

THE THIRD ANNUAL THOMAS TUNNO FORBES LECTURE,  
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THE CHURCH OF OUR SAVIOUR, LONGWOOD, BROOKLINE, MASS.,  
OCTOBER 18, 2009.

**“‘Windows *are* architecture’: William Morris, Viollet-le-Duc, and  
the Artistic Journey of Charles J. Connick”**

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## Introduction

The Church of Our Saviour, Longwood, Brookline, Massachusetts, holds an impressive collection of stained glass windows installed between 1883 and 1961.<sup>i</sup> Several of these windows will guide us as we explore, in the words of Arts & Crafts historian Peter Cormack, “the medium of stained glass ... perhaps the most potently expressive and exciting of all the visual arts.”<sup>ii</sup>

In 1917, Boston stained glass artist Charles J. Connick (who designed and made the All Saints Memorial Window at the Church of Our Saviour) published an article entitled “Stained Glass as a Medium.” He wrote:

It is not tremendously important, when all is said, that we all work in glass of the same quality. The important thing is that we express the best we know of truth and beauty,—because the medium justifies itself only when put to such use.

If you think and feel best in terms of opalescent glass, then, by all means, use it! Force it to disclose under your hands the very best that it contains, be it extremely opaque, or comparatively transparent.

We make stained glass windows,—therefore windows are *the* thing, but it must be remembered that windows are closely allied to architecture. Indeed, in a very real sense, windows *are* architecture in that they take their places in apertures left for them by the designer of the building.<sup>iii</sup>

Let me summarize Connick’s key points in this passage:

- The quality of the glass is secondary to the artist’s skill.
- If opalescent glass is your material of choice, bring out its best characteristics.
- Windows are key architectural components of a building.

To provide a context for these assertions we will look back 15 years to a debate that took place in 1903 in the pages of *Handicraft*, the journal of the Society of Arts & Crafts, Boston. The protagonists were two major stained glass artists: Harry Eldredge Goodhue and Sarah Wyman Whitman. Perhaps my use of the term “debate” is imprecise: Harry Goodhue published an article, “Stained Glass,”<sup>iv</sup> in the July issue; in September Sarah Whitman published a response, also titled “Stained Glass.”<sup>v</sup>

## A Difference of Opinion: Harry Eldredge Goodhue and Sarah Wyman Whitman

Harry Eldredge Goodhue (1873-1918) was a brother of architect Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue. In 1892, Harry joined the Boston Art Students Association where he displayed watercolors, pen-and-ink drawings, and bookplates in annual exhibitions; served on the exhibition committee; and chaired the Men's Life Class Committee. His first important stained glass window, *Adoration of the Magi and Shepherds*, was made in 1895 for All Saints' Episcopal Church, Ashmont, designed by architect Ralph Adams Cram. Harry's first windows were made at the Boston studio of Horace J. Phipps.

Harry Goodhue was invited to serve on the committee to plan the first Arts & Crafts Exhibition in the United States, held in Boston in April 1897, and he subsequently became a founding member of the Society of Arts & Crafts, Boston.<sup>vi</sup> In 1903 Goodhue opened his own studio in Cambridge but later moved his shop back to Boston. There are many places where one can see Goodhue windows in metropolitan Boston. In addition to All Saints' Ashmont, I will only mention All Saints' Episcopal Church in Brookline<sup>vii</sup> and Emmanuel Church, Newbury Street, Boston,<sup>viii</sup> the latter designed by Alexander Estey, the architect of the Church of Our Saviour.<sup>ix</sup>

In his article "Stained Glass," published in the July 1903 issue of *Handicraft*, Goodhue wrote: "In this country, windows did not receive any distinguished attention until a comparatively recent date."<sup>x</sup> This changed, he tells his readers, due to an American invention – windows made of opalescent or opal glass. Goodhue notes: "'Opal glass,' as it is called, has become a fad with all classes, so that enormous factories are required to supply the demand."<sup>xi</sup> "Picture windows by our best artists have quickly filled new and expensive churches; houses have been darkened by richly colored designs in hall-windows and transoms; Pullman cars and hotels have been filled with it; even bar rooms have felt the need of it."<sup>xii</sup>

"The evolution of glass in America has brought with it a feeling of something ... opaque, instead of transparent,"<sup>xiii</sup> Harry declares. Indeed, he writes, "it would be fairer to give the American product a name to itself, and not call it stained glass, for it is absolutely different from what has been understood by the term."<sup>xiv</sup>

Let me provide some background; especially since few of us are aware that there are different kinds of "stained glass." The term "stained glass," by the way, is not a very useful term for colored glass windows since it comes from one ingredient – silver stain – that provides yellow or gold tonalities. Nonetheless, "stained glass" will be our generic term.

In 12th-century Europe, stained glass windows reached an unprecedented level of technical and artistic achievement as church builders created window openings of unparalleled size and challenged glass artists to new levels of creativity. Molten glass was mixed in a pot with chemicals that color the glass, hand-blown into a tube, and flattened into transparent panels for use in windows. The panels were held together by lead frames. The so called “paint” – a somewhat misleading term – is a compound of “finely ground iron oxide and powdered glass ... mixed with water and a little gum arabic” that appears black when fired. It was “used for shading and for linework – folds of garments, for example, details of heads and hands and lettering – and in washes, or thin coats of paint, which tone the colour of the glass”<sup>xv</sup> to direct light.

From the 15th to the 19th century, this art declined. Colored glass, when used at all, often appeared as decorative designs such as coats-of-arms or portraits set within predominantly clear glass windows. A pigment made of ground colored glass created designs on clear panes. This is called enamel painting. If colored glass panes were painted, it was called semi-enameling. The designs on enamel-painted windows are opaque.

In the early 19th century, aspects of traditional glass making and glass painting were revived in Germany, under the patronage of Ludwig I of Bavaria, and in England during the Gothic Revival spearheaded by Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin (1812-52).

Opal glass, developed in Venice in the 18th century, was initially used in decorative glassware and was widely known in the United States as “milk glass.” Opalescent window glass was invented in the 1870s and first patented in 1880. Glass historian Julie Sloan notes: “Opalescent glass has a milky opacity created by the suspension of particles that reflect and scatter light. While the material had been in use for tableware ... for decades, it had never before been made into flat sheets for use in windows.”<sup>xvi</sup> Opalescent glass is iridescent and holds light; it is not transparent. In 1881 the *American Art Review* published an essay entitled “American Stained Glass” by illustrator, art critic, and glass enthusiast Roger Riordan of New York who described the new material and gave it a name.<sup>xvii</sup>

Today the distinction between opalescent “American stained glass” and traditional hand-blown glass, which is called “antique,” is unknown to most laymen, and some historians, in the United States. This ignorance complicates the understanding of the medium and the telling of the story.

By 1903 Harry Goodhue had visited France and carefully examined medieval glass. Some opalescent glass designers claimed that medieval glaziers lacked the

technology to make large sheets of glass and were forced to work with small pieces. Goodhue disputes this. Medieval glaziers, he writes “did not wish large pieces in their windows. It was on the small bits of glass that the marvelous, gem-like appearance of the thirteenth century windows depended.”<sup>xviii</sup>

According to Goodhue, in America “windows have been designed from the standpoint of the painter ... The leading ... has been reduced to a minimum, and hidden, wherever possible ... “Leading is perhaps more perverted than any other side of the craft in our day. We try to escape it, while during the best period a good half the effect in windows was due to it. They were loaded with leads which, with the many heavy bars, much heavier than we would use now, add the black which complements and sets off the radiant loveliness of the colored glass.”<sup>xix</sup>

Although Goodhue used opalescent glass at All Saints’ Ashmont and in other early windows, by 1902 he had come to consider opalescent glass an inappropriate glass for windows and he preferred antique glass: “American glass, beautiful as it is in itself,” he writes, “is not fitted for the making of windows along the lines set for us by the great masters of the past ... Its very opacity causes it to lose one of the most precious qualities of the old glass: the light comes through, but not the sun, to fill the church with gorgeous rays – to almost echo the window upon the floor.”<sup>xx</sup>

He further observes: “Our windows, it is to be feared, have been made by men who have never seen or considered the buildings they were to adorn.”<sup>xxi</sup> He declares: “Stained glass, after all, is but a part of the architectural scheme.”<sup>xxii</sup>

Goodhue believed that the training of American glass designers was inadequate:

Graduates of schools of decoration have taken up glass-designing either as a profession or as a side issue. It must not be supposed that their training has adequately fitted them for it ... Years of apprenticeship would be required for understanding the craft sufficiently well to design intelligently for it. But with us, since windows have become pictures, designs have naturally become pictures too.<sup>xxiii</sup>

Goodhue had studied painting and drawing before taking up stained glass. Although he had not apprenticed in a glass shop, he soon came to advocate a practical apprenticeship as preferable to an art school education.<sup>xxiv</sup> He was critical of the “division of labor” prevalent in many glass studios: “one man to make the design, another the cartoon, still another ... to paint the head and hands, and then handing the working drawings over to a factory method of

production. Each separate worker is often an expert of ability, but such work can never stand like the work of a single individual."<sup>xxv</sup>

Goodhue contends: "By studying the old French work we may become imbued with the same love and respect for our material, and not expect it to attain the impossible ... It would be impossible for us to design with the naïve mediaevalism of the Gothic churchman, but we could put our ideas and beliefs together in a stained-glass way."<sup>xxvi</sup>

Sarah Wyman Whitman (1842-1904) was the wife of wealthy Boston dry goods merchant, Henry Whitman. She studied painting in Boston and in France. Art historian Erica Hirshler tells us that Sarah Whitman "traveled to Europe several times, studying architecture and the old masters in Spain, France, Italy, and England" and notes that "Whitman not only made art; she also collected it, wrote about it, and inspired it."<sup>xxvii</sup>

Mrs. Whitman is believed to have learned the art of stained glass from John La Farge, the inventor of opalescent window glass, and in the 1880s she established a studio, The Lily Glass Works, at 184 Boylston Street. Orin Skinner wrote: "Her studio was maintained in the grand style. They say it was an inspiring sight to see the [glass] cutters and glaziers going to work in their Prince Alberts and high hats."<sup>xxviii</sup>

Mrs. Whitman begins her article, "Stained Glass," published in the September 1903 issue of *Handicraft*—"I venture on a brief discourse which shall be in some sense a rejoinder."<sup>xxix</sup> If Harry Goodhue found opalescent window glass problematical, for Sarah Whitman it was an experimental and innovative marvel. She writes:

there occurred in America one of those chance observations of certain effects not specifically noted before, which opened the door to experiment, and led to the discovery and subsequent development of a new form of stained glass, in which it was possible to attain an infinite variety of tones in the same sheet, together with a variation, if desired, of thickness also. The so-called opalescent glass derives its name from the fact that by the use of certain chemical substances, the glass, whatever be its color, has that quality which is in the opal, of showing a spark of fire where the sun strikes upon it at a certain angle; and when this happens in connection with a large surface ... there is a magnificence of effect never seen before. <sup>xxx</sup>

Mrs. Whitman does not discuss architecture or the character of windows. She mentions only one type of window—the medieval ornamental arabesque window known as grisaille—affirming that "by the use of white opal it is

possible to make again the old grisaille windows, with a loveliness yet more varied and enduring.”<sup>xxx</sup>

For Mrs. Whitman “the genius of the new glass is its freedom from any treatment whatever with paints or glazes, the deeper tones being obtained by plating one piece of pure glass upon another piece of pure glass till the desired effect is reached.” She criticizes “any process ... in ... which ... one obtains depth of tone by the use of pigment” claiming that this destroys “the essential color of the glass itself.”<sup>xxxii</sup>

Despite unsuccessful attempts over two decades to find an alternative, the one traditional technique used by the opalescent school was the painting of flesh—faces, hands, and feet. Mrs. Whitman optimistically states:

Just complaint is made also of the treatment of the heads and hands as seen in American work. The true key of color, the true conventional note in the flesh is seldom expressed, owing to inexperience, and the difficulties imposed by a richer medium than the transparent stained glass furnishes, and which involves a larger study than time or experience has yet allowed.<sup>xxxiii</sup>

She concedes that some glass artists are inept: “what Mr. Goodhue says of the production of ‘pictures instead of decoration’ points to that mistaken effort in the use of a new stained glass material ... that, in any hand save that of the achieved artist, must lead to abuses and misconceptions.” The flaw, she declares “is not in the glass itself, but in its use.”<sup>xxxiv</sup>

She sees some merit in Goodhue’s criticisms of the commercialization of the enterprise:

It would appear that [Mr. Goodhue] has been led to condemn the material and its possibilities, because of the inferior purposes to which it has been sacrificed. . . . The number of serious artists who have legitimately used and developed it is very few, and they have been obliged to invent new craft-methods to suit its capacities; while the commercial opportunity was seized upon and enlarged by clever business firms who recognized the love of novelty, in our young, ignorant multitudes and made of the new product a terrible form of ‘Art Nouveau.’<sup>xxxv</sup>

For a 20th-century artist to look to the distant past for insight or instruction seems pointless to Mrs. Whitman:

Would not this following ... [of medievalism], without its naïvetè, rob the method of a prime factor? How would the primitive legends, and their mode of expression, be translatable into our ‘exact knowledge’ or our ‘honest

doubt'? Or yet more deeply, is it not true that it is in only the expression of his own ideals, in making real the dream of his own heart, that the artist learns the terms of his own mode of expression?<sup>xxxvi</sup>



## **“Realistic Representation” in the Opalescent Era**

In his patent application for opalescent window glass, filed November 10, 1879 and granted February 24, 1880, John La Farge stated:

The object of my invention is to obtain opalescent and iridescent effects in glass windows, to insure translucency ... and lessen ... transparency ... I am enabled ... to gain effects as to depth, softness, and modulation of color which has not been before gained by the use of colored glass alone ... By varying the opacity of any portion of the glass ... I may gain great advantage as to realistic representation of natural objects.<sup>xxxvii</sup>

La Farge scholar Barbara Weinberg notes: “La Farge sought to reconcile the color and brilliance of early glass with contemporary desires for naturalistic form ... and ... permit depiction of rounded forms and convincing space.”<sup>xxxviii</sup> Julie Sloan and James Yarnall write of La Farge’s “aesthetic goal of creating windows with realistic pictorial effects similar to those in the academic art of his day.”<sup>xxxix</sup>

John La Farge (1835-1910) may be better known in Boston than he is elsewhere; he divided his time between Newport and New York and his best-known windows are arguably at Harvard and at Trinity Church. Regrettably, the scope and diversity of his work remains known primarily to specialists. The principal publication about his life and work is a catalog published to accompany a major exhibition held in 1987.<sup>xl</sup>

La Farge’s opalescent windows were the first awarded gold medals at an international exposition, in Paris in 1889. He was made a chevalier of the Legion of Honor—the citation stated: “He is the great innovator, the inventor of opaline glass. He has created in all its details an art unknown before ...”<sup>xli</sup>

La Farge mentored many artists, including Sarah Wyman Whitman; he was a painter and muralist; an interior decorator; a prolific critic and writer on the arts; he traveled widely and two books were published of writings from his travels to Japan, Hawaii, Samoa, and Fiji. La Farge collected Japanese prints, pattern books, and artwork “earlier than any of his peers and a quarter century before they became commercially available in America”<sup>xlii</sup> and his 1870 “Essay on Japanese Art” was one of the first on this subject published in the United States.  
<sup>xliii</sup>

The first substantial overview of La Farge’s work is a hundred-page monograph, “John La Farge, Artist and Writer,” written by English critic Cecilia Waern and published in 1896. Concerning La Farge windows she writes: “there has not been an important example of this art produced by others since he began to work which does not, consciously or unconsciously, derive much of its merit from

inspirations and processes which he originated.”<sup>xliv</sup> She tells us that La Farge’s “very earliest windows are purely ornamental: one of the first he made is based on Japanese metal open work, in which the leads form the decorative basis. Soon afterwards he begins to show his intimate alliance with the feeling of the Renaissance ...”<sup>xlv</sup>

La Farge’s mature opalescent glass windows were an expression of an aesthetic language introduced in Italian Renaissance painting and sculpture and enthusiastically embraced in 19th-century America during what is known as the “American Renaissance” – a movement so named in 1880 that thrived through World War I. The United States had celebrated its origins during a period of architectural Classicism at the 1876 Centennial and was flexing its muscle as an emerging world power. Americans found an affinity with the realistic art and the larger-than-life buildings – and personalities – of the 15th-century Renaissance, as interpreted in 19th-century France.

Many Americans traveled to Paris to study the fine arts of painting, sculpture, and architecture in the studios of French artists and at the École des Beaux Arts, which became the model for American schools of architecture. By 1889 – the year La Farge was honored in Paris and ten years after he applied for his opalescent glass patent – virtually all American glass studios used opalescent glass as their primary material and sought to create windows that mimicked the Classical idealism and naturalistic perspective first explored in Renaissance art. Such “realistic representation of natural objects” would have seemed at the time as quintessentially *modern*.

La Farge discussed his invention with New Yorkers Charles Tiffany, proprietor of the artistic *objets d'art* and jewelry emporium, Tiffany & Co., and Charles’ son, Louis, proprietor of his own interior decorating firm. Eye-witness Roger Riordan wrote in his 1881 essay quoted earlier: “Mr. La Farge has taken out patents for the manufacture of ‘opal’; it is also largely used by the firm of Louis C. Tiffany ... under Mr. La Farge’s patent.”<sup>xlvi</sup> Louis Tiffany subsequently applied for his own opalescent window glass patent, which was granted in 1881. La Farge’s lawsuit against Tiffany for patent infringement proved too costly to pursue.

Opalescent glass is widely and incorrectly called “Tiffany” glass, whether or not it was produced by or for Louis Comfort Tiffany (1848-1933). Tiffany claimed to have invented opalescent glass, which he did not; whenever possible, he took credit for all the work produced by his staff. Curator Hugh McKean clarified Tiffany’s role in 1980: “Tiffany’s workshops, of course, made thousands of windows. A rare few were made from his own designs. Most were from designs by artists on his staff.”<sup>xlvii</sup> One might note that Louis Tiffany’s artistry is best expressed in his Art Nouveau and Oriental-influenced *objets d'art* – my concern here is with his approach to the design and manufacture of windows.

Some early Tiffany windows were copies of Renaissance paintings. David Maitland Armstrong (1836-1918) was the first chief designer for Tiffany's firm, from 1879 to 1887; he was succeeded by Jacob Holzer (1858-1938), who was succeeded by Frederick Wilson (1858-1932), who worked for Tiffany for 27 years. These chief designers were joined by many assisting artists.

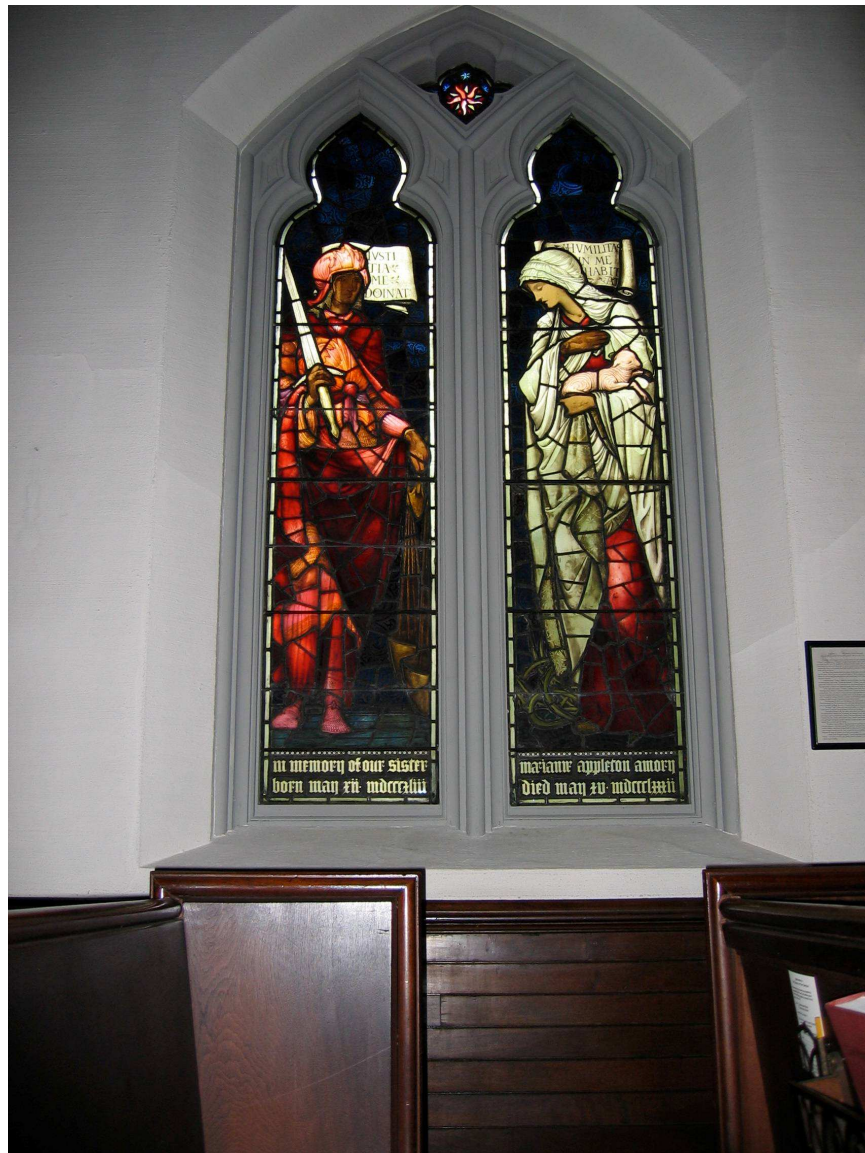
One visitor to Tiffany's studio described it in 1894 as "a large factory, a vast central workshop that would consolidate under one roof an army of craftsmen ... all working to give shape to the carefully planned concepts of a group of directing artists."<sup>xlvi</sup> Two years later, another visitor observed that Tiffany did not "try to emulate Morris and Co. in educating the public taste." His "aim is to sell, to persuade, not to elevate or instruct; ... to simplify the labour expended, as far as possible, with a view to reducing the cost of production."<sup>xlix</sup> The window designers worked with glassmakers, glasscutters, glass painters, "builders" who assembled windows, and installers who set them in place – a textbook example of "the division of labor." Tiffany's firm operated under different names and was separate from Tiffany & Co., which did not make stained glass windows (another point of confusion).<sup>1</sup> Tiffany & Co. is still in business today.

Historian James Sturm observed that both La Farge and Tiffany "wished to work in 'modern' styles, which implied three-dimensionality. They were ... more oriented to France than England, closer to French Classicism than to English Pre-Raphaelite thought."<sup>li</sup> From Tiffany's viewpoint, Sturm notes, "the only thing to see in a medieval window was gorgeous color. The rest was picturesque barbarism, of no interest to a serious artist."<sup>lii</sup> Although Tiffany was not a classicist in the same sense as La Farge, Tiffany windows intermingle Middle Eastern exoticism, flamboyant color, and the realistic representation of 19th-century academic painting.<sup>liii</sup>

One window in The Church of Our Saviour may have been made by Louis Tiffany's firm – the John Wales Memorial, "Resurrection," installed in the right aisle in 1899.

## William Morris

There are three windows in metropolitan Boston by William Morris (1834-96) and Edward Burne-Jones (1833-1898). Two windows, dated 1880 and 1882 respectively, are in Trinity Church. The third window is the Marianne Appleton Amory Memorial, *Justice and Humility*, designed by Burne-Jones in June of 1883, and installed by November of that year in the Church of Our Saviour.<sup>liv</sup> It is the oldest surviving window in the church.<sup>lv</sup> *Justice* holds the sword and the scales; *Humility* holds the lamb.



*Justice and Humility*

William Morris apprenticed briefly with architect George Edmund Street; became a painter; a designer of furniture, glass, textiles, and books; a poet and novelist; a social activist, indeed, a social revolutionary; and, as founder of the

Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings in 1877, a pioneering preservationist. His firm, Morris, Marshall, Faulkner & Co., was founded in 1861 and became Morris & Co. in 1875.

John Ruskin's explication of Gothic architecture in Volume II of *The Stones of Venice*, published in 1853, convinced Morris that medieval architecture was far superior to that of his own era. Ruskin's prose is eloquently impassioned.

For in one point of view Gothic is not only the best, but the *only rational* architecture, as being that which can fit itself most easily to all services, vulgar or noble. Undefined in its slope of roof, height of shaft, breadth of arch, or disposition of ground plan, it can shrink into a turret, expand into a hall, coil into a staircase, or spring into a spire, with undegraded grace and unexhausted energy ...<sup>lvi</sup>

Ruskin believed that machine-made products were lifeless and that what he sarcastically called the "great civilized invention of the division of labour" robbed workers of their creativity.<sup>lvii</sup> He suggests:

It would be well and good if all of us were good handicraftsmen in some kind, and the dishonour of manual labour done away with altogether ... In each ... profession, no master should be too proud to do its hardest work. The painter should grind his own colours; the architect work in the mason's yard with his men; the master-manufacturer be himself a more skillful operative than any man in his mills; and the distinction between one man and another be only in experience and skill ...<sup>lviii</sup>

William Morris called Ruskin's chapter on Gothic architecture "one of the very few necessary and inevitable utterances of the century."<sup>lix</sup> Morris observed:

In his chapter in "The Stones of Venice," entitled "On the Nature of Gothic and the Function of the Workman therein," [Ruskin] showed us the gulf which lay between us and the Middle Ages ... Yet the essence of what Ruskin then taught us was simple ... It was really nothing more ... than [that] the art of any epoch must of necessity be the expression of its social life, and that the social life of the Middle Ages allowed the workman freedom of individual expression, which on the other hand, our social life forbids him.<sup>lx</sup>

Morris declared:

During the ... mediaeval period ... there was little or no division of labour, and what machinery was used was simply of the nature of a multiplied tool, a help to the workman's hand-labour and not a supplanter of it. The workman worked for himself and not for any capitalistic employer, and he was accordingly master of his work and his time ...<sup>lxi</sup>

Arts & Crafts authority Alan Crawford reminds us that the problem for Morris – and later for his Arts & Crafts successors – was not machinery per se but “the whole industrial and commercial system and the way it reduced making to a routine. As William Morris said, “It is not this or that tangible steel and brass machine which we want to get rid of, but the great intangible machine of commercial tyranny, which oppresses the lives of all of us.”<sup>lxii</sup>

On September 15, 1883 – *Justice and Humility* would soon be installed in the Church of Our Saviour – Morris sent an autobiographical sketch to a journal editor, stating:

Both my historical studies and my practical conflict with the philistinism of modern society have forced on me the conviction that art cannot have a real life and growth under the present system of commercialism and profit-mongering. I have tried to develop this view, which is in fact Socialism seen through the eyes of an artist, in various lectures ...<sup>lxiii</sup>

As Charles Robert Ashbee wrote in 1909, Morris “preached the destruction of society root and branch. In his actual work he was the first man who gave us the clue to its practical reconstruction.”<sup>lxiv</sup>

In 1889 Morris told the Arts & Crafts Exhibition Society: “The Art of Architecture reached its fullest development in the Middle Ages ... If we are ever again to have architecture at all, we must take up the thread of tradition there and nowhere else, because Gothic Architecture is the most completely organic form of the Art, which the world has seen.”<sup>lxv</sup> Speaking of the architecture of the future, Morris declares “whatever the form of it may be, the spirit of it will be in sympathy with the needs and aspirations of its own time.”<sup>lxvi</sup>

Morris looked to the Guilds of the Middle Ages as models for artistic – and social – equality. He sought to recover and revitalize traditional methods and ingredients – “the thread of tradition” – and he saw the crafts as intrinsic to a vital contemporary architecture. He wrote: “It is this union of the arts, mutually helpful and harmoniously subordinated one to another, which I have learned to think of as Architecture.”<sup>lxvii</sup>

Stained glass historian Martin Harrison notes that “stained glass was the first of the arts in which [Morris’s] firm excelled, and it became the mainstay of its business.”<sup>lxviii</sup>

Premises were leased at 8 Red Lion Square and a kiln for firing glass and tiles set up in the basement. Two experienced craftsmen were recruited, a glass painter ... and a fret glazier ... together with three apprentices from the nearby Industrial Home for Destitute Boys. By 1862 twelve men and boys were employed in the workshop. In keeping with the firm’s somewhat

experimental origins Morris first had to familiarise himself with the craft processes ... Design and manufacture were distinctly separated; liaison was through Morris, who supervised all the stages of execution ...

Morris addressed the spirit – rather than the letter – of medieval glass. He and his partners grasped that the essence of a medieval window was its simplicity. Morris's concern with process – with craftsmanship – enabled him to translate this understanding into practice.<sup>lxxix</sup>

Morris was enamored with medieval architecture, not with the 19th-century English Gothic Revival. Of the latter he wrote: "the architectural revival though not a mere piece of artificial nonsense, is too limited in its scope, too much confined to an educated group, to be a vital growth capable of true development."<sup>lxx</sup> Morris criticized "too much mere copying of medieval designs" by Gothic Revival glass firms, noting "it has been forgotten that the naïvetés of drawing of an early stage of art which are interesting when genuine and obviously belonging to their own period, become ridiculous when imitated in an epoch which demands at least plausibility of drawing from its artists."<sup>lxxi</sup> Martin Harrison observes that Morris & Co.'s stained glass made "the work of most of their neo-Gothic counterparts appear both over-elaborate and religiose. Even their most distinguished contemporaries were compromised by archaeology and eclecticism."<sup>lxxii</sup>

William Morris believed that the great glass windows of the Middle Ages were an architecturally sophisticated achievement that could be revived, but not drastically altered technologically. On April 15, 1883, two months before Burne-Jones designed *Justice and Humility*, Morris explained how stained glass windows were made to John Ruskin:

We *paint* on glass; first the lines of draperies, features, and the like with an opaque colour which when the glass is held up to the light is simply so much obscurity; with thinner washes ... of the same colour, we shade objects as much as we deem necessary, but always using this shading to explain form, and not as shadow proper ... You will understand that we rely almost entirely for our colour on *the actual colour of the glass*; and the more the design will enable us to break up the pieces, and the more mosaic-like it is, the better we like it.<sup>lxxiii</sup>

In "Glass, Painted or Stained," published in 1890, Morris wrote: "This art of mosaic window-glass is especially an art of the middle ages; there is no essential difference between its processes as now carried on and those of the 12<sup>th</sup> century; any departure from the medieval method of production in this art will only lead us astray."<sup>lxxiv</sup>

Describing enamel glass, common since the 16th-century, Morris observed:

In enamel glass ... certain fusible pigments are painted on a sheet of white glass, which is then fired, and the result is a picture the tints of which even in the high lights are not wholly transparent ... The object of ... enamel and semi-enamel glass-painting is the closest possible imitation of an oil or water-colour picture; and the results are never satisfactory. For at the best it can only do with difficulty and imperfectly what the oil-painting does with ease and perfection; while at the same time it refuses to avail itself of the special characteristics of glass, which can produce effects that no opaque painting can approach.<sup>lxxv</sup>

Morris calls the practice of modeling stained glass windows after famous paintings “mere caricature” and he observes that “the public also are beginning to see that the picture-window of the semi-enamel style ... cannot form, as a window should do, a part of the architecture of the building.”<sup>lxxvi</sup>

Initially, several artists were involved in stained glass design at Morris’s firm. By 1880, the key personnel were Morris and Burne-Jones.<sup>lxxvii</sup> Burne-Jones focused on figure design, while Morris determined the color, choose the glass, designed background patterns, and arranged the leading. Morris also supervised a group of talented glass painters who painted “hair, facial features, and creases of drapery.”<sup>lxxviii</sup> *Justice and Humility* was painted by Bowman – his first name is unknown – who was one “of Morris & Co.’s best glass painters.”<sup>lxxix</sup> He also did the glass painting on the Trinity Church baptistery window.

Alan Crawford has observed that Burne-Jones “worked at one remove from the workshop and the product, not because he did not know or care about the processes involved, but because he was working with Morris. This studio-based system can be compared with that of a modern designer, or of a Renaissance artist. But in many ways it was unique, shaped by [Burne-Jones's] relationship with Morris.”<sup>lxxx</sup>

Windows transmit light into a building; that is their primary architectural function. The glass in *Justice and Humility* was made the traditional, medieval way: each color hand-blown into a tube, then flattened and cut into pieces. The lead framing the pieces of colored glass both support the glass and help focus the light and sharpen the colors. “It is highly desirable to break up the surface of the work by means of them,” Morris stated, as they intensified “pieces of exquisite color.”<sup>lxxxi</sup> The painting, as Morris wrote to Ruskin, delineates “lines of draperies, features, and the like with an opaque colour” also used to “shade objects as much as we deem necessary, but always using this shading to explain form, and not as shadow proper ... You will understand that we rely almost entirely for our colour on *the actual colour of the glass*.” The Morris/Burne-Jones figures are, like the window itself, two-dimensional. The figures – and the backgrounds – are not medieval, but are 19th-century. Medieval materials and methods are used to create a new window appropriate to its time, its use, and its place.



## Charles Francis Wentworth Memorial

The Charles Francis Wentworth Memorial, *The Angel Appearing to Mary*, was designed in September and completed in November 1897. It was dedicated in 1898. The window was a collaborative work in memory of architect Charles Wentworth (1861-1897) given by his wife; the Wentworths were members of the Church of Our Saviour. The designer of the figures was Boston artist George Hawley Hallowell (1871-1926). The New York firm of Heinigke & Bowen made the window. Wentworth's partners, Ralph Adams Cram (1863-1942) and Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue (1869-1924), were involved; Cram served as project manager and Goodhue designed the memorial text panels executed in antique glass.



*The Angel Appearing to Mary*

The architectural firm of Cram & Wentworth was established in Boston in 1889; Bertram Goodhue joined the firm in 1891 and became a partner on January 1, 1892. After Charles Wentworth's death the firm became Cram, Goodhue & Ferguson.

George Hallowell is best known as a painter of New England landscapes. However, his father was an architect who practiced in Philadelphia and Baltimore, and around 1887, at the age of 16 George Hallowell began an apprenticeship with the architectural firm of Rotch & Tilden (who designed the Church of Our Saviour parsonage in 1885); Cram had worked at that firm between 1881 and 1886. In 1890 Hallowell entered the Museum of Fine Arts School where he spent three years, followed by two years in Europe "making studies of architecture and stained glass."<sup>lxxxii</sup> Hallowell, Cram, and the Goodhue brothers were friends, and Hallowell designed stained glass windows for Harry Goodhue and Heinigke & Bowen, and executed ecclesiastical paintings for Cram, Goodhue & Ferguson.<sup>lxxxiii</sup>

Otto Heinigke (1850-1915) was born in Brooklyn and attended Brooklyn Polytechnic Institute where he studied easel painting. He worked as a designer for Hartford Carpet Company and for Roger Riordan & Company Stained Glass. In 1890 Heinigke established his studio in New York City with Owen J. Bowen (1866-1902). Although Heinigke & Bowen glass is found in prominent buildings – Carnegie Hall, the New York Stock Exchange, and the Library of Congress, for example – the firm is rarely credited.

Heinigke designed and made windows for Cram, Wentworth & Goodhue in 1893 and 1894. When Heinigke learned in 1894 that Harry Goodhue would be doing similar work, he wrote to Bertram Goodhue: "I want to congratulate your brother on the opportunity he has ... and sincerely hope that he may use it with good success," adding, "our windows of today ... should not be pictures with painters' effects. They should be pieces of architecture as much as the stone, copper or wood."<sup>lxxxiv</sup>

This point of view is unusual for an American glass artist of the 1890s, although it would have been compatible, as we have seen, with the views of William Morris and his circle. One wonders: what had influenced these American artists – Heinigke at 44 was the eldest, Cram was 30, Goodhue 25, and Hallowell 22. What had they seen? Whose books did they read? If only we could eavesdrop on conversations in the office of Cram, Wentworth & Goodhue in the 1890s, when Otto Heinigke was in town to discuss stained glass window commissions.

Cram had read Ruskin in his father's library and admired Pre-Raphaelite art. He had visited Britain and Europe in 1886. Cram wrote regularly on art, design, and architecture for the *Boston Evening Transcript* in the 1880s. Of particular interest to us is Cram's first article in the journal *Architectural Review*, published in December 1891. It was a tribute to the English Arts & Crafts architect John Sedding, who had died the previous April. Cram's understanding of the legacy of Ruskin and Morris is clear:

Sedding threw himself open to all the impulses and impressions of beauty, mystery, and delight, but these would have been fruitless had he not gone back to the methods of the medieval builders. The one thing he hated above all others was commercial art. He realized fully that the mechanical and commercial system of the current century made art practically impossible, since all good and genuine industrial art is but the instinctive expression by the workman of his delight in his own labor, — a condition of things which cannot possibly exist under the present mechanical system. Therefore it was his constant labor to reunite the artist and the workman, the designer and the craftsman. Under existing circumstances this was of course only imperfectly possible, but had his life been spared much more might have been accomplished in this direction. As it was, he made himself the friend and companion of every man in his office, of every workman he employed, striving in every way for the reunion of art and artisanship.<sup>lxxxv</sup>

Cram states prophetically: "The work of Ruskin, Rossetti, Burne-Jones, Morris, and Sedding has been vast and beneficent, but for the greatest results of their labors we must look to the next fifty years."<sup>lxxxvi</sup> (That period would end in 1941, one year before Cram's death and four years before Charles Connick's death.)

In the summer of 1896, Heinigke and his partner Owen Bowen visited England and France for the first time and saw medieval stained glass *in situ*.<sup>lxxxvii</sup>

Charles Wentworth died in February of 1897. From April through December, Cram published an article on Hallowell's art, Cram and Heinigke published their first articles on the character of stained glass windows, and the collaborators planned, designed, and executed the Wentworth memorial window.

In April Cram published an appreciation of Hallowell's work illustrated by the artist. Cram praised "a keen artistic feeling, a remarkable decorative sense, a singular power on the part of the designer over clean, competent line, together with quiet reserve to a rather unusual degree."<sup>lxxxviii</sup> By Fall, Hallowell had prepared his design for *The Angel appearing to Mary* and Heinigke had created the full-sized cartoon or drawing of the window, showing the lead lines. On September 29, 1897, Cram wrote to Heinigke:

I shall make no attempt to express my wild admiration for the lead drawings of the Wentworth window. All I can say is that they are the very finest things in their way it has ever been my good fortune to see. Mr. Goodhue is equally enthusiastic, and so also is Mr. Hallowell. There is only one thing I don't like, and this I "don't like" very vigorously indeed, viz. the banner. I have taken the liberty of dotting very lightly the lines that seem to me the cross should follow. Another thing that I rather criticise is the flame on the head of the angel. Ought this not to be distinctly a flame and not as now appears a crystal? I send with the lead drawings the two inscriptions. Mr. Goodhue insisted on doing them this way, and I quite coincide with his feeling in the matter. His idea is that it should all be solid lead work plated on glass of one colour. If there is any practical reason why this should not be done let me know.

Renewing my assurance of wild enthusiasm, believe me  
Very faithfully yours,  
Ralph Adams Cram<sup>lxxxix</sup>

Two days later Cram's article "The Interior Decoration of Churches" was published in the *Architectural Review*; it appears to be his first published appraisal of the state of religious art in the United States. He praised the work of a few architects, artists, and firms<sup>xc</sup> – including "the really ecclesiastical glass of Otto Heinigke"<sup>xcii</sup> – and observed:

But of all the things that now go to marring the sanctity of a church, the stained glass is the most potent, as it should be the most powerful agent for good. This matter does not fall within the scope of this article, but it must be referred to, for the offence is rank. Technically we make better glass in this country than anywhere else in the world today, but artistically and ecclesiastically it is mostly impossible. Compare it with the glass in Chartres and you will see how deep has been the fall. The former glass is decoration, faultless and complete; the latter, with its vain perspective, its sultry and luxurious coloring, its fearful attempts at translating some easel picture into a medium foreign to its every principle, ... is not decoration and it is not art."<sup>xcii</sup>

By November 8, 1897, the window had been installed. Cram wrote to Heinigke:

My dear Mr. Heinigke:

Your letter was also a great relief to me, for after I wrote you before, I had grave misgivings as to whether I had not gone rather far in speaking as rudely as I did about the tone of the faces in the Wentworth window. I should have known that you would have taken my letter exactly as you did.

Once more I must beg you to believe that I was absolutely in earnest in everything I said in favour of the window. I really look on it as marking an era in glass-making. When I can have the pleasure of seeing you I shall try to explain more in detail the grounds for my enthusiastic approval, though you probably understand them better than I already.

I am immensely indebted to you for promising to send a man here this week to re-plate the faces. Send him at any time convenient to yourself, letting me know a day in advance, and I will guarantee that both Mrs. Wentworth and myself will be at the church. When you write me I wish you would say whether it will be necessary to take the window out or not in order to fix the faces ...

[Handwritten on the letter: "After taking off the plating, the faces were satisfactory."] <sup>xciii</sup>

Less than a month later, on December 1, 1897, Heinigke's first important article on stained glass appeared in the *Architectural Review*.<sup>xciv</sup> He states: "the strong old work is today called archaic and mediaeval and out-of-date; yet the formulas, upon which this old designing was done, are as true now as when they were invented."

Heinigke imagines "a noisy modern glass painter" complaining: "'No artist of today would draw a figure like thirteenth century work.'" The modern glass painter's approach, says Heinigke, "means mere realism. What right have we to stick pins in gentlemen, ladies and angels, and fasten them to the windows." He continues:

The human figure when used in decoration must be *translated into ornament*, governed by the style of the building it is to decorate. It is not enough to conventionalize by personal whim; not more styles are wanted, but more good work in the styles whose principles have outlived centuries of fashion and spasms. These principles only need adaptation to modern uses and demands; they are the alphabet with which we may make new volumes.<sup>xcv</sup>

Heinigke wrote that "strong colors in glass can only be used in small pieces, as the best old makers well knew." He observed:

The eastern rug ... is full of strong colors, but these colors are well distributed in small forms. This points to the mosaic method of designing windows, with as little paint as possible to destroy its luminosity, the one most precious quality of glass. . . . Hence, in the best windows of old, the painting is in strong markings, only used to assist the ornamental forms of drapery, flesh or architecture, the raw material having in its intrinsic marking, bubbles and

variations in thickness, all the detail necessary to convey interest to all parts of the small pieces of glass employed.

On this glass the dark lines harmonize with the strong, heavy leads, these again with the supporting iron work: thus by graduation the eye ... is ... led from the ... glass to the walls of the church ..."<sup>x cvi</sup>

Heinigke's sense that windows are two dimensional patterns, like oriental carpets, may stem from his career as a designer of carpets. His position that a window should not mimic a painting was a radical view. Yet Heinigke did not condemn opalescent glass. "America today makes the best glass for window use to be found," he writes. "Our material has the changing tones of precious stones, seeming to have many moods, according to the degree of light transmitted. This is the great quality to be taken advantage of, and, well nursed, great organ-tones lie within its gamut." But, he cautioned, one must not forget "that the purpose of a window is to transmit light ... Our glass is a powerful medium, and must be balanced correctly."

Heinigke looked to architects to "stand godfather" to the process whereby windows and walls were properly related. He only mentioned one glassman by name:

When looking for a modern style we unconsciously turn to England, for she has certainly made great efforts at great cost to induce the muses to fold their wings. But where is the English decorator whose fame will outlive his day? Perhaps William Morris; yet he was the last man to claim a patent for a new style. It is a pleasure to trace history through his work.<sup>x cvii</sup>

Ralph Adams Cram, who could be both overly enthusiastic and overly denigrating, was absolutely right to be "wildly enthusiastic," for the Wentworth Memorial did mark an era in the history of American stained glass.

The Wentworth Memorial inaugurates an iconographic shift – it is an opalescent glass window with antique glass inscriptions that rejects La Farge's "aesthetic goal of creating windows with realistic pictorial effects similar to those in ... academic art"<sup>x cviii</sup> – and ex-presses instead the medieval visual language revitalized by William Morris. Heinigke, a friend of John La Farge, by the way, would continue to explore this aesthetic hybrid in a series of remarkable windows made between 1897 and 1902 – in particular the twenty-one windows at the First Baptist Church, Philadelphia.

In 1897 Cram shared Heinigke's approval of opalescent glass. He had written in his *Architectural Review* article: "Technically we make better glass in this country than anywhere else in the world today." He reiterated this position in his 1899

series in *The Churchman* magazine that became the first edition of his influential book *Church Building* (1901). By 1907, a decade after the Wentworth Memorial was created, Cram had come to believe that the opacity of opalescent glass was as much a liability as the prevailing three-dimensional Classical design vocabulary. In an editorial, "The Question of Ecclesiastical Stained Glass in the United States," Cram wrote:

we had for a generation a wild passion for a type of glass that was wonderful, unprecedented, and in certain ways supremely beautiful. The only trouble was that it was not legitimate stained glass ... and it flatly refused to become a component part of any architectural or artistic composition that possessed a sacred character.<sup>xcix</sup>

But now, in 1907, Cram detected an emerging "return to the old principles that are yet new" among some American glazers, naming, in addition to Heinigke, Harry Goodhue of Cambridge and William Willet of Pittsburgh.

## An Arts & Crafts Legacy

Charles J. Connick (1875-1945) was born in Springboro, Pennsylvania, one of 11 children of Mina Trainer Connick (1851-1953)<sup>c</sup> and George Herbert Connick (1851-1902). The family moved to Pittsburgh, 90 miles south, in around 1883 when Charlie, as he was called, was 8 years old. His talent for drawing and sketching was discovered and encouraged in elementary school. His Sunday school teacher, Frank Gage, introduced him to literature – and boxing – since Charlie was small and sometimes bullied. He had just entered junior high school when his father became ill and Charlie had to leave school to help support his family.

He worked as an illustrator for several Pittsburgh newspapers and he illustrated verses his mother wrote for streetcar advertisements. In 1894, at the age of 19, Connick met twenty-four-year-old Horace Rudy, artistic director of *Rudy Brothers: Designers & Manufacturers of Stained, Mosaic & Leaded Glass*, established in Pittsburgh the previous year. Horace had admired Charlie's newspaper illustrations and invited him to visit the glass shop. The experience was revelatory and the defining moment in Connick's life and career:

The shop ... in flickering gaslight, looked like a treasure cave, with shimmering bits of glass like glowing jewels ...<sup>ci</sup> My feeling about the unique splendor of glass was flashed into my consciousness that summer evening of 1894.<sup>cii</sup>

Connick was Rudy Brothers' first apprentice and he worked there from 1894 to 1897. His education continued at Rudy Brothers, both professionally and personally. He wrote in his autobiography, *Adventures in Light and Color*:

I can see that young fellow ... alert and eager, rushing with great enthusiasm to that shop every morning and entering into its activities with growing interest. He was accepted familiarly by all the brothers and all the workers, although he felt that a slight elevation followed him into the art room where Charlie and Horace, as they called each other, held forth with talk of books and poetry, of tendencies throughout the world of art, of history, past, present and future, touched with snatches of heavy philosophy and the day's news.<sup>ciii</sup>

Connick worked for other Pittsburgh glass firms in 1898 and 1899. In 1900 he accepted a position in Boston with Spence, Moaker & Bell at 90 Canal Street. (The building is still there.) Connick remained in Boston for two years. During that period he exhibited a window design at the 1902 Boston Architectural Club exhibition. In 1903, following the death of his father, he returned to Pittsburgh to help support his family.



When he returned he discovered “a more serious school ... [of stained glass artists in Pittsburgh] than ... in Boston.”<sup>civ</sup> Connick worked in Pittsburgh through most of 1907. I will mention two experiences during this period: Connick encountered the work of William Willet,<sup>cv</sup> who was influenced by English stained glass artist Henry Holiday – “the first stained-glass artist overtly influenced by Burne-Jones, Rossetti and Morris.”<sup>cvi</sup> Willet experimented with antique glass, sometimes combined with opalescent glass. In 1904, Willet designed and made the north façade window at First Presbyterian Church, completed in 1905. The window was made of brightly colored transparent antique glass and composed of thirty-five medallions or panels each depicting a biblical scene, a device used in medieval windows. Around 1906 Connick was commissioned by the Episcopal bishop of Pittsburgh to make what Connick later described as “four small windows in mild colors of Antique glass”<sup>cvi</sup> for St. Mary’s Memorial Church. Late in 1907 Connick left Pittsburgh for New York where he spent most of 1908. He met Otto Heinigke and worked briefly for Tiffany’s firm. He was back in Boston by summer working for his old firm on Canal Street.

Two decisive events took place in Boston in 1909 and 1910. In 1909 Connick met Ralph Adams Cram, showed him photographs of his four windows at St. Mary’s Pittsburgh, and received a commission to design a transept window at All Saints’ Episcopal Church, Brookline. The George Champlin Memorial was dedicated April 17, 1910.

The second event concerns five clerestory windows for Boston’s Church of the Advent made by English stained glass artist Christopher Whall (1849-1924); they were five of six Whall windows commissioned for All Saints’ Ashmont and the Church of the Advent on the recommendation of Ralph Adams Cram and installed between 1907 and 1910.<sup>cvi</sup> Connick had been involved in unpacking one or more of the Advent windows when they arrived from England. He had not been impressed. Taken in sections from the crates, the glass was disappointing: “How dirty those windows looked! Even though I caught suggestions of pure colors and tints of white under smears and flakes of paint, my impression was that such a performance was dull and stupid.”<sup>cix</sup>

After the windows had been set, Connick visited the church and saw them in place:

I recalled that impression with a start when I saw those sections of glass glowing serenely and beautifully in light as parts of the clerestory windows in the Church of the Advent, Boston. I saw a lovely low-toned vibration in those windows that recalled the soft glow of light on piles of gaslight in a Pittsburgh shop.

When I had solved the mystery of that transformation, I understood how tiny spots of light through those areas of dirty paint had, in distance, illumined entire windows in a gracious fashion new to me yet curiously true and good.<sup>cx</sup>

Connick read Whall's book, *Stained Glass Work: A Text-book for Students and Workers in Glass*, published in London and New York in 1905, and found it "so charming and enthusiastic that I became his convert over night."<sup>cx</sup>

Christopher Whall, inspired by William Morris's revitalization of medieval crafts, is recognized as the leading English Arts & Crafts glazer and *Stained Glass Work* is considered the definitive Arts & Crafts glass textbook. It was typical of Whall that he would warn his readers: "the worst thing that could happen to you would be to suppose that any book can possibly teach you any craft, and take the place of a master on the one hand, and of years of practice on the other."<sup>cxii</sup>

Whall criticized the Renaissance-derived desire to turn windows into naturalistic pictures "where the lead-line is disguised or circumvented," noting that stained glass windows should remain windows: "Keep your pictures for the walls and your windows for the holes in them," he wrote, adding: "a window is, after all, only a window ... and nothing in it should stare out at you so that you cannot get away from it; windows ... should be so treated as to look like what they are, the apertures to admit the light; Subjects painted on a thin and brittle film, hung in mid-air between the light and dark."<sup>cxiii</sup>

Morris's Arts & Crafts heirs respected the symbiosis between Burne-Jones and Morris, who divided the work of design and fabrication, but the Arts & Crafts artist strived to perform *both* roles. Whall wrote, "one should be *able* to do the whole of the work oneself ... There is not a touch of painting ... which is not by a hand that can also cut and lead and design and draw, and perform all the other offices pertaining to stained-glass."<sup>cxiv</sup> The ideal for Arts & Crafts artists was to work "with their own hands ... designing only what they themselves can execute, and giving employment to others only in what they themselves can do."<sup>cxv</sup>

Connick's fee for the George Champlin Memorial Window allowed him to travel to England and France for five months.<sup>cxvi</sup> He met Christopher Whall and visited his studio; they would keep in touch until Whall's death in 1924. Peter Cormack, who has written extensively on Whall, observes:

Connick's absorption of the great medieval glazing tradition, the inspiration of so much of his later work, was through eyes opened by Whall. Whall's work offered living proof that the medieval skills of manipulating light and color through painted and leaded glass were no 'lost art'; and that the resources of the modern craft ... enabled all its ancient glories to be re-created in new and expressive ways.<sup>cxvii</sup>

In August 1910, Connick visited Chartres Cathedral. He recalled:

the windows in Chartres formed an active community of color and light – with shadowy settings – that justified and glorified the craft beyond all my dreams.

They were like a new wizardry of sound, a strange music that was also familiar. Those constantly shifting lights and glowing colors often reminded me, especially toward evening, of my first night in a glass shop under flickering gaslights.<sup>cxviii</sup>

On May 22, 1911, Charles Connick was commissioned to design all the windows in the First Baptist Church, Pittsburgh. Bertram Goodhue, now head of the New York Office of Cram, Goodhue & Ferguson, was the architect.

On a visit to Goodhue's New York studio Connick met Goodhue's assistant, Leicester Holland (1882-1952). Holland had translated the chapter on stained glass from *The Analytical Dictionary of French Architecture from the 11th to the 16th Century* published between 1854 and 1868 by architect and architectural historian Eugène-Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc (1814-79). Connick acquired one of the ten copies of Holland's translation.<sup>cxix</sup>

Viollet-le-Duc's essay described and illustrated the character and the processes of medieval stained glass window making. According to Viollet-le-Duc:

What have been lost or forgotten during many centuries are the true manners ... suitable for painting of glass; manners dictated by study of the effect of light and optics; manners perfectly understood and employed by the glass painters of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, neglected from the fifteenth century on, and afterward disdained ... In an opaque painting, in a picture, the radiation of the colors is absolutely under the control of the painter, who, by halftones, shadows of diverse intensity and values, according to the different planes, can diminish or augment it at will. The radiation of transparent colors in glass cannot be thus modified by the artist; whose whole talent consists in profiting by it to work out a harmonic scheme on a single plane, like a rug, not in working out effects of aerial perspective.<sup>cxx</sup>

It is unlikely that Otto Heinigke had read Viollet-le-Duc, but he shared his insight. Connick later wrote that Viollet-le-Duc "recognized ... [medieval stained glass] as unique in its vibrant aliveness and while he has recorded his observations like a scientist, he has celebrated his findings with the enthusiasm of an artist."<sup>cxxi</sup>

On April 22, 1913, after four years of working in glass studios owned by others, Connick opened his own studio at 9 Harcourt Street in Boston's Back Bay. It was organized according to precepts Connick valued from his apprenticeship with Horace Rudy and modeled after the English Arts & Crafts glass shop Whall described in *Stained Glass Work* and that Connick had visited in 1910. One of

Connick's first articles, "Stained Glass Windows: The Craft," published in April 1916, stated his approach: "Every artist, whatever his chosen medium, must approach his work with something of the spirit of the craftsman. He must deal with the fundamental facts of his materials honestly, and build substantially, alone or with the help of others. He must be inspired by the possibilities of the medium, yet aware always of its limitations."<sup>cxxii</sup>

Connick had found his way. And yet, as I wrote in my book, even though Connick:

deplored the direction taken by the opalescent school – the opacity of the material, the architectural inappropriateness of the designs, the sentimentality (and latent eroticism) implicit in the imagery, and the commercialism of many fabricators – he recalled his admiration in the 1890s for the artistry of John La Farge, Frederick Wilson, Charles and Ella Lamb, David Maitland Armstrong and his daughter Helen, Kenyon Cox, Frederick Crowninshield, Ford & Brooks, and Sarah Wyman Whitman, and continued to revere Horace Rudy as both teacher and artist. Why? Connick was not an ideologue or a "conceptual artist." He was a craftsman who *handled* and hence knew his materials, and respected his fellow workers in glass, even when he disagreed with aspects of their art.<sup>cxxiii</sup>

Charles Connick had been working in stained glass for 45 years when he created the magnificent All Saints Memorial window at the Church of Our Saviour. The design for the window, in the south transept, was finished on May 15, 1939. Connick summarized the subject matter as follows: "The window symbolizes the spirit of the seventh chapter of Revelation as it is expressed in the ninth to the twelfth verses." He quotes verse 9: "'I beheld ... a great multitude, which no man could number, of all the nations, and kindreds, and people, and tongues, stood before the throne, and before the Lamb, clothed with white robes, and palms in their hands.'" "The theme of the design," Connick states, "is announced by the figure of Our Lord enthroned in the central tracery member, and is developed through the Angelic Choir and the hosts of saints bearing witness of the Glory of God."<sup>cxxiv</sup>

On May 16th Connick wrote to the rector, Dr. Henry Ogilby: "I am sending the rough sketch of the memorial window, and with it a rather detailed description ... so that you may have a vision of the completed window, even though this sketch lacks full definition and detail."

Connick was always acutely aware of the place of a window in a church; he noted in his letter "the rather small area immediately around the actual window in your church" and revealed that he was "always thinking of the problem related to so large a window seen near at hand as well as at some distance. Also,

I constantly have in mind the brilliant sunlight that it receives practically all year round."

The color scheme "is cool throughout its great areas, with brilliant touches of pearly whites, golds, and brilliant reds." He concludes: "I have had great pleasure in developing this design, for it emphasizes my delight in the poetry of the Christian artist whom we call Saint John the Evangelist."<sup>cxxv</sup>

The completed window was exhibited in the Connick studio on October 22 and 23, 1939. In a description of the window prepared in conjunction with the exhibition, Connick called the window "a notable one, in four lancets and tracery, for a significant place among his friends and neighbours." The All Saints Memorial window was installed November 1, 1939.

When Connick visited Chartres Cathedral in 1910 he was moved by what he called the musicality of the stained glass windows: "a new wizardry of sound, a strange music that was also familiar." As remarkable as are the cool blues and whites, the vivid golds and reds, this window also sings and dances. Peter Cormack notes that Christopher "Whall's ... use of 'staggered' solder-joints ... is also a regular feature of Connick's windows, and one which he seems to have found particularly inspiring. It is at least partly the origin of that rhythmic use of leading which gives his windows of the late 1920s and the 1930s their quasi-musical syncopated or 'swinging' character ..."<sup>cxxvi</sup>

At Charles Connick's death on December 28, 1945, his employees inherited the Studio he had led for 32 years. They continued to work under the name of Connick Associates until 1986. In 1946, Connick Associates made the Anne Ogilby Memorial, next to the Morris/Burne-Jones window. In 1961, they made the Frederick and Hetty Cunningham Memorial, located in the chapel.<sup>cxxvii</sup>





*Church of Our Savior - All Saint's Window*





*Church of Our Savior - All Saint's Window, angel detail*

As we have seen, “American stained glass” – invented by La Farge, aggressively marketed by Tiffany, and used by most American stained glass artists between 1880 and 1915 – was predominately an expression of Classical realism derived from Renaissance painting and sculpture. Though “modern” at the time, the “realistic representation” of the opalescent figure window would be – like all modernisms – short-lived. After 1915, realistic representation and idealized naturalism in art were no longer considered the epitome of modernism. Two-dimensional abstraction, an inherent quality in medieval stained glass windows, was no longer considered an artistic defect.

Remember the disagreement between Harry Goodhue and Sarah Whitman? Beverly Brandt writes in *The Craftsman and the Critic: Defining Usefulness and Beauty in Arts and Crafts-Era Boston* that Harry Goodhue “based his work on Old World models, restricting himself to techniques used during the Middle Ages. This distinguished him from more avant-garde American stained glass painters and platers, who followed the lead of Louis C. Tiffany and John La Farge.”<sup>cxxviii</sup> To label Harry Goodhue's Arts & Crafts-inspired approach ‘restricting’ and Tiffany's exotic realism and La Farge's Classicism ‘avant-garde’ is not credible.

Erica Hirshler wrote that Sarah Whitman

was adamant about the superiority of American glassmaking to that of the English. Writing in *The Nation* in 1892, she explained that American glassmakers (herself included) preferred to create their motifs by exploiting modulations in the colors and thickness of the stained glass itself rather than by applying paint to the surface of the glass or by depending upon the dark outlines of the leading, as did many English designers. *Her doctrine of truth to the nature of her materials was drawn from the principles of the Arts and Crafts movement.*<sup>cxxix</sup>

Sarah Whitman’s letter to the editor of *The Nation* contrasts opalescent windows with “stained-glass windows now made in Europe, among which those of Mr. Burne-Jones hold high rank.”<sup>cxxx</sup> It is clear from her letter that Mrs. Whitman did not understand how Morris made his windows, although she graciously acknowledged “two noble schools ... each expressing in its own way some of the dreams and desires of the heart of man.”<sup>cxxxi</sup> She did not use the term “Arts and Crafts,” and Morris and his Arts & Crafts successors would have viewed her pictorial opalescent windows as self-referential “caricatures” of a different genre.<sup>cxxxii</sup> Ms. Hirshler’s reference here to ‘Arts and Crafts principles’ is mistaken and misleading.

Earlier I quoted William Morris: “The Art of Architecture reached its fullest development in the Middle Ages ... If we are ever again to have architecture at all, we must take up the thread of tradition there ... because Gothic Architecture is the most completely organic form of the Art, which the world has seen.”<sup>cxxxiii</sup>



In 2000 Martin Harrison reviewed a book purporting to be an overview of stained glass in the United States. His review noted that the medieval architecture and crafts revitalized by Morris and his Arts & Craft followers “spread in the twentieth century through the example of the architect Ralph Adams Cram and the glass-man Charles Connick ... Some of the great monuments of Late Gothic are to be found in the USA and these, and the stained glass that paralleled the movement, are its true glory: they are not, alas, much in evidence [in this book].”<sup>cxxxiv</sup>

The United States became a nation in the 18th-century during a period of architectural Classicism. We had no *indigenous* medieval tradition of design and building.<sup>cxxxv</sup> In England, the Gothic Revival gave birth to the Art & Crafts movement, which, in turn, energized it. In America, the British Arts & Crafts movement provided the foundation for “American Gothic.” William Morris’s revitalization of medieval materials and techniques, the work and influence of his Arts & Crafts followers such as Christopher Whall, and the leadership of architects Ralph Adams Cram and Bertram Goodhue and their support of craftsmen such as Charles Connick led to an unprecedented, innovative, and substantial body of work in 20th-century America inspired by late medieval design.

Like Martin Harrison, Peter Cormack affirms Connick’s key role when he calls him “a leading creative force in a fascinating, although still neglected, cultural phenomenon: modern America’s exploration and development of the Gothic tradition in art and architecture.”<sup>cxxxvi</sup>

Cormack has written that Connick has been:

erroneously regarded by many as a historicist and even conservative designer. The underlying modernism of Connick’s approach has too often been missed by critics, notwithstanding his consistent emphasis on ‘abstract’ qualities of colour and light and on the concept of ‘symbolic form’ ... Connick’s modernism is ... a development of the distinctively Arts & Crafts understanding of stained glass which he had absorbed in his early years.<sup>cxxxvii</sup>

Peter Cormack also notes: “Connick was constantly stimulated by seeking new solutions (or re-interpreting old ones) to the technical challenges of his craft. He could see endless possibilities in innovative glass manufacture, in new colours and textures which would interact with light to make his windows vibrantly alive.”<sup>cxxxviii</sup> Connick used hand-blown “slab glass” invented by Arts & Crafts architect Edward Prior; fashioned decorative medallions from New England pressed Sandwich Glass; and during World War II, when lead was in short supply, used plastic and zinc to support glass panels.<sup>cxxxix</sup>

The catalog of a recent exhibition of medieval drawings at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York notes: “The difficulty in our apprehending [the] work [of medieval artists] lies in part with the modern infatuation with the Renaissance and its lock on our understanding of the uses, techniques, and connotations of drawing.”<sup>cxl</sup> Yet the exhibition itself, and the handsome, scholarly catalog, are indicative of an emerging 21st-century reassessment of medieval art.

In 2009 Holland Cotter reviewed *An Antiquity of Imagination*, an exhibition of Venetian Renaissance marble sculpture at the National Gallery of Art. One piece stood out—an arresting anomaly. Cotter writes:

And then there’s the shouter. He appears on a panel carved in low relief ... as a skinny male of uncertain age standing in front of a tree. And he is identified as St. Sebastian, the young Roman soldier-martyr who was tied to a tree and shot with arrows.

Sebastian is often depicted as a buff and stalwart sufferer. But this figure . . . doesn’t fit this model. With his stretch mouth, sightless eyes and scowl, he looks wired, anguished and crazed. He’s the dark side of “an antiquity of imagination” ... He’s Gothic, extreme and post-modern: the voice of the unclassical.”<sup>cxli</sup>

In New York, the Metropolitan Museum of Art has renovated the medieval art gallery — “the first major renovation of any medieval gallery at the Met in more than half a century,” according to Roberta Smith. She observes: [The curators] “seem to have wanted to mount a final assault on the notion of the medieval period as backward, antiquated or benighted. This misconception started in the full-of-itself Renaissance, which condescendingly christened the previous era the Dark or Middle Ages.” Ms. Smith states:

it is hard to think of another gallery in the museum — at least of Western art — where there is more going on historically and aesthetically and on such an even playing field in terms of art mediums ... there is nothing fixed about the techniques, styles and materials of medieval art. Painting had not yet established its dominance; every medium had its storytelling role. Classicism was not yet the Ideal, but only one of many influences ... And space, not yet locked into one-point perspective, was subject to individual skill and imagination, regardless of medium ...

Most compelling, she writes, is “the unmistakable blaze of a tall, slim stained-glass window from 13th-century France [that] glows like a beacon from about a half a football field away. With wattage like that, who can resist medieval art?”<sup>cxlii</sup>

We should understand that this tradition lives on in the United States. We heirs to the genuine Arts & Crafts revitalization of architectural glass – even in somewhat out-of-the-way places such as Brookline and Pittsburgh – have much to be thankful for.

## Acknowledgments

I wish to express my thanks to Back Bay Historical/Boston-centric Global Studies for awarding me the Thomas Tunno Forbes Scholarship for research and writing and inviting me to present this lecture; to The Charles J. Connick Stained Glass Foundation Ltd. for co-sponsoring the event; and to the Rev. Joel Ives and the parishioners of the Church of Our Saviour for welcoming us into their church.

## Illustrations

Photographs of *Justice and Humility* and *The Angel Appearing to Mary* courtesy of Albert M. Tannler. The *All Saints Memorial* photographs courtesy of Peter Cormack.

## Endnotes

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<sup>i</sup> Prominent windows not discussed here include the Elizabeth Gregory Memorial of 1885, located at the rear of the church on the Epistle side, by Donald MacDonald; the William Lincoln Memorial chancel window, "Our Saviour" of 1896 (maker unknown); and the Grace Ewart Wells Memorial of 1905 near the front of the church on the Gospel side (maker unknown). The Sarah Lawrence Memorial of 1902 in the Sacristy is by F. X. Zettler of Munich.

<sup>ii</sup> Peter Cormack, "Foreword," *Charles J. Connick: His Education and His Windows in and near Pittsburgh*, by Albert M. Tannler (Pittsburgh, 2008), viii.

<sup>iii</sup> Charles J. Connick, "Stained Glass as a Medium," *Ornamental Glass Bulletin* 11:3 (April 1917), 8. Emphasis in the original.

<sup>iv</sup> Harry Eldredge Goodhue, "Stained Glass," *Handicraft* 2:4 (July 1903), 76-92.

<sup>v</sup> Sarah de St. P. Whitman, "Stained Glass," *Handicraft* 2:6 (September 1903), 117-131.

<sup>vi</sup> Albert M. Tannler, "Harry Eldredge Goodhue: Pioneer of American Stained Glass," *Stained Glass* 99:1 (Spring 2004), 54-67, and Albert M. Tannler, "We only have one window": Stained Glass and the Arts & Crafts Movement in the United States", *The Journal of Stained Glass*, XXVIII, America Edition (2004), pp. 64-67.

<sup>vii</sup> Sarah and Timothy Corey Memorial windows (1905).

<sup>viii</sup> Estey's 1862 building was expanded in 1899 by Frederick Allen; the Lindsey Memorial Chapel was added by Allen & Collens in 1920 and opened in 1924. Harry Goodhue's Robeson Memorial window (1905) is located in the 1899 addition.

<sup>ix</sup> In 1907 Harry Goodhue exhibited a funeral pall at the Architectural League of New York that he had designed for the Church of Our Saviour. This may be the funeral pall given in 1906 in memory of Mrs. F. Cunningham; Herbert F. Fletcher, *A History of the Church of Our Saviour* (Brookline, 1936), 159.

<sup>x</sup> Harry Eldredge Goodhue, "Stained Glass," 77.

<sup>xi</sup> Goodhue 1903, 78.

<sup>xii</sup> Goodhue 1903, 77.

<sup>xiii</sup> Goodhue 1903, 78.

<sup>xiv</sup> Goodhue 1903, 81-82.

<sup>xv</sup> Lawrence Lee, George Seddon, and Francis Stephens, *Stained Glass* (New York, 1976), 184.

<sup>xvi</sup> Julie L. Sloan, "The Rivalry Between Louis Comfort Tiffany and John La Farge," *Nineteenth Century* 17:2 (Fall 1997), 30.

<sup>xvii</sup> Roger Riordan, "American Stained Glass," Pts. 1-3, *American Art Review* (Boston) Vol. 2 (April 1881), 229-234; (May 1881), 7-11; (June 1881), 59-64. [Reprinted in Walter Montgomery, ed., *American Art and American Art Collections*, Vol. 2 (Boston: E. W. Walker & Co., 1889), 594-608.]

<sup>xviii</sup> Goodhue 1903, 81.

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- xix Goodhue 1903, 80-81.
- xx Goodhue 1903, 79-80.
- xxi Goodhue 1903, 83.
- xxii Goodhue 1903, 92.
- xxiii Goodhue 1903, 78.
- xxiv H. E. Goodhue to Joseph E. Flanagan, *Ornamental Glass Bulletin* 4 (March 1910), 3.
- xxv Goodhue 1903, 82-83.
- xxvi Goodhue 1903, 90.
- xxvii Erica Hirshler, "Woman Artists at Trinity: Sarah Wyman Whitman and Margaret Redmond," *The Makers of Trinity Church in the City of Boston*, edited by James F. O'Gorman (Amherst, 2004), 154.
- xxviii Orin E. Skinner, "Woman in Stained Glass," *Stained Glass* 35:4 (Winter, 1940), 114-115.
- xxix Sarah de St. P. Whitman, "Stained Glass," 117.
- xxx Whitman 1903, 123-124.
- xxxi Whitman 1903, 124.
- xxxii Whitman 1903, 128.
- xxxiii Whitman 1903, 123-124.
- xxxiv Whitman 1903, 126.
- xxxv Whitman 1903, 129-130.
- xxxvi Whitman 1903, 130-131.
- xxxvii John La Farge, Colored Glass Window Patent, *Specifications and Drawings of Patents, issued from the United States Patent Office for February 1880*, reproduced in Julie L. Sloan and James L. Yarnall, "John La Farge's patent for the American opalescent window," *The Journal of Stained Glass* XXVIII, America Issue (2004), 32-33.
- xxxviii H. Barbara Weinberg, "The Early Stained Glass Work of John La Farge (1835-1910)," *Stained Glass* 67:2 (Summer 1972), 10.
- xxxix Sloan and Yarnall 2004, 31.
- xl Henry Adams, et al, *John La Farge* (New York, 1987); exhibition held at The Carnegie Museum of Art, Pittsburgh; the National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.; and the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.
- xli Quoted in Cecilia Waern, "John La Farge, Artist and Writer," *The Portfolio: Monographs on Artistic Subjects with Many Illustrations* (London, 1896), 52.
- xlvi William Hosley, *The Japan Idea: Arts and Life in Victorian America* (Hartford, 1990), 88.
- lviii John La Farge, "An Essay on Japanese Art," *Across America and Asia: Notes of a Five Years' Journey Around the World and of Residence in Arizona, Japan and China*, by Raphael Pumpelly (New York, 1870), 195-202.
- xliv Waern 1896, 52.
- lv Waern 1896, 68.
- xlvi Roger Riordan, "American Stained Glass" (1889 reprint), 602.
- lvii Hugh McKean, *The "Lost" Treasures of Louis Comfort Tiffany* (Garden City, NJ, 1980), 83.
- lviii S. Bing, *Artistic America*, translated by Benita Eisler and introduced by Robert Koch (Cambridge, MA, 1970), 147.
- lix Cecelia Waern, "The Industrial Arts of America: The Tiffany Glass and Decorative [sic] Co.," *The Studio* 11:52 (August 1897), 162.
- <sup>1</sup> L. C. Tiffany & Associated Artists (1879-84), Tiffany Glass Company (1885-91), Tiffany Glass & Decorating Company (1892-1901), Tiffany Studios (1902-32). John Loring, *Louis Comfort Tiffany at Tiffany & Co.* (New York, 2002) notes the L. C. Tiffany was design director of Tiffany & Co. after his father's death, from 1902-18, and a principal owner, and that throughout his career he drew upon the resources of the older firm.

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- <sup>li</sup> James L. Sturm, *Stained Glass From Medieval Times to the Present: Treasures to Be Seen in New York* (New York, 1982), 44.
- <sup>lii</sup> James L. Sturm, "Louis Comfort Tiffany: His Windows and His World," *Stained Glass* 76:4 (Winter 1981-82), 328.
- <sup>liii</sup> For a more extended discussion of Tiffany windows and Tiffany interpreters, who often mistakenly link Tiffany to both the Arts & Crafts movement and to "modern" art, my talk "Classical Perspective, Industrial Art, and American Gothic," is available online at [www.phlf.org](http://www.phlf.org) or via a link on the Connick Foundation website [www.cjconnick.org](http://www.cjconnick.org).
- <sup>liv</sup> A. Charles Sewter, *The Stained Glass of William Morris and His Circle – Catalogue*, Vol. 2, (New Haven, 1975), 223, 239, 258, 297, and 301. Information from Morris & Co. "Catalogue of Designs for Windows Executed from June 1876 to 30 June 1916." (now in the Huntington Library, San Marino, CA). See also Marilyn Ibach, *William Morris & Company Stained Glass in North America* (New York, 1983), 3, 9 (illustrated).
- <sup>lv</sup> *The Church Militant* 2:2 (March 1899) article and pictures of Church of Our Saviour, Longwood; Reference to replacement of three old windows and one mention of a new window of Mary and Martha given by John Ward (subsequently destroyed by fire).
- <sup>lvi</sup> John Ruskin, "The Nature of the Gothic," *The Stones of Venice*, Vol. II (London, 1925), 176. Emphasis in original.
- <sup>lvii</sup> Ruskin, "Nature of the Gothic," 162.
- <sup>lviii</sup> Ruskin, "Nature of the Gothic," 167.
- <sup>lix</sup> Jan Morris in *John Ruskin: The Stones of Venice*, edited and introduced by Jan Morris (London, 1981), 23, 26.
- <sup>lx</sup> William Morris, "Architecture and History" (1884), *William Morris on Architecture*, edited by Chris Miele (Sheffield, 1996), 131-132.
- <sup>lxi</sup> William Morris, "The Revival of Handicraft" (1888), *William Morris on Art and Design*, edited by Christine Poulson (Sheffield, 1996), 189-190.
- <sup>lxii</sup> Alan Crawford, "United Kingdom: Origins and First Flowering," *The Arts & Crafts Movement in Europe & America* [Los Angeles County Museum of Art], edited by Wendy Kaplan (London, 2004), 22. The William Morris quotation is taken from "Art and Its Producers" (1888).
- <sup>lxiii</sup> William Morris to Andreas Scheu, September 15, 1883, *The Collected Letters of William Morris*, Volume II (1881-1884), ed. by Norman Kelvin (Princeton, 1987), 230; Quoted in Poulson, ed. *Morris on Art and Design*, 154.
- <sup>lxiv</sup> C. R. Ashbee, "Arts and Crafts in England: A Brief Sketch of the Development of the Movement by a Distinguished Architect and Craftsman, Part II," *House Beautiful* 26:2 (July 1909), 34.
- <sup>lxv</sup> William Morris, "Gothic Architecture" (1889), *William Morris on Architecture*, 145.
- <sup>lxvi</sup> Morris, "Gothic Architecture," 156.
- <sup>lxvii</sup> William Morris, "The Prospects of Architecture in Civilization," *Hopes and Fears for Art* (1882), Introduction by Peter Faulkner (Bristol, 1994), 119.
- <sup>lxviii</sup> Martin Harrison, "Church Decoration and Stained Glass," *William Morris*, edited by Linda Parry (New York, 1996), 106.
- <sup>lxix</sup> Harrison, "Church Decoration and Stained Glass," 106.
- <sup>lxx</sup> Morris, "Architecture and History," 137.
- <sup>lxxi</sup> William Morris, 'Glass, Painted or Stained', *Chambers's Encyclopaedia: A Dictionary of Universal Knowledge* [1890], V, 246-248, in Poulson, ed., *Morris on Art and Design*, 49.
- <sup>lxxii</sup> Harrison, "Church Decoration and Stained Glass," 107.
- <sup>lxxiii</sup> William Morris to John Ruskin, April 15, 1883, *Collected Letters*, Volume II, 186. Spelling and punctuation slightly altered for clarity.
- <sup>lxxiv</sup> Morris, "Glass, Painted or Stained," 45.
- <sup>lxxv</sup> Morris, "Glass, Painted or Stained," 42.

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- lxxvi Morris, "Glass, Painted or Stained," 48.
- lxxvii Architect Philip Webb (1831-1915) may also have continued to contribute to the glass making process. In his autobiographical sketch of September 15, 1883, sent to Andreas Scheu, Morris stated: "about ten years ago the firm broke up, leaving me the only partner, though I still receive help and designs from P. Webb and Burne-Jones."
- lxxviii Martin Harrison, *Victorian Stained Glass* (London, 1980), 42.
- lxxix Sewter, *The Stained Glass of William Morris and His Circle*, Vol. 1 (New Haven, 1974), 46. Bowman is known to have worked for Morris & Co. between 1879-1909 and perhaps earlier.
- lxxx Alan Crawford, "Burne-Jones as a Decorative Artist," *Edward Burne-Jones: Victorian Artist-Dreamer* (New York, 1998), 13.
- lxxxi Morris, "Glass, Painted or Stained," 44.
- lxxxii G. H. Hallowell Dies in His Studio: Called by John Singer Sargent the Finest Decorative Artist in America," *New York Times*, 28 March 1926, 26. See also Nancy Finley, *Artists of the Book in Boston 1890-1910* (Cambridge, 1985), and Leah Lipton, *George Hawley Hallowell's New England Visions* (Framingham, 1996).
- lxxxiii Hallowell's documented windows for Goodhue included the Pratt Memorial at the First Unitarian Church, Newton, Mass., and for Heinigke, the Goddard window at First Unitarian Church, Brookline, Mass. In addition to All Saints' Ashmont, he did a painting for the Church of Our Saviour, Middleborough, Mass. Interesting, in his autobiography, *My Life*, published in 1937, Cram wrote that Hallowell "had done nothing whatever in the line of religious art" prior to his 1903 altarpiece at All Saints' Ashmont.
- lxxxiv Otto Heinigke to Bertram Goodhue, November 13, 1894, Ralph Adams Cram Personal Papers, Boston Public Library, Fine Arts Department.
- lxxxv Ralph Adams Cram, "John D. Sedding: Some Considerations on his Life and Genius," *The Architectural Review* 1:2 (December 14, 1891), 10.
- lxxxvi Cram, "John D. Sedding," 9.
- lxxxvii "Brooklynites in Paris." *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 29 June 1896, 1.
- lxxxviii Ralph Adams Cram, "George H. Hallowell," Illustrated by George H. Hallowell, *The Red Letter: An Illustrated Monthly* 2:2 (April 1897), 68.
- lxxxix Ralph Adams Cram to Otto Heinigke, September 29, 1897. D. Roger Howlett, Childs Gallery, Boston, introduced himself to me after my 2005 Connick Foundation Orin Skinner Lecture and invited me to examine papers he had acquired from a member of the Heinigke family. There I found the two letters from R. A. Cram to Otto Heinigke concerning the Wentworth Memorial window quoted in the text. I am grateful to Mr. Howlett for facilitating this discovery and for photocopying the letters.
- xc Architects Henry Vaughan, Cope & Stewardson, and R. C. Sturgis; painter John Singer Sargent; Otto Heinigke; and the metal-work of Gorham Company [50].
- xci Ralph Adams Cram, "The Interior Decoration of Churches," *Architectural Review* 4:7 (November 1, 1897), 50.
- xcii Cram, "Interior Decoration," 52-53.
- xciii Ralph Adams Cram to Otto Heinigke, November 8, 1897.
- xciv Otto Heinigke, "Architectural Sympathy in Leaded Glass," *Architectural Review* 4:8 (December 1, 1897), 60-64.
- xcv Heinigke, "Architectural Sympathy," 62. Emphasis in the original.
- xcvi Heinigke, "Architectural Sympathy," 61-62.
- xcvii Heinigke, "Architectural Sympathy," 62.
- xcviii Sloan and Yarnall 2004, 31.
- xcix Ralph Adams Cram, "The Question of Ecclesiastical Stained Glass in the United States," *Christian Art* 1:6 (September 1907): 285-286.

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- <sup>c</sup> "Quincy Woman Dies at 101; Outlived 10 of 11 Children," *Patriot Ledger*, 17 April 1953. I am grateful to Randal J. Loy for locating this obituary which came to his attention after I had published my book.
- <sup>ci</sup> Charles Connick, "The Education of an Artist in Brother Sun's Workshop," unpublished typescript c. 1940. Charles J. Connick Papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.
- <sup>cii</sup> Charles J. Connick, *Adventures in Light and Color* (New York, 1937), 117.
- <sup>ciii</sup> Connick, *Adventures*, 9.
- <sup>civ</sup> Connick, "Boston Stained Glass Craftsmen," *Stained Glass* 28:2 (Summer 1933), 89
- <sup>cv</sup> Albert M. Tannler, *William Willet in Pittsburgh 1897-1913: A Research Compendium* (Pittsburgh, 2005).
- <sup>cvi</sup> Harrison, "Church Decoration and Stained Glass," 113.
- <sup>cvi</sup> Connick, "Boston Stained Glass Craftsmen," 90.
- <sup>cvi</sup> Peter Cormack, *The Stained Glass Work of Christopher Whall 1849-1924* (Boston, 1999), 42. The Church of the Advent windows are documented in "The Rector's Weekly Message," 1907-1910, The Church of the Advent. Whall's first window is in All Saints' Ashmont. See Douglass Shand-Tucci, *All Saints' Ashmont, Dorchester, Boston: A Centennial History of the Parish* (Boston, 1975).
- <sup>cix</sup> Connick, *Adventures*, 5.
- <sup>cx</sup> Connick, *Adventures*, 5.
- <sup>cx</sup> Connick, *Adventures*, 5.
- <sup>cxi</sup> Christopher Whall, *Stained Glass Work: A Text-Book for Students and Workers in Glass* [1905] Introduction by Peter Cormack. Morris and Juliet Venables: Briston, 1999, 82.
- <sup>cxi</sup> Whall, *Stained Glass Work*, 94.
- <sup>cxi</sup> Whall, *Stained Glass Work*, 268. Emphasis in the original.
- <sup>cxi</sup> Whall, *Stained Glass Work*, 238.
- <sup>cxi</sup> Connick, *Adventures*, 19. Peter Cormack believes that Connick met Whall in June 1910.
- <sup>cxi</sup> Cormack, *Stained Glass Work of Christopher Whall*, 47.
- <sup>cxi</sup> Connick, *Adventures*, 5
- <sup>cxi</sup> Connick, *Adventures*, 7.
- <sup>cxi</sup> E. Viollet-le-Duc, "Vitrail," translated by L. B. Holland and quoted by Connick in "Stained and Painted Glass," *American Churches*, edited by Ralph Adams Cram, Vol. 1 (New York, 1915), 68.
- <sup>cxi</sup> Connick, "Eugene-Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc," *Stained Glass* 26:4 (April 1931), 110.
- <sup>cxi</sup> "Stained Glass Windows: The Craft," *The Technology Monthly and Harvard Engineering Journal* 3:1 (April 1916), 5.
- <sup>cxi</sup> Tannler, *Charles J. Connick*, 127-128. Emphasis in the original.
- <sup>cxi</sup> Typescript, with holograph corrections, undated; "Church of Our Saviour File," Connick Studio Records, Boston Public Library.
- <sup>cxi</sup> Charles J. Connick to Rev. Henry McF. B. Ogilby, May 16, 1939, "Church of Our Saviour File," Connick Studio Records, Boston Public Library.
- <sup>cxi</sup> Peter Cormack, "Glazing 'with careless care': Charles J. Connick and the Arts and Crafts Philosophy of Stained Glass," *The Journal of Stained Glass America* Issue XXVIII (2004), 79.
- <sup>cxi</sup> The men and women Connick had trained operated the studio for 41 years. A year earlier, in 1985, they established The Charles J. Connick Stained Glass Foundation, prior to the closing of Connick Associates in 1986.
- <sup>cxi</sup> Beverly K. Brandt, *The Craftsman and the Critic: Defining Usefulness and Beauty in Arts and Crafts-Era Boston* (Amherst, 2009), 242. Ms. Brandt's book "builds upon" [xxiii] her 1985 Boston University Ph.D. dissertation. As I pointed out in my essay in the America Issue of *The Journal of Stained Glass* [see endnote 6], most of the literature on the American Arts & Crafts movement has ignored "American artists with a legitimate and intrinsic relationship to Arts and Crafts aesthetic principles, artistic procedures, and executed work." Among the exceptions are a few exhibition



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catalogs – although coverage is sometimes sparse, sometimes convoluted – “*The Art that is Life*” (1987), *The Ideal Home* (1993), and more recently *The Beauty of Life: William Morris & the Art of Design* (2003). Eileen Boris, *Art and Labor: Ruskin, Morris, and the Craftsman Ideal in America* (1986) and *American Arts & Crafts: Virtue in Design* (1990) by Leslie Greene Bowman forthrightly addressed the differences between the English Arts & Crafts movement and its various transmogrifications in the USA. A lavish exhibition catalog *Inspiring Reform: Boston’s Arts and Crafts Movement* (1998) ignored architecture and architectural glass.

cxix Erica Hirshler, “Woman Artists at Trinity,” 162. Emphasis added.

cxx S. W. W., “To the Editor of The Nation,” 8 December 1892, *The Nation*, 431.

xxxi Whitman, *The Nation*, 431.

xxxii Morris, “Glass, Painted or Stained,” 43.

xxxiii Morris, “Gothic Architecture,” 145.

xxxiv Martin Harrison, Review: Virginia Chieffo Raguin, *Glory in Glass: Stained Glass in the United States; Origins, Variety, and Preservation* (New York, 1999), *The Journal of Stained Glass* XXIV (2000), 168.

xxxv Elsewhere I have discussed the key role of H. H. Richardson in transplanting medieval architectural forms into the American design vocabulary. See Tannler, ‘We only have one window’, 63-64, “Classical Perspective, Industrial Art, and American Gothic,” [www.phlf.org](http://www.phlf.org), and *Allegheny County Courthouse and Jail Walking Tour* (Pittsburgh, 2007).

xxxvi Peter Cormack, “Foreword,” Tannler, *Charles J. Connick*, viii.

xxxvii Cormack, “Glazing,” 83.

xxxviii Cormack, “Foreword,” Tannler, *Charles J. Connick*, viii.

xxxix V. S. Bright, “Interview with Dr. Charles Connick,” typescript, *Boston Globe*, May 10, 1945; Charles J. Connick Papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

cxl Melanie Holcomb, et al, *Pen and Parchment: Drawing in the Middle Ages* (New Haven, 2009).

cxli Holland Cotter, “Mysterious Moods, Elusive in Marble.” Review of *An Antiquity of Imagination: Tullio Lombardo and Venetian High Renaissance Sculpture*, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., *New York Times*, 10 July 2009, C27.

cxlii Roberta Smith, “‘Choir of Angels’: Illuminating the Dark Ages,” *New York Times*, 5 December 2008.