1 – William Francis Dixon for Mayer & Co
Detail from east window at Clontuskert church, near Ballinasloe, county Galway

Nineteenth-century stained glass in the Church of Ireland diocese of Limerick & Killaloe

DAVID LAWRENCE

THE DIOCESE OF LIMERICK & KILLALOE EXTENDS OVER A HUGE GEOGRAPHIC area, embracing Valentia Island in the south and the town of Ballinasloe, county Galway, in the north, and taking in counties Clare, Kerry and Limerick, and parts of Offaly and Tipperary (Plate 2). The present-day diocese is a union of the eight historical dioceses of Limerick, Ardfert, Aghadoe, Killaloe, Kilfenora, Clonfert, Kilmacduagh and Emly. Four of the cathedrals are still in use for worship – Limerick, Killaloe, Clonfert and Aghadoe – and, of these, all except the latter have stained glass. In addition to these cathedrals, seventy-three churches are open and thirty-eight of these have stained-glass windows. With one exception, there is no discussion in this article on windows in closed churches: access to these can be difficult and the windows are often damaged or obstructed. The exception is Kilfergus church, county Limerick, where the quality, both of its architecture, by an Irish architect, and its stained glass, by an Irish artist, makes its inclusion impossible to resist.

The period under review does not stop strictly at the turn of the century. Windows will be considered dating from the early years of the twentieth century, but made by studios which were continuing to work in, what broadly might be called, the Gothic tradition. A fundamentally new direction in stained glass in Ireland was taken in 1903 with the founding of the Dublin studio An Túr Gloine (The Tower of Glass), and it is that event which defines the limits of the present study. There are several windows from that studio in this diocese, including outstanding work by Michael Healy at Lorrha, county Galway, and by Ethel Rhind at Kinnitty, county Offaly, but to comment on these would not cover new ground. However, examples of stained glass from the English Arts & Crafts movement, in which An Túr Gloine had its origins, are rare in Ireland, and this is a topic which

2 – Present-day dioceses of the Church of Ireland

will be considered. It is inappropriate to assess a stained-glass window in isolation from its context, and so there are brief descriptions of most of the buildings. Where possible, the patronage and dates of the buildings and the names of the architects are also mentioned, and there are some comments on furnishings and on other works of art.

Although there are nineteenth-century Irish windows in Church of Ireland churches, the majority were commissioned from the major English studios and from Mayer & Co of Munich. Several of these English firms are represented in this diocese, including Clayton & Bell; Heaton, Butler & Bayne; Hardman & Co; Kempe & Co; Lavers, Barraud & Westlake; James Powell & Sons; Shrigley & Hunt; William Wailes and William Warrington. Windows prior to 1860 are relatively rare in Ireland, but there are surprisingly many here: one by Warrington; a scheme of four windows, possibly based on designs by A.W.N. Pugin; and a rare example of a window by Thomas Wilmshurst. The span of forty years from 1860 until the end of the century was a highly productive period for English stained glass, and the outstanding windows from this era are those by Clayton & Bell at St Mary's Cathedral, Limerick. Complete schemes of windows throughout a church from a single studio

are greatly to be valued, and here there are two, both by William Wailes of Newcastle.

What of the churches themselves? First the cathedrals: both Limerick and Killaloe are large and intact medieval buildings. Killaloe, which dates from the early thirteenth century, remains extraordinarily unaltered. Clonfert is tiny and bravely bears the scars of a troubled history. All three cathedrals have Romanesque doorways and that at Clonfert is magnificent. A fourth Romanesque doorway, comparable with Clonfert, forms part of the surviving west wall of the twelfth-century church at Roscrea, and a round tower stands nearby. Of the other churches, Tuamgraney is early, possibly dating from the tenth century, and both Adare and Lorrha are the churches of medieval monastic foundations. In Acheson's history of the Church of Ireland,[1] it is claimed that 633 Board of First Fruits churches were built between 1800 and 1829, so it comes as no surprise that several of the churches visited were in the characteristic First Fruits Gothic style.

The second wave of nineteenth-century church-building came in the years leading up to, and immediately following the disestablishment, in 1870, of the Church of Ireland. The principal architects at the time were Joseph Welland (1798-1860) and his son's partnership Welland & Gillespie. A large number of the churches in this diocese are by the Wellands, amongst them Valentia, Kinnitty and Ballingarry.

Joseph Welland was first appointed as one of the architects to the Board of First Fruits in 1826 and continued in that role when, in 1839, the Irish Ecclesiastical Commission replaced the Board of First Fruits. At first, there were four architects, each having responsibility for an ecclesiastical province: William Farrell for Armagh, John Semple for Dublin, James Pain for Cashel, and Joseph Welland for Tuam, but in 1843 Welland was given sole responsibility for architecture by the Commission.[2] Alistair Rowan has pointed out that this gave Welland 'a virtual monopoly of the Established Church's building programme for the next seventeen years'.[3] When Welland died in 1860, his son William John Welland (d.1895) was appointed joint architect in partnership with William Gillespie (d.1896). Rowan has a high opinion of the Wellands: 'Fortunately both Wellands were gifted men. As architects, they showed a happy sense of massing and a knack of economic detail and design that make their smaller rural churches delightful and eminently right for their setting.'[4]

The quest for stained glass took this writer to more than a dozen newly built mid-nineteenth-century churches in this diocese. In addition to those built by the Wellands, there are fine buildings by William Atkins, James Rawson Carroll, James Rogers and James Pain. Some of these, such as Killarney and Abington, have elaborately decorated interiors in the manner of the Tractarian churches being built in England at the time. Some of the most handsome Church of Ireland churches are

those which had been, or still are, associated with country houses. Examples in this diocese are Birr, Ballyseedy, Kilfergus and Donanaughta.

THE APPRECIATION OF GOTHIC-REVIVAL STAINED GLASS

Most people feel comfortable with (indeed, enthusiastic about) medieval stained glass and about the work of the well-known Dublin artists and studios working in the early years of the twentieth century. But there has been a tendency for the immense body of nineteenth-century stained glass, about which so little was known or understood, to be dismissed, using blanket terms such as 'sentimental' or 'only Victorian', implying that it was worthless. To describe a stained-glass window as Victorian contributes little to serious discussion. No single adjective can usefully embrace the hundreds of artists who worked during the sixty-three years of that era. It was one of the most prolific, creative and diverse in church-building history. Those working in architecture and the applied arts drew upon sources from a wide variety of periods and cultures; there were several identifiable mainstream movements as well as numerous highly individual and idiosyncratic directions of development. In England, the earlier books in the Pevsner *Buildings of England* series were not helpful in this regard. Rather than identifying the artist, which should have been the prime objective, the authors would write off windows with quick, derogatory opinions.[5] It is significant, though, that where a provenance was easily identifiable (the best example being the work of Kempe & Co), that fact would be recorded and the subjective phrases avoided.

A good example of the lack of understanding of nineteenth-century stained glass can be quoted in the case of St Mary's church, Kington, Herefordshire, which has a remarkable series of early Clayton & Bell windows, similar in character and period to those at Limerick cathedral and at Ardamine, county Wexford.[6] For Fenn & Sinclair, the significance of Clayton & Bell's ten Kington windows could be summed up by naming one of the colours of glass used: 'The chancel windows were filled with their blue glass in 1862.'[7] As well as falling short of being a useful critical analysis, any study of the ten windows would quickly show that blue is not even a predominant colour, and that greens, ambers, blues and rubies all occur in similar proportions. Even as organ voluntaries are often heard but not listened to, so stained glass particularly suffers from being looked at but seldom seen. In the *Shell Guide*, we have Verey's inexcusable remark that the chancel at Kington 'is lit by lancets with execrable glass'.[8] Although Pevsner clearly likes the windows, he sadly misses the point by his use of the word 'imitation' in describing the windows as 'good imitation thirteenth-century glass'.[9] These three comments are in stark contrast to the opinion of the foremost authority on nineteenth-century English stained glass,

Martin Harrison, who has written that Kington possesses 'a series of most important windows representing the pinnacle of Clayton and Bell's High-Victorian idiom'.[10]

As the twentieth century drew to a close, there was, thanks to pioneering research work by Harrison[11] and a handful of other dedicated individuals, a far greater appreciation of the achievements of the nineteenth-century stained-glass studios. Apart from having been given the means for assessment and criticism by these researchers, the simple fact of their making the names of artists and studios available for common use assisted immeasurably in the reassessment of their work. Most stained-glass windows being unsigned, this vast body of work had been daunting in its anonymity, and this alone was sufficient to put appreciation beyond the grasp of many, but to recognise, say, the early work of Clayton & Bell was not only immensely rewarding, but it also provided the starting point for real understanding and awareness. Those who thought that only medieval stained glass or 'modern' stained glass was of importance were beginning to have the veils pulled from their eyes. As research continued, not only could a window be attributed to a particular studio, but also the names of some of the designers started to come to light. Many were on the studio payroll, and often their work conformed to a house style. Some studios also commissioned drawings from artists of the greatest stature and from lesser-known, but highly distinguished freelance designers.

THE EARLY YEARS OF THE GOTHIC REVIVAL

The nineteenth-century Gothic Revival was given impetus by the Oxford Movement and by the writings and work of the architect Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin (1812-1852), notably his book *The True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture*.[12] The intention of the exponents of the Oxford Movement – John Henry Newman, Edward Bouverie Pusey and John Keble – expounded in their *Tracts for the Times* (1835-41), was to reinstate the catholic tradition within the Church of England. The theories both of Pugin and of the Tractarians were embodied in the Cambridge Camden Society. It was formed in 1839, changing its name to the Ecclesiological Society in 1846. Passionately committed to the teachings both of the Oxford Movement and of Pugin, the Society's aim was to make these ideals manifest in ecclesiastical architecture. Through the medium of their journal, *The Ecclesiologist*, which ran from 1841 to 1868, the Ecclesiological Society promoted what Brooks has described as 'a compound of dogmatic theology gleaned from the Tractarians and dogmatic architectural theory gathered from Pugin'.[13]

The churches that were to be restored and the new churches that were to be built had to embody the catholic principles of the medieval church. They abhorred

what they described as the 'preaching boxes' of the eighteenth and early nineteenth century, with their galleries, box pews and emphasis on the pulpit. The Ecclesiologists called for churches to be axially arranged, with the congregation sitting on east-facing benches focused on the altar, which was to be placed in a distinct and substantial chancel, reached if possible by a series of steps. The architectural style was to be thirteenth-century Gothic, and, central to the present discussion, the windows were to have stained glass, and other forms of decoration were to be encouraged. It might be imagined that these tenets did not cross the sea to the Church of Ireland. On the contrary, not only was there High Churchmanship here, but its revival preceded, and was independent of the Oxford Movement. Acheson has explored this thoroughly:

> In the early decades of the nineteenth century, the old High Church tradition of the Church of Ireland experienced a revival. Its continued progress during the 1830s was independent of (though initially linked with) the Tractarians, for it was an indigenous tradition with its roots in the seventeenth century ... Distinctive doctrines and practices, many of them anticipating the Tractarian movement, were recovered in the early nineteenth-century church.[14]

Although in a minority, the movement persisted, survived disestablishment, and was permitted to co-exist with the mainstream evangelical movement. In its wake came a surpliced choir and choral eucharist at St John's church, Limerick, and the choral tradition of St Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin, and High Church ritualism in some well-known Dublin churches, as well as in other unsung churches in various parts of the country. The best-known of these Dublin churches are All Saints' in Grangegorman, St John's in Sandymount, and St Bartholomew's on Clyde Road, and at the latter two the traditions have remained to this day. Sadly St John's, Limerick, a rare exercise in Romanesque by Joseph Welland, now has an alternative use and all the furnishings and decorations have been stripped out. Only the blue and gold starred ceiling of the apse remains to speak of the rich traditions of its past.

The Catholic revival, however, was to have an influence much more widespread than the promotion of High Church traditions in certain churches. There were to be lasting consequences on the approach to church buildings and their furnishings and decorations in the second wave of nineteenth-century church-building. And this was not just within the High Church wing. In the diocese of Limerick & Killaloe, many of the churches date from this era – for example, those built or added-to by the Wellands. Their churches broadly embody the 'true principles' of the Ecclesiologists. They are very unlike the modest First Fruits churches of the previous generation. Acheson has described the radical changes which took place:

> A new style replaced both the concept of the auditory church and the austere simplicity of the tower-and-hall church. Its inspiration was medieval, with a

> long chancel separated from the nave by steps as its characteristic feature. Box-pews were discarded, three-decker pulpits were replaced by a simple pulpit, a nave lectern and a litany desk ... and the 'lightsome' Georgian windows [replaced] by stained glass. The font was moved to the west end, and the choir from the western gallery to the chancel. Victorian churches were built in the new style ... and many older churches re-arranged to accommodate it.[15]

The diocese of Limerick & Killaloe contains many examples of churches which demonstrate the change of approach, and they fall into three categories: those, such as Listowel, county Kerry, to which chancels were added and internal arrangements re-ordered to conform to the new principles; new churches, such as Kinnitty, which modestly embodied the principles in an understated way; and new churches, such as Abington, county Limerick, and Donanaughta (Eyrecourt), county Galway, which were richly embellished and ecclesiological, and to which the term Tractarian could be applied. It is beyond the scope of the present article to establish what the traditions of churchmanship may have been in such buildings, although the writer has come across unlikely examples, such as the remote and tiny church of Kilronan, county Rosscommon, where there is anecdotal evidence that the liturgical traditions matched the architecture and decorations. This could be a fruitful area of research. Of those churches in this diocese which were altered, a chancel was added to the single-cell First Fruits nave at Croom; at Castleconnell a previous re-ordering was reversed and an east chancel recreated; the changes were achieved internally at Kilnasoolagh without any new building.

Two of the key figures in the revived tradition were John Jebb (1775-1833), Bishop of Limerick, Ardfert and Aghadoe, and his son Prebendary John Jebb. According to Acheson, this bishopric became 'a High Church centre for both clergy and laity', and, through publications and personal influence, 'High Churchmen stressed the primitive and catholic aspects of their church's heritage'.[16] Some extracts from Charles Forster's *The Life of John Jebb*, published in 1837, give a good idea of the unconventional ministry and of the popularity and influence of this remarkable man. Jebb had previously been Rector of Abington, and during that time established a unique dialogue with the Roman Catholics:

> It was agreed that, upon the following Sunday the clergy of the two communions should meet, after morning service, in the chapel of Murroe; and the Protestant rector and the Roman catholic priest should successively address the people ... [Jebb] was heard with breathless attention: some were affected with tears. All eyes were rivetted upon him, as he told the men of Abington, that he lived among them without a fear; that his doors were unbolted, his windows unbarred.[17]

His reputation was widespread:

> An eminent English barrister happened to pass through the disturbed country at the time ... as the coach passed within sight of Abington Glebe, the coachman pointed towards the house ... 'That house is the residence of Archdeacon Jebb; the parish in which it stands is the only quiet district in the country; and its quiet is entirely owing to the character and exertions of the protestant rector.' [18]

On being elected Bishop, his home was greeted with extraordinary scenes:

> His return to Abington as Bishop-elect of Limerick, was hailed with universal joy by the Roman Catholic population, a joy damped only by the feeling that they were about to lose a friend and benefactor who had lived among them for more than twelve years in the constant exercise of kindness ... He was met on the border of the parish by a body of the peasantry who would not be withheld from taking off the horses, and drawing his carriage, preceded by a band of rustic music, for considerably more than a mile to Abington Glebe.[19]

Jebb's attitudes to doctrine were ahead of their time and pre-empted a degree of liberalisation that was not to be universally accepted within the Church of Ireland for another century:

> The Feast of St Michael and All Angels (a church festival which Bishop Jebb enjoyed in the spirit of a true catholic) falling this year upon Sunday, he was desirous to employ the day in reading suitable to it: accordingly, he requested to have brought him *A Discourse of Angels, their Nature and Office*. And thus, in the spirit of Hooker, employed the day, in meditating the number and nature of angels, and their blessed obedience and order, without which, peace could not be in heaven.[20]

Central to the present discussion is the fact that, with the new approach to church-building, restoration and adornment during these years, there came in parts of the country a more liberal doctrine which opened the door for the introduction of stained-glass windows into the Church of Ireland. Attitudes to anything other than simple coloured-glass glazing are epitomised by the battles which were fought in Cork over the plan to introduce stained glass into the new cathedral. When the designs were presented to the building committee, objections such as the following were handed in:[21]

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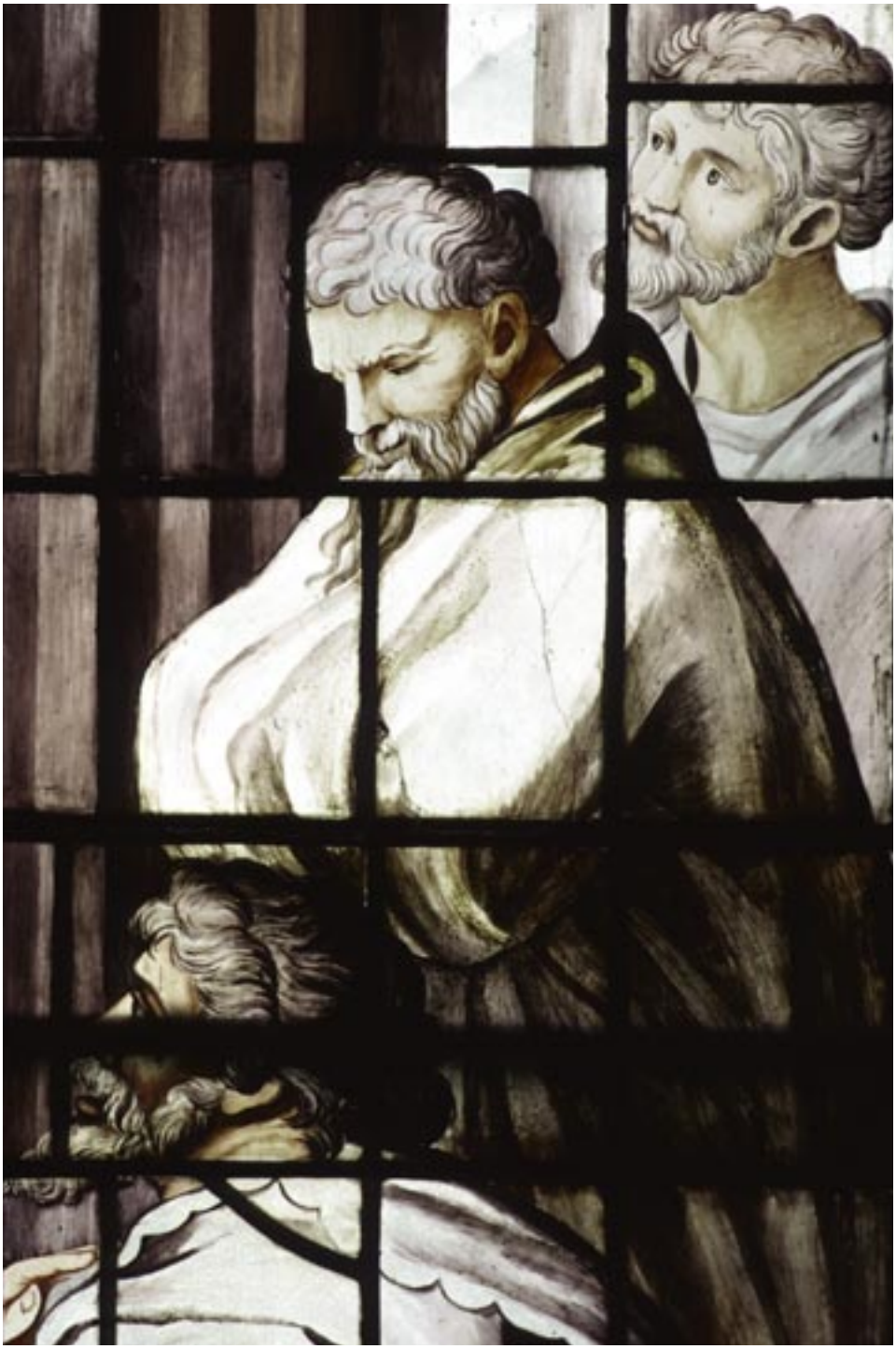
3 – Detail from east window by Thomas Jervais at Agher church, county Meath, in the diocese of Meath & Kildare



> I beg leave to protest against the introduction of any likeness of any object of the worship of the reformed church into the windows for the new cathedral.
>
> We beg leave to object to any figures being introduced into the windows of the cathedral.

There were particular objections to images of Christ:

> I beg leave to protest against the introduction of the likeness of the Lord Jesus Christ into any windows to be erected in the cathedral.

These notions were based on principles established at the Reformation and probably first seen in Ireland in 1636 under Archbishop George Browne, who, according to Kenneth Milne, was

> A "reformer" and enthusiastic in his efforts to banish images from churches and to emphasise the authority of the Bible.[22]

However, from the 1850s onwards, stained glass containing religious images was gradually introduced into Church of Ireland churches. For most of the new windows, the patrons went to the reputable English studios. With the new ecclesiology, the stained glass, like the buildings themselves, was to be very different from that which had gone before. If the windows were to be equal to the demands of the Gothic Revival, there would have to be a radical change in design, technique and materials.

The approach in the eighteenth century had been for the picture to be painted in coloured enamels onto large pieces of clear glass. Stained-glass artists of this period would often make use of figures from well-known oil paintings or would commission original paintings from which to work. A good example of this is *St Paul Preaching to the Athenians*, a window by Thomas Jervais (d.1799) at Agher, county Meath, based on the painting by Raphael (Plate 3).[23] In complete contrast, the medieval artists painted details of line and shadow in brown and black oxides onto small pieces of coloured glass, joined by a network of lead strips. Along with these two opposing techniques, there were two entirely different approaches to design, one being pictorial and the other mosaic-like and devoid of perspective. Spurred on by the ideals of the Ecclesiologists, various attempts were made to rediscover the method of making coloured glass. The breakthrough came in 1847 when Charles Winston (1814-1864) published his researches – made at the glassworks and studios of James Powell & Sons in London – on the chemical analysis of coloured glass used during the medieval period, and Powell's went on to manufacture coloured glass according to Winston's principles.[24] Although Winston's research in London is well documented and much quoted, it seems that similar goals had previously been sought and apparently achieved to a greater or lesser extent in Dublin, Munich and Paris.

William Warrington of London

The earliest window in the diocese is one made before 1850 by William Warrington (1786-1869) for Kirwan House Orphanage, Dublin, and moved to Kilnasoolagh Church, Newmarket-on-Fergus, county Clare, in 1959.[25] Warrington was a pupil of the pioneering stained-glass artist Thomas Willement (1786-1871), and was active in stained glass when the revival was in its infancy: he made Pugin's windows from as early as 1838. Three angels with scrolls occupy only a small proportion of the window; the remainder consists of medallions of roses and scrolls set against vine-based ornamental work. The vine leaves are in bright amber and the diapered backgrounds are in deep rubies and hot blues. The window is similar in character to the east window at Lissadell, county Sligo, which also has small figure-medallions and large areas of ornamental vine-work and canopies.[26] A characteristic feature of Warrington windows of this period is the quirky figure-drawing in a thirteenth-century manner, and with what was described by one critic in his day as 'hair somewhat uglier than a rope mat'.[27]

Kilnasoolagh church, a simple single cell with late pointed fenestration, was built in its present form in 1815 by James Pain (1779-1877), and re-ordered by Welland & Gillespie in 1864.[28] The English-born James Pain and his younger brother George were pupils of John Nash, and both set up practices in Ireland – James in Limerick and George in Cork. In 1823 James Pain was appointed architect to the Board of First Fruits for Munster. The church stands near the gates of the FitzGeralds' Carrigoran House, and is about one mile distant from Dromoland, seat of the O'Brien family. Elaborate monuments to both families and several armorial stained-glass windows give the interior the dignity which was required, but the real delights of the interior are the furnishings, great and small, and primarily the great oak screen which creates a token chancel. It is pierced with lancets and quatrefoils and has a grand central arch – analogous to a chancel arch, but also having echoes of a rood-screen. The church is lit by eight single standard oil lamps in the nave and two doubles in the chancel. Welland & Gillespie's re-ordering of 1864 brought the prayer-book interior in line with the new ecclesiology. The box pews and the triple-decker pulpit were removed, and the baptismal font, adjacent to the pulpit, was placed at the west end. A series of four steps up to the sanctuary was created.

Amongst the other excellent examples of Warrington's work in Ireland are those at St Ann's Church, Dublin; Kilnamanagh, county Wexford; and Kells, county Kilkenny.[29] These last two both date from 1865, and it is interesting to see the way the style of drawing and painting had developed and become more polished by then although the palette remains similar. The faces are executed in a refined painting style with conspicuous whites-of-the-eyes, giving them the character of porcelain dolls. And it is in this same year, 1865, that two Warrington windows were put into

Killaloe cathedral.

Killaloe is a complete, and largely unaltered cruciform, transitional, early thirteenth-century cathedral church. The vast and dimly lit space of the nave, with its floor of flags, devoid of pews, preserves a pre-Reformation feeling. The lofty south transept could do the same were it not for the south-facing altar table, diagonally set pews, and the presence of secular utensils. Sadly (but understandably) the cruciform character has been lost: part of the 1887 restoration[30] by James Franklin Fuller (1835-1925) was the introduction of a glazed oak screen at the crossing, clearly inspired in design by the west façade of a French cathedral and incorporating a sixteen-sector wheel-tracery opening; this cuts off the nave. The organ and a simple glazed partition cut off the south transept, and the north transept is walled-up to provide essential function rooms. Fuller's other work in this diocese includes the restorations of Killarney (1888-89) and Clonfert (1896-1900).

The east window, of 1865, which is more than ten metres high, consists of three narrow lancets, and the arches are elaborately carved. Warrington's *Apostles* could not be more suitable for this building (Plate 4). Each apostle is set in a medallion, in the thirteenth-century manner. The removal, sometime in the last century, of the central figure of St Paul and its replacement with a figure of Christ in an entirely unrelated style was badly misjudged. The window is matched in

5 – The missing St Paul from the east window at Killaloe

opposite

4 – East window by William Warrington at Killaloe cathedral, county Clare

excellence and in character by the 1865 single-lancet Warrington west window, depicting Faith, Hope and Charity. The south transept is lit by three prodigiously tall, narrow lancets and by a twin-lancet window-opening of exceptional beauty and rare design. This was clearly the focus of a side chapel of some importance in the medieval religious life. Set high in the wall is a wide opening, framed by a Gothic arch, with mouldings and foliate capitals. Within this, and within the thickness of the wall, are doorways to internal passages; these flank a central twin-lancet window, again with mouldings, engaged columns and foliate capitals. And there, in one of the lancets, is the missing St Paul from the east window (Plate 5). It is to be hoped that it will, at some time, be put back and the integrity of the east window restored. In addition to the carvings to the east window opening, there are other contemporary stone-carvings, including the corbels from which the roof would originally have sprung; one has birds, one has a strange group of kilted figures, others have plant forms. The crossing, with its simple rib-vaulting, springs from four carved corbels set into the stone walls with no columns or mouldings. Built into the south wall of the nave is a twelfth-century doorway, possibly from an earlier church, richly carved with animals and plant-forms, and nearby is the thirteenth-century font.

Hardman & Co of Birmingham

In 1845, John Hardman (1811-1867) added a stained-glass department to his Birmingham firm of ecclesiastical metalworkers at the instigation of Pugin. The foremost figure in stained glass of the time, Pugin remained as chief designer at Hardman & Co until his death in 1852, when the work was taken over by Hardman's nephew, John Hardman Powell (1832-1895). Pugin described Powell as his 'only pupil'.[31] In the diocese of Limerick & Killaloe there are four windows from Hardman & Co, dating from the 1850s, at Adare, and two late windows – from the end of the century – at Clonfert cathedral. At first sight, the Adare windows seem to be the work of Pugin, although closer investigation into dates, in the Hardman archive, make it more likely that they are the work of Powell, since they appear in the records a couple of years after the death of Pugin in 1852.

However, stained-glass windows are not conceived and made at a single stroke by a single hand, and there is a strong possibility, supported by some evidence, that Pugin himself was in fact involved in the design of some of these windows. His influence was to be seen in Hardman's output for many years following his death, especially in the style of figure-drawing, drapery and glass-painting, and in the details of background decoration, canopies and borders. As Dr Stanley Shepherd has commented, there were still good reasons to continue to produce works in the Pugin mode: 'one was continuity ... another was client-pressure'.[32]

Although the decorative details persisted and the overall character continued broadly in the Pugin mould, Powell gradually developed his own more aesthetic style of figure-drawing with refined and moulded glass-painting.

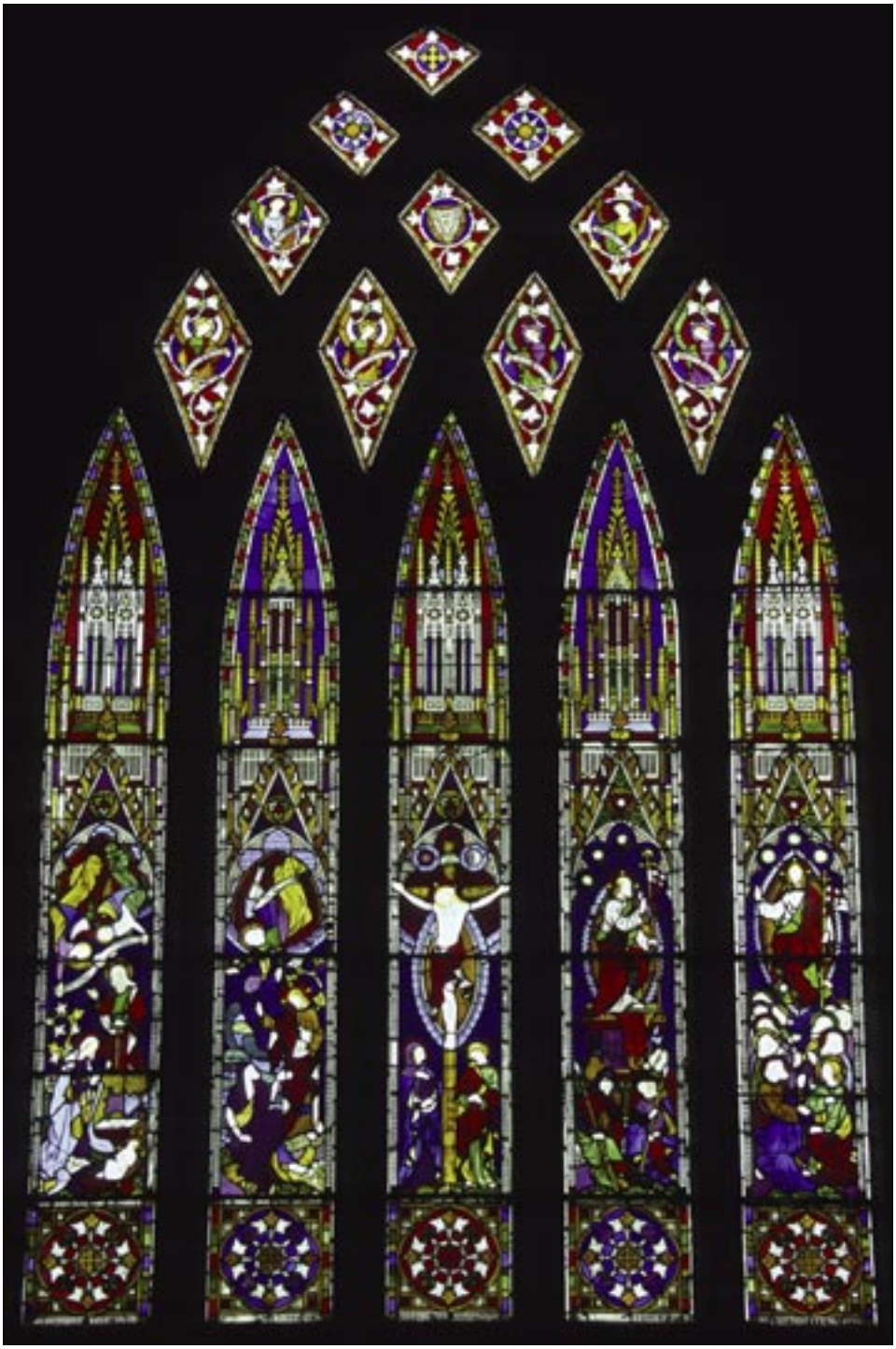
Of the four Adare windows, possibly all were sketched by Pugin, and the east window (Plate 6), a memorial to the Earl of Dunraven who died in 1850, could well have been worked up into a full cartoon under his supervision. The other three seem more likely to have been cartooned by Powell, either under Pugin's influence or making use of his sketches. The dates given in the Hardman archives for the windows are 1854 and 1855, but delays between conceiving and installing stained glass can amount to several years. Writing in 1865, Caroline, Countess of Dunraven, has provided firm evidence that other work at Adare Manor, designed by Pugin, was still not executed some thirteen years after his death:

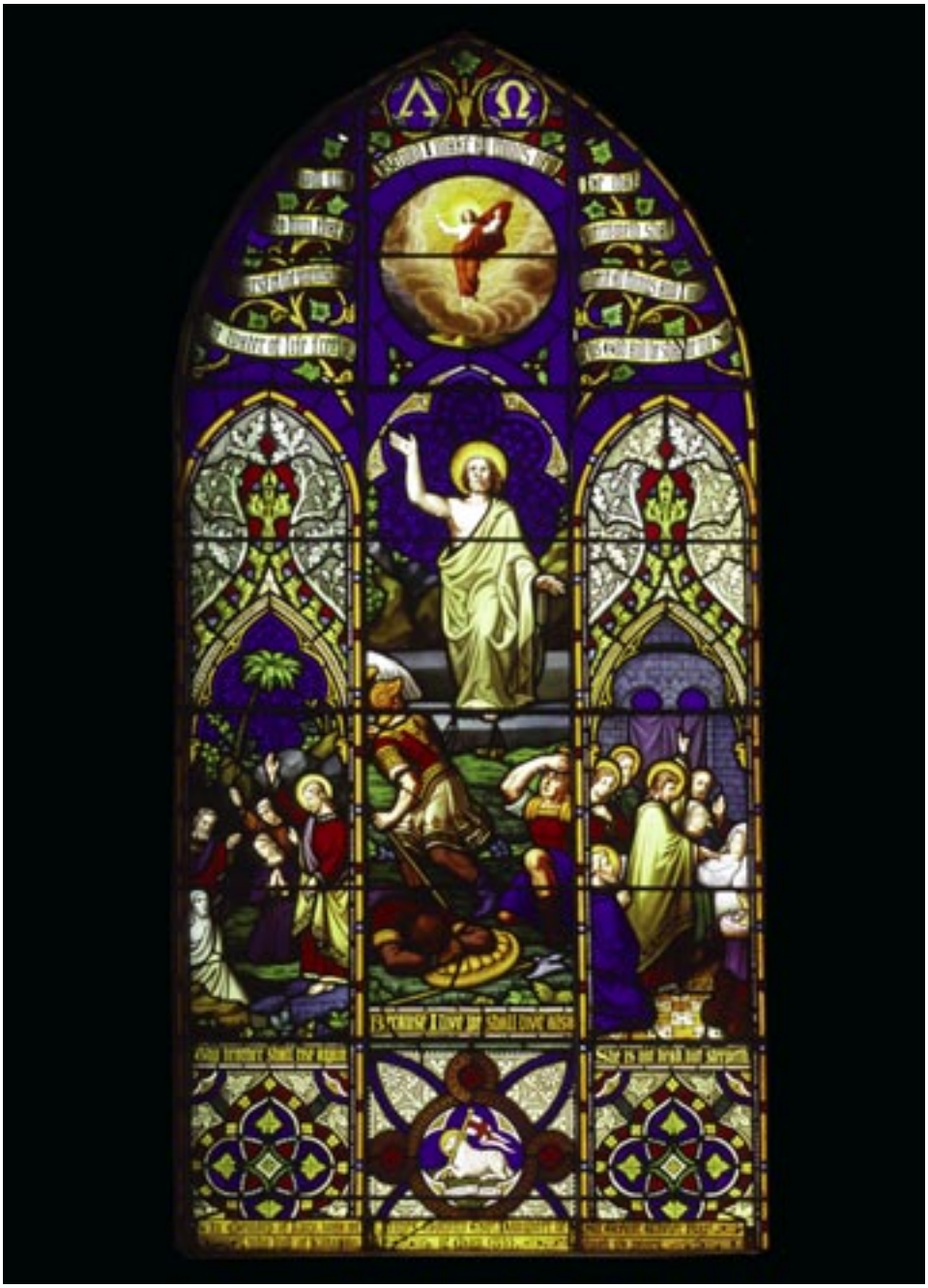
> The dining room is not yet decorated according to the beautiful plans of the late Mr. Pugin; they consist of panelled walls and ceiling, a lofty and highly ornamental mantelpiece and a carved oak screen of rich design supporting a minstrel's gallery. The billiard room and library are also still unfinished.[33]

Phoebe Stanton's research into the Dunraven archives gives us the firmest indication of Pugin's personal involvement in the Adare windows:

> Adare Manor. Built for and by the second Earl of Dunraven. Details in the hall, various fireplaces, general design of the dining hall taken from the A.W.N. Pugin drawings which are in the collection at Adare Manor. Drawings dated 1846-1847. In addition Pugin added a new roof and stained-glass windows in the village church, which he probably also totally restored.[34]

There were three monastic foundations at Adare: the Trinitarian priory, founded in 1230, which was restored in the nineteenth century by the 1st Earl of Dunraven to become the Catholic church; the Franciscan friary, founded in 1464, the extensive and picturesque ruins of which stand in the demesne of Adare Manor; and the Augustinian priory, founded by John, Earl of Kildare in 1315, which was restored in 1806 to become the Church of Ireland church. The group of buildings forming what remained of the priory consisted of the church, the fifteenth-century cloisters, the refectory (or possibly dormitory) with rooms beneath, a gateway and a long building extending to the north. In 1814 the refectory was restored for use as a school, and further restoration of the church was carried out between 1850 and 1854 by Lady Dunraven. The immaculate restoration is completely in sympathy with the spirit of the priory church, and what we have today is an unusually complete and homogeneous early fourteenth-century abbey church with a somewhat later (*c*.1350) south aisle. One of the most remarkable architectural features is the ribbed-vaulted





7 – East window by Thomas Wilmshurst at Cloughjordan, county Tipperary

opposite *6 – East window by Hardman & Co at Adare, county Limerick*

volume beneath the central tower with its tall, narrow, simple arches. This would be the crossing if the church were cruciform, and it serves to add greater distance from the nave to the sanctuary at the far end of the already lengthy chancel. The nave is immensely tall and narrow, and must have looked even more so before the addition of the south aisle. The north wall is an uninterrupted cliff of masonry, with the cloisters beyond. The south wall has been crudely pierced with three simple pointed arches. The other windows at Adare are by Mayer (1886) and Heaton, Butler & Bayne (1891), and, however good in themselves, their introduction was a misjudgement in this context and in juxtaposition with the Hardman windows.

Even as Pugin's influence was to be seen at Hardman's long after his death, notably in the work of Powell, so the influence of both of them was to persist after Powell's death in 1895, as can be seen in two late Hardman windows put into Clonfert cathedral under the supervision of J.F. Fuller. We will divert briefly from the chronology to consider these. They occupy two narrow round-headed thirteenth-century lancets set in deep reveals, with engaged shafts and blind lancets on each side. This unique design was described in Brash's *Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland* as being 'exceedingly chaste and beautiful and the mouldings superior to anything I have seen either of ancient or modern times'.[35]

The Hardman glass is of great strength. The figures are robustly drawn and set against chunks of unpainted and strongly coloured glass within the niches, decorated, somewhat surprisingly to our eyes, with the early Christian symbols known as fylfots. *St Peter* has drapery of a cobalt blue against a deep vermilion background. *St Paul* has a verdant green against a cobalt background. The strength of colour, especially within the blue, varies delightfully. Above and below the figures are exceptionally successful panels of Celtic decorative work in brilliant, kaleidoscopic colours, inspired by illuminated manuscripts. Fuller was a major figure in reviving the Hiberno-Romanesque school of architecture, and doubtless insisted on Hardman's coming up with these decorations. He also seems to have leaned on Watson & Co, another studio represented here. Their windows, of similar date to the Hardman windows, also include Celtic devices.

Two rare discoveries were made of pre-1860 glass. The first is a group of five windows at Limerick cathedral which the writer attributes to Josef Gabriel Mayer (1808-1893), the founder of the well-known studio Mayer & Co, but predating by about twenty years the earliest Mayer windows previously recorded in Church of Ireland churches. The second is a window at Cloughjordan of considerable interest (Plate 7). It is one of a very few windows designed by Thomas Wilmshurst (1806-1880) who first achieved recognition as early as 1830.[36] The Cloughjordan window, although dating from around 1855, is in the pictorial style of the 1830s and 1840s, and it was for the tendency to look back to this era that his work was not favoured by the ecclesiologists: 'He has adopted the worst landscape style of thirty years

back.'[37] According to Martin Harrison, Wilmshurst was, for a while, in partnership with Oliphant. He was never prolific, and little seems to have been heard of him after 1861, 'by which time, in the heyday of the Gothic Revivalists such as Clayton & Bell, the demand for his pictorial style no longer existed'.[38] The window is similar in character to his *Crucifixion* window at Leigh Delamere, Wiltshire, dating from around 1848, the inspiration for which draws heavily on the sixteenth-century glass in St Margaret's, Westminster, London.

Cloughjordan church, prettily sited on the village green, was originally a simple single-cell First Fruits church, built about 1810, with a small sanctuary to the east and entrance lobby to the west. In 1837 it was reorientated and a tower with spire added on the north elevation, opposite a sanctuary added on the south. The resulting church is of unconventional and uncomfortable proportions, with a nave of extreme width and shortness. The former sanctuary and lobby have become miniature 'transepts'. The interior was drastically re-ordered in 1992 when all the Georgian furnishings and fittings were swept away and replaced by commercially made church furnishings and pews.

THE HIGH VICTORIAN ERA

Despite the independence in origin of the revival movements in Ireland and in England, those with the inclination (and the money) were permitted, within the terms of Joseph Welland's appointment, to bring in their own architects, and they frequently turned to the English architects of the Gothic Revival. Such buildings, great and small, can be seen throughout the country, including some by the best-known English and Irish architects of the day. As well as the importance of their buildings, these architects made a significant contribution to the decoration of churches and to the design and role of stained glass. Harrison observed that they were all in varying degrees committed to improving the standards of church decorations:

> They all, too, showed a particular concern with the stained glass made for their churches. The close supervision of interior, as well as external, colour and design which these leading architects would demand was the single most significant factor for the development of stained glass during the High Victorian period, added to which was the intense involvement in church decorations of a vast body of wealthy patrons, clergymen and ecclesiologists of all kinds.[39]

It was in 1970 that Martin Harrison first borrowed the term High Victorian to describe a particular era and style of English stained glass. In two recent lectures he

has developed this concept. He defines the period concerned as 1858 to 1868 and characterises the windows as 'vividly coloured', 'two-dimensional', 'having no perspective or possibly being planar', 'employing mosaic-like small piece of glass', 'intense' in mood, and influenced by French stained glass of the thirteenth century, for example those in the Sainte-Chapelle in Paris.[40] There are twenty or so windows in the diocese which date from the High Victorian era of English stained glass, and two Mayer & Co windows of similar date will also be discussed in this section.

Clayton & Bell of London

Maurice Craig, commenting on the astounding cathedral-building enterprise by the Church of Ireland in the years leading up to disestablishment in 1869, believes that 'the universally accepted imperative of the time to "Build churches!" was felt to be valid, and especially so where the cathedral bequeathed by the chequered past was felt to be inadequate or unworthy'.[41] No less than five Church of Ireland cathedrals were either built from scratch or comprehensively rebuilt within a few years, starting with William Slater's Kilmore, county Cavan (completed 1860). There followed in rapid succession Tuam, Cork, Kildare and Christ Church, Dublin. As far as the Cathedral of St Mary, Limerick, was concerned, no rebuilding was required but major works were undertaken by William Slater. These included essential structural work and re-ordering to bring the interior into line with the principles of ecclesiology, in a manner worthy of the Jebb legacy. Slater was also behind the commissioning of a set of stained-glass windows by Clayton & Bell, some of which are of exceptional beauty and significance. Some of the earliest of the collection were cartooned by John Richard Clayton (1827-1913), and one could possibly be the work of Alfred Bell (1832-1895). They had set up in partnership in 1855, and although they were soon to employ other artists and cartoonists in the studio, both were artists of considerable stature in their own right. There are a few other excellent examples of early Clayton & Bell work in Ireland designed by Clayton, notably at Ardamine (under George Edmund Street) and at Kilmore (under William Slater).[42]

The partners were greatly encouraged in their early work by Street, and the resulting windows were a brilliant interpretation and development of thirteenth-century Gothic, making full use of the wide range of richly coloured glass now being produced. In the same year, 1859, that Slater commissioned the great east window – the first of the Limerick windows – Street, having previously contracted William Wailes for his stained glass, turned to Clayton & Bell for his first London church, St

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8 – Detail from the south transept window at Limerick

James the Less in Pimlico.[46] The results were a resounding success, and this collaboration between Street and Clayton & Bell was to be the first of many. The next year, 1860, Street began work on Ardamine, with its archetypal examples of Clayton & Bell's thirteenth-century-inspired-style stained glass, and in 1861 Slater designed the new south transept window for Limerick and ordered its breathtaking stained glass.

At Kildare and at Tuam, the restoring architects were faced with ruins, but here at Limerick Slater took on a magnificent and remarkably intact early thirteenth-century cathedral church. The main cruciform structure dates from the very beginning of the century and incorporates an earlier Romanesque west doorway. The nave has north and south arcades, each consisting of four massive square piers with simple, unmoulded transitional arches. High above these there is an architectural amalgam of triforium and clerestory, with lintelled passages running through the walls, lit by lancets. This is an uncommon, but not unprecedented concept, with other examples at Laon cathedral in France and León cathedral in Spain. Sometime in the fifteenth century, chapels were added to the north and south aisles, running the full length of the aisles and extending beyond the full depth of the transepts.

Slater's task consisted of building a new roof over the nave, major works to the chancel and south transept, and internal re-ordering and furnishing; this was carried out between 1858 and 1863. *The Dublin Builder* reported that part of the work to the chancel included the removal of the 'modern perpendicular window', which was 'out of character', and replacing it with a new stone window-opening and stained glass.[43] The south transept was also to have a new rood and a 'new roof, new stone window with stained glass and complete fitting up'. The summary of other works is particularly useful:

> Seats for the choristers; canopies over the stalls; new floors to the chancel and choir; open up the clerestory windows to the choir; remove the organ gallery and open up the arches; new organ gallery; remove monumental tablets into the north chapel; floors of aisles – limestone flags removed and Minton tiles set; red marble steps at the entrance to the choir; open up circular window in chancel.[44]

Sadly, most of Slater's inspired plan for internal arrangements of this cathedral, together with his furnishings and floors, were removed during the 1990s, and we have only contemporary photographs[45] to show us how brilliantly Slater had married his work with existing historic furnishings and how he had successfully created the feeling of one of the great cathedral chancels, such as Canterbury, with collegiate stalls. He had some wonderful medieval material with which to start – sedillia, piscina, credence table – and, above all, more than twenty fifteenth-century misericords in carved oak, unique in Ireland and now relegated to the peripheries.

The decision, in 1858 to remove the late pointed east window-opening on

purely aesthetic grounds was bold. It had been put in by James Pain as recently as 1843. It was to be replaced by three simple lancets. Clearly, no expense would be spared to recreate the thirteenth-century character in accordance with Pugin's 'True Principles'. The Clayton & Bell stained glass precisely complements this aim, and the studio's mastery of the architectural role of stained glass and of colour is immediately apparent. A central vesica in the east window has the figure *Our Lord Enthroned*, and smaller circular medallions have *The Acts of Mercy* – the groups of figures drawn in Clayton's thirteenth-century style and set against backgrounds of chunks of unpainted blue glass. According to a contemporary report, James Pain's Perpendicular window-opening, having been removed from the cathedral, was 'reduced in dimensions and made suitable for the smaller church of St Michael'.[46] The present cathedral guidebook, drawing upon a secondary source,[47] records the intriguing fact that the stained glass to the east window was 'renovated, releaded and cleaned in the year 1923 by the Dublin Co-operative Stained Glass Works under the supervision of Miss Sarah Purser.' Evidently, Sarah Purser's stained-glass studio, An Túr Gloine, also undertook restoration work, trading under a different name.

It is difficult to find adequate superlatives to describe Slater's and Clayton & Bell's great five-light south transept window. It is a tour de force of creativity, with over fifty Old Testament medallions, each packed with activity and inventiveness (Plates 8-10).[48] They are set against blue quarries with narrow red borders, as at Chartres. Martin Harrison has identified some sources of inspiration: 'That wonderful window at Limerick, with it French early thirteenth-century arrangement, quotes from three specific sources – Bourges, Beauvais and Laon.' As to the designer, 'I would have been inclined to say Clayton designed it, but Bell looms ever larger ... I am most excited by his figure designs, his continual fighting against Gothic – or at least his fractious dialogue with it.'[49]

In the adjoining south chapel there is another Clayton & Bell window, *Three Parables*, of the early 1860s. The window-opening is a most remarkable structure consisting of five lancets with a filigree of thirty-five reticulated tracery lights in the early fourteenth-century manner, and Clayton & Bell have responded to this later Gothic tradition. The scenes occupy rectangular panels with decorated diamond quarries above and below. There are eight Clayton & Bell windows at Limerick; others from this early period include Clayton's monumental west window of 1863 and, high up in the west end of the north aisle, his single-light *Angel of Hope*.

It is greatly to be regretted that the rubble walls, which were stripped of their plaster in recent years, have not yet been replastered and limewashed. The visual consequences for this historic interior are grave as a whole, and particularly so for the stained glass. The vast rubble-walled chambers, with their upper galleries and passageways, are as grim as Piranesi's imaginary Roman prisons. The great nineteenth-century studios were essentially architectural artists and would always see

9 – South transept window by Clayton & Bell at Limerick cathedral

their windows as part of the architectural whole. Clayton & Bell were the supreme masters of relating art to architecture, both in overall concept and in the immediate interplay of architectural elements. They would see the treatment of the window reveals and adjacent walls as crucial to the success of the stained glass. In some cases they would even go one step further and conceive integrated designs for stained glass and wall decorations. It is greatly to be hoped that the programme for replastering can be completed in the near future.

William Wailes of Newcastle-Upon-Tyne

William Slater employed the Clayton & Bell studio with resounding success at Limerick, but he was not exclusively wedded to it. For the massive five-light *Parables* window at his newly built Kilmore cathedral, county Cavan, he turned to the old-established firm of William Wailes. The cathedral, together with this window, was completed by 1860, by which time Slater had already embarked upon Christ Church, Bray (1860-65), and there also he commissioned Wailes to make the huge *Last Supper and Ascension* east window.

William Wailes (1808-1881) established his stained-glass firm in Newcastle-upon-Tyne in 1838, and it rapidly became very large and successful, matched in size amongst provincial studios only by Hardman of Birmingham. Having fallen out with Warrington, Pugin took his work to Wailes from 1842 until 1845, when he became closely involved in the setting up of the stained-glass department at Hardman's. At that time, F.W. Oliphant (1818-1859), who had been in partnership with Wilmshurst, was chief designer for Wailes before moving on to work with Pugin at Hardman's. Wailes's style is strongly influenced by that of Pugin and Oliphant. Possibly Wailes's greatest achievements in Ireland are the huge west and south windows of 1865 at St Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin.

It is a fortunate circumstance when all the windows in a church are from the same studio and, even more so, when they are designed at a single stroke. This leads to the best in what is, after all, essentially an architectural artform. The superlative example in Ireland is the scheme of eighty windows at William Burges's Cathedral Church of St Fin Barre, Cork.[50] Whilst there is nothing approaching this scale in the Limerick & Killaloe diocese, there are two comprehensive schemes and both are by William Wailes – all thirteen windows at Ballyseedy and eleven out of twelve at Killarney.

Ballyseedy, the estate church for Ballyseedy Castle near Tralee, seat of the Blennerhassett family, stands on the edge of the demesne. It is an excellent polychromatic building, consisting of chancel and nave, built around 1865 in the Early French style. It is built in grey ashlar with deep voussoirs, long-and-short jamb-

stones and quoins, and string-courses in red sandstone. The gables to the nave, to the chancel and to the elegantly contoured south porch are tall and sharply pointed. There are slender buttresses. Research to date has not come up with the identity of the architect, although it is reminiscent of the buildings of James Rogers, such as Kenure and Kilfergus. The complete glazing scheme is by Wailes and has a single iconographic programme based on the *Miraculous Healings of Christ*. Most of the windows were given by the Blenneshassett family. They are all contemporary, dating from the early 1860s, and the scheme was no doubt conceived by the architect. One must assume that the plaques, giving dates of donation and names of donors, were applied retrospectively to the scheme since some of the years pre-date and other post-date the windows themselves. The scheme is inspired by thirteenth-century French glass as an apposite response to the Early French architecture. Each scene occupies a cusped rectangular medallion set against grisaille backgrounds with acanthus-form decoration and foliate borders.

The other scheme of Wailes windows is at Killarney. It is much later than the Ballyseedy scheme, dating from the 1880s, and so does not conform to the period under discussion in this section, but it seems logical to deal with it next. The collection of drawings in the Representative Church Body Library includes three different schemes by Joseph Welland, dating from 1859/60, for a new church at Killarney, but apparently none was implemented. Instead, the church, as standing today, is essentially that designed in 1868 by the Cork architect William Atkins (1812-1887), for which the drawings are also extant:[51] it is cruciform, with a three-bay nave, a tower standing beyond the south-west corner, and a chancel and semi-circular apse. In 1869, R.W. Edis, an English journalist visiting Killarney, wrote that:

> Mr. Atkins of Cork has just completed the new church, a carefully thought-out design with some good detail but thoroughly French in general feeling and giving the idea that the architect had studied Mr. Burges's new cathedral rather than the ecclesiastical buildings of his own country.[52]

There is considerable confusion surrounding the extent to which a fire in 1888 damaged Atkins's church. In the popular view, it was disastrous. Jeremy Williams writes that the church was 'gutted by malicious fire in 1888'.[53] And, similarly, in reporting the restoration, the contract for which was awarded to J.F. Fuller and carried out during 1888-89, *The Irish Builder* writes that the church had been 'almost totally destroyed by fire, the work of an incendiary'.[54] Yet the stained glass, most of which pre-dates the fire, shows no sign of heat-damage, and the organ, built in 1876, also apparently survived. This is not consistent with the building's having been almost totally destroyed, or with the catalogue of repairs given in the same *Irish Builder* report, which refers only to work to the roof, heating system, encaustic tiles (by Maw & Co), interior decoration (by Mr Robert Mannix) and the supply of new

12 – Detail from MIRACULOUS FEEDING window by William Wailes at Killarney

opposite

11 – LAST SUPPER window by William Wailes at Killarney

pews. Mannix had also been behind the commissioning of the Wailes windows, as reported in 1883, and we can safely assume that those pre-fire Wailes windows are those which are still in place in the church.[55] Just one window, the odd man out by Heaton, Butler & Bayne, dates from after the fire, sometime around 1900.

The received knowledge about the extent of damage to the building provides the opportunity for some light relief by dispelling two other myths fed to visitors to Killarney. The head of the infant Christ in the baptism window had at sometime been defaced by a prankster using a varnish-like material, clumsily applied, to draw a beard. This was swiftly removed by the present writer in 2005 to enable the photographic recording to take place. However visitors to the church had been treated to the colourful interpretation that 'The manger scene has a bearded baby Christ, the artist's way of conveying the idea of the Eternal and Ancient God being in the Baby.' [56] Visitors are also told that the architect committed suicide when he found that his design for blind arcading on the tower was incorrectly calculated, so that, when built, the arcading had to be asymmetrical. Not surprisingly, the drawings, preserved in the Representative Church Body Library, clearly show that the design, as built, is exactly as intended and drawn by Atkins, who, incidentally, lived on until 1887.

Each of the nave windows has plate-tracery consisting mainly of a cinquefoil so large as virtually to be a rose window in its own right. The north and south transepts have rose windows in the gables and lancets below. The west rose is incorporated into the plate-tracery above the large four-lancet window. The apsidal chancel, which is partly lined with green marble, has three pairs of lancets, each with rose plate-tracery, and linked by an inner arcade of lancets with engaged columns in red marble with annulets and elaborate foliate capitals, in the manner of Burges at Cork. The stencil-work, although not original, is in the correct spirit, and some is really very good. A photograph in the National Library, possible dating from the early twentieth century, shows stencilling in all the areas as at present, but to different patterns.

The Maw & Co floors throughout are liturgically symbolic. The tiles in the nave are simple and, in a way, secular. The crossing and transepts have encaustic tiles based on floral and geometric motifs. Two steps (in red Irish marble) lead up to the choir which is floored in marble mosaic with sacred symbols – alpha and omega, and iota, eta and sigma. One further step leads up to the sanctuary with richly decorated encaustic tiles. Sadly, the elaborate communion rails, probably dating from Fuller's restoration, have been moved from the sanctuary step and placed at the chancel steps, thereby minimising the significance of the chancel. Also, the choir has been obstructed by the forward placing of the altar. It is to be hoped that the rails and the table can be put back to their correct places and collegiate stalls reinstated in the choir.

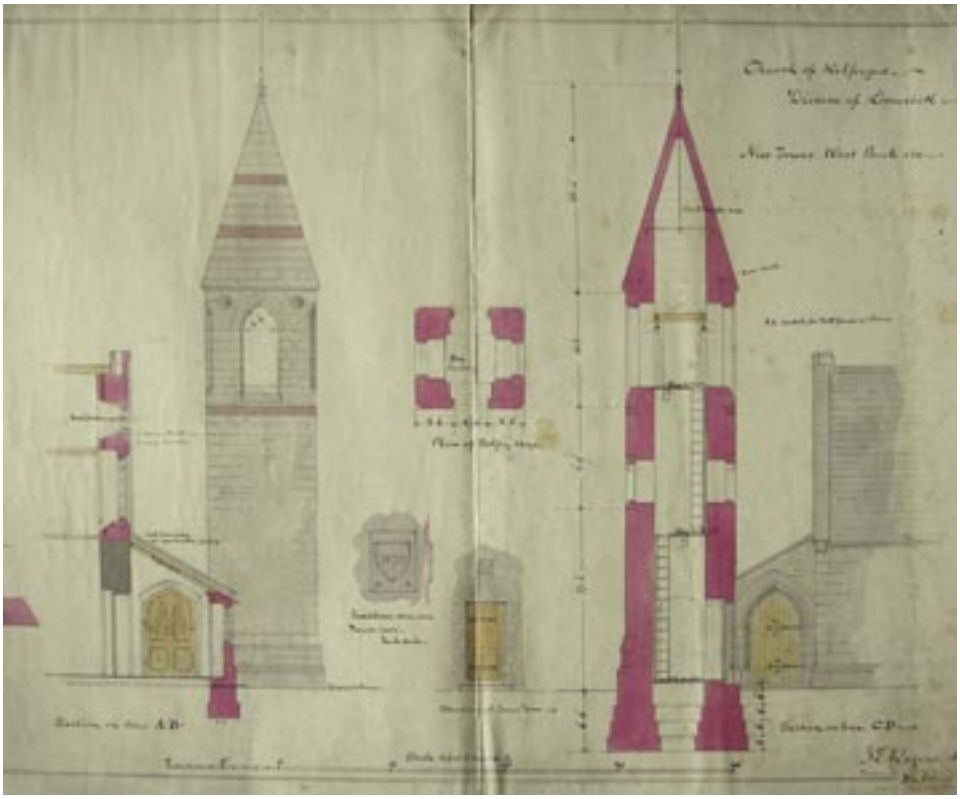
Unlike the Ballyseedy windows, the eleven windows (plus some ornamental

roses in the south transept) by Wailes have no obvious iconographic programme, but their uniformity of provenance, style and colour contribute immeasurably to the rare homogeneity and harmony of this rich interior. The various scenes from both Testaments within the west window are all dedicated to the Eucharist, including a thrilling and unusual *Last Supper* (Plate 11) which makes imaginative use of the large circular space of the west rose. *The Miraculous Feeding* (Plate 12) is cleverly depicted by as many as twenty figures jostling around Christ within the small space of a Puginesque tabernacle. Much of the iconography would have been unthinkable, on doctrinal grounds, in the Church of Ireland earlier in the century. There are no less than eighteen angels in the various rose tracery-lights, numerous images of the Virgin Mary, and the east window is devoted to the Crucifixion and Deposition (Plate 13). There are just one or two odd lapses of judgement, such as the commonplace use of the Holman Hunt *Light of the World* and the incongruous use of portraits of the dedicatee in the *Ruth and Naomi* and *Mary and Martha* window. Stylistically, the scheme of windows owes a debt to Pugin, despite its date, and shows his lasting legacy at Wailes's studio. Atkin's Early French architecture, including the deep chancel and the west baptistry near the door, Fuller's furnishings, Wailes's windows and the other decorative elements, such as the stencilled walls, all combine to give a Tractarian ambience to the interior. This is further enhanced by the two delicately painted and stencilled front ranks of pipes of the Conacher organ – the west-facing open diapason for the benefit of the congregation, and the south-facing stopped diapason for the benefit of the choir.

Two windows attributable to Wailes are to be found at Tralee, although the attribution is not supported by three confusing contemporary references.[57] The apse has a delicate, brilliantly coloured window of 1855 by Wailes, largely in grisaille with two *Miracles* medallions, and is quite similar in character to the Ballyseedy windows. It is flanked by two ornamental windows in a similar style. Elsewhere in the church is a much later Wailes window depicting the parable of the Good Samaritan.

The present large cruciform church occupies an ancient site on which a series of churches has stood. A church, dating from about 1700, was remodelled by Sir Richard Morrison (1767-1844) in 1819, and a 1623 stone font survives. The liturgical orientation was altered and a new apsidal chancel added to the south. The fenestration is also from this period. Despite the strange orientation and seating plan, the interior has an undeniable dignity. An immense space, especially at the crossing, has been created by building the new transverse nave and apsidal chancel. The spectacular arch-braced roof springs from low corbels, set no more than halfway up the walls; this structure is an especially ambitious means of supporting the roof of the crossing. The furnishings, such as the three elaborate electroliers in brass and enamel and the large three-manual organ with decorated front rank, contribute to the feel-

13 – Detail from DEPOSITION *window by Willaim Wailes at Killarney*
opposite 14 – Contract drawing by James Rogers for Kilfergus church, Glin, county Limerick
(photo courtesy RCB library)



ing of grandeur, and all is well cared-for and highly polished. That there is some mystery surrounding the original orientation is apparent when one discovers that the tower is at the east end of the former nave, and so seems to have been built on the site of the former chancel. The space beneath the tower, which liturgically has become a 'north' transept, retains a sanctuary and is home to an interesting early coloured-glass window of unknown provenance, set in an opening with reveals, having panels of moulded plasterwork.

Earley & Powell of Dublin

The roles of both Pugin and J.H. Powell at the Hardman studio have already been discussed, and two other Hardman men are important in the Irish context. Born of Irish parents in Birmingham, two brothers, Thomas Earley (1819-1893) and John Farrington Earley (1831-1873), were both apprenticed at Hardman's under Pugin. Thomas worked for a while with Pugin at his house in Ramsgate, Kent, where some of his cartoons were prepared. By 1853 Thomas Earley had moved to Dublin to run

an Irish branch of Hardman's. An advertisement of 1859 makes it clear that the range of products offered by Hardman at the time was wide:

> John Hardman & Co., 48 Grafton Street, Dublin. Metal Works, 166 Great Charles Street, Birmingham. Stained Glass Works, 43 New Hall Hill, Birmingham. Artists, Glass-Painters, Church Decorators & Embellishers. Workers in Gold, Silver, Brass & Iron. Makers of All kinds of Sacred Vessels, Chalices, Monstrances, &c. Altars in wood or stone, Tabernacles, Banners, &c. Designs and Estimates sent on application to Mr. T. Earl[e]y at the Depot, 48 Grafton Street, Dublin.[58]

It is apparent that both the stained glass and the metalwork for the Irish market was, at this time, being produced in Birmingham, but also that Thomas Earley was running a stone-carving department in Dublin. Earley's role was not just administrative; he was a designer of considerable stature, and it seems that some commissions, including wall paintings, were carried out in his own name. A report of the completion of St Saviour's Church, Dublin, in 1860 records that the stained glass was by O'Connor, the metalwork by Hardman, and the painted decoration by Thomas Earley.[59]

In 1864 the Dublin studio became independent when Thomas Earley, together with Henry Powell (d.1882), set up the partnership of Earley & Powell,[60] the name changing to Earley & Co towards the end of the century. By the time the partnership was set up, the Dublin works included a stained-glass studio, and the firm was also to produce elaborate stone and marble altars, sculpture and painted decorations. Recently a collection of drawings and other documents relating to Earley & Powell has been put into the public domain.[61] Some preliminary research into this collection has enabled the writer to start to put some shape to the development of this Dublin studio. Amongst the papers are drawings of stained glass, sculpture, painted wall decorations and altars. Several designs for stained glass dating from the period 1864 to 1869 are bound into a scrapbook. The designs are in the Pugin tradition, and at least one bears the initials 'TE'. So it could safely be assumed that these are the work of Thomas Earley, with just the possibility that some could be by his brother John. Although much of Earley's work was for the Roman Catholic Church, the writer has come across a few windows by various members of the studio in Church of Ireland churches, and Thomas Earley's scrapbook includes the designs for windows at two Dublin churches – St John's in Sandymount (1867) and St Ann's on Dawson Street (1864).

There is stained glass by Earley & Powell at Kilfergus, the estate church for Glin Castle, built by the Irish architect James Rogers (1838-1896) in 1865. The Representative Church Body Library holds an exquisite set of drawings (Plate 14), in which every detail is minutely specified, signed by Rogers, dated 1865, and countersigned by Welland & Gillespie.[62] The new chancel-and-nave church incorporated

the west tower of the former church – a strategy favoured by Rogers (he did the same both at Howth and Holmpatrick) – but in 1870 he designed a new detached tower with square, pyramidal spire standing beyond the south-west corner and linked by a porch. The church, in a muscular Early French Gothic, is small and plain. The five-bay nave is lit by ten simple lancets and each has original and distinctive ornamental leaded lights, designed by Rogers. Sadly they are all badly smashed. The chancel arch springs out of the plastered walls, and consists, in effect, of a deep Burgesian voussoir. The stained-glass east window (Plate 17), *Christ Walking on the Water*, and the ornamental west rose are by Earley & Powell and clearly stem from the Pugin/Hardman stable. The watercolour design for the east window, by Thomas Earley himself, is in the recently discovered scrapbook mentioned above. The windows' donors, in 1867, were Richard and Sarah Georgina FitzGerald of the Glin family, and Isabella FitzGerald, wife of the 26th Knight of Glin, in memory of her brother Llewyllen Lloyd Apjohn who died in 1866. This is recorded on a brass plaque in the church and on one of the windows itself.

There has been some interest in Rogers in recent years, leading to two papers in the journals and a section in a monograph on Deane & Woodward.[63] His career was an intriguing one, in that, with minor exceptions, it spanned only seven years (from 1864 to 1870), but the work is mature and of high quality. His seven churches, all for the Church of Ireland, include Kenure, Howth, Holmpatrick and Kilfergus, and he built rectories at Kenure and at St Bartholomew's, Clyde Road in Dublin. His commissions also include a stained-glass window at All Saints', Grangegorman, Dublin (1863), and one at Christ Church Cathedral, Oxford (1864).

Two Earley & Powell windows are to be found at Drumcliffe church, Ennis, county Clare. The one dating from 1880, which includes the parable of the Good Samaritan (Plate 16), can be attributed to John Bishop Earley (1854-1935), son of John Farrington Earley. A page torn from a journal of 1901 and stuck into a Vestry minute book at Drumcondra church provides a vital piece of evidence and enables the nature of his work.[64] The page identifies the artist of a distinctive Ascension window there as being 'John Earley of 1 Upper Camden Street', and the only John Earley living at that date was John Bishop Earley. The most readily recognisable characteristics are his soft painting style and the overall orange/amber colour-cast, as if the glass were illuminated by the dawn light. Other examples of his work have been identified at Clontarf and Milltown churches.

Mayer & Co of Munich

The richness of church architecture, furnishings and decorations engendered by the principles of the Ecclesiologists can be seen at the remarkable churches at

15 – East window by Mayer & Co at Abington

16 – Good Samaritan window by John Bishop Earley at Drumcliffe church, Ennis

above 17 – East window by Thomas Earley at Kilfergus

18 – Contract drawing by James Rawson Carroll for Abington church, county Limerick
(photo courtesy RCB library)

Abington, county Limerick, and Donanaughta church, Eyrecourt, county Galway. Both have early windows by Mayer & Co, thereby providing a rare opportunity to compare the developments in stained glass in the 1860s in a German studio with those in England. St John's, Abington, was designed in 1869 by James Rawson Carroll (1830-1911) and consecrated in 1870 by John Gregg, Bishop of Cork.[65] The principal patrons were Lord Cloncurry, and the Barrington family of nearby Glenstal Castle. Whereas this massive castle (by William Bardwell) is in a lumbering Norman Revival style, the church is delicately detailed and based on Early French Gothic models. The wonderful contract drawings, preserved in the Representative Church Body Library (Plate 18), are works of art in themselves, and show the internal and external polychromy in pen and ink and colour washes.[66] A lengthy description appeared in *The Irish Builder* in November 1870, of which the following is an extract:

> It is constructed of white, buff and red sandstone ... The style is geometric gothic and the ground-plan comprises a nave, chancel, robing room, porch and bell-tower with spire. The chancel is separated from the nave by a richly

> moulded and pointed arch of cut stone, supported on four polished red marble shafts with carved capitals and is lighted by a three-light window having trefoils and moulded arches resting externally on red stone pillars also with carved capitals.[67]

This is the window which was very shortly to have the early Mayer & Co stained glass. The description continues:

> The west gable has a circular window surrounded by eight quatrefoils within a pointed arch, supported on red stone shafts ... The tower is square at the base and octagonal above and the belfry stage has eight openings with moulded arches, resting on red stone pillars. All the internal finishings of doors and windows are of cut stone and the floors of aisle and chancel are laid with encaustic pavement. It is intended to fill the east and some other of the windows with stained glass.[68]

The choice of Bishop Gregg at that time was appropriate, since this was the year of the consecration of St Fin Barre's Cathedral in Cork, the building of which had come about largely through Gregg's efforts and enthusiasm. Cork is the most elaborately adorned church in Ireland, and in a small way the little church of Abington reflects this richness. Its qualities were certainly well appreciated by Gregg, as is clear from the sermon preached at the consecration, as reported by the *Limerick Chronicle*:

> Every object of His creation is characteristic of magnificence ... why not the dwelling-house of God – where the service of God is performed, where souls are quickened and minds enlightened, and hearts are sanctified ... It was a most preposterous notion to say that such a building should not have the beauties of architecture. [Gregg] was glad that they had abandoned the barbarism of bye-gone days and had come to the conclusion that no building could be too magnificent, no edifice too lovely for the King of Kings to dwell in.[69]

Of the five windows by Mayer & Co, three, including the east window (Plate 15), date from around 1870 and compare in some ways to the windows of the High Victorian era in English stained glass, notably in the use of brilliant colours. However, some pictorial elements remain, and enamels are used in places to add colour. For example, the *Good Samaritan* window has enamelled flesh (and blood!) and a decidedly pictorial landscape. The decorative panels above and below are based on the vine and mystic rose. Those for the east window are based on thirteenth-century acanthus forms.

Another Mayer window from this era can be seen at a remarkable church which would not look out of place in the English Home Counties. At first sight,

Donanaughta church (Plate 19), at Eyrecourt, with its lofty nave and chancel, could be the work of Butterfield, but is in fact by William Edward Martin (1828-1900), and the date is 1867.[70] Martin was architect to the Corporation of Birmingham, and his only other known church is St John the Evangelist, Sparkhill, Birmingham. Donanaughta was built by the Eyre family of Eyrecourt Castle. The nave is of four bays with a steeply pitched roof of great height. A tower was planned but not built beyond the first storey. There are nominal 'transepts', of no depth and apparent in the gables only; nevertheless, they have real transept windows of three lancets with six-lobe roses over. To those approaching the church, the unique porch promises everything, and there are no disappointments to follow. It rests on truncated red marble columns with foliate capitals, and from there rises to a great height. The entrance is flanked by two panels of decorated tiles.

The interior of the nave is polychromatic, mainly of warm red brick with black and white string courses. And there is the grandest of chancels, in the Cambridge Camden Society manner, reached by four steps from the nave. In their ordained places are choir stalls and a two-manual organ, by Conagher of Huddersfield, and far away, at the west end, in its ordained place, is the font, as near to the south-west door as it possibly could be. The interior and its furnishings are unaltered. Stone-carving is plentiful, including the entertainingly oversized corbels supporting the chancel arch and carved as angels. A *Baptism of Christ*, probably contemporary with the church, occupies the east window (Plate 20). Like the early Mayer window at Abington, it is in bright lithographic colours, but the treatment could not be termed pictorial. The composition is unconventional and informal. Flesh colours have been achieved by back-painting and the eyes left as white. Very large pieces of glass are used, and the glass-painting is kept to a minimum, the drapery being virtually unpainted.

James Powell & Sons of London

There is another window from the 1860s at Donanaughta and this is by James Powell & Sons, a firm which had been founded in 1834 and which produced highly accomplished work for a period of a hundred years. During the Victorian and Edwardian eras, Powell's employed – both on the staff and in a freelance capacity – a large number of the most distinguished artists and cartoonists of the day. The studio was unique in also making its own extremely beautiful sheets of coloured glass, and, indeed, supplying these to other studios. As noted above, Powell's had been involved in the 1840s in pioneering researches into the manufacture of coloured glass according to medieval principles.

The Donanaughta window, dating from 1868, is the work of the freelance

Donanaughta church, Eyrecourt, county Galway

19 – Designed by William Edward Martin

20 – Detail from east window by Mayer & Co

opposite

21 – Detail from south window by M. & R. Sillery at Clonfert cathedral, county Galway

Maltese artist Henry Casolani, who provided several designs for Powell's during the 1860s. His work can also be seen at Stradbally, county Laois. The figurative work is restricted to one medallion, *Eli and Samuel*, in the centre of a three-light window; and a further scene, *Timothy with Eunice and Lois*, in the rose tracery above. The decorative quarries in this window and in three neighbouring windows are made of Powell's patented moulded glass, which provided a low-cost alternative to traditional stained glass for filling large areas. There was a wide range of available patterns for these quarries, and in these windows there are grapes, wheat, holly, ivy and acorns.

Just one more window from the 1860s remains to be discussed. It is by the Dublin firm M. & R. Sillery and is to be found at Clonfert cathedral, county Galway.

M. & R. Sillery of Dublin

These are early days in building up a picture of M. & R. Sillery and the extent of their work. It could be a useful subject for research. Some clues can be had from advertisements in *The Dublin Builder*. They seem to have been long-established, claiming 'upwards of half a century' in an advertisement in 1859. They possibly did not always set their sights high. The main message of the advertisement is the dubious recommendation of the lowness of their prices: 'M. & R. Sillery beg to inform that they can supply [windows] at much lower prices than other houses.' [71] Not all of their work was destined to serve in the worship of God: 'Enamelled flocked patterns for obscuring the view, suited for water-closets.' [72]

The Clonfert window (Plate 21) is signed 'Sillery 107 Abbey Street, Dublin',

and has a memorial date of 1868. It consists of a somewhat sentimental figure of an angel set in a medallion, and the background of blue and red quarries takes its inspiration from thirteenth-century French glass. The glass was brought in from elsewhere and the opening built to accommodate it. There are Sillery windows at the Church of Ireland churches at Narraghmore, county Kildare, Bannow, county Wexford, and Banagher, county Offaly.[73]

The west front of Clonfert includes a remarkable Hiberno-Romanesque doorway of eight orders, with a pediment above, similar to, but more elaborately decorated than the doorway at Roscrea. The carvings are of animal heads, human heads and possibly sea creatures, as well as foliate forms. The famous mermaid carving on the chancel arch is later in date, a similar carving appearing at the fifteenth-century Clontuskert Abbey nearby providing a clue as to its date. The present building dates from around 1200 as a simple single-cell church to which a chancel was added in the thirteenth century and transepts and a tower added in the fifteenth century. A sobering summary of the woes which had befallen this historic church was given in *The Irish Builder* in 1896 at the start of a programme of restoration by J.F. Fuller:

> Clonfert Cathedral was founded by St Brendan AD 557 or AD 563. The cathedral appears to have been subjected to the usual disasters of all religious establishments in this country. It was burnt in 744, 842, 1015, 1045, 1164 and 1179 and plundered in 949, 1031, 1065. In 1541 came the destruction of the church and monastery.[74]

Fuller's restoration was completed by 1900. He removed the gallery and opened up original arches; there were new floors and stalls and pews.[75] Presumably, the encaustic tiles throughout the chancel are his, and also the oak pulpit – carved with the emblems of the Evangelists – the bishop's throne and altar table, all of the highest quality. The Hardman and Watson stained-glass windows also went in during the course of the Fuller restoration.

Another distinguished London firm which produced archetypal High Victorian work was Lavers, Barraud & Westlake, although their two windows in this diocese date from a later period. It is to this studio that we turn next.

THE LATER YEARS OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Lavers, Barraud & Westlake of London

The partnership of Lavers & Barraud was founded in 1858 by Nathaniel Wood Lavers (1828-1911) and Francis Philip Barraud (1824-1900). Both men had worked at James Powell & Sons: Barraud was the artist and Lavers the craftsman. In 1860

they took on the services of the first-rate designer Nathaniel Hubert John Westlake (1833-1921). In 1868 Westlake became a partner, and the name of the firm changed to Lavers, Barraud & Westlake. There are some outstandingly beautiful windows by Lavers, Barraud & Westlake in Ireland: at Kilmalooda, county Cork, designed by John Milner Allen; at Ardcarne, county Rosscommon, designed by Barraud; and at St Canice's Cathedral, Kilkenny, designed by Westlake. An unusual commission by Westlake in Ireland is a set of oil paintings of the Stations of the Cross at Maynooth.

Kilgobbin, county Kerry, is a modest First Fruits church (Plate 23), built in 1824 in a remote pastoral setting on the shores of Tralee Bay, with the Slieve Mish mountains behind. The church, surrounded by an extraordinary number of large sepulchres, and the former rectory make a fine group. A fragment of a medieval font, kept in the church, indicates that, without doubt, this is an ancient site, and this comes as no surprise. The sanctuary furniture is in a splendid fairytale gothick style, with reredos, table and rails all as a single item, and there is a lectern to match. The small furnishings have all survived, such as the candle-snuffer and the pewter measure for holy water. The pews, pulpit and desks were designed by Welland & Gillespie in 1862,[76] but sadly the pulpit has been lost and replaced with a redbrick object of brutal design. The vestry has exceptionally finely detailed Regency joinery, including a seven-panel door with pointed upper panels and a unique window with moulded surround and shutters.

Two windows of *c*.1880 by Lavers, Barraud & Westlake, designed by Nathaniel Westlake for Kilshannig church, county Cork, were moved here. One is placed in the porch, the other in the sanctuary. Although the adaptation of the three-light east window (Plate 22) is not perfect, it is satisfactory and it greatly enriches this simple interior. The window has all the hallmarks of this studio's fine work – the richest of thirteenth-century-inspired grisaille to left and right, the central lancet having deep red quarries decorated with fleurs-de-lis, glazed with narrow borders between each quarry, which is the setting for brilliantly conceived groups of figures, full of interest and movement. The colours chosen are from Westlake's characteristic palette – olive greens, deep blues and sandy ambers.

Kempe & Co of London

Of the many artists who trained at the Clayton & Bell studio in the 1860s, the most successful were John Burlison (1843-1891), Thomas John Grylls (1845-1913) and Charles Eamer Kempe (1837-1907). Burlison and Grylls set up their own studio in 1868. Kempe was to become one of the best-known figures in nineteenth-century stained glass, and the large studio which he established in 1869 was to be one of the most prolific. Both Burlison & Grylls and Kempe & Co took their inspiration from

22 – East window by Lavers, Barraud & Westlake at Kilgobbin

23 – Kilgobbin church, Camp, county Kerry

opposite

24 – Detail from east window by Kempe & Co at Birr, county Offaly

Flemish art and English stained glass of the fifteenth century, such as that in the Beauchamp Chapel of St Mary's Church, Warwick. Both studios became particularly associated with High Anglicanism, and examples of their work are relatively rare in the Church of Ireland. A few Kempe & Co windows have come to light – for example, at Piltown, county Kilkenny, Killeskey, county Wicklow, and St Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin.

The galleried church of St Brendan, Birr, consecrated in 1816, was built by John Johnston,[77] who had also carried out work at the castle for the 2nd Earl of Rosse, including the creation of the Gothic saloon. The church stands at the eastern end of an avenue leading from the castle gates and lined with Georgian houses. Between 1877 and 1879 Sir Thomas Drew made alterations and additions to the church, principally the building of a lofty and deep chancel in late pointed Gothic.[78] In addition to this, Drew cleverly created a choir, with associated organ by Abbot & Smith of Leeds, within Johnston's nave. Three white marble steps lead up to the choir, and then, passing through the soaring chancel arch, more steps lead up to the chancel.

At the far end of Drew's chancel is the great east window in the Perpendicular style, with six lancets and extensive panel tracery. It has Kempe's suitably dignified and restrained stained glass (Plate 24), with a sequence of Passion scenes at the base, Old and New Testament figures above, and high-up in the centre of the tracery, overseeing the whole church, is the Archangel Michael triumphing over the dragon. Another Kempe window is to be found in the south gallery. The studio's early work was by far their best, and by the 1890s, when the two windows at Birr were executed, much of the work tended to have an overall heavy green cast and became overloaded with figures and canopies. Here at Birr, however, the fifteenth-century-inspired canopy work in both windows has a welcome brightness, and the colours of the figures and backgrounds are well chosen, if heavily painted. Nevertheless, the studio had become over-confident and unchanging, working to well-tried formulae, and made few concessions to the character or the needs of the building.

Johnstone's elegant galleried gothick nave has rib-vaulted ceilings with foliate bosses, and is supported by north and south arcades of slender shafts which pass through the galleries. The aisles thus formed are also separately and finely vaulted. The interior, almost unaltered since Drew, has a quiet and dignified grandeur and an air of refinement suited to its noble purpose as the estate church. Sadly, the word 'almost' is needed because the six modern stained-glass windows (by, at present, unidentified artists) provide a jarring note and disturb the harmony, bearing no relation to the building and serving only to give an uncalled-for feeling of enclosure and an unwelcome loss of light.

Reference was made earlier to fundamental difficulties with the introduction

of images into Church of Ireland churches, and how, to some extent, these were overcome. That such doctrinal difficulties did not universally disappear is clear from two controversies which arose at Birr. One, during the 1877-79 alterations by Drew, was a battle which took place over the elaborate new reredos by A.P. Sharpe. It was to have had the *Emblems of the Evangelists* and a gradine. According to Bourke, parishioners described it as 'objectionable' and demanded it be removed. At a special hearing the bishop decided on a compromise involving the removal of the *Emblems* and alterations to the gradine so that nothing could be placed on it. Cherubs were also to be removed and finials altered so as not to resemble crosses. There were similar disagreements in 1891 in connection with the iconography of the east window, to be given by the 4th Earl of Rosse, and in particular over a proposed depiction of the Crucifixion.

The gallery also houses a pleasing Heaton, Butler & Bayne Ascension, dating from the end of the nineteenth century. Largely in glowing golds and whites, it has strongly conceived figures, executed with characteristic boldness. It is to this studio that we turn next.

Heaton, Butler & Bayne of London

Twelve of the windows seen in the diocese of Limerick & Killaloe are from one of the most prolific of all the nineteenth-century London studios, Heaton, Butler & Bayne. The partnership between Clement Heaton (1824-1882) and James Butler (1830-1913) was established in 1855. In 1862 Robert Turnhill Bayne (1837-1915) joined them, and the windows which he designed are some of the finest of the High Victorian period. Amongst these is the set of five apse windows of around 1860 at Holy Trinity Church, East Ferry, county Cork. During the 1870s the studio adopted an 'Aesthetic' style, and continued to produce strikingly beautiful work, characterised by a gentler approach and less adherence to the rules of the Gothicists, with more naturalistic figures, the backgrounds and foregrounds incorporating flowers and foliage. All this adds up to 'art for art's sake', the defining quality of the Aesthetic movement.

There are no examples of Heaton, Butler & Bayne's High Victorian work in the diocese, and just one Aesthetic window – at Valentia. This good-quality chancel-and-nave church by Joseph Welland was probably built around 1860.[79] It stands in an enviable position on Valentia Island at the top of the little street sloping down to the quay at Knightstown. There are memorials to the Knights of Kerry who lived nearby at Glanleam, with its extensive sub-tropical gardens. Possibly the FitzGeralds were behind the endowment of the interior with rich details. The floors throughout have encaustic tiles, and there are steps up into the chancel in red marble

and into the sanctuary in white marble. This upward progression, together with the dignified length of the chancel, are in the manner favoured by Welland. His east window, consisting of three separate tall and narrow lancets, has pleasing glass by Heaton, Butler & Bayne, with three sturdy female allegorical figures of Faith, Charity and Hope, and backgrounds of richly coloured fruit and leaves. Charity has a vase of flowers in the foreground, highly characteristic of the era. In the west gable, Welland has placed a plain-glazed rose window of interesting configuration.

The other Heaton, Butler & Bayne windows in the diocese date from the last decade of the nineteenth century and the first of the twentieth; these are at Adare, Birr, Killarney, Woodlawn and Limerick (both St Mary's and St Michael's). During these decades, the sheer volume of output from this studio had the consequence that the early work was seldom matched in originality. Nevertheless, although the style did not move on and the studio failed to embrace the new movements in art, it maintained unfailingly high standards of drawing and craftsmanship, and invariably took a professional and fluent approach. Typical of the studio's work at this time are the four windows of 1889 to 1895 at St Michael's, Limerick: eight solemn Old Testament kings and prophets are executed in Heaton, Butler & Bayne's polished, if unexciting manner. In contrast, the large Mayer east window depicting ten parables is colourful, youthful and lively. The church (1838-44), by James Pain, stands in a leafy and elegant Georgian district of the city.[94] Some record of the introduction of stained glass and of internal re-ordering and furnishing was given in 1888 in *The Irish Builder*:

William Francis Dixon for Mayer & Co

25 – Detail from east window at Clontuskert church, near Ballinasloe, county Galway
(see page 132)

opposite

26 – Detail from east window at Borrisokane, county Tipperary

> St Michael's, Limerick, in which the east window has been recently filled with stained glass, has had a bequest of £300 for a similar object left by the widow of the late Archdeacon Jacob. Other effective improvements have been carried out – viz the fixing of additional choir stall, prayer desks, chancel and vestry-room furniture, the placing of the organ on the north side and the pulpit on the south side, the fixing of a brass memorial tablet, communion rail and porch light. The walls have been decorated and the aisles laid throughout with encaustic tiles.[80]

All the enrichments listed in this piece have survived, mercifully unaltered by passing liturgical fashions. There is fine stencil decoration to the chancel arch and a magnificent wooden roof.

Dixon for Mayer & Co of Munich

In contrast to the pedestrian work coming out of Heaton, Butler & Bayne at this time, Mayer & Co were producing bewitching work in a romantic style. It was the year 1894 that marked this change of direction, the year that they were joined by the English artist William Francis Dixon (1848-1928). He had trained at Clayton & Bell and then set up his own studio, Dixon & Vesey, before moving to Germany to work at Mayer's. The arrangement was a happy one – the marrying of Dixon's strength of designing and drawing, in a manner influenced by the late pre-Raphaelites, with Mayer's rich colours, attention to detail and perfection of craftsmanship. He has been described as 'Clayton & Bell's most original pupil'.[81]

Windows which can with certainty be attributed to Dixon are to be found at Dungarvan, county Waterford, Balbriggan, county Dublin, and Sligo. Four more can be added to the list in the diocese of Limerick & Killaloe: at Ardrahan, Borrisokane, Clontuskert and Drumcliffe. Like the Dungarvan and Balbriggan windows, these four are in the romantic style which Dixon and Mayer produced, with a sweetness of drawing, softness of painting, and beautiful tapestry-like details. It is apparent that Dixon was able to dictate his own choice of colour to Mayer.

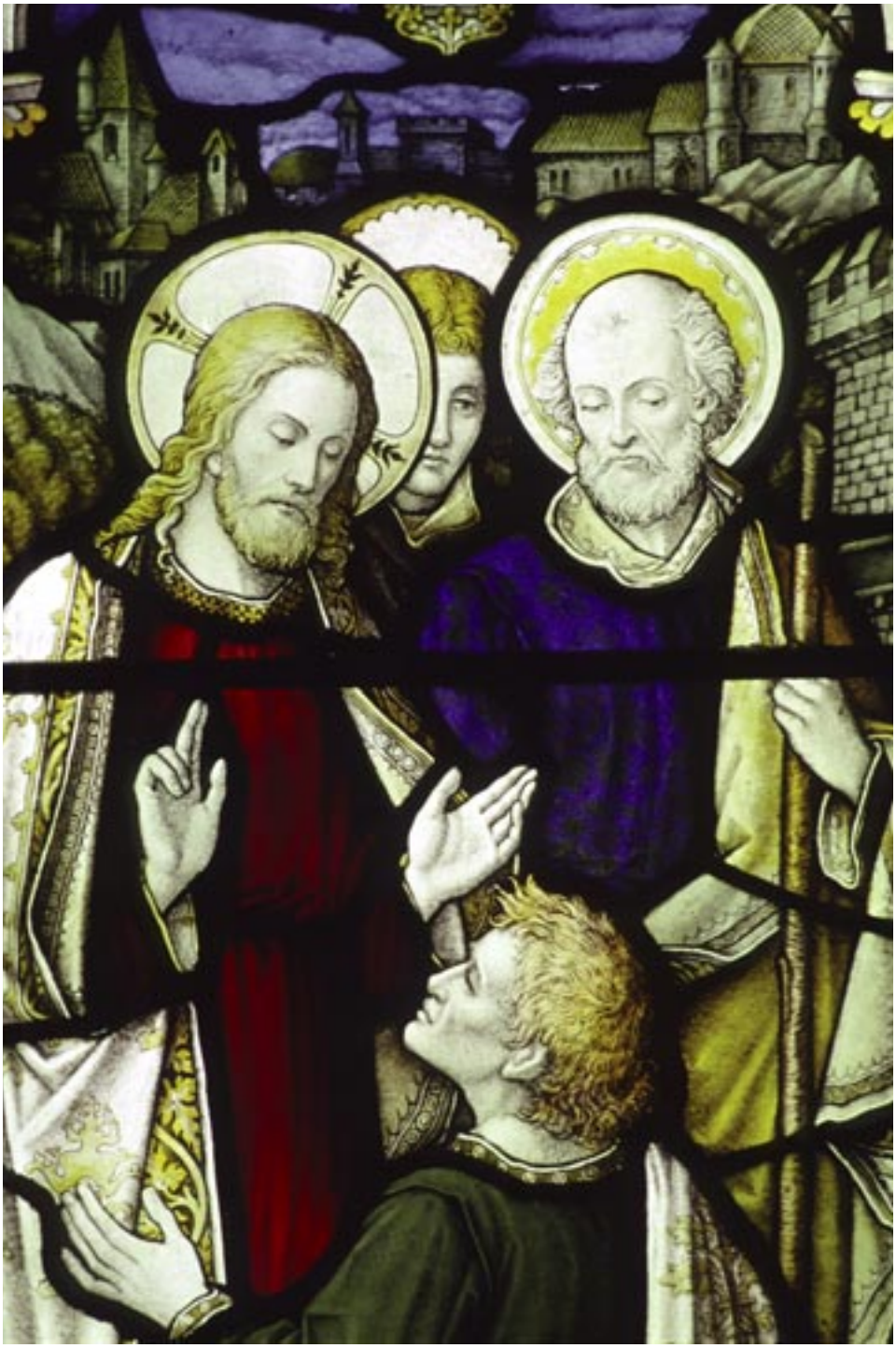
The church at Ardrahan, county Galway, is a late eighteenth-century single cell, with a small apsidal sanctuary and rare hexagonal tower. In the graveyard are the remains of an earlier church and the site of a round tower, and nearby are the remains of a moated castle. The 1908 *Resurrection* is a good example of Dixon's work, with his immediately recognisable and attractive faces and luxurious colour-choice. A characteristic detail is Dixon's drawing of feet with very clearly defined toes and toenails. The elaborately patterned drapery is in rich dark browns and red-purples, and the cloak of the sleeping soldier is painted on a green-yellow streaky glass.

The simple single-cell First Fruits church at the centre of the village of Borrisokane, county Tipperary, was greatly enriched by introducing a Dixon window rescued from Conger in 1991. Its interior is flooded with light from six original clear windows. Dixon's *Mary and Martha* window has a refined beauty, and the heads are especially sensitive (Plate 26). A ruby glass, varying in tone from pale pink to deep burgundy, is used for the drapery of the figure of Christ, and a finely decorated umber for Mary. The distant Gothic landscape is particularly pleasing.

The little Church of St Matthew, Clontuskert, is set in a magnificent and remote part of county Galway. Nearby are the ruins of Clontuskert Abbey. The early nineteenth-century church occupies the site of, and possibly incorporates parts of an early thatched preaching house. Its interior is brilliantly lit from four large clear windows, and everything exudes a feeling of a building in good health. The deep chancel, reached by a total of three steps, is the setting for another perfect example of Dixon's work (Plates 1, 25). It dates from 1908, the same year as the Ardrahan window. The drawing, painting, execution and craftsmanship are of the highest quality. Dixon's predilection for large eyes is readily apparent here. There is a good choice of colour, and the details are sumptuous and exquisitely conceived. Particularly fine is the detail around the hem of the cloak of Christ: the glass used is red, laminated onto yellow; parts of the red are removed with acid-etching, and then details of line and shade are painted and fired. At least half a dozen variants of brown and violet glass have been selected, in a highly original way, to create the group of buildings amongst which the figures stand. The foliage is lush and the landscapes are romantic. The delights of this building are made complete by a rare example of a coal stove, still in use in the nave amongst the pews.

Shrigley & Hunt of Lancaster

Kinnitty church in county Offaly has a rare and beautiful collection of windows by the distinguished Lancaster firm, Shrigley & Hunt. Sadly they are not seen at their best due to the presence of discoloured and light-reducing screens, needlessly fitted to the outside of the window openings. Kinnitty is one of the many first-class churches which Joseph Welland built for the Church of Ireland.[82] The church is on the site of a sixth-century monastery. A ninth-century High Cross stands nearby, and an early Christian inscribed stone is stored in the church. The present church, built in 1851 in the Early English style, is cruciform, but, unusually for Welland, has only a nominal shallow chancel, extending the full width of the nave and under the same roof. The crossing has stone arches to the transepts but not to the nave or the chancel, which are formed by trusses. The shallow chancel and the presence of a west gallery suggest that Welland underplayed the ecclesiology to suit local sensibilities.



28 – Detail from east window by O'Connor & Taylor at Castleconnell
opposite 27 – Detail from CHRIST HEALING THE BLIND MAN window by Shrigley & Hunt at Castleconnell, county Limerick

Nevertheless, there are three marble steps up to the chancel, which has a pavement of encaustic tiles.

The materials and detailing throughout are of excellent quality, and the fenestration, based on simple Early English lancets, is interesting and varied. The nave has some singles and some pairs; each transept has a widely spaced pair with a small rose above; there is a small west rose, high up above the porch; the east window consists of three separate lancets. A quaint detail is the bell-cote, which incorporates a flue for the small fireplace in the family pew at the west end. The pew, beneath the gallery, was presumably for the Bernards of Castle Bernard. Confusingly, a font now stands there. The three Shrigley & Hunt windows, dating from 1907 to around 1910, have between them seven lancets and a rose. They are delicately drawn and have a restrained use of colour. There are dainty, small square quarries with stained and painted motifs. The figures have noble and dignified heads and each stands before a characteristically 'dipping' arras, richly coloured and decorated and with gold braids and ropes.

Shrigley & Hunt was established in Lancaster in 1874. This successful studio produced windows, mosaics and tiles to a consistently high standard well into the twentieth century. The chief designer at this studio was the Swedish-born Carl Almquist (1848-1924). He was a pupil of Henry Holiday and a man of considerable abilities. The Kinnitty windows seem to make use of some cartoons by Almquist and some by other designers at the studio influenced by his work.

Another Shrigley & Hunt can be seen at Castleconnell, county Limerick. As always, the drawing is sensitive and refined and there is an overall fifteenth-century feeling (Plate 27). Above and below the central *Christ Healing* scene are small diamond quarries of perfect proportion, decorated with silver-stained motifs. There is much use of silver-staining elsewhere, giving the whole its characteristic golden-white character, with patches of olive green, burgundy red and slate blue. The window is signed with a good example of the 'S&H' rebus.

O'Connor & Taylor of London

Castleconnell is also home to two windows by O'Connor & Taylor. The Irish artist Michael O'Connor (1801-1867) was an important figure in the early days of the Gothic Revival in stained glass, working with such eminent figures as Pugin and Butterfield. He set up his studio in Dublin, and subsequently moved it to London. Although his career was prematurely cut short by blindness, the studio in London continued working, in the tradition he had founded, in the hands of his sons. In 1873 William George Taylor joined the practice, and by 1877, he had taken over control. The earliest of the three O'Connor & Taylor windows at Castleconnell consists of

large areas of grisaille with a richly coloured Ascension in the centre (Plate 28). It dates from around 1877, but the style still shows the influence of Michael O'Connor. The same design appears at Kilpipe, county Wicklow. Another reuse of a cartoon is the *Charity* window at Castleconnell, which appears again at Ardrahan, with slight changes: the basket of bread has become a baby!

Alterations to the church at Castleconnell during the nineteenth century clearly reflect the changing attitudes to architecture in the Church of Ireland at the time, especially in the eventual reversal of an earlier liturgical re-ordering. In 1826 the architect James Pain enlarged the existing simple single-cell building with the addition of a porch and north transept, complete with gallery. Then, in 1842, he re-ordered the interior arrangements by converting this transept into a nave and siting the sanctuary against the south wall of the former nave, with seating facing it from three sides. However, in true form, Welland & Gillespie re-established the correct orientation in 1863. They re-sited the sanctuary by creating, internally, a 'chancel' at the east end of the nave. They were skilfully able to imply a chancel by making use of Pain's transverse nave to suggest a crossing, emphasised by the diagonal bracing of a new roof. They also provided new east-facing seating and put in first-pointed Gothic window-openings.[83]

All of this was in place for twenty years before O'Connor & Taylor came along with glass which can be counted as a good response to Welland & Gillespie's achievements. Unfortunately, when two further windows eventually appeared – one by Shrigley & Hunt and one of unidentified provenance – there were then five stained-glass and two coloured ornamental windows leading to an unnecessarily dark interior. The only light comes from three small clear windows beside the west gallery and one small clear window in the transept. This somewhat oppressive feeling is emphasised by the presence of over thirty wall monuments to local families – the Massys, Vandeleurs and FitzGibbons.

Another O'Connor & Taylor Ascension is to be found at Woodlawn estate church, Kilconnell, county Galway. It has this studio's characteristic palette and stylistic inconsistencies. Nine architectural drawings, signed by James Forth Kempster (1816-1893) and dated 1861, are kept at the church.[84] They show a proposed building with more elaborate fenestration, including a three-light decorated west window with three sexfoil tracery-lights, and two-light windows throughout the nave. The building, as executed, retains the same plan – notably the slim tower and spire unconventionally set against the north wall of the nave – and just one of the elaborate windows, as drawn. This is the triple-lancet east window with its engaged marble shafts with foliate capitals and with a marble reredos below, the ornamental stained glass also being by O'Connor & Taylor. In the south-west corner there is a pretty little Heaton, Butler & Bayne war memorial window. The interior is surprisingly plain for an estate church, although possibly the walls, now painted over

29 – Annunciation window by Mary Lowndes at Drumcliffe church, Ennis

opposite

30 – Surviving detail from Announcement to the Shepherds window by Mary Lowndes at Aghancon church, near Clareen, county Offaly

in a domestic eau-de-Nil, were once decorated with stencil work. It remains for the three stained-glass windows and the encaustic-tiled floor to provide any richness.

H.M. Barnett of Newcastle-Upon-Tyne

Just a few metres from the huge and richly decorated Roman Catholic church at Nenagh, built in 1894 by Walter Doolin, stands the excellent and more modest Church of Ireland church by Joseph Welland, begun in 1858 and completed in 1861 by Welland & Gillespie. It consists of an Early English chancel and nave, with a south aisle and north-west tower. At the west end there is a gallery for the Telford & Telford organ, with pipework arranged to frame the small west rose in the gable.[85]

Doolin succeeded in outdoing Welland in size and elaboration, but not in quality: Welland's church is one for the connoisseur – a perfect example of Early English Revival and a lesson in restraint and quiet strength. It is a textbook example of the new ecclesiology, the emphasis being diverted away from the Word and directed to the Sacraments. His distinct broad and deep chancel is reached from the nave by three steps, and the sanctuary by another step. The climax is the sizeable altar table with an arcaded reredos, decorated with modern paintings of Celtic-inspired symbols by Anne Tower. The pavements are of elaborately patterned encaustic tiles.

The baptistry has been moved to an uncomfortable location at the east end of the south aisle, but otherwise the interior remains largely as Welland intended, if rather dominated by poor stained glass. There is ugly ornamental glass in the triple east lancets. Two of the four south-aisle windows, which would have given good light, have stained glass of no particular merit. However, on the north side, is a most interesting and unusual window by Henry Mark Barnett (1832-1888), depicting St Paul and St Luke. Barnett's father and grandfather were both in the stained glass business, and Henry started his own studio in Newcastle in 1858. Most of Barnett's windows are to be found in Roman Catholic churches, especially in the north of England, and, true to character, the Nenagh window looks as if it were intended for the Roman Catholic church next door.

R.W. Winfield of Birmingham

In 1882, R.W. Winfield purchased the Camm Brothers studio in Smethwick, Birmingham, which had been set up by Thomas William Camm (1838-1912). According to Alan Crawford, Winfield's had a 'high reputation for craftsmanship and design in glass-work'.[86] A rare example of Winfield's work is to be found at

Kiltinanlea church, Clonlara, county Clare. In 1892 *The Irish Builder* reported 'extensive alterations and improvements' to the First Fruits church of St Senan.[87] In addition to a well-proportioned new chancel, organ chamber (now sadly without an organ) and vestry, there was a memorial window to Lady Dillon Massy 'in Bath and Portland stone by Messrs. Harrison, Great Brunswick Street'. This is a rare example of a memorial consisting not only of stained glass (by Winfield), but also the magnificent stone opening.

The stone-carving is as elaborate as could be imagined. Above, there is free-standing, so-called 'double' tracery in the form of a five-cusped arch. The inner order of the opening is a simple Gothic point, and the outer order is ogee with crockets and finials. The two orders are separated by an arch of deeply incised carvings of vines and grapes. Sunk deep into all of this is a small window-opening with a five-cusped head and delicate quatrefoil above. The stained glass is a most restrained and tranquil depiction of Christ with Mary and Martha, and there are panels of decorated quarries above and below. The window makes use of subtly shaded glass in a painterly way, giving moulding and lightness to the drapery. This little-known studio has come up with a window of the highest quality, equivalent in every way to the unique and elegant stonework.

Watson & Co of Youghal

In his doctoral thesis on twentieth-century Irish stained glass, Dr Michael Wynne referred to the existence of over fifty small studios in Ireland in the nineteenth century.[88] Very little research has been done on these, but as far as Church of Ireland churches are concerned, the most frequently occurring name is that of Watson & Co of Youghal, county Cork. The first known window by Thomas Cox Snr (1840-1873) dates from about 1860, and his studio continued to operate under his sons Edward and Thomas Jnr, eventually in partnership with Michael Buckley.[89] No later than 1880, an Irish branch was opened in Youghal, trading initially under the name Cox & Buckley (or Cox, Sons, Buckley & Co), but in the early 1890s it was taken over by Watson & Co, and the London branch was taken over by Curtis, Ward & Hughes. It would not be unfair to describe the work of Watson & Co as variable in quality, and, like many of the trade firms, they made use of cartoons from a wide range of freelance artists as well as from their own staff.

One of the most anomalous of all church buildings began life as a mill in 1820, but as the millstream could not provide sufficient power, the mill was closed and, in 1842, the first floor was converted to become Christ Church, Corbally, near Roscrea. The choice of architectural style for the conversion of the Georgian mill building was extraordinary: the tower takes the form of an Italianate campanile, and

the ceilings, especially at the crossing, are baroque. The inadequate millstream still passes by the entrance. A memorial tablet to John Dawson Hutchinson (d.1881) gives the background:

> During many years when there was no church here, he defrayed the expenses of divine service held in a mill on his property, including the stipend of a clergyman, and maintained a day school and Sunday school at his own expense. The mill having been subsequently altered and consecrated became the parish church of Corbally and he, by his will, liberally endowed the benefice.

In addition to the elaborate ceilings, decoration takes the form of three ornamental windows by Watson in the apse and a three-light window, also by Watson, in the south transept. Two of the lights have ornamental designs – work which this studio did rather well – and the centre light, *Christ as Good Shepherd*, was cartooned by the important freelance English stained-glass artist, George Measures Parlby (1857-1944). When the studio had access to drawings of this quality the standard is much elevated. It seems that Parlby did, from time to time, send cartoons down to Youghal: there are, for example, two Watson/Parlby windows at Blackrock, county Cork.

In most cases, the addition of chancels to existing churches was done during the 1860s, but as late as 1906 Joseph Fogerty added a chancel and transepts to the 1825 nave at Borrisnafarney.[90] The church stands in remote and unspoilt countryside adjacent to the Lougton demesne in county Offaly, seat of the Pepper family and later, by inheritance, the Barons Bloomfield. The transepts emanate from the chancel, the south housing the vestry and the north providing a private entrance and family pew for the Peppers. Beneath the original west gallery is a baptistry dating from the period of the enlargements. The spacious chancel is reached by two marble steps, and one further marble step leads up to the sanctuary. The floors throughout are in terracotta tiles, lending a warmth to the interior, echoed by the well-chosen earth-pink colour-wash to the interior walls. Watsons have risen to the challenge of this fine setting with an excellent two-light window, *Christ Blessing Children*, no doubt contemporary with the new chancel. The broad lancets have a busy and lively composition and there is a good choice of glass.

Lowndes & Drury of London

The motivation for the founding, in 1903, of An Túr Gloine, was entirely from within Irish culture, but the model for its realisation was found in the London Arts and Crafts movement, and specifically in the philosophies of its leading figure, Christopher Whall (1849-1924).[91] Whall rejected the hierarchical structures of the large studios and believed that individual artists should be able to have access to

31 – Woodlawn church by James Forth Kempster

32 – Woodlawn, Kilconnell, county Galway
the seat of the Barons Ashtown

shared facilities to design and paint and make their own windows, or at least to supervise closely all stages in the manufacture. A highly influential figure, Whall taught at the Central School and the Royal College of Art, and was responsible both for far-reaching artistic developments and for technical innovations in the richness, colours and textures of glass. One of the types of glass developed, sometime around 1889, was very thick and irregular, known as 'slab' glass. It was made by the London firm Britten & Gilson at Whall's suggestion, and it became one of the hallmarks of Arts & Crafts windows. In 1895 he set up a studio at his London home, but he remained, at first, closely involved with Britten & Gilson, who continued to manufacture his windows using the slab glass.

At this time, Mary Lowndes (1857-1929), a pupil of Henry Holiday (1839-1927), was working at Britten & Gilson and was greatly influenced by Whall's beliefs.[92] In 1897 she and the studio foreman, Alfred John Drury (1868-1940), left the firm and set up an Arts & Crafts stained-glass studio in Chelsea, which was to provide facilities for stained glass artists to make windows according to Whall's principles. Lowndes & Drury was the model for the founding of the 'Tower of Glass' in Dublin in 1903, and it was Alfred Ernest Child (1875-1939), Whall's assistant and pupil, who joined Sarah Purser there as manager and teacher. Three years later, in 1906, the similarly named 'Glasshouse' was purpose-built in Fulham as the new premises for Lowndes & Drury.[93]

There is a notebook in existence giving the location of some Lowndes windows,[94] but it was rewarding to find an Annunciation, dating from about 1900, at Drumcliffe, which had not previously been documented (Plate 29). It has an Art Nouveau character, especially in the foliate border which frames the figures, and is made of Britten & Gilson's slab glass. Lowndes used the same cartoon for a window at Lamarsh, Essex.[95]

Drumcliffe was built in 1871 by Lanyon, Lynn & Lanyon. It is in an Early French Gothic style and is all-of-a-piece. The east end has unfathomable masses of masonry and roofs, consisting of a tower, polygonal apse, nave gable – complete with chimney, resembling a Celtic monastic round tower – south-aisle gable with a rose window and organ chamber gable beneath. All is built in a cold grey stone. The interior is spacious, with its wide nave and wide aisle, and the considerable height is emphasised by the soaring chancel arch. The granite columns of the south arcade have acanthus-form foliate capitals. Three steps lead up to the deep and richly adorned chancel, and a further three steps to the apsidal sanctuary, with its exceptional reredos consisting of three ranges, each of eight niches and each with a figure of a saint. The work, by Catherine O'Brien (1881-1963), is executed in a mosaic-like medium known as *opus sectile*, closely related to stained glass.

Aghancon church, near Clareen, county Offaly, is a simple early nineteenth-century single-cell building in a remote hilly setting, and has connections with near-

by Leap Castle, seat of the Darby family. Its unhappy fate is to have become a graveyard for the scarcely recognisable remains of an important collection of Mary Lowndes windows. These are all that remain of several commisioned by the Lloyd family of Gloster for the nearby church at Ettagh.[96] When it was closed, the set of Lowndes windows was removed and fundamentally altered by discarding the backgrounds and setting the figures in crass commercial glass. With this deliberate act of mutilation, a valuable collection of English Arts & Crafts glass – unique in Ireland – was rendered meaningless and worthless. In just one small area of the *Announcement to the Shepherds* window, in which a part of the background has survived, some idea of the quality of the original work can be judged (Plate 30). The consequences of the iconoclasm are appalling, not only for these works of art but also for Aghancon church, the character of which has been compromised. A small panel from another of the Ettagh windows is kept within the Shinrone parish. Although damaged, it was not submitted to the process of alteration and it is to be hoped that it will be repaired and put on public view.

CONCLUSION

THE RANGE OF CHURCHES HAVING NINETEENTH-CENTURY STAINED GLASS IN THE diocese of Limerick & Killaloe is as varied as could be, as are the settings, including a massive medieval cathedral in a busy city centre; a small mid-nineteenth-century chancel-and-nave church on an offshore island; a complete early fourteenth-century abbey church; a Georgian mill converted into an Italianate church in remote countryside; a tiny First Fruits church on the shores of Tralee Bay. The legacies of the land-owning families and their relationship to the Church of Ireland live on in the great houses that stand and those that no longer stand, and in the churches that they built and adorned. Birr, Regency, galleried and dignified, stands at the gates of the great demesne of Birr Castle, home to the Earls of Rosse. Woodlawn is the remote estate church for the seat of the Barons Ashtown, now forlorn and empty (Plates 31, 32); a carriage drive, now overgrown, brought the members of the family to church, and their private railway station, still in use, stands nearby. Ballyseedy, desperately in need of a major investment in conservation, is the epitome of the Irish estate church, and the house, although now a hotel, still stands. Kilfergus, on the edge of the demesne of Glin Castle, the seat of the Knights of Glin, is an exceptional building by a gifted and original Irish architect. Abington, alongside the demesne of Glenstal Castle, is as elaborate as any small Church of Ireland church, and nothing short of Tractarian; the exterior is in subtle and understated polychromy and the interior is a riot of colour.

The writer visited his first Church of Ireland church, St Nicholas's in Cork, in

1991, and since then has recorded the stained glass in about 350 Irish churches and cathedrals. Whilst it has to be accepted that the memories of some of the buildings and some of the windows merge into a blur, others are the subjects of abiding memories, and there were several in the diocese of Limerick & Killaloe. Unaltered early thirteenth-century cathedral churches, with not even any later fenestration, are rare anywhere. Killaloe, with its Warrington windows, is one such and is an extraordinary survivor in a country with a troubled history. The long vista from the west wall of Adare, beneath the tower and into the extensive chancel, with Hardman's magnificent five-light east window in the far distance, must be one of the most memorable in any church in Ireland.

There are mixed memories of Limerick. Clayton & Bell's great south window is arguably the most magnificent nineteenth-century stained glass in Ireland, but the juxtaposition of their refined and elegant work with the crude rubble walls serves to diminish it. The ruins of Clontuskert Abbey include highly original fifteenth-century elements – a vaulted rood, a west door with extensive stone-carvings and the most elegant of cloisters, built to a small scale, with ogee arches. The little Church of Ireland church matches the excellence of the abbey in its tranquillity and with its exemplary stained-glass window by Dixon for Mayer.

Architecturally and historically, the churches discussed represent a microcosm of the ever-fascinating story of the Church of Ireland. The stained glass, too, is a microcosm of the story of Irish and English nineteenth-century stained glass.

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ENDNOTES

The following abbreviation is used:
RCB Representative Church Body, Dublin

[1] A. Acheson, *A History of the Church of Ireland 1691-2001* (Dublin 2002) 112.
[2] M. Craig, *The Architecture of Ireland from the Earliest Times to 1880* (London 1989) 288.

[3] A. Rowan, *The Buildings of Ireland, North West Ulster* (Harmondsworth 1979) 64.
[4] *ibid*.
[5] For example, 'Chancel windows, Munich Glass, one date of commemoration 1867. Terrible anyway'. I. Nairn and N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England, Sussex* (Harmondsworth 1985) 566.
[6] D. Lawrence, 'Stained Glass in the United Diocese of Cashel, Ossory & Ferns', report for the RCB, Dublin, 2001; copies at RCB library and Irish Architectural Archive.
[7] R. Fenn and J. Sinclair, *The Parish Church of St. Mary the Virgin, Kington*, church guidebook (1998) 12.
[8] D. Verey, *Shell Guide to Herefordshire* (London 1955).
[9] N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England, Herefordshire* (Harmondsworth 1963) 209.
[10] M. Harrison, unpublished letter to the author, 2001.
[11] M. Harrison, *Victorian Stained Glass* (London 1980).
[12] A.W.N. Pugin, *The True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture* (London 1841).
[13] C. Brooks, *The Gothic Revival* (London 1999) 246.
[14] A. Acheson, *A History of the Church of Ireland 1691-2001* (Dublin 2002) 153.
[15] *ibid*., 170.
[16] *ibid*., 154.
[17] C. Forster, *The Life of John Jebb* (London 1837) 160.
[18] *ibid*., 161.
[19] *ibid*., 174.
[20] *ibid*., 308.
[21] Quoted in D. Lawrence and A. Wilson, *The Cathedral of Saint Fin Barre at Cork* (Dublin 2006) 77.
[22] K. Milne, *The Church of Ireland, A History* (Dublin) 20.
[23] S. Lewis, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ireland*, I (London 1837) 18.
[24] C. Winston, *An Inquiry into the Difference of Style Observable in Ancient Glass Paintings, Especially in England, with Hints on Glass Painting* (Oxford 1847).
[25] E. Baily, *Kilnasoolagh Church* (Newmarket-on-Fergus 1992); Warrington trade list, *c*.1865, ex. inf. Michael Kerney.
[26] D. Lawrence, 'Stained Glass in the United Diocese of Kilmore, Elphin & Ardagh', 2005, RCB library, Dublin
[27] *The Ecclesiologist*, 1849, 81-97.
[28] An account of the work of James and George Pain is given in D. Lee and C. Gonzalez, *Georgian Limerick 1714-1845*, 2 vols (Limerick 2000) II, 216-54
[29] Details of the Warrington windows cited in this paragraph can be found in D. Lawrence's reports on the dioceses of Dublin & Glendalough; Cashel, Ossory & Ferns; Kilmore, Elphin & Ardagh, RCB library.
[30] *The Irish Builder*, 29, 15th May 1887, 134.
[31] House of Lords Record Office, collection 304, letter 327, letter from A.W.N. Pugin to J. Hardman.
[32] S. Shepherd, 'Hardman's Stained Glass and the Transfer from Pugin to Powell', *True Principles – The Voice of the Pugin Society*, II, 4, 2002, 25.
[33] Countess of Dunraven, *Memorials of Adare* (Oxford 1865) 27; Special Collection, University of Limerick library.

[34] P. Stanton, *Pugin* (New York 1971) 206.
[35] R.H. Brash, *The Ecclesisatical Architecture of Ireland, to the Close of the Twelfth Century; Accompanied by Interesting Historical and Antiquarian Notices of Numerous Remains of that Period* (Dublin 1875).
[36] Harrison, *Victorian Stained Glass*, 36.
[37] *The Ecclesiologist*, 1857, 196.
[38] Harrison, *Victorian Stained Glass*, 36.
[39] *ibid*., 26.
[40] M. Harrison, unpublished papers read at Glaziers Hall, London, 2004, and Art Workers Guild, London, 2005.
[41] Craig, *The Architecture of Ireland*, 315.
[42] Details of all windows in Church of Ireland churches referred to in this article can be consulted in D. Lawrence's reports, some of which are cited above. Copies are kept at the RCB library and the Irish Architectural Archive.
[43] *The Dublin Builder*, 3, 15th September 1861, 633-34
[44] *ibid*.
[45] Lawrence Collection, reproduced in L. Mulvin, 'St Mary's Cathedral, Limerick: unpublished correspondence', *Irish Architectural and Decorative Studies*, 4, 2001, 196-99.
[46] This refers to St Michael's Church, Limerick; *The Irish Builder*, 19, 1st December 1877, 357.
[47] N. Ellerker, *Stained Glass Windows in St Mary's Cathedral, Limerick*, cathedral guidebook; summary of material in M. Talbot, *The Monuments of St Mary's Cathedral* (Limerick 1976).
[48] Some of the component panels in this window have been inadvertently interchanged so that in places the iconographic sequence has been lost.
[49] Martin Harrison, unpublished letter to the author, 2006.
[50] Lawrence and Wilson, *The Cathedral of Saint Fin Barre at Cork*, ch.7.
[51] RCB library, drawings, signed and dated 1868, f.2.
[52] Quoted in J. Williams, 'William Atkins – a Forgotten Cork Pre-Raphaelite' in A. Bernelle (ed.), *Decantations in Honour of Maurice Craig* (Dublin 1992) 247.
[53] J. Williams, *A Companion Guide to Architecture in Ireland 1837-1921* (Dublin 1994) 224.
[54] *The Irish Builder*, 3, 15th June 1889, 161.
[55] 'Thirteen windows under R. Mannix', *Building News*, 45, 1883, 868.
[56] Leaflet for visitors at church; also quoted in A. Hewson, *Inspiring Stones* (Limerick 1995) 132.
[57] The trade catalogue of the Alexander Gibbs studio of 1878 has 'Protestant Church, Tralee, all the windows'; *The Builder*, 13, 1855, 570 has 'Protestant church, sixteen memorial windows by Gibbs.'; *Building News*, 47, 1884, 1058 has 'Protestant church, St John the Baptist window in memory of the Dean of Kerry, by Barnett & Son of Leith'. Unless all of these windows have been removed, these references would seem to refer to another church. The matter remains unresolved at present.
[58] *The Dublin Builder*, January 1859, 12.
[59] *The Dublin Builder*, April 1860, 239.
[60] M. Wynne, *Irish Stained Glass* (Dublin 1977) 11.
[61] National College of Art & Design library, Dublin, Earley Collection.
[62] RCB library, drawings, signed and dated 1865 and 1879, f.20.
[63] P. Howell, 'Who was "Rogers, A Pupil of Woodward"?', *Irish Arts Review*, 13, 1998, 105-11; B. Grimes, 'The Church Architecture of James Edward Rogers (1838-1896)', *Irish*

Architectural and Decorative Studies, II, 1999, 175; F. O'Dwyer, *The Architecture of Deane & Woodward* (Cork 1997) 395-401.

[64] Drumcondra Church of Ireland church, vestry minute book.

[65] *The Irish Builder*, 12, 15th November 1870, 281.

[66] RCB library, contract drawings, signed & dated June 1869, f.17.

[67] *The Irish Builder*, 16, 15th February 1874, 63.

[68] *ibid*.

[69] Report of sermon in the *Limerick Chronicle*, 10th November 1870.

[70] RCB library, drawings, f.4.

[71] *The Dublin Builder*, January 1859, 48.

[72] *The Dublin Builder*, October 1861, 650.

[73] The London journals also record various other commissions, including (a) Clonmore, 'Sillery of Dublin, design given by Mr. J. Welland, architect', *The Builder*, 15, 1857, 706; (b) Clonmacnoise, *Building News*, 3, 1857, 1300; (c) Attea, *The Builder*, 17, 1859, 15.

[74] *The Irish Builder*, 38, September 1896, 191.

[75] *Building News*, 78, 16th February 1900, 248.

[76] RCB library, drawings of pews, pulpit, desks by Welland & Gillespie, 1862, f.2.

[77] F. Bourke, *Church and Parish of St Brendan* (Birr 1966) 8.

[78] *The Irish Builder*, no. 19, 1st June 1877,161, 165; no. 29, 1st February 1887, 46; no. 41, 1st December 1899, 373.

[79] RCB library, drawings, f.2.

[80] *The Irish Builder*, 30, 1st November 1888, 278.

[81] Harrison, *Victorian Stained Glass*, 61.

[82] RCB library, drawings by Joseph Welland, 1851, f.19.

[83] Church also known as Stradbally; RCB library, drawings, f.19.

[84] Kempster was County Surveyor for the East Riding of county Galway and built a large number of secular public buildings. He is described in *The Dublin Builder*, 8, 1st June 1865, 144, as 'diocesan architect', but Woodlawn is the only church in the list of commissions in the Irish Architectural Archive Index. Kempster also extended and remodelled Woodlawn (the house).

[85] *The Builder*, 19, 23rd February 1861, 129. RCB library, drawings, f.19; also RCB MS 139.

[86] A. Crawford, *By Hammer & Hand: The Arts & Crafts Movement in Birmingham* (Birmingham 1984) 33.

[87] *The Irish Builder*, 34, 1st October 1892, 211.

[88] M. Wynne, 'Stained Glass in Ireland 1760-1963', Ph.D. thesis (Trinity College Dublin 1975).

[89] J. Little (ed.), *Stained Glass Marks and Monograms* (London 2002) 34.

[90] *The Irish Builder*, 48, 17th November 1906, 928.

[91] P. Cormack, *The Stained Glass Work of Christopher Whall* (Boston 1999).

[92] P. Cormack, *Women Stained Glass Artists of the Arts and Crafts Movement*, exhibition catalogue (William Morris Gallery, London, 1986) 5-6.

[93] Harrison, Victorian Stained Glass, 67-68; photograph of the Glasshouse, fig. 79.

[94] B. Forbes, unpublished notebook, 17th October 1945, transcribed in Ann O'Donoghue, 'Mary Lowndes – A Brief Overview of her Life and Work', *The Journal of Stained Glass*, 24, 2000, 38-52.

[95] Ex. inf. Peter Cormack.

[96] Forbes, unpublished notebook, 50