paintings, and so forth, without however ceasing to belong to the nineteenth century or degenerating into imitations." In short, the goal must be "unfettering the artist from the trammels of conventionality, and leaving him free to pursue such a course as a deep and

philosophical consideration of the whole subject would lead him to embrace."[71]

Dogmatic adherence to convention of any kind is rejected. "The most rigid adherence to antiquarianism cannot compensate for a want of art." "I say, by all means throw antiquarianism overboard, if it and art are not capable of a union under existing circumstances."[72]

Winston's insistence that modern stained glass should be modern and that it should reflect modern artistic sensibilities and movements led him to moderate and refine his criticism of the Bavarians:

> In Germany, instead of the revival of the Mosaic system, we see the adoption of the Mosaic Enamel, purified of such of its defects as are not absolutely inherent; and instead of mere imitations of ancient authorities, the bold and undisguised development of a new and original style, apparently having for its object an union of the severe and excellent drawing of the early Florentine oil-paintings, with the arrangement of the glass-painting of the former half, and the colouring of those of the second half, of the sixteenth century. There is thus no danger of confounding the productions of the Munich school with those of the Middle Ages.[73]

So, while he is convinced that "the adoption in Germany of the Mosaic system [instead of the Mosaic Enamel system] would be attended with beneficial

results," he is "compelled to admit that the artistical character of the Munich glass-paintings in general, renders that school at the present moment on the whole superior to all those which have arisen since the beginning of the seventeenth century."[74] Ultimately, better "art without transparency" than "transparency without art."[75]

Fig. I, upper left. "St John the Evangelist hands the Palm to the Jew." St Peter Mancroft, Norwich, now in Burrell Collection, Glasgow. 15th C

Fig. 2, upper right. Francis Eginton, "Conversion of St. Paul," East Window, St. Paul, Birmingham.

Fig. 3, lower left. Everhard Rensig and/or Gerhard Remisch, "Esau gives up his Birthright; Jacob and Esau with the Mess of Pottage." 1521.

3. STEPHEN ADAM ON STAINED GLASS

Stephen Adam's own thoughts about stained glass, as expressed in various writings – a 35-page booklet entitled *Stained Glass: Its History and Modern Development* (1877), an article in *The British Architect* (vol. 39, 1893), a pamphlet on *Truth in Decorative Art* (1896; second edition, 1904), and a substantial contribution to George Eyre-Todd's *The Book of Glasgow Cathedral* (1898) – appear to have been much influenced by Winston, though he must also have been well acquainted with fellow-Scot Francis Oliphant's *A Plea for Painted Glass*.[76] Adam's *Stained Glass: Its History and Modern Development*, published by James MacLehose, the Glasgow University publisher, when the author was not quite 30 years old, opens on the very same tripartite division ("Mosaic," "Enamel," and "Mosaic Enamel") that Winston had proposed three decades earlier and, proceeding along the same general lines in an account of the historical development of the medium, offers judgments virtually identical to those of Winston. Thus the "Early English style" demonstrates the fundamental principles of stained glass as a medium: "Every line would seem to show [. . .] that

the master glazier knew he was drawing for an opening in stone for admission of enriched light, arranging his pictures to accord with architectural divisions of such opening. [. . .] Figure and canopy windows of this style [. . .] are characterized by a certain rude simplicity. The canopies, minus the false perspective of later times, are correct as a canopy can be, under which a richly coloured figure is seen, not drawn to strict anatomical rules, but more satisfactory in position than some over-draped modern ones that are."[77] Nevertheless, like Winston, Adam warns against slavish modern imitation of thirteenth-century work. As present-day artists, he writes, "we have all facilities in the way of material (thanks to recent efforts [a reference to the newly revived technique of "antique" glassmaking, to the development of which Winston had contributed substantially]) and what more do we want but the honest desire to do original work? That hankering after the past, *in practice*, and repeating of *dead* patterns, retards art, advancing backward with back to the light."[78]

With the "Decorated style," from the end of the thirteenth to the end of the fourteenth century, the introduction of yellow stain was a "useful" novelty that makes it "now possible to show two colours on one piece of glass."

Therewith, however, "*the thin edge of the wedge is in*. [Italics in text] Work rapidly becomes *less mosaic* in treatment, many of the pot metal colours [are] now left out. Larger pieces of glass [are] used, with more detail on each piece. [. . .] The perfect flatness, so evident in [the] early English period is gone and [the] way is being paved for [the] succeeding perpendicular style."[79] While "delicate foliage and diaper work give much pleasure" and "shields and other heraldic ornaments show good colour, [. . .] in figures lines are thinner; faces and naked parts are white with hair stained yellow." Worse still, "forced and ridiculous attitudes [are] the rule." In addition, colors have become "thinner and colder."[80] Like Winston, Adam draws a mixed picture of the historical development pointing to significant and portentous losses, but also recognizing some gains.

Developed further, the changes that came with the "Decorated style" lead to "a style in which, as far as glass is concerned," Adam declares, "I see little to admire, viz. the *perpendicular*." With the introduction of the "stipple shade"[81] glass painters are now inspired "to emulate the shaded beauties of the mural pictures now seen in interior decorations." In general, stained glass loses sight of its essential characteristics and begins to emulate the altogether different

medium of painting on canvas, wood or walls. "In [the] form of architectural constructions, perspective is imitated," while stippling makes it possible to "transcribe those delicate folds in drapery, -- those softened horizon effects, correct enough on canvas or wall, where blending is possible, but incongruous on glass where the black decided metal outline is indispensable to the existence of the whole composition." Inevitably, glass makers "now dispense with lead outline to a great extent." Moreover, new coloring techniques, the possibility of applying color to the surface of the glass instead of its being derived from the glass itself, result in the "scattering" of lead lines -- another change noted and deplored by Winston -- inasmuch as these cease to structure the composition, becoming instead "conspicuous by their irregularity, [. . .] undesirable necessities."(Fig.1) Glass painters have "now no thought but to fill in their window openings with pictures, which, to be perfect, must closely resemble the altar canvases."[82]

Still, again like Winston, Adam in no way endorses rigid adherence to the early practices of stained glass. He admires the fine drawing that often accompanies work in the new styles. "Before passing from this period in which I see so little to admire," he draws attention to "the clever paintings in brown and

yellow executed on a single pane of glass, where the pictorial fancies are not marred by lead work." (He probably had in mind here the small, easily transportable roundels created in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries by Swiss, German, and Netherlandish, as well as some French and English artists, and often used as gifts.) (Figs. 2, 3) In these "the pencilling is exquisite, and much is learned by a close examination." In fact, he concedes, if he sees so little to admire in this period, this could well be from "having seen *so little*." And he defers to Winston who claims to have seen fine work in this style in Munich -- "and few men have seen more" than Winston.[83]

Though the next style identified by Adam moves stained glass even further in the direction of painting and hence ever further from its original and defining character, as both he and Winston understood it, Adam again follows Winston in acknowledging the artistry of some of its practitioners. The Cinque Cento style "may be termed the very perfection of picture-painted glass," he writes, "a style in which most wonderful and magnificent effects are attained, in which the figures in [the] later part of it are full of dash and vigour." The stained glass artists of this period, Adam asserts -- characteristically expressing both approval and

disapproval -- are resolutely modern. "No troubling now about the past, and its struggles to keep windows like windows. No more half-hearted Gothic imitations. *No*. The Cinque Cento artist says: We have mastered the material. With it, or rather on it, by expert painting we can imitate anything. [. . .] And this would seem true. Your eye wanders from the frescoes and cartoons of great masters to the windows, where much of the same magnificence is observed, illustrating the influence which one branch of art exerts over another."[84] The technical skill of these sixteenth-century glass painters was formidable:

> We find every expedient made use of for attaining of effect [. . .] -- double staining, working both sides of glass, even cutting out holes in it, rubies and blues etched, most profuse enrichments on head-dresses, armour &c.; [in] the ornamental portions the same liveliness and variety[.] Roman-like embellishments, foliage in scrolls, vases, festoons, tassels, ribbons, birds, beasts, and fish, all are employed by these versatile artists, and so well applied, as a rule, that many will, and do exclaim, like a French writer, that this is, indeed, the golden age of glass painting. It is further remarked by an eminent authority [. . .] that, though it did not then attain perfection, [stained glass] reached a
>
> degree of excellence which has not only *never* been equalled but also affords satisfactory grounds for the belief that if glass-painting cannot

boast of possessing examples as full of artistic merits as the works of the great masters, this deficiency is attributable not to any inherent incapacity in this species of painting for a display of high art, but simply to the want of skill in those who have hitherto practised it.[85]

Surprisingly, one might think, in view of the criticism he was to express of the decision to award the commission for the Glasgow Cathedral windows to the Munich *Glasmalerei-Anstalt*, Adam goes on to express a high opinion of the work of the Munich artists. He does so, however, only to then compare their work somewhat unfavorably with that of their predecessors in vivid representation, the glassmakers of the Cinque Cento, for whom, still following in the footsteps of Winston, he again expresses seemingly unbounded admiration.

I am inclined [. . .] to think that the manipulative qualities of some of our Munich and Milan windows bring them up to a standard, as far as skilful painting goes, which should exempt them from the censure implied by the view that if stained glass never achieved the artistic heights of the great masters of Renaissance painting, that must be attributed to the shortcomings of its practitioners.

If most wonderful handling, and texture, and blending of delicate tints are the principal qualifications of a good church window, Bettina's

work [i.e. Pompeo *Bertini*'s work!] in our own crypt must be perfection, *but*, in contradistinction to this modern, carefully hatched, and stippled perfection, we find in [the] Cinque Cento period broad, swift, artistic touch, firm line, and other pictorial qualities, which, though carrying out the work on *picture principles*, do it in a way which even the most straitlaced medievalist must admire. Who could look at some of those, say the Brussels windows for example, and not feel impressed. [. . .] Each inspection reveals new beauties. Those vast masses of rich umber (though it is brown enamel), [. . .] those glorious swags of fruit in clear golden yellow and intense orange, now crossing a deep shadow, now swung across a grey blue sky, those quaint and expressive subordinate conceits in ornamental details, wrought over panes in square forms generally, over which [. . .] your eye wanders from the stern furrowed face of some saint or warrior [. . .] to the sweet joyous countenance of [a] winged cherub with parted lips [. . .]. All these are found in their highest development in this period. Here, too, are exhibited the devotional feeling which actuated the inner life of their contemporaries as displayed in the kneeling figure of [a] medieval lady, costumed as becomes her station, to the richly attired churchman with crozier and stole "lifting his holy hands" in the act of benediction.

"Yes," Adam concludes, "this is indeed the golden age of glass painting."[86] (Figs. 4,

5)

Typically, however (of both Winston and Adam), this acknowledgment is

immediately followed by an important rider, printed in italics: "mark *the word*" --

the word that is to be marked being "painting." For it needs to be observed, Adam

warns, "before leaving this style, that the best work was produced invariably in

[the] first half of [the] sixteenth century.[. . .] In [the] later half much change is

shown in general treatment, by the gradual introduction and use of enamel

colours, which, by the simplicity of their application, render easy the only aim the

glass painter had – the close imitation of oil painting. The result of this *fatal*

facility [italics in text] is, that the work loses much of its former brilliancy. The

shadows no longer show transparency; from their being less flat and stippled,

they look mere dabs of colour [. . .]. An accumulation of these faults go to form

the style which we term the *Intermediate* [. . .], embracing all glass from the close

of Cinque Cento until [the] Gothic revival of forty or fifty years ago." The work in

this style "varies much in merit, and illustrates many schools of painting, and

consequently is not a uniform style." It is, however, "an inferior style." To it can

be attributed "the gradual deterioration, and, later on, the almost total extinction of the art."

Winston is now quoted directly: "Glass painting at this time did not decline for want of encouragement, as the causes of its decay were in full operation at the period of its greatest prosperity, but from a confounding of its principles with those of other systems of painting." Adam subscribes wholly to this view. It is customary, he writes, to attribute the decline of the art of stained glass to "the Reformation and consequent troubles." But "I think differently. These events may have discouraged its practice, but we may distinguish the germs of its decadence in the false art – false in principle, false and inconsistent in execution" of the immediately preceding period. [87]

Nonetheless, even at this point Adam keeps a fairly open mind. "The brothers Van Linge," (Abraham [fl. 1624-41] and Bernard [1598-1644]), we are told, "distinguished themselves by their judicious combinations of enamel colours which to this day exist in Oxford and other places. (See Pt. I, 1, figs. 2, 3) Much really beautiful work is also shown in those quaint panes of Swiss glass of the time. Some in South Kensington [the present Victoria and Albert Museum] will

repay close inspection." Later still, "Antwerp Cathedral has some windows showing powerful figure drawing." (Fig. 6) Still, even the best drawing cannot compensate for "the effeminate niceties of enamel work [. . .] We may imagine what the drawings [of Sir Joshua Reynolds for the window at New College,Oxford] must have been, but we know what the glass is like."[88] (See Pt. I, 1, fig. 7)

Stained glass, in sum, it should never be forgotten, has its own principles, characteristics, and beauty, and they are not those of painting. On the other hand, the advocates of a narrowly defined Gothic Revival continue to find no favor with Adam: "The Gothic architect, the Gothic glass-stainer, and many other Goths [. . .] awaken to the beauties of early days. For the Gothic church" – whether old or newly built in the Gothic style – "they want medieval windows and figures." These, however, are only too "easily got" for "many glass-stainers about know the 'requisite little' to produce them, and they bring forth with little travail, but evidently very much." The design is totally derivative and follows models that reflect a still primitive stage in the development of European art: "Observe those twisted necks; painfully pathetic faces; the dainty curly hair, each hair alike; those angular limbs, [the] more grotesque [. . .], the better for [the] purpose. And those

deformities are manufactured and catalogued principally in London; and the country is overrun with 'stock saints and evangelists' of all sizes at per foot prices.[. . .] True, they revive transparency and discard enamel," but "with it, all originality." Following Winston, Adam demands not more or less successful copies of old glass, but a modern stained glass art, an art for his own time, constrained only by respect for and observance of the basic principles of stained glass as a medium: "Medieval glass in many ways faithfully chronicled the past; this modern imitation [. . .] is degrading, a positive contradiction all through, and chronicles nothing but its own deformity."[89]

Despite the "endeavours of some faithful artists [. . .] to establish a nineteenth century British school," it is, in fact, the absence of art and the lack of imagination characteristic of most "Gothic Revival" British stained glass that have brought about the "Nemesis, now appearing in the form of continental glass." For it is not surprising that clients who, whether or not they have an understanding of what "glass-drawing should be," at least know what "drawing could be, [. . .] would turn away from this revived British glass and its repulsive qualities and accept the more captivating German productions." In these, whatever their

defects, clients can at least find "composition not wanting in devout feeling and well-drawn expressive features and drapery." Winston is again quoted directly: "As has been well said, they prefer art without transparency to transparency without art."[90]

Adam recognizes that he might seem to be contradicting himself in holding that twelfth and thirteenth century glass contains "the very germ of what is correct" in stained glass, while at the same time endorsing the view that "a style quite opposite" – i.e. that of the Cinque Cento –"is the golden age of glass painting." In fact, however, he explains, he is advocating that one "cherish and cultivate the purity and principle of the first" and, at the same time, "endeavour, by accepting our modern increased scale of colour, to emulate or increase its many beauties. [. . .] In short, with [the] form and sweet simplicity of one, [. . .] unite the colour harmonies of [the] other." The union or reconciliation of the two would constitute the "'ne plus ultra' for the modern development of stained glass." The lesson for the stained glass artist is clear: "In domestic work, let our first aim be to show symmetry in lead lines, allowing plant forms to be subordinate to the geometrical arrangements, not constructing them." As for

figure drawings, the stained glass designer should seek inspiration in the work of modern artists. "The works of Burne Jones, Leighton, Poynter, Holman Hunt, Stacey Marks, Albert Moore, in different styles show drawing suitable for treatment in glass."[91] (Figs. 7, 8; see also Pt. III, 2, fig. 17) For ecclesiastical glass, "draw as well and expressively as ability will permit" and "let recognized artists only of established ability be employed on the figure cartoons." Indeed, "if money considerations will not admit of their employment, figures [. . .] should be left out." Adam goes on to indicate what he means by "good drawing." "When I say good drawing, I do not mean elaborate renderings of folds in drapery. No. A certain external form and balancing of parts, as evinced in classic frescoes, Flaxman's cartoons, and some bas-reliefs by other artists [. . .] better define my ideas and suggest our limits."[92] (Fig. 9) In a lecture delivered in Glasgow in 1895, Adam cited as influences on his own work "Rossetti, Burne-Jones, William Morris and Puvis de Chavannes"[93] –artists in whom, as in Flaxman's neo-classical style, the linear element and the "external form and balancing of parts" are extremely strong, while figures are arranged on the surface plane with little depth.

Above all, Adam reiterates his consistent position concerning the fundamental and essential feature of stained glass:

Let us remember that we never can by painful mechanical processes increase those jewelly translucent qualities inherent in good glass. In it we have countless beauties which the painter on canvas has not. Through such virtues then let the light be transmitted to us, not reflected from false painted surfaces. Keep it clearly before us that manipulation is not necessarily art; that higher standards of art are attained, if based on the simple rules the material renders possible.

[. . .]

We have spoken of the prevalence of German glass amongst us, and frankly admit that German art was not resorted to until we had put ourselves out of court by varied and ever increasing monstrosities. And we are confident that if we return to the old ways and produce really artistic work, there is sufficient patriotism among British connoisseurs to banish forever the foreign productions.[94]

Adam proposes draconian measures to ensure that high standards will prevail. "Were it possible, we believe it would be *beneficial* [italics in text] to establish an artistic tribunal for the purpose of trying all work professing to be high art, and arm it with plenary power to accomplish the demolition of the many outrages on taste now extant. Such a tribunal," he adds, acknowledging the essential place of stained glass within an architectural whole "would necessarily include many architects among its members, for, perhaps, with them more than

any other body lies the power to foster art in this particular branch."[95]

Better, no doubt, "art without transparency" than "transparency without art." But the goal of the authentic stained glass artist who truly understands the conditions and possibilities of the medium he is working in must be to create glass that is *both* transparent and artistic -- neither a mere copy, no matter how faithfully executed by antiquarian standards, nor a painting on glass, no matter how imaginatively designed and expertly executed.

Adam stuck to the position laid out in his first published work throughout his career, repeating it in both his article on the history of stained glass in *The British Architect* for December 29, 1893 and again in his essay on "The Stained Glass Windows" in *The Book of Glasgow Cathedral: A History and Description* of 1898. The tripartite division of stained glass styles taken over from Winston is repeated in both texts, as is the rejection of dogmatic Gothic Revivalism. However, the critique of Munich glass and of the extensive use of enamel paint has intensified. Thus the *British Architect* article closes on the "consolation" to be derived, "not from sordid narrow motives, but for Art's sake alone," from "the melancholy fact that the enamel painted surfaces of those German windows is [*sic*] rapidly giving way (notably in Glasgow Cathedral)." Adam goes further still.

"Dare we contemplate, even hope, that the day is not remote when public taste, instigated by our Art guilds, will demand the removal of 'all that is left of them,' and give the 19th century draughtsman and native art-trained craftsman a chance of re-lighting the grand interior of St. Mungo's by refilling the windows with 'Grisaille' glass ere the close of th*e* Victorian era and the 19th century."[96] After all, the function of a window is to admit light; and the enamel on the Munich windows was keeping light out, besides already showing signs of fading.

Still, to his credit, Adam does not completely abandon the measured and nuanced views expressed in his earlier work. His judgment of enamel work in stained glass remains negative: even though "the colours after painting are submitted to heat in the kiln and fused on the glass [. . .] they remain merely on the surface and in course of time are liable to scale off and disappear." Above all, "from the artistic point of view, the enamel process has this objection – the windows are painted as if the light were to fall on them instead of through them" and "for this reason, they must be held to depart from the true canons of the art." Thus "by the latter end of the sixteenth century, stained windows were merely imitations of altar or wall pictures -- 'painted window blinds,' and untruthful art."[97] Some of the Flemish and Dutch painted glass is admittedly "very exquisite

in detail," but "it remains liable to all the drawbacks mentioned."

On its side, the Gothic Revival fares no better in 1898 than it did in 1877: "The modern Gothic church wanted Gothic windows, and the stained glass shown at the first International Exhibition illustrates how the demand was met by the British manufacturer. Distorted saints, catalogued at prices per foot, became common; Acts of Mercy, Prodigal Sons, and Good Samaritans were cheap. But in no sense could they be called good art."[98]

Given this situation, "it may be said that [Mr. Heath Wilson and the Committee of Subscribers for the windows of Glasgow Cathedral] were forced to go abroad for the work" and "had been forced to prefer 'art without transparency to transparency without art.' They, however, did what lay within their power, by the selection of artists of eminence and repute."[99] Adam mentions in particular the Nazarene artist Heinrich von Hess and Hess's students, Moritz von Schwind (the close friend of Franz Schubert) and Johann von Schraudolph. There is praise of their work as artists (Figs. 10-12) and at the same time criticism of it as applied to glass.[100] Their windows in the nave, we are told (over thirty at the time, all removed between the 1930s and the 1960s), "strike the eye with the strength and glow of intense colour," albeit the "primary reds, blues, yellows, and greens" in their "struggle for mastery" create an impression of "discord" rather than

harmony. Similarly the viewer can only admire the "beautifully drawn features –

heads of men, firm and strong; of women sweet and natural," and the "effective

figure groups, as in the great west window by von Schwind." Again, however,

Adam notes that these are "marred by the repeated carpet-like patterns in vivid

colours which surround them." The north transept window by von Hess, singled

out for "some splendidly drawn figures," would be "a noble production, but for

the chronic over-colouring." Similarly, in other windows that "arrest the

attention" of the viewer, "note must be made of the enamelled flash work, the

painted beards of men, the over-manipulated folds of draperies and other

infringements of the true rules of glass-staining art." Admirable as they may be, in

short, the designs are unsuited to the medium of stained glass. "The figures are

vigorous and bold conceptions, perfect in academic drawing," but "too literal, too

material, and quite devoid of spiritual or ecclesiastical feeling" -- in other words,

too painterly, too focused on representing what the physical eye sees and

insufficiently attentive to the essential meaning that the design ought to evoke

and communicate. The accessory angels are "excessively buxom and healthy,"

Adam adds humorously. "All their strength of wing, would be required to sustain

them in their hovering attitudes."[101] (Figs. 13-15)

    For the windows by Pompeo Bertini of Milan, who worked in a similar

mode to the Bavarians[102]-- two in the Cathedral crypt ("Christ and the Syrophoenician Woman" and "Christ and the Woman of Samaria") and three in Bishop Lauder's Chapter House crypt ("John the Baptist," "Luke the Evangelist" and "Our Blessed Saviour") -- Adam does not conceal his admiration: "As examples of enamel work they rival in perfection of detail, and truthful rendering of faces and draperies, the finest miniature paintings. The silky sheen of the drapery, and life-like expression of features, can only have been got by honest and loving labour, and by repeated firing and fusing of colours in the kiln." (Fig. 16) To this, Adam concedes, is due "their present satisfactory condition," whereas, in contrast, "the German windows [. . .] are rapidly fading."[103] Nevertheless, "despite the beauty of the Milan windows, and the excellence of a few others, the very presence of deeply coloured windows in the lower church is, from every point of view, a serious mistake." The "beauties of carved stone" in it "were certainly meant to be seen by the light of day." For that reason, Adam speculates, "the original windows were no doubt leaded work in silvery white or'grisaille' painted glass." No windows could be more inappropriate in a crypt than the virtually opaque windows produced by the use of enamel paint on white glass.[104]

All this was by no means to say that the English windows in the crypt were good. With one exception ("Mary, the Sister of Lazarus" by Clayton & Bell), "the London windows," we are told, do nothing to "uphold the reputation of English glass." In general, "had the condition of decorative art work in Britain been in the year 1854 [the time of the commissioning of the windows] what it is in 1898, our noble cathedral would have been beautified more in the spirit and intention of the devout and earnest souls who reared it."[105] Adam thus aligned himself aesthetically with English contemporaries, such as Edward Burne-Jones, William Morris, Henry Holiday, and Christopher Whall, and with other Scottish stained glass artists, such as Daniel Cottier, his former employer and teacher, James and William Guthrie, Hugh McCulloch, a graduate of Cottier's studio like himself, as well as with upcoming younger men, such as Oscar Paterson, George Walton, and his own assistants David Gauld and Alf Webster, who went on to establish reputations of their own. He had a vision of stained glass as a medium defined by particular properties -- but released from what he considered an inhibiting association with the work of the Middle Ages and committed instead to modern design and modern forms of expression.

In conclusion, it deserves to be noted that recent work by scholars of

stained glass has challenged the extreme and unequivocally negative judgments

of the Munich windows of Glasgow Cathedral that were expressed at the time of

their installation and in the years following and has in some measure vindicated

the more guarded and nuanced stance taken by Winston and Adam.[106]

Fig. 1, upper left. "Samson and the Lion." Germany. 16th C.

Fig. 2, upper right. Roundel. "St Nicholas as Baker." Netherlands. 16th C.

Fig. 3, lower right. Dirck Vellert, Roundel. "Le Jugement de Cambyse." Netherlands. 1541.

Fig. 4, center foot. Pompeo Bertini. Milan, Cathedral. Absidial windows.

Fig. 5, upper left. Sainte-Gudule Cathedral, Brussels. Alleged profanation of the host by Brussels Jews. 16th C.

Fig. 6, lower left. Dirck Vellert, "Martyrdom of the Seven Maccabees and their mother." Antwerp, 1530-35.

Fig. 7, top right. Albert Moore, "A Musician." Oil on canvas.

Fig. 8, second from top, right. Edward Poynter, "Orpheus and Eurydice." 1862. Oil on canvas.

Fig. 9, third from top, right. John Flaxman, illustration for Pope's Translation of the *Iliad*, engraved 1795.

Fig. 10, fourth from top, right. Heinrich Maria von Hess, "Faith, Hope, Charity." 1819. Oil on panel.
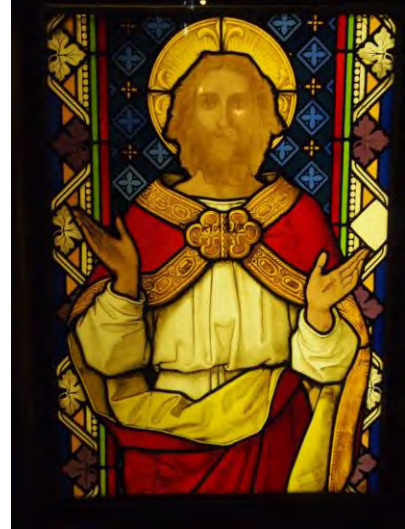
Fig. 11, upper left. Moritz von Schwind, "Sabina von Steinbach an der Figur der Synagoge für das Straßburger Münster arbeitend." Oil on canvas. 1844.

Fig. 12, upper center. Johann Schraudolph, "Anbetung der Könige." Speyer Cathedral. Fresco. 1852.

Fig. 13, upper right. Moritz von Schwind, "The Risen Christ." From South transept window, Glasgow Cathedral. 1863. (Now removed)

Fig. 14, lower left. E. Siebertz, "The Dream and the Promise." From North transept window, Glasgow Cathedral. 1860. (Now removed)

Fig. 15, lower center. Franz Friez, "Angel." From "Gideon and Ruth" window, South transept, Glasgow Cathedral. 1863. (Now removed)

Fig. 16, lower right. Pompeo Bertini, "John the Baptist," Lauder's Crypt, Glasgow Cathedral. 1867.

PART III

Adam's Maryhill Burgh Halls Panels

1. *STEPHEN ADAM: THE EARLY YEARS AND THE GLASGOW STUDIO*

Born near Edinburgh in 1848, and educated at the city's Canonmills School (where Robert Louis Stevenson was one of his contemporaries), Stephen Adam showed talent in drawing and painting from an early age.[107] This led to his being apprenticed in 1861 to the prominent Edinburgh firm of decorators and stained glass makers, Ballantine & Son. He thus received his earliest training in stained glass from one of the most respected practitioners of the medium in Scotland, James Ballantine (1807-1877). As already noted, Ballantine was critical both of the methods of the Munich glass makers and of the current English practice of imitating medieval glass window designs.

In 1864, the young Adam moved with his family to Glasgow, Scotland's rapidly expanding city of opportunity, where he became a student at the Glasgow School of Art and Haldane Academy.[108] Here, in the following year, he was awarded a silver medal for his work in stained glass. This brought him to the attention of Scotland's leading stained glass artist of the time, Daniel Cottier, who had also worked for Ballantine in Edinburgh before setting up on his own in the

Scottish capital and then moving his firm to Glasgow where, as it was one of the fastest growing and wealthiest cities in Europe, there was no shortage of orders for stained glass -- "Second City of Empire and First City of Glass," as Michael Donnelly described it in the title of Chapter 2 of his *Scotland's Stained Glass: Making the Colours Sing* (Edinburgh: The Stationary Office, 1997). Cottier, who was already beginning to win international recognition (at the 1867 Paris Exhibition, an armorial window by him was to earn high praise for its "superb harmony of colours," be judged "the finest ornamental window in the Exhibition," and win a prize[109]), took Adam into his workshop toward the end of 1865 and by the following year the 18-year-old had probably completed his apprenticeship. As a qualified journeyman, he may thus have had a hand in the execution of some of Cottier's important commissions in those years, notably for the windows in architect William Leiper's Dowanhill Church in the West End of Glasgow (built in 1865-66, now restored as "Cottier's Theatre," a restaurant, bar, and cultural venue) and for at least two of Alexander ("Greek") Thomson's buildings -- the handsome villa known as Holmwood House in Cathcart, a district in Glasgow's South Side (built in 1859), and the magnificent Queen's Park United Presbyterian

Church in the Queen's Park district, also in Glasgow's South Side (1869, destroyed by an incendiary bomb during World War II).[110] Adam acknowledged his indebtedness, particularly in the matter of color to his former employer and master.[111] Cottier may well also have influenced Adam in the matter of design. While in London Cottier had enrolled in F.D. Maurice's Working Men's College where he was in contact with Rossetti, Ford Madox Brown, the young Edward Burne-Jones and other members of the Pre-Raphaelite brotherhood. The clear, flowing lines of many of his designs demonstrate an affinity with the work of his contemporaries in the Pre-Raphaelite and Aesthetic movements, which he passed on to Adam. (Fig. 1) This Pre-Raphaelite influence on Adam is easily discerned by comparing the Maryhill panels, despite the difference in subject matter, with Rossetti's "Sir Tristram and la Belle Ysoude," made for Harden Grange in Yorkshire in 1862. (Part II, 1, fig. 13)

After Cottier left Glasgow for London in 1869 and went on to set up studios and art dealerships in New York and Sydney, Australia, the by then 22-year-old Adam, in partnership with David Small, another native of Edinburgh and former fellow-apprentice at the Ballantine studio, opened a stained-glass workshop of his own at 121 Bath Street in the fast developing western part of Glasgow's city

center.[112] Though Small appears to have "remained quietly in the background,"[113]

and the partnership was dissolved in 1885, one of the panels in Maryhill Burgh

Halls, "The Boatbuilder," does bear the company name "Adam & Small," (see fig.

in Album preceding Part I) as do several church windows. Adam did collaborate

informally but quite regularly with another of Cottier's assistants, the gifted

Andrew Wells who, however, left for Australia in 1886, where he joined the firm

Cottier had set up in Sydney, returning to Glasgow in the following decade as a

partner in the firm of J. & W. Guthrie and Andrew Wells.[114] Over the years, as his

workshop received more and more commissions, Adam also employed several

younger men who went on to win recognition as stained glass artists in their own

right, notably his own son and, for a time, partner, Thomas Annan Jr. (who,

however, in an unexplained dispute with his father left the firm in 1904, opened a

studio of his own in Glasgow, and then, in 1916, emigrated with his family to

America), David Gauld, WilliamTait Meikle, and Alf Webster. (Figs. 2-5) By the

time of Adam's death in 1910, Webster had virtually taken over the studio.

Most of the firm's commissions, as Ian Mitchell has pointed out (see

Appendix I), were inevitably for churches. The fashion for memorial windows,

which set in around mid-century, gave no sign of slowing down and constituted

an extremely important source of income for every stained glass workshop.[115]

Adam himself, in an appendix to the second edition (1904) of his pamphlet *Truth in Decorative Art* (1896), lists, as "a few" that "may be mentioned," just under 100 "among the most important church memorial windows designed and executed in recent years by Stephen Adam."

Nevertheless, the firm's business ranged widely and many windows were designed for public buildings, such as the town halls of Annan and Inverness, the Sick Children's Hospital in Glasgow, the Carnegie Library in Ayr (opened in August 1893 in the presence of the benefactor, Andrew Carnegie, himself), as well as for the villas and terrace houses of prosperous Glasgow merchants in the city's West End and South Side (figs. 6, 7, 8), the castles and mansions of the well-to-do in Scotland and Ireland, commercial premises, such as Pettigrew and Stephens department store on Sauchiehall Street in Glasgow, and – in Adam's own description -- "High Class Restaurants," such as "Spiers & Pond's, Blackfriars, London" and "the Grosvenor, Gordon Street" in Glasgow, and "leading steamships and yachts." Bars and public houses, such as the Imperial Bar, still doing business in Howard Street in central Glasgow, also figured among the firm's clients.(Figs. 9-13) By the beginning of the twentieth century the Adam studio was one of the

leading stained glass studios in Scotland with, in addition, a considerable overseas clientele.[116] The massive reference work entitled *Glasgow and its Environs: A Literary, Commercial, and Social Review, Past and Present; with a Description of its Leading Mercantile Houses and Commercial Enterprises*, published by Stratten & Stratten in London in 1891, devoted a long entry to "Stephen Adam & Co. Glass Stainers and Decorators, 231 St. Vincent Street, Glasgow," asserting that

> under Mr. Adam's management the house has become one of the most noted concerns in Scotland in its line, and has maintained a splendid reputation in every branch of decoration by means of stained glass. [. . .] The house has carried out many notable contracts both in connection with ecclesiastical window work, public institutions, hotels, restaurants, banks, etc., etc. [. . .] The trade of the house extends over the whole of the United Kingdom and the Colonies. The business is constantly experiencing extension in scope and, through Mr. Adam's influence, becomes more widely known every day. As an evidence of the high popularity attained by the house, we may mention that within the past ten years, Mr. Adam has completed for patrons no fewer than two hundred and twenty stained glass memorial windows in various parts of the world.

The company's premises, as described by the author of the entry, were extensive, comprising

> six spacious flats, admirably equipped in all parts, and devoted to (1) Workshops for lead working; (2) The drawing and designing of cartoons and painting of patterns for approval, before proceeding to the final operations; (3) Glass painting and staining workshops; (4) The kilns for firing the glass after the process of staining; (5) For stock of material; and (6) Packing department.

The operations associated with each of these departments, the reader is informed, "afford employment to executants of the highest skill and talent."

The entry closes on a brief biographical sketch of Stephen Adam himself, "a gentleman of exceptional culture and erudition" and a leading citizen of his adopted city, being "a prominent member of the Philosophical Society and of the Society of Literature and Arts," and well known and admired for his lectures and writings on the decorative arts. "In every sphere in which this gentleman exercises his influence," we are informed, "he is a decided acquisition, and his counsels are received with the most marked respect and attention."

That was in 1891, but in 1877 when he was commissioned to produce the

panels for the Maryhill Burgh Halls, Adam was not yet 30 years old and had been

in business for only a few years. Moreover, except for some very general stylistic

features nothing in his previous practice appears to anticipate the Maryhill panels

-- and, strikingly, very little in his subsequent practice recalls them.

One of his earliest works, produced in 1874 when he was just 26 years

old, was a beautiful three-light memorial window designed for the handsomely

refurbished eighteenth-century St. Andrew's Church in Glasgow's St. Andrew's

Square – one of the finest church buildings of its time in Scotland. (Figs. 14-16)

Three years later, around the same time that he began working on designs for the

Maryhill Burgh Halls panels, he created the stained glass windows for Glasgow

architect James Sellars' Belhaven United Presbyterian Church in the city's

prosperous West End. (Figs. 17, 18) In Iain Galbraith's words, a special feature of

these windows was the "use of fruit and foliage motifs. These are beautifully

drawn and show the influence of Japanese art, delicate and incisive in muted

shades of blue, silver, green and gold, and of William Morris in the willow-

patterned background. These decorative panels function as foils for the subtly-

coloured figure panels, based upon illustrations from the parables and which

constitute independent colour studies on their own."[117] In 1877 Adam also

produced the elaborate three-light Baird memorial window in the parish church

of the village of Alloway in Ayrshire, the birthplace of Scotland's national poet,

Robert Burns. (Figs. 19-22)

The clean, modern design of these early works, the effective use of the

leadlines to enhance and highlight the composition, and the rich colors of the

glass itself, along with moderate use of paint to give expressiveness to the faces

and avoidance of the traditional canopies above the figures, show the influence of

Cottier, William Morris, and Burne-Jones, and, in general, demonstrate the

strength and clarity that were to be hallmarks of Adam's designs throughout his

career. The "mosaic" effect of the relatively small glass pieces making up the

overall design -- which becomes even more pronounced later, as in the windows

for the Clark Memorial Church in Largs of 1892 (figs. 23-26), and contrasts

markedly in both conception and impact on the viewer with the Maryhill panels --

confirms visually Adam's commitment in his writings to the "Mosaic" rather than

the "Enamel" or "Mosaic-Enamel" method. Except for the traditional subject

matter, however, there is nothing antiquarian about Adam's lively and expressive style.

As already noted, he himself declared that he had been "greatly influenced by Rossetti, Burne-Jones, William Morris and Puvis de Chavannes" and that "as a colourist, I found my master in the late Daniel Cottier."[118] On several occasions he also referred admiringly to the clean lines of the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century neo-classical artist John Flaxman and, as we have seen, he appreciated the drawing skills of the Bavarians, most of whom belonged to or were influenced by the school of so-called "Nazarene" artists of the early decades of the nineteenth century -- a group that, in revolt against the alleged decadence of art in the age of the baroque and the rococo, advocated avoidance of excessive chiaroscuro and "bold brushstrokes" and a return to the practice of fresco and to the clearer, simpler lines of the early Renaissance. Though now neglected, except in their native Germany, the Nazarenes exercised enormous influence in Britain as well as Germany and France in the early to middle decades of the nineteenth century, notably on the widely respected Scottish painter William Dyce (1806-1864), who had frequented the Nazarene artist Friedrich Overbeck's studio in

Rome and with whose work both as a painter and an occasional stained-glass designer Adam had to be familiar, and on many Pre-Raphaelite painters or painters closely associated with the Pre-Raphaelites. (Figs. 27-32) In one case, documented by William Vaughan in his *German Romanticism and English Art*, a painting by Overbeck representing the death of Joseph was directly copied by an English stained glass artist for the little church at Church Lench in Worcestershire.[119] (Figs. 32, 33) Leading members of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, such as Burne-Jones and Rossetti, both of whom Adam cites as significant influences on him, had met with Overbeck in Rome and responded positively to the attempts of the founder of the Brotherhood of St. Luke (*Lukasbund*), as the original group of rebellious young students at the Vienna Academy had styled themselves, to reform the principles and practice of art.[120]

Adam's criticisms of the strongly Nazarene-influenced Munich school, as noted earlier, were nuanced. Even while rejecting the objectives of High Renaissance and post-Renaissance painters for his own medium of stained glass, as the Nazarenes had already done for painting, he sought, like the Munich school, to design figures in a more "natural" modern style, rather than according

to the conventions of medieval stained glass, and he aimed to give his figures the grace and expressiveness expected by viewers familiar with the paintings of Burne-Jones, Rossetti or Millais.[121] These features continued to characterize his work throughout his career.

Nevertheless, the style and indeed the whole conception of the Maryhill panels seem quite distinctive in Adam's work as a whole. The colors are unlike the more vivid and varied colors which he used in most of his work and for which, like his "master" Cottier, he was much admired. The disposition of the figures is spatially balanced and while their activity is vividly conveyed, there is no striving for dramatic, let alone theatrical effect. The overall design is exceptionally clear, spare, and simple and there is a total absence of the decorative motifs (leaves, flowers, etc.) and "diapering" that accompanied most of the ecclesiastical stained glass windows at the time, including Adam's, and that were an essential element also of much decorative domestic stained glass. As noted, the Maryhill panels are distinctive even in relation to Adam's designs for the Aberdeen Trades Hall, which are far more conventional. Strikingly, many of the panels representing industry and commerce that the Adam studio executed years later for the boardroom of

the new Clyde Navigation Trust building by the noted Glasgow architect J.J. Burnet

(1883-86, extended 1906-08), while in some respects more realistic, more

dramatic, and less idealized than the Maryhill panels -- in the shipbuilding

"Riveters" panel, for instance, as Ian Mitchell pointed out to the present writer,

the actual movements of the workers had clearly been studied with care -- are

also more conventional in design and color, as well as in the costumes and

disposition of the figures. (Figs. 34-37) A large window overlooking the Oyster Bar

of Edinburgh's Café Royal for which the Ballantine company designed several

impressive figures of modern sportsmen in the 1890s and which shows the

influence of the burgeoning Aesthetic movement also remains closer to current

stained glass practices than Adam's Maryhill panels of the late 1870s. (Fig. 38)

Since the distinctiveness and originality of the Maryhill panels are best

appreciated against the background of Adam's work over the course of his career,

as "the true successor of Daniel Cottier and Scotland's foremost artist in stained

glass,"[122] it is desirable that the reader be apprised of the general outlines and

characteristics of that work. Fortunately, it has been the object of careful analysis

by three scholars, Michael Donnelly, Gordon Urquhart, and Iain Galbraith, and Dr.

Galbraith has generously agreed to contribute his insights to the present volume. (See Appendix II)

In addition, a chronological list of Adam's work has been compiled (Appendix III), in order to convey some sense of its range and character. Unfortunately, the list remains provisional and incomplete. Adam's work for private homes, businesses, and secular institutions proved difficult to trace and date; and due to the loss of documentation, some attributions of ecclesiastical windows to the Stephen Adam studio remain speculative and uncertain. Moreover, a studio attribution in itself, as pointed out in Part I, does not identify which member of the studio was primarily responsible for the design. In the years of his studio's greatest activity and success, Adam employed a number of gifted assistants, as we saw, any of whom might have had a hand in or even primary responsibility for a work bearing the studio's name.[123] On his side, Adam occasionally undertook commissions on behalf of other glass artists, so that work usually attributed, for instance, to William Meikle & Son, could well have been carried out by Adam.[124]

In an appendix to a 1904 reprint of his pamphlet of 1896 on "Truth in Decorative Art," Adam provided a select list -- largely no doubt as a form of advertisement -- of "the most important Church Memorial Windows designed and executed in recent years by Stephen Adam," followed by a list of "Mansions and Public Buildings" for which he made decorative windows. As none of the 130 windows listed is dated and as it is difficult to determine exact dates for many of them or even their current condition, only a few have been included in our chronological list. Adam's own two lists have therefore been reproduced in Appendix III as published by him.

Fig. 1, upper left. Daniel Cottier, "Spring." 1873-75.

Fig. 2, upper center. Stephen Adam Jr., "Suffer the Little Children." St. James the Less Episcopal Church, Bishopbriggs, Glasgow.

Fig. 3, lower left. Stephen Adam Jr., doorway at 8 Belhaven Terrace, West End, Glasgow.

Fig. 4, upper right. Stephen Adam and Alf Webster, "Ecce Ancilla Domini." St. Nicholas Church, Lanark.

Fig. 5, upper left. Alf Webster, "Miracle of the Loaves and Fishes." Templeton Memorial Window, centre light, lower panel. Lansdowne Church, Glasgow. 1911.

Fig. 6, upper right. Stephen Adam, "Cleopatra" at villa, "The Knowe." Pollokshields, Glasgow. 1890.

Fig. 7. Stephen Adam, window at 2 Devonshire Gardens.

Fig. 8. Stephen Adam, window at 2 Devonshire Gardens.

Fig. 9, left. Stephen Adam, window at Carnegie Library, Ayr.

Fig. 10, above. Andrew Carnegie and Mrs. Carnegie at opening ceremony.
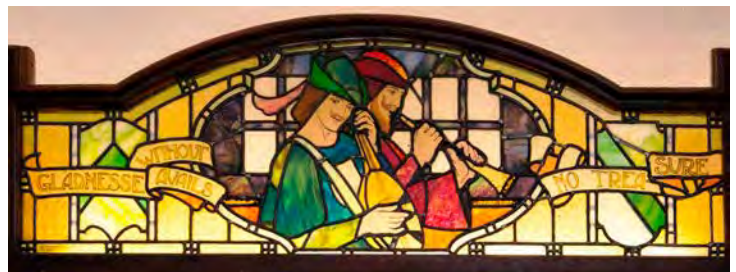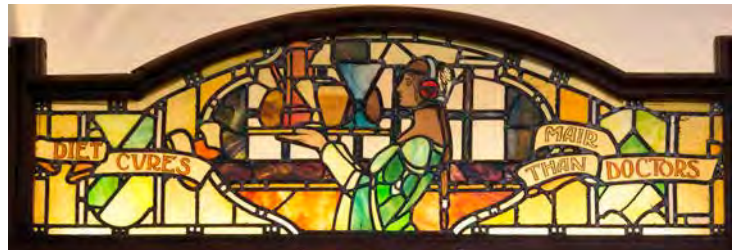
Fig. 14, above. St. Andrew's in the Square, Glasgow. General view looking toward the Stephen Adam window.

Figs. 11, 12, 13 above. Stephen Adam, stained glass panels above the bar at Imperial Bar, Howard Street, Glasgow.
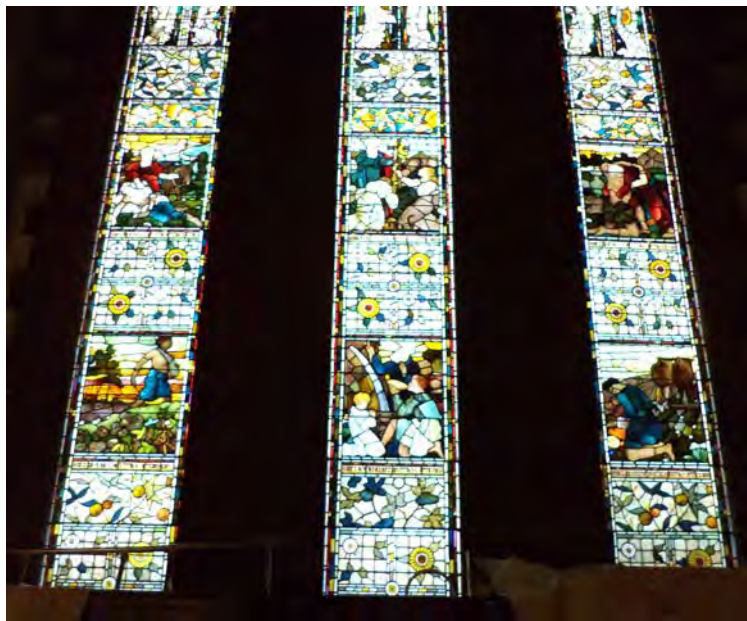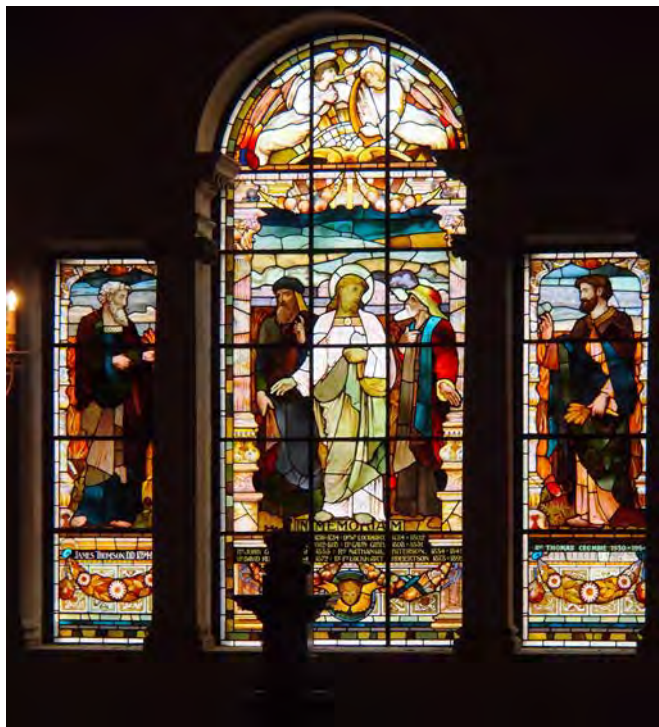
Fig. 15, upper left. Stephen Adam, window, St Andrew's in the Square, Glasgow.

Fig. 16, upper right. Stephen Adam, window, St Andrew's in the Square, right light.

Fig. 17, lower left. Stephen Adam, window, former Belhaven United Presbyterian Church (now Greek Orthodox Cathedral), Glasgow. 1877.

Fig. 18, lower right. Detail of Stephen Adam window at former Belhaven U.P. Church. 1877.

Fig. 19, upper left. Stephen Adam, Baird South Window, Alloway Parish Church.

Fig. 20, upper right. Stephen Adam, Baird South Window, detail of left light, "Mary, Joseph, and Jesus."

Fig. 21, lower left. Baird South Window, detail of right light, "Adoration of the Magi."

Fig. 22, lower right. Baird South Window. Detail of upper part of right light. Angel.

Fig. 23, right. Stephen Adam, West or Preachers Window. Clark Memorial Church, Largs, Ayrshire. 1892.

Fig. 24, below, left. Stephen Adam, "David Playing before Saul." Clark Memorial Church, Largs. 1892.

Fig. 25, below, center. Stephen Adam,"Ruth and Boaz."Clark Memorial Church, Largs. 1892.

Fig. 26, below, right. Stephen Adam, "Jesus Visits Martha and Mary." Clark Memorial Church, Largs. 1892.
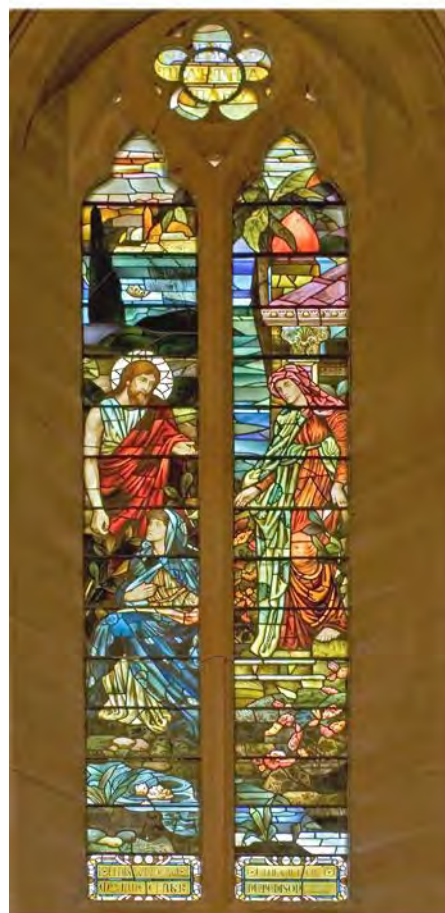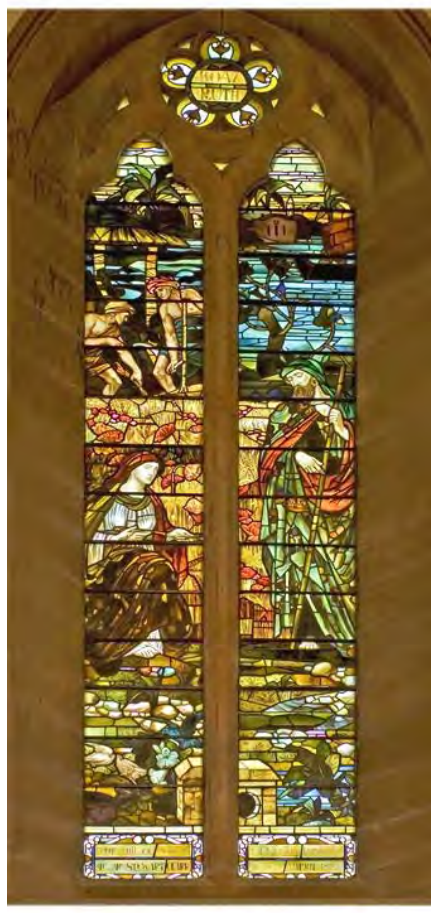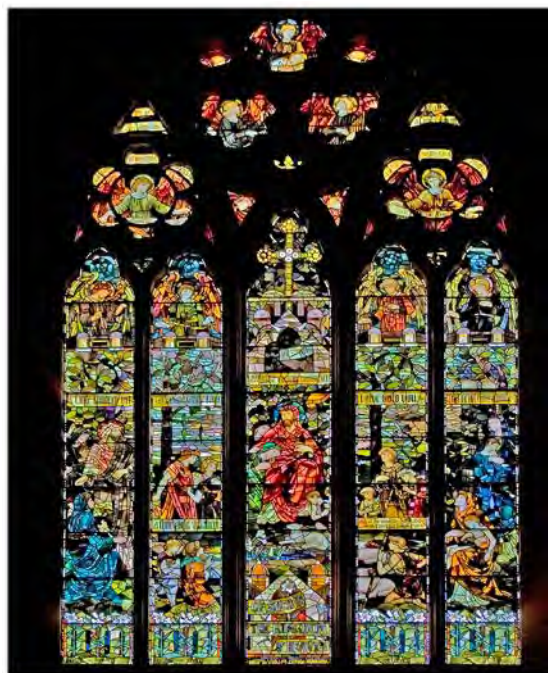
Fig. 27, upper left. Friedrich Overbeck, "Der Ostermorgen." c. 1819.

Fig. 28, top right. Franz Pforr, "Sulamith und Maria." 1810-1811.

Fig. 29, lower left. Julius Schnorr von Carolsfeld, "Saint Roch giving alms." 1817.

Fig. 30, center right. Joseph von Führich, "Jacob Encountering Rachel." 1836.

Fig. 31, bottom right.William Dyce, "Jacob and Rachel." 1850.

Fig. 32, top left. Overbeck, "Death of Joseph." 1857.
Fig. 33, top center. Frederick Preedy, "Death of Joseph." All Saints Church, Lench. 1858.
Figs. 34-35, upper right and center left. Stephen Adam. "Commerce." Clydeport. 1908.
Figs. 36-37, center right and bottom left. Stephen Adam, "Engineering." Clydeport. 1908.
Fig. 38, bottom right. James Ballantine company, windows in bar, Café Royal, Edinburgh.

2. *"A MAN PERFECTS HIMSELF BY WORKING"*

Unusual as they must assuredly appear to most viewers accustomed to nineteenth- or early twentieth-century ecclesiastical or even domestic stained glass, the Maryhill panels continue thematically in some measure, if not at all stylistically, an old medieval tradition. Stained glass portrayals of men at work, representing the labors of the craft guilds that donated windows are commonly found in medieval Cathedrals and Churches -- bakers, carpenters, clothmakers, fishermen, furriers, masons and stone-cutters, metal workers, miners, money changers, tanners, wheelwrights. Likewise the so-called "labors of the month" (sometimes representing women as well as men) -- sowing, reaping, treading the grapes -- are a common theme of medieval stained glass. (Figs. 1-4) In addition, scenes of men at work continued to be the subject of prints in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, albeit no longer commissioned by the workers themselves. (Figs. 5, 6) By the 40s, 50s, and 60s of the nineteenth century, modern work, including industrial work, had become a theme of several painters: probably the best known now are "Work" (1852-63) by Ford Madox Brown (with

whom Adam's teacher and employer Daniel Cottier had studied in London), and "Iron and Coal" (1860-61), by Edinburgh-born William Bell Scott, representing a still more contemporary scene of industrial labor[125], and based on the artist's own familiarity with the huge Robert Stephenson locomotive works in Newcastle-on-Tyne (Robert Stephenson was the son of the great railway engineer George Stephenson), where in 1844 Scott had been appointed head of the Government School of Design. (Figs. 7, 8)

But there were many others. In the 1780s, for instance, the Scottish painter David Allen had created a series of images of work in the lead-mining Lanarkshire village of Leadhills; in the 1850s the Sheffield artist Godfrey Sykes produced paintings of foundries and rolling mills and sculptures of laboring men; similar workplaces were the subject of frequent illustrations in the *London Illustrated News* (Figs. 9, 10); and in 1900, Adam could still have seen the huge mural of shipbuilding on the Clyde created by John Lavery for the Banqueting Hall of Glasgow's grand City Chambers. (Fig. 11) In France, the prints "explicated" in M. Boucard's *Notions industrielles* (Paris and Algiers: Hachette, 1848) offered illustrations of modern industrial labor (forges, paper works, soap works, glass

works, spinning mills); in Germany, Adolf Menzel's magnificent "The Iron Rolling

Mill" (1872-1875), originally made for the banker Adolph von Liebermann (now in

the Nationalgalerie in Berlin), and Paul Meyerheim's painting of a locomotive

factory offer vivid and powerful images of labor in rapidly industrializing

Germany; and in the United States, Thomas Anschutz depicted steel workers on a

break from a mill with belching chimney stacks.[126] (Figs. 12-14)

It is not surprising that being based in Glasgow, then one of the most

dynamic centers of the new industrial world, Adam was commissioned more than

once to take the modern worker as his principal subject matter. In addition to the

Maryhill Burgh Hall panels of the late 1870s, he himself tells of having created

"large decorative mosaic glass panels over the main entrance to the Glasgow

International Exhibition of 1901, representing Saint Mungo, the city's patron

saint, blessing the Arts and the Industries of the Clyde District" with "life-size

figures of craftsmen and artisans at work." (See Appendix III) A few years later, in

1905-1908, as the impressive Clyde Navigation Trust Building on the Broomielaw

in the center of the city was being extended, he created and installed in the

boardroom a series of panels representing workers in shipbuilding, engineering, and overseas trade and commerce.

In their various ways -- whether representing conditions in which the individual is overwhelmed by industry, or like Adam's Burgh Hall panels, representing the individual worker in control of the new forms of labor -- these drawings, paintings, and glass panels reflect a historical situation in which, with the vast expansion of industry in nineteenth-century Britain and Europe and a rising population of factory workers, work, and no longer only traditional kinds of work, had become a topic much reflected on and discussed by leading writers and thinkers. A substitute and a solace in many cases for loss of religious faith among the educated, according to one historian, work "became an end in itself, a virtue in its own right. [. . .] The glorification of work as a supreme virtue was the commonest theme of the prophets of earnestness" -- among them Edward Burne-Jones and William Morris, together with Thomas Arnold, Charles Kingsley and John Ruskin.[127] Hence perhaps the taste for representations of the Holy Family as a working family. (Figs. 15) One of the watchwords of Morris's Arts and Crafts movement, as has been pointed out, was "the meaningfully hyphenated and

equated 'art-work,'" and Morris liked not to differentiate between the artist and the craftsman.[128]

The key preacher of the gospel of the dignity of labor (in contrast to the base idleness of the rich and titled) was the Calvinist-raised Scot, Thomas Carlyle, with whose immensely popular and influential writings Adam, as a fellow-countryman, can hardly not have been acquainted. "The latest Gospel in this world," Carlyle had announced in *Past and Present* (1843), "is, Know thy work and do it. [. . .] A man perfects himself by working. [. . .] Blessed is he who has found his work," for "all true work is sacred."[129] The arms of Govan, the great shipbuilding center in Glasgow's southwest and an independent Burgh from 1864 until 1912, give graphic expression to the nineteenth-century gospel of work, representing as they do the two figures of an industrious middle-class entrepreneur (or perhaps, as Ian Mitchell suggested, a worker who had moved up the ladder to a more highly paid job) and a sturdy working man on either side of the burgh motto, *Nihil sine Labore.* A somewhat similar theme, albeit bosses and workers seem in a less collaborative and more confrontational relationship, is

represented in Henry Stacy Marks' painting "Capital and Labour" of 1874. (Figs.

16, 17)

To be sure, Morris, the self-proclaimed Socialist, vehemently condemned

what labor had become in "the darkest period in the history of labour in England"

and deplored the reduction of the worker to the condition of being "only part of a

machine, with little more than his weariness at the end of his day's work to show

him that he had worked at all in the day." "The workmen," Morris held, "should

own those things that is [sic] the means of labour collectively, and should regulate

labour in their own interests."[130] Carlyle had already been critical of the

"Mammonism" of modern industrial work. Only when freed from its "bondage to

Mammon," he had proclaimed in *Past and Present*, would the "rational soul" of

work be awakened.[131] The early anarchist Mikhail Bakunin considered work "the

foundation of human dignity and morality. For it was only by free and intelligent

labor that man, overcoming his bestiality, attained his humanity and sense of

justice, changed his environment, and created the civilized world." Unfortunately,

"the economic and social division of labor has disastrous consequences for

members of the privileged classes, the masses of the people, and for the

prosperity, as well as the moral and intellectual development, of society as a whole," but the prevailing division of labor, like Carlyle's Mammonism, was said to be a correctable accessory, and did not affect the essential value of work.[132] Even on the extreme left, Marx and Engels (who wrote a very favorable review of Carlyle's *Past and Present*)[133] saw in work "the prime basic condition for all human existence, and this to such an extent that, in a sense, we have to say that labour created man himself," enabling him to distinguish himself from the animals, in the words of Engels in his unfinished *The Part played by Labour in the Transition from Ape to Man* (written in 1876).[134] No less than for Carlyle, work was thus, in the view of Bakunin, Marx and Engels, essential to our humanity: the aim of socialism was by no means to demean it or do away with it but to have those who perform it also regulate it.

Adam's portrayals of working men -- and women -- in the Maryhill panels communicate vividly the prevailing view of work as essentially human and uplifting while conveying virtually nothing of the critical strain in the writings of Morris or Engels or even Carlyle. On the contrary, the panels ignore the uglier, "Mammonist" aspect of modern industrial work. As one scholar has put it,

whatever the critical angle in the arguments of Morris and his associates or, earlier still, in Carlyle, "the Puritan doctrine of work would never have been stressed so much," did it not "also serve the cause of social order and lessen the threat of revolution."[135] At the same time, it is appropriate to note that, in the view of some writers, the cult of work was in fact shared by the workers themselves. Carried over from pre-industrial times, according to the author of a 2009 book on Glasgow, "traditional pride in their work […] is a consistent thread running through industrial workers' oral memories and autobiographies, as is the stress men placed upon themselves 'never being idle.' [. . .] Work was something more than a job." The same author goes on to recall that "in his memoirs Glasgow-born M.P. David Kirkwood, who rose from apprentice engineer to Independent Labour Party leader and Labour M.P., noted of Clyde shipbuilding workers: 'These men – the finest, the most expert craftsmen in the world – had lived their lives in their work. Their joy as well as their livelihood lay in converting the vast masses of Nature's gifts into works of art, accurate to a two-thousandth part of an inch.'"[136] By representing the modern industrial worker realistically, but with the dignity of the traditional craftsman, Adam's panels may thus well have

reflected not only a desire on the part of the commercial and industrial entrepreneurs most likely to have been behind their commissioning to present their businesses in a positive light but the workers' own view of themselves and their labor. Certainly, the portrayal of industrial labor in stained glass, a medium generally associated with churches and religion, even at a time of its growing popularity as a decorative art in secular contexts, cannot but have underlined the "sacredness" of labor and moderated or eliminated any association of it with the "Mammonist" exploitation deplored by Carlyle and Morris, with social injustice and unrest, or with workers' movements and strikes. Employers and employees alike may well have responded favorably to the respectful portrayal of the workers in all the Maryhill panels as dignified, seriously engaged in their work, and concentrating all their attention on it, to the point that in several panels their backs are turned to the viewer while they focus on "doing their work."

As has been pointed out by the few scholars who have concerned themselves with Adam's panels at Maryhill Burgh Halls, notably by Ian Mitchell, the industrial equipment represented in them had clearly been carefully studied by Adam and is rendered with meticulous accuracy. Likewise the workers

themselves are presented in their modern working clothes, without the embellishment of quasi-medieval or Biblical costume -- as in Adam's own windows for the Trades Hall in Aberdeen or in some of the fine, but more conventional stained glass representations of "Commerce" executed by the Adam Studio for the Clyde Navigation Trust Building two decades later. (See Part II, 1, Fig. 34 and http://www.seventradesofaberdeen.co.uk/stained-glass-windows/)

As already suggested, however, the representation of working people and machinery in the panels, while conveying an impression of sober realism and accuracy, offers an idealized picture of modern industrial labor. Thanks to the clean, classical lines of the machinery with which the workers share the stage, the viewer never has the impression of the worker as dominated by an overpowering, inhuman, mechanical force, even when he is seen from behind and the machinery comes close to displacing him as the hero of the scene. On the contrary, the impression created by Adam's panels, for all their realism, is one of harmony and order. For that reason, the images representing modern industrial processes do not clash with those that continue to evoke traditional crafts -- "Blacksmiths," "The Bricklayer," or "Wheelwrights." Most significantly perhaps, the factory floor

as such, with its armies of workers overwhelmed by machinery is strikingly absent

from Adam's panels. While this may well reflect the prevalence in Maryhill of

smaller workshops, as distinct from the large factories established in the

neighboring district of Springburn, the viewer cannot but be struck by the

complete absence of the dirt and grime that undoubtedly accompanied many of

the forms of labor represented and that, in contrast, are clearly visible in Godfrey

Sykes' images of rolling mills and iron foundries of the 1850s or an *Illustrated*

London News illustration of a Sheffield workshop in the mid-60s (Figs. 10, 11) or

the print of a forge in the French *Notices industrielles* of 1848. As William H.

Sewell Jr. noted of the last of these, "the space is filled with a jumble of workmen,

machines, tools, steam, and bits of debris."[137]

Instead, the fine, balanced, uncluttered, classical composition of each

panel, the simple color patterns, and the carefully arranged poses of the

individual workers, which seem almost fixed and eternal even when the men (and

women) are visibly engaged in strenuous and effectively rendered physical

activity, ensure that the figures in Adam's panels appear to the viewer as noble,

classical, and iconic – modest heroes of the modern industrial and industrious

age, as Carlyle or William Morris would have liked them to be. Even their working clothes, albeit occasionally patched, are impeccably clean. The contrast is striking with the bent-over or beer-quaffing navvies in Ford Madox Brown's "Work" or the crowd of hammer-wielding workmen in William Bell Scott's "Iron and Coal" or the frantically active workers in Menzel's iron-rolling mill and in the already mentioned print of a forge from the French *Notices industrielles.* Ian Mitchell's suggestion (see Appendix I) that the panels may have been conceived as a kind of self-promoting advertisement by local factory owners is by no means inconsistent with such an idealized portrayal of the workers and the work in which they are engaged. We shall return to this feature of the panels.

Most of the records concerning the commissioning of the Maryhill panels have unfortunately been lost or destroyed. (Sadly, as noted in Part I, a sign of the relatively low general ranking of stained glass among works of art.) It is reasonable to speculate, however, that the Provost and Baillies of the then independent burgh of Maryhill, who no doubt commissioned the panels, were either themselves the owners of local factories or workshops or were acting on behalf of the latter in arranging for an impressive portrayal of their burgh and its

multiple activities. The building itself, after all, is said to have been originally conceived in 1870 as "a meeting place to enable tradesmen and merchants to come together."[138] As Ian Mitchell has demonstrated,[139] the panels represent the principal forms of labor in the quite diversified economy of the district: calico-dying, saw-milling, paper manufacture, iron-founding, railways and engineering, boatbuilding and canal work. (The opening of the Forth and Clyde Canal and of the Glasgow, Dumbarton and Helensburgh Railway had ensured a key role for Maryhill in the development of industry and transportation in Central Scotland). Even education -- an essential feature, especially in Scotland, of the preparation of the young for a life of work and piety -- was represented, as was the military, which in another way guaranteed the peace and order of a working community. (Maryhill Barracks, opened in 1872 and enlarged in 1876 -- allegedly in response to Glasgow Corporation's repeated petitioning "for more military protection" from the danger of "'riot and tumult" in the growing industrial city -- was designed to accommodate an infantry regiment, a squadron of cavalry and a battery of field artillery.) The teacher and the soldier thus took their place in the celebration of the burgh's workers that the Maryhill baillies commissioned from

Adam for their new Burgh Halls.[140] Whatever the baillies' intentions in commissioning the panels, the work produced by Stephen Adam presents a dignified and optimistic view of a modern mid-Victorian working-class community.
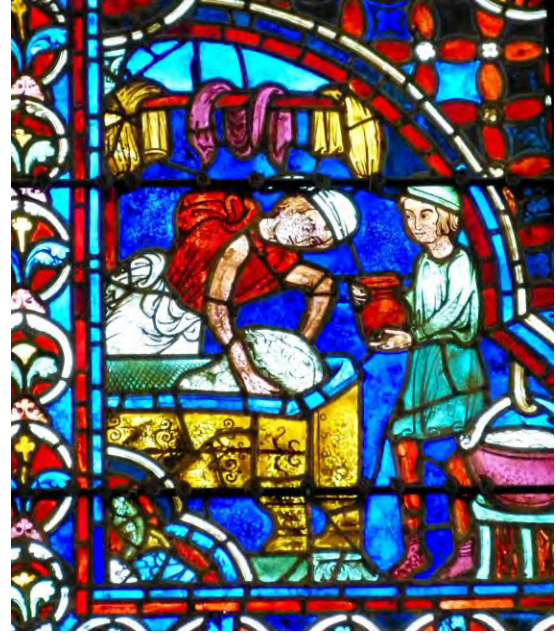
Fig. 1, upper left. Gold Miners. Freiburg Cathedral, 1330.

Fig. 2, upper right. Bakers' window. Chartres Cathedral.

Fig. 3, center left. Labors of the Months (July). Haymaking. 1450-1475.

Fig. 4, bottom left. Labors of the Months. c.1480.

Fig. 5, lower right. Jan van der Straet. Sugar Refinery. 16th Century.

Fig. 6, top left. Abraham Bosse. Printer's Shop. 17th Century.

Fig. 7, center left. Ford Madox Brown, "Work." 1865.

Fig. 8, top right. William Bell Scott, "Iron and Coal." 1861.

Fig. 9, center right. Godfrey Sykes, "Interior of an Iron Works." 1850.

Fig. 10, bottom left. "Sheffield Steel Manufactures. Hall of the Fork Grinders." *Illustrated London News*, March 10, 1886.

Fig. 11, top left. Sir John Lavery, "Shipbuilding on the Clyde." 1900.

Fig. 12, center left. Adolf Menzel, "The Iron Rolling Mill." 1872-75.

Fig. 13, top right. Paul Meyerheim. "Lebensgeschichte einer Lokomotive." 1874.

Fig. 14, bottom left. Thomas Anschutz, "The Iron Workers' Noontime." 1880.

Fig. 15, above. Sir John Everett Millais, "Christ in the house of his parents. The Carpenter's Shop." 1849-50.
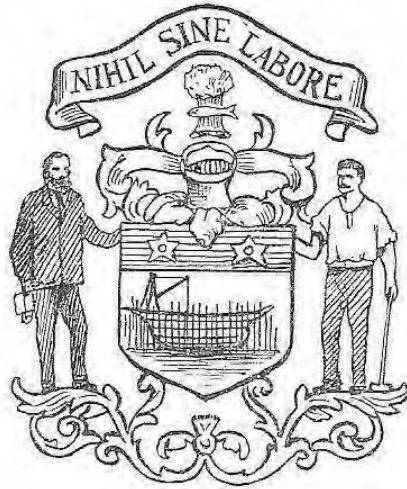
Fig. 16, left. Govan Burgh Arms.

Fig. 17, below. Henry Stacy Marks, "Capital and labour." 1874

3. *AN ORIGINAL STYLE: REALISM AND NEO-CLASSICISM IN THE MARYHILL*

PANELS.

One clue to the unusual neoclassical (rather than neo-Gothic) style of Adam's stained glass panels for Maryhill Burgh Halls might be found in the artist's own references to neoclassical design and specifically to the work of John Flaxman. We have already noted one such reference in *Stained Glass: Its History and Modern Development*. In the author's own words, "a certain external form and balancing of parts, as evinced in classic frescoes, Flaxman's cartoons, and some bas-reliefs by other artists, [. . .] better define my ideas and suggest our limits."[141] Another clue might be the reference, in the lecture on "Truth in the Decorative Arts" of two decades later, to Puvis de Chavannes, the nineteenth century French painter and muralist, cited by Adam as one of four artists who had influenced his own work.

In his path-breaking doctoral dissertation of over half a century ago, the late Robert Rosenblum wrote of Flaxman's drawing that it

completely eschews the intricate formal vocabulary evolved by
previous generations in their attempt to render the subtleties of
optical experience. Favoring an art of radically reduced means, it
seems to reject consciously that rich variety of spatial, luminary, and
atmospheric values which post-medieval painting had achieved. [. . .]
At all costs, the illusion of three-dimensionality is minimized. Even
the pedestals on which . . . statues rest are drawn as rectangles, not
cubes, so that no suggestion of depths may intrude. [. . .] Preceded
by a period which had reached a maximum of facility in the recording
of the most transient and subtle images of the optically perceived
world, Flaxman's drawing would seem to substitute a conceptual,
linear art, founded upon basic symbols of reality, rather than upon
illusions of it, an art whose severity of means and expression
suggests a pure and early phase of image-making.[142]

It is easy to understand that Adam felt drawn to an artist whose principles and

practice were so close to his own.

While Flaxman was a major influence on the neo-classical school of artists

of the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-centuries -- Ingres in France, Carstens

and Runge in Germany -- his clear, elegantly simple outline drawings of figures

and scenes from the *Iliad*, the *Odyssey*, and Dante's *Divine Comedy* also found

favor among a group of deeply Christian artists from the German-speaking lands.

Though their focus was on religious painting and their models were Giovanni

Bellini, Pietro Perugino, and the early Raphael, along with Dürer, Hans Baldung

and the German artists of the fifteenth century, the so-called "Nazarene" artists

shared the neo-classicists' negative judgment of the complex, restless, sensuous

and illusionistic art of the baroque and the rococo and subscribed in practice to

Johann Winckelmann's neo-classic ideal of "noble simplicity and quiet grandeur"

("*edle Einfalt und stille Grösse*"). Franz Pforr, a founding member, along with his

close friend Friedrich Overbeck, of the *Lukasbund* or brotherhood of St. Luke --

the original group of students who rejected the modern academic training they

were receiving at the Vienna Academy and in 1810 settled in Rome, the "eternal

city" -- described the reactions of the young rebels on a visit to the reopened

Imperial art collection in the Belvedere Palace on the outskirts of Vienna:

> We were stunned. Everything now seemed different. We hurried past a
>
> large number of paintings that we had previously admired with a
>
> feeling of dissatisfaction; other works, in contrast, which had formerly
>
> left us cold, now drew us irresistibly. [. . .] Canvasses by Tintoretto,

Veronese, Maratti, even many by the Carracci, Correggio, Guido, and Titian that had once filled us with admiration now made a feeble impression on us.

The future Nazarenes were no longer impressed by the "bold brushstrokes and striking colour effects" of these artists, which they now saw as intended "to excite a voluptuous sensibility." In contrast, they were enchanted by "some works by Michelangelo and Perugino and a painting from the school of Raphael." As for the German painters of the fifteenth century, "with what purity and charm" they spoke to the young visitors.

Much here had once struck us as stiff and forced, but now we had to recognize that our judgment had been distorted by familiarity with paintings in which every artistic technique, however common, had been exaggerated to the point of ridiculous affectation, and that as a result we had taken gestures, which were drawn from nature as she truly is, to be stiff and lacking in appropriate movement. Their noble simplicity spoke directly to our hearts.[143]

Committed to the representation in their art work of what they understood to be essential reality rather than pleasing representations of optically perceived,

transient, empirical reality, avoiding illusionist effects, concentrating on clarity of outline and composition, and seeking harmony, rather than seductiveness, of color, the Nazarenes aimed at the same time to restore the public function of art, its role in communicating meaning and representing the highest values of a community with the "noble simplicity and quiet grandeur" advocated by Winckelmann. "Truth" ("*Wahrheit*") in art had been the motto inscribed on the stamp devised by Overbeck for the founding *Lukasbund* in 1809. Not surprisingly, the Nazarenes promoted a return to fresco and some of their best and most characteristic work took the form of wall decoration using fresco techniques. (Figs. 1, 2) Given that neo-classical and Nazarene artists shared in unexpectedly large measure a common understanding of the aims and methods of pictorial representation (the sculptors Canova and Bertel Thorvaldsen and the German neo-classical painter Gottlieb Schick were among the supporters of the young Nazarenes in Rome, while the Austrian neo-classical artist Joseph Anton Koch joined them in decorating the Casino Massimo in Rome), it is in no way surprising that the earliest artistic efforts of one of the best and most successful of the

Nazarene painters, Julius Schnorr von Carolsfeld, should have been copies of

drawings by Flaxman.[144]

Did Stephen Adam have direct knowledge of the work of the original

Nazarene painters, such as Overbeck, Pforr, and Schnorr von Carolsfeld? Did he

know of the Nazarenes' watchword of "*Wahrheit*" when he himself demanded

"truth in the decorative arts"? Though there is no clear evidence that he did, it is

not unlikely, since the art of the Nazarenes was well known in Britain at the time,

and as we have seen, Adam never failed to acknowledge his respect for the

drawing skills of the Nazarene-influenced painters who made cartoons for the

Königliche Glasmalerei-Anstalt in Munich, even though these later painters had

moved further in the direction of the style of the High Renaissance than the

original Nazarene artists would probably have approved. As Puvis de Chavannes

had been in his turn influenced by the principles and practices of the Nazarenes

and their French disciples of the École de Lyon (Hippolyte Flandrin, Louis Janmot,

Victor Orsel), it is possible that a discernible line may lead from Flaxman to Puvis

and on to the Adam of the Maryhill Burgh Hall panels.

Now a rather neglected and unappreciated painter, despite being

extensively studied and written about by art historians, who see him as a

founding figure of modern art,[145] Puvis enjoyed considerable celebrity in the years

of Adam's activity as a stained glass artist and it is not unlikely that Adam had

occasion to view his work on a visit to France. However, Puvis was not well known

in Britain (except, significantly, to Burne-Jones)[146] and this makes Adam's

reference to him as an influence all the more significant. Much of Puvis' best

known work, it is true, was produced some years after the Maryhill panels:

"Christian Inspiration" and "Antique Vision" in 1886, or the great mural "The

Sacred Grove" commissioned in 1880 for the Musée des Beaux-Arts of his native

Lyon. Nevertheless, his embrace of mural painting and the clear, flat, simplified

style he developed for it, drawing on both neo-classical and Nazarene models,

were already visible in his "Work" of 1863 -- so strikingly different in its idealizing

classicism from the realism of Ford Madox Brown or William Bell Scott – and, if he

had an opportunity to view it, could hardly have failed to strike a chord in the

imagination of the budding stained glass designer from Glasgow. (Figs. 3-5)

This style has been well characterized by Aimée Brown Price who curated a major Puvis exhibition at the Van Gogh Museum in Amsterdam in 1994. Her remarks are sufficiently relevant to Adam's style in the Maryhill panels to warrant quotation at some length.

> The style that Puvis developed for his wall paintings can only be understood in the context of what in the mid-nineteenth century was advocated as a proper mural aesthetic. By the middle of the nineteenth century, a fundamental distinction was made between mural and easel painting based on what was perceived as their different purposes. Murals to decorate a wall owed their allegiance to it and were to subordinate themselves to their architectural surrounds, not detracting (or distracting) from them or from the planarity of the walls themselves. Paintings, however, were to imitate nature. The "tableau" and the "decoration" were to have differing rules, conventions and appearance. [. . .] Prosper Mérimée (of *Carmen* fame), *Inspecteur général des monuments historiques*, advised suppressing perspective and other illusionistic effects and evening the intensity of mural surfaces so no single tone would dominate. [. . .] The prolific critic Théophile Gautier, who prided himself on being the first to discover Puvis [. . .] declared the sober tones of building walls would teach painters tranquillity of color. [. . .] "A balanced composition, rhythmic

poses, a sequence of symmetries [. . .] must be sought before all else. [. . .] Clear, matte areas defined by a nicely fixed contour, modeled with moderate relief [. . .] are eminently suitable. Farewell, chiaroscuro, brush play, impasto, lapidary tones [. . .], all those artifices of the palette to which amateurs are so drawn. The wall rejects these niceties: it wants purity of design, grandeur of style and sober harmony of color." To maintain the two-dimensionality demanded by wall painting, Puvis nearly eliminated chiaroscuro and produced figurations in which flat shapes and colors are salient.[147]

Though stained glass, which transmits light, is in that respect fundamentally different from fresco or wall painting, the kind of art work required of Puvis, the mural painter-- simplification, purity of design, clearly drawn contours, severely limited relief, balanced composition, respect for the architectural context -- thus bore many resemblances *mutatis mutandis* to what, in Stephen Adam's opinion, as communicated in his writing on the subject, was required of the stained glass artist.

It is indeed highly likely that Adam took the architecture for which his windows were commissioned into account when drawing up his designs. Built to

the plans of the local Glasgow architect Duncan McNaughtan and ceremoniously

opened in 1878, the Maryhill Burgh Halls, are not in neo-Gothic, but in French

Renaissance style (fig. 6), and Adam could well have read in fellow-Scot Francis

Oliphant's *Plea for Stained Glass* that such buildings -- Palladian, Neo-classical or

one of the "more mixed styles of modern work" -- require a different design of

glass than anything to be found in Gothic churches. "I am distinctly of the

opinion," Oliphant had written, "that the demands of the spaces afforded by the

windows of such buildings will never be adequately met, nor their advantages for

painted glass sufficiently brought out, by the introduction either of the

Romanesque Norman or Byzantine modes of treatment, nor by the gaudy glories

of the Cinque Cento. The former are too powerful in colour, too much diversified

and broken in their parts, to harmonize with the extent of smooth and pannelled

surfaces offered in these buildings; and the latter is no true style at all."[148]

If we now turn to the panels Adam created for Maryhill Burgh Halls, I

believe it will be possible to discern how close in fact they are in conception and

style, despite the different medium, to the work of neo-classical artists, such as

Flaxman (to say nothing of Flaxman's contemporaries, the German neo-classical

sculptors Gottfried Schadow and Daniel Rauch, of whose creations Adam is unlikely to have had knowledge), to that of the early Nazarene painters, such as Overbeck, Pforr or Schnorr von Carolsfeld, and to that of the mid- to late nineteenth-century muralist Puvis de Chavannes. First, clarity and firmness of line is a salient feature of every one of the panels, as it is of the work of all the above-mentioned artists. The leadlines in the Maryhill panels outline and define the elements of the scene represented even more strongly and simply than in Adam's ecclesiastical designs, the individual glass segments being unusually large and few in relation to the total design. Second, the carefully balanced, spare composition may well have been conceived by Adam with the shape and location of the panels in the French Renaissance style building in mind (namely, that they had to fit into plain rectangular spaces above a series of tall windows) and this too may well have led him to follow neo-classical models and to adopt a frieze-like design. (Fig. 7) Third, the restricted representation of depth -- required, according to both Winston and Adam himself, by stained glass as a medium -- is a dominant feature of the work of Flaxman, the Nazarenes, and Puvis. And finally, as in the work of the Nazarenes and Puvis, the spectrum of colors, each filling a relatively

large area of the panel, is limited and quite muted – browns, golds, yellows, greys, dull greens, whites, an occasional red or blue -- compared to the more complex and brilliant color arrangement of most stained glass windows, including those designed and built by Adam himself, both before and after the Burgh Halls panels.

No less significant is the impression of stability and fixity that the viewer receives from all the panels, including those ("The Gas Worker," "The Chemical Worker," "The Glass Blower," "The Zinc Spelter," "The Iron Moulders," "The Dye Press Worker") in which strenuous activity is represented. (See figs. in Album preceding Part I) The figures are clearly engaged in action and at the same time frozen in action. Despite their seeming realism -- the meticulously accurate representation of machinery and the contemporary mid-nineteenth century working clothes in which the figures of the workers are clad (strikingly unusual, as already noted, in stained glass at the time) -- the images have an iconic, timeless quality reminiscent of the classical Greek frieze, with the contemporary working man (and woman) as modern hero in place of the warriors, gods, and goddesses of antiquity.[149] It is as though the images are intended to represent the essential condition underlying fleeting visual impressions of an empirically real one --

whence the extremely simplified, uncluttered backgrounds, the prominence and clear, classical lines of the industrial machinery, and the absence of the dirt and disorder inevitably accompanying in "real" life most of the activities represented. The workers are portrayed alone or in carefully defined and symmetrically arranged groups of two or three at most. Communication among them, when more than one is represented, is indicated by minimal positioning of head or body. It is never dramatic, it is never a singular gesture represented as happening now; it is always the essential nature of a working relationship that is portrayed, rather than an immediate empirical reality.

Correspondingly, there is nothing seductive about the scenes represented. The figures do not engage with or appeal to the viewer; on the contrary, in several cases, even when only one figure is represented on the panel, the figure's back is turned to the viewer, so that the viewer's attention is focused, like the figure's, on the task at hand. The viewer identifies with the railwayman or the dye-press worker.[150] Adam's panels, in short, realistic as they may in some respects appear, present with "noble simplicity and calm grandeur" an ideal, iconic vision of modern work and of the modern industrial worker as the "hero of

our time." This manner of representation conforms perfectly with the artist's own frequently expressed ideas of representation on stained glass, as opposed to painting on canvas. It is also in line with the principles and practice of those artists whose work he himself acknowledged as having helped him to form his own style.

The originality – indeed, the uniqueness -- of Adam's panels emerges clearly from a comparison of his representations of modern workers with other stained glass representations of modern life both in his own time and later, whether in the medieval-style portrayal by Pugin's collaborator John Hardman, in one of the windows he made for St.Chad's Roman Catholic Cathedral in Birmingham, of workers in his own Birmingham workshop (fig.8), or in bars, pubs, and WWI and WWII war memorials. Though some of the latter show signs of the simplified design characteristic of the Burgh Hall panels, mostly they remain faithful to the colors and patterns of traditional stained glass. (Figs. 9-11) This is in large measure true not only, as suggested earlier, of Adam's own later panels for the Clyde Navigation Trust Building (1908), but of somewhat similar windows depicting Cornish miners executed around the same time (1907) for Truro Cathedral by the long and well established London firm of Clayton & Bell, and of

later stained glass representations of modern figures by exceptionally gifted artists such as the modernist Dutch painter Jan-Thorn Prikker and the American Charles Connick (figs. 12, 13, 14), not to mention Herbert Hendrie's 1930s windows depicting workers for Glasgow Cathedral. (Fig. 15)

If, as I am not the first to suggest, the Maryhill panels are exceptional, even probably unique among works in the medium of stained glass in their time – or since -- how should this unusual situation be accounted for? Why did other stained glass artists not come up with a similar style and composition, or take up the methods and designs developed by Adam for the panels? Why did Adam himself – or the responsible assistant in his studio – adopt a more familiar style for the later panels representing riveters, dock workers, and engineers that were commissioned for the board room of the Clyde Navigation Trust building? While any answers to those questions must obviously be speculative, one could consider that, for one thing, conditions and opportunities similar to those offered by the Burgh Halls may well have been rare. The demand for stained glass continued to come primarily from churches or for the purpose of providing attractive decoration for domestic or commercial properties. Clients may well have found

the style of the Maryhill panels too austere for their tastes and purposes. In addition, while Adam continued to subscribe to the basic principle of the "Mosaic" method in the Maryhill panels,[151] he did not exploit it there as most stained glass artists, including himself, often did, using many small fragments of variously colored "pot" glass to create a work in which, even when the pieces are used to constitute whole figures or a setting, a recognizably "mosaic" effect remains essential.[152] (Figs. 16, 17) In contrast to most stained glass windows, the leaded glass pieces constituting the Maryhill panels tend to be large, unbroken, and of uniform color. In this respect they also contrast strikingly with the panels representing modern workers that the gifted Dutch artist W.A. Van de Walle created for the Factory Workers Union and the workers' insurance company De Centrale in the 1930s.[153](Fig.18)

Fortunately, the artistry and originality of the panels have been recognized by the local authorities. With the absorption of Maryhill into the city of Glasgow in 1891 and then the drastic decline of industry in Glasgow in the post-WWII years -- in the Maryhill-Springburn area no less than in the old shipbuilding districts north and south of the Clyde -- the Maryhill Burgh Halls fell

into disrepair. In the 1960s, however, the panels were removed and stored for safekeeping in the city's Museums and Art Galleries; thanks to Michael Donnelly, some were displayed in one of those Galleries, the remarkable People's Palace. As the Burgh Halls were refurbished in the last decade and transformed into a local community and convention centre, the decision was made to return a selection of Adam's panels to their original site. First, however, some restoration work had to be done. Adam, it turned out, had been one of many stained glass producers who adopted the use of borax as a means of speeding up the firing process, and this had led – ironically enough in view of his criticism of the Munich windows in Glasgow Cathedral -- to considerable fading. With expert help, the work of restoration was completed in reasonable time and a number of the panels can now be seen in their original architectural setting. The Maryhill Burgh Halls Trust has put out a beautifully illustrated booklet describing the panels that can be accessed online anywhere in the world without charge.

(http://static1.squarespace.com/static/4ff41e65e4b03ec22b1153c6/t/52398a63e4b045468c5f7619/1379502691246/panels_orig_booklet_a.pdf)

Most of the illustrations of the panels reproduced in this essay were taken from this booklet with the approval of the Trust and the permission of Glasgow Museums, the copyright holder.

*** *** ***

As must be clear from the numerous references in the endnotes to the rich literature on stained glass and from the many individuals acknowledged in the Foreword, this short study of a little known but highly original work of art could not have been undertaken without the help of established scholars in the field and the encouragement, co-operation, and practical input of countless well-wishers in Glasgow and the towns and villages in Scotland where most of Stephen Adam's work is located – conservationists, local historians, church and other building administrators, photography enthusiasts. The input of some individuals, notably Ian R. Mitchell, has been so immeasurable that it is difficult to conceive of the study otherwise than as the product of a community rather than an individual However the reflections and speculations in the text may be judged, the endeavor will have been worthwhile if it succeeds in getting out the word about an unusual and underappreciated masterpiece.

Fig. 1, top left. Peter von Cornelius, "Joseph recognized by his brothers." Casa Bartholdy, Rome. 1816-17.

Fig. 2, center left. Schnorr von Carolsfeld. Ariosto Room, Casino Massimo, Rome. 1827.

Fig. 3, top right. Pierre Puvis de Chavannes, "Le Travail." 1863.

Fig. 4, bottom left. Pierre Puvis de Chavannes, "Le Bois sacré." Lyon, 1884.

Fig. 5, top of page.
Puvis de Chavannes.
"Christian Inspiration."
1887.

Fig. 6, center left.
Maryhill Burgh Halls.

Fig. 7, center right.
Stephen Adam panels
re-installed in Maryhill
Burgh Halls.

Fig. 8, foot of page.
Augustus Pugin and
John Hardman,
Hardman's stained
glass workshop. 1850.
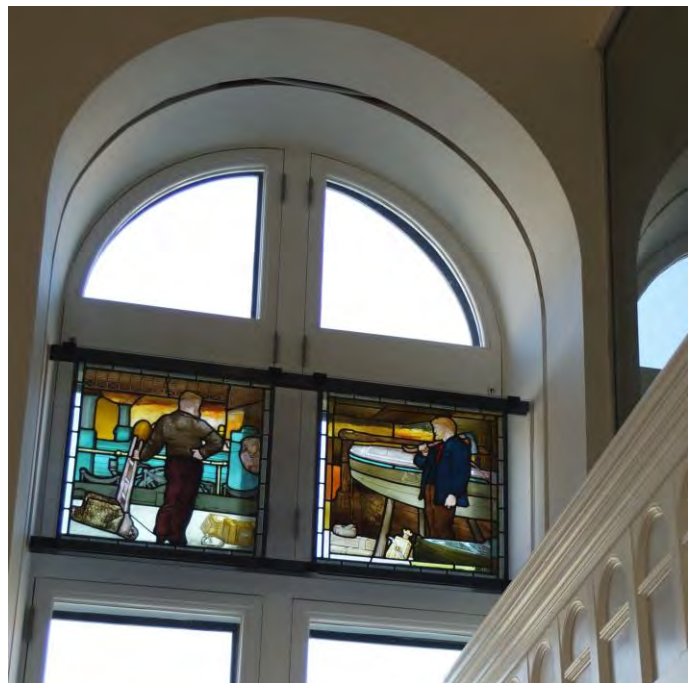
Fig. 9, top left. Clayton & Bell, "Cornish Miners."Truro Cathedral. 1907.

Fig. 10, second from top, left. Chesterfield Parish Church. 1984.

Fig. 11, top right. John Radecki, Memorial Window, Sydney, N.S.W. Museum of Freemasonry. 1951.

Fig. 12, third from top, left. Napier Waller, East Window, Australian war memorial Hall of Memory. 1950.

Fig. 13, bottom left. Jan-Thorn Prikker, "Der Künstler als Lehrer für Handel und Gewerbe." Hagen-Bahnhof. 1911.
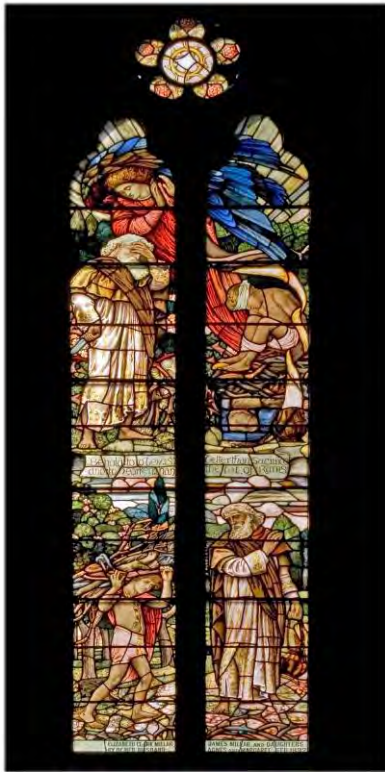
Fig. 14, upper left. Charles Connick, "Broadcasting" (detail). St. John the Divine, New York. Early 20th century.

Fig. 15, upper right. Herbert Hendrie, window replacing one of the Munich windows and representing workers. Glasgow Cathedral. 1939.

Fig. 16, lower left. Stephen Adam, "Sacrifice of Isaac," Clark Memorial Church, Largs. 1893.

Fig. 17, lower center. Edward Burne-Jones, "St. Cecilia." 1897.

Fig. 18, lower right. W.A. Van de Walle, "Miner." 1936.

ENDNOTES

Many of the following endnotes are unusually long. As in my recent study of Thomas Annan, the nineteenth-century Glasgow photographer, it has been my aim to keep the main text as uncluttered as possible while providing additional relevant information and quotations in the notes, along with abundant bibliographical indications to assist readers who might wish to pursue themes touched on in the text.

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[1] Maryhill started out as a small village at the time of the construction of the Forth and Clyde Canal in the late 18th century, developed rapidly in the wake of the commercial and industrial activities attracted by the canal, and achieved burgh status in 1856, before being absorbed into the city of Glasgow in 1891.

[2] See http://www.craftscotland.org/craft-news/news-article.html?historic-stained-glass-returns-to-maryhill-burgh-halls&document_id=973

[3] Gordon R. Urquhart, *A Notable Ornament: Lansdowne Church: An Icon of Victorian Glasgow* (Glasgow: Glasgow City Heritage Trust, 2011), p. 145.

[4] For a list of past and present glass artists in Scotland alone, see http://www.scotlandsglass.co.uk/cms/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=58&Itemid=28

[5] Henry Holiday, *Stained Glass as an Art* (London:Macmillan, 1896), pp .1-3.

[6] Charles Connick , *Adventures in Light and Color: An Introduction to the Stained Glass Craft* (New York: Random House, 1937), p 128. Cf. a recently expressed complaint that even "scholars have continued to overlook the material, symbolic, cultural experience and impact of stained glass in the nineteenth century," despite the fact that, "during that period, the medium experienced an unprecedented revival, not only in ecclesiastical interiors but also in civic, collegiate, and domestic settings." (Jasmine Allen, "Stained Glass and the Culture of the Spectacle, 1780-1862," *Visual Culture in Britain* [2012], 13:1-23 [http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/14714787.2012.641778])

[7] Virginia Chieffo Raguin, *Reflections on Glass: 20th Century Stained Glass in American Art and Architecture* (New York: Gallery at the American Bible Society, 2002), p. 15.

[8] E.g. the celebrated series of sportsmen figures by Tom Wilson in the Oyster Bar of Edinburgh's Café Royal; see Painton Cowen, *A Guide to Stained Glass in Britain* (London: Michael Joseph, 1985), p. 233. On the immense popularity of stained glass decoration in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century U.S. private homes, see Alice Cooney Frelinghuysen, "A New Renaissance: Stained Glass in the Aesthetic Period," in *In Pursuit of Beauty: Americans and the Aesthetic Movement*, ed. Doreen Bolger Burke *et al*. (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art/Rizzoli. 1986), pp. 177-97, esp. 184-85, and Charles Connick's account of a style of which he himself heartily disapproved, in his *Adventures in Light and Color*, chapters V and VI, pp. 120-128. Glasgow was no laggard in this development; see Lesley Gillilan, "Property: Top of the Glass Period. Features, 1: Stained Glass," in the London newspaper *The Independent* (Sunday, 10 March 1996): "Glasgow has some of the finest domestic stained glass in Europe. [. . .] If you walk the Victorian streets of the city's West End, you can still see the leaded outlines of flowers, birds, rustic scenes, seascapes, heraldic crests and a polychrome of abstract and figurative designs, including pre-Raphaelite nymphs and more mythological maids." (Figs. I:1, 19; II:1, 3, 7, 8) Likewise Iain Galbraith,

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"Always happy in his designs: the legacy of Stephen Adam," *The Journal of Stained Glass* (2006) 30:101-17: "From around 1870, accompanying the rise of the wealthy middle classes was a boom in suburban expansion around the great manufacturing cities. The inclusion of stained glass decoration was almost de rigueur within the new villas, terraces and mansions forming these affluent suburbs." (p. 109)

[9] Cited by Lesley Gillilan, "Property: Top of the Glass Period. Features, 1: Stained Glass," *The Independent* (London), Sunday, 10 March 1996.

[10] *Inquiry into the Difference of Style observable in Ancient Glass Paintings, especially in England, with Hints on Glass Painting, by an Amateur*, 2 vols. (Oxford: John Henry Parker, 1847), vol. I, p. 281, footnote. Vol. I of Winston's *Inquiry* consists of text, vol. II of illustrations. All subsequent references to the *Inquiry* in the endnotes are to vol. I.

[11] Winston, *Inquiry*, pp. 282-83 and footnote. In the same vein, Fras. [Francis] W. Oliphant in his A *Plea for Painted Glass, being an Inquiry into its Nature, Character, and Objects and its Claims as an Art* (Oxford: John Henry Parker, 1855). It still often happens that the artist responsible for a stained glass window remains anonymous. For instance, in a recent publication featuring illustrations of handsome stained glass works intended to celebrate or memorialize the men of the R.A.F. during the Second World War (David Beatty, *Light Perpetual* [Shrewsbury: Airlife, 1995]) , no artists' names are given.

[12] Holiday, *op.cit.*, p. 12.

[13] C.W. Whall, *Stained Glass Work: A Textbook for Students and Workers in Glass* (New York: D. Appleton, 1914 [1st ed. 1905]), pp. 4-5, 67, 71, 112-13, *et passim*. On Morris's view, see A. Charles Sewter, *The Stained Glass of William Morris and his Circle* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974), pp. 22-23.

[14] Sally Rush, "Ungrateful Posterity? The Removal of the 'Munich' Windows from Glasgow Cathedral," in *Glasgow's Great Glass Experiment: The Munich Glass of Glasgow Cathedral*, ed. Richard Fawcett (Edinburgh: Historic Scotland, 2003), pp. 47-65, on pp. 57-58.

[15] This situation has changed recently in some prominent cases. ""The painter who has to do the thinking out and creating 'at one go' may himself be the subsequent craftsman-maker, or the maker may be an inspired craftsman-interpreter who sees the point and interprets the 'one-go' idea as a creative translator," the painter John Piper wrote in 1979. "Patrick Reyntiens and I have worked together on windows since 1950. He is himself a painter, and I have been specially lucky in this association because of his sensitive and inventive craftsmanship and his total understanding of the painterly approach. […] The list of artist-interpreter, double-harness, designer-makers of the last twenty years is a long one. It includes Matisse/Paul Bony, Léger/Jean Barillet, Braque/Bony, and Chagall/Charles Marq." (John Piper, "Art or Anti-Art," in Brian Clarke, ed., *Architectural Stained Glass* [London: John Murray, 1979], pp. 60, 63)

[16] A. Charles Sewter, *The Stained Glass of William Morris and his Circle*, p. 18. See also p. 14 on the free interpretation of the artist's cartoons by the workshop of N.W. Lavers and F.P. Barraud. Burne-Jones' contemporary, the American stained glass artist John Lafarge (1835-1910), claimed to have noticed "of the English

artists in stained glass that [their work] had ceased improving, and […] that the cause of this was mainly" that "the designer had become separated from the men who make the actual windows." (H. Barbara Weinberg, "The Early Stained Glass Work of John Lafarge," *Stained Glass* [Summer, 1972], 67:5, cited in Frelinghuysen, "A New Renaissance" [see note 8 above], p. 188) In Lafarge's view, "When [Burne-Jones] sent in his elaborated and final pretty drawing to the glass makers . . . *their* part began, and they gradually stamped their commercial British mark on his final work." (Cit. Frelinghuysen, *ibid*.) Lafarge, we are told, "avoided this pitfall by personally taking his designs to the stained-glass studio and watching over every detail until they were finished to his satisfaction." (*ibid*.)

[17] [Present author's note]. Francis Oliphant (1818-1859), who had studied at the Edinburgh Academy of Art, was himself the author of *A Plea for Painted Glass, being an Inquiry into its Nature, Character, and Objects and its Claims as an Art* (Oxford: John Henry Parker, 1855); see above, endnote 11 and below, endnote 31. In this well-argued tract of 72 pages Oliphant deplores the low esteem in which stained glass is held. This, he claims, has given any one, skilled and artistically gifted or not, license to turn a hand to it. The result is much mediocre work which thus confirms the low value placed on the medium.

[18] Jim Cheshire, *Stained Glass and the Victorian Gothic Revival* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), pp. 43-44. The passage from Pugin is cited in Stanley Shepherd's University of Birmingham Ph.D, thesis of 1997, published as *The Stained Glass of A.W.N. Pugin* (Reading: Spire Books, 2009), p. 39.

[19] In a "Postscript" to Iain Galbraith's article "Always happy in his designs: the legacy of Stephen Adam" in *The Journal of Stained Glass* (2006), 30:101-116, Martin Harrison notes that Adam's employment of freelancers "who supplied cartoons to Adam in the 1890s," as reported by Galbraith (e.g. Robert Burns, David Gauld and Alex Walker) "raises certain questions: had Adam become overloaded with commissions by this time? Or did he operate as the studio head, perhaps as a kind of 'artistic director'? and might he, therefore, have engaged 'outside' designers earlier than this? The ramifications of the devolved design systems operating in 19th-century glass-painting workshops are, at present, incompletely understood. The evidence emerging, however, points to a highly complex situation, one which renders the attribution of figure designs, in particular, extremely problematical." (p. 114) See also endnote 20 below.

[20] The phrase quoted is from Brian Clarke, "Toward a new Constructivism," in B. Clarke, ed., *Architectural Stained Glass* (London: John Murray, 1979), p. 13. Likewise, according to the stained glass artist Patrick Reyntiens ("Good Behavior and Bad Taste," *ibid*., p. 43), identifying the designer or craftsman responsible for a window is usually difficult or impossible. Though a few names of medieval craftsmen are known, "windows, even by fairly well-known artists, are scarcely ever labelled, some are signed with a cipher, few are mentioned in the church guidebook." (Lawrence Lee, *The Appreciation of Stained Glass* [London: Oxford University Press, 1977], pp. 31-32) Some windows, especially modern nineteenth- and twentieth-century windows do carry a name or an emblem of their maker. The French stained glass maker Eugène Oudinot, for instance, inscribed the name of their designer on the windows he produced for one neo-Gothic church: "E. VIOLLET-LE-DUC DIREXIT ANNO 1866." (Laurence de Finance, "Viollet-le-Duc et l'atelier Gérente," in Laurence de Finance and Jean-Michel Leniaud, *Viollet-le-Duc: Les Visions d'un architecte* [Paris: Éditions Norma, 2014], p. 126) But the reference is often, at best, to a studio or workshop rather than an individual. (John Herries, *Discovering Stained Glass*, 3rd ed., revised by Carola Hicks [Princes Risborough: Shire Publications, 1996; 1st ed. 1968], p. 88) Even in the late nineteenth century, there was often no indication of the artist or designer. In the meticulously documented volumes of the "Buildings of

Scotland" series (published by Penguin until the year 2000, after that by Yale University Press), the attribution of many windows to Adam is described as possible or likely or is accompanied by a question mark in parentheses. When a window does bear a signature, it is often "Studio of Stephen Adam, Glasgow" or "Adam & Small," so that the individual responsible for the design remains anonymous. On the other hand, some windows described as having been made after Stephen Adam's death are attributed in the "Buildings of Scotland" series simply to "Stephen Adam" rather than to the Adam studio. Similarly, on the government-supported Historic Scotland website, a window dated 1920 in Sherwood Greenlaw Church, Paisley is attributed to Stephen Adam, though Adam died on August 23, 1910. (http://portal.historic-Scotland.gov.uk/designation/LB38999) A window depicting "The Good Shepherd" in New Kilpatrick Church in the Glasgow suburb of Bearsden offers an example of the complexity of attribution. The window was described in an earlier version of the Church's excellent web-page (http://www.nkchurch.org.uk/#!windows/zoom/h8k53/dataItem-ighaknb61) as having been "executed and adapted by Stephen Adam and Alf Webster"; the "artist," however is named as "W.H. Margetson" and his work is said to have been "copied from an English cathedral window."

[21] Information derived from the typescript (p. 4) of an unpublished paper entitled "Kunst der Gegenwart, Kunst der Zukunft" (circa 1934) communicated to me in 1999, with the permission of Dieter Pevsner, by Susie Harries, the author of the 2011 biography of the noted art historian. Pevsner never abandoned the core views expressed in this paper. A decade later, in the Introduction to *An Outline of European Architecture* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1943; 2nd revised ed., 1951), he wrote: "An age without painting is conceivable, though no believer in the life-enhancing function of art would want it. An age without easel-painting can be conceived without any difficulty, and, thinking of the predominance of easel-pictures in the 19th century, might be regarded as a consummation devoutly to be wished" (p. 20); and in the Introduction to the 5th edition (1957): "The very fact that in the 19th century easel-painting flourished at the expense of wall-painting and ultimately of architecture, proves into what a diseased state the arts (and Western civilization) had fallen. The very fact that the Fine Arts today seem to be recovering their architectural character makes one look into the future with some hope." (p. 24)

[22] Salmon cited by Elgin Vaassen, *Die kgl. Glasmalereianstalt in München 1827-1874* (Munich and Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2013), p. 273; see also on Salmon's position, George Rawson, "The Cathedral Glazing Campaign 1855-1864," in Richard Fawcett, ed., *Glasgow's Great Glass Experiment: The Munich Glass of Glasgow Cathedral* (Edinburgh: Historic Scotland 2003), pp. 21-33, on pp. 25-26. In similar vein, F.G. Stephens in an article on "Mr. E. Burne-Jones, R.S.A. as a Decorative Artist," *The Portfolio* (1889), 20:214-19: "The functions of art in glass-staining are: - (1) to subserve architecture of which it is an essential member; (2) to combine in expression and dignity with the walls and mouldings, which are, to some extent, its framework." (p. 217)

[23] In France, Théophile Gautier was a strong advocate of mural painting. In the United States, a virtually exact contemporary of Adam, the philosopher and expert on Oriental art Ernest Fenolossa (1853-1908), best known now for his influence on Ezra Pound, declared that mural painting was "a civic art -- not hidden away in the cabinets of the rich, but where all may see it and participate in the pride of ownership," while the painter and stained glass designer Will Hicok Low (1853-1933) denounced "the unrelated easel picture destined to private possession, an apandage [sic] of the rich" (cited in Bailey van Hook, *The Virgin and the Dynamo: Public Murals in American Architecture 1893-1917* [Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2003], p. 100).

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[24] Gropius, "Proclamation from the Weimar Bauhaus 1919," in *Bauhaus 1919-28* (New York, Museum of Modern Art, 1938 [1st ed. 1928]), p. 18. The stained-glass artist, it is worth noting, seems not always to have appreciated his subservience to the architect or to have accepted the architect's judgment as superior to his own; see Connick, *Adventures in Light and Color*, pp. 191-92.

[25] This situation has changed recently in some prominent cases. See note 15 above.

[26] Oliphant, *A Plea for Painted Glass*, pp. 65-66. In his *Inquiry* (1847), Winston warned that "painted glass loses so much of its interest and value in every respect, when torn from its original position, that this measure should never be resorted to unless for the purpose of better preservation." (p. 304) This does not mean, however, that the original architectural wholes do in fact usually remain intact. On the contrary, it has been pointed out that for various reasons (wars, decay, changes of taste, renovation and reconstruction) few churches retain their original stained glass windows. Most have a variety of windows in different styles and from different periods. (See Lawrence Lee, *The Appreciation of Stained Glass*, pp. 17-18) One well-known example of displacement is that of Joshua Price's "The Supper at Emmaus" (1719-1721), based on an Italian design by Sebastiano Ricci and originally commissioned by Lord Chandos for the chapel of his estate, Cannons, in Middlesex, but later, on the break-up of the estate, installed by Price's son, along with a magnificent Italian baroque ceiling, in Saint Michael and All Angels Church in Great Witley, Worcestershire. (Sarah Brown, *Stained Glass: An Illustrated History* [London: Studio Editions, 1992], p. 121). See likewise, Virginia Chieffo Raguin, *Stained Glass: Radiant Art* (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2013), p. 87: "Elements of architectural decoration, such as stained glass windows, become objects in museums or private collections after they have lost their original context—for example, with the destruction of a building—or after having been deliberately removed from an extant site. Over the centuries, and long before they became museum pieces or collector's items on the art market, these works were sometimes removed from their original locations and placed in new ones. This re-placing happened in churches, for example, where windows were repositioned due to successive renovations." On panels created in 15th-century Switzerland to serve as gifts on special occasions, see George Seddon, "The History of Stained Glass," in Lawrence Lee, George Seddon, Francis Stephens, *Stained Glass* (London: Michael Beazley, 1976), pp. 64-175, on p. 124): "Protestant objections to religious imagery in stained glass and the development of the enamelling technique combined to make popular a new genre of glass-painting: small panels for secular use. A craze for giving such panels as gifts began in Switzerland late in the fifteenth century. The occasions that were used for giving a panel were many – from a great civic occasion to a family wedding. [. . .] Panel painting spread from Switzerland to southern Germany" and the Netherlands. The subject matter, heraldic at first (the arms of the donor, for instance, or of a guild), later included the figures of the donors themselves, then of their wives and children. According to Raguin, *Stained Glass: Radiant Art*, "Roundels, pieces of uncolored glass, painted in a manner similar to prints and drawings, became popular in the Renaissance. This form of stained glass was developed to serve a new wealthy mercantile class and its scale suited the small windows in the urban townhouses they decorated." (p. 59) See also Timothy B. Husband and Ilja M. Veldman, *The Luminous Image: Painted Glass Roundels in the Lowlands 1480-1560* (New York:Metropolitcan Museum, 1993) and, for many fine illustrations of these small, free-standing panels, Ewald Jeuter and Birgit Cleef-Roth, *Licht und Farbe: Eine Glasgemälde-Sammlung des 15. bis 19. Jahrhunderts aus dem Besitz der Herzöge von Sachsen-Coburg und Gotha*, exh. cat. (Schloss Callenberg bei Coburg, 2003). According to Robert Sowers, "the intimate and portable heraldic panel, which became fashionable to hang in domestic windows particularly in Switzerland, the Low Countires, and Germany" were "the most interesting development in the late 16th and early 17th centuries. [. . .] Seldom more than two feet high [. . .] they complete the divorce between stained glass and architecture." (http://www.britannica.com/art/stained-glass)

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[27] The British *Journal of Stained Glass*, which appears annually, does offer a small illustrated section in each issue entitled "Highlights from the auction rooms." On the market for stained glass and on collectors, see Raguin, *Stained Glass: Radiant Art*, pp. 92-94, where William Randolph Hearst and, to a lesser extent, Henry Ford are cited as serious collectors of stained glass. On the difficult conditions for the display of stained glass in a museum, see http://www.vam.ac.uk/content/journals/conservation-journal/issue-56/displaying-stained-glass-in-a-museum/

[28] Robert Sowers, *The Language of Stained Glass* (Forest Grove, OR: Timber Press, 1981[?]), p. 193. See, in the same vein, Sowers, "Autonomy as a Spurious Absolute," in Clarke, *Architectural Stained Glass*: "Because [the stained glass artist's] work is normally commissioned, must relate to a given space, and may even be called upon to evoke, however implicitly, some particular range of human experience -- because it is an 'applied' art -- it is declared to be hopelessly compromised from the outset. In effect, the autonomy of art, its utter freedom from any possible link with any place, thing, or function outside itself is raised to the level of a quasi-moral absolute." (Clarke, p. 55) And so it comes about that, even though "museums, after all, are run by curators, who, on the evidence of the past, have not only refused the donation of masterpieces but spent inordinate sums of money on pure junk," the artist must "reluctantly" accept that museums are "the least sullied refuge for art in a grossly imperfect world. [. . .] All real art then belongs, somewhat grudgingly, in this least tarnished place and nowhere else. What kind of world does this injunction bring to mind, this world in which the one place for art as art [. . .] is the museum of fine art?" (p. 57)

[29] The significance of the figure can be appreciated in light of the cost (£6,000) of building a new St. Margaret's Church in Dalry in 1871-73 to replace an earlier building that had had to be demolished. (Rona Moody, "A Short History of St Margaret's Church Dalry")

[30] Martin Harrison, *Victorian Stained Glass* (London: Barrie and Jenkins, 1980), pp. 71-72; Roger Rosewell, *Stained Glass* (Botley, Oxon.: Shire Publications, 2012), pp. 65 ff.; Jim Cheshire, *Stained Glass and the Victorian Gothic Revival, passim*. Efforts to streamline production may not have been an altogether new development. According to the modern stained glass artist Robert Sowers in his article on "Stained Glass" in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, "There is ample evidence to show that by the 14th century it was the practice of glaziers to have a stock of finished cartoons, executed on parchment or paper, which could be adapted for different glazing schemes." (http://www.britannica.com/art/stained-glass)

[31] Fras. W. Oliphant, *A Plea for Painted Glass,* pp. 54-55; John Herries, *Discovering Stained Glass*, p. 81. Cf. the chapter title "Restoration and Mass-Production" in George Seddon, "The History of Stained Glass," in Lawrence Lee, George Seddon, Francis Stephens,eds., *Stained Glass* (London: Michael Beazley, 1976), pp. 64-175, on p. 148. Around the same time as Oliphant, the great French restorer of Gothic architecture referred to stained glass production as "that art or, if you will, that industry." (Eugène Viollet-le-Duc, *Dictionnaire raisonné de l'architecture française du XIe au XVIe siècle*, article "Vitrail" [Paris: Morel, 1875; first ed. 1854-1868], p. 453)

[32] *Stained Glass: Its History and Modern Development* (Glasgow: James Maclehose, 1877), p. 25. See also Adam's article "Some Notes on the History of Stained Glass," *The British Architect* (29 December, 1893), 481-83: "We will now touch on, as gently as feeling will allow, the quondam 'Gothic Revival' of 40 or 50 years ago. Gothic architects, Gothic glass stainers [. . .] all at once awakened to the beauties of early work. Gothic churches wanted

medieval windows and figures, and many glass stainers, knowing the 'requisite little' to produce them brought forth in large quantities grotesque twisted saints, with wry faces, at per foot prices, issued catalogues and flooded the country with stock 'Acts of Mercy,' 'Evangelists and Miracles.'" (p. 482) Here, as in other places, Adam was repeating the views expressed decades earlier by Charles Winston in his *Inquiry* of 1847.

[33] On the "great tide of memorial glass," that set in around the time of the publication of an address to the Oxford Architectural Society by J. H. Markland in 1842, see A. Charles Sewter, *The Stained Glass of William Morris and his Circle*, p. 10. In an appendix to the second edition (1904) of his pamphlet *Truth in Decorative Art* (1896) Adam himself lists as "a few" that "may be mentioned" just under 100 "among the most important church memorial windows designed and executed in recent years by Stephen Adam."

[34] A. Charles Sewter, *The Stained Glass of William Morris and his Circle*, pp. 20-21. Though today's workshops may be smaller than those of Adam's time and may claim to have artistic aspirations, their directors are still -- as practitioners of the "decorative arts" have always been, no matter how academically trained and high-minded -- unavoidably more directly influenced by commercial considerations and the preferences of their clients than modern painters. E.g. the following offer: "We can model your leaded stained glass to match the current decor in your home, or design you an original pattern from scratch. We work closely with each of our clients, through each step in the custom-creation of their own special masterpiece." (http://www.stainedglasswindows.com/)

[35] See, however, articles on "The Return of the Religious in Contemporary Art" (*Huffington Post*, 1/6/2011) and "The 20th Century's Varied Influence on Religious Art" (*Washington Post*, 2/17/2007). See also http://db-artmag.com/en/76/feature/question-of-faith-is-there-a-return-of-the-religious-in-contempo/

[36] Winston, *Inquiry*, p. 282. Winston goes on to remind his readers "that a display of high art depends not on the nature of the materials employed, but on the mode of employing them."

[37] The criticism by Quatremère de Quincy and others of the policy of removing works of art from their original locations -- in lands conquered by Napoleon's armies or, in the case of the Elgin marbles, from the Parthenon in Athens -- failed to arrest the development of the Museum as repository of works of art from all parts of the world. It should be noted, however, that to Quatremère the collection or museum in itself was not the problem. On the contrary, established collections and museums were among the "original locations" that should be respected, inasmuch as the works in them "once assembled, illuminate and explain one another." (*Letters to Miranda and Canova on the Abduction of Antiquities from Rome and Athens*, transl. Chris Miller and David Gilks [Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2012], p. 100). The *Lettres sur le projet d'enlever les monumens d'Italie* appeared in 1796, the *Lettres écrites de Londres à Rome, et adressées à M. Canova, sur les marbres d'Elgin* in 1818.

[38] Thus Winston: "The ancient *tints* have in many cases been reproduced, but not the *textures* of the more ancient material. Consequently there is a difference of effect between the modern and the ancient glass. The former is more homogeneous, and therefore clearer, and more perfectly transparent than the latter, especially than that belonging to the twelfth and the two following centuries: and I feel persuaded that it is to this circumstance that we must refer the poor and *thin* appearance, which almost every modern glass painting [. . .] presents in comparion with an original specimen." (Inquiry, p. 270) For helpful accounts of the technical aspects of

stained glass production, how they evolved in the nineteenth century after the revival of "antique" glass, and how that revival affected the esthetics of stained glass, see Elgin Vaassen, "Stained Glass Windows for the United Kingdom by the Königliche Glasmalereianstalt in Munich, and their painting technique," in *Glasgow's Great Glass Experiment: The Munich Glass of Glasgow Cathedral*, pp. 35-45, on pp. 41-42, and especially Sally Rush, "Ungrateful Posterity? The Removal of the 'Munich' Windows from Glasgow Cathedral," ibid., pp. 47-65, on pp. 57-59.

[39] See Charles Connick's account of the indignant response of a wood-carver when he was asked by a church committee to reproduce the face of a Raphael Madonna on a reredos statue: "I am a wood carver! What have I to do with those soft, sensuous Eyetalian girls?" His visitors, Connick continues, "were shocked by such heresy. They thought Raphael's pictures should be the ideal of everyone interested in Christian art. But the sheer force of their craftman's character held them while he told of the virtues and potentialities of wood. He struggled to say that wood is important in a field of design where realism does not belong at all. His feelings for surface and texture impressed the committee. Almost everyone caught his delight in the peculiar genius of wood." (*Adventures in Light and Color*, pp 104-105)

[40] Fras. W. Oliphant, *A Plea for Painted Glass*, pp. 24, 41, 32.

[41] Connick, *Adventures in Light and Color*, p. 150. Viollet-le-Duc also discusses the effect of proximity or distance on the view the spectator has of a stained glass panel. He illustrates his point by showing how, at a distance of 20 metres, a head "d'une exécution si brutale prend un tout autre caractère. Ce sont les traits d'un jeune home à la barbe naissante." (*Dictionnaire raisonné de l'architecture française du XI au XVI siècle*, article "Vitrail," pp. 421-22)

[42] On widespread post-WWII demolition of British churches resulting in the loss of fine stained glass windows, see Sewter, *The Stained Glass of William Morris and his Circle*, pp. 83-84. On the destruction of Townhead Parish Church, see Juliet Kinchin, Hilary Macartney, David Robertson, *Cottier's in Context: Daniel Cottier, William Leiper and Dowanhill Church, Glasgow*, 3 (Case Study), (Edinburgh: Historic Scotland, 2011), p. 13. An e-mail to the author from Professor Ray McKenzie, recently retired from the faculty of the Glasgow School of Art, suggests that some individuals did try, unsuccessfully, to prevent the destruction. McKenzie recalled a conversation he had had "many, many years ago," when he himself was still an undergraduate, with the Scottish film director Murray Grigor in the company of the Glasgow University Art History professor McLaren Young. Grigor told "about an encounter he had with a demolition squad knocking down a church in Glasgow with some Morris & Co. glass in the windows. When he asked the foreman if he would accept a bung (£50 if I remember rightly) to let them remove the glass before the wrecking balls got to work, he (the foreman) picked up a half brick and with a sneer threw it through the window. 'That's what you get for fifty quid' was his enlightened comment." (E-mail of 27 September 2015) Charles Sewter points to other instances of casual disregard for stained glass windows, such as extracting figures from their backgrounds and surrounds of patterned work and resetting them in plain glass. (*The Stained Glass of William Morris and his Circle*, p. 85) It is hard to imagine a sculpture or painting being subjected to such cavalier treatment.

[43] On the fate of Sowers' window, see, for instance, http://usatoday30.usatoday.com/travel/flights/2008-02-20-jfk-stained-glass-wall_n.htm and http://www.antiquetrader.com/columns/broken_glass. On the "perfect collaboration" of Cottier and Thomson, see Michael Donnelly, *Glasgow Stained Glass: A Preliminary Study*

(Glasgow: Glasgow Museums and Art Galleries, 1981), p. 9 and Sally Joyce Rush, "Alexandeer Thomson, Daniel Cottier and the Interior of Queen's Park Church" in Gavin Stamp and Sam McKinstry, eds., *"Greek" Thomson* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1994), pp.77-85. In contrast, there is no discussion of stained glass decoration in Ronald McFadzean's groundbreaking and thoroughly documented *The Life and Work of Alexander Thomson* (London: Routledge, 1979), or in Gavin Stamp's beautifully illustrated *Alexander "Greek" Thomson* (London: Lawrence King Publishing in association with Glasgow 1999 Festival Company Ltd., 1999).

[44] On silver stain, see https://boppardconservationproject.wordpress.com/2013/07/28/facts-about-glass-silver-stain/

[45] Rosewell, *Stained Glass,* p. 40.

[46] Now in the church of St. Andrew by the Wardrobe in London

[47] Eleanor Cracknell at http://www.stgeorges-windsor.org/archives/archive-features/image-of-the-month/title1/Benjamin-West.html

[48] A. Charles Sewter, *The Stained Glass of William Morris and his Circle*, p. 5.

[49] On techniques of stained glass production, see Winston, *Inquiry*, pp. 4-6; and the excellent exposition in John Harries, *Discovering Stained Glass*, 3rd ed. (Princes Risborough: Shire Publications, 2006 [1st. ed. 1996]), pp. 18-31.

[50] Eleanor Cracknell (as in note 47 above): "Henry Poole & Sons of Westminster were employed to remove the eighteenth century glass in August 1862 [. . .] and to pack it into four cases. A.Y. Nutt, Chapter Surveyor, remarked in 1878 that no satisfactory reply had been obtained as to where the window went or what became of the cases [. . .]. The other two Aisle windows were replaced around 1869 as part of the new scheme by Clayton and Bell. Carefully numbered squared designs were created suggesting they were also packed away for storage." It is unfortunately characterstic of the fate of stained glass in general that "the whereabouts of these four windows is now unknown."

[51] Pittsburgh History and Landmarks Foundation, 2007 (http://www.phlf.org/2008/03/21/leo-thomas-1876-1950-for-george-boos-1859-1937-munich-germany/). That judgment needs to be somewhat modified. It is assuredly not an accident that many of the designers of Munich glass were artists associated with the so-called Nazarene painters of the early nineteenth century. Looking back from baroque and rococo styles of painting to the art of the early Renaissance, these painters favored clear and simple lines and flat colors. Their artistic style was thus more readily adaptable to the medium of stained glass than that of much contemporary art.

[52] Paper "On the Application of Painted Glass in Architecture," printed in *The Builder*, Feb. 9, 1856, pp.71-72; letter from Winston to C.H. Wilson, Director of the Glasgow School of Art, 20 April 1856, in *Memoirs Illustrative of the Art of Glass Painting by the late Charles Winston*, ed. Philip H. Delamotte (London: John Murray, 1865), p. 22,. Italics in text. Wilson was completely convinced by Winston. In 1868 he responded in the strongest terms to a critic of the Munich windows he had had installed in Glasgow Cathedral in the 1850s and 60s: "Before we commenced our undertaking, we visited many of the noble cathedrals, beautiful parish churches, and college

chapels of England. We wished to ascertain what Englishmen had done for the appropriate decoration of these noble heritages, [. . .] that we might profit from their example. We found nowhere a vestige of forethought, of reasonable plan, of attention to the unity of thought observable in the architecture, hardly any even to its style, and we saw acres of modern painted glass, which, with a few rare examples here and there, is the veriest rubbish considered as art which is to be found anywhere [. . .] The figure portions, especially, of the great mass of these windows are utterly beneath criticism. We naturally turned away from all imitation of such works, from all trust in such artists. If you prefer them in England, that is your affair." But "we will not acknowledge your authority or accept your guidance with these results of your taste, skill and judgment before us, and we may be pardoned for thinking that a little modesty in the expression of criticism befits those who have filled their superb cathedrals with such examples of the worst art that the world ever saw." (Letter to the editor, *The Building News and Engineering Journal* (8 February 1868), 13: 91. According to Martin Harrison, "In 1851 originality was not a priority for most firms, and they were intent on showing that they had sufficient antiquarian expertise to be able to offer windows which would suit any building style." (*Victorian Stained Glass* [as in endnote 30 above], pp. 24, 35)

[53] Elgin Vaassen, *Bilder auf Glas. Glasgemälde zwischen 1780 und 1870* (Munich and Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1997), pp. 94-95; on the popularity of Munich Glass in Great Britain, see id. , "Stained Glass Windows for the United Kingdom by the Königliche Glasmalereianstalt in Munich, and their painting technique," in *Glasgow's Great Glass Experiment: The Munich Glass of Glasgow Cathedral*, pp. 35-45.

[54] On the award of this commission, the negotiations leading up to it and the works produced to execute it, see Elgin Vaassen, *Die kgl. Glasmalereianstalt in München 1827-1874* (Munich and Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2013), pp. 269-318. See also the detailed accounts by George Rawson, "The Cathedral Glazing Campaign 1855-1864" and Sally Rush, "Ungrateful Posterity? The Removal of the 'Munich' Windows from Glasgow Cathedral," in *Glasgow's Great Glass Experiment: The Munich Glass of Glasgow Cathedral*, pp.21-33, 47-65. That objections to the Munich style were not simply chauvinistic is indicated by the vehement criticism provoked in Germany by the installing of Munich windows in Cologne Cathedral; see Elgin Vaassen, "Stained Glass Windows for the United Kingdom by the Königliche Glasmalereianstalt in Munich, and their painting technique," ibid., pp. 35-45 on p. 36.

[55] John Ruskin, *The Stones of Venice* (New York and Chicago: National Library Association, n.d.), vol II, pp. 396-97. A more extreme view, expressed by the Gothic Revival architect George Edmund Street in a paper on Glass Painting that appeared in 1852 in *The Ecclesiologist*, the organ of the Cambridge Camden Society, was summarised as follows in Mathé Shepheard's City of Birmingham University M. Phil. thesis of 2007 on the John Hardman Stained Glass Company of Birmingham: "'The windows were to be merely light giving' and 'the object of a window being to let light in, glass is the worst that artificially shuts out light. It must therefore if good, be very transparent.' The pastoral role was reserved for the walls which were to offer a portrayal of the liturgical message in colourful frescoes: 'It is absolutely necessary that the design of the glass should never interfere with or oppose the design of the stonework.' The glass should in all cases be treated as subordinate to it." (http://www.powys-lannion.net/Shepheard/VolI.pdf)

[56] Eugène Viollet-le-Duc, *Dictionnaire raisonné de l'architecture française du XI au XVI siècle*, vol. 9, article "Vitrail," pp. 384-85. As this interesting text is not readily accessible, I cite it at length: "Ce qui a été oublié pendant plusieurs siècles, ce sont les seuls et vrais moyens qui conviennent à la peinture sur verre, moyens indiqués par l'observation des effets de la lumière et de l'optique; moyens parfaitement connus et appliqués par les verriers

des XIIe et Xe siècles, négligés à dater du XVe siècle, et dédaignés depuis, en dépit, comme nous l'avons dit, de ces lois immuables imposées par la lumière et l'optique. Vouloir reproduire ce qu'on appelle un tableau, c'est-à-dire une peinture dans laquelle on cherche à rendre les effets de la perspective linéaire et de la perspective aérienne, de la lumière et des ombres avec toutes leurs transitions, sur un panneau de couleurs translucides, est une entreprise aussi téméraire que de prétendre rendre les effets des voix humaines avec des instruments à cordes. Autre procédé, autres conditions, autre branche de l'art. Il y a presque autant de distance entre la peinture dite de tableaux, la peinture opaque, cherchant à produire l'illusion, et la peinture sur verre, qu'il y en a entre cette même peinture opaque et un bas-relief.[. . .] Dans une peinture opaque, dans un tableau, le rayonnement des couleurs est absolument soumis au peintre qui, par les demi-teintes, les ombres diverses d'intensité et de valeur suivant les plans, peut le diminuer ou l'augmenter à sa volonté. Le rayonnement des couleurs translucides dans les vitraux ne peut être modifié par l'artiste ; tout son talent consiste à en profiter suivant une donnée harmonique sur un seul plan, comme un tapis.[. . .] Quoi qu'on fasse, une verrière ne représente jamais et ne peut représenter qu'une surface plane, elle n'a même ses qualités réelles qu'à cette condition; toute tentative faite pour présenter à l'œil plusieurs plans détruit l'harmonie colorante, sans faire illusion au spectateur. [. . .] La peinture translucide ne peut se proposer pour but que le dessin appuyant aussi énergiquement que possible une harmonie de couleurs, et le résultat est satisfaisant comme cela. Vouloir introduire les qualités propres à la peinture opaque dans la peinture translucide, c'est perdre les qualités précieuses de la peinture translucide sans compensation possible. Ce n'est point ici une question de routine ou d'affection aveugle pour un art que l'on voudrait maintenir dans son archaïsme, ainsi qu'on le prétend parfois; c'est une de ces questions absolues, parce que (nous ne saurions trop le répéter) elles sont résolues par des lois physiques auxquelles nous ne pouvons rien changer."

[57] Lewis F. Day, *Windows: A Book about Stained and Painted Glass*, 3rd ed. (London: B.T. Batsford; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1909), pp. 5-6. In the same vein, only a few years before Adam opened his workshop in Glasgow, the brilliant Glasgow-born designer Christopher Dresser declared in a chapter on Stained Glass in his *Principles of Decorative Design* that "a window should never appear as a picture with parts treated in light and shade. The foreshortening of the parts, and all perspective treatments," Dresser continued, "are best avoided, as far as possible. I do not say that the human figure, the lower animals, and plants must not be delineated upon window glass, for, on the contrary, they may be so treated as not only to be beautiful, but also to be a consistent decoration of glass; but this I do say, that many stained windows are utterly spoiled through the window being treated as a picture, and not as a protection from the weather and as a source of light. If pictorially treated subjects are employed upon window glass, they should be treated very simply, and drawn in bold outline without shading and the parts should be separated from each other by varying their colours." (Christopher Dresser, *Principles of Decorative Design* [London/Paris/New York: Cassell, Petter & Galpin, 1873], p. 153)

[58] Day, *Windows*, p. 232. Still later, in 1918, William Willett, who had been commissioned to provide the windows of Procter Hall in Princeton University's neo-Gothic Graduate College, noted that while he recognized the great American maker of stained glass windows, John La Farge (for whom he himself had formerly worked), as a "true artist," he was "fundamentally opposed to the use of opalescent glass as well as to La Farge's pictorial approach to window design." According to Willett, "legitimate stained glass should be nothing more or less than a flat, formalistic, transparent section of the wall which supports it; unobtrusive and forming an integral part of the architectural whole." (Cit. in Johanna G. Seasonwein, *Princeton and the Gothic Revival 1870-1930*, exhib. cat. [Princeton: Princeton University Art Museum, 2012], pp. 86-87) Later still, Herbert Read, after referring to Ruskin, outlined the contrasting features of the earlier stained glass, represented by a medallion from Canterbury Cathedral, and the later pictorial work, represented by a window at King's College Chapel, Cambridge. Features of

the former are "two-dimensionality"; "stylization" rather than realism (elongation of the figures, exaggerated rhythm of folds and fluttering garments), resulting in great esthetic effect and expressiveness; "symbolism" ("no attempt to represent the scene in its completeness; a tree is sufficient to indicate the open country, or one house a town"); "arbitrary use of colour" ("not with imitative aims, [. . .] *composed*, rather than copied"). Features of the later, pictorial glass are "three-dimensionality"; "naturalism" of figures and of setting; "a natural use of colour" in which "grass is green, the sky blue, and everything very much as we see it in nature." (Herbert Read, *English Stained Glass* [London and New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1926], pp. 10-11)

[59] James Ballantine, Treatise *on Painted Glass* (London: Chapman and Hall; Edinburgh: John Menzies, 1845), pp. 21-23. It is worth noting that these comments ante-date by a decade Ballantine's competition with the Munich *Königliche Glasmalerei=Anstalt* for the Glasgow Cathedral windows commission.

[60] Winston, *Inquiry*, pp. 4-8 (Italics in text). For an excellent, somewhat differently focused summary of Winston's ideas and influence, see A. Charles Sewter, *The Stained Glass of William Morris and his Circle*, pp. 5-9.

[61] Winston, *Inquiry,* pp. 238-39.

[62] Winston, *Inquiry*, pp. 240-41.

[63] Winston, *Inquiry*, p. 242.

[64] Winston, *Inquiry*, p. 243.

[65] Winston, *Inquiry*, p. 245. As A. Charles Sewter put it, referring to Jervais' window in New College, Oxford, on which Joshua Reynold's "Virtues" are represented without the interruption of regular bar-lines and with a minimum of lead-lines, "the idea seems to have been widely held that both bar-lines and lead-lines were annoying interruptions of the painted representation, and if they could be eliminated entirely, so much the better." (*The Stained Glass of William Morris and his Circle*, p. 5)

[66] Winston, *Inquiry*, p. 257.

[67] Winston, *Inquiry*, pp. 266, 267.

[68] Winston, *Inquiry*, pp.256, and 256, note. (The order of the passages cited has been slightly altered.)

[69] Winston, *Inquiry*, p. 283.

[70] Winston, *Inquiry*, p. 213.

[71] Winston, *Inquiry*, p. 284.

[72] Winston, *Memoirs* (as in note 52 above), p. 28. Letters to C.H. Wilson, 12 and 16 March 1857. The context was the negotiations with Munich over the windows that had been commissioned for Glasgow Cathedral:

it was desirable that these should take account of the architectural context of the thirteenth century building, Winston held, but not at the cost of art. In the end, art trumps all other considerations.

[73] Winston, *Inquiry*¸ pp. 213-14.

[74] Winston, *Inquiry*, ibid. Winston seems to have been well aware of the influence on the Munich school glass designers (Hess, Schraudolf, Schwind) of the Nazarene artists (Overbeck, Führich, Schnorr von Carolsfeld), who at the time had won for Germany a reputation as "la patrie de l'art régénéré, la seconde Italie de l'Europe moderne." (Chares-René Forbes. Comte de Montalembert, "Du Vandalisme en France: lettre à M. Victor Hugo," *Revue des Deux-Mondes*, 2nd series, [1833], 1:421-68, on p. 425) He did not consider the Munich designers mere copiers of an earlier style in painting and therefore subject to the same criticism as that directed at the English stained glass makers.

[75] Winston, *Memoirs*, p. 36, letter from Winston to C.A. Wilson, 15 August 1857. Winston's moderate position compared to that of dogmatic Gothic revivalists can be gauged by comparing the views expressed both in his *Inquiry* and in his *Memoirs* with the far more conservative position adopted by Viollet-le-Duc: "Nous avons entendu maintes fois répéter: 'Que si les vitraux des XIIe et XIIIe siècles sont beaux, ce n'est pas une raison pour reproduire éternellement les meilleurs types qu'ils nous ont laissés; qu'il faut tenir compte des progrès faits dans le domaine des arts ; que ces figures archaïques ne sont plus dans nos goûts, etc.' Certes, il n'est point nécessaire de *calquer* éternellement ces types des beaux temps de la peinture sur verre, de faire des pastiches en un mot ; mais ce qu'il ne faut point perdre de vue, ce sont les procédés d'art si habilement appliqués alors à cette peinture; ce qu'il faut éviter (parce que cela n'est pas un progrès, mais bien une décadence), c'est cette transposition d'une forme de l'art dans une autre qui lui est opposée. Avec plus de persistance que de bonne foi, on affecte souvent de nous ranger parmi les fanatiques du passé, parce que nous disons : 'Profitez de ce qui s'est fait; faites mieux si vous pouvez, mais n'ignorez pas les chemins déjà parcourus, les résultats déjà obtenus dans le domaine des arts.'" (*Dictionnaire raisonné de l'architecture française*, art. "Vitrail," vol. 9, pp. 385-86)

[76] See Fras. W. Oliphant, *A Plea for Painted Glass, being An Inquiry into its Nature, Character, and Objects, and its Claims as an Art* (Oxford: John Henry Parker, 1855). Adam could not have been unaware of the *Descriptive Catalogue of the Painted Glass Windows in Glasgow Cathedral* (Glasgow, Francis Orr & Sons, n.d. [c. 1856]) by Charles Heath Wilson, head of the newly established (1849) Government School of Design in Glasgow -- the future Glasgow School of Art -- and chair of the Committee of Subscribers which had been empowered to commission stained glass windows for the whole of Glasgow's 13th Century Cathedral and which notoriously awarded the commission to the Munich *Königliche Glasmalerei=Anstalt* rather than to any of the Scottish or even English stained glass workshops active at the time. Though Wilson uses somewhat different terminology, he clearly adopts Winston's tripartite categorization: "The most ancient and best system of glass painting has been called the mosaic enamel. According to this process, the painted window is composed of a mosaic of white and coloured glass, united with ribands of lead, which generally wind round the outlines of the figures and ornaments, the shading and details of form being produced by means of a brown enamel skilfully painted on the glass -- hence the expression 'glass painting' -- and subsequently burned in and so fixed." Yellow stain was added in the fourteenth century and the technique of abrasion in the fifteenth. Later still, however, "the art of painting in enamels was carried so far that windows were produced entirely composed of coloured enamels applied to white glass; this art is still practised with extraordinary skill at Munich, at Milan, and until lately at Sèvres, and is very beautiful but quite unsuitable for church windows. [. . .] An intermediate style, between the mosaic enamel and the enamel, is a

combination of both, the effect being produced by means of pot metal, coated glass, and both brown and covered [coloured] enamels. A certain sparing use of coloured enamels may be permitted," Wilson concluded, "but a free use of this system is to be deprecated." Acknowledging that there are "several specimens of this mixed method in the Crypt," he judged their "effect oppressive," since "the proper translucency of the glass is impaired." (pp. 4-5) The argument, in short, is close to that of Winston, but Winston's formulation is more categorical and Adam follows Winston in this regard.

[77] *Stained Glass: Its History and Modern Development* (Glasgow: James MacLehose, 1877), pp. 18-19. Adam's writing in this short work is sometimes strange. Whether because of poor copy-editing or a deliberate decision to publish his unedited notes, articles are often missing and sentences abbreviated, at times almost to the point of unintelligibility. I have made sllight corrections to the text where it might otherwise have been hard to follow. These are indicated by square brackets.

[78] Stephen Adam, *Stained Glass: Its History and Modern Development*, p. 11. The same tripartite distinction, taken over from Winston, is again evoked on pp. 397-98 of the chapter on "The Stained Glass Windows" that Adam contributed to *The Book of Glasgow Cathedral. A History and Description*, ed. George Eyre-Todd (Glasgow: Morison Brothers, 1898), pp. 395-407. Adam specifies here that "though costly," only the mosaic style "is durable, and experience has shown it to be the only style to which the term genuine stained glass can be truthfully applied." (p. 398)

[79] *Stained Glass: Its History and Modern Development*, pp. 14-15. The same expression – "the thin edge of the wedge is in" -- is used in Adam's article "Some Notes on the History of Stained Glass" in *The British Architect* (29 December 1893) 39:481-91, on pp. 481-82. Cf. Robert Sowers in his article on "Stained Glass" in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*: "With the progress of glass technology in the Middle Ages and Renaissance, [. . .] the glass became less visually interesting as an aesthetic element in its own right." (http://www.britannica.com/art/stained-glass)

[80] "The white glass has become colder and thinner in tone," the blue is also "thinner and colder," though admittedly "the yellow has improved, being of a greenish brown hue, and when used with the stained yellow [. . .] rich effects result." (*Stained Glass: Its History and Modern Development*, p. 15)

[81] The "stipple shade" is explained in Adam's article in "Some Notes on the History of Stained Glass," *The British Architect,* vol. 39, p. 482. "The introduction at this time of the 'stipple' treatment, fires the glass-painter to emulate the shaded effects of mural paintings now common as interior decorations – the 'stipple' shade [created by fine hatching of brown paint with a pen or small brush –L.G.] being semi- transparent, enables them to imitate delicate folds of drapery,and softened horizon effects in skies correct enough on canvas or wall, but incongruous on glass where the black decided metal outline is indispensable to the existence of the whole composition."

[82] *Stained Glass: Its History and Modern Development*, p. 17. Cf. in the second half of the twentieth century the following passage in John Harries, *Discovering Stained Glass*, 3rd ed. (Princes Risborough, 1996 [1st ed. 1968]): "By the end of the fifteenth century simplicity, strength, and brilliance were gradually being lost from stained glass; during the sixteenth century they disappeared. This was largely due to the influence of the art of the Renaissance, which was man-oriented, not god-oriented. [. . .] Renaissance artists were interested in the material world: anatomy was studied and perspective mastered. These preoccupations affected stained glass design: the

types of window stayed the same, but the treatment was very different. Figures were more realistic and were set in solid-looking landscapes, complete with buildings, skies, and trees; or else they were surrounded by interiors filled with their belongings and furniture. A clutter of objects seems to press in on the figures: there is pride in their possession and virtuosity in their presentation. The result is a materialistic quality that is quite in contrast to that of medieval glass. Shading is produced by heavy stippling – a cruder and more mechanical effect that that produced by line drawing. Stained glass begins to imitate contemporary painting." (p. 67) Also, in similar vein, Robert Sowers in his *Encyclopaedia Britannica* article, cited above: "From this point on the relation between stained glass and architecture begins to decline. The aims, techniques, and achievements of the stained-glass artist begin to resemble those of the fresco and easel painters, and it is by the standards applicable to the latter that the stained glass of the 14th, 15th, and 16th centuries must be judged." "The period 1430-1550 saw [. . .] the beginning of the transformation of the art of glass painting from a significant means of artistic expression into a hybrid art form: the translucent emulation of fresco and easel painting." "Painting glass with vitraeous enamels in the 17th and 18th centuries led to the final decline of the art of stained glass."

[83] *Stained Glass: Its History and Modern Development*, p. 17.

[84] *Stained Glass: Its History and Modern Development*, p. 18. Repeated virtually word for word sixteen years later in the article "Some Notes on the History of Stained Glass," *The British Architect* (1893), 39: 482.

[85] *Stained Glass: Its History and Modern Development*, pp. 18-19.

[86] *Stained Glass: Its History and Modern Development*, pp. 19-21.

[87] *Stained Glass: Its History and Modern Development*, pp. 21-22.

[88] *Stained Glass: Its History and Modern Development*, pp. 22, 24.

[89] *Stained Glass: Its History and Modern Development*, p.25. Sixteen years later, Adam held to this judgment, repeating it almost word for word in a passage (already partly quoted in note 33) in "Some Notes on the History of Stained Glass," published in *The British Architect* (December 29, 1893), 39: 481-491: "Gothic churches wanted mediaeval windows and figures, and many glass stainers about, knowing the 'requisite little' to produce them, brought forth in large quantities grotesque twisted saints, with wry faces, at per foot prices: issued catalogues and flooded the country with stock 'Acts of Mercy,' 'Evangelists and Miracles,' by dirtying the surface of the poor thin glass then made. Those Revivalists attempted to give age, and by painful labour imitated the texture of Mediaeval glass. For examples, see Illustrated Catalogues of *first* International Exhibition, and even the *last one*, and in many so-called established firms in London those deformities are still being manufactured, and imitated by provincial glass stainers, who, despite the 'Renaissance' in all appertaining to decorative art going on around us, do willfully shut their eyes so long as Art-ignorant clients will employ them. It is to be deplored that the earnest endeavour of some faithful artists to establish a 19th Century British School were not strong enough to resist the Nemesis appearing in the form of Continental glass, which, with shame let it be said, now fills the windows and destroys the interiors of more than one venerable cathedral in our country." (p. 482)

[90] *Stained Glass: Its History and Modern Development*, pp. 25-26.

[91] *Stained Glass: Its History and Modern Development*, p. 27.

[92] *Stained Glass: Its History and Modern Development*, p. 28

[93] Stephen Adam, *Truth in Decorative Art* (Glasgow: Carter & Pratt, 1896), p. 33, cit. by Michael Donnelly, *Scotland's Stained Glass: Making the Colours Sing* (Edinburgh: The Stationary Office, 1997), p. 32 and by Iain B. Galbraith, "Always happy in his designs: the legacy of Stephen Adam," *The Journal of Stained Glass*, 30 (2006): 121-35, on p. 121. In the same pamphlet, based on his lecture, Adam praised the glass made by Morris & Co. and "designed partly by Dante Rossetti, Burne Jones and William Morris" for the then West Parish Church in nearby Greenock: "Finer examples of modern work there is not in the United Kingdom and a journey to Greenock will well repay the student and lover of good church glass." (Cit. in Gordon R. Urquhart, *A Notable Ornament: Lansdowne Church: An Icon of Victorian Glasgow* [Glasgow: Glasgow City Heritage Trust, 2011], p. 141) The judgment of Adam by the prominent stained glass scholar Martin Harrison, is well grounded: "Between 1870 and 1885 the firm of Adam & Small made the finest stained glass of that period in Scotland, dominated always by Adam's figure drawing, which owed a little to the Pre-Raphaelites but much more to the neo-classicists." (*Victorian Stained Glass* [see endnote 30 above], p. 56)

[94] *Stained Glass: Its History and Modern Development*, pp. 28, 29.

[95] *Stained Glass: Its History and Modern Development*, pp. 29-30.

[96] "Some Notes on the History of Stained Glass," *The British Architect* (December 29, 1893) , 39:481-491.

[97] "The Stained Glass Windows," *The Book of Glasgow Cathedral. A History and Description*, ed. George Eyre-Todd (Glasgow: Morison Brothers, 1898), p. 399.

[98] "The Stained Glass Windows," *The Book of Glasgow Cathedral*, p. 400.

[99] "The Stained Glass Windows," *The Book of Glasgow Cathedral*, pp. 400-401.

[100] Adam's ambivalent attitude to Munich glass was shared by his eminent compatriot, the artist William Dyce, who was close to the Nazarene artists in Rome, especially Overbeck and Schnorr von Carolsfeld, but a severe critic of the glass created in Munich, in particular to a design of his own for the church in Alnwick, Northumberland, which the Duke of Northumberland, against Dyce's wishes, insisted on having made in Munich. (See Marcia Pointon, *William Dyce 1806-1864* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979], pp. 14, 34-35, 139; William Vaughan, *German Romanticisim and English Art* [New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1979], p. 243 *et passim*.) Even the architect George Edmund Street, a leading Gothic Revival architect and active member of the Ecclesiological Society, the influential association of convinced "Gothicists" that had succeeded the earlier Cambridge Camden Society, could express his rejection of Munich stained glass in terms that acknowledged the skill of the artists while maintaining that it was unsuitable for the medium: "In the Munich glass at Cologne, or in the church of S. Maria Hilf at Munich, I think everyone's feeling must be -- much as he may admire the magnificence of the offering or the boldness of the attempts -- that it would have been much more delightful to see such subjects represented on the walls than essayed in windows." (Quoted by Vaughan, *op.cit*., p. 244)

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[101] "The Stained Glass Windows," *The Book of Glasgow Cathedral*, pp. 402-403. Adam might have responded more favorably to designs by the earliest Nazarene painters, such as Overbeck, Pforr, and Schnorr von Carolsfeld, whose work, often in fresco form, is characterised by an emphasis on clear outlines and a preference for flat colors.

[102] Bertini opened his glass workshop on his return to Milan after studying with Alexandre Brogniart at the Sèvres porcelain factory in Paris in the early 1800s. On his glass painting technique, see Nancy Thompson, "The State of Stained Glass in 19th Century Italy: Ulisse de Matteis and the vitrail archéologique," *Journal of Glass Studies*, 52 (2010): 217-231: "Instead of joining pieces of glass of various colors together with lead cames to create an image, Bertini painted with many colors of enamel pigments on large pieces of colorless glass. Bertini's work was highly regarded in Milan, and in 1826, the Imperial Regio Istituto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti recognized Bertini, Brenta, and Company for the development of an oven that fixed enameled pigments to glass. An excellent example of Bertini's technique is his window of the Assumption, made for Milan Cathedral about 1833-1837 and based on a drawing by Luigi Sabatelli (1772-1850). To create the window, Bertini divided [. . .] Sabatelli's composition into rectangular panes and painted each piece of colorless glass with colored enamels. Because Bertini used mainly rectangular pieces of glass, the overall effect of the lead lines is that of a random web that lies on top of a painting. [. . .] On the whole, the window's composition and the classical modeling of the figures maintain Sabatelli's painting style and ally the Assumption window with academic or Renaissance painting, rather than with medieval traditions of stained glass. Bertini, therefore, used his technical knowledge of enamel painting to transform Sabatelli's drawing into a luminous painting." (pp. 218-20)

[103] "The Stained Glass Windows," *The Book of Glasgow Cathedral*, p. 405.

[104] Ibid., pp. 406-407.

[105] Ibid., p. 407.

[106] For a stimulating, richly-informed re-examination of the whole issue of the Munich windows, see especially Sally Rush, "Ungrateful Posterity? The Removal of the Munich Windows from Glasgow Cathedral," in Richard Fawcett, ed. *Glasgow's Great Glass Experiment: The Munich Glass of Glasgow Cathedral* (Edinburgh: Historic Scotland, 2003), pp. 47-65. Christopher Hall's judgment of 1905, typical of its time, is cited on p. 58: "I will tell you what has been sacrificed to get this 'picture-window' 'like a picture.' Stained-glass has been sacrificed, for this is not stained-glass, it is painted glass -- that is to say, it is coloured glass ground up into powder and painted on to white sheets of glass: a poor, miserable substitute for the glorious colour of the deep amethyst and ruby-coloured glasses which it pretends to ape."

[107] For the brief account of Adam's early life and career given here. I am indebted to Iain Galbraith, "Always happy in his designs: the legacy of Stephen Adam," *The Journal of Stained Glass* (2006), 30:101-15, to Michael Donnelly, *Glasgow Stained Glass: A Preliminary Study* (Glasgow: Glasgow Museums and Art Galleries, 1981), on p. 13, and to Donnelly's later work, *Scotland's Stained Glass. Making the Colours Sing* (Edinburgh: The Stationary Office, 1997), p. 32.

[108] The Glasgow Government School of Design, founded in 1845, changed its name in 1853 to the Glasgow School of Art. On receipt of funding from the Haldane Academy Trust, set up in 1833 by a local engraver,

it was required to rename itself the Glasgow School of Art and Haldane Academy. The "Haldane Academy" part of the title was dropped in 1892.

[109] On Cottier's exhibit at the 1867 Paris International Exhibition, see Barbara Millar, "Andra! Slabber oan some broon there, just beside the wibble-wabble," *Scottish Review*, no. 391 (19 April 2011), http://www.scottishreview.net/BackPage109.shtml According to the writer of the report on stained glass in *Reports of Artisans Selected by a Committee Appointed by the Council of the Royal Society of Arts to Visit the Paris Universal Exhibition 1867* (London: Bell and Daldy, 1867), pp. 81-82, "Cottier (Glasgow) has a magnificent ornamental window, in the renaissance style: in the centre, arms on a fanciful shield; splendid design; ornament free and graceful; well proportioned columns, with a richly decorated pediment at the top, surrounded with cupids; superb harmony of colours. This window, in my estimation, is the finest ornamental window in the Exhibition. I heard its merit was recognized by the jury."

[110] Fifteen years after Thomson's death in 1875 Adam created a decorative panel – "Cleopatra" -- for The Knowe – another South Side villa designed by the architect, whose distinctive style was almost as "Egyptian" as it was "Greek." (Fig. II:1, 6)

[111] "'If I may speak confidently of my work as a colourist, I found my master in the late Daniel Cottier, the eminent glass painter." (From *Truth in Decorative Art* [Glasgow: Carter & Pratt, 1895], p. 33, cit. in Iain B. Galbraith, "Always happy in his designs: the legacy of Stephen Adam," p. 101)

[112] There is some uncertainty as to the identity of Small. One view is that Adam's partner was David Small (1846-1927), a painter and water-color artist whose scenes of Scotland -- in particular, of Old Glasgow and, later, of Dundee -- continue to figure in the catalogues of modern auction houses. In another view, Adam's partner was a glass-stainer by the name of David Small, who seemingly had a studio in Edinburgh and was reported in *The British Architect* (January 15, 1874, p. 47) to have proposed a new method of painting on plate glass. This would seem to be more likely in light of a reference to him in a posting about Stephen Adam on a Glasgow University website (http://www.mackintosh-architecture.gla.ac.uk/catalogue/name/?nid=AdamSt&xml=peo#AdamSt.6-back):
"Former house-painter Small (1831–1886) retained his own Edinburgh glass 'embossers and fancy decorators',
which he ran on his own from 1877. (*Edinburgh Gazette*, 22 September 1868, p. 1175; 22 October 1878, p. 807.)" It has also been suggested, however, on the basis of a Dundee newspaper obituary of the water-color artist David Small, that Adam's partner was in fact Small's brother William and that the latter may have been in charge of the financial side of the Adam studio and for that reason "remained quietly in the background." (E-mail from William Black of 11 December 2015) The Adam company premises moved several times within the heart of the new center of Glasgow (259 West George Street, 231 St. Vincent Street, 199 and 168 Bath Street).

[113] Michael Donnelly, *Glasgow Stained Glass: A Preliminary Study* (Glasgow: Glasgow Museums and Art Galleries, 1981), p. 13.

[114] Morag Cross, "Andrew Wells, Stained Glass artist," *Magazine of The Architectural Heritage Society of Scotland*, Spring 2014, pp. 24-25.

[115] See note 34 above.

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[116]   In Sydney, Australia, for instance, where there are Adam windows from 1907 in the Royal Prince Alfred Hospital; see *RPA Heritage News*, vol. II, no. 4 (January, 2012). For a list of windows and panels "completed in recent years" and installed in "Mansions and Public Buildings," see the appendix to the second edition of *Truth in Decorative Art* (Glasgow: printed by Carter and Pratt, 1904), reproduced here in Appendix III. Among the mansions: Blyth Hall, Newport, Dundee [1877, extended 1890]; Drumalis Castle and Cairn Castle, near
Larne, County Antrim, Ireland; Dundas Castle, South Queensferry, near Edinburgh; Gallowhill House, Paisley [built by the architect James Salmon in 1869]; Ralston House, Gartmore House, Kilnside House, and Ferguslie House all also in Paisley; Moreland House, Skelmorlie, Ayrshire [1862, extended by John Honeyman 1874 and by Honeyman and Keppie, 1893-94]; The Cliff in nearby Wemyss Bay, Renfrewshire; Cornhill Mansion, Biggar, Lanarkshire; Mauldslie Castle, Carluke, Lanarkshire [an Adam building with extensions in 1860 and 1891]; Auchendrane House near Ayr and Beleisle House near Prestwick, Ayrshire, and various mansions in Perthshire belonging to the Pullar family of the celebrated dyeworks ("Dyers to the Queen" in 1852) and then of the nationally known dry cleaners, Pullars of Perth. In addition to the Pullars, the Coats and Clark families of the flourishing, internationally active Paisley thread industry were frequent clients of Adam, whence the large number of commissions for houses in Paisley and for Dundas Castle, purchased by one of the Clarks in 1899. Many of the houses in Adam's list are now upmarket hotels. (My thanks to Gordon R. Urquhart for bringing this list to my attention and providing me with a photocopy of it.)

[117] Iain B. Galbraith, "Always happy in his designs: the legacy of Stephen Adam," *The Journal of Stained Glass* (2006), 30: 101-15, on p. 104.

[118] Stephen Adam, *Truth in Decorative Art*, cited in Iain B.Galbraith, "Always happy in his designs: the legacy of Stephen Adam," p. 101.

[119] On the Nazarenes in England, see William Vaughan, *German Romanticism and English Art* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press/The Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 1979), *passim*; also my articles "Unwilling Moderns: the Nazarene painters of the nineteenth century," www.19thc-artworldwide.org, Fall issue, 2003, 72 pp., and "Beyond Modern: The Art of the Nazarenes," *Common Knowledge*, 14 (2008): 45-104. The direct inspiration of Overbeck's painting for a memorial window at Church Lench by James Preedy and and the incorporation of designs by Overbeck into murals by the Gothic Revival architect Georg Edmund Street in the chancel of the restored 13th century Church of St. Peter and St. Paul at Sheviock in Cornwall are documented in Vaughan, *op. cit*., pp. 228, 244-45.

[120] See Holman-Hunt's personal testimony in his *Pre-Raphaelitism and the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood* (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1914), 2 vols., 1: 74 and 85.

[121] Referring to unpublished Occasional Papers by Sally Rush, now in the Art Hhistory department of Glasgow University, and Linda Cannon, a fellow graduate of the Glasgow School of Art, Iain B. Galbraith writes of the Glasgow School, for which Cottier and Adam prepared the way, that it was resolutely modern in its focus on art. It "rejected the revivalist approach which was controlled by religion and architecture and was basically artistic in its approach, not dictated to by religion and interested in glass per se." ("Stained Glass in Scotland: A Perspective," *The Church Service Society Record*, Vol. 47 [2012], pp. 14-24, on p. 20)

[122] Michael Donnelly, *Scotland's Stained Glass. Making the Colours Sing* (Edinburgh: The Stationary Office, 1997), pp. 36-37.
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[123] See endnote 20 above. There can be uncertainty about who was responsible even in the case of the Maryhill panels, which were produced at a fairly early point in the Adam studio's history. Thus in the panel depicting the Railway Porter, on a parcel with the label "Newcastle-Maryhill," Michael Donnelly points to the signature, etched with a diamond, of Joseph Miller, a skilled glass-painter and cartoonist, who was born in Newcastle-on-Tyne into a family of glassmakers and who was thus about the same age as Adam himself when he joined the latter's studio. (*Scotland's Stained Glass. Making the Colours Sing*, pp. 35-36) Miller was probably active in executing Adam's design.

[124] See Gordon R. Urquhart, *A Notable Ornament: Lansdowne Church*, p. 146.

[125] One of eight paintings illustrative of the history of Northumberland (the first depicts the building of Hadrian's Wall) commissioned c. 1856 by Sir William and Lady Pauline Trevelyan for their handsome eighteenth-century Palladian-style residence, Wallington Hall, now a property of the National Trust.

[126] For a richly illustrated overview of artists' illustrations of labor in the 19th century, see Klaus Türk, *Bilder der Arbeit: eine ikonografische Anthologie* (Wiesbaden: Westdeutscher Verlag, 2000), chapters 10 and 11 (pp. 155-241) and the same author's *Mensch und Arbeit: 400 Jahre Geschichte der Arbeit in der bildenden Kunst* (Milwaukee: Minnesota School of Engineering Press, 2003).

[127] Walter E. Houghton, *The Victorian Frame of Mind 1830-1870* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1957), pp. 242-43. In 1856, as members of a group calling themselves "The Brotherhood," Morris and Burne-Jones launched an *Oxford and Cambridge Magazine* in the pages of which an article entitled "The Work of Young Men" presented the idea that "to do a certain work, each man was born. It is the noble duty of each man, each youth, to learn his particular work." (Cit. Mary Cowling, *Victorian Figurative Painting* [London: Andreas Papadakis, 2000], p. 173)

[128] Timothy Hilton, *The Pre-Raphaelites* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1970), pp. 158-59.

[129] Carlyle, *Past and Present* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1843), Book III, ch. XI ("Labour"), pp. 264, 271. As it happens, Carlyle was one of the figures honored -- along with Buchanan, Knox, and Erasmus -- in two two-light memorial windows designed by the Adam studio for Claremont Street Trinity Congregational Church in Glasgow in 1907.

[130] Morris, Lecture on "Art and Labour," 1886, in Eugene D. Lemire, *The unpublished lectures of William Morris* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1969), pp. 94-118, on pp. 112-13, 116.

[131] "Industrial work, still under bondage to Mammon, the rational soul of it not yet awakened, is a tragic spectacle. Men in the rapidest motion and self-motion; restless, with convulsive energy, as if driven by Galvanism, as if possessed by a Devil; tearing aside mountains, -- to no purpose, for Mammonism is always Midas-eared! This is sad, on the face of it. Yet courage: the beneficent Destinies, kind in their sternness, are apprising us that this cannot continue. Labour is not a devil, even while encased in Mammonism; Labour is ever an imprisoned god,

writhing unconsciously or consciously to escape out of Mammonism!" (Thomas Carlyle, *Past and Present*, Book III, ch. xii, ed. cit., p. 278)

[132] M. Bakunin, *The Revolutionary Catechism* (1866) (https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/bakunin/works/1866/catechism.htm)

[133] In *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*, 1844 (https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1844/df-jahrbucher/carlyle.htm).

[134] "What do we find [. . .] as the characteristic difference between the troupe of monkeys and human society? Labour." See https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1876/part-played-labour/ and German original: *Anteil der Arbeit an der Menschwerdung des Affen* (http://www.mlwerke.de/me/me20/me20_444.htm). It deserves to be noted, however, that in 1880, from the point of view of a different Left, Paul Lafargue (Marx's son-in-law) was severely critical of the prevailing cult of work and its integration into the anti-capitalist ideology of Marx and Engels: "A strange madness has taken possession of the working classes of those nations in which Capitalistic Civilization dominates. This madness is the primary cause of the individual and collective sufferings which have been for the past two centuries endured by sad humanity. This madness is the love of work, the furious desire for labour, carried even to the extent of exhausting the vital forces of the individual and his offspring. Instead of protesting against this aberration, priests, economists and moralists have doubly sanctified labour..[. . .] When, in civilized Europe, anyone wishes to find a trace of the primitive beauty of man, it is necessary to look among those nations in which economic prejudices have not yet eradicated hatred of work. Spain, which to be sure is now degenerating, is still able to boast of possessing fewer manufactories than we have prisons and barracks. But the artist rejoices as he admires the hardy Andalusian, brown as the chestnut, upright and flexible as a steel rod. [. . .[For the Spaniard in whose country the primitive animal has not wasted into the capitalist, work is the worst kind of slavery.[. . .] And yet the proletariat, the great class that includes all the producers of the civilized world, the class that in emancipating itself will emancipate all humanity from servile work, and will convert the human animal into a free being; the proletariat, false to its instincts,, unmindful of its historic mission, has allowed itself to be corrupted by the dogma of work. Swift and terrible has been its punishment. All individual and social misery is born of the passion for work." (Paul Lafargue, *The Right to Leisure* [sometimes translated as *The Right to be Lazy*], trans. James Blackwell [Glasgow: Labour Literature Society, 1893], pp. 2, 4, 5; orig. French, *Le Droit à la paresse*, 1880)

[135] Houghton, *The Victorian Frame of Mind 1830-1870*, p. 246. Paul Laforgue (see note 134 above) observed that the notion of work as a means of keeping the propertyless poor in their place and suppressing revolutionary ideas and activities had already been presented explicitly in "un écrit anonyme intitulé: *An Essay on Trade and Commerce*" (i.e. *An Essay on Trade and Commerce…by the author of Considerations on Taxes, etc.* [London: S. Hooper, 1870], pp. 57-58).

[136] Piers Dudgeon, *Our Glasgow: Memories of Life in Disappearing Britain* (London: Headline, 2009), pp. 13-14. It is only fair to point out that Dudgeon also vividly illustrates the often horrific and degrading conditions which even the much admired shipyard workers had to endure.

[137] William H. Sewell, Jr. "Visions of Labor: Illustrations of the Mechanical Arts before, in, and after Diderot's *Encyclopédie*," in Steven Lawrence Kaplan and Cynthia J. Koepp, eds., *Work in France: Representations, Meaning, Organization, and Practice* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1986), pp. 258-86, on p. 280.

[138] http://www.architectsjournal.co.uk/buildings/come-together/8650489.article

[139] See Appendix 1 and the Maryhill Burgh Trust's booklet, to which Mitchell contributed substantially: http://static1.squarespace.com/static/4ff41e65e4b03ec22b1153c6/t/52398a63e4b045468c5f7619/137950269124 6/panels_orig_booklet_a.pdf

[140] See https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Maryhill_Barracks; www.eveningtimes.co.uk/lifestyle/13297735.Eye_Spy_Glasgow__A_peek_into_Maryhill_s_proud_military_past/

[141] *Stained Glass: Its History and Modern Development*, p. 28

[142] Robert Rosenblum, *International Style of 1800: a study in linear abstraction* (New York: Garland, 1976), pp. 1-3. (Based on the author's Ph.D. dissertation of 1957)

[143] Cit. Margaret Howitt, *Friedrich Overbeck. Sein Leben und Schaffen. Nach seinen Briefen und anderen Documenten des handschriftlichen Nachlasses geschildert*, ed. Franz Binder (Bern: Herbert Lang, 1971 [orig. ed. Freiburg i. B.: Herder, 1856]), 2 vols., 1:82-83.

[144] See my article, "Beyond Modern: The Art of the Nazarenes," *Common Knowledge* (Winter, 2008) 14: 45-104, on pp. 71-72.

[145] See, in particular, *Puvis de Chavannes, 1824-1898* [exhibition catalogue, Paris, Grand Palais, November-February 1976--77and Ottawa, Galerie nationale du Canada, March-May 1977] (Paris: Éditions des Musées Nationaux); George Lemoine, ed., *Toward Modern Art. From Puvis de Chavannes to Matisse and Picasso* (New York: Rizzoli, 2002); Thomas Kerstin, *Welt und Stimmung bei Puvis de Chavannes, Seurat und Gauguin* (Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2010); Aimée Brown Price, *Pierre Puvis de Chavannes* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2010).

[146] Robert Upstone, "Echoes in Albion's Sacred Wood: Puvis and British Art," in George Lemoine, ed., *Toward Modern Art. From Puvis de Chavannes to Matisse and Picasso*, pp. 277-89. Upstone points to the admiration Burne-Jones and Puvis had for each other's work.

[147] Aimée Brown Price, "Pierre Puvis de Chavannes: The Development of a Pictorial Idiom" in her exhibition catalogue, *Pierre Puvis de Chavannes* (Amsterdam: Van Gogh Museum and Zwolle: Waanders Uitgevers, 1994), pp. 11-27, on p. 15.

[148] Fras. W. Oliphant, *A Plea for Painted Glass* (see note 11 above), p. 68. In similar vein an earlier comment: "We have yet to find a suitable mode of treatment for the Classic and Palladian buildings that have risen up among us." (p. 18)

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[149] Two decades earlier, in 1854, the Sheffield-based sculptor and painter Godfrey Sykes (1824-1866) had created a frieze representing modern laborers for the Sheffield Mechanics' Institute. "Admire Godfrey Sykes's adaptation of the Parthenon frieze to a Sheffield context," write the editors of the King's College, London website entitled *Classics and Class*, "substituting artisans, labourers, miners and steelworkers for Pheidias' procession of Athenian horsemen. Headed by Minerva/Athena and other gods, in Sykes's vision the workers of Sheffield proudly wield their tools and push their trucks around the whole thirteen painted panels, extending to 60 feet, of the frieze. The background of the frieze is a bright (aqua marine) blue and the figures stand out in a deep gold." (http://www.classicsandclass.info/product/133/) There is no evidence that Adam was aware of Sykes' work.

[150] See Diane Radycki's comment on Paula Modersohn-Becker's "Reclining Mother and Child Nude" (1906; Paula Modersohn Becker Museum, Bremen) which portrays the child, with its back to the viewer, snuggled up against the woman's large naked body: "A figure in the center foreground with its back to the viewer is a trope whereby the viewer is inserted into the painting. Here the viewer – male or female [since the child's sex is not identifiable – L.G] -- is the child." (*Paula Modersohn Becker: The First modern Woman Artist* [New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2013], p. 172)

[151] Albeit with moderate use of paint. Adam's technique in the Maryhill panels was described to me by Marie-Luise Stumpff, Senior Conservator at the Burrell Collection of Glasgow Museums, who worked on the restoration of the panels. With Ms Stumpff's permission I reproduce part of her illuminating note:
"As to your technical questions:
The colour in the panels is mainly achieved through the use of "pot metal" glass, i.e. glass coloured with metal oxides and blown into sheets from which the required pieces are then cut. The light that comes through the glass is modulated by iron oxide paint: Trace lines (opaque) accentuate the detailed drawing and wash (translucent) adds texture and depth to the design. The iron oxide paints used in Adam's panels are unstable and there have been significant losses of detail. This is a common problem with 19th C. glass and has been attributed to the added borax in some of the paints used by stained glass makers, but it may also be as a result of under-firing the paint. Many of the trace lines in Adam's panels were repainted with cold paint in the 1970's. In a recent conservation project for the Burgh Halls one of the panels - The Canal Boatman – was restored and conservators were able to bring back some of the finer detail of the design.
In a few areas (for instance the sky in The Canal Boatman), large pieces of glass are stained yellow using silverstain (oxides or nitrates of silver that literally stain the glass). There are a few areas where enamel has been used (blue hat on the boatman) but this paint is not very stable and looks flat and dull compared to the other colours. We have no reason to assume that the areas painted in enamel are not original." (E-mail to author, dated 1 June 2015)

[152] The work of Stephen Adam Jr., both figurative and decorative, does often show a preference for large segments of glass and uncluttered design, as does at least one panel of four female figures, attributed to Stephen Adam himself, at 22 Park Circus in Glasgow's West End. (See www.Scran.ac.uk ID: 000-000-034-180-C)

[153] My thanks to Janice Gossman, an art teacher at the Arthur L. Johnson High School in Clark, N.J., for drawing my attention to the stained glass works of the Dutch artist Willem A. Van de Walle, many of which have regrettably been destroyed. Fortunately, Van de Walle's full-size cartoons have been preserved at the International Institute of Social History in Amsterdam. See http://www.iisg.nl/collections/walle/index.phpo and http://www.iisg.nl/collections/walle/background.php

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Fig. 16. Fabian stained glass window, London School of Economics. 1910. Created by Caroline Townshend according to a design by George Bernard Shaw. (© LSE / Nigel Stead) ("The window was originally stolen from Beatrice Webb House in 1978 but was recovered in 2005 by the Webb Memorial Trust and is on long term loan to the LSE. The window depicts Shaw, Sidney Webb and ER Pease [secretary of the Fabian Society] helping to build the new world. They are in Elizabethen dress which was to poke fun at Pease who loved everything medieval. The people depicted at the bottom were leading members of the Society.")

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Fig. 20. David Gauld. "Music." 1891 (© Glasgow Life/Glasgow Museums)

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Part II, 2. *Charles Winston on stained glass.*

Fig. 1. " St John the Evangelist hands the Palm to the Jew." St. Peter Mancroft Norwich. 15th Century. Now in Burrell Collection, Glasgow. (© Glasgow Life/ Glasgow Museums)

Fig. 2. Francis Eginton. "The Conversion of St. Paul." East Window, St. Paul's Church, Birmingham. (Wikimedia)

Fig. 3. Everhard Rensig and/or Gerhard Remisch. "Esau gives up his Birthright; Jacob and Esau with the Mess of Pottage." Mariawald Abbey Cloister. 1521. Now in Victoria and Albert Museum, London. (© Victoria and Albert Museum; given by Mr E. E. Cook; also Wikimedia)

Part II, 3. *Stephen Adam on stained glass*

Fig. 1. "Samson and the Lion." (Maker unknown). Germany. 16th C. (© Victoria and Albert Museum - C.303-1928)

Fig. 2. Roundel. "St Nicholas as Baker." Netherlands. 16thC. (Courtesy of Sam Fogg Ltd. 15D Clifford Street, London W1S 4JZ)

Fig. 3. Roundel. Dirck Vellert. "Le Jugement de Cambyse."1541. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum. (Wikimedia)

Fig. 4. Pompeo Bertini. Milan, Cathedral. Absidial windows illustrating scenes from the Old Testament. (http:/www.wikiwand.com/it/Vetrate_del_duomo_di_Milano)

Fig. 5. Window representing alleged "Profanation of the Host by Brussels Jews." Sainte-Gudule Cathedral, Brussels. 16th C. (Wikipedia)

Fig. 6. Dirck Vellert. "Martyrdom of the Seven Maccabee Brothers and their Mother." Antwerp. 1530-35. Now at Metropolitan Museum, New York. (©Metropolitan Museum; Mr. and Mrs. Isaac D. Fletcher Collection, Bequest of Isaac D. Fletcher, 1917)

Fig. 7. Albert Moore. "A Musician." Oil on canvas. 1867. Center for British Art, Yale. (Wikimedia)

Fig. 8. Edward Poynter. "Orpheus and Eurydice." Oil on canvas. 1862. Private Collection. (liveinternet.ru)
[Fig. 8 alt. Edward Poynter. "Orpheus and Eurydice." Oil on canvas. 1862. Private Collection. (wikigallery)

Fig. 9. John Flaxman. Engraving for Alexander Pope's translation of the *Iliad*, 1795. (Wikimedia; Photo H.-P.Haack - Antiquariat Dr. Haack Leipzig)

Fig.10. Heinrich Maria von Hess. "Faith-Hope-Charity." Oil on panel. 1819. Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg. (Wikimedia [The Yorck Project])

Fig. 11. Moritz von Schwind. "Sabina von Steinbach working on the figure of the Synagogue for Strassburg Cathedral." Oil on canvas. 1844. Alte Nationalgalerie, Berlin. (Wikipedia)

Fig. 12. Johann Schraudolph. "Anbetung der Koenige." Fresco. Speyer Cathedral. 1852. Now in the Kaisersaal of the Cathedral. 1852. (Wikiwand)

Fig. 13. Heinrich Maria von Hess. "Isaiah." Prophets Window (detail), formerly in North Transept, Glasgow Cathedral. 1850s. (Iain Macnair, *Glasgow Cathedral: The Stained Glass Windows* [Glasgow: Johnsondesign, 2009], courtesy of Andrew Macnair)

Fig. 14. E. Siebertz (Munich). "The Dream and the Promise." 1850s. formerly in North Transept, Glasgow Cathedral. (Iain Macnair, *Glasgow Cathedral: The Stained Glass Windows* [Glasgow: Johnsondesign, 2009], courtesy of Andrew Macnair)

Fig. 15. Pompeo Bertini (Milan). "John the Baptist." 1867. Lauder's Crypt, Glasgow Cathedral (Iain Macnair, *Glasgow Cathedral: The Stained Glass Windows* [Glasgow: Johnsondesign, 2009], courtesy of Andrew Macnair)

Part III, 1. *Stephen Adam: The Early Years and the Glasgow Studio*

Fig. 1. Daniel Cottier. "Spring." 1873-75. (© Metropolitan Museum, New York; Gift of Estate of Virginia Guard Brooks and the Guard family, 2007)

Fig. 2. Stephen Adam Jr. "Suffer the Little Children." Formerly in Trinity Congregational Church, Glasgow, now at St. James the Less Episcopal Church, Bishopbriggs, Glasgow. (Courtesy of Ian R. Mitchell [or Gordon Urquhart?])

Fig. 3. Stephen Adam Jr. Window at 8 Belhaven Terrace, West End, Glasgow. (Courtesy of Gordon R. Urquhart, FSA Scot)

Fig. 4. Stephen Adam and Alf Webster. St.Nicholas Church, Lanark. 1910. (Courtesy of Stephen Weir of Stephen Weir Stained Glass, Glasgow. In Stephen Weir's view, the style of this window would indicate that it was designed by Adam himself.)

Fig. 5. Alf Webster. "Miracle of the Loaves and Fishes." 1911. Lansdowne Church, Great Western Road, Glasgow (now "Webster's Theatre," a community center). Templeton Memorial Window, centre light, lower panel. (Photo by Tom Donald via Creative Commons license from https://www.flickr.com/photos/clearwood/3957054734/in/pool-lansdownepc/ or https://www.flickr.com/photos/clearwood/3957054734/in/album-72157613314671741/)

Fig. 6. Stephen Adam. "Cleopatra." In the villa known as "The Knowe" by architect "Greek" Thomson, Pollokshields, Glasgow. 1890. (Courtesy of Gordon R. Urquhart, FSA Scot)

Fig. 7. Stephen Adam. Window at 2 Devonshire Gardens, West End, Glasgow (now Hotel du Vin). (Courtesy of Ian R. Mitchell)

Fig. 8. Stephen Adam. Window at 2 Devonshire Gardens, West End, Glasgow (now Hotel du Vin). (Courtesy of Ian R. Mitchell)

Fig. 9. Stephen Adam. Window at Carnegie Public Library, Ayr. 1894. (Courtesy of Tom Barclay, Reference & Local History Librarian, South Ayrshire Council)

Fig. 10. Andrew Carnegie, with Mrs. Carnegie, at opening ceremony of the Public Library bearing his name in Ayr. (Courtesy of Tom Barclay, Reference & Local History Librarian, South Ayrshire Council)

Fig. 11. Stephen Adam, panel 1 at Imperial Bar, Howard Street, Glasgow (© John Gorevan. Courtesy of John Gorevan, www.oldglasgowpubs.co.uk)

Fig. 12. Stephen Adam, panel 2 at Imperial Bar, Howard Street, Glasgow ((© John Gorevan. Courtesy of John Gorevan, www.oldglasgowpubs.co.uk)

Fig. 13. Stephen Adam, panel 3 at Imperial Bar, Howard Street, Glasgow ((© John Gorevan. Courtesy of John Gorevan, www.oldglasgowpubs.co.uk)

Fig. 14. St. Andrew's in the Square Parish Church, Glasgow. Interior, showing the Adam window. (Courtesy of Donald Whannell, Neilstonphotogallery@drookitagain.co.uk)

Fig. 15. St Andrew's in the Square Parish Church, Glasgow. Stephen Adam window. 1874. (Courtesy of Ian R. Mitchell)

Fig. 16. St Andrew's in the Square Parish Church, Glasgow. Stephen Adam window, detail of Crombie window. (Courtesy of Ian R. Mitchell)

Fig. 17. Belhaven United Presbyterian Church, Glasgow, now St. Luke's Greek Orthodox Cathedral. Stephen Adam window. 1877. (Courtesy of Nondas Pitticas, community administrator, St. Luke's Greek Orthodox Cathedral)

Fig. 18. Belhaven United Presbyterian Church, Glasgow. Stephen Adam window, detail of left light. 1877. (Courtesy of Nondas Pitticas, community administrator, St. Luke's Greek Orthodox Cathedral)

Fig. 19. Alloway Parish Church, Alloway, Ayrshire. Baird South Window by Stephen Adam. 1877. (Courtesy of David Lewis, Alloway Parish Church of Scotland)

Fig. 20. Alloway Parish Chrch. Baird South Window. Detail of left light. "Mary, Joseph and Jesus." (Courtesy of David Lewis, Alloway)

Fig. 21. Alloway Parish Church. Baird South Window. Detail of right light. "Adoration of the Magi." (Courtesy of David Lewis, Alloway)

Fig. 22. Alloway Parish Church. Baird South Window. Detail. Angel in centre light. (Courtesy of David Lewis, Alloway)

Fig. 23. Clark Memorial Church, Largs, Ayrshire. West or Preachers Window by Stephen Adam. 1892-93. (Courtesy of Dr. Nigel Lawrie and Eastwood Photographic Society)

Fig. 24. Clark Memorial Church, Largs. Two-light window by Stephen Adam. "David Playing before Saul." (Courtesy of Dr. Nigel Lawrie and Eastwood Photographic Society,)

Fig. 25. Clark Memorial Church, Largs. Two-light window by Stephen Adam. "Ruth and Boaz." (Courtesy of Dr. Nigel Lawrie and Eastwood Photographic Society, Glasgow)

Fig. 26. Clark Memorial Church, Largs.Two-light window by Stephen Adam. "Jesus Visits Martha and Mary." (Courtesy of Dr. Nigel Lawrie and Eastwood Photographic Society, Glasgow)

Fig. 27. Friedrich Overbeck. "Easter Morning." Oil on canvas. c 1818. Museum Kunstpalast-Düsseldorf. (Yorck Project - Wikimedia)

Fig. 28. Franz Pforr. "Shulamit and Mary." Oil on wood. 1810-11. Schweinfurt, Sammlung Georg Schäfer. (Wikimedia)

Fig. 29. Julius Schnorr von Carolsfeld. "St. Roch giving alms." Oil on canvas. 1817. Museum der bildenden Künste, Leipzig. (Wikimedia)

Fig. 30. Joseph von Fuehrich. "Jacob Encountering Rachel." Oil on canvas. 1837. Österreichische Galerie Belvedere, Vienna. (Wikimedia)

Fig.31. William Dyce. "Jacob and Rachel." Oil on canvas. 1850. Leicester, New Walk Museum and Art Gallery. (Wikigallery)

Fig. 32. Friedrich Overbeck. "Death of Joseph." 1857. (From posterprint)

Fig. 33. All Saints Church, Church Lench, Worcestershire. Frederick Preedy. "Death of Joseph." 1858. (Courtesy of "TudorBarlow [Flickr]")

Fig. 34. Board Room, Clydeport, Glasgow. Stephen Adam. Dockworkers panel illustrating "Commerce." 1908. (Courtesy of Gordon Barr)

Fig. 35. Board Room, Clydeport, Glasgow. Stephen Adam. Dockworkers panel illustrating "Commerce." 1908. (Courtesy of Donald Whannell, Neilstonphotogallery@drookitagain.co.uk)

Fig. 36. Board Room, Clydeport, Glasgow. 1908.Stephen Adam. Riveters panel illustrating "Engineering." 1908 (Courtesy of Gordon Barr)

Fig. 37. Board Room, Clydeport, Glasgow. 1908. Stephen Adam. Riveters panel illustrating "Engineering." 1908. (Courtesy of Ian R. Mitchell)

Fig. 38. Oyster Bar, Café Royal, Edinburgh. Stained glass representing modern sportsmen, designed by Tom Wilson and made by the Ballantine studio, Edinburgh. 1890s. (http://www.scotlandsplaces.gov.uk/record/rcahms/52224/edinburgh-17-west-register-street-cafe-royal)

Part III, 2. *"Blessed is he who has found his work."*

Fig. 1. Freiburg Cathedral, Germany. Window representing gold miners. 1330. (Courtesy of Prof. Kathleen Cohen, San Jose State University, © Kathleen Cohen)

Fig. 2. Chartres Cathedral. Bakers' window. 13th Century. (Courtesy of Mary K. Bosshart ["Mary Kay Bosshart, Out and About in Paris"])

Fig. 3. "Labours of the Months" (July). Haymaking. Stained glass panel. 1450-1475. (Wikimedia) [:https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:BLW_Stained_Glass_Panel_-_Labours_of_the_Months_(July).jpg]

Fig. 4. "Labours of the Months" (October). c1480 (© Victoria and Albert Museum, London. C.134-1931)

Fig. 5. "Sugar Refinery." Engraving by Jan Collaert after Jan Van der Straet (Stradanus), *New Inventions of Modern Times [Nova Reperta]*, plate 13. C. 1600 (© Metropolitan Museum of Art; Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1934)

Fig. 6. "A Printing Shop." Etching by Abraham Bosse. 1642. (© Metropolitan Museum of Art; Purchase, Rogers Fund, 1922)

Fig. 7. Ford Madox Brown, "Work." Oil on canvas. 1865. Manchester Art Gallery. (Wikipedia)

Fig. 8. William Bell Scott. "Iron and Coal." Oil on canvas. 1861. Wallington Hall Northumberland. (Wikimedia)

Fig. 9. Godfrey Sykes. "Interior of an Ironworks." Oil on canvas. 1850. Yale Center for British Art. (Wikimedia)

Fig. 10. "Sheffield Steel Manufactures. Hall of the Fork Grinders." *Illustrated London News*, March 10,1886, Vol. XLVIII, p. 225.

Fig. 11. Sir John Lavery. "Shipbuilding on the Clyde" (Fairfield Shipyard, Govan). Preparatory painting for mural on South side of Banqueting Hall, Glasgow City Chambers. 1900. Glasgow Museums Rescource Centre. (Courtesy of Glasgow Life/GlasgowMuseums)

Fig. 12. Adolf Menzel. "The Iron Rolling Mill." 1872-75. Nationalgalerie, Berlin. (Wikimedia)

Fig. 13. Paul Meyerheim. "Lebensgeschichte einer Lokomotive." 1874. Märkisches Museum, Berlin. (Wikimedia)

Fig. 14. Thomas Anschutz. "The Ironworkers' Noontime." Oil on canvas. 1880. Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco . (Wikimedia)

Fig. 15. Sir John Everett Millais."Christ in the house of his parents. The Carpenter's Shop." Oil on canvas. 1849-50. Tate Gallery, London. (Wikimedia)

Fig. 16. Govan Burgh Arms. (http:/www.mygovan.com/html/govan.html)

Fig. 17. Henry Stacy Marks. "Capital and labour." Oil on canvas. 1874. Auctioned at Sotheby's, May, 2013 [http://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2013/british-irish-art-l13132/lot.14.esthl.html] (Wikipedia)

Part III, 3. *An Original Style: Realism and Neo-Classicism in the Maryhill Panels*.

Fig. 1. Peter von Cornelius. "Joseph recognized by his brothers." Fresco. 1816-1817. Casa Bartholdy, Rome. Now in Alte Nationalgalerie, Berlin. (Wikimedia) [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Peter_von_Cornelius_-_Joseph_gibt_sich_seinen_Br%C3%BCdern_zu_erkennen_-_Google_Art_Project.jpg]

Fig. 2. Schnorr von Carolsfeld. Ariosto room. Frescos. 1819-1822. Casino Massimo Lancellotti, Rome. (Courtesy of Atlantedellarteitaliana.it; http://www.atlantedellarteitaliana.it/immagine/00012/7799OP1771AU12645.jpg

Fig. 3. Pierre Puvis de Chavannes. "Le Travail." Oil on canvas. 1863. National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Widener Collection. (© National Gallery of Art)

Fig. 4. Pierre Puvis de Chavannes. "Le Bois sacré." Wall painting. 1884. Musée de Lyon. (Wikimedia)

Fig. 5. Pierre Puvis de Chavannes. "Inspiration Chrétienne." Oil on paper, mounted on canvas. c1887-88. Smithsonian American Art Museum, Washington, D.C. no. 1929.6.84 (© Smithsonian American Art Museum)

Fig. 6. Maryhill Burgh Halls. (http://www.maryhillburghhalls.org.uk/updates/)

Fig. 7. Adam Panels *in situ* in Mary Hill Burgh Halls. (Courtesy of the Maryhill Burgh Halls Trust)

Fig. 8. John Hardman Powell and Augustus Welby Pugin. "Hardman's workshop." Stained glass window in St Chad's Roman Catholic Cathedral, Birmingham. _ 1850. Photograph by Jacqueline Banerjee, Victorian Web (http:/www.victorianweb.org/art/stainedglass/pugin/10.html). This image may be used without prior permission for any scholarly or educational purpose.

Fig. 9. Clayton & Bell. "Cornish Miners working at Dolcoath." Truro Cathedral, Cornwall (1907), N. nave aisle, W. window. (Courtesy of The Chapter of Truro Cathedral)

Fig. 10. Chesterfield Parish Church of Our Lady and All Saints. Detail of window celebrating the 750th anniversary of the church. 1984. (Image courtesy of Dr. Phil Brown www.docbrown.info/docspics)

Fig. 11. John Radecki. Window in memory of Rupert Cropley, Masonic School Assembly Hall, Sydney, N.S.W., Australia. 1951. (Courtesy of Museum of Freemasonry, Sydney; http://www.mof.org.au/articles/sydney-masonic-centre/56-stained-glass-school-window.html)

Fig. 12. Australian War Memorial Hall of Memory. South Window by Napier Waller. 1950. (Commissioned 1937) (https://www.awm.gov.au/visit/hall-of-memory/windows/)

Fig. 13. Jan-Thorn Prikker. "Der Künstler als Lehrer für Handel und   Gewerbe." Stained glass. Hauptbahnhof, Hagen, Germany. 1910. (Wikimedia)

Fig. 14. Charles Connick, "Broadcasting." St. John the Divine, New York. Nave, S. wall, 4th bay, foot of r. lancet. Detail. Early 20thC. (Courtesy of Painton Cowen. ©Painton Cowen)

Fig. 15. Herbert Hendrie, window replacing one of the Munich windows and representing workers. Glasgow Cathedral. 1939. (Courtesy of Ian Mitchell)

Fig. 16. Stephen Adam. Two-light stained glass window in Clark Memorial Church, Largs, Ayrshire. 1892. (Courtesy of Dr. Nigel Lawrie and Eastwood Photographic Society, Glasgow)

Fig. 17. Sir Edward Burne-Jones, made by Morris & Co. Stained and painted glass window representing "Saint Cecilia." c.1900. Princeton University Art Museum; museum purchase, Surdna Fund.

Fig. 18. W.A. Van de Walle. "Miner." Design for the workers' insurance company, De Centrale, The Hague. 1936. (The windows themselves have been destroyed) (International Institute of Social History, The Netherlands: http:/www.iisg.nl/collections/walle/centrale03.php)

APPENDIX I

THE MARYHILL PANELS:

STEPHEN ADAM'S STAINED GLASS WORKERS

by

Ian R. Mitchell

The stained glass revival in the Victorian period was to a great extent religiously inspired and went alongside the religious revival then occurring, as the Victorian bourgeoisie sought to re-Christianise what they saw as an increasingly secular working class. And no other Victorian city embraced stained glass as did Glasgow. Michael Donnelly points this out in his fine work Scotland's Stained Glass, (1997), where he describes Glasgow as the "Second City of Empire and First City of Glass."

The demand for stained glass at that time was almost insatiable. Once Presbyterian opposition to the art form was overcome, the church building programmes of the Free Kirk and the Kirk of Scotland after the Disruption of 1843 created much custom. As time passed, Victorian public buildings, like courts and town halls, were incomplete without stained glass, and increasingly the rich owners of urban villas commissioned bespoke panels as features for their dwellings.

It would be rather churlish to complain that stained glass artists ignored the theme of industrial labour for that of religion, when church commissions were after all their main bread and butter. And whilst the Victorian stained glass artists' religious work does on occasion show fishermen or other workers, these are generally clothed in biblical styles. (Interestingly and by contrast however, in the medieval period, stained glass artists were bolder, often showing their workers in then-contemporary clothing, with then-contemporary machinery). However there is an exception to this rule. This is Stephen Adam's Stained Glass Workers, the twenty stained such panels which this artist executed for Maryhill Burgh Halls in 1878. These panels

show the trades of Maryhill, then an independent burgh, now part of Glasgow, and were based on intensive studies of working men and women in their industrial situations, showing in great detail their machinery, production techniques, tools and clothing-even down to a patch on one knee of a workman's pair of trousers. Executed with great sympathy as well as accuracy, Stephen Adam's Maryhill panels possibly stand as the largest and most realistic collection of portraits of labour in public, and possibly private, art in two centuries, anywhere. This, apart from their intrinsic artistic merit, makes them of world-historic importance.

Interestingly, Stephen Adam was not a Glasgwegian, though he carried on his business in the city. He was born near Edinburgh in 1847, and at Canonmills School where he studied, RL Stevenson was a classmate. In 1862 Adam was apprenticed to James Ballantine of Edinburgh, at that time Scotland's leading firm working in stained glass, and the one heading the revival in the craft after centuries of Presbyterian disapproval. Adam later attended Glasgow School of Art (then called the Haldane Academy) in 1865 and was awarded a silver medal for the best stained glass panel that year. In the later 1860s he was working with Alexander "Greek" Thomson on stained glass for Holmwood House (now owned by the National Trust for Scotland) and Queen's Park Church, both in Glasgow. This connection survived Thomson's death and in 1890 Adam produced a Cleopatra door panel for the Thomson-designed Pollokshields villa, The Knowe - reminding us that Thomson was as much Egyptian as Greek.

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century Glasgow was the main centre of stained glass production in Scotland, and possibly the leading one in the entire UK. There were thirty separate stained glass workshops in the city employing several hundred craftsmen as well as over 100 designers. Adam set up his own stained glass firm in 1870, and after a couple of previous partnerships (one such partnership with the renowned painter of Glasgow scenes, David Small was contemporaneous with the Burgh Hall commission, and Small may well have had a role in the design and execution of the Maryhill panels, one of which is inscribed Adam & Small) he was joined in the firm by his son, and the company produced possibly the best stained glass in Scotland for the next four decades, till Stephen Adam's Sr.'s death in 1910. The artist's studio was originally in St Vincent Street, later moving to Bath Street, and Adam himself lived at West George Street, at the heart of the vibrant Glasgow artistic scene of those years, described in another chapter of this work.

It must have been refreshing for Stephen Adam to work on this commission, though sadly it has not been possible to locate the records of his firm which might have left us his sketches and thoughts on the project. There is a hint in a short work published by him in 1877, based on a public lecture he gave, that he might have welcomed an alternative to religious themes. Stained Glass its History and Development criticised the Gothic Revival and its effect on stained glass, adding,

"And these deformities are manufactured and catalogued principally in London; and the country is overrun with stock saints and evangelists of all sizes, at per foot prices."

For much of the rest of his career his bread and butter was church windows, with the obligatory "stock saints and evangelists." Pollokshields Parish Church, Bearsden New Kilpatrick Church and many others saw his talents displayed. In addition his firm placed work in mansions such as that of the threadmaster Thomas Coats of Ferguslie, and of the ironmaster Walter Macfarlan, at 22 Park Circus, and in the head offices of the Clyde Navigation Trust (now Clydeport) on the Broomielaw.

We cannot deal with these above-mentioned works here. Instead we will look in detail at the panels produced for Maryhill. These works are astounding, and would at first sight – despite sharing some of the Pre-Raphaeilite touches of the artistic period- fit more into the Socialist Realist school than that of the Gothic Revival, are more like the Stakhanovites of Soviet Russian art, than the stained glass saints beloved of Victorian Scotland. Sympathetic portrayals of The Glassworker, The Boat Builder, The Chemical Worker, The Sawmill Worker and many others graced the windows of Maryhill Burgh Halls for almost a century from 1878. The Halls were closed shortly after the centenary of the annexation of Maryhill by Glasgow in 1891, but even before that the panels were considered to be in danger, and had been removed in the 1960s, being held for safe keeping

firstly in the People's Palace and then in the basement of the Burrell Collection.

Adam's panels show working men and working women dressed in working clothes, engaged in their daily occupations. Adam must have spent much time in Maryhill's factories, as his depiction of not only the clothing of the workmen, but of their machinery and tools is immensely detailed and accurate. Michael Donnelly in Scotland's Stained Glass (1997), comments of the set as a whole,

"The accuracy of the detail leaves little doubt that the preliminary sketches for these panels were done in the field……Both the subject matter of the scheme and its treatment are unique."

He adds that "the kind of industrial setting" of the panels was what most artists of the time and later "avoided like the plague". Why the good burghers of Maryhill chose Adam and his industrial themes with which to decorate their Halls, we cannot be sure. The Burgh Council of the time was composed of the fairly small scale capitalists of Maryhill and it is difficult to see artistic motivation as having been their main concern. Whatever their motivation it is interesting that Adam and Small were still chasing up the council for payment of the balance of the account for the stained glass panels in 1881!

Sadly, the Burgh Council records for the years 1875-1880, which might have helped us, are missing from Glasgow's Mitchell Library. But possibly the motivation was the fact that, unlike other Glasgow industrial districts such

as Govan (largely based on shipbuilding) and Springburn (overwhelmingly dominated by locomotive production), Maryhill had a varied industrial base, focussed on the Forth and Clyde canal. Its councillors might well wish to have had this reflected, indeed to have recorded the processes that took place in some of their very own workshops. The variety of Maryhill's industries provided a fortuitous variety of subject matter for these proletarian panels, and indeed it is interesting to speculate that the local employers might have basically seen these panels as a form of advertising for their businesses, paid for out of the rates, and displayed in the most important place in the burgh.

Provost Robertson opened the new Halls on 26 April 1878. A previous occupant of the burghal office was Provost Swan in 1856, Maryhill's first, and he provides some evidence for the theory of the panels as, in part, a form of advertising. He was from the family which owned the canal boatyard at Kelvin Dock, depicted in one of the panels, The Boat Builder. The worker shown is a ship's carpenter with his plane and shaping adze. Kelvin Dock, dating from the 1790s, was run as a boatyard by Swan & Co. in the 1850s and lasted in production until the 1920s. The boatyard built ironclad puffers, but the vessel shown is a wooden canal barge, with a swan motif. Another industrial concern was the nearby factory producing zinc, and this too was owned by Swan, and is represented in the panel, The Spelter Workers. This was a highly polluting concern and could have been one of the reasons why Swan moved from his mansion Colina, which lay

near the Kelvin Dock, to suburban Maryhill Park. The brick wall of the former spelter works is still partly visible beside the

Kelvin Dock.

It is possible to suggest other firm locations for many of the Adams' stained glass panels, by looking at the evidence provided by industrial archeology, notably John R. Hume's The Industrial Archeology of Glasgow (1973), which is still extremely useful forty years after publication, and other sources such as old O.S. and other maps. For example, The Gas Worker would undoubtedly have worked in the Dawsholm Gasworks, opened in 1872 and owned by Glasgow Corporation and actually just across the River Kelvin from Maryhill and thus within Glasgow city boundaries. Glasgow's provision of services like these was used as an argument for the city's annexation of Maryhill in 1891. The panel not only shows the workman in his industrial clothing but also the process of production from coke oven to gas retort to storage tank, the latter detailed down to the iron rivets. The workman used as a model for this panel quite possibly took part in the gas workers' strikes in the 1880s leading to the New Unionism amongst unskilled and semi-skilled workers of that decade. The gas works was demolished in 1968.

Other panels can be similarly located. The Railwayworkers shows a station in Maryhill, which however pre-1914 had two. Which one? As Maryhill Central was not built till 1896, long after the panel was executed, this example must show Maryhill Park Station, which was built in 1856 for the Glasgow, Dumbarton and Helensburgh Railway. Closed in the 1960s, this

station was reopened in the 1990s. It shows that the station was manned by a railway porter, had a covered roof (both no more) and in addition was a parcel station, with the platform littered with goods bound for various locations.

The Iron Moulders can also be located fairly certainly to either the Maryhill Iron Works near Stockingfield Junction, or to Shaw and MacInnes' ironworks at Firhill Basin on the Forth and Clyde Canal, both operating in 1878 when Adam undertook his work (Shaw was also on the burgh council, and this panle provides further evidence for what now would be called "product placement"). Other ironworks came later- and went earlier, as Shaw and MacInnes' did not close until 2000, after over 130 years in operation. The firm originally came from, and brought their workers from, Falkirk –by barge along the canal in 1866. We see in the panel the workmens' corduroy trousers, and the almost ubiquitous braces work at the time. We also see men pouring molten metal without any form of protective clothing, giving us an insight into safety conditions, or rather the lack of them, as that time.

Maryhill had two large scale glass works, both in Murano Street, which was named after the Murano Glass works in Venice. The Glassworker is shown with a wide variety of blown glass products. The Caledonia Glass Bottle Works under its owners, Gibson & Scott had been operating since 1874, and it seems likely that this is the location of the panel. The Glasgow Glass Works was also established on the canal banks in 1874, but produced rolled

plate glass and is therefore unlikely to be the location. Both these works had closed by 1973. Interestingly this is one of the few (male) workers shown without a beard and the reason would appear to be that he is a mere boy. Child labour-especially in its part time work/part time schooling form was still common in the 1870s.

Possibly the most interesting panels are those depicting women textile workers, The Bleachers and The Calico Printers. Maryhill in the 1870s still had a calico printworks, established back in the 1830s. Barr's Kelvindale Works had seen a violent strike in 1834 when the factory was employed by the military and a striking workman George Millar was killed by a "nab" (scab). Millar's fellow workmen erected a memorial to him in Maryhill Old Kirk graveyard. This industry was in decline when Adam did his panel, and the factory closed soon afterwards. Thomson's Memories of Maryhill, dating from 1895, describes the works as having been demolished. The fact that the bleachers are whitening the cloth in sunlight (after it would have been soaked in urine) rather than using a chemical bleaching process possibly indicates- as do some of the other panels- the technologically backward nature of Maryhill's industry at this time. On the other hand some of the woman in The Calico Printers panel have (probably self-provided) head gear, and (again probably self-provided) clogs to keep their feet dry, though the employer has provided wooden (later so-called) duck-boards to keep their feet out of the water. Though at some point erroneously labelled The Calico Printers, the women are actually not printing but possibly fulling (shrinking) or dyeing the cloth. Another panel,

in poor condition, has been identified through a Victorian trade journal, as a male worker using a calico press to print the cloth, and this was most probably executed in the latter days of the Kelvindale works.

Possible further evidence of technological backwardness is given in The Papermaker panel, where the machinery is clearly made out of wood, which would have been cheaper than metal. Unlike other industries which moved to the canal with steam power, the paper mills stayed on the River Kelvin, because of their need for large amounts of water. The man here is either working at the Dalsholm Paper Mills, founded by William MacArthur in 1783 on Dalsholm Road near Dalsholm Bridge, or more likely at the Kelvindale Mills further downriver at Kelvindale Road, established at about the same time as a snuff mill and later converted to paper making. This latter works' lade and weir are still visible on the Kelvin. Dalsholm closed in the 1970s, Kelvindale had shut down earlier.

For The Sawmill Worker, there are a trio of candidate locations. MacFarlane's Ruchill Sawmills in Shuna Street was operating in 1878. The man show might be working at there, or at either the Firhill Sawmills or the Western Sawmills both of which were located at Firhill Timber Basin, a facility built with the canal but greatly extended from 1849. Ruchill Sawmills became part of Bryant and May's match factory c 1918, the Western Sawmills had converted to a chemical works by 1896 and the Firhill Sawmills were the last to go in 1968. More than any other panel this shows the dangerous working conditions of the time, with the workman's loose clothing (and hair) being in danger of being drawn into unprotected parts of

the machinery like the overhead drivebelts, the sawing machinery, and of course, the rotary saw blade itself. This panel illustrates many ways in which that worker could die.

The Chemical Workers is another interesting panel. The workers appear to be engaged in some kind of distillation process. Of the various chemically related industries in Maryhill, several would have been operative when Adam did this panel. But the most likely candidate is the Glasgow Lead and Colour Works of Alexander Fergusson which dates from 1874 and was on both sides of Ruchill Street, with a wharf to the canal. The point made about safety-or lack of it- is again evident here, as the workers wear neither hand nor, more vitally, eye protection.

Maryhill was not strong on engineering. The almost certain source of The Engineers would have been the Maryhill Engine Works at Lochburn Road, built in 1873 for Clarkson Brothers, later Clarkson & Becket. Possibly one of the brothers, John or James, is explaining to the workman with the spanner the requirements of the latest job. The works produced steam engines and careful analysis of the drawing sheet indicated a small steam engine to be built probably for a canal barge. The workman is again in corduroy breeks- denim dungarees were still a decade or two away- and like many others in the panels wears not a bunnet or cloth cap, but a Tam o' Shanter headpiece. The building which housed this factory is still standing, to my knowledge the only one so doing in the entire set of panels, and

remarkably it still houses a small engineering works. This works executed the ironwork for the restoration of the railings of the former public toilet just outside the Burgh Halls.

The historical information contained in these panels is both extensive and in many cases unique. How many visual examples remain one wonders, of how scaffolding was erected in the High Victorian period? The Bricklayers panel shows us a couple of fellows on a scaffold. The wooden scaffolding is show in detail, as are the wooden ladders, and most importantly, the rope knots, minutely delineated, holding the whole construction together. Most of Maryhill was built of stone - the tenements, the barracks, the churches and the civic buildings. On the other hand many of the factories beside the canal were brick built, and this is probably one of these being constructed.

One could analyse every panel, but time and chapters must have a stop. The Soldiers reminds us that Maryhill was a military town. Just opened in 1876 when Adam did this panel, the Maryhill Barracks was used by various regiments until eventually becoming associated with the Highland Light Infantry or H.L.I. The building where the two sodjers are shown could well be the still extant gatehouse, looking out onto the tenements on Maryhill Road (interestingly, red pan-tiled rather than grey slated at that date), or possibly inwards to the barracks themselves. Soldiers then, like policemen, all wore moustaches. This military connection ended in the early 1960s when the barracks were closed and the Wyndford housing estate built on

its grounds. The wall of the barracks still stands and carries a memorial to its former history on the corner of Garrioch Road and Maryhill Road.

Representations of workers by Adam also exist in the Trinity Hall, Aberdeen depicting "The Trades". However, these –stunning as they are- were executed in a different style from the Maryhill panels, and one possibly more acceptable to Victorian taste. The Trinity Hall Butcher for example is dressed in Biblical garments, and The Weaver in medieval ones. What is clear is that the Burgh Hall panels are unique and that they did not set a precedent; in bourgeois High Victorian Art industrial production is virtually invisible. Stratten's Glasgow and its Environs (1891), a business guide to the city, mentions much of Adams' work in the entry on his firm, but interestingly not the Maryhill commission, despite it being probably his largest single work. It is interesting, however, that there is no evidence that Adam was driven by socialist sympathies in his Maryhill work; the attempt to wed the arts and crafts to socialist ideas had to wait until William Morris' influence in the 1880s.

Adam appears to have been a clubbable man, giving slide lectures in the Art Gallery to the Ecclesiological Society, and being a member of both the Glasgow Philosophical Society and the Society of Literature and Arts. His photograph in the 1896 short pamphlet Truth in Decorative Art, shows him as a well dressed, if slightly bohemian, character. He would appear however to have been a not unusual Victorian paterfamilias, in that in 1904 he fell out with his son Stephen, whom he disinherited. Stephen Jr. left the

firm to set up his own studio. He in turn was an associate of Charles Rennie Macintosh, and worked on various Glasgow tearooms including Pettigrew and Stephens' in Sauchiehall Street. He also did the stained glass windows for the Imperial Bar in Howard Street which are still in situ. When his studio was unsuccessful, Stephen Adam Jr. emigrated to the USA where he worked on film sets in Hollywood, and he died there in 1960.

There have been various schemes envisaged for the regeneration of Maryhill - and of the canal itself (which has been reopened to navigation after being closed for 50 years) - which construction gave the burgh its birth. New housing has been built along the canal banks where formerly stood the workplaces Adam depicted and there are ideas about transforming the wonderful Maryhill Locks and Kelvin Dock, with its associated Kelvin Aqueduct (finished by Whitworth in 1790 and a scheduled Ancient Monument) into a focal point for leisure industries on the canal. Amongst these plans for regenerating Maryhill that for the Burgh Halls was central. The building (with associated police and fire stations, and swimming pool) had been left to decay after closure two decades ago. The restoration of the former swimming pool to its original function has been undertaken by the Glasgow City Council, and a Trust was established to raise funds for the the restoration of the Burgh Halls themselves for use for various forms of community and business purposes. After seven years of work, planning and fundraising, the Burgh Halls were re-opened in April 2012. Ten of Stephen Adam's stained glass panels are back in the halls on

public display and the other ten will be rotated with them on a semi-permament loan basis from the city council.

Fifty years ago, a local Maryhill working man and political activists moved mountains to get the stained glass panels taken into the care of the People's Palace. He was told by all and sundry "No one is interested", but his persistence paid off. Too ill to attend the official re-opening of the Halls in 2011, Stewart Watson was taken on a personal tour of the building just weeks before his death, and was able to see the panels back in place after 50 years. A true Working Class Hero.

NOTE An excellent free 24 page pamphlet, lavishly illustrated has been produced on the Historic Stained Glass Windows by Maryhill Burgh Halls Trust, which has also produced a very fine 16 page, also free, Maryhill Walking Trail brochure which gives various options of walks round the sites of the former industries and other points of interest in Maryhill. Details from www. maryhillburghhalls.org.uk

(This essay is a slightly amended version of Ian R Mitchell's chapter The Maryhill Panels: Stephen Adam's Stained Glass Workers, from his book
A Glasgow Mosaic, Explorations around the City's Urban Icons, (2013).

APPENDIX II

ALWAS HAPPY IN HIS DESIGNS:

THE LEGACY OF STEPHEN ADAM

by

Iain B. Galbraith

Iain B. Galbraith

Always happy in his designs: the legacy of Stephen Adam

Stephen Adam was a major figure in the field of 19th-century Scottish stained glass. The many windows from his studio in buildings throughout Scotland and beyond form part of his lasting legacy in this art form. Adam made a profound impression upon younger artists, some of whom received their training in his studio and, in Late Romantic fashion, his work is a bridge spanning the closing decades of the nineteenth century and the opening years of the twentieth century. Stephen Adam is a stained glass artist well worth study beyond the scope of this profile.

Born in 1848 and a native of Edinburgh, Adam was educated there at the Cannonmills school where the Scottish writer, Robert Louis Stevenson was his contemporary.[1] From an early age Adam showed evidence of great talent in drawing and painting and thus came to the attention of Edinburgh's leading stained glass artist, James Ballantine, a noted talent spotter. Adam became an apprentice in Ballantine's studio, where his early training laid the basis of his future progress as a stained glass artist.[2] When his apprenticeship was concluded in 1867 he moved with his parents to Glasgow where he was a student of the Haldane Academy (later to become Glasgow School of Art). His abilities in design won him a medal and an apprenticeship with the successful Scottish stained glass artist Daniel Cottier, who would have a considerable impact on Adam, helping him to form his distinctive style, as he later acknowledged.

These were the powerful influences working upon the young Adam: the experienced Ballantine, a 'Renaissance man' who once had been slab boy to the great Scottish artist David Roberts; and Daniel Cottier, design pioneer and innovator, who introduced the Aesthetic Movement to America. Adam elucidated further in his lecture 'Truth in Decorative Art: Ecclesiastical Glass Staining', delivered in Glasgow in 1895: 'In design I have been greatly influenced by the works of Rossetti, Burne-Jones, William Morris and Puvis de Chavannes; and if I may speak confidently of my work as a colourist, I found my master in the late Daniel Cottier, the eminent glass painter'.[3]

Stephen Adam established his own studio at 121 Bath Street, Glasgow in 1870 and for the next four decades produced a prolific series of windows, fulfilling a full range of ecclesiastical, civic and domestic commissions and encompassing a wide variety of themes, as his catalogue for 1902 illustrates.[4] He employed a series of gifted freelance

FIG.1: *Railwaymen* Panel (1878), formerly in Maryhill Burgh Hall

artists. to. design. for. the. studio,. including. Robert. Burns,. David. Gauld. and. Alex. Walker,. and. was. later. joined. by. his. son,. Stephen. Adam. Junior,. and. the. brilliant. young. artist,. Alfred. Webster,. an. ill-fated. triangle. as. events. would. show..

     Adam's. own. style. became. more. personal. and. distinctive,. moving. through. progressive,. chronological. stages. to. reach. its. apogee. in. a. series. of. great. windows. in. the. closing. years. of. the. nineteenth. century. and. opening. years. of. the. next.. Truly. he. had. mastered. his. art.. He. believed ....

that. good. drawing. did. not. consist. of. 'elaborate. rendering. or. drapery,. but. rather. a. certain. external. form. and. balancing. of. parts. as. evidenced. in. the. Flaxman. cartoons. and. in. the. classic. frescoes'.[5]. The. slavish. copying. of. early. works. he. denounced. as. anachronistic. and. distasteful:.

> For. the. Gothic. Church. the. modern. gothic. glass. stainer. wants. medieval. windows. and. figures.... observe. those. twisted. necks,. painfully. pathetic. faces,. the. dainty. curl,. each. hair. alike,. those. angular. limbs ...... And. those. deformities. are. manufactured. and. catalogued. principally. in. London,. and. the. country. is. overrun. with. stock. saints. and. evangelists. of. all. sizes,. at. per. foot. prices,. say. a. trifle. extra. if. Peter. has. two. keys;. Acts. of. Mercy. in. which. the. quality. is. strained,. and. so. on.. True,. they. revive. transparency. and. discard. enamel. --. and. with. it. all. originality.[6]

This savage commentary makes clear that Adam heartily disliked this imitative style with its stipple shading - shading which he found at odds with the medium - and he also had an antipathy for hard or flashed blue which could not look successful placed beside other colours. He was an advocate of the linear approach and as his style matured, so did the spatial forms of his windows expand as a result of his increasingly confident approach to more ambitious forms of iconography. In his final phase he entered into his greatest creative period, employing a wide range of new glasses and a style that was more economical (in terms of ornamentation), and also more dramatic in its colour range, using a dark spectrum of blacks, greys, deep blues and dark browns to add depth and dimension.[7] During this period a Japanese sensibility is evident in his work, although his figure drawing generally reflected a classical, and at times, late Pre-Raphaelite influence.

    In his book *Adventures in Light and Color*[8] the American glassman and critic Charles Connick proclaimed Adam as the pioneer of modern stained glass in Scotland and it is Martin Harrison in his book *Victorian Stained Glass* who sets this precisely in context, showing the line of succession passing from Cottier to Adam, from master to pupil, as it would later pass from Adam to Alfred Webster in 1910:

> Cottier had opened branches in New York and Sydney in 1873 and no doubt Connick regarded Cottier as American rather than Scottish, but the significant point here is that Adam became Cottier's stylistic successor in Scotland and was able to satisfy a demand which Cottier had helped to create but whose absence made it difficult to fulfil. Between 1870-1885 the firm of Adam & Small made the finest stained glass of that period in Scotland, dominated always by Adam's figure drawing which owed a little to the Pre-Raphaelites but more to the Neo- Classical. It is no surprise to find Adam, in 1877, advocating as models Burne-Jones, Leighton, Poynter and Albert Moore... who, in different styles show drawing suitable for treatment in glass.[9]

FIG. 2:
Fruits and foliage panels from gallery window (1877), former Belhaven Church, Glasgow.

It is now appropriate to consider some examples of the prolific output of Stephen Adam's studio, examining the windows within their architectural context, but not in any chronological order.

Ecclesiastical work

In 1878 Adam embarked upon an important commission -- a defining one in the evolution of stained glass in Scotland. For the new Burgh Hall in Maryhill built by Glasgow architect Duncan MacNaughton in the French Renaissance style, Adam designed a complete scheme of windows illustrating the wide range of industries present in that northern area of Glasgow as a result of 19th-century industrial expansion. The series of twenty panels (now removed from their original settings and currently in storage)[10] form an indigenous set whose subject matter marks a distinct departure from cosmetic, sanitised and idealised Scottish scenery sketched and painted from a distance. Michael Donnelly has succinctly emphasised this critical departure:

> In his outstanding series of panels Adam chose to depict the tradesmen not artificially in their best as did so many contemporary photographs, but at labour in their working clothes. The accuracy of detail leaves little doubt that the preliminary sketches for these panels were done in the field years before anyone had heard of the Glasgow Boys, and in the kind of industrial settings that they avoided like the plague.[11]

In Scotland, the Maryhill windows thus illustrated the new relationship developing between industry and art -- a world away from the pastoral, bucolic scenes with their fashionable classical overtones and inscriptions like *Gather Ye Rosebuds While Ye May* favoured by wealthy patrons for their town houses and country seats, which ignored completely the dirt and grime of a great industrial city. Adam's Maryhill windows are also colour studies, executed in a controlled light palette of greens, browns, golds and greys with flashes of deeper colour. This is clearly illustrated in the *Railwaymen* panel (**FIG. 1**), where a porter converses with an engine driver (an early illustration of the emergent railway industry whose vast locomotive works were situated in the adjacent St Rollox area), the orange coloured steam floating above the horizontal green bandings of the engine. Also strikingly modern is the device Adam has used -- by depicting the porter from behind we identify with his stance and outlook, placing ourselves in the midst of this scene of industry. In the *Boat Builder* panel, the dark green jacket and red stock of the builder contrasts effectively with the various shades of wood, some of it elaborately decorated, containing a swan motif. The boat is perhaps a canal barge, being built for trade on the neighbouring Forth & Clyde canal.

Some twenty years later Adam executed a similar series of panels, to adorn the upper fenestration in the sumptuous Boardroom of Glasgow's Clydeport Authority in the heart of the city.[12] Shipbuilding and shipping were the

themes for these nautical windows, illustrating a series of working portraits of carpenters, shipwrights, stevedores and welders, all depicted realistically in their various industrial contexts. Here Adam employs a different, sharper palette and there is realism in the heat and flame of the welders' panels, the crimson flames contrasting with the grey and mauve of the metal.

Within the lofty Normandy Gothic of James Sellars's Belhaven Church in Glasgow's prosperous west end (now St Luke's Greek Orthodox Cathedral),[13] there is a series of windows by Adam of 1877, a special feature of which is his use of fruit and foliage motifs. These are beautifully drawn and show the influence of Japanese art, delicate and incisive in muted shades of blue, silver, green and gold, and of William Morris in the willow-patterned background (FIG. 2). These decorative panels function as foils for the subtly-coloured figure panels, based upon illustrations from the parables and which constitute independent colour studies on their own.

For John Baird's large and austere Perpendicular Gothic church at Bonhill,[14] Adam designed two large single-light Heritors' Windows, installed in 1880. The Heritors in the Church of Scotland belonged to the landed classes whose responsibility it was to build and maintain the kirks. Thus in the latter half of the nineteenth century numerous Heritors' Windows were installed. Primarily armigerous windows with no direct religious meaning, their purpose was to exhibit and proclaim status within a parish and community. Adam designed many such windows and his Smollett window in Bonhill is a fine example of the genre. The Smolletts were an old merchant family (from whom came the novelist Tobias Smollett), who had obtained lands and armigerous rights in previous centuries. Their heraldic description reads: Azure a bend or, between a lion rampant holding in his paw a silver banner, and a silver bugle horn, and an Oak Tree Crest (Motto *Viresco* - I flourish).[15] Adam translated this graphically into the medium of stained glass making use of grisaille quarry backgrounds with borders of strong Gothic Revival colours and a prominent central dark blue shield containing the Smollett arms. Adam used high quality glass for this window (FIG. 3), which in 1880 cost £103-10-6.[16]

Lecropt Kirk is a handsome essay in perpendicular Gothic Revival built in 1827 and occupying an elevated position above the flat carse lands of Stirlingshire[17] (BSMGP members visited this church during their 2005 Edinburgh Conference). Lecropt's simple Gothic windows provide excellent settings for stained glass, but the earliest example was installed by Stephen Adam in 1907, towards the close of his last and greatest creative period. The window on the south wall of the chancel has two themes - the Baptism of Christ and the Risen Christ - executed in the strong palette of varied tones and colours of this late phase. Christ at his Baptism

is a pale, emphatically drawn figure in white clothing which is streaked with light green and with veins of lemon and red. The upper lights are studies in crimson, blue and gold, used for the tall angel figure and the cherubim, whose faces contain an enigmatic, even slightly sinister quality, found elsewhere in Adam's windows and difficult to interpret (**FIG.** 4). The mysterious *gestalt* philosophy of art - the world of Wertheimer, Koffka and Kohler - states that nothing can be added to a work of art, total and complete in itself, where all is waiting to be discovered. A concept perhaps applicable to this strange factor in Adam's drawing? Above the north door of Lecropt Kirk is the Henderson Memorial window, the result of a dark tragedy where all five children of the late 19th-century minister of Lecropt died during their childhood. Deep rich colours are set against a dark background, as five children cluster round their parents. Once again, that strange enigmatic element found m Adam's latter work is present - evident in the unsettling cherubim and a little golden child with clasped hands at prayer enfolded in his father's arms, who gazes intently at those who view this window.

Kilmore Church at Dervaig on the Isle of Mull, is one of architect Peter MacGregor Chalmers's Celtic round tower churches - a powerful miniature composition high above the estuary of the Bellart,[18] with an arresting Arts & Crafts interior and complete scheme of Stephen Adam windows, also from his final phase. That odd, elusive, sometimes disturbing element is present here in the figures of a female saint with cross and bible, richly attired but with a hostile countenance, and equally in an elongated, luminous Christ with long, tapering fingers who appears out of the storm to his frightened disciples.

In another window (**FIG.** 5) Mary Magdalene appears to be pregnant and holds the hand of a sad Christ, the downcast couple close in physical intimacy (recalling whispers of an ancient heresy that the bloodline of Christ may have continued through this liaison). The bold choice of colour and sheer quality of the glass used for her robes make an even stronger impression framed in Adam's unusually simplified and modern interpretation of architectural canopywork.

FIG. 5:
Christ with Mary Magdalene (1908), west nave, Kilmore Church, Isle of Mull.

In another in the series, Christ the Good Shepherd is a more traditional figure, set under vine canopies, suggesting an awareness of the Christopher Whall's hallmark use of natural forms for canopies. The windows were all installed within a five- year span (1905-1910) as memorials to landed gentry whose estates lay within this extensive parish - Mornish, Torloisk, Glengorm, Ardow - and the hand of Adam's brilliant assistant, Alfred Webster is evident in some aspects of the iconography of this remote island scheme.

In North Berwick Parish Church, Adam provided striking illustrations for some of the Works of Mercy 'I was sick and ye visited me -- naked and ye clothed me,'[19] showing the pallid invalid lying weakly upon her bed,

the vivid tones of the naked flesh contrasting with areas of dark glass. And in Craigrownie Church near Cove on Loch Long, there are two of Adam's loveliest windows - *Charity* and *Music* - clearly demonstrating the late Pre-Raphaelite influence sometimes present in his work, in the features and form of the curving, flowing, red robed figure of Charity (**FIG. 6**) and the colourful mosaic background to Music.

The apogee of Stephen Adam's windows is found, in part, within two great Gothic churches, both built in 1892 at Largs on the Clyde Coast. In the south transept gallery of St Columba Church,[20] is a splendid four-light Te *Deum* window whose theme is that of both Heaven and Earth glorifying God. The lower panels contain a very beautiful Nativity and a workman praising God at the dawn of a new day (**FIG.** 7). The Nativity is an unusual and strangely wistful scene, neither shepherds nor Magi are present. Instead, Adam proffers an intimate tableau of six figures, the white infant Christ and Mary the Mother (in brown brocade, not Madonna blue) emphasised by the chiaroscuro background, the flashes of red, blue, gold, light green separately placed within this scene. The workman at the dawn of day has as its basis the text 'Man goeth forth to his work and to his labour until evening'.[21] The dawn is represented by long, horizontal bars of varied vivid colours combining with luxuriant blooms to create an oriental atmosphere, revealing again the influence of Japonisme upon Adam's work. The areas of dark glass used by him in this late period are present in the outline of a tree. Dark glass is also used to dramatic effect in the transept gallery window in the adjacent Clark Memorial Church,[22] where an angel with ruby wings appears to the centurion Cornelius.

In this same church the Great West window is perhaps the most extravagant and overwhelming composition that Adam ever created -- a vast fantasia in glass whose central theme is that of Christ the Teacher, surrounded by young children and animals. Christ is placed in the centre of this huge five-light window, around him a scattering of texts related to children and childhood scenes and a kaleidoscope of colours forming a vast composite in which Alfred Webster's involvement is almost certain (as it also was in the St Columba *Te Deum* window, this duly attested in the guide to this Church).

This eclectic selection of Adam's ecclesiastical glass concludes with two of his dramatic compositions. His *Corona Vectrix* window in Kilwinning Abbey Church in North Ayrshire was installed in 1903 in memory of the Reverend William Lee Ker. Paul is shown preaching in a stirring fashion, his words of advice to Timothy appearing on a tablet behind him[23] (engraved with the stylish lettering of the period), and soldiers and citizens are grouped around him, the areas of dark glass adding to the dramatic effect of this composition (**FIG. 8**). In Rowand Anderson's slender and elegant Gothic episcopal church in the county town of Dumbarton,[24] is a Baptismal window installed beside the font at the entrance to the church, from this same period, but very different in composition. This is a futuristic window

FIG.6:
Charity (1898), east nave, Craigrownie Church, Argyll.

ahead of its time (like the *Teacher's Window* in Largs Clark Memorial Church), in a strong, bold palette of reds and golds. This window is a significant departure from earlier 19th-century figure drawing, foreshadowing the coming changes in stained glass in the new century now dawning. A magnificently drawn and monumental angel fills the opening, his beating wings forming the entire background (**fig.** 9), a late-Pre-Raphaelite influence one again palpable. He holds in his arms a small infant: in complete trust, the two figures are locked in each other's gaze with a total absence of fear.

Secular work

The Stephen Adam studio was also responsible for the production of much secular glass. From around 1870, accompanying the rise of the wealthy middle classes was a boom in suburban expansion around the great manufacturing cities. The inclusion of stained glass decoration was almost *de rigueur* within the new villas, terraces and mansions forming these affluent suburbs. Often, demand was met with a range of panels ordered from the illustrated catalogues of various stained glass studios and trade firms. Although mass-produced, this glass was often of a high standard, patterns being stencilled to save time with examples of animals and human figures carefully painted by hand into the centre of the stencilled patterns. Heraldic and allegorical scenes were popular subjects making their appearance particularly in the mansions of the aristocracy and landed classes. The 'Four Seasons' also made a frequent appearance.[25]

Adam's secular glass was thus widespread across Scotland. His Catalogue of 1895[26] illustrates examples in the Town Halls of Annan and Inverness, the Carnegie Libraries in Ayr and Dumfries, Glasgow's Sick Children's Hospital and New Mental Hospital, in the various mansions of industrialists and shipping magnates and in quality restaurants and commercial premises.

This was an extensive and profitable branch of production. Some of the grand houses in Glasgow's west end Devonshire Gardens contain glass by Stephen Adam. Here he maintains his Neoclassical style of figure drawing in a series of allegorical figures representing the arts and sciences. Once again, backgrounds of dark glass are used to great effect to highlight foreground figures. A striking example is his *Allegory of Art* window, where a pensive, golden-haired child is set almost photographically against a black background, itself contrasting with rich blue glass and red flowers (**fig.** 10).

Adam's 1902 Catalogue notes the decorative scheme of glass executed for the huge refurbished mansion of the shipping magnate Sir Charles Cayzer, at Gartmore in Stirlingshire. The design of the elegant Art Nouveau panels above the principal entrance of Gartmore House are intricate and involved, incorporating the baronet's coat of arms with its finely drawn three-masted galleon and the motto *Caute Sed Impavide* (Cautiously but Fearlessly). Clear glass of high quality has been leaded together with light grey tints and inset pebbles of blue glass to create a decorative art work, which a hundred years later still has a fresh, contemporary appearance.

For Broughton House, once the Kircudbright home of Adam's friend, the Scottish artist E. A. Hornel, the studio contributed a cameo panel of the head of a Cavalier, splendidly drawn with long chestnut curls and impressive moustaches complementing a handsome face and alert eyes.

Context and legacy

Scottish painting was flourishing in the late 1890s. E. A. Hornel, with his Celtic mysticism and Japonisme, was but one artist among a talented array working in various genres at this time. William McTaggart and his series of Emigrant Ship

FIG. **7: Detail of** *Te Daum* **window (1893), south transept gallery, St Columba Parish Church, Largs.**

FIG. 8: *Corona Vectrix* window (1903), north gallery, Kilwinning Abbey Church.

paintings -- a ghostly ship sailing away from the western seaboard, spectral figures of old folk abandoned on the shore along with a keening collie dog -- are his own emotionally charged youthful memories of the Highland Clearances. Charles Rennie Mackintosh's iconic *Harvest Moon* is a reminder that the famous architect was also a very fine painter. Images of unsentimental rural life from W. Y. Macgegor, James Guthrie and E. A. Walton show the departure of the Glasgow Boys from the 'Land of the Mountain and Flood' imagery of earlier artists like Horatio McCulloch and his vast, pictorial Highland landscapes. The Glasgow Boys had a wider vision as the result of diverse studies in Glasgow, London, Antwerp, the Hague and Paris. The late-i9th-century Celtic Revival in Scottish decorative arts and painting gave birth to a series of unusual paintings by John Duncan, such as *Tristan and Isolde* and *Angus Og*, illustrating his belief that there was once a unifying Celtic culture to which all Scots were related.

New times, new themes, new styles, new artists - all this was part of Stephen Adam's creative world - impacting in its own way upon Scottish stained glass, as the Edinburgh windows of John Duncan clearly show. Adam would have been well aware of these trends and influences as he practised and refined his art form, and some of them entered into his own work in stained glass.

Stephen Adam's legacy to Scottish stained glass was a generous one in various ways. Of course, his prodigious output - in civic, domestic and ecclesiastical glass - is an ample legacy in itself, as the windows reviewed here may illustrate. However, his is not solely a contribution of beauty and decoration. There are deeper significances which make Adam a pioneering figure in his chosen field.

In his preliminary study of Glasgow stained glass Michael Donnelly unfolds the three main periods of Adam's work: the early period about which little seems to be known; the middle period of progression and colour experimentation,

and the last and greatest period of his looser, freer style, incorporating elements of strangeness and fantasy.[27] Throughout this chronology there are distinct advances made by Adam which distinguish his stained glass.

There is, for example, a distinct iconography that leads away from the earnest, stilted tableaux of earlier windows, Adam interprets traditional themes in a more fluid and imaginative way- the richly coloured, bending Magi at Alloway and Pollokshields Churches, the pallid death-like invalid in Glasgow Royal Infirmary's ante-chapel,[2] the beautiful miniature *Agnus Dei* trefoil in Craigrownie Church, the Angel and Infant in Dumbarton St Augustine's, his large triptych of *Work, Zeal and Love* at Pollokshields Congregational Church – are all examples of this difference. And in Scotland, Adam's iconographic schemes also entered new territory with their social and industrial themes. The Maryhill and Clydeport Authority panels are excellent examples of the latter and his large scale windows in Glasgow's Trinity Congregational Church (now the Henry Wood Hall) are examples of the former, with their galaxies of [9th-century social reformers and liberal thinkers, a singularly straightforward secular presentation compared to the usual standard pieties, and one that aroused criticism at that time.[29]

We must also consider the different ranges of high quality, antique glass which Adam employed in tandem with a stronger, more advanced palette which brought to his work a distinct painterly quality, particularly when dark, almost black glass is used, to give dramatic effect. And in Adam's last phase, inset miniature work in the form of small cameos makes an appearance, incorporating different scales within a single window. The hand of Alfred Webster can be seen in this miniature work[30] and, after Adam's death, would be developed more fully in his own studio windows to become an integral feature of Webster's style.

Furthermore, it is the enigmatic element present in these later windows which sets them apart- that disturbing and slightly sinister quality mentioned above. The appearance of the blind cherubim, the watching child, the strange studies in physiognomy in various windows – all these aspects combine to form a new and different element in the changing iconography of the late nineteenth century. This is indeed the world of Late Romanticism- Walter Pater has described Romanticism as the addition of strangeness to beauty.·" With the late windows of Stephen Adam, this mysterious fusion was achieved in stained glass.

Nor is Adam's legacy confined to the windows he created and installed throughout Scotland: through his encouragement and example he enabled and nurtured another generation of fine stained glass artists in his studio, thus enriching Scottish stained glass well into the twentieth century. Two young artists of this period stand out prominently because of the talents and gifts they possessed and what they learned from Stephen Adam.

The first of these is the artist's own son, also Stephen Adam, who followed in his father's footsteps to join his studio fresh from Glasgow School of Art. Tragically, a bitter quarrel would later drive them forever apart and the son who had been made a partner in the business would emigrate to America, thus depriving Scotland of a fine talent. There are not many extant examples of Stephen Adam's Junior's windows, but what does survive shows him to be an artist of exceptional talent whose work contains some strong influences from his father's studio, although in a different colour palette and sometimes with even stronger dramatic emphasis. Donnelly describes Adam .Jr's colours as lighter and cooler;" but there is also a balanced use of a darker spectrum showing Adam Sr's influence. This is evident in the windows executed for Trinity Congregational Church in Glasgow in 1907 (now installed in St James the Less Episcopal Church in Bishopbriggs) which includes a powerfully dramatic study of Christ in Gethsemane (FIG. 11). The

horror on the face of Christ as he contemplates his approaching tortures is graphically shown in this nocturne. Also worth pointing out is the use of bold horizontals in the background which emphasise the drama.

The quarrel which drove apart Adam and his son may have been caused by the presence in the studio of the second young artist of great promise, Alfred Webster, of whom much more could be written than is possible here. Webster already possessed the attributes of a great stained glass artist when he joined the studio in 1905, also fresh from his studies at Glasgow School of Art. He learned much from Adam Sr and soon a formidable array of talents and skills developed, moving quickly towards a full, mature style. In particular from Adam he inherited a powerful style of figure drawing which he then developed in an individualistic and personal way. Clarity of line is another hallmark of his style. He was a skilled portrait painter, usually drawn from life models, as his figures demonstrate in their various contexts. His palette moved away from the dominant colours of Adam Sr to incorporate a different range such as rich purple, leaf green, orange, light russet, pale blue, turquoise and ruby. Webster also learned and developed superb new techniques such as acid etching and abrading, which enhanced and enriched the surface of the glass. He was among the first to use thick, undulating white Norman slab glass, which provided the ideal basis for his powerful windows. In addition, Webster possessed that gift so necessary, but often elusive to the creative arts -- that of a highly fertile imagination -- which added sensitive and sometimes unusual dimensions to his windows. Importantly, Webster effectively used allegory in his windows (the great south transept window of Glasgow's Lansdowne Church provides the best example),[33] and this was an innovative feature which Douglas Strachan would later bring to full flowering in his own great series of windows in the Shrine in Edinburgh Castle's Scottish War Memorial designed by Robert Lorimer.[34]

Webster owed much to Stephen Adam whose training he had received and absorbed. This debt is movingly expressed in one of Webster's finest windows - a hidden miniature in a narrow corridor in New Kilpatrick Church in Bearsden. Titled *The First Fruits,* the window is inscribed to the memory of a teacher and friend, Stephen Adam (FIG. 12). The model for the boy angel was Alfred Webster's young son, Gordon, who in due course would inherit his father's studio to become a leading Scottish stained glass artist in his own day, Adam's legacy passing in this way from one generation to the next. Alfred Webster's developing genius was abruptly cut short by the First World War when he was fatally wounded at Le Touquet on the French battlefields on 24 August 1915,[35] whilst serving as a combatant officer with the Gordon Highlanders.

Finally, Stephen Adam's legacy was one of goodwill to colleagues and a firm belief in indigenous talent. He held no circumscribed view of his own work and was generous in his praise of other talented artists in his book *Truth in Decorative Art:*

FIG.9:
Angel and Child,
Baptismal window (1906), north nave, St Augustine's Episcopal Church, Dumbarton.

'The west gable of Paisley Abbey -- there you have a window by the late Daniel Cottier, the pioneer of a better condition of things in Scotland as regards stained glass. Cottier's glass has all the depth and richness of colour so predominant in a feature of the Cinque Cento glass in Saint Gudeles, Brussels…[36] The glass of William Morris and his Pre-Raphaelite colleagues also inspired his warm approval: 'windows by Morris & Co, designed by Burne-Jones, worthy of study… characteristic... is the sweetly drawn and thoughtfully coloured foliated details. The figures are inserted as in medieval glass, as points or panellings of richer colour and there is a composure and rest in those placid, gentle figures... .' And he describes glass by Rossetti, Burne-Jones and William Morris in the Old West Parish Church of Greenock as 'gems in stained glass... . Finer examples of modern work there is not in the United Kingdom... .[37]

Adam also goes on to decry the 'aggressive Munich type window',[38] a reference relating to the controversial scheme of windows installed by the Koenigliche Glasmalereinstalt in Glasgow's Cathedral Church of St Mungo in the 1860s, the echoes of which were still reverberating strongly decades later.

Stephen Adam was hopeful for the future of his art, speaking of a Renaissance springing up 'like a healthy sea breeze, which will, if maintained and encouraged, resuscitate in modern form the splendour and glory of the earlier work by strenuously avoiding the causes of decay occurring in the 17th century.'[39] In particular Adam applied this Renaissance concept to Glasgow's stained glass, soon to reach its zenith in the work of a galaxy of highly gifted Scottish artists. Glasgow was the city of his home, his studio and the centre of his life's work and he viewed it as both a paradigm and opportunity for investment in indigenous talent in stained glass:

> Like religion, art has a noble mission, and let us hope a fruitful and bright future, and evidence is not wanting that in our very midst there has sprung up an almost phenomenal renaissance of the Arts & Crafts. There is already a renowned Glasgow School of painting, and most decidedly there is a distinct Glasgow School of decorative art rapidly forming that shall yet stand second to none; and a special mission of this promising school will be to revive and produce Scottish and distinctly National Art Work. Stop the flow going from us, reverse the stream by showing our wealthy classes and connoisseurs, who now spend their money elsewhere, that at their hand is every decorative requirement for embellishing their homes and churches.[40]

This was not a narrow, aggressive form of nationalism, introverted and malevolent. On the contrary, Adam was generous in his praise of English stained glass artists and their designs. Instead it was a cry from the heart pleading for recognition of native talent -- and it has a curiously contemporary sound. It reflects a sad Scottish syndrome, a belief that only beyond

FIG. 10: *Allegory of Art* (1877), Devonshire Gardens, Glasgow.

The borders of Scotland are to be found the pearls of great price. This is not cultural xenophobia, but rather a melancholy reality. Adam saw it clearly in his own time, in the long aftermath of the Munich imbroglio.[41]

In this sense Stephen Adam was indeed a truly Scottish artist. Not because he adorned his windows with national symbols, or counted among his commissions prolific examples of the Scottish historical genre, or developed what could be perceived as a distinctive Scottish style. These elements would be apparent in the next 20th-century generation of Scottish stained glass artists: Douglas Strachan, William Wilson, Mary Wood and Sadie McLellan to mention a few major names (see articles elsewhere in this issue). Adam was intrinsically Scottish in a different sense - by birth, education, training, home and place of work - of which he was not ashamed.

Thus, the windows he produced were deeply Scottish within this broader context. He died in August t9io and his obituary in the Glasgow Herald expresses clearly the qualities of his life and work:

> We regret to announce the death last night of Mr Stephen Adam, at his residence, Bath Street, Glasgow. Mr Adam, who was 62 years of age, had been in failing health for some time. For many years he occupied a prominent position as a decorator and an artist in stained glass.
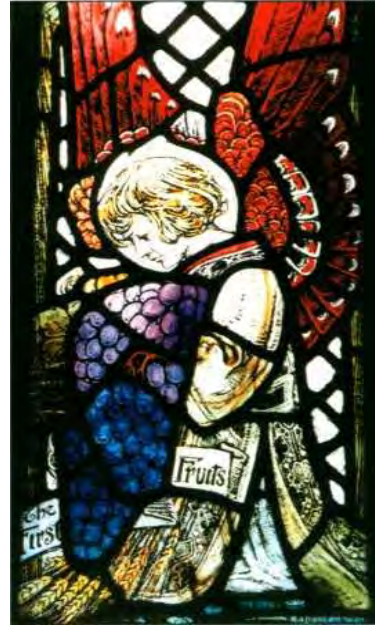
> He enjoyed a high reputation in his profession, Quickly gaining recognition, he found many outlets for his talents. Examples of his work adorn many edifices, not only in this country, but abroad. One of his most important commissions was a series of windows for the Royal Prince Albert Hospital, New South Wales. His local commissions are too numerous to detail, but mention may be made of the remarkable windows he designed for Trinity Church in Glasgow. These mark an entire departure from the conventional. They perpetuate the memories of such humanitarians as Thomas Carlyle, F. D. Maurice, and George Macdonald. The windows have attracted much attention and called forth some criticism, but there

is no question about the skill of their execution... . Personally Mr Adam was a most lovable man. He was courteous in bearing and possessed a fine fund of humour. For James Ballantine, his instructor he retained always a warm affection. Many celebrated workers in stained glass were, in turn, trained by Mr Adam. One of the ablest of his pupils, Alfred Webster, for the past seven years has collaborated in his work, and by him the business will be carried on... .

Stephen Adam was steeped in the knowledge of the art of stained glass. He based his work on the best masters and he practised the art in its purest form. He had a fine colour sense, and although he handled the same theme many times his versatility was such that he imparted distinction to each work.

Stephen Adam was always happy in his designs.[42]

FIG. 12:
Gordon Webster, *The First Fruits* (1912), north nave corridor. New Kilpatrick Parish Church, Bearsden.

POSTSCRIPT BY MARTIN HARRISON

Iain Galbraith's most informative article succinctly describes Stephen Adam's artistic training in Edinburgh and Glasgow; we learn that Adam even received a medal in recognition of his abilities. From this it would be reasonable to assume that Adam was a capable artist, and that, given the (judiciously selected) quotations from the texts in his catalogues of 1895 and 1902, he was responsible for designing his studio's stained glass. Yet Mr Galbraith mentions three freelancers - Robert Burns, David Gauld and Alex Walker - who supplied cartoons to Adam in the 1890s. Their employment raises certain questions: had Adam become overloaded with commissions by this time? or did he operate as the studio head perhaps as a kind of 'artistic director'? and might he, therefore, have engaged 'outside' designers earlier than this?

The ramifications of the devolved design systems operating in 19th-century glass-painting workshops are, at present, incompletely understood. The evidence emerging, however, points to a highly complex situation, one which renders the attribution of figures designs, in particular, extremely problematical. By a fortuitous coincidence, Lindsay Watkins's guide to the stained glass of St Michael and All Angels, Helensburgh, arrived in time to be reviewed in this issue (SEE p. 255). The East window of the church, and the vesica above, were made by Adam & Small in 1881 (the main window is signed). Yet based on the illustrations in Mrs Watkins's book, the figural scenes in

both windows can be confidently assigned, on grounds of style, to Harry John Burrow (1846-1882). As a designer, Burrow is usually associated with James Powell & Sons, but he was also a sought-after freelancer, for his hand is also identifiable in windows made by Fouracre & Watson, of Plymouth and Daniel Bell, of London. Furthermore, Burrow's authorship of the Helensburgh *Christ in Majesty* lends support to my theory that he occasionally supplied figure cartoons to Burlison & Grylls: the treatment of the angels at Helensburgh invites comparison with several figures in the East window of St James, Bushey, Middlesex.

Insofar as we have a critical framework for Scottish stained glass, it has been established mainly through the publications of Michael Donnelly. Valuable as these are, they tend to marginalise the English contribution to stained glass north of the border. While this aspect of stained glass studies requires extensive research, it may be conjectured that - as a matter of fact rather than nationalistic pride - the Glasgow pioneers, Daniel Cottier and Stephen Adam, placed considerable reliance on English figure draughtsmen, respectively Frederick Vincent Hart and Harry John Burrow.

NOTES

1. Obituary. *The Herald* (Glasgow), 24 August 1910.

2. *Ibid.*

3. Stephen Adam, *Truth in Decorative Art* (Glasgow: Carter *6c* Pratt, 1895), 33.

4. Stephen Adam, *Catalogue* 1902. Mitchell Library, Glasgow.

5. Stephen Adam, *Stained Glass - its History and Modern Development* (Glasgow; Carter & Pratt, 1877).

6. *Ibid.*

7. Michael Donnelly, *Glasgow Stained Glass - A Preliminary Study* (Glasgow: Glasgow Museums and Art Gallery, 1981).

8. C. J. Connick, *Adventures in Light and Color* (New York: Random House, 1937).

9. Martin Harrison, *Victorian Stained Glass* (London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1980), 58, 59.

10. These panels were originally removed by Michael Donnelly to the People's Palace Museum on Glasgow Green.

11. Michael Donnelly, *Scotland's Stained Glass: Making the Colours Sing* (Edinburgh; Stationery Office, 1997), 34.

12. Elizabeth Williamson, Anne Rickes and Malcolm Higgs, *The Buildings of Scotland: Glasgow* (London: Penguin, 1990)

13. *Ibid.*

14. John Gifford and Frank Arneil Walker, *The Buildings of Scotland: Stirling and Central Scotland* (London: Penguin, 2002).

15. Joseph Irving, *The Book of Dumbartonshire,* Voi. 2: *Parishes* (Edinburgh; W. & A. K. Johnstone, 1879), 175.

16. Heritors Minute Book, 1880, Bonhill Old Parish Church.

17. Iain B. Galbraith, *Lecropt Kirk and its Windows* (Privately printed, 1998).

18. Hilary M. Peel, *A History of Kilmore Church* (Oban; Brown & Whittaker, 2004).

19. St Matthew 25. 36.

20. St Columba's Parish Church, *A Brief Guide for the Use of Visitors* (Published by the Kirk Session, 1985)

21. Psalm 104, 23.

22. Clark Memorial Church, *Guide to the Church,* revised (Published by the Kirk Session 2001).

23. II Timothy i. 7.

24. Gifford and Walker, *Stirling and Central Scotland,* 397-398.

25. Stephen Adam, *Decorative Glass* (London; Academy Editions, 1980), 9-15.

26. *Stained Glass Catalogue,* Mitchell Library, 1895.

27. Donnelly, *Glasgow Stained Glass,* 13-15.

28. There is a similar cartoon in Pollokshields Parish Church, Glasgow.

29. Obituary, *Herald,* 24 August 1910.

30. Miniatures and cameos were a marked feature of Alfred Webster's iconography, these often contained allegorical significance.

31. Donald J. Grout, *The History of Western Music* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, t962),

32. Donnelly, *Scotland's Stained Glass,* 38-41.

33. This is, in part, a Scottish parable, where Christ rides on a donkey, not into Jerusalem, but into Glasgow, to be greeted there by its citizens.

34. Ian Hay, *There Name Liveth - The Book of the Scottish National War Memorial* (London, Bodley Head, 1931, revised 1985), 99-104.

35. Obituary, *Herald.*

36. Adam, *Truth in Decorative Art,* 12-14 *Ibid.*

37. *Ibid.*

38. *Ibid.*

39. *Ibid.*

40. *Ibid.*

41. See a full and detailed account of the Munich controversy in the compendium, *Glasgow's Great Glass Experiment,* ed. by Richard Fawcett (Edinburgh: Historic Scotland, 2003).

42. Obituary, *Herald.*

APPENDIX III

A PROVISIONAL CHRONOLOGY OF WORK BY STEPHEN ADAM

Stained Glass Windows by Stephen Adam
A Provisional Chronology

1874
- **Glasgow**, **St. Andrew's Square**. St. Andrew's Parish Church. Three-light chancel window. --→
- **Paisley**. Abbey. Two-light memorial window, "Sin and Redemption" (Date given by Donnelly, *Glasgow Stained Glass*. A.R. Howell, *Paisley Abbey: Its History, Architecture and Art* [Paisley: Alexander Gardiner, 1929], p. 118, gives the date of 1889; see below)
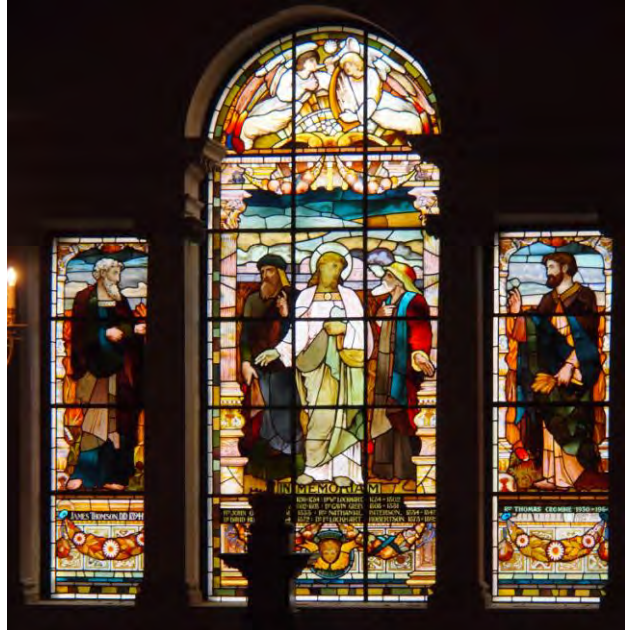
1877
- **Allowa**y, **Ayrshire**. Parish Church. Nave, S. wall. Three-light "Nativity." (Memorial to James aird) ----------------------------→

1877-78
- **Glasgow-Maryhill**. Burgh Halls Panels.

1870s (?)
- **Glasgow.** 1-2 Devonshire Gdns. Now Hotel du Vin. Decorative windows.

- **Glasgow- Dowanhill**. Belhaven U.P. Church (Now St. Luke's Greek Orthodox Cathedral). -----------------→

1878
- Glasgow-**Pollokshields**. Pollokshields Church of Scotland (built 1878). W. Wall, "Woman tending an Invalid" (also Glasgow Royal Infirmary Chapel), "Woman Tending a Child,""Prisoner Receiving a Blessing," "The Good Samaritan," "The Holy Family in the Stable," "Adoration of the Magi."

V

- **Kettins, Perthshire**. Parish Church. S. wall. Four windows, "Hope and Faith," "The Annunciation to the shepherds," "Baptism of the Lord," "Resurrection and Ascension" ("perhaps by Stephen Adam," "improved by him in 1908 'by putting in better glass and touching up the figures and borders.'" (John Gifford, *Buildings of Scotland: Perth and Kinross*, p. 447)

1879
- Glasgow. Royal Infirmary. Chapel.---------------->

- **Port of Menteith**, **Stirlingshire**. Parish Church. E. Window. Trefoil window depicting Faith, Hope, and Charity.

1879-1880
- **Tadcaster** , **Yorkshire**. St. Mary's, Kirkgate. N. aisle. "The Three Ages of Womanhood," memorial window by Adam & Small for Adelaide, wife of Archibald Ramsden.----------------→

1880
- **Bonhill**, **Dunbartonshire**. Parish Church. Smollett window in W. nave. (See Appendix II for illustration)
- **Perth**. North Church, Mill St (formerly North U.P. Church). Abstract patterned stained glass by Adam & Small.
- **Stirling**. Church of the Holy Rude. S. choir, E. bay, Scenes from The Life of Christ

1881
- **Dunlop**, **Ayrshire**. Parish Church. S. Wall window (?). "Abraham" and "Moses."
- **Helensburgh**, **Dunbartonshire**. St. Michael and All Angels (Episcopalian). On N. wall two lancet windows: "St. Michael destroying the dragon" and

"St. John with book in hand."--------→
E. window. Three-light, each containing three roundels, except for the centre light which has two roundels and an eight-lobed medallion in the middle. Left light

(top to bottom): "Abraham and the Three Angels," "Jacob's Dream," "Daniel in the Lions' Den"; centre light (top to bottom): "Descent of the Holy Spirit," "Ascension," "Resurrection"; right light (top to bottom): "Annunciation to Mary," "Annunciation to the Shepherds," "Release of Peter from Prison"; vesica light above: "Christ on a throne surrounded by nine angels."------------------→
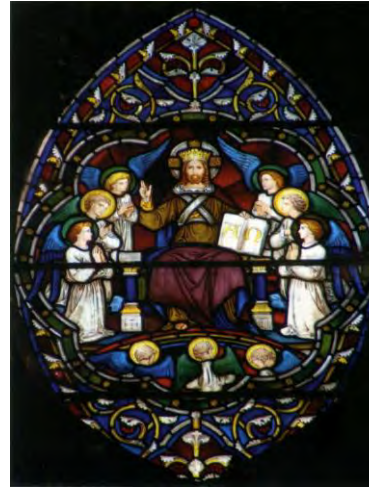
- Kirkcaldy, Fife. St. Bryce Kirk. Rose window. Bright ornamentation surrounding open Bible.

1882
- **Crieff, Perthshire**. Parish Church.---→

1886
- **Dumbarton**. Riverside Parish Church. S. wall, "Blessed are they that mourn" by Stephen Adam & Thomson (?)

1887
- **Glasgow**. City Chambers. "Wylie and Lochhead were responsible for much interior work, Stephen Adam for the glass." (http://portal.historic-scotland.gov.uk/designation/LB32691)

1889
- **Glasgow**-**Pollokshields**. St. Ninian's Episcopal Church. S. chancel aisle. "Baptism of Christ" and "The Good Samaritan" (**1890**), said to be by Adam.

- **Paisley**. Abbey. "Sin and Redemption" (See A.R. Howell, *Paisley Abbey: Its History, Architecture and Art* [Paisley: Alexander Gardiner, 1929], p. 118)

------------------------------------→

1890

- **Airth, Stirlingshire**. Parish Church.
5-light window. "Oh come let us walk in the light of the Lord."
- **Glasgow-Pollokshields**. Villa known as "The Knowe." "Cleopatra." (See illustration in main text).

- **Kilwinning**, **Ayrshire**. Abbey Parish Church. Circular E. window. "Suffer the Little Children..."

1892
- **Glasgow**, **St. Andrew's Square**. St. Andrew's Parish Church. Memorial window to Anderson family.
- **Largs**, **Ayrshire**. Clark Memorial Church, Bath St. Five-light W. window, "Christ in Majesty"; transept gallery, "The Centurion" and "The Good and Virtuous Woman."

1893
- **Ayr**. Carnegie Public Library. Nine-panel staircase window; lower central panel represents "Knowledge." (See illustrations in main text)
- **Inverness**. Old High Church. E. window of S. wall. "Our Lord with the Doctors in the Temple" and "St Paul on Mars Hill" (inscription reads "Stephen Adam & Co.").

- **Largs**, **Ayrshire**. Clark Memorial Church, Bath St. N. wall: "Jesus," "Mary and Martha," "Ruth with Boaz," "David and Saul." -----------------------------------→
- **Largs**, **Ayrshire**. St. Columba's Parish Church, Gallowgate. S. gallery "Life of Christ."

1894
- **Glasgow-Pollokshields**. 197 Nithsdale Rd. Villa known as "Sandhurst" Stained glass figure of "Ceres" and stair window depicting an Elizabethan Hawking scene in center, with heads of Shakespeare and Burns below. Attributed to Adam.

1895
 - **Dalrymple**, **Ayrshire**. Parish Church. Chancel. "Abide with us." In center panel, Christ, with a single disciple in the outer lights.
- **Glasgow**-**Partick**. Partick Old Parish Church. "Charity" window.
- **Kilmun**, **Argyllshire**. Parish Church (St. Munn). By the font. Small children's window. (Gift by Adam)
- **Longforgan**, **Perthshire**. Parish Church. Nave, N. wall, E. window. "Abraham and an Angel." (See Michael Donnelly, *Scotland's Stained Glass*, pp. 38-39 on "The Good Samaritan" window in this church, made by Robert Burns for Stephen Adam, according to Donnelly.)

1896
- **Bearsden**, **Dunbartonshire**. New Kilpatrick Parish Church. E. wall of nave. 3-light window. "The Risen Lord," flanked by the "Virtuous Woman" in two guises by Stephen Adam. (Other windows 1912 by Alf Webster and Stephen Adam Studio. In short passage between the church and the tower's porch, single-light window. "The First Fruits" by Alf Webster -- a memorial to Stephen Adam from his pupil, assistant, and friend.)
- **Clydebank**, **Dunbartonshire**. St Columba Episcopal Church (disused). S. window. "Iona."

- **Kinclaven**, **Perthshire**. Kinclaven Church. Central N. window. "Parable of the Good Samaritan" by Stephen Adam & Co. (But see under Longforgan: Donnelly, *Scotland's Stained Glass*, pp. 38-39 on "The Good Samaritan" made by Robert Burns for Stephen Adam)

1897
- **Auchinleck, Ayrshire**. Parish Church. 3-light window in chancel, destroyed in fire in 1938.
- **Dumbarton**. St. Augustine (Episcopal). W. aisle at S. end, beside the font. "Christ with children."
- **Glasgow-Cambuslang**. Trinity Parish Church (now Nurture Education and Multicultural Society) . W. gallery window.

1898
- **Cove**, **Dunbartonshire**. Craigrownie Parish Church. E. nave. "Te Deum." (See Appendix II for illustration)
- **Dundee**. Gate Church International (formerly St. Mark's Church). Under W. gallery. "David and Jonathan" (memorial to George Arvis Bell-Belmont and his friend William Kidd) by Stephen Adam & Son.
- **Stranraer, Wigtonshire.** St. Andrew's Parish Church. 3-light window, "The Presentation of our Lord in the Temple."

1899
- **Kilmun**, **Argyllshire**. Parish Church (St. Munn). Chancel. Three superiposed vesicas of "The Magi," "The Agony in Gesthemane," and "Christ enthroned." From Wikipedia: "The church contains a number of stained glass windows, many by Stephen Adam, including life of Christ scenes and a portrait of George Miller of Invereck as St Matthew. Adam's successor, Alfred Webster, designed several later windows, including a war memorial window in the northern gable."
See also under "1908"
- **Lochaline**, **Argyllshire**. N.W. window. "Abraham" by Stephen Adam & Son.
- **Patna**, **Ayrshire**. Waterside Parish Church. Framing the pulpit: "Jonathan and David" (left), "Charity and Faith" (right) by Stephen Adam & Son.

1900
- **Falkirk**. Erskine Parish Church. Stained glass in chancel.
- **Glasgow**-**Pollokshields**. Pollokshields Church of Scotland. E. Wall. "Woman and Children. 'Strength and Honour are her Clothing',"------→ "Mary with Infant Jesus."
- **Maybole, Ayrshire**. Former Parish Church (interior largely dismantled), S.E. window by Stephen Adam & Son.

1901
- **Kirkconnel, Dumfriesshire**. Parish Church. Apse, center light, "Crucifixion." ("Risen Lord" and "Nativity of Christ" by Alf Webster [1914] in flanking lights.)
- **Brechin Cathedral, Angus**. Windows added at time of repair and alteration by Glasgow architects Honeyman and Keppie, with whom Adam appears to have collaborated often.

1903
- **Dundee.** St. Mark's Church (now Gate Church International. Four windows.
- **Kilwinning**, **Ayrshire**. Abbey Parish Church. Circular Window. "St. Paul." N. gallery. "Corona Vectrix."

1904
- **Alyth**, **Perthshire**. Parish Church. Gallery window of the N. limb. "Scenes from the Life of Christ."
- **Dundee**. Gate Church International (formerly St. Mark's Church). Four-light window (memorial to James Muirhead). "The Virtuous Woman."
- **Muirkirk, Ayrshire**. Parish Church. 3-light window. The Good Shepherd, flanked by St. John and St.Peter. Moved here from Kames Church, Muirkirk, demolished in 1955. (John Gifford: "Looks like the work of Stephen Adam" [*Buildings of Scotland: Ayrshire and Arran*, p. 548])

-**Tullibody**, **Clackmannan**. St. Serf's Parish Church. "The church dates back from 1904. The nave and side aisles are separated by five pillared arches, apse and transepts and an open dressed-timber roof while the windows are decorated with stained glass by Stephen Adam and Norman M McDougall."

1905
- **Alyth, Perth and Kinross**. Parish Church, Kirk Brae. "Upstairs, in the North Gallery, the window depicting the life of Christ commemorates the Revd. Colin Symers (minister 1773-1817). Designed by Stephen Adam of Glasgow, it was unveiled by the Countess of Airlie in 1905." (Official Church History, Wikipedia)
- **Edinburgh**. King's Theatre, Leven Street. 2-leaf mahogany doors in foyer with oval panels of stained glass.
- **Falkirk, Stirlingshire**. Erskine Parish Church. Chancel. "The Resurrection" and "The Ascension."
- **Glasgow**, **Claremont Street**. -------------------→ Trinity Congregational Church (now Henry Wood Hall). Windows representing Buchanan, Knox, Erasmus, Zwingli, Melanchton, and other Reformation heroes.
- **Glasgow,** Broomielaw. Clyde Navigation Trust Building. "Commerce," "Shipbulding," etc.-----→
- **Ochiltree**, **Ayrshire**. Parish Church. Flanking pulpit. Two "Resurrection" scenes, brought from Free Church (demolished) in 1947.
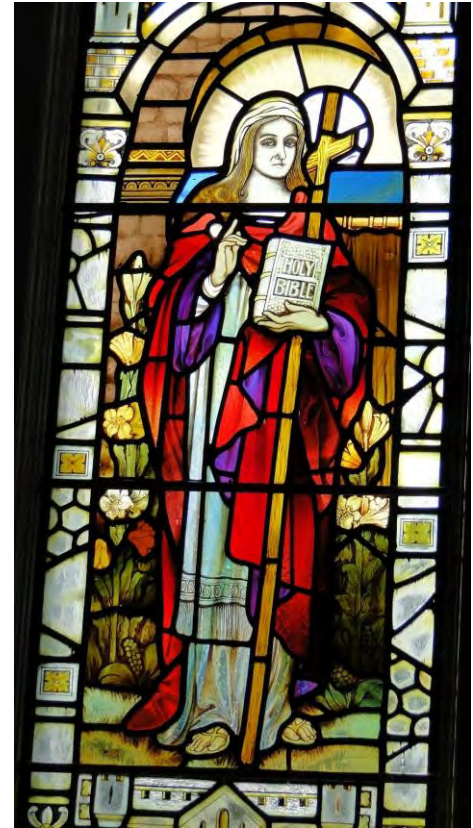
1906
- **Alyth**, **Perthshire**. Parish Church. W. window. A version of Holman Hunt's "The Light of the World."
- **Culross, Fife**. Culross Abbey Church. N. transept window, "Presentation of Christ in the Temple," "The Agony in the Garden."

- **Dervaig**, Isle of Mull, **Argyllshire**. Kilmore Church. "A female saint" (Elisabeth of Hungary) ---------------------→
- **Dumbarton**. St. Augustine's Episcopal Church. Baptismal window, N. nave. "Angel and child."
- **Innellan**, **Argyllshire**. Matheson Church. Chancel. "Christ at the door" -- based on Holman Hunt painting (see above Alyth Parish Church).
- **Kilbirnie**, **Ayrshire**. St. Columba. E. gable, stepped three-light window. "Blessed are the Pure in Heart."
- **Twynholm**, **Kirkudbrightshire**. Parish Church. S. wall, left window. "The Dawn of Heaven Breaks," signed by Stephen Adam (dated 1905 in http://www.britishlistedbuildings.co.uk/sc-16986-twynholm-parish-church-church-of-scotland#.Vb5qtPlViko)

1907
- **Bridge of Allan**, **Stirlingshire**. Lecropt Kirk. S. end of E. wall. Two of four two-light windows. "Christ's baptism." Over the door to the W. porch (converted to a vestry). "Christ surrounded by children"
- **Glasgow- Bishopbriggs**. St. James the Lesser Episcopal Church. S.W. wall. "Christ blessing the children," "Sermon on the Mount," "Calling of Peter and Andrew." Transferred from Claremont Street Trinity Congregational Church, now Sir Henry Wood Hall. (Probably by Stephen Adam Jr.)
- **Kilmarnock**, **Ayrshire**. Henderson Parish Church. Chancel. Three lights by Adam. (In nave, two windows [1914] by Alf Webster).
- **Largs**, **Ayrshire**. Clark Memorial Church, Bath St. Transept. "Saints Mary and Elizabeth" by the Stephen Adam Studio
- **Sydney, N.S.W, Australia**. Royal Prince Alfred Hospital. Eight single-panel heraldic windows with coats of arms of hospital directors.

1907-1908
- **Carmyllie**, **Angus**. Parish Church. Rose window over pulpit and, flanking

pulpit, "Ruth and Boaz" and "St. Paul as Preacher and Teacher." ------→
- **Carnoustie**, **Angus**. Carnoustie Panbride Church. E. transept. One-light window. "Ruth and Boaz."

1908
- **Dervaig**, Isle of Mull, **Argyllshire.** Kilmore Church. "Christ and Mary Magdalen."--------------------------→
- **Gartmore, Stirlingshire**. Parish Church. "I am the way," figure of Christ, flanked by two mailed figures, l. by Adam, r. by Alf Webster.
- **Kilmun**, **Argyllshire**. Parish Church (St. Munn). S. wall, W. wing, "St. Matthew," pen and book in hand (portrait of George Miller of Inveresk House); E. wing, "St John." W. wall, "Dorcas, full of good works" holding children to a dark blue cloak.
- **Strone, Argyllshire**. St. Columba's Church of Scotland. Lancet in chancel arch depicting Christ bearing the cross.

1909
- **Bearsden**, **Dunbartonshire**. New Kilpatrick Parish Church. Scenes from the Life of Christ by Stephen Adam Jr.
- **Kilmun**, **Argyllshire**. Parish Church (St. Munn). W. wall. "Dorcas, full of good works."
- **Skelmorlie**, **Ayrshire**. Skelmorlie and Wemyss Bay Parish Church. W. wall, from S. to N. "Charity and Truth" by Stephen Adam & Son.

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APPENDIX TO 1904 REPRINT OF STEPHEN ADAM'S "TRUTH IN DECORATIVE ART" (1896; generously communicated to the present author by Gordon R. Urquhart). Information about the windows in the second of the two lists has been added in parentheses and in italics by the present author.

AMONG THE MOST IMPORTANT

CHURCH MEMORIAL WINDOWS

. DESIGNED AND EXECUTED IN RECENT YEARS BY

STEPHEN ADAM,

A FEW MAY BE MENTIONED.

G.W. Clark Memorial, Old Machar Cathedral, Aberdeen.------------------------------→
  Crieff- Parish Church ·Memorials.
  Lord Lennox Memorial, Coupar Angus.
  Baxter Family Memorial, St. Mary's Parish Church, Dundee.
  Galbraith and Ainslie Windows, Old Greyfriars' Church, Stirling.
  Campbell of Stacathro Memorial, Port of Menteith Parish Church.
  Admiral Maitland Memorial, Portobello.
  Douglas Memorials, St. Andrew's Episcopal Church, Kelso.
  Young of Kelly Memorial Window, Bathgate Parish Church.
  McNab Memorial Window, Bathgate Parish Church.
Ten Memorial Windows in Pollokshields Parish Church.
G.W. Clark Memorial in Union Free Church.
Memorial Windows in Belhaven U.P. Church, for R. Gourlay, Esq.
Kidston Memorial, Cambuslang Parish Church.
Smollett Window, Bonhill Parish Church.
Dr. Grey Memorial, Parish Church, Dumbarton.
Memorial Windows, Abbey Church Paisley, for J. Brown, Esq.
Spiers Memorial, Abbey Church, Paisley.
James Baird Memorial, Alloway Kirk, Ayr.
M'Laren Memorial, West Church, Grangemouth.
Coltness Memorial Church, all the windows for James Houldsworth, Esq.
Colonel Hay Memorial and Window, for Colonel Buchanan , of Drumpellier,
     St. John's Church, Coatbridge.
Ramsden Memorial, Tadcaster Cathedral, Yorkshire.
Corry Memorial, Elmwood Church, Belfast.
Organ Window, St. Andrew's Parish Church, Glasgow.
Colonel Warren Memorial, Inverness Town Hall, Inverness.
Seven Memorial Windows, designed by S.A. for St. David's Ramshorn
     Church, Glasgow.
Two Memorial Windows for Wiston Parish Church, Biggar.
Dr. Park Memorial, Parish Church, Airth.
Livinsgstone Memorial Church, Blantyre.
John Clark Memorial ,Window in memory of his father, Thread Street
     Church, Paisley.
Stewart Clark Memorial, Window in memory of his mother, Thread Street
     Church, Paisley.

Boyd Family Memorial, Thread Street Church, Paisley.

Wotherspoon Family Memorial, Thread Street Church, Paisley.

Dr. Thomson Memorial, Thread Street Church, Paisley.

Window erected by John Polson, Esq., Paisley, in memory of his father, Thread Street Church.

M. Murchie Memorial, Thread Street Church.

Figure Window, erected in Coltness Parish Church in memory of the late Arthur Houldsworth.

Eight Figure Windows erected in Clark Memorial Church, Largs, by members of Clark Family.

Holms Kerr Memorial erected in Largs Parish Church.

Matthew Brown Memorial Windows in St. James' U.P. Church, Paisley. Mair Memorial in Maxwell Parish Church, Glasgow.

Samuel Dow Memorial Window in Bellahouston Parish Church, Glasgow.

Figure Window in Inverness Parish Church in memory of late minister, Dr. M'Donald.

Figure Windows erected in St. Andrew's Parish Church, Glasgow in memory of the late Robert Anderson, Printcr, and late Dr. F. Lockhart Robertson, minister of Parish.

Window erected in Avon Street U.P. Church, Hamilton, in memory of Rev .Mr. Wylie, killed in China.

Window erected in Bearsden Parish Church, in memory of late Mr. Young, Railway contractor.

Rattray Memorial Window in Claremont U.P. Church, Glasgow.

Two Windows erected in Dalrymple Parish Church, Ayrshire, to order of W. J. Hammond, Esq., Ayr.

Window in memory of late Wm. Polson, erected in Thread Street Church, Paisley, by members of family. ·

Nativity Window erected in Baptist Chapel, Cambuslang.

Robert Simpson Memorial Window, erected in Congregational Church, Govan.

Mrs. Arthur Memorial.Window erected in Cove Parish Church, Argyllshire. Sim Memorial Window, St. Ninian's Episcopal Church and others.

Tullis Memorial Window, erected by family, in Greenhead Parish Church, Glasgow.

Figure Window erected in Longforgan Parish Church , near Dundee in memory of late Dr. Ritchie, for fifty-seven years minister of the parish.

Stewart Memorial, Kinclaven Parish Church, Perthshire. Memorial Window, Partick Parish Church. Glasgow.

Windows for St. Columba's Episcopal Church, Clydebank, etc.

Great Family Memorial and Kidd Memorial in St. Mary's Parish Church, Dundee.

Memorial Window, Parish Church, Carnoustie.

Trinity Church, Glasgow, Fairlie Memorial.

Dr. Watt Memorial, Anderston Parish Church.

Four Memorial Windows in Deskford Parish Church, Banffshire.

Knot Presentation Window, Tullibody Parish Church.

Kames Church Memorial, Muirkirk, for Robert Angus, Esq. Ramshorn Church, Glasgow, Dickson Memorial and five others. Dr. Sloan Memorial Dalry, Ayrshire.

Belmont Parish Church, Glasgow, Mrs. Marshall Memorial.

Urr Parish Church, Wigtonshire, Biggar Memorial. Dr. Lee Ker Memorial, Kilwinning Parish Church.

The late Sir John Watson of Garnock, two Memorials, Parish Church, Hamilton.

"Young" Memorial, Cambuslang U.F. Church.

Sunday School Children's Presentation Window, Tollcross U.F'. Church, Glasgow.

Arrochar Parish Church, Dewar Memorial Windows. Dobbie Memorial, Larbert Parish Church.

Bruce Memorial, Larbert Parish Church.

"Forrest" Memorial, Larbert Parish Church.

Memorial erected by Rev. Canon Jackson in St.James' Episcopal Church, Leith. Memorial Window, Killin l'arish Church.

Brechin Cathedral when restored, two Memorial Windows.

Memorial Windows erected by Sir Charles Cayzer, Bart., M.P.in Parish Churches of Craigrownie and Cardonald.

Memorial Windows in Parish Church and U.F. Church, Bridge of Allan.

All the Memorial Windows in Maybole Parish Church, Ayrshire..

Hammond Memorial, Dalrymple Parish Church, Ayrshire.

Mrs. Younger Presentation Window, Kilmun Parish Church.

Memorial Window erected in Moniaive U.F. Church by Robert M'Kill, Esq.

Memorial Window, Steps Parish Church (see parts illustrated).

Harvey Memorial, Yoker Parish Church.

Lady Boswell Memorial in Auchenleck Parish Church (see illustration).

St. John's Cathedral, Perth, Bower Memorial Windoq.

Bearsden Parish Church, Gray Memorial Window.

Ochiltree U.F. Church, two Memorials erected by George Lammie, Esq.

For Lord Sinclair, Windows in Old Chapel, Herdmanston, Haddington.
For Lady Strathearn, Ornamental Windows in Chapel, Perthshire.
Chancel Window, St. John's Episcopal Church, Coatbridge, for Col. Buchanan, Drumpellier.
Further lists of Completed Works, Press Notices, and references to leading
        Clergy, artists, academicians, and architects, forwarded if desired, by
        Application at studios.
Memorial Window at Park Church, Glasgow. Donor, Frank W. Allan, Esq.

MANSIONS AND PUBLIC BUILDINGS

Ornamental Windows Municipal Buildings, Glasgow.
Figure Group, Entrance, Royal Infirmary, Glasgow.
Figure Windows, Municipal Buildings, Coatbridge. Figure Windows, Maryhill Town Hall
Windows in Annan Town Hall. [*1878*?]
All the Windows, Inverness Town Hall. [*1878*?]
All the Windows, Trades' Windows, Trinity Hall, Aberdeen. [*late 1870s*?]
Mosaics in Blyth Hall, Newport, Dundee.
Figure Window, Nurses' Hall, Sick Children's Hospital, Glasgow
Carnegie Library, Dumfries, Figure Windows. [*1904*?]
Carnegie Library, Ayr. [*1894*]
New Mental Hospital, Glasgow, Ornamental Staircase Window.
All the stained glass in Moorpark Mansion and Place Mansion, Kilbirnie, for R. W. Knot, Esq. and James Knot,
        Esq. [*James Knot was probably a wealthy shipping magnate from Newcastle-on-Tyne*]
Dundas Castle, all the Stained Glass for Stewart Clark, Esq. [*Property in South
        Queensferry, just outside Edinburgh, purchased in 1899 by Clark, a member
        of the Paisley family that founded the exraordinarily successful thread
        manufacturing company of J. & J. Clark, which in 1880 employed 3,500
        workers*]
Cairn Castle, Larne, all the Stained Glass for Stewart Clark, Esq.
Drumalis Castle, County Antrim for Sir Hugh Smiley, Stained Glass. [*The Smiley
        Family, having moved from Scotland to Co. Antrim in Ireland in the
        1700s. had become quite wealthy by the 19th Century. Sir Hugh bought the
        Drumalis site in 1870 and completed the building of the house in 1873, the
        year he married a Scotswoman, Elizabeth Kerr, from another major
        Paisley cotton and sewing thread manufacturing family. She is said to have
        overseen the decoration of the property, which has five windows in the
        foyer with stained glass upper panels three of which represent England,
        Ireland, and Scotland*--→

Kilnside House, Paisley, all the Stained Glass for Stewart Clark, Esq.
The Cliff, Wemyss Bay, all the Stained Glass for Stewart Clark, Esq. [*built 1888;
        architect John Honeyman*]
Window in Ferguslie Mansion for Sir Thomas Glen Coats [*a member of the other
great thread manufacturing   company in Paisley, with a huge mill at
Ferguslie built in 1845, by which time three-quarters of the firm's production was already being exported to
America*].
Mosaics and Stained Glass in Gallowhill Mansion, for Sir Hugh Smiley and Mrs. Kerr. [*Property built 1869;
        architect James Salmon*]
For Sir Chas. Cayzer, Bart., M.P.. all the ornamental Glass in Ralston and Gartmore Mansions. [*Ralston is in the
        neighborhood of Paisley; Gartmore, in Stirlingshire, was an 18th century house, purchased by Cayzer, a
        shipping magnate, from the family of the writer Cunninghame Graham in 1900 and redesigned by David
        Barclay. a student of Charles Rennie Mackintosh. who added the tower, altered the roof and redesigned the western
        front, in 1901-1902. Adam's glass probably dates from that time.*]
Hunter Craig, Esq., M.P., Stained Glass in Residence, Skelmorlie.
Mrs. Lawrence Robertson, Moreland, Skelmorlie, all the Stained Glass. [*House built 1862, extended by architect John Honeyman in
        1874, with addition by Honeyman and Keppie 1893-94; Adam's glass was probably installed at one or other of the two
        later dates.*]
For James Young, Esq., Cornhill Mansion, Biggar, all the Stained Glass.
Mansions in Perthshire for Albert Pullar, Esq., Rufus Pullar, Esq. and Lawrence Pullar, Esq. [*Members of the family that founded
        Pullars of Perth, a dying and then nation-wide dry-cleaning company*]

Mosaics and Stained Glass for Walter Macfarlane, Esq., Park Circus. [*22 Park Circus, an elegant house in Glasgow's West End, was the residence of Walter Macfarlane who set up the Saracen Foundry, the most important producer of ornamental Ironwork in Scotland; subsequently the house became the Casa d'Italia and then, until 2013, a Glasgow Registry Office. The glass probably dates to redecoration in 1897-1900*]------------------->

Stained Glass in Mauldslie Castle, Lanarkshire. [*An Adam building, near Carluke, Lanarkshire, with additions in 1860 and 1891. The glass was probably installed in 1891*]

Stained Glass in Auchendrane and Belleisle Mansions near Ayr. [*Beleisle, overlooking the Golf Course in Prestwick, just north of Ayr, was acquired by the Coats family of Paisley in 1866 and extended in 1895, when the glass was probably installed*]

All the Stained Glass Figure Groups in Warehouse of Messrs. Pettigrew & Stephen's, Glasgow. [*Founded in 1888, the Pettigrew and Stephens store was rebuilt 1901 in a design by architects John Honeyman & John Keppie, with a gilt dome designed by Charles Rennie Mackintosh. One of Glasgow's leading department stores until it was demolished in the 1970s. The glass was probably installed at the time of the expansion and rebuilding in 1901. Adam seems to have often collaborated with Honeyman.*]

Figure Groups in Music Saloons of Messrs. Muirhead & Turnbull, T. Ewing, etc. Also in High Class Restaurants, such as Spiers & Pond's, Blackfriars, London, The Grosvenor, Gordon Street, Ferguson & Forrester, Buchanan Street, Glasgow, and others. All Special Mosaics and Stained Glass.

Stained Glass and Special Decorative Panels in Cabins of leading Steamships and Yachts.

Glasgow International Exhibition of 1901. Large Decorative Mosaic Glass Panels over Main Entrance, representing Saint Mungo blessing the Arts and the Industries of the Clyde District. Life Size Figures of Craftsmen and Artisans at Work. [*These panels were probably placed in the main Industrial Hall and demolished along with the rest of the purpose-built hall after the Exhibition closed.*]