



# High-Victorian stained glass by Lavers & Barraud in six churches in county Cork

---

DAVID LAWRENCE

A NEW APPROACH TO CHURCH-BUILDING, DECORATION AND FURNISHING IN THE Anglican church took place in the mid-nineteenth century in the wake of the writings of the architect A.W.N. Pugin, the ‘Tracts’ of the Oxford Movement and the edicts published during the years 1841 to 1868 in *The Ecclesiologist*. The Catholic tradition was to be brought back to the Church of England. There were to be no more ‘preaching boxes’ with their galleries, box-pews and prominent pulpits. The new ‘Tractarian’ churches were expected to embody the Catholic principles of the medieval church, and existing churches were to be reordered accordingly. The architectural style was to be thirteenth-century Gothic, the windows were to have stained glass, and other forms of enrichments to the exterior and interior were to be encouraged. There would be a west-to-east axis; the congregation would sit on east-facing benches, focussed on the altar, which was to be placed in a substantial and separately roofed chancel. The emphasis was to be not on the Word, but on the Sacraments.

Ecclesiologists favoured a progression from a bright nave to a dark chancel. The sequence would begin at the west end, where the font would symbolically be placed as near to the entrance door as possible. Moving eastwards along the nave, worshippers would eventually pass under the rood, where several steps would take one up into the chancel – symbolic of the outer court of heaven. Here would be found the robed choir and the organ. More steps would lead upwards to the richly ornamented and mysterious sanctuary, where the very presence of God might be encountered.

In the early decades of the nineteenth century, there had already been a revival of the old indigenous High Church tradition of the Church of Ireland, with its roots in the seventeenth century.<sup>1</sup> This revival in many ways anticipated the doctrines and practices

---

1 – *THE ASCENSION*: detail of the centre lancet of the west window at All Saints’ Church, Kilmalooda (all photos by David Lawrence and © Representative Body of the Church of Ireland unless otherwise stated)



2 – William Burges, *Cathedral Church of St Fin Barre, Cork, 1870*

*opposite*

3 – *Thirteenth-century stained glass from Sainte-Chapelle, Paris*

*(photo by Ann Wilson)*

of the Tractarian movement in England. John Jebb (1775-1833), Bishop of Limerick, was one of the founders of this Catholic revival, and Limerick became one of its centres.<sup>2</sup> Although the movement persisted, survived the disestablishment of the Church of Ireland (1869-71), and was permitted to co-exist with the mainstream evangelical movement, its lasting legacy is not that of a brand of churchmanship but of a flowering of architecture and ecclesiastical art.<sup>3</sup> The opportunity to embody in stone the tenets of the Irish and English High Church movements came in the 1860s when there was a massive investment in and zeal for church-building in the years leading up to and immediately following disestablishment. The radical change in approach to church buildings and their furnishings and decorations was not restricted to the handful of parishes – mainly in Dublin and Limerick – where High Church ritual was practised. Some of the best-known Irish and English architects of the Gothic Revival were employed to build churches throughout Ireland embodying ecclesiological principles, to a greater or lesser extent (compare Plates

4 and 5). Amongst them were Joseph Welland, William Slater, Thomas Deane, Benjamin Woodward, William Burges, William Butterfield and George Edmund Street.

Some buildings modestly embodied the principles in an understated way, and others were richly embellished and ecclesiological. There were not only new churches, but five cathedrals too: Kilmore and Cork were entirely new (Plate 2), and Tuam, Kildare and Christ Church in Dublin were comprehensively rebuilt.<sup>4</sup> As well as building new churches and cathedrals, these architects reordered numerous humble 'hall-and-tower' churches throughout Ireland by adding chancels, removing box-pews, moving pulpits to one side and fonts to the west end, adding liturgical furnishings, encaustic pavements, stained-glass windows and other forms of decorative art.

The architects of the Gothic Revival not only made a significant contribution to ecclesiastical architecture, but also to the decoration of churches and to the design and role of stained glass. They were all committed to improving the standards of church decoration in general, and stained glass in particular. Some, such as Burges, were actively involved in stained-glass design, while others imparted their philosophies to the major English studios, closely supervising the designing and making of their windows. Martin Harrison is of the opinion that '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.'<sup>5</sup>

Charles Winston's researches in 1847 into the medieval techniques of making stained glass provided the London studios with the medium in which these aspirations could be realised. A more liberal doctrine, which gradually developed within the Church of Ireland, permitted the introduction of stained glass depicting figurative images.

Both this changed attitude and Winston's work have been discussed in a previous paper in this journal.<sup>6</sup> By the time of disestablishment, everything was therefore in place for the proliferation of stained glass in Church of Ireland churches, and there was no shortage of suitable patronage. The families in the big houses led the way, and soon the fashion for memorial windows became widespread among those who could afford them. It is estimated that in the churches which remain in use, there are today about 2,500





4 – James Piers St Aubyn,  
All Saints' Church,  
Kilmalooda, 1858

*Note the striking contrast between this 'ecclesiological' building of 1858 and the starkly plain First Fruits FarranThomas Church of 1810 (Plate 5). This significant development in Church of Ireland architecture is discussed earlier in the paper.*

stained-glass windows, only about fifty of which date from prior to disestablishment.<sup>7</sup>

Three London studios were at the forefront of what can be termed 'High Victorian' English stained glass, namely Heaton, Butler & Bayne, Clayton & Bell and Lavers & Barraud. At these studios, the work of three artists in particular excels – Robert Turnill Bayne (1837-1915), John Richard Clayton (1827-1913) and, for Lavers & Barraud, the freelance artist, John Milner Allen (b.1928). The High Victorian style was strongly influenced by French stained glass of the thirteenth century – for example, that in the Sainte-Chapelle, Paris (Plate 3). These windows are intense in mood, vividly coloured, often using mosaic-like small pieces of glass, and the pictures are two-dimensional (that is, devoid of attempts at perspective). This style emerged in about 1858, and by 1868 was already starting to fade. Among the High Victorian windows in Ireland, there are several of exceptional interest in a group of six small churches in county Cork, namely Kilmalooda, FarranThomas, Kinsale, Frankfield, Carrigrohane and Crosshaven. All are from the Lavers & Barraud studio, some designed by J.M. Allen and others by the architect William Burges (1827-1881).

In building All Saints' Church, Kilmalooda, the prolific English architect James Piers St Aubyn (1815-1895) has given us an example of arcadian English architecture transplanted to a pastoral area of west Cork (Plate 4). This chancel-and-nave church, consecrated in 1858, is in his favoured Middle-Pointed Gothic style. Drawings, signed by the architect and approved in 1856, are inscribed 'for W. Bence-Jones'.<sup>8</sup> This is William

5 – FarranThomas church,  
Newcestown, 1810  
Commissioned by the Board of First  
Fruits; architect unknown.



Bence-Jones (1812-1882), whose house, Lisselane, is nearby. The stonework has a delightful patination; a dire plan to sandblast it a few years ago was thankfully forestalled and it has not suffered the indignities of cement-pointing or encircling tarmac which, unfortunately, are so common in Ireland. The nave, its interior walls lined with Bath stone, is of great height and has a hammer-beam roof. The vast, smoothly finished areas of honey-coloured stone provide a marvellous warmth and sense of place. In accordance with sound principles of ecclesiology, three steps take us up to the chancel and three more to the polygonal apse. The chancel is of grand proportions and a shouldered arch leads to the vestry, complete with fireplace and chimney. In a prominent place on the north side of the chancel, and forming an integral component of the structure, is the tomb of William Bence-Jones' three daughters. Two died from scarlet fever at 'Christmas 1851', aged five and three, and the third survived for only one day in 1852.

St Aubyn championed the work of Lavers & Barraud, and a series of six of their windows, contemporary with the church, graces the chancel. Only the central lancet of the apse has figurative stained glass. In view of its iconography – Christ Blessing Children – and the fact that three children are shown with Christ, this is evidently a memorial window to the three Bence-Jones girls. Possibly the whole building was conceived as such a memorial. Outside, these windows have twelve label-stops, carved in the form of eight bearded and four shaven heads.

While the apse windows are pleasing, the west window, also by Lavers & Barraud



and designed by John Milner Allen, is an outstanding example of stained glass of the High Victorian era (Plate 1). It has a wide range of superbly handled colours and an effective and graphic use of lead lines. It demonstrates well Allen's distinctive and robust figure drawing. Only the centre lancet and the tracery have stained glass. The Ascension occupies the centre lancet, with plain leaded-lights in the other two lancets and angels and the Agnus Dei in the tracery. One must conclude that the funding at the time was sufficient for only one lancet, and any intention of completing the window at a later date was never fulfilled. Possibly, the Ascension could have continued across the mullions into the other lights, with more figures of onlookers. But a comparison with the contemporary window by Lavers & Barraud at FarranThomas church gives another possible scheme. This also has a single-light Ascension in the centre, but there are unrelated scenes to the left and right; they are Christ Disputing with Doctors and Christ Blessing Children. Thus, there is a precedent for a single-light Ascension, with only a few apostles present. The Kilmalooda angels are wonderfully unearthly: those above and behind the figure of Christ are painted in line onto blue glass, and those in the tracery are pink, red and blue. The group of apostles

6 – *CHRIST DISPUTING WITH THE DOCTORS:*  
*detail of the left-hand lancet of the east window*  
*at FarranThomas*

*opposite – Church of St Multose, Kinsale*

7 – *THE LAST SUPPER:* *detail of the left-hand*  
*lancet of a window in the south aisle*

8 – *THE ASCENSION:* *detail of the centre lancet of*  
*the same window*



is cleverly managed within the narrow confines of the single lancet.

Nathaniel Wood Lavers (1828-1911) and Francis Philip Barraud (1824-1900) founded the Lavers & Barraud studio in 1858. Both men had worked at James Powell & Sons; Barraud was the artist and Lavers the craftsman. They soon took on the services of two freelance designers: Nathaniel Hubert John Westlake (1833-1921), who was introduced to them in 1860 by William Burges and eventually, in 1868, became a partner in the firm; and John Milner Allen, who supplied numerous designs from about 1861 to 1867. The Kilmalooda Ascension is one of three outstandingly beautiful windows in county Cork designed by Allen and dating from the early 1860s, when the High Victorian style was at its most spectacular.

Farranthomas Church at Newcestown is a simple Board of First Fruits single cell building of 1810 (Plate 5), with a later chancel which, according to a drawing in the Representative Church Body Library, originally had a two-light east window opening.<sup>9</sup>





9 – *Church of St Multose,  
Kinsale*

*(photo by Ann Wilson)*

This was rather crudely modified in 1928 in order to accommodate the three-light Lavers & Barraud stained glass which had been moved from another, to date unidentified, church (Plate 6). The brilliant and pure colours of the High Victorian era are here taken to an extreme, especially in the liberal use of pinks and purples. The execution is in the thirteenth-century manner, with stylised painting, awkward, goggle-eyed heads of varying sizes, and with no attempt at handling foreshortening according to the rules of perspective. Among the figures, two are outstanding – the elder on the left with the Byzantine breastplate, and the Christ with an aureole of cerulean blue. It is unfortunate that some of the details of the glass-painting have been lost; the original appearance would have been even more compelling.

The third of the Allen windows is the one designed in about 1861 for Kilshannig church, county Cork, and subsequently moved to the church of St Multose, Kinsale (Plate 9). Thanks to a frame specially designed for the window, the glass has survived unaltered, but there is always a price to pay for architectural salvage. Here, it has been the loss of early fabric in this great medieval building. In return, an important work of art has escaped destruction. It consists of four medallions with scenes depicting the Last Supper (Plate 7), Bearing the Cross, the Ascension (Plate 8) and the Raising of Jairus's Daughter. These are set in predominantly red and blue quarries and borders based on thirteenth-century patterns – for example, those in windows at St Etienne's Cathedral, Bourges. Harrison has described Allen's work as being 'most distinctive, very robust, occasionally

overpoweringly so and of a mediaeval character', and here, at Kinsale, he is seen at his best.<sup>10</sup> The Lavers & Barraud windows at Kinsale, Kilmalooda and FarranThomas are the embodiment of High Victorian English glass, rivalling William Burges's much better-known windows at St Fin Barre's Cathedral, and possibly outdoing them in strength of cartooning.

Three small Cork churches have stained glass by Burges which are among only a few dating from a brief period when his windows were made by Lavers & Barraud, prior to the establishment of Saunders & Co, the studio that was to make the St Fin Barre's windows, and, indeed, from 1869 onwards, virtually all of the windows for Burges's subsequent major commissions. Burges was one of the most intriguing and eccentric figures in the Gothic Revival. In J. Mordaunt Crook's colourful words, 'with a few like-minded patrons he conjured up a closed Gothic existence, a private Palace of Art, an architecture of dreams, a world of jewels and gems and painted furniture, of laughter and bright colours.'<sup>11</sup> Burges played a pivotal role in the nineteenth-century revival in stained glass in England. He had a singular designing ability, based on an uncommon knowledge of iconography and of medieval precedents, which he gained from studying manuscripts and from numerous visits to French cathedrals. There, also, he studied thirteenth-century French stained glass which was to become a strong influence on his own designs. He had a strongly held belief in the need for consistency of style throughout a building and the integration of the stained glass with the architecture. Burges believed that a single creative mind should be in control and should supervise closely all aspects of the work. He developed a number of theories on the technical qualities of glass and the way colours should be chosen. His use of colour was original and sumptuous, and his insistence on coloured cartoons, where most studios used charcoal, provided a dependable means of communication between artists and artisans.

Burges gave great emphasis to the fundamental importance of drawing, and he employed only artists of considerable stature. To this end, he turned to, among others, the artists John Everett Millais (1829-1896), Edward Burne-Jones (1833-1898) and Henry George Alexander Holiday (1839-1927). The single experiment with Millais was a failure, and soon Burne-Jones, who designed the east window at Waltham Abbey for Burges, was to become tied exclusively to Morris & Co. Burges then saw Holiday as the best artist for his work, trained him in stained glass, and in 1864 gave him his first experience of the medium, at Worcester College, Oxford. He had hopes of setting up a partnership between Holiday and William Gualbert Saunders (1837-1923), rather along the lines of that between Morris and Burne-Jones. But this was not to be. A trip to Italy with Saunders in 1867 was to have a profound effect on Holiday's outlook. His interests were turning towards the Italian Renaissance and ultimately to classicism, which Burges was never able to embrace. Having lost Burne-Jones and Holiday, Burges was thereafter to depend on Horatio Walter Lonsdale (1844-1919) and Frederick Weekes (1833-1924) for his stained-glass cartoons.<sup>12</sup>

In order to set in context the Lavers & Barraud windows designed by Burges at



*10 – MOSES AND THE BURNING BUSH: preliminary sketch by William Burges for a window in the north aisle of St Fin Barre's Cathedral, Cork (photo by Matthew Williams; courtesy Cardiff Castle)*

*11 – MOSES AND THE BURNING BUSH: part of the full-size cartoon by H.W. Lonsdale, based on a design by William Burges (courtesy St Fin Barre's Cathedral)*



Frankfield, Carrigrohane and Crosshaven in county Cork, it is necessary to understand the means by which the extensive set of windows at St Fin Barre's Cathedral was created.<sup>13</sup> The 'Book of Designs' for the cathedral, begun in 1868 and completed early in 1869, contains watercolours drawn to scale for all seventy-four stained glass windows.<sup>14</sup> Of these, thirty-five are initialled W.B. and the remainder are initialled H.W.L. It has therefore quite reasonably been assumed by previous commentators that Burges designed thirty-five of the windows and Lonsdale designed the remainder. This assumption was overthrown in 1993 when the present writer discovered twenty-five sketches for stained glass, in Burges's hand, in the Cardiff Castle collection, which he identified as being preliminary studies for the Cork windows.<sup>15</sup> They are small, in pencil and on irregular scraps of paper, but they are truly inspired, and in each case they contain the essence of the design (Plates 10, 11). However, the fully worked versions of some of these sketches are initialled by Lonsdale in the 'Book of Designs'. We therefore have primary evidence that Burges himself sketched some, if not all, of his windows, even those which were subsequently worked up and initialled by Lonsdale.

The competition for the design of the new cathedral took place in 1862, and in February 1863 Burges was selected as the winner. His foot was now firmly inside the Irish door, and other smaller commissions came along, which were to be completed long before the cathedral itself. By the time that the partly finished cathedral was consecrated in 1870, Burges had one new church to his name and additions to two existing churches in the Cork area. It is these three buildings that contain stained glass by Lavers & Barraud of the greatest interest, all of which predate the glass at St Fin Barre's. The clue to understanding the sequence of events lies in the outskirts of the city at Holy Trinity Church, Frankfield, the chapel of ease to St Fin Barre's. Robert Samuel Gregg (1834-1895), son of Bishop John Gregg (1798-1878), was appointed priest-in-charge at Frankfield in 1862, the year that Burges first visited Cork. The story of Burges in Ireland revolves around the career of Robert Gregg. He was to become Burges's closest ally in Ireland and was to play the biggest part in ensuring that the plans for filling every window at the cathedral with stained glass eventually came to fruition.

Two entries in Burges's diary in 1862 provide crucial facts: 'Jones and Bainbridge called about Cork' and 'May 9th. To Cork, stopped with Bainbridge'.<sup>16</sup> William Bence-Jones and John Hugh Bainbridge (1807-1877) were both members of the committee set up to oversee the building of the cathedral. Both were academics and of some social and political consequence. Bence-Jones, who had by this time built Kilmalooda church, would already have known Burges, as they were both members of that most learned of London clubs, the Athenaeum. Bainbridge possibly already knew Burges judging by the fact that, as we have read in the diaries, he entertained him during his early visits to Cork at Frankfield House, which he had bought in 1847. It becomes clear from a study of Burges's letters that as the building of the cathedral progressed, he and Bainbridge became closely acquainted. In 1863, Gregg married Bainbridge's daughter, Elinor. It is likely that Burges continued to be entertained at Frankfield House and that it was there that he was intro-



12 – Sir Thomas Deane,  
Frankfield Church, 1838:  
chancel and triple lancets by  
William Burges, 1865

13 – PRUDENCE: detail of the  
Virtues window by William  
Burges at Frankfield

duced to Robert Gregg, with the result that his first stained glass in Ireland was the three-light east window at Frankfield church of about 1865. Built by Sir Thomas Deane in 1838, the church is a lofty single-cell building with tall gables and elaborate wooden tracery to the windows.

Evidence of a blocked north door to the present chancel gives tangible support to the otherwise implausible report that the present chancel is an adaptation of a vestry rather than a completely new one.<sup>17</sup> This odd placing of a vestry beyond the east wall of a sanctuary is not unprecedented: an extant plan of Templetrine church, near Kinsale, shows the same arrangement.<sup>18</sup> Deane's creativity had been directed to the elaborate west end rather than to the simple east end, with its small sanctuary set within the nave. The west end has wings projecting about one metre to north, west and south. Inside, the feeling of a 'crossing' is emphasised by an elaborate rib-vaulted roof above the gallery and a triple-arched screen giving on to the nave, analogous to a rood. The gallery served as a pew for the Lane family, who at that time lived at Frankfield House.

If it was Burges who converted the east-end vestry into a sanctuary, then this is his first, albeit small, building in Ireland. It is beyond doubt that it was he who inserted lancet window openings, complete with stained glass, conforming to one of his favourite models – three separate lancets (Plate 12). Many artists would have difficulties with these exceptionally narrow (20 cm) lancets, but Burges's stained-glass design for them is a triumph. At exactly this time, he was undertaking work for the Yatman family at their house and church in Winscombe, Somerset.<sup>19</sup> There he designed an east window of identical size and configuration to the Frankfield window. The windows, designed by Burges and made by Lavers & Barraud, in both of these churches have a feeling of excitement and experimentation which, arguably, was to be lost in later, large schemes of windows. The nine small allegorical figures of the Virtues at Frankfield are abiding images in beautiful, singing colours (Plate 13). Some of the glass used is exotic in the extreme, including a gold-pink which has been silver-stained to produce varied orange hues. At the top of the

centre lancet is a Christ in Majesty scene, which typifies Burges's arcane iconography; the feet of Christ are resting on the eyed-wheels of the dreadful beasts of the Vision of Ezekiel.<sup>20</sup>

In 1865, Robert Gregg left Frankfield and acquired the living of Carrigrohane in 1865, where he remained until 1874. Here again he employed Burges to make additions, including a new stained-glass window. The unravelling of the development of this building is complex, and while extant drawings provide some of the clues, they do not provide them all.<sup>21</sup> Parts of the walls of a church, possibly of the seventeenth century, were incorporated into a simple, single-cell, early-nineteenth-century building. Evidence of these earlier walls is visible, especially at the eastern part of the north wall of the nave. Undated drawings by Joseph Welland show this single-cell church, but the east window in the drawing, with its three lancets, trefoils, cinquefoil and small tracery lights, is the one which is now located in the chancel. Another drawing, dated 1854, also by Welland, shows a proposed extension of the nave westwards and the chancel already there. So, sometime prior to 1854 a chancel was added and the elaborate three-lancet window opening was moved eastwards. It seems likely that the window opening was designed by Welland and that it was he who moved it to the new chancel. A further perspective and plan show the addition of the south-west porch and tower.

Soon after Robert Gregg's appointment to the living, he invited Burges to prepare plans for a new south aisle and vestry, and these drawings are also extant. The date of completion is not known. This was





*14 – FORTITUDE: detail of the centre lancet of the Virtues window at the Church of St Peter, Carrigrohane, cartooned by Henry Holiday, based on a design by William Burges*

a small commission for Burges, but the work is distinctive and original. The scale of the low-roofed aisle is appealing, almost secular in character and reminiscent of a corridor in a medieval castle, a feeling emphasised by the fenestration – rectangular rather than gothic and grouped in threes. Each window has inner detached octagonal colonnettes. The arcade consists of four plastered gothic arches, and the octagonal columns have octagonal bases and simple annulated capitals. The vestry has some Burgesian hallmarks too, especially the shouldered doors, both interior and exterior, and the hammer-headed mullions to the windows, one of which unfortunately is lost. It is not only in stone and mortar that Burges left his mark at Carrigrohane, for the stained glass in Welland's east window is his also. No doubt Burges would have preferred to design the opening himself, perhaps to his favourite formula of three separate simple lancets. This is not the only compromise, for he does not seem to have had complete control over all aspects of the stained glass. We can safely assume that he supplied the sketches for the Cardinal Virtues – three allegorical figures, Temperance, Fortitude and Justice, each with her attributes. These were then cartooned by Henry Holiday. The script is Burges's, each word set out in separate characters on several lines. He was also responsible for the plain, mosaic-like backgrounds and for the design of decorative details – for example, to the drapery of the central figure.

Despite all the input to the Carrigrohane window from Burges and Holiday, it seems that Lavers & Barraud had the last word. The result is an anomalous marriage of three disparate elements and is post-High Victorian in its restrained colouration, more

typical of Lavers & Barraud's windows of the 1870s than of the 1860s. In the lower panels and in the two cinquefoil tracery lights, there is regimental heraldry relating to the Royal Welsh Fusiliers, including a prominent Union flag. In the upper panels of the lancets, there is sound but unremarkable thirteenth-century-inspired grisaille. Between these two elements are the three wonderful allegorical figures.

The extraordinary details of iconography in the Frankfield and Carrigrohane windows are worthy of deeper investigation. Unfortunately, much of the painted detail at Frankfield has been lost. However, in 1866, Burges was to reuse the designs of the Frankfield figures at St Mary's Church, Forthampton, Gloucestershire, set in wider lancets with borders and decorative work. The painting remains intact and this is most helpful when trying to discern the details of the iconography. Whereas some of the attributes of the Virtues, both at Frankfield and at Carrigrohane, such as the chalice and the sword are commonly employed, others are peculiarly Burgesian. Rosemond Tuve has brought to light illustrations in medieval manuscripts, for example Martin of Braga's *Formulae Vitae Honestae*, in which the allegorical figures of the Virtues are surrounded by curious objects.<sup>22</sup> It is possible that Burges became aware of this obscure iconography during his visits to Rouen Cathedral, where there is a tomb decorated with carvings of the Virtues based on the images in this manuscript. Tuve uses the expression the 'New Iconography' to describe these figures and their attributes. It seems that Burges has derived the more mysterious iconography from the *Formulae Vitae Honestae*, including, at Frankfield, Prudence with the compass, and, at Carrigrohane, Temperance with the bridle and Fortitude grasping the dragon emerging from the tower (Plate 14). Also, in the Frankfield window, Chastity holds a pure white ermine, symbolism taken from the medieval bestiaries, and Charity shakes golden coins from a cloth, an image derived from an early manuscript where Ceres is shown sowing grain from a cloth.<sup>23</sup>

The Burges work at Carrigrohane is Robert Gregg's true memorial in this place, but his life is also specifically commemorated in the marble panelling in the chancel, inscribed to his memory. In 1897, two restrained windows by Lavers, Barraud & Westlake were to be placed in the nave at Frankfield, one of which is a memorial to Robert Gregg and his wife Elinor.

It was surely Robert Gregg who, shortly after his appointment to Carrigrohane, commended Burges to the nearby parish of Templebreedy as the best man to build its new church. According to a contemporary newspaper report, both Robert Gregg and Bishop John Gregg were present at the laying of the foundation stone.<sup>24</sup> Templebreedy parish is at the small seaside town of Crosshaven, not far from Cork. The existing building was small, in poor condition and in an exposed location. Burges was to come up not only with a most distinguished building (Plate 18), but with a contemporary set of seven iconographic windows as well as several ornamental windows. Building work began in 1866. One ornamental window, the gift of Burges himself, is inscribed 'W.B. September 1867', and the building and its glass seems to have been completed by 1868.<sup>25</sup>

The most astonishing feature of the church was never built. Burges planned an





15 – KING SOLOMON: the left-hand lancet of the Jesse window at Holy Trinity Church, Templebreedy, Crosshaven. Both the church and the stained-glass window are by William Burges.

16 – CHRIST IN MAJESTY ACCORDING TO THE VISION OF EZEKIEL: the east, rose window at Templebreedy, by William Burges

immensely tall round tower. It was based on Irish monastic towers, such as those at Clonmacnoise, Kildare and Cloyne, but with what Mordaunt Crook calls a ‘crowning arcade and conical dome from the towers of Notre-Dame La Grande in Poitiers’.<sup>26</sup> Inside, the nave has a curved barrel vault, and the chancel a polygonal vault with typically Burgesian king-post trusses. The chancel arch has an inner arch supported on pairs of short shafts, with foliate capitals resting on massive low-set imposts. As is to be expected, Burges attended to every detail of the design, right down to the pavements and door hinges. His drawings for the furnishings have not survived as they have at the cathedral, but one can assume that it was his designs for wall paintings which were executed here in 1887 by Campbell, Smith & Company.<sup>27</sup> The church also contains some sculptural decoration, including pelican and dragon imposts on the chancel arch. On the exterior of the east wall are two heads, one blindfolded and one crowned. These figures, much favoured by Burges, represent Synagoga, symbolic of the Jewish faith, and Ecclesia, symbolic of the Christian church.

There is Burges stained glass in the west windows at Templebreedy and throughout the chancel. The Jesse east window is particularly bold and innovative. The figures of the kings are set among stylised plant forms against a superb background of unpainted, streaky green glass (Plates 15, 17). One could propose the name of Frederick Weekes as cartoonist here. As at Frankfield, the figure of Christ in Majesty, here in an upper rose window, has the mysterious eyed wheels from the Vision of Ezekiel (Plate 16), a theme which



occurs again at St Fin Barre's. Four lancets, with small medallions of the heads of the Four Evangelists, complete the glazing of the chancel. In the west wall are two further windows, the Baptism of Christ and the Supper at Emmaus. These are less successful than the chancel windows. Weak figure-drawing suggests that neither Weekes nor Lonsdale was employed to prepare the cartoons, and that Lavers & Barraud worked only from Burges's small sketches. Careless restoration in the past has not been helpful to the appreciation of these windows. Recently, the pipe organ, which had obstructed the west windows and which was not part of Burges's plan, has been removed and replaced by a new chamber organ placed between the two west lancets.



In an entertaining article in the *Irish Builder* in 1873, which included a drawing of the church and its unbuilt tower, the contributor was as keen to promote the joys of the town of Crosshaven as to describe Templebreedy church:

The style, as may be observed, is Early Celtic. We use the term advisedly because the same types pervade both the Gallic and Hibernian. We therefore claim it as our own. The building is decidedly 'racy of the soil' [*sic*] and in pleasing harmony with the surrounding scenery. To erect the round tower about £800 is required and it is greatly to be hoped that those who have any love of art in their souls will help

18 – *Holy Trinity Church,  
Templebreedy, Crosshaven*  
(photo by Ann Wilson)

*opposite*

17 – *KING SOLOMON: detail of  
the left-hand lancet of the  
Jesse window at Holy Trinity  
Church, Templebreedy*



on the good work. Our illustration of this architectural ‘bijou’ affords an opportunity, of which we gladly avail ourselves, of drawing attention to the most charming of watering places – the Queen of the South. Situated on an isthmus, we have on the one hand, the deep and dark blue ocean in all its wild and uncontrolled majesty; and on the other, the magnificent and land-locked harbour with its bright and ever varying hues reminding us of some huge dolphin, expiring in mighty tazza of emerald and molten gold. We would strongly recommend anyone seeking rest and quiet, a genial and salubrious climate and bathing in sea water absolutely free of contamination, to pay Crosshaven a visit during the present season.<sup>28</sup>

For completeness, it is appropriate here to summarise Burges’s other stained glass commissions in Ireland, although all of them postdate the period of his dependence on Lavers & Barraud. While at Carrigrohane, Robert Gregg was first precentor and then sub-Dean of St Fin Barre’s. After being appointed Dean of Cork in 1874, he was to become the key figure behind moves to start the process of commissioning Burges’s scheme of seventy-four windows. In 1875, Gregg became Bishop of Ossory, and returned to Cork, as bishop, in 1878. During his time at Kilkenny as Bishop of Ossory, he commissioned from Burges a memorial window to Bainbridge, his father-in-law. The other two Burges commissions are a memorial extension to Bunclody church, county Wexford, complete with stained glass, and a scheme of windows at St Luke’s Church, Douglas, near Cork. The Bunclody windows and three Parables windows at Douglas have the characteristic Burges-Lonsdale-Saunders provenance, which can be seen so profusely at the cathedral – that is, sketched by Burges, cartooned by Lonsdale, and made by Saunders & Co. But in addition to these three windows, six others were in place by the date of consecration, August 1875, or shortly afterwards.

At first sight, the provenance of these other windows is unclear. The overall character is that of the William Wailes studio of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, but the iconography

and the design of the medallions is Burgesian. Without Lonsdale to cartoon and without Lavers & Barraud or Saunders to make the window, a Burges design would look very different. The treatment of the areas of decorative work, in which the medallions are set, also affects the overall character of the window, and here there are panels of standard, pattern-book grisaille. They are rather heavy-handed in contrast to the grisaille panels in the Saunders windows, which are gentle and understated. There are two explanations as to why the whole scheme was not entrusted to Burges's favoured artists and craftsmen. Although there had been an impressive fund-raising effort to build the church, the funds would probably not run to Burges's fees for overseeing the stained glass. The other factor is that Saunders & Co was not a large firm, and at this time the studio was fully occupied in making the windows for Burges's churches at Skelton and Studley Royal, both in Yorkshire.

Burges was not alone in being inspired by the ideals of the Pre-Raphaelites and in propagating a High Victorian style in stained glass, and Lavers & Barraud was not the only London studio making it. Work broadly similar in character was being produced by Frederick Preedy, Heaton, Butler & Bayne, and Clayton & Bell. Other architects too, such as George Edmund Street and William Butterfield, looked to the High Victorian idiom for the windows in their churches. But for many of these architects and studios the era was fading after the mid-1860s. When Burges drew up his plans for St Fin Barre's Cathedral in 1862, the High Victorian period was at its peak; by 1868, when his designs for the stained glass were formally committed to paper, the style was starting to look a little unfashionable. The delays in the commissioning process meant that some windows were still being made ten years later, by which time the High Victorian style was decidedly dated. The output of the large studios now looked very different, not least due to the fact that the bright and pure colours had long since gone. Undaunted and almost alone, Burges persisted with his ideals.

St Fin Barre's Cathedral is one of the most important nineteenth-century churches in Europe, and it has one of the most remarkable collections of English nineteenth-century stained glass to be found anywhere. However, it does not entirely overshadow the lesser buildings in the Church of Ireland diocese which surrounds it. Many of these churches hold their own in a most convincing way, for example East Ferry and Corkbeg, both by the Cork architect William Atkins. East Ferry has a superb scheme of High Victorian windows by Heaton, Butler & Bayne, which are an equal match to those of William Burges. Again, it could be argued that some of the best Burges windows are not those in the cathedral but those, albeit few in number, in the small churches near the city. The Lavers & Barraud window at Carrigrohane is of considerable interest to the art historian, and those at Kilmalooda, FarranThomas, Kinsale, Frankfield and the Crosshaven must be placed at the very pinnacle of achievement in nineteenth-century stained glass.

## ENDNOTES

- <sup>1</sup> Alan Acheson, *A History of the Church of Ireland 1691-2001* (Dublin, 1982).
- <sup>2</sup> David Lawrence, 'Nineteenth-century Stained Glass in the Church of Ireland diocese of Limerick & Killaloe', *Irish Architectural and Decorative Studies*, X, 2007, 139-40.
- <sup>3</sup> The Irish Church Act was passed in 1869 and disestablishment achieved by 1871.
- <sup>4</sup> Kilmore by Slater (1857-60), Cork by Burges (1862-70), Tuam by Deane (1861-78), Kildare by Street (1871-81) and Christ Church, Dublin, by Street (1869-78).
- <sup>5</sup> Martin Harrison, *Victorian Stained Glass* (London, 1980) 26.
- <sup>6</sup> Lawrence, 'Nineteenth-century Stained Glass in the Church of Ireland diocese of Limerick & Killaloe', 140-42.
- <sup>7</sup> These figures are based on the known number of windows in the ten dioceses recorded between 1992 and 2012 by the author, together with an estimate of the numbers in the remaining two dioceses where research has not yet been undertaken. For further details and pictures, see the website [www.gloine.ie](http://www.gloine.ie)
- <sup>8</sup> *The Builder*, 16, 2nd October 1858, 665; Drawings in Representative Church Body Library, f.25.
- <sup>9</sup> Drawings in Representative Church Body Library, f.9.
- <sup>10</sup> Harrison, *Victorian Stained Glass*, 35.
- <sup>11</sup> J. Mordaunt Crook, *William Burges and the High Victorian Dream* (London, 1981) 16.
- <sup>12</sup> Thanks to the efforts of Richard Wood, the comprehensive collection of Lonsdale's and Weekes' coloured cartoons for Burges's St Fin Barre's windows is gradually being conserved and stored in controlled conditions at University College Cork. The conservation methodology is described and some of the cartoons illustrated in the exhibition catalogue, Richard Wood (ed.), *Conserving the Dream* (Cork, 2005).
- <sup>13</sup> A complete catalogue of the windows appears in David Lawrence and Ann Wilson, *The Cathedral of Saint Fin Barre at Cork* (Dublin, 2006) 172-79.
- <sup>14</sup> William Burges, Book of Designs, St Fin Barre's Cathedral archive, Cork.
- <sup>15</sup> Cardiff Castle Drawings Collection, roll 22, 79-106.
- <sup>16</sup> William Burges, Abstract of Diaries, year 1862. The original diaries are lost. Abstracts in private collection.
- <sup>17</sup> J.H. Cole, *Church and Parish Records of the United Diocese of Cork, Cloyne and Ross* (Cork, 1903) 52.
- <sup>18</sup> Drawings in Representative Church Body Library, f.9.
- <sup>19</sup> Private collection, Yatman family papers, ex. info. Martin Harrison.
- <sup>20</sup> Ezekiel I, 18, 'As for their rings, they were so high that they were dreadful and their rings were full of eyes round about them four.'
- <sup>21</sup> Drawings in Representative Church Body Library, f.9.
- <sup>22</sup> 'Martin of Braga Manuscript', described in Rosemon Tuve, *Allegorical Imagery* (Princeton, 1966) 73.
- <sup>23</sup> *ibid.*, 37
- <sup>24</sup> *Cork Advertiser*, November 1866, quoted in *Irish Builder*, 15, 15th April 1873, 106.
- <sup>25</sup> William Burges, Abstract of Diaries, year 1868.
- <sup>26</sup> Mordaunt Crook, *William Burges and the High Victorian Dream*, 209.
- <sup>27</sup> Kenneth Campbell, *Campbell Smith & Company 1873-1973* (Liverpool, 1973) 76.
- <sup>28</sup> *Irish Builder*, 15th April 1873, 15, 106.