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AMERICAN WOMEN STAINED GLASS ARTISTS,  
1870S TO 1930S:  
THEIR WORLD AND THEIR WINDOWS

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AMERICAN WOMEN STAINED GLASS ARTISTS, 1870S TO 1930S:  
THEIR WORLD AND THEIR WINDOWS

By  
Betty Ann MacDowell

A DISSERTATION  
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ABSTRACT

AMERICAN WOMEN STAINED GLASS ARTISTS, 1870S TO 1930S:  
THEIR WORLD AND THEIR WINDOWS

By

Betty Ann MacDowell

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The first American women to become stained glass artists have had little recognition. This study has three objectives: to document the presence, identity, and windows of American women who were stained glass artists from the 1870s to the 1930s; to determine the cultural factors that encouraged and influenced their work; and to assess their contributions to American life and art.

The research methodology for this study included collecting the names of women stained glass artists from many biographical sources; corresponding with stained glass studios, relatives of the artists, and churches where their windows are located; obtaining archival material from the Schlesinger Library on the History of Women at Radcliffe College and the Archives of American Art in Washington; and seeking references to women stained glass artists and their windows in early periodicals and recent literature on women artists, stained glass, and the Arts and Crafts movement.

This study documents many American women stained glass artists and their windows. Its examination of their social, professional, religious, and artistic worlds identifies various cultural factors that encouraged and influenced their art: the appearance of the "New Woman" in

the late nineteenth century; the view that the decorative arts were more suitable for women; the need of "superfluous women" for employment; the availability of design training; the construction of many churches; the renewed interest in ecclesiastical architecture and ornamentation; the expansion of women's roles in organized religion; the impact of the great expositions; the Arts and Crafts movement and the American Renaissance; and the opalescent and modern Gothic styles in window design. By opening a professional field to women, the first American women stained glass artists made a significant contribution to American life. Further research will reveal the full extent of their role in the stylistic, iconographical, and technical development of stained glass.

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Girls and women are heard of who, content to be poor and unknown, are happy and serene in carrying out plans for stained glass or mural ornamentation in the studios of Mr. La Farge, Mr. Tiffany, Mr. Crowninshield, and other artists who can guide the brain of those who yet furnish many a delicate thought in clever arrangement of form or color.

Susan Carter, 1892

## INTRODUCTION

Women stained glass artists have been active in America since as early as the 1870s, perhaps even earlier. However, despite the attention given in recent years to women in the arts, their roles as designers and builders of windows, and as heads of stained glass studios, have been largely overlooked. This study has three main objectives: to document the presence, identity, and windows of American women stained glass artists of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries; to determine the cultural factors that encouraged their entry into the field and guided their work; and to assess their contributions to American life and art.

The present study developed out of earlier research on ecclesiastical art in churches of the Detroit area. Two studies in particular have prompted this investigation. The first, a survey of stained glass in Detroit-area churches, led to the realization that American women had long been involved in the design and production of stained glass. The second study examined the art created for Detroit churches by three women artists, including a painter, a ceramist, and a stained glass designer. Research on the life and work of the third artist, Anne Lee Willet, confirmed the fact of American women's participation in the production of stained glass windows for more than a century. Further research

revealed the names of many American women who have designed windows for churches, synagogues, and other buildings, both in this country and in other parts of the world. Most of these names are unfamiliar even to the art historian.

Except for those few artists who gained some distinction as painters or illustrators, the majority of American women stained glass artists have remained obscure.

The involvement of American women in the production of stained glass windows has been no anomaly. Rather, it forms part of a historic continuum, spanning time and space, of women's association with glass-related arts. Women of other countries are known to have created stained glass windows since as early as the fourteenth century. Many of their names and achievements have been recorded, especially those who were active during the past hundred years. Early American women also worked as artists in glass, although this research has found no record of women designing windows in America prior to the 1870s. Through their entry into the field of stained glass, the women artists included in this study carried on a long-standing tradition of women's creativity in the medium of glass.

Chapter I of this study includes a brief discussion of those pioneering women glass artists, both here and abroad, who provide a historical background for the work of the women around whom this study is centered. The first chapter also examines significant literature on the subjects of women artists, the Arts and Crafts movement, and stained glass, in order to determine the extent to which it

acknowledges women stained glass artists, especially those in America. Inasmuch as women stained glass artists of other countries have received some measure of recognition, one would expect to find similar documentation of American women who have worked in the field. The review of literature relevant to this research reveals that such is not the case.

During the past dozen years, considerable scholarly attention has been devoted to women painters, sculptors, graphic artists, and textile artists. In spite of this belated recognition of women artists, very little has been published about American women who have worked in the medium of stained glass. Similarly, although some recent studies of the Arts and Crafts movement have included discussions of stained glass, most of these have focused on British artists, especially men. Those that have dealt with the American Arts and Crafts movement have examined the major figures, such as Tiffany and La Farge, but have overlooked many of the men designers and almost all of the women designers. A study of women in the Arts and Crafts movement lists several women stained glass artists in England, Ireland, and Scotland but no American women. Publications focusing on stained glass also add little to our knowledge of women stained glass artists, particularly those in America. Recent books on Tiffany's stained glass acknowledge several women designers by name but include few facts on their lives and work. One must turn to late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century periodicals or to journals devoted

exclusively to the medium of stained glass in order to find references to women who have worked in the field.

The same is apparently the case with unpublished research. A computer search of dissertations written since 1861 found only four that deal with stained glass in America and none that focus on women stained glass artists. It seems safe to conclude that virtually no scholarly literature on American women stained glass artists and their windows has yet appeared, in either published or unpublished form. The realization that the names and achievements of women stained glass artists in America have somehow slipped through the cracks of art history, social history, and religious history was the compelling motive behind the present study.

Chapters II, III, and IV of this study examine the cultural context in which the earliest American women stained glass artists lived and worked. Chapter II considers first the social milieu, especially the changing position of women in American society during the final decades of the last century and the early years of the present century. It also explores the professional world of American women artists: their positions in fine and applied arts, the industrial art training available to women, their roles within stained glass studios, their professional memberships, and their relationships to male colleagues. Chapter III examines the religious context, with respect to increased church building, the renewal of interest in the symbolic and emotional functions of church architecture and

ornamentation, the relationship of women to the church, and the expression of religious values in the work and words of several women in this study. Finally, Chapter IV discusses the aesthetic context in which these women were active, giving attention to the impact of international expositions on American artistic taste, the popularity of opalescent glass, the influence of the "American Renaissance," the advocacy of Gothic aesthetic principles in ecclesiastical architecture and ornamentation, and the development of the American Arts and Crafts movement.

Chapter V reviews the aims and results of the study and assesses the contributions of women stained glass artists to American art and life. The roles they assumed and the art they produced are viewed against the background of the social, professional, religious, and aesthetic contexts within which these artists lived and worked. Questions raised by the research that deserve further investigation are also considered.

The documentation of American women stained glass artists includes both the anonymous workers in major studios and the identified designers. The latter group is divided into two categories: those for whom there is sufficient information to provide some knowledge of their roles and art and those for whom little documentation has as yet been found. The lives and art of identified designers in the first category (Appendix, Group 1) are used to illustrate various points in the discussion of cultural contexts. Documentation of these women consists of such information as

dates and places of birth and death, parents, training, studio affiliations and roles, relationships to male colleagues, professional memberships, religious affiliations, marital and maternal status, exhibitions and awards, styles, and locations of their windows. The identified designers in the second category (Appendix, Group 2) are included so that their names at least will be recorded in this study. It is hoped that future research may eventually reveal additional information on these partially documented artists so that their work can be better understood.

The researcher on the subject of stained glass faces obstacles not usually encountered in research on other forms of art. The difficulties are compounded when the investigation focuses on stained glass artists who are women. The medium itself has at times been omitted from some art history and biographical resources. The Art Index, which began publication in 1932 and covers the years since January of 1929, included no separate category for stained glass until 1978. Although many early twentieth-century periodicals carried articles on stained glass, these appeared before the Art Index began publication and therefore were not listed. Periodicals devoted entirely to the medium of stained glass were not among those indexed until recently. Similarly, other standard reference volumes have overlooked or minimized either the medium of stained glass or women in the field. For example, Dumas Malone's Dictionary of American Biography, recognizing the importance of stained glass, contains entries for men



designers such as D. Maitland Armstrong, Charles Connick, Louis C. Tiffany, John La Farge, William Willet, and Caryl Coleman. No women stained glass artists are included.

Conversely, although the three volumes of Notable American Women: 1607-1950 feature biographies of countless women in many fields of endeavor, stained glass artists are not among them.

A second problem in researching stained glass is created by the anonymity of many designers in the major stained glass studios. Most windows produced by large firms were identified only by the names of those establishments. For instance, many windows designed for Tiffany Studios by such artists as Clara Miller Burd and Agnes Northrop have been known simply as "Tiffany Windows" by the churches where they were installed. In those instances when individual designers were credited with their work, the acknowledged artists were more apt to be men, in part because more men than women were leading designers and in part because the women designers tended to remain in the background. For example, it is possible to find references to several men who designed for Tiffany Studios. Various articles in early periodicals and more recent publications identify the work of such men as Frederick Wilson, Joseph Lauber, Will H. Low, and J. A. Holzer. These men are also listed in several art biographical dictionaries or encyclopedias. On the other hand, it is rare to find references to Agnes Northrop, who designed many landscape windows during her forty years with Tiffany's firm. Nor is it possible to find Northrop listed

in such standard biographical sources as the American Art Annual, Who's Who in American Art, Mallett's Index of Artists, or the Avery Obituary Index of Architects and Artists, to name but a few reference volumes. In spite of her significant achievements in the medium of stained glass, Agnes Northrop's life and work have received almost no recognition. Although her case may be the most glaring example of neglect, many other women stained glass designers have been similarly forgotten.

A third problem that must plague all research about women is the difficulty caused by marital name changes. The names of some promising young women designers, mentioned in late nineteenth-century periodicals or biographical sources, are entirely absent from later publications. These women either died prematurely, abandoned their work in stained glass, or married and continued their careers under new names. Matching the young unmarried artist to her later married identity is a challenging task for the researcher.

A fourth obstacle encountered during research on stained glass windows stems from the absence or inaccuracy of information in the archives of churches, synagogues, and other institutions where the windows are located. Religious buildings dating from the late nineteenth or early twentieth centuries often lack complete or reliable records of their windows. In many cases this is due to the fact that the windows were commissioned by individual donors rather than by the church or synagogue. Correspondence and other papers related to the purchase of the windows were then kept by the

donors. In other instances, the congregations have simply failed to maintain records on their windows or have lost such records as may once have existed. One of the satisfactions derived from doing this research has been the opportunity to supply information about their windows to congregations that had no such records.

Still another problem is the disappearance of many windows from their original locations. Often the information about a window is complete as to designer, date, subject matter, style, and assumed location, yet the window itself is gone, having been sold, destroyed, or otherwise lost. Occasionally, the entire building has been razed, with its windows relocated or sold. In some cases, churches and synagogues have been sold to other congregations and renamed, making them difficult to locate. The unfortunate results of the foregoing situations are that documentation is often missing for windows still intact whereas much information exists for some windows no longer extant.

The methodology adopted for this study included various strategies. First, it was necessary to establish a time frame within which the research might be concentrated. Inasmuch as the earliest known American woman stained glass artist is assumed to have been active in the 1870s, a time period beginning with that decade was suggested. This starting point coincided also with the era of the first great American fair, the Centennial Exhibition of 1876. Like the international expositions that preceded and followed it, the Centennial Exhibition had an important

effect upon the art and artists of its day. Moreover, the final quarter of the century brought other changes that affected the extent and nature of women's involvement in the production of stained glass windows. The invention and widespread popularity of opalescent glass, the proliferation of new churches, the "American Renaissance" in art and architecture, the establishment of training programs in industrial design, the emergence of the "New Woman," the resurgence of the Gothic style in ecclesiastical architecture, and the arrival of the Arts and Crafts movement in America all occurred within the final decades of the last century and continued well into the early years of the present. By the 1930s many of these developments had ended or had begun their decline. Thus, the sixty-year span between 1870 and 1930 was marked by social, professional, religious, and aesthetic trends that affected the entry of women into the field of stained glass and directed their art. It is on that period that this study is focused.

The next step in researching was to collect as many names as possible of women stained glass artists, by consulting every available index of artists. Biographical information, including lists of windows designed by the artists, was obtained from these same sources, as well as from general biographical encyclopedias and newspaper obituaries. The lists of windows attributed to women artists included the names of buildings and cities where the windows were first installed. Mailing addresses were obtained for as many of the listed buildings as possible and

letters were sent to churches, synagogues, hospitals, schools, and other institutions, requesting any available information on their windows. Illustrations of the windows also were requested. Nearly two hundred such letters were sent to institutions in this and other countries, where windows by American women are located. Over one hundred and fifty replies were received from clergymen, secretaries, administrators, archivists, and members of churches and synagogues. Considerable information and many illustrations were obtained through this correspondence. In some cases, lengthy exchanges of letters developed with individuals who took great interest in the research and continued to send additional information they had found.

Letters were sent also to representatives of major stained glass studios that had flourished during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Some of these firms are still in operation. Relatives and friends of women stained glass artists were contacted whenever possible. Two artists, who have continued to be active since the early part of this century, graciously answered letters of inquiry about their own experiences as women stained glass designers. The Arthur and Elizabeth Schlesinger Library on the History of Women in America, located at Radcliffe College, furnished valuable archival material on Sarah Wyman Whitman. Helene Weis, the librarian for the Willet Stained Glass Studios at Philadelphia, supplied information about several artists. Various other persons also sent useful data and leads to follow.

Other research methods were employed in addition to correspondence. Personal papers on microfilm at the Archives of American Art were a rich source of material on some of the artists. The resources of the libraries of Michigan State University and Wayne State University, the Detroit Public Library, and the State of Michigan Library proved to be invaluable. The collections of other libraries throughout the country were utilized by means of interlibrary loans. Late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century periodicals and books were consulted, as well as recent publications on the subjects of women in society, women artists, art training for women, women and the church, the history of stained glass, especially in America, the Arts and Crafts movement, the American Renaissance, and the Gothic revival in ecclesiastical architecture.

The rewards of doing this study have far outweighed the problems encountered. The experience of exploring a neglected area of research, discovering long-forgotten women artists, and restoring them and their windows to the annals of art history, social history, and religious history has brought much personal satisfaction. The willing assistance of many individuals and institutions who were contacted for information also was gratifying. This study is far from complete in its documentation and assessment of the first American women stained glass artists and their windows. It should be viewed as an initial step toward a better understanding of these women and their contributions to American life and art.

## CHAPTER I

### HISTORICAL BACKGROUND AND REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The first American women to become stained glass artists have had very little recognition. The need for documentation of American women stained glass artists of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries becomes clear when it is realized that the names and achievements of many women stained glass artists in other countries and previous centuries have already been recorded. Early American women also were involved in glass-related arts, even though they may not have been stained glass artists. The participation of American women in the medium of stained glass since the final quarter of the nineteenth century has therefore been a continuation of the traditional involvement of women artists with glass. A survey of that tradition will provide the historical background for the lives and work of the women artists discussed in this study.

The importance of recording the contributions of American women stained glass artists is further confirmed by a review of the relevant literature, most of which has overlooked the roles of women in the design and production of stained glass windows. An examination of recent literature on women artists, the Arts and Crafts movement,

and stained glass will reveal the extent of its recognition of American women stained glass artists and their windows.

### Historical Background

The production of stained glass windows by women artists has a long history that reaches back several centuries. The names of some of these early women stained glass artists have been recorded by Wilfred Drake in A Dictionary of Glasspainters and "Glasyers" of the Tenth to the Eighteenth Centuries, published in 1955.<sup>1</sup> One of the earliest women glass painters listed in Drake's dictionary was Marguerite de Sez of fourteenth-century France. Mme. de Sez was the widow of glass painter Jean de Sez, who died in 1319. After her husband's death, she continued to supply the Château de Conflans with "III petit penaus de Voirre vignetz et V pies de voirre d'ymagerie."<sup>2</sup>

Among women glass painters of the seventeenth century was Claudine Burt of Savoy, France.<sup>3</sup> Burt, the widow of glass painter Toussaint Heurteur, restored windows at the Château de Chambéry in 1647, for which she was paid 200 florins. In 1658, with the help of her son Jean Heurteur, she restored other windows at the church of Ste. Chapelle in Paris, a commission that surely attests to her reputation. Another seventeenth-century woman glass painter was Katharin Oosterfries of Holland.<sup>4</sup> Born at Nunwkoop in 1636, Oosterfries worked at Hoorn with her father, Joseph Oosterfries. She married a glass painter, Niklaus Van der Meulen, and died at Alkmaar in 1708.



Several eighteenth-century women are listed in Drake's dictionary. Mlle. de Montigny was active about 1710 in the restoration of stained glass for a number of Paris churches.<sup>5</sup> Swiss-born Anna Barbara Abesch (1706-ca.1760) was a glass painter at Nuremburg with her father, Johan Peter Abesch.<sup>6</sup> In England, Mrs. Thomas Hills, the wife of a glass painter, worked at London in the 1770s.<sup>7</sup> A Mrs. Lawrie, who was active at London in the 1790s, was described as a glass painter "who promises considerable eminence."<sup>8</sup> Another London woman, Eglington Margaret Pearson, is credited with several windows in Arundel Castle, near Chichester, Sussex.<sup>9</sup> Mrs. Pearson, who died in 1823, based some of her windows on paintings by Guido da Siena, Raphael, and Rembrandt.

The above few names represent the only women whom Drake recorded in his dictionary that covers eight centuries. Five of the eight recorded women were the wives or daughters of men glass painters. Inasmuch as craft apprenticeships generally were not available to women during this early period, these five women may have been trained by their male relatives. It is highly possible that many other unidentified women assisted their husbands or fathers in the production of stained glass windows for both sacred and secular settings throughout these centuries, just as women painters or sculptors have often assisted in the workshops of men artists to whom they were related. This fairly common pattern of women artists assisting or collaborating with male relatives appears also in the lives of some of the

women artists in this study.

Peter Binnall has identified several women glass painters of nineteenth-century England.<sup>10</sup> One of these women was Lady Mildred Cecil Hope, who designed an east window for the church of St. Mary Magdalene at Chiswick in about 1850. She also "presented a window of her own execution to the neighbouring parish church."<sup>11</sup> A Miss Monk, the daughter of Bishop J. H. Monk of Gloucester and Bristol, painted an east window in the 1850s for the church at Fishponds, Bristol, and two chancel windows for a second church at Kidmore End, Oxon, in 1865.<sup>12</sup> Charlotte Swete Thornycroft, wife of the Reverend John Thornycroft of Cheshire, designed and executed the windows for the Woodhay Salterton church at Devon in the mid-nineteenth century.<sup>13</sup> At Thirsk in Yorkshire, a five-light window, depicting Christ and the Four Evangelists, was designed by Eliza and Maria Frankland Russell, the daughters of Sir Frederick and Lady Frankland Russell.<sup>14</sup> In 1865, a window portraying the Ascension of Christ was designed by the Dowager Marchioness of Waterford (born Louisa de Rothesay) for the church at London Colney, Hertfordshire. The Marchioness, a well-known book illustrator and a friend of John Ruskin, also designed a large west window for another church at Saxmundham, Suffolk.<sup>15</sup> To this list of nineteenth-century English women stained glass artists, Peter Cormack has added the name of Emma Cons, who was a glass-painter for several important commissions at the London firm of James Powell & Sons in the 1850s and 1860s.<sup>16</sup>

Many other women stained glass artists were active in Britain and Europe during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Some of these women achieved considerable eminence in their field. One woman, whose work in the United States may have encouraged American women to become stained glass artists, was Mme. Veuve Lorin, the custodian of glass at Chartres Cathedral in France.<sup>17</sup> In 1873, Mme. Lorin, together with N. H. Eggleston of New York, was commissioned to execute new stained glass windows for St. John's Church at Washington, D.C. St. John's, designed by Benjamin Latrobe, had been built in 1815-1816. The project for the replacement of the existing windows was directed by architect James Renwick. Because the church had historic and architectural importance, Lorin's role in the execution of the new windows could not have escaped the notice of other women artists in America. Perhaps it is not coincidental that the earliest known involvement of American women in the production of stained glass occurred in the 1870s, the same decade during which Lorin was replacing the windows of St. John's Church.

The Arts and Crafts movement that developed in England during the latter half of the nineteenth century involved many British women in its revival of good design and careful craftsmanship. Based upon the calls for reform issued by Thomas Carlyle, A. W. N. Pugin, John Ruskin and others, the movement originated as a reaction to the poorly designed products of the Industrial Revolution. Its goal was the creation of a social and aesthetic environment,

marked by high standards of quality and design, through a return to medieval ideals of fine craftsmanship and collaboration between designers and artisans. Under the leadership of William Morris (1834-1896) and his associates, the Arts and Crafts movement spread throughout Britain and, by the end of the century, to Germany and America.

Among the many decorative arts affected by the Arts and Crafts movement was the designing and execution of stained glass windows. Morris and his circle rejected the common practice of painting windows to resemble pictures filled with lights and shadows. Instead, they advocated the medieval principles of transparency, purity of color, simplicity of design, and a minimum of light and shade. Discussions of the stained glass produced during the Arts and Crafts movement have generally been limited to the work of men designers, such as Edward Burne-Jones (1833-1898), D. G. Rossetti (1828-1882) and Morris himself. However, women as well as men were stained glass artists within the movement, especially in the small craft workshops. One of the foremost English women in the medium was Birmingham artist Mary J. Newill (1860-1947), who also excelled in embroidery and illustration.<sup>18</sup> Another key figure in the movement was Mary Lowndes (1857-1929), the co-founder in 1897 of the stained glass firm of Lowndes and Drury. Other English women who applied Arts and Crafts principles to the creation of stained glass were Mary Eleanor Fortesque-Brickdale (1872-1945), Isabel Lilian Gloag (1865-1917), Florence Camm (1874-1960), Mabel Esplin (1874-1921),

Margaret Chilton (1875-1962?), Marjorie Kemp (1886-1975), Caroline Townshend (1878-1944), Joan Howson (1885-1964), Margaret Rope (1882-1953), Lilian Pocock (1883-1974), Joan Fulleylove (1886-1947), Rachel Tancock (1891-1961), Margaret Aldrich Rope (b. 1891), and Veronica Whall (1887-1967), who worked with her father, the noted glass artist Christopher Whall (1849-1924), and continued his firm after his death.<sup>19</sup>

In Ireland, portrait painter Sarah H. Purser (1849-1943), aware of the need for a crafts revival in that country, opened a stained glass workshop and training school at Dublin in 1903.<sup>20</sup> Known in Gaelic as the An Tur Gloine, or Tower of Glass, the venture was a cooperative arrangement where artists could maintain studios and work independently. The Tower of Glass provided training for several well-known women stained glass artists of Ireland, among them Evie Hone, Wilhelmina Geddes, Ethel Mary Rhind, Catherine O'Brien, and Beatrice Elvery.

Scottish women, too, were active as designers of stained glass during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The most prominent women glass artists of Scotland were Frances Macdonald (1874-1921) and Margaret Macdonald (1865-1933), sisters who trained at the Glasgow School of Art, where a distinctive approach to design, called the Glasgow Style, evolved. In the 1890s, the Macdonalds married the Scottish designers Herbert MacNair and Charles Rennie Mackintosh. The two couples, known as "The Four," led the development of the Glasgow Style in many media, including that of stained glass.<sup>21</sup>

The foregoing account of women stained glass artists, who were active in other countries from the fourteenth century through the early years of this century, is far from complete. Not every woman who achieved some measure of recognition could be acknowledged in this brief survey. Moreover, the names of many women, who worked in the medium of stained glass, have doubtless been forgotten or were never recorded. Wives, daughters, and sisters of men glass artists have often assisted in the workshops headed by their male relatives. Such an arrangement has been a rather common practice even into the present century. Just as numerous unrecorded men glass artists will always remain anonymous, these women assistants must remain unidentified. Nevertheless, sufficient names have been documented to verify the existence of women stained glass artists in other countries throughout several centuries. Their participation in the creation of stained glass windows for ecclesiastical and other buildings established a tradition for American women to follow, beginning in the last quarter of the nineteenth century and continuing up to the present time.

The women stained glass artists of late nineteenth-century America could also turn to their own foremothers to discover a tradition of glass artistry, glass repair, and glass production among American women. Although the involvement of American women in the production of stained glass windows cannot be verified before the 1870s, it is evident from early records that colonial women practiced the

arts of glass painting and glass engraving.<sup>22</sup> In January of 1738, Peter Pelham placed the following notice in the Boston Gazette to advertise his available services:

MR. PETER PELHAM gives notice to all Gentlemen and Ladies in Town and Country, That at the House of Philip Dumerisque, Esq. in Summer Street (next his own Dwelling house) Young Gentlemen and Ladies may be taught Dancing, Writing, Reading, Painting on Glass, and all sorts of Needle Work.<sup>23</sup>

Women also gave instruction in glass painting, among other arts, as revealed by these notices, published at Boston in the 1700s:

JAPANNING. Drawing, Japanning, and Painting on Glass, taught by Mrs. Sarah Morehead, at the Head of the Rope-Walks, near Fort Hill.<sup>24</sup>

WAX WORK. This is to give notice, That Mrs. Hiller still continues to Keep School in Hannover-Street, a little below Orange-Tree, where young ladies may be taught Wax work, Transparent and Filligree, painting on Glass, Quill work and Feather work, Japanning, Embroidering with Silver and Gold, Tentstitch, &c. Likewise the Royal Family to be seen in Wax work.<sup>25</sup> Also Board and Lodging to be had at the cheapest Rate.

Women in the southern colonies also learned to paint on glass. In July of 1762 the following notice appeared in The South Carolina Gazette:

BENJAMIN HAWES, House and Ship Painter and Glaser, Acquaints the Public, That he has moved from the Bay, to the House lately occupied by Mrs. Leah Tobias, in Union-Street, where he will sell on the most reasonable terms in any quantity, Choice paints ready prepared, of all colours, nice camels hair pencils and other brushes of all sizes, and excellent sheet crown glass, &c, just imported. As he has declined the business of Chair Making he will also sell at a moderate price, a few very neat Riding Chairs in good order.

N.B. Said Hawes will undertake to instruct young ladies, at their own houses, in a very expeditious manner, and on reasonable terms, the art of painting beautifully on glass; and has now to dispose of, a few sets of very new and elegant Scripture pieces, done from St. Paul's dome, by very good hands, plain or coloured.<sup>26</sup>

A popular method of glass painting required the aid of a mezzotint print, which was pasted onto thin crown glass that had been covered with turpentine cement. When dry, the glass was soaked in water, after which the paper was carefully removed to leave only the printed lines of the picture. The linear design could then be filled in with colored paints. Many early dealers advertised both the mezzotint prints and the glass needed for this painting technique. Numerous notices attest to the popularity of mezzotints with early American women glass painters:

MEZZOTINT PRINTS. Just imported, and to be sold by James Buck, at the Spectacles in Queen Street, a choice assortment of Maps and Prints, plain and coloured, fine Mezzotintoes pick'd out for the Ladies to paint, with the very best of London Crown Glass, small Looking-Glasses, Spectacles, etc.<sup>27</sup>

Another method used by women glass painters in America was called "reverse painting." With this technique, painting was done on one side of the glass which was then turned over so that the painted image appeared underneath. Silver or gold foil was often used for backgrounds or for leaves and stems in painted floral designs. Reverse painting on glass remained popular with American women throughout the nineteenth century.<sup>28</sup>

In addition to glass painting, the art of engraving on glass was practised by women in America. In June of 1795, the Pennsylvania Packet carried the following announcement:

Glass Engraver. Mrs. Decamps from Paris, informs the Public, that she has just opened her store, north Third street, No. 95, where she engraves with borders, flowers, garlands, cyphers, figures, escutcheons, &c.,



in the most elegant, fashionable, neat and new style--all sorts of glasses, and glass wares, on the most reasonable terms. All orders will be thankfully received and punctually executed.<sup>29</sup>

Early American women participated also in more utilitarian glass-related activities, such as repair work and glazing. Sometimes they continued in businesses established by husbands or fathers who had died. This may have been the case with the women who advertised in Boston's Columbian Centinel in April of 1795:

The Widow Elizabeth Flagg and daughters, having great cause for gratitude for past favours, wishes in this way to express it; and likewise inform their friends and the public that they carry on the business of Rivetting and mending China and Glass, and Needle work of all kinds, at their house, near the Boston stone. The employer may expect the strictest attention, and the smallest favour gratefully acknowledged by the employed.<sup>30</sup>

The industrialization of the American economy brought the establishment of glass factories where women workers performed many functions, including some that they had long performed in domestic settings.<sup>31</sup> In the "leer rooms" of glass factories, women were employed to remove cooled glassware from annealing ovens, examine, sort and pack glass products, cap fruit jars, tie on stoppers, chip and file rough edges, and clean the glass molds. In the "finishing rooms" of those same glass manufacturing firms, women and girls worked as grinders, fluters, bevellers, cutters, glazers, and decorators.<sup>32</sup> A 1911 government report on women and children employed in the glass industry noted that sixteen percent of all women in the glass industry are occupied at decorating in some of its many

forms."<sup>33</sup>

However, despite the long association of women with glass painting, china painting, or other forms of painting, their artistic ability was questioned by the glassware manufacturers:

On the better grades of glassware the painting is done entirely free hand. Men monopolize the work, none of the women being hand painters of the first class. It is, however, an occupation for which women, if practiced, would seem peculiarly well fitted, as the work requires delicacy and intelligence rather than strength or endurance.

Most of the painted ware upon the market, however, is not skilled free-hand work. The color is either solid, which requires no skill in its application, or if there is a patterned design such design is first stamped in outline. . . . In all this solid color and outline work women and girls are extensively employed.<sup>34</sup>

As the above newspaper notices and government report indicate, American women have been artists, artisans, and workers in glass since the colonial era. In view of this involvement and the lengthy history of women stained glass artists in other countries, it was perhaps inevitable that American women also would become active in the design and production of stained glass windows at least by the 1870s and possibly before that date. Research for this study has not yet found evidence of women being employed by such early stained glass window makers as Evert Duyckinck (1621-1702) of New Amsterdam (later New York) or William Jay Bolton (1816-1884) of Pelham Bay, New York.<sup>35</sup> Further investigation may uncover some record of their employment in workshops prior to the late nineteenth century, most likely as wives, sisters, or daughters of male owners of glass firms.

Although evidence for their earlier participation is still lacking, the existence of women stained glass artists in America since the final quarter of the nineteenth century can be verified through documentation of their lives and work. Unlike the attention given to women stained glass artists in other countries, scholarly recognition of these American women and their achievements has been almost nonexistent. To fully appreciate the extent of this neglect and the need for research, one must examine recent literature on women artists, the Arts and Crafts movement, and stained glass, the three areas where any acknowledgement of American women stained glass artists ought to appear.

### Review of Literature

An examination of recent literature focusing on women artists, the Arts and Crafts movement, and stained glass reveals the lack of research on the stained glass art of women, particularly American women. The recent surge of interest in women's art has concentrated primarily on women painters, sculptors, and graphic artists, with less attention given to women in the applied or decorative arts. This has been especially true of research on women stained glass artists. During the last few years, several important surveys on women artists have been published. The earliest of these, Our Hidden Heritage: Five Centuries of Women Artists, appeared in 1974.<sup>36</sup> In this study, author Eleanor Tufts replaces the familiar question, "Why have there been no great women artists?," with a more valid one, "Why is so

little known about great women artists of the past?"<sup>37</sup> Her answer is that women artists have suffered from "cultural neglect," a situation she hopes to remedy by giving recognition to at least some of the accomplished women artists ignored by art historians in the past. Tufts describes the lives and art of twenty-two women artists who were active in various countries from the sixteenth to the twentieth century. Each chapter focuses on a single artist, outlining her life, her achievements, and the problems she encountered as a woman artist. Included are nineteen painters, two sculptors, and one graphic artist. Only three of the twenty-two women were Americans: painters Sarah Peale and I. Rice Pereira and sculptor Edmonia Lewis.<sup>38</sup> Women active in the decorative arts are not discussed.

Since Tufts's study was published, several other more comprehensive surveys of women artists have been written. In 1976, a major exhibition, Women Artists: 1550-1950, opened at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art and subsequently traveled to the University of Texas at Austin, Carnegie Institute at Pittsburgh, and the Brooklyn Museum. The exhibition catalogue, written by Ann Sutherland Harris and Linda Nochlin, features the lives and works of eighty-four artists from many countries, including sixteen Americans.<sup>39</sup> Although the emphasis is on women painters and graphic artists, Harris's Introduction cites several crafts in which medieval women were active, particularly manuscript illumination and embroidery. Nochlin's essay, "Women Artists After the French Revolution," includes a

section entitled "Women and the Decorative Arts," in which she mentions the stained glass work of the Scottish artists, Frances and Margaret Macdonald.<sup>40</sup> The involvement of American women in the medium of stained glass is not discussed. As in the book by Tufts, the survey by Harris and Nochlin describes the barriers that have faced women who aspired to be artists.

In the same bicentennial year of 1976, another survey of women artists was published. Written by Karen Petersen and J. J. Wilson, Women Artists: Recognition and Reappraisal From the Early Middle Ages to the Twentieth Century again includes many artists from various countries, with fifty-four Americans among more than two hundred women mentioned throughout the text.<sup>41</sup> Spanning a far longer time period and a greater geographic area than the two previously discussed studies, Petersen's and Wilson's book ranges from the fifth century A.D. to the present era and includes women artists of China in addition to English, European, and American artists. Medieval manuscript illuminators and needlework artists are discussed, as well as sculptors, painters, and graphic artists. Although the achievements of American women folk painters and needlework artists are recognized, the work of women in stained glass and other decorative arts is omitted.<sup>42</sup> Like the other two surveys discussed, this study examines the various social conditions under which women artists of different countries and eras have lived and worked. The problems and experiences specific to women artists are given special attention.

Still another survey of women artists in many places and periods was published in 1978. In Women and Art: A History of Women Painters and Sculptors From the Renaissance to the 20th Century, author Elsa Honig Fine discusses ninety-three artists, including thirty-two American women.<sup>43</sup> Although Fine's emphasis is upon painting and sculpture, she also includes the textile arts of Sonia Terk-Delaunay and Sophie Taeuber-Arp. Fine notes that the association of these two women with the applied arts of textile design, furniture design, weaving, tapestry, and interior design diminished their "reputations as serious artists."<sup>44</sup> In 1951 Jean Arp rejected this narrow approach to his wife Sophie's work. His remarks are relevant to this study of women stained glass artists as well:

Sometimes her work has been described as applied art. Stupidity as well as malice inspire such a remark. Art can be expressed just as well by means of wool, paper, ivory, ceramics, glass as by painting, stone, wood, clay. . . . Art is always free and liberates the objects to which it applies itself.<sup>45</sup>

Other than Terk-Delaunay and Taeuber-Arp, Fine identifies no artists active in the decorative arts. Although she refers to women "employed in the craft industries as pattern-makers, china-painters, and rug and textile-designers", stained glass artists are not mentioned.<sup>46</sup> Fine explores the prevailing status of women and examines the lives and work of significant women artists within each period covered in her study. She states that the survey "is as much concerned with how the woman artist coped with her various responsibilities as it is with the art she produced."<sup>47</sup>

Germaine Greer's book on women artists, The Obstacle Race: The Fortunes of Women Painters and Their Work, appeared in 1979.<sup>48</sup> The thrust of this study is on women painters, both the well-known and the barely-known. Greer's avowed intention

is to show women artists not as a string of over-rated individuals but as members of a group having much in common, tormented by the same conflicts of motivation and the same practical difficulties, the obstacles both external and surmountable, internal and insurmountable of the race for achievement.<sup>49</sup>

Since Greer's survey is concerned with the "sociology of art," the social conditions applicable to women artists are described in chapters devoted to such themes as "Family," "Love," "The Illusion of Success," "Humiliation," "The Disappearing Oeuvre," and other obstacles to achievement faced by women artists. Although the emphasis is on women painters, there are brief references to glass-engraving and decorative painting on glass practiced by women without professional training.<sup>50</sup> Professionally-trained stained glass artists are not discussed. Because of its thematic organization, the survey groups together women artists from different eras and countries in order to exemplify points in the text. Greer's book is primarily about British and European artists from the fifteenth through the nineteenth centuries. However, she discusses art training available for American women and the involvement of women artists in the Centennial Exhibition of 1876 and the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893.<sup>51</sup> Having examined the many barriers faced by women artists, Greer concludes:

The point is, after all, not to question irritably whether women artists are any good in order to reject them if we find that they are not as good as another group, but to interest ourselves in women artists, for their dilemma is our own. Every painting by anyone is evidence of a struggle, and not all struggles are conclusively won. There are more warring elements in women's work than in men's, and when we learn to read them we find that the evidence of battle is interesting and moving. . . .<sup>52</sup>

A survey of American women folk artists also was published in 1979. Artists in Aprons: Folk Art by American Women, written by C. Kurt Dewhurst, Betty MacDowell, and Marsha MacDowell, gives belated recognition to the women who became self-taught painters, needlework artists, potters, furniture decorators, and artists in other media from the seventeenth to the twentieth centuries.<sup>53</sup> Because its focus is on self-taught skills, traditional domestic arts, and the genteel accomplishments learned by schoolgirl artists, this survey excludes artistic media requiring lengthy technical training and professional practice, such as stained glass. Like its predecessors, Artists in Aprons explores the cultural context in which women artists have lived and worked. The examination of nineteenth-century attitudes toward women and of the art training available for women is especially relevant to the present study.

Another study of women artists, having a somewhat different purpose, appeared in 1981. Old Mistresses: Women, Art and Ideology, by Rozsika Parker and Griselda Pollock, is concerned not with documenting the names and achievements of neglected women artists but rather with investigating "why women's art has been misrepresented and what this treatment



of women in art reveals about the ideological basis of the writing and teaching of art history."<sup>54</sup> The authors take issue with the surveys by Tufts, Nochlin and Harris for trying to restore women artists to art history without questioning the discipline's narrow and rigid system of values that excluded them in the first place. Parker and Pollock argue that the very assumptions and criteria of art history, which perceive women's art as "derivative," "domestic," "delicate," "decorative," and therefore insignificant, should be challenged and radically altered to allow for the differing experiences of women and men that affect the art each sex produces.<sup>55</sup> Of particular significance to the present study is Parker's and Pollock's discussion of the hierarchy of art forms established by art historians, who have elevated painting and sculpture to the status of "major," "fine," or "high" arts and relegated other media to the category of "minor," "applied," or "decorative" arts or "crafts," with the former assigned greater value than the latter. It is this categorizing of all creativity into a false hierarchy, which the authors link to class and sex stratifications, that has contributed to the neglect of stained glass art and artists by historians of art.

One other publication of 1981 should be mentioned, even though it does not focus entirely on women artists. The Fair Women, by Jeanne Madeline Weimann, relates the history of the Woman's Building at the Chicago World's Columbian Exposition in 1893.<sup>56</sup> Part of the story concerns

the decorations of the building and the displays of women's work within it. The account of these features contains several references to stained glass designed by women and exhibited at the Woman's Building. Also mentioned are the working exhibitions done by Philadelphia designer Elizabeth Abel, who demonstrated the making of stained glass to visitors.<sup>57</sup> Because it documents women's increasing participation in all aspects of late nineteenth-century American culture, including their work in the decorative arts, Weimann's book has been valuable to this study.

The first comprehensive survey devoted exclusively to American women artists was published in 1982. American Women Artists from Early Indian Times to the Present, written by Charlotte Streifer Rubenstein, includes not only painters, sculptors, and graphic artists but also Native American craftswomen, American folk painters, and quilt artists.<sup>58</sup> Brief sections are devoted also to women's participation in the Arts and Crafts movement and to contemporary "craft-artists." More than six hundred women artists are identified throughout the text. The single reference to stained glass designed by women is included in the section on Violet Oakley, whose rather limited output in that medium is mentioned in a discussion of her illustrations and murals.<sup>59</sup> The only other mention of stained glass is a reference to Louis C. Tiffany's designs for the Associated Artists.<sup>60</sup> A noteworthy feature of the book is the inclusion of appendices listing women who have been awarded Guggenheim Fellowships, women elected

to the American Academy and Institute of Arts and Letters, women exhibitors at the Chicago World's Fair of 1933 and the New York World's Fair of 1939, and women members of the National Academy of Design.<sup>61</sup> Rubenstein's stated purpose parallels the aims of the other surveys already discussed:

To show the relation between women's art and their social and cultural circumstances--the difficulties, the inner conflicts, and sometimes the encouraging factors that played a role in their struggle for achievement.<sup>62</sup>

As the foregoing examination reveals, the books published on women artists in recent years have been concerned primarily with women painters and sculptors, with some attention given to textile artists and a few brief references to women stained glass designers. The literature on a second subject, the Arts and Crafts movement, also is relevant to this study of the stained glass windows of American women and should be reviewed, with regard to its treatment of stained glass as well as its recognition of women who were involved in the movement. One of the first recent studies of the Arts and Crafts movement appeared in 1971. Written by Gillian Naylor, The Arts and Crafts Movement: A Study of Its Sources, Ideals, and Influences on Design Theory is concerned with the movement's theoretical origins, values, and effects.<sup>63</sup> Little more than one page of the text is devoted to the stained glass work of the movement.<sup>64</sup> The discussion centers on the stained glass produced by Morris & Co., the collaboration of its designers William Morris, D. G. Rossetti, Edward Burne-Jones, Ford Madox Brown, and Philip Webb, and the design theories upon

which they based their work. Out of numerous artists mentioned throughout the text, only five are women, none of whom were designers of stained glass.<sup>65</sup> Since she focuses on the English movement, Naylor gives little consideration to American developments. She refers to seven American men who were architects, designers, and painters. Only two of these were stained glass designers: Louis C. Tiffany and Frank Lloyd Wright, the latter known chiefly as an architect.<sup>66</sup> No American women artists are listed.<sup>67</sup> Inasmuch as the nature of her study does not require Naylor to give greater attention to stained glass or the American movement, it has remained for other scholars to examine those topics.

In 1972 an exhibition devoted to the American Arts and Crafts movement opened at Princeton University and then traveled to Chicago and Washington. The exhibition catalogue, The Arts and Crafts Movement in America, 1876-1916, surveys the growth and scope of the American movement through essays dealing with regional developments, the Arts and Crafts book, and art pottery.<sup>68</sup> The text divides the American movement into three periods, bounded by the major American expositions of 1876, 1893, and 1901, and ending with the start of World War I. Among the fifty-seven "major figures" mentioned in the catalogue are ten women, none of whom were designers of stained glass.<sup>69</sup> The section on the Eastern seaboard, written by Robert Judson Clark and others, discusses the stained glass work of John La Farge, Louis C. Tiffany, Harvey Ellis, and Dard Hunter. David A. Hank's

section on Chicago and the Midwest includes the work of George Grant Elmslie and Frank Lloyd Wright. These six men are the only designers whose stained glass is illustrated and discussed. The entry on Tiffany refers to his "designers and craftsmen" but identifies only three: Alvin J. Tuck, chief designer in the metal shop, and Patty Gay and Julia Munson, both designers in enameling and metal work.<sup>70</sup> Several illustrated objects attributed to Tiffany Studios include a landscape window. Although Tiffany is credited with the supervision of "all work, from the cartoon to the finished product," the actual designer of the window is not identified.<sup>71</sup> It is altogether possible that this window was the work of Agnes Northrop, who designed many of the landscape windows produced under the Tiffany name during her long tenure with the firm.<sup>72</sup>

Another study of the Arts and Crafts movement, published in 1978, also includes the movement's developments in this country. Arts & Crafts in Britain and America, written by Isabelle Anscombe and Charlotte Gere, traces the history of the movement from its English beginnings in the mid-nineteenth century to its early twentieth-century American expressions.<sup>73</sup> Anscombe and Gere stress the moral and political implications of the English movement as well as its aesthetic values. Although there are no separate discussions of the various art media, these are mentioned in the entries on individual designers, firms, and guilds. The authors highlight sixty-seven designers in brief biographies. Among these are eight women, including four

Americans.<sup>74</sup> None of the eight were designers of stained glass. However, additional women are referred to throughout the text, including the Scottish designers Frances and Margaret Macdonald, both of whom worked in stained glass.<sup>75</sup>

Curiously, the only American woman mentioned in association with stained glass is Mrs. E. Curtis Freschel, whose wisteria lamp design became one of the most famous of all Tiffany lamps.<sup>76</sup> Mrs. Freschel, one of Tiffany's clients, supplied him with sketches of furnishings she wished to have made for her home near Boston. One sketch showed a lamp shade patterned after the wisteria flowering shrub. Using Mrs. Freschel's sketch together with Tiffany's design for a base, Tiffany Studios produced the Wisteria Lamp of 1901. Despite the success of her lamp design, Mrs. Freschel was not a professional designer.

However, Tiffany did employ other women as lamp designers, among them Clara Wolcott Driscoll, who created the Dragonfly Lamp of 1900. The authors include an illustration of this latter lamp and attribute it to Tiffany, omitting any reference to Driscoll.<sup>77</sup> They also include illustrations of stained glass windows by the English designers Ford Madox Brown, Henry Holiday, Edward Burne-Jones, and D. G. Rossetti, as well as windows by the Americans Tiffany, Elmslie, and Wright.<sup>78</sup> One of the illustrated Tiffany windows is the same landscape window pictured in the Princeton University exhibition catalogue, again unattributed to a specific designer.<sup>79</sup> Although Anscombe and Gere give some recognition to women in the

Arts and Crafts movement, they neglect the contributions of women stained glass artists in both Britain and America. Other publications, which appeared in succeeding years, somewhat remedied this omission.

Anthea Callen's Women Artists of the Arts and Crafts Movement, 1870-1914 was published in 1979.<sup>80</sup> As her title implies, Callen's emphasis is on the roles and achievements of women who were involved in the movement. Her study includes women in both England and America, because of the "crosscurrents of social and cultural influence between the two countries during the period under review."<sup>81</sup> Callen observes that other histories of the Arts and Crafts movement have concentrated on its leaders, who were male, and have overlooked the contributions of numerous little-known individuals, many of whom were women.<sup>82</sup> She sees this hierarchical approach as having too narrow a perspective, one that ignores the importance of women to the movement.

As in the surveys of women artists discussed earlier, Callen considers the social and economic factors that affected the women of the Arts and Crafts movement. She also gives considerable attention to the opportunities open to British women for design education and includes a short discussion of American schools of design for women in this country.<sup>83</sup> Separate chapters are devoted to the various media in which women of the movement worked, with a brief look at corresponding developments in America. However, the section on stained glass, less than a page in length, refers only to women in England, Ireland, and Scotland.<sup>84</sup> Perhaps

because Callen, like Naylor, Anscombe, and Gere, is an English scholar, her focus is on British women. At the end of her text, she includes biographical notes on eighty craftswomen, among whom are twenty-six Americans, the remainder being British or Irish. None of the American women were stained glass artists, whereas eight British or Irish designers of stained glass are listed.<sup>85</sup>

Callen's final chapter, dealing only with the English scene, explores the complex relationships between the feminist movement, socialism, and the Arts and Crafts movement. In England, political socialism was part of the ideology behind the Arts and Crafts revival, and many of the movement's leaders, including William Morris, were members of socialist organizations. At the same time, says Callen, socialism was hostile to the rising feminist movement, partly because the feminist leaders, such as the Pankhursts, were viewed as middle-class capitalists of the political right-wing. Within the circle of Arts and Crafts leadership, wives and daughters occupied conventional feminine roles. Callen concludes:

Thus, while the Arts and Crafts movement--both in England and America--did provide a crucial sphere of work and thereby autonomy and personal creativity for large numbers of middle-class women, their role within it was circumscribed by contemporary stereotypes of women--thus helping to maintain and perpetuate them. Despite the enormous extent of women's involvement, the movement remained traditionally structured, and led mostly by men.<sup>86</sup>

Callen's observations, while applicable to the English Arts and Crafts movement, are not equally valid when viewing developments in America, where the political climate



differed and women gave more leadership to the spread of the Arts and Crafts philosophy.

Still another history of the Arts and Crafts movement was published in 1980. Written by Lionel Lambourne, Utopian Craftsmen: The Arts and Crafts Movement from the Cotswolds to Chicago follows the movement's development from its theoretical origins and emergence in England to some of its manifestations in America.<sup>87</sup> Lambourne's index lists one hundred and sixty-one artists who are mentioned in his text. Only ten of these are women, all of whom are British.<sup>88</sup> Although Lambourne includes Frances and Margaret Macdonald, he does not mention their work. No other women stained glass artists are among the ten. Jane Morris, who worked for her husband's firm of Morris & Co. as an embroiderer and wood-engraver, is identified only as his wife. Their daughter, May Morris, who was a designer of jewelry, textiles, and wallpaper, a teacher and lecturer, and the head of the firm's embroidery department, is not even mentioned. Lambourne's almost total neglect of women at all levels of the Arts and Crafts movement, although typical of many earlier studies, is especially puzzling, inasmuch as his bibliography indicates his awareness of Callen's previously published research.

Lambourne's short chapter on the American Arts and Crafts movement describes Tiffany's work in glass as "the most opulent of all Art Nouveau artifacts" and therefore beyond the scope of his subject.<sup>89</sup> Although Frank Lloyd Wright is included as an architect and interior designer,

his windows are not discussed. Lambourne mentions no other American stained glass artists. He also minimizes the stained glass of men in the English movement by including only one or two brief references to the medium and no illustrations.

Two publications of 1981 also should be considered in this review of literature on the Arts and Crafts movement, even though their scope is much broader than the studies already discussed. The first, Edward Lucie-Smith's The Story of Craft: The Craftsman's Role in Society, traces the history of craft through the ages, from prehistoric tool-making to contemporary art forms.<sup>90</sup> Lucie-Smith is concerned with the relationship between craftspersons and their cultural context, rather than with craft techniques. His study surveys the role of craft in various societies and different eras. Chapters on the British and American Arts and Crafts movement examine the links between its aesthetic, moral, and social values and the contributions of its leaders.

Because of the breadth of his study, Lucie-Smith can offer only a short summary of the developments in each country. His chapter on the British movement mentions eighteen artists, all men. There are few references to stained glass. Although no women in the British movement are included, embroideries by May Morris, after designs by her father William Morris, are illustrated.<sup>91</sup> In his discussion of the English architect and designer C. R. Ashbee, Lucie-Smith refers to Ashbee's scornful attitude

toward the "craftswomen (his contemptuous collective name for them was 'dear Emily') who now hung about the fringes of the true Arts and Crafts Movement."<sup>92</sup>

Although he ignores the work of women in the British Arts and Crafts movement, Lucie-Smith opens his chapter on the American movement by discussing the work of women ceramists Mary Louise McLaughlin and Maria Longworth Nichols Storer. He also mentions Lucia Mathews and Frances Glessner and refers several times to the widespread participation of women in the American movement.<sup>93</sup> Unlike Lambourne, Lucie-Smith considers Tiffany a legitimate part of the Arts and Crafts revival. He gives special attention to Tiffany's stained glass windows and art glass, seeing in his work a bridge between the so-called "major" and "minor" arts:

With Tiffany glass craftwork broke free of any ties with utilitarian purpose, and staked a claim to be looked at and thought about in the same way as a painting or a piece of sculpture. Stained glass, that halfway house between the fine arts and the crafts, provided a logical stepping stone from one to the other.<sup>94</sup>

Even though he acknowledges Tiffany's "immensely skilful artisans," Lucie-Smith identifies no other American stained glass artist, male or female, in his study.<sup>95</sup>

Another publication of 1981 also is related to literature on the Arts and Crafts movement, as well as to studies on women artists. Like the history of craft by Lucie-Smith, The International Dictionary of Women Workers in the Decorative Arts, by Alice Irma Prather-Moses, covers a broad geographic and temporal range, reflected in its subtitle, A Historical Survey from the Distant Past to the

Early Decades of the Twentieth Century.<sup>96</sup> Prather-Moses's brief introduction examines the role of craftswomen from the prehistoric period to the present century. The dictionary is an alphabetical listing of women who have been active in the decorative arts, primarily since the seventeenth century. Although it is far from comprehensive, the dictionary identifies more than eight hundred little-known women in the fields of architecture, interior decoration, art education, book production, calligraphy, cartography, ceramics, furniture design, gilding, glass decorating, graphic art, jewelry design, landscape gardening, leathercraft, metalwork, mosaics, painting, sculpture, paperwork, photography, plasterwork, shellwork, stained glass, textiles, theatrical art, wall and ceiling painting, wallpaper design, waxwork, and woodworking. Among the eight hundred or more entries are nineteen stained glass artists, including nine American women.<sup>97</sup> This reference dictionary could serve as a starting point for further research on any one of the listed artists or on women's roles in any of the media mentioned.

The third category of literature relevant to this study covers publications that have appeared in recent years on the subject of stained glass. Among these are a general survey of the medium, as well as some concerned with a specific geographic area, a particular period, an aesthetic movement, or an individual artist. One of the most comprehensive surveys of the medium is Stained Glass by Lawrence Lee, George Seddon, and Francis Stephens.<sup>98</sup>

Published in 1976, this study covers the iconography, symbolism, history, and techniques of stained glass in various countries. Numerous stained glass artists are mentioned throughout the text, including eight women: Sarah Purser and Evie Hone of Ireland, Moira Forsyth of England, Nina Tryggvadottir of Iceland, Marte Röling of Holland, and Kathie Bunnell, Helen Carew Hickman, and Frances Skinner of the United States.<sup>99</sup> The three American women, all twentieth-century artists, are among twenty-two American artists included in the survey. The contributions of nineteenth-century American women to stained glass are not mentioned. The nineteen American men cited in the survey include La Farge and Tiffany as turn-of-the-century artists whose windows exemplify the style of Art Nouveau. The other seventeen American men are all twentieth-century designers. Seddon assesses the work of La Farge and Tiffany in negative terms:

It was unfortunate that the first distinctly American contribution to stained glass was misguided. The use of opalescent glass by Tiffany and La Farge was as much a negation of stained glass as was enamel painting. . . .

Louis Comfort Tiffany was a man of immensely varied talents who frequently talked and created meretricious rubbish. He insisted that his stained-glass windows were a purer expression of stained glass because he could dispense with any pigment--all the colour was in the glass. What he overlooked was that by using opalescent glass he was destroying, as effectively as the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century glass enamellers had done, the translucency of glass, which is the very soul of a medieval window.<sup>100</sup>

The stained glass of other countries has been the subject of many studies in recent years. A definitive study of the windows created by the leaders of the English Arts

and Crafts movement, The Stained Glass of William Morris and His Circle, appeared in 1974.<sup>101</sup> In this book, author Charles Sewter examines the work of Morris, his associates in the Morris firm, and their employees in the stained glass department. Some of Morris's associates were well-known artists, such as Edward Burne-Jones, Philip Webb, Ford Madox Brown, and D. G. Rossetti. Others were less familiar, among them Peter Paul Marshall, George Campfield, Albert Moore, Simeon Solomon, Arthur Hughes, and Val Prinsep. Sewter mentions no women designers within Morris's circle. He includes a list of the forty glass painters and glaziers who worked for Morris & Co. in the stained glass department. With one exception, Sewter lists only surnames. Since all of the leaders and principal designers of the Morris firm were men, it is probable that the stained glass workshop employed only male painters and glaziers. The index for Sewter's study includes the names of only three or four women. A single reference to William Morris's wife, Jane Morris, says simply that "Mrs. Morris and her sister embroidered."<sup>102</sup> There is no reference to May Morris. As Anthea Callen's research has shown, women were very much involved in the British Arts and Crafts movement. However, they were not at the center of its leadership, except as wives and daughters whose contributions were minimized. Sewter's study reflects their exclusion.

Another examination of nineteenth-century English stained glass, also encompassing the Arts and Crafts movement, was published in 1980. Victorian Stained Glass by

Martin Harrison covers the history of English windows produced from the late 1830s to the turn of the century.<sup>103</sup> Inasmuch as Harrison does not limit his treatment of Arts and Crafts stained glass to the work of the Morris firm, he is able to identify and discuss several women designers who were part of the movement, including Mary Lowndes, Sarah Purser, Isabel Gloag, Wilhelmina Geddes, Evie Hone, and Veronica Whall.<sup>104</sup>

The existing literature on American stained glass, although much more limited than that which deals with the glass of other countries, is now beginning to expand as interest in the subject is renewed. Perhaps the earliest substantial account of American stained glass is Charles Connick's volume of personal recollections, Adventures in Light and Color, which was published in 1937.<sup>105</sup> In spite of its early publication date, Connick's book is included in this review because of its importance in documenting much information about the makers of American stained glass in the late nineteenth century and the first few decades of this century. Connick, a stained glass artist who headed his own firm, was a leader in the crusade to restore medieval principles of glass design to American windows. His book is filled with praise for the glass of medieval cathedrals, scorn for American opalescent picture windows, and reminiscences of his own experiences and those of his contemporaries.

Connick mentions several women designers, including Americans Ella Condie Lamb, Helen Maitland

Armstrong, Genevieve Cowles, Edith Emerson, Katharine Lamb, Sarah Wyman Whitman, Mary Frye, Margaret Redmond, Frances Skinner, and Anne Lee Willet.<sup>106</sup> He also acknowledges the work of Yvonne Williams of Canada, Rosa Caselli Moretti of Italy, and Wilhelmina Geddes, Ethel Rhind, Catherine O'Brien, and Beatrice Elvery of Ireland.<sup>107</sup> In his own studio, Connick employed women designers such as Frances Skinner and Erica Karawina. However, in accordance with prevailing practice, the windows designed at the Connick Studios were attributed to the firm rather than to the individual artists.

The only comprehensive history of stained glass in the United States appeared in 1963 with the publication of Stained Glass in America by John Gilbert Lloyd.<sup>108</sup> As a preface to his discussion of American windows, Lloyd traces the history of stained glass from its twelfth-century European flowering and subsequent decline to the nineteenth-century revival of interest in the medium. His history of American glass contains references to five women artists: Veuve Lorin, Donaline MacDonald, Sarah Whitman, Fredrica Fields, and Anne Lee Willet.<sup>109</sup> Inasmuch as Lorin was French, only four American women are identified by Lloyd. Of these four, almost nothing is known about MacDonald save that she assisted her father, Donald MacDonald, at Boston. Moreover, Willet's role as a designer has been disputed. Among the five women named by Lloyd, only Whitman of the nineteenth century and Fields of the present century can be unquestionably documented as American women stained glass



artists. Although it has been almost twenty years since Lloyd's book was published, no other comprehensive history of American stained glass has made its appearance.

The renewal of interest in stained glass during the last decade has resulted in the publication of books that focus on specific regions or particular individuals. Two recent regional studies survey the stained glass of New York City and Chicago. James Sturm's Stained Glass from Medieval Times to the Present: Treasures to Be Seen in New York, published in 1982, provides an excellent overview of stained glass through the centuries, based upon the examples found in New York City museums, churches, and other buildings.<sup>110</sup> Its scope ranges from medieval and Renaissance stained glass through the opalescent era and revival of Gothic principles to modern developments. In his text, captions, and list of windows in the appendix, Sturm records the names of a few women designers: Clara Miller Burd, Frances White, Jessie Van Brunt, Mary Tillinghast, Hildreth Mei re, and Helen Maitland Armstrong.<sup>111</sup> Except for some comments about Tillinghast, no other information about these women is given. Referring to an illustrated Tiffany landscape window, Sturm observes that it "testifies to the talent, lost in the shadow of their employer's reputation, of the designers and craftsmen at Tiffany Studios."<sup>112</sup>

Chicago Stained Glass, written by Erne R. Frueh and Florence Frueh, was published in 1983.<sup>113</sup> Like Sturm, the Fruehs preface their discussion of Chicago windows with a brief history of stained glass from the early Christian

era to the present century. Their study of Chicago stained glass concentrates on the sixty-year period between the Great Fire of 1871 and the Great Depression of the 1930s and on the work of known American and foreign firms, with an emphasis upon Chicago's glass studios. Although fifty-four firms and many artists are identified, there is no indication that women may have been involved in the production of stained glass at Chicago studios.<sup>114</sup>

Similarly, the role of women at studios elsewhere in the country is overlooked. For example, the section on windows designed by the Willet Studios at Philadelphia states that "upon William Willet's death, his son Henry Lee Willet assumed the business and artistic direction of the firm."<sup>115</sup> Actually, when William died in 1921 his partner and widow, Anne Lee Willet, became president of their firm, which she managed until 1933, when her son Henry Lee took over the presidency. Under Anne Lee Willet's leadership, the Willet firm designed and executed several windows listed and illustrated in the Fruehs' survey of Chicago stained glass.<sup>116</sup>

The authors' discussion of Tiffany windows at Chicago identifies three men designers on Tiffany's staff: J. A. Holzer, Frederick Wilson, and Edward Peck Sperry.<sup>117</sup> Although no woman designer for Tiffany is included, an illustrated landscape window suggests the work of Agnes Northrop.<sup>118</sup> The omission of women's names and roles from records and surveys of stained glass has resulted in their present obscurity and has produced an incomplete history of

stained glass in America. As more regional studies of stained glass appear, the opportunity to acknowledge the participation of women designers and leaders may remedy their neglect and provide a fuller understanding of America's stained glass heritage.

The literature on stained glass also includes books that focus on the work of individual American artists, particularly Tiffany and La Farge. Several books on Tiffany have appeared in the past three decades. One of the first, The Arts of the Tiffanys by Gertrude Speenburgh, was published in 1956.<sup>119</sup> Speenburgh's slender book is a history both of Tiffany and Company, the jewelry and silver firm founded by Charles L. Tiffany, and of Tiffany Studios, the decorative arts firm founded by his son, Louis C. Tiffany. The chapters on Tiffany Studios discuss the full range of glass, fabric, metal, and ceramic items produced by that firm. In the chapter devoted to stained glass and mosaics, Speenburgh mentions Joseph Briggs in connection with a mosaic but identifies no window designers. Elsewhere in her book, however, Speenburgh mentions and quotes both Candace Wheeler, who designed and supervised the making of textiles for Tiffany, and Julia Munson, who supervised the production of enameled jewelry.<sup>120</sup> In her "Acknowledgments," the author expresses gratitude to "Miss Agnes Northrop, designer of stained glass windows," but offers little information about her.<sup>121</sup> Speenburgh's book is valuable as an early record of Tiffany's range of production and methods of operation.

A more substantive study of Tiffany's life and work appeared in 1964. Louis C. Tiffany: Rebel in Glass, by Robert Koch, developed out of Koch's doctoral dissertation at Yale University.<sup>122</sup> As in Speenburgh's book, Koch's study covers all types of decorative art produced by Tiffany and his assistants or associates. He identifies thirteen designers, including seven women: Clara Driscoll, Lydia Emmet, Patty Gay, Alice Goovy, Agnes Northrop, Julia Munson, and Candace Wheeler.<sup>123</sup> Koch also mentions Mrs. Curtis Freschel, Tiffany's client, for her part in designing the celebrated Wisteria Lamp.<sup>124</sup> Among these eight women, only Driscoll, Emmet, and Northrop are known to have designed windows.<sup>125</sup> Koch calls special attention to Tiffany's employment of women:

He [Tiffany] had developed during his years in the decorating business a facility for working with others, including skilled women, and he was able to direct the work of his assistants in such a way as to make each of them feel important. He frequently encouraged women to take active roles in the business.<sup>126</sup>

Another book on Tiffany was published in 1980. The Lost Treasures of Louis Comfort Tiffany, by Hugh F. McKean, is a survey of Tiffany's personal work, much of which is in the author's own collection at the Morse Gallery of Art in Florida, where McKean is gallery director.<sup>127</sup> McKean devotes separate chapters of his book to Tiffany's paintings, windows, mosaics, blown glass, lamps, pottery, metal work, enamels, and jewelry. Because his interest is in Tiffany's creativity and the objects that Tiffany personally designed, McKean minimizes the contributions made

by Tiffany's assistants to the work of the firm. In brief references to window and mosaic designers J. A. Holzer, Will H. Low, and Frederick Wilson, he stresses the influence and control exercised by Tiffany over his staff:

Within the broad classification "Tiffany Windows" are two categories, the studio pieces and the personal work. The former are made from designs by artists on his staff, the latter from paintings or cartoons by Tiffany himself. Regardless of the extent of Tiffany's involvement, all were made under his supervision, and all have characteristics in common.<sup>128</sup>

McKean also briefly mentions Clara Driscoll, Patty Gay, and Julia Munson as Tiffany designers and again emphasizes Tiffany's control over the designs.<sup>129</sup> He questions Mrs. Freschel's role in the design of the Wisteria Lamp, which is featured on the cover of his book.<sup>130</sup> The name of Agnes Northrop appears nowhere in the text.<sup>131</sup> The book is lavishly illustrated with superb color photographs that reveal the special qualities of Tiffany's opalescent glass and provide a pictorial record for research on Tiffany's designers.

Still another book about Tiffany appeared in 1980. Alastair Duncan's Tiffany Windows deals exclusively with the stained glass windows produced by Tiffany's firm.<sup>132</sup> Duncan's book, like McKean's, is filled with fine color photographs that offer opportunities for comparisons and possible attributions. In considering Tiffany's own role, Duncan states that "Tiffany designed most, if not all, of the firm's early windows," and adds:

With each year, however, his contribution decreased, although from the start he maintained ultimate control of all designs.<sup>133</sup>

In his chapter entitled "The Designers," Duncan identifies several of the artists who worked for Tiffany. In addition to ten men, Duncan mentions Agnes Northrop, Clara Wolcott Driscoll, Anne Van Derlip, and Lydia Emmet.<sup>134</sup> Like Koch, Duncan notes the presence of women in Tiffany's studio:

A most unusual characteristic of the Studios was the high proportion of young women who worked as artisans in this traditionally male profession. . . . Tiffany frequently praised the women's manual dexterity, color sensitivity, and proficiency in cutting glass. It is probably not unfair to note that while he had one eye on their skills, the other was on the low wages which they earned: 60 per cent of that of their male counterparts.<sup>135</sup>

The windows designed by John La Farge have received considerably less attention than those produced by Tiffany and his assistants. However, a scholarly study on La Farge, published in 1977, includes a careful examination of his decorating activity, including his creation of stained glass. The Decorative Work of John La Farge, by Helene Barbara Weinberg, was the author's doctoral dissertation at Columbia University in 1972.<sup>136</sup> Weinberg examines La Farge's murals, stained glass, textiles, and other work executed for various decorating commissions. She also discusses the manner in which La Farge ran his workshop and directed the assistants who worked with him. Weinberg identifies, either positively or tentatively, sixteen assistants, including only one woman, Mary Tillinghast.<sup>137</sup> Tillinghast, who was with La Farge for seven years, was a partner in the La Farge Decorative Art Company from 1883 to 1885, during which she directed the execution of embroidered

panels for the Cornelius Vanderbilt residence and the Brick Presbyterian Church, both in New York.<sup>138</sup> However, there is no reference to Tillinghast in connection with La Farge's stained glass. Inasmuch as Tillinghast later established her own stained glass studio where she designed and executed many notable windows, it seems likely that she participated also in the production of windows by La Farge. The present study has discovered the names of several women stained glass artists who were once associated with La Farge as pupils or as assistants. These include Jessie Van Brunt, Jessie Duncan Savage Cole, Anne Goddard Morse, Sarah Wyman Whitman, Alice Cordelia Morse, Mary Tillinghast, and Grace Barnes. Other than Tillinghast, none of these women appear in discussions of La Farge and his work.

The above review of literature on women artists, the Arts and Crafts movement, and stained glass indicates the general lack of recognition given to women stained glass artists and their work, especially American women designers of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Clearly, there is a need to document the lives and windows of these women who continued a centuries-old tradition of women's involvement with stained glass. With the current renewal of interest in the medium, today's women designers, as well as men, are receiving considerably more attention than in the past. The remainder of this study focuses on the roles and achievements of the first American women stained glass artists and the cultural context in which they lived and worked.

## CHAPTER I NOTES

1. Wilfred James Drake, A Dictionary of Glasspainters and "Glasyers" of the Tenth to the Eighteenth Centuries (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1955). The terms used to denote stained glass artists have changed through the centuries, beginning with "vitrarius," followed by "verarius," "verriers," "glass wryghte" or "glasenwright," and, by the end of the fourteenth century, "glasier" or "glasyer." "Glass painter" began to be used in the seventeenth century and "glass stainer" in the eighteenth century. The use of these last few terms reflects changes in the art itself. The term "glasyers" refers more to the artists who created window designs by assembling many pieces of colored glass and using little paint. By the sixteenth century, artists were using paint to create much of their designs, rather than relying primarily upon the colored glass. John Harries, Discovering Stained Glass (Aylesbury, England: Shire Publications, Ltd., 1980), pp. 12-13.
2. Drake, A Dictionary of Glasspainters and "Glasyers" of the Tenth to the Eighteenth Centuries, p. 126.
3. Ibid., p. 25.
4. Ibid., p. 105.
5. Ibid., p. 99.
6. Ibid., p. 3.
7. Ibid., p. 69.
8. Ibid., p. 83.
9. Ibid., p. 167.
10. Peter B. G. Binnall, "Women Glass Painters," Journal of the British Society of Master Glass Painters, Vol. XVI, No. 3 (1979-80), pp. 26-29.
11. Ibid., p. 27.
12. Ibid.



13. Ibid., p. 28.
14. Ibid.
15. Ibid., p. 29.
16. Peter Cormack, Women Stained Glass Artists of the Arts and Crafts Movement, exhibition catalogue (London: London Borough of Waltham Forest, 1985), p. 1.
17. Alice Irma Prather-Moses, The International Dictionary of Women Workers in the Decorative Arts: A Historical Survey from the Distant Past to the Early Decades of the Twentieth Century (Metuchen, N.J. and London: The Scarecrow Press, 1981), pp. 101-102.
18. Anthea Callen, Women Artists of the Arts & Crafts Movement, 1870-1914 (New York: Pantheon Books, 1979), pp. 174-75, 225. (Hereinafter referred to as Women Artists of the Arts & Crafts Movement.)
19. Ibid., pp. 175, 177, 223, 224, 227. For a discussion of Lowndes and Newill by one of their contemporaries, see Fred Miller, The Training of a Craftsman (New York: Truslove and Combs, 1898), pp. 177-82. For more on Whall, see Orin E. Skinner, "Stained Glass Women in England, Scotland and Ireland," Stained Glass, Vol. XXXVI, No. 4 (Winter, 1941), pp. 106-107. Many of the women were included in an exhibition held from December of 1985 until March of 1986 at the William Morris Gallery in London. They are discussed by Cormack in the exhibition catalogue, Women Stained Glass Artists of the Arts and Crafts Movement.
20. Callen, Women Artists of the Arts & Crafts Movement, pp. 177, 226. See also Winifride Wilson, Modern Christian Art (New York: Hawthorn Books, 1965), p. 137; Skinner, "Stained Glass Women in England, Scotland and Ireland," pp. 111-13; and Charles J. Connick, "Modern Glass--A Review," International Studio, October, 1924, pp. 43-46.
21. Callen, Women Artists of the Arts & Crafts Movement, pp. 123-24, 224.
22. The glass painting done by early American women was decorative painting on glass household objects or on pieces of glass meant for framing, rather than painting on stained glass windows.
23. The Boston Gazette, January 16 and 23, 1738. Quoted in George Francis Dow, The Arts & Crafts in New England, 1704-1775 (New York: Da Capo Press, 1967), p. 12. An almost identical notice appeared on February 6, 1738.

24. The Boston Evening Post, April 18, 1748. Quoted in Dow, The Arts & Crafts in New England, p. 267.
25. The Boston Gazette, May 26, 1755. Quoted in Dow, The Arts & Crafts in New England, pp. 288-89.
26. The South Carolina Gazette, July 31, 1762. Quoted in Alfred Coxe Prime, The Arts & Crafts in Philadelphia, Maryland and South Carolina, 1721-1785: Gleanings from Newspapers (Philadelphia: The Walpole Society, 1929), p. 301.
27. The Boston Evening Post, September 12, 1748. Quoted in Dow, The Arts & Crafts of New England, p. 34. The use of mezzotints in glass painting is described by Marion Nicholl Rawson in Candleday Art (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1938) pp. 344-45.
28. The technique of "reverse painting" on glass is described by Rawson in Candleday Art, p. 345.
29. The Pennsylvania Packet, June 25, 1795. Quoted in Elisabeth Anthony Dexter, Career Women of America, 1776-1840 (Francestown, New Hampshire: Marshall Jones Company, 1950), p. 149.
30. Columbian Centinel (Boston), April 29, 1795. Quoted in Dexter, Career Women of America, p. 149.
31. According to a government report on women in industry, the manufacturing census of 1820 reported no women involved in glass manufacture. By 1831, however, at least one glass company employed a few women to paint glass for \$1.20 per day. The proportion of women employees to the total number of employees in the industry increased from 1.7 per cent in 1850 to 6.7 per cent in 1900. By 1870, for the first time, the figures included women workers in stained glass. See U.S., Congress, Senate, Report on Condition of Woman and Child Wage-Earners in the United States, Vol. IX: History of Women in Industry in the United States, by Helen L. Sumner, S. Doc. 645, 61st Cong., 2d. sess., 1910, pp. 226-27, 258.
32. U.S., Congress, Senate, Report on Condition of Woman and Child Wage-Earners in the United States, Vol. III: Glass Industry, S. Doc. 645, 61st Cong., 2d sess., 1910, pp. 297-311.
33. Ibid., p. 316.
34. Ibid., p. 326.
35. Although Bolton lived until 1884, his stained glass work in New York ended at mid-century when he returned

to his native England, where he later became an Anglican priest.

36. Eleanor Tufts, Our Hidden Heritage: Five Centuries of Women Artists (London: Paddington Press, Ltd., 1974). The recent interest in women's art was preceded by a few much earlier publications that documented valuable information on numerous women artists. The most notable of these pioneering histories include Clara Erskine Clement, Women in the Fine Arts from the Seventh Century B.C. to the Twentieth Century A.D. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1904); Elizabeth Fries Lummis Ellet, Women Artists in All Ages and Countries (New York: Harper & Bros., 1859); and Walter Shaw Sparrow, Women Painters of the World: From the Time of Caterina Vigri, 1413-1463, to Rosa Bonheur and the Present Day (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1905).
37. Tufts, Our Hidden Heritage, p. xv.
38. Pereira, a twentieth-century abstract painter, often used sheets of painted corrugated glass in her work, in order to express time-space concepts.
39. Ann Sutherland Harris and Linda Nochlin, Women Artists: 1550-1950, exhibition catalogue (New York: Los Angeles County Museum of Art and Alfred Knopf, 1976).
40. Ibid., pp. 59-61.
41. Karen Petersen and J. J. Wilson, Women Artists: Recognition and Reappraisal from the Early Middle Ages to the Twentieth Century (New York: Harper & Row, 1976).
42. The authors observe that "the only places we have not found women artists are where we have not yet looked" (p. 6).
43. Elsa Honig Fine, Women and Art: A History of Women Painters and Sculptors from the Renaissance to the 20th Century (Montclair, N.J.: Allenheld & Schram, 1978).
44. Ibid., pp. 169-71, 173-74.
45. Herbert Read, The Art of Jean Arp (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1968), p. 122. Quoted in Fine, Women and Art, p. 174.
46. Fine, Women and Art, p. 96.
47. Ibid., p. viii.
48. Germaine Greer, The Obstacle Race: The Fortunes of Women Painters and Their Work (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1979).

49. Ibid., p. 6.
50. Ibid., pp. 281, 290.
51. Ibid., pp. 315-18, 321-22.
52. Ibid., pp. 325-27.
53. C. Kurt Dewhurst, Betty MacDowell, and Marsha MacDowell, Artists in Aprons: Folk Art by American Woman, exhibition catalogue (New York: E. P. Dutton in association with the Museum of American Folk Art, 1979).
54. Rozsika Parker and Griselda Pollock, Old Mistresses: Women, Art and Technology (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1981), p. xvii.
55. Ibid., pp. 50-81.
56. Jeanne Madeline Weimann, The Fair Women (Chicago: Academy Chicago, 1981).
57. Ibid., pp. 239, 264, 421-22.
58. Charlotte Streifer Rubenstein, American Women Artists from Early Indian Times to the Present (Boston: G. K. Hall & Co., 1982).
59. Ibid., pp. 159-60.
60. Ibid., p. 150. The Associated Artists was an interior design firm organized in 1879 by Tiffany with Candace Wheeler, Samuel Colman, and Lockwood de Forest.
61. Ibid., pp. 517-23.
62. Ibid., p. x.
63. Gillian Naylor, The Arts and Crafts Movement: A Study of its Sources, Ideals and Influence on Design Theory (London: Studio Vista, 1971).
64. Ibid., pp. 102-103.
65. The five women mentioned by Naylor are Annie Garnett and Katie Grasett, English textile designers; Nathalie Krebs and Marie Gudme Leth, Danish designers in several media; and Anna Simons, English book designer. Each is named once but not discussed.
66. The other five American men are Buckminster Fuller, Elbert Hubbard, Gustav Stickley, Louis Sullivan, and J. A. McNeill Whistler.

67. Naylor mentions only one American woman, Jane Addams, founder of Hull House, a Chicago social settlement where there was strong Arts and Crafts activity.
68. Robert Judson Clark, ed., The Arts and Crafts Movement in America, 1876-1916, exhibition catalogue (Princeton, NJ: The Princeton University Press, 1972).
69. The ten women listed as "major figures" include ceramists Laura A. Fry, M. Louise McLaughlin, Mary Chase Perry, Adelaide Alsop Robineau, and Maria Longworth Nichols Storer; silversmiths Frances M. Glessner and Clara Barck Welles; furniture designer Lucia K. Mathews; book designer Ellen Gates Starr; and textile designer Candace Wheeler. Several other women, involved in the Arts and Crafts movement as artists or organizers, are mentioned in the essays. None of these other women were stained glass artists.
70. Ibid., pp. 22-23.
71. Ibid., Fig. 17, p. 24. The illustration shows a three-panel landscape window, made at Tiffany Studios ca. 1910-1919, now owned by The Art Museum Princeton University.
72. Helene Weis, librarian at the Willet Stained Glass Studios in Philadelphia, states that Agnes Northrop designed "all of the typical Tiffany landscape windows." Letter from Helene Weis, Philadelphia, May 3, 1984. Robert Koch, author of books on Tiffany, writes that Agnes Northrop "did design many but not all of Tiffany's landscape windows." Letter from Robert Koch, Stamford, Connecticut, March 11, 1985.
73. Isabelle Anscombe and Charlotte Gere, Arts & Crafts in Britain and America (London: Academy Editions, 1978).
74. The four American women included by Anscombe and Gere are ceramists Mary Louise McLaughlin, Maria Longworth Nichols Storer, and Adelaide Alsop Robineau, and interior designer Lucia K. Mathews.
75. Ibid., pp. 171-74. The references to the Macdonalds do not mention their stained glass, however.
76. Ibid., p. 95. Other sources, which give Mrs. Freschel's name as Freshel or Freshell, add that she was charged reduced fees in exchange for her design sketches. See Prather-Moses, The International Dictionary of Women Workers in the Decorative Arts, p. 59, and Hugh F. McKean, The "Lost" Treasures of Louis Comfort Tiffany (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1980), p. 225. McKean questions Mrs. Freschel's role in the design of the Wisteria Lamp.

77. Anscombe and Gere, Arts & Crafts in Britain and America, Fig. 124, p. 107. The Dragonfly Lamp design is attributed to Driscoll by Robert Koch, Louis C. Tiffany: Rebel in Glass (New York: Crown Publishers, Inc., 1982), p. 134, and by Alastair Duncan, Tiffany Windows (New York: Simon and Schuster), p. 73.
78. Ibid., pp. 26-28, 74, 85-87, 107, 167, and 170.
79. Ibid., Fig. 123, p. 107. The authors imply that the Landscape window was designed by Tiffany and made at Tiffany Studios.
80. Callen's book was published in Great Britain as Angel in the Studio: Women in the Arts and Crafts Movement, 1870-1914 by The Architectural Press, London.
81. Ibid., Preface, unpagged.
82. Ibid., "Introduction: Class Structure and the Arts & Crafts Elite," pp. 1-17.
83. Ibid., Chapter 1, "Design Education for Women," pp. 20-49.
84. Ibid., pp. 175-77. Callen mentions English designers Mary J. Newill, Veronica Whall, and Mary Lowndes; Irish artists Sarah Purser, Evie Hone, and Wilhelmina Geddes; and Scottish designers Margaret and Frances Macdonald.
85. Ibid., pp. 222-27. Callen gives biographical notes on Jessie Bayes and Mary Fortesque-Brickdale, in addition to Lowndes, the Macdonald sisters, Newill, Whall, and Purser.
86. Ibid., p. 221.
87. Lionel Lambourne, Utopian Craftsmen: The Arts and Crafts Movement from the Cotswolds to Chicago (London: Astragal Books, 1980). (Hereinafter referred to as Utopian Craftsmen.)
88. In addition to Frances and Margaret Macdonald, Lambourne refers to Florence Barlow, Hannah Barlow, Eliza Simmance, Helen Coombe, Christina Rossetti, and Elinor Pugh. Georgina Cave France, wife of Arthur Gaskin, is listed in the index as Georgina Gere and referred to in the text simply as Georgina. Lambourne implies that she is the wife of Charles Gere. Jane Morris is mentioned but not identified as an artist. Four book bindings, attributed only to the Women's Guild of Binders, are illustrated but the individual designers are not identified. One of the bindings is also illustrated in Callen's study, where it is attributed to Sarah T. Prideaux, the first woman

bookbinder of the Arts and Crafts movement and the author of standard texts on bookbinding (compare Figure 74, p. 71, of Lambourne's book with the illustration on p. 195 of Callen's study). As if to underscore this careless attitude toward women's art work, Lambourne's index lists the Women's Guild of Binders as the Women's Guild of Brides.

89. Lambourne, Utopian Craftsmen, p. 157.
90. Edward Lucie-Smith, The Story of Craft: The Craftsman's Role in Society (Oxford: Phaidon Press, Ltd., 1981). (Hereinafter referred to as The Story of Craft.)
91. Ibid., pp. 211-12. May Morris was also a designer of embroidery. After becoming head of the embroidery department of the Morris firm in 1885, she was responsible for the designs of many embroidered pieces executed in its workshop. See Callen, Women Artists of the Arts & Crafts Movement, pp. 109-111.
92. Lucie-Smith, The Story of Craft, p. 214.
93. Ibid., pp. 221-23, 225-26.
94. Ibid., p. 228.
95. Ibid.
96. Alice Irma Prather-Moses, The International Dictionary of Women Workers in the Decorative Arts: A Historical Survey from the Distant Past to the Early Decades of the Twentieth Century (Metuchen, N.J.: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1981).
97. Ibid., pp. 197-98. The nine American women listed as stained glass artists are Caroline Peddle Ball, Mrs. Freschel, Maria Herndle, Ella Condie Lamb, Donaline MacDonald, Alice Cordelia Morse, Violet Oakley, Sarah Whitman, and Anne Lee Willet.
98. Lawrence Lee, George Seddon, and Francis Stephens, Stained Glass (New York: Crown Publishers, Inc., 1976).
99. Ibid., pp. 29, 33, 39, 158, 165, 167, 174, and 175. Purser, Hone, Forsyth, Røling, and Tryggvadottir are discussed as twentieth-century artists; Hickman's work is cited in a discussion of synagogue stained glass; Bunnell and Skinner are identified in the captions for illustrations of their work. Frances Skinner is listed as Mrs. Orin E. Skinner. Her husband, also a stained glass designer, became the head of Connick Associates after Charles Connick died.

100. Ibid., pp. 149, 156.
101. Charles Sewter, The Stained Glass of William Morris and His Circle (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1974).
102. Ibid., p. 20.
103. Martin Harrison, Victorian Stained Glass (London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1980).
104. Ibid., pp. 65-68, 71. The illustrations include windows designed by Lowndes, Gloag, and Geddes.
105. Charles J. Connick, Adventures in Light and Color: An Introduction to the Stained Glass Craft (London: George G. Harrop & Co., Ltd., 1937).
106. Ibid., pp 229, 350-52, 357, 359-60, 363, 371, 400-401, 411-12.
107. Ibid., pp. 334, 361-62, 377. Connick mistakenly refers to Wilhelmina Geddes as Winifred Geddes.
108. John Gilbert Lloyd, Stained Glass in America (Jenkintown, PA: Foundation Books, 1963).
109. Ibid., pp. 45, 49, 59, 63, 64.
110. James Sturm, Stained Glass from Medieval Times to the Present: Treasures to Be Seen in New York (New York: E. P. Dutton, Inc., 1982).
111. Ibid., pp. 43, 45-47, 77, 100, 124, 134, 139.
112. Ibid., Fig. 34, p. 43.
113. Erne R. Frueh and Florence Frueh, Chicago Stained Glass (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1983).
114. Census figures for 1900 indicate that there was a high proportion of women artists active in Illinois at the turn of the century. The total number of women recorded as "artists and teachers of art" was 10,907 for the entire country. This figure represented 44.3 per cent of all workers in the same occupational category and 0.2 per cent of the total number of women workers, given as 4,833,630. Of the 10,907 women "artists and teachers of art," 1,040, or about one-tenth, were in Illinois. Presumably, many or most of these women worked at Chicago. See Annie Marion MacLean, Wage-Earning Women (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1910), Appendix III, Tables III and IV.



115. Ibid., p. 116.
116. The Chicago windows produced by the Willet Stained Glass Studios under Anne Lee Willet's leadership include the chapel window at the Church of the Atonement, some at the First Presbyterian Church, and several at the Chicago Theological Seminary.
117. Frueh and Frueh, Chicago Stained Glass, pp. 94, 104, 106, 108, 110, 153.
118. Ibid., p. 103. The illustration is of a Pastoral Window at the Second Presbyterian Church.
119. Gertrude Speenburgh, The Arts of the Tiffanys (Chicago: Lightner Publishing Corp., 1956).
120. Ibid., pp. 55, 73, 84.
121. Ibid., p. 8. Northrop modestly told Speenburgh, "You don't want me in a book about Mr. Tiffany" (p. 8).
122. Robert Koch, Louis C. Tiffany: Rebel in Glass, (3d. ed.; New York: Crown Publishers, Inc., 1982). First edition published in 1964.
123. Ibid., pp. 10-13, 15, 17, 20-21, 30, 49-50, 56, 66, 71, 75, 80, 88, 130, 132, 134, 136-37, 188, 202, 208.
124. Ibid., p. 134.
125. Several authorities on Tiffany acknowledge Northrop as one of his leading designers. Driscoll, who organized the women's glass-cutting department, is known primarily for her lamp designs. However, Helene Weis states that Driscoll "designed most of the flower windows." Letter from Helene Weis, May 3, 1984. Emmet, who is credited with some very early windows, may have worked as an independent designer. She was better known as a painter.
126. Koch, Louis C. Tiffany: Rebel in Glass, p. 130.
127. Hugh F. McKean, The "Lost Treasures of Louis Comfort Tiffany" (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1980).
128. Ibid., p. 144.
129. Ibid., pp. 187-90, 193, 238. Referring to the firm's Tamps, McKean states, "As is the case with windows and blown glass, all Tiffany lamps reveal his guiding hand" (p. 193). With regard to the enamels, he says, "The original idea was his. Sometimes Tiffany translated it into a detailed rendering himself. More

often he handed it to his staff in the form of a quick sketch, and they did the rest. The result was a body of work all of which had his personal stamp" (p. 238).

130. Ibid., pp. 191, 225.
131. McKean gives much attention to an unsigned Magnolia Window of ca. 1885, which he attributes to Tiffany. Four illustrations show the window under varying light conditions (pp. 83, 90-91, Figs. 83-86). However, two articles published in 1900 include illustrations of a Magnolia Window that is attributed to "Miss Northrup." This latter window seems very similar to the window featured in McKean's book. See Gardner Teall, "Artistic American Wares at Expositions," Brush and Pencil, (July, 1900), p. 176, and Kirk D. Henry, "American Art Industries III: Stained-Glass Work." Brush and Pencil (December, 1900), p. 160.
132. Alastair Duncan, Tiffany Windows (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1980).
133. Ibid., p. 45.
134. Ibid., pp. 65-74. Duncan also refers to a Lydia Carr as the designer of the Howland Memorial Window in the Church of Heavenly Rest at New York. Actually, the designer of this window was Lyell Carr, a man. The men named by Duncan are Henry Keck, Frederick Wilson, Edward Peck Sperry, Joseph Lauber, J. A. Holzer, Joseph Briggs, Will H. Low, John Berrian, René de Quelin, and Howard Pyle.
135. Ibid., p. 77.
136. H. Barbara Weinberg, The Decorative Work of John La Farge (New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1977).
137. The men assistants identified by Weinberg include Francis Lathrop, Augustus Saint-Gaudens, George W. Maynard, Bancel La Farge, Will H. Low, John du Fais, Francis D. Millet, Sidney L. Smith, Edwin G. Champney, George L. Rose, John Humphreys Johnston, Kenyon Cox, Roger Riordan, William B. Van Ingen, and Joseph Lauber. (See pp. vi, 98-99, 265.)
138. Ibid., pp. 210, 262-65, 382-83.

## CHAPTER II

### THE SOCIAL AND PROFESSIONAL WORLDS

A major goal of this study is an examination of the cultural context within which women stained glass artists were active in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century America, in order to identify those factors that influenced their art. The following investigation reviews the general position of women in American society, inasmuch as the women artists in this study were subject to the same social pressures that affected other American women. It also considers the special problems of women artists by examining their relative positions in the fine and applied arts, their opportunities for training, their professional roles and affiliations, and their relationships to male colleagues.

#### The Social World

The social forces that confronted American women stained glass artists during the final quarter of the nineteenth century and the first decades of the present century can be better understood by reviewing the attitudes about women that prevailed during the early 1900s. Although many of the same ideas about women had been present in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the industrialization of the economy had increased their popularity. The years of

colonization, when life had centered around the home, had demanded the productive efforts of everyone, women and children as well as men. Near her hearth, the colonial woman preserved food she had raised in her garden, prepared meals, made soap, candles, and medicinal remedies, spun, dyed, and wove textiles, sewed garments, made bedcovers and bed linens, and produced countless other goods to meet her family's needs. In addition, she often assisted her husband in a small home-based industry, sometimes continuing the business after his death. Because she was engaged in essential economic activity, somewhat less attention was devoted to the question of her "proper role" in society.<sup>1</sup>

In his Report on Manufactures of 1791, Hamilton noted the existence of "a vast scene of household manufacturing" which supplied the textile and clothing needs of whole communities.<sup>2</sup> Thomas Woody points out that women were greatly involved in this home-based production, which had expanded as a result of the Revolutionary War.<sup>3</sup> When much of this household industry was transferred from homes to factories during the early part of the nineteenth century, many women and girls became workers in the textile mills and other industries.<sup>4</sup> Generally, these women were from farms or the lower economic levels of society. Upper- and middle-class women, relieved of the need to produce all of the family clothing, linens, and other household requirements, were added to the growing leisure class. As the numbers of these women without economic responsibilities increased, greater attention was given to the "true nature" of woman

and her place in society.

### The "True Woman"

Nineteenth-century attitudes toward women were largely shaped by seventeenth- and eighteenth-century writings, many of English origin, which were widely disseminated in America, due to the expansion of printing and transportation. Essentially, it was agreed that women suffered from physical, mental, and emotional limitations, although they were blessed with spiritual and moral superiority. As a result, women's proper place in society was the "domestic sphere."<sup>5</sup> Such ideas, which gained wide acceptance during the nineteenth century, were a convenient means of justifying the restriction of women to the home, where they could manage the petty details of daily life and preserve the values neglected by their husbands, who were busy in the outside world.

Countless words were penned and uttered extolling the ideal of "True Womanhood." Barbara Welter has identified the essential characteristics of the "True Woman" as "piety, purity, submissiveness, and domesticity."<sup>6</sup> Women were expected to be more naturally pious and pure than men, so that they might maintain high spiritual and moral standards for their families.<sup>7</sup> On the other hand, because of their physical, mental, and emotional inferiority, women were continually advised to submit to their husbands' wills and to remain within the shelter of their homes.<sup>8</sup> Their participation in political, commercial, and professional

life was repeatedly discouraged through sermons, moral and etiquette guides, novels, domestic manuals, and ladies' magazines.<sup>9</sup>

As these ideas concerning women's character and conduct spread throughout American society, it became increasingly difficult for middle- and upper-class women to engage in various activities outside the home without risking social censure.<sup>10</sup> The ideal of "True Womanhood" was a powerful deterrent to many women who might otherwise have ventured into fields toward which they were drawn. It required courage and determination to challenge the prevailing code by entering the political, professional, or business arenas. Although the "cult of True Womanhood" was most forceful between 1820 and 1860, its doctrines continued to be preached throughout the 1800s and well into the present century.<sup>11</sup> Indeed, the concept of the "True Woman" still has its adherents in some segments of American society.<sup>12</sup>

#### The "New Woman"

Not everyone joined the cult to sing the praises of "True Womanhood." Other pens and voices protested the unrealistic and fettered paradigm held up to American women for their emulation. As the century progressed, the swelling chorus of opposition included both sexes: men such as Thomas Wentworth Higginson and Wendell Phillips, whose writings and speeches called for women's economic and political equality, and women like Susan B. Anthony, Lucy

Stone, and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, whose lives were committed to the same goal.<sup>13</sup> By the final quarter of the nineteenth century, at a time when many of the women included in this study were already active as artists or were in their formative years, a new role model for women was emerging to challenge the old ideal of "True Womanhood."

Like her predecessor, the "New Woman" was partially a product of English writers.<sup>14</sup> Her roots lay also in the widespread involvement of American women in the great humanitarian causes of the nineteenth century: temperance reform, the peace crusade, the abolitionist movement, and the struggle for women's suffrage. Margaret Gibbons Wilson points to additional factors that contributed to the emergence of a new kind of woman: the Civil War, which had overturned social mores; the enfranchising of Black men, which heightened the demands for the vote for women; increased educational opportunities for women; and, especially, the intensified urbanization and industrialization that characterized the period from 1870 to 1920.<sup>15</sup> Wilson's analysis of these last two factors has found that the availability of effective birth control methods, apartment living facilities, restaurants, laundries, ready-made clothing, labor-saving devices, employment opportunities, easier divorces, and women's organizations all gave women greater freedom to earn a living, to marry or remain single, to control the size of their families, to receive outside assistance with daily household routines, and to enjoy the support of women's groups.<sup>16</sup>

Arthur Meier Schlesinger also has noted the changing roles of women in his book, The Rise of the City, 1878-1898:

The progressive liberation from household routine left the middle-class woman with more leisure on her hands than ever before and opened the way for a wider participation in the world that lay beyond domestic walls. The wives and daughters of the poor had long been swelling the ranks of industry, and the five-year depression following 1873 had shown that women even of the comfortable classes might unexpectedly be obliged to supplement the family income. At the same time the colleges and universities were training increasing numbers for pursuits hitherto followed chiefly by men, while the new conditions of American life were opening employments to them wholly unknown to previous generations. . . . Women who would have shrunk from factory work and domestic service or even from teaching trooped forth with a sense of adventure to become typists, telephone girls, typesetters, bookkeepers, nurses, librarians, journalists, lecturers, social workers, doctors, lawyers, artists.<sup>17</sup>

The changing social climate of the late nineteenth century thus encouraged the appearance of a more independent type of woman, to whom the epithet "New Woman" was soon applied, in derision or in admiration.<sup>18</sup> The appellation appeared with increasing regularity during the first three decades of the twentieth century. Sometimes the term was applied to the woman engaged in the struggle for women's suffrage. At other times, it was used to describe the woman who had entered a field of work formerly restricted to men. Occasionally, it became a label for the woman who defied conventional standards in morals, dress, or comportment. In general, the "New Woman" was any woman attempting to achieve greater political, economic, or personal freedom than women had previously possessed. Like the "True Woman," the "New Woman" became the subject of innumerable debates and articles. From the 1890s through the 1920s, the "New Woman"



was alternately chastised or applauded in the pages of the leading periodicals.<sup>19</sup> She must have been well known to the women included in this study.

#### Effects of the Debate

It is unlikely that many women fully embodied the ideal of either the "True Woman" or the "New Woman." Whether they tended to be one type or the other, women who heard the arguments that upheld each ideal were apt to experience some inner doubts about their own chosen roles.<sup>20</sup> Some women who pursued careers have left accounts of their personal struggles to reconcile the conflicting advice they received.<sup>21</sup> Many professional women remained single throughout their lives, convinced they could not successfully combine their careers with marriage and motherhood.<sup>22</sup> Wilson's study of the period between 1870 and 1920 found that working women who married were usually pressured into giving up their employment, inasmuch as a working wife was viewed as a threat to the family's social status.<sup>23</sup> However, their often unwilling departure from the work force sometimes created restless wives:

During the era, although the percentage of employed married women did increase, opposition to employment for married women remained so strong that women generally were forced to choose between marriage and a career. Most women ultimately opted for marriage, but that decision did not necessarily imply satisfaction with the choice. Indeed, the era saw the development of a powerful inner conflict between the tremendous pressure to fulfill, above all else, one's role as a wife and mother, and the attraction of the working world with its varied contacts and the change for autonomy and independent status. Many women never resolved the conflict between the two role choices.<sup>24</sup>

Some of the women stained glass artists in this study grew up and began their professional work during the period when "True Womanhood" was still the predominant ideal. Others came to maturity as the "New Woman" emerged. Most were active while the debate was at its peak in the first three decades of this century. Since they were pioneers in a professional area where American women had not previously ventured, it seems probable that these women were aware of and may have been affected by the controversy that raged over their proper place in society.

The social pressures against middle- and upper-class married women in the work force may account for the apparent disappearance of some of the young, unmarried women who were identified as stained glass designers in late nineteenth-century records and publications yet whose names are absent from all subsequent publications that were consulted during the course of this research.<sup>25</sup> Unless these women died young, it is possible that they married and then retired from the profession. It is also possible that some of them continued as artists under their married names. Thus far, however, this research has found no married women designers who can be identified as the unmarried women who seem to have slipped from the record.

The bias against married working women may also explain why many of the women included in this study remained single. Of the twenty-five women in Group 1 (those who can be fairly well documented), ten married and fifteen remained single.<sup>26</sup> Of the thirty-two women in

Group 2 (those who need further documentation), eleven are known to have married and twenty-one were single (or are presumed to have been single) at the time their names last appeared in print.<sup>27</sup> Some of the twenty-one unmarried women, including those who seemingly disappeared, may have eventually married. However, the available evidence points to a higher percentage of single women than of married women in the field of stained glass.

Another possible effect of the debate over women's proper roles might be found in the relatively small number of married women in this study who had children. Only six of the ten married women in Group 1 and five of the eleven married women in Group 2 are known to have had families.<sup>28</sup> Thus, out of a total of twenty-one married women in both groups and a grand total of fifty-seven women in all, only eleven are known to have had children. This would suggest that, even though the married women continued to be active as artists after they had married, few chose to add the role of motherhood to their roles of artist and wife.

Perhaps it is significant that, out of the six women in Group 1 who had children, four were members of families that were closely involved with stained glass design and production. Three of these women were married to designers and heads of stained glass studios: Anne Lee Willet (1866-1943), the wife of William Willet and the mother of three children, was her husband's partner in the Willet stained glass firm at Philadelphia; Ella Condie Lamb (1862-1936), the mother of five children, was the wife of

Charles R. Lamb, also a designer as well as the head of the J. & R. Lamb Studios, founded by his father and uncle in 1857 at New York City; Frances Skinner (1895-1979), the mother of one child, was the wife of Orin E. Skinner, a designer for Charles Connick's Boston firm and its president after Connick's death.<sup>29</sup> The fourth woman was Katharine Lamb Tait (1895-1981), the daughter of Charles and Ella Lamb and the granddaughter of Joseph Lamb, who founded the family firm. Mrs. Tait, who married a New York businessman, was the mother of four children.<sup>30</sup>

As members of families with close professional and economic ties to stained glass, all four of these women had personal and financial support for combining their roles of artist, wife, and mother. An instance of such support is related in an article that appeared in 1907. The writer, who had visited the New Jersey home of Charles and Ella Lamb, was equally impressed by Mrs. Lamb's versatility as a painter, muralist, and stained glass artist and her success as a wife and mother:

That a woman so essentially a home-maker of the most intensive kind, so profoundly a mother, with most genuine joy in the bringing up (literally up) of a group of boys and girls should also have proved herself an artist of distinction in more than one field of endeavor furnishes an interesting study to the traditionalist who contends that a woman's brain must always be wickedly fed by the sacrifices of the heart. When asked how she had so successfully overcome traditional ideas, Mrs. Lamb said, "I have three reasons--an accurate, determined Scotch father, a beauty-loving, sensitive English mother, and--"Mrs. Lamb hesitated--"and Mr. Lamb, who has believed that I could do things in the art world and who has never permitted me to shut up the studio for the nursery and the kitchen. We have studied and worked together, and no mention of what I have accomplished is accurate without his name. He has given me so much

inspiration as well as practical aid that to me the work seems more than half his."<sup>31</sup>

Unlike the four women just cited, the childless married women in this study may have lacked the family support and financial security necessary for them to have added the responsibilities of motherhood to their marital and professional obligations. Without that support and security, it could have been difficult to ignore the dictum that a "True Woman" should stay home with her children. Faced with the choice between children or career, perhaps many of the married women stained glass artists opted for professional and financial rather than maternal rewards. Whatever lingering effects the doctrine of "True Womanhood" may have had on the lives of the women artists in this study, however, it is clear that they all were "New Women" in that they freely chose to pursue careers as professional artists in a medium long restricted to men. In so doing, they exemplified the changing social climate for women in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century America. Moreover, through their achievements as designers and builders of stained glass windows, they opened another professional field for women to enter throughout succeeding decades up to the present day.

### The Professional World

Women's art in America prior to the mid-nineteenth century consisted primarily of domestic needlework, such as embroidery, quilting, or rug-making, or the "genteel arts" of drawing, watercolor painting, and furniture decorating,

often learned in private drawing academies or in young ladies' seminaries. The instruction offered in such institutions was intended to prepare schoolgirls for their entrance into polite society rather than for professional careers in art, or, as one man expressed it in verse, "To form the maiden for th'accomplished wife/And fix the basis of a happy life!"<sup>32</sup> Josephine Withers has described the recipients of this late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century art training as "artistic women," in contrast to serious women artists.<sup>33</sup> Although schoolgirl artists, domestic artists, and self-taught artists created many significant works of art, they lacked the academic training that would have allowed them to become professional painters, sculptors, or designers.<sup>34</sup>

#### Women's Position in the Fine Arts

Women who aspired to become professional artists in nineteenth-century America faced special problems because of their gender. Like other women who wished to move beyond the confines of the domestic sphere, they met with various obstacles and considerable discouragement. One difficulty that these women faced was the persistent belief that they were incapable of creating art of the so-called "highest order. In answer to his own question, "Are there any women artists?," a writer in 1869 offered this dismal reply:

A survey of nearly the whole field of Art has scarcely revealed to us any woman-artist who has risen above mediocrity; nor has it revealed a single one entitled to a place in the front rank, among great artists. . . . Woman, indeed, has the longing after Art, but she does not possess the true artistic insight, nor

has she a hand firm enough to execute even her own imperfect conceptions. . . . Woman's tendencies do not bear her upon the path of what we call Genius--that meteoric capacity for shooting ahead of the general destiny of the race, for casting a magic light before and after, and for anticipating with a burst the results toward which the common race plods slowly and drearily on--a capacity always miraculously conjoined with an intense ideal force, an indefatigable faculty of production, and a grandly confident mastery over, and skill in, the employment of the resources of Art. . . . The man, having reserved forces and discretion in their employment, can go to the mountain top and return safely; the woman, out of breath at the start, must abide at a low level, or succumb from exhaustion in an atmosphere too rare and chill. Hence, her art-work is almost invariably petty, inadequate, mean.<sup>35</sup>

When added to the other obstacles confronting them, this frequently expressed view of their natural limitations could easily persuade young women of the futility of undertaking a career that was destined to be mediocre at best.

Another difficulty facing aspiring women artists was their more limited mobility. Whether because of domestic responsibilities, insufficient funds, or social disapproval, women were generally more restricted than men in their freedom to travel for training or to secure commissions. Their relative lack of mobility also kept many women from the advantages of foreign training, which was considered important for the education of a serious artist in nineteenth-century America.<sup>36</sup>

Much of the opposition to women artists was based on the belief that it was improper for a "True Woman" to attend anatomy classes, especially where dissection was done, or life drawing classes where nude models, particularly male models, were used.<sup>37</sup> Although both anatomy and life drawing classes were standard methods of instruction for male

painters and sculptors, women were systematically excluded from such training in American fine arts academies throughout much of the nineteenth century, just as women had long been denied similar instruction in the European academies.<sup>38</sup> The Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, founded in 1805 at Philadelphia, was in 1844 the first American institution of its type to admit women as students. Even so, it was 1860 before its women students were allowed to attend anatomy lectures that included dissections. Although the first life drawing class for women was begun in 1868 with female models, women were not permitted to draw from male models until 1877.<sup>39</sup>

Similarly, the National Academy of Design, which was founded in 1826 at New York, did not admit women on a regular basis until 1846 and did not permit them a life class until 1871.<sup>40</sup> It was 1914 before women were allowed to attend anatomy lectures at the National Academy.<sup>41</sup> Their restricted training helps to explain why women painters often specialized in portraiture, still life, or genre scenes, rather than attempt heroic compositions that involved the nude figure.<sup>42</sup> It also suggests why many women were encouraged to enter the various fields of applied art, where knowledge of human anatomy seemed to be less important and objectionable training was not always required.

#### Women's Position in the Applied Arts

The applied or decorative arts were generally viewed as more suitable occupations for women artists than the fine



arts of painting and sculpture, inasmuch as they were similar, often identical, to the skills that women had long employed within their domestic realms. One writer found added suitability for women in the anonymity of certain forms of art, including industrial design, that allowed women to remain "in the shadow of retirement, overlooked, never publicly advertised, and never summoned to appear before the curious and heartless world."<sup>43</sup> The same advantage of anonymity was expressed even as late as 1892 by the woman who directed the Cooper Union Art School for Women at New York:

Mediaeval illuminators, stonecutters or metal workers dreamed and wrought with almost religious enthusiasm, and we fancy the sweet serenity in which these toilers for beauty spent their happy days. On us are shed, from time to time, the side-lights of many little groups of persons who in our own day still perpetuate such a remote and ideal experience. Girls and women are heard of who, content to be poor and unknown, are happy and serene in carrying out plans for stained glass or mural ornamentation in the studios of Mr. La Farge, Mr. Tiffany, Mr. Crowninshield, and other artists who can guide the brain of those who yet furnish many a delicate thought in clever arrangement of form or color.<sup>44</sup>

The commonly-held view of women's incapacity for "great art" offered yet another reason for them to enter the field of design:

In our consideration of Art-work for women, we find ourselves practically restricted to Industrial or Mechanical Art, where talent rather than genius finds its scope. . . . That so few women take highest rank in the realms of creative Art is nothing to the point, since it is no proof that they may not excel in Industrial Art.<sup>45</sup>

An additional motive for women being steered toward the decorative arts has been suggested by Ann Sutherland

Harris and Linda Nochlin, who ask, "Have women simply been shunted off into the so-called minor or decorative arts because these were considered less demanding and were certainly less prestigious?"<sup>46</sup> Harris and Nochlin point out that when established women painters, such as Sophie Taeuber-Arp or Sonia Terk-Delaunay, turned to the applied arts of textile design and weaving, their achievements had "equivocal implications." Although their textile art contributed to the weakening of the false hierarchy of "major" and "minor" arts and also hastened the evolution of abstract painting, the return of these women artists to woman's "traditional role in the minor arts . . . can be viewed as a retrograde step."<sup>47</sup> Elsa Honig Fine also has suggested that the involvement of Taeuber-Arp and Terk-Delaunay with the applied arts lessened their reputations as serious artists.<sup>48</sup> If this is true, the question posed by Harris and Nochlin deserves consideration.<sup>49</sup>

Still another factor that encouraged women to become applied artists rather than painters or sculptors was the growing demand for designers in industry. The knowledge that there was likely to be suitable employment available when their training was completed attracted many women with creative ability to careers in the various fields of applied art. The need for industrial designers was matched by the necessity of many women to earn their own livelihoods. The heavy loss of men in the Civil War and the westward migration of many others created an overabundance of women who needed to be self-supporting.<sup>50</sup> These so-called

"superfluous women," who were untrained for the trades and professions dominated by men, crowded into the lowest-paying jobs of domestic servant, seamstress, and factory worker. The plight of untrained, underpaid women was cause for grave concern during the latter part of the nineteenth century.

The need for industrial designers and the concurrent need of many single women to have sufficient means of self-support were a major impetus in the establishment of schools of design where women could be trained. Although it was nearly the end of the century, even later in some cases, before women could receive approximately the same fine arts training as men, there were ample opportunities for them to be trained in the various schools of applied design that opened as early as the 1840s and throughout succeeding decades. These institutions played an important role in educating women for careers in art.

The founding of design schools was part of a broad emphasis upon industrial education for both women and men in the late nineteenth century. Several reports were published on industrial training methods and facilities that were available in this and other countries. In an 1884 survey of industrial education, the author was enthusiastic about the schools that were meant especially for young women:

These schools give her a chance; they are like the opening of a new world to young women all over the land, who have to earn their living. They afford them an opportunity of obtaining an education suitable to their circumstances and the times in which they live. It is very fine to speak of home as the only appropriate sphere of the sex; and all will agree that their highest and divinest gifts are displayed when they are the center of a domestic household made harmonious by their

wisdom, discretion, and love. There is no sight more beautiful. But nothing will make home more delightful than when its chief ornament has received the advantages of a practical education.<sup>51</sup>

The disparaging view of women's artistic capacity, the limitations on their training in the fine arts, society's approval of the decorative arts as more suitable for women, the growing demand for industrial designers coupled with the need of many "superfluous women" for adequate employment, and the availability of design training were factors that together encouraged many young women with artistic inclinations to enter the various fields of applied art during the latter half of the nineteenth century and the early years of the present century.

#### The Training of Women Stained Glass Artists

The women included in this study received their art training in various ways. Some attended academies of fine arts or student-sponsored art leagues. Others were students at schools of art affiliated with museums or universities. Still others were trained in schools of applied design. Several were pupils, assistants, or apprentices in the private studios or stained glass firms of well-known male artists. A number of the women studied abroad in England or Europe. Many of them were trained by several of these methods. Most were educated in Philadelphia, New York, or Boston, where stained glass production flourished. The art training available to women in these cities was an important aspect of their professional milieu.

Philadelphia was one of the major centers of art education in America during the nineteenth century. The Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, founded in 1805, was the oldest existing fine arts academy in the country.<sup>52</sup> In 1844 it was the first school of its stature to allow women to draw from nude statuary, giving them "exclusive use of the statue gallery for professional purposes for the space of three months during the hours of 10 to 11:00 on Monday, Wednesday and Friday."<sup>53</sup> The following decades slowly brought other gains: the admission of women to the regular "Antique" drawing class in 1856 and to anatomy lectures in 1860, the institution of the Ladies' Life Class in 1868, the use of male models for women's classes in 1877, and the establishment of the Mary Smith Prize for women students in 1879.<sup>54</sup> By the time that several of the women in this study arrived at the Pennsylvania Academy, the women students were receiving some of the same training available to men (Figures 1 and 2).

One of the persons responsible for the gains made by women at the Pennsylvania Academy was the noted painter Thomas Eakins, who was hired in 1876 and later became its director. During his decade at the Academy, Eakins changed the focus of training from drawing antique plaster casts to working directly from live models. He also instituted rigorous classes in anatomy that far exceeded similar training elsewhere.<sup>55</sup> However, public concern over the propriety of life classes for women did not easily subside. Women continued to be segregated from male students in the



Figure 1. The Antique Class at  
The Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts  
from "The Art Schools of Philadelphia"  
by William C. Brownell  
Scribner's Monthly, September, 1879

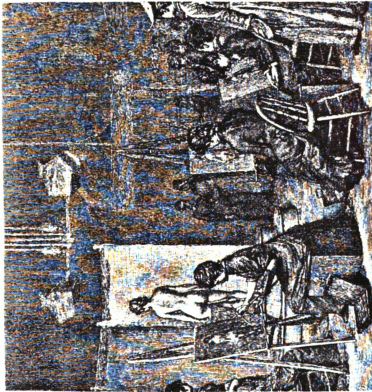


Figure 2. The Women's Life Class at  
The Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts  
Drawn and Engraved by Alice Barber  
from "The Art Schools of Philadelphia"  
by William C. Brownell  
Scribner's Monthly, September, 1879

life drawing classes and dissecting laboratory.<sup>56</sup> When in 1886 Eakins removed the drapery from a male model posing for the Ladies' Life Class, he was forced to resign.<sup>57</sup> Thus, although the training of women students had greatly improved by the 1880s, discrimination based upon earlier nineteenth-century attitudes toward women still lingered.

At least seven of the women artists in this study received much of their training at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts.<sup>58</sup> Among the earliest may have been Ellen Wetherald Ahrens (1859-1935), who in 1884 won the second Toppan Prize, given for outstanding student work in the annual exhibition.<sup>59</sup> Anne Lee Willet (1866-1943), who later collaborated with her husband in their stained glass firm at Philadelphia, and Margaret Redmond (1867-1948), who eventually opened her own studio at Boston, may have been classmates at the Pennsylvania Academy<sup>60</sup>. Mary Pemberton Ginther Heyler (?-1959), known primarily for her illustrated books for young people, received much of her training there. Violet Oakley (1874-1961), who achieved her greatest recognition as an illustrator and mural painter, studied at the Pennsylvania Academy under Cecelia Beaux, who in 1895 was the first woman to become a regular faculty member. In 1905 Oakley was awarded the school's highest prize, the Gold Medal of Honor, and from 1913 until 1917 she taught design and decoration classes at the institution.<sup>61</sup> Paula Himmelsbach Balano (1878-1957) also studied at the Pennsylvania Academy, where in about 1900 she was awarded a traveling fellowship for study in Paris. Edith Emerson

(1888-1981) was a student there from 1912 until 1916. She won the prestigious Toppan Prize in 1915 and 1916 and a traveling fellowship in 1918 or 1919.

All of these women obtained additional training elsewhere. Each was a painter or illustrator as well as a designer of stained glass windows. In many instances, they acquired their knowledge of stained glass design at other institutions or through apprenticeships in stained glass studios. Nevertheless, it was at the Pennsylvania Academy that they gained a thorough foundation in drawing, anatomy, and painting.

There were other opportunities for women to receive art training at Philadelphia. The Philadelphia School of Design for Women was the country's earliest technical school for the training of industrial designers. It developed out of a private school that was established in 1844 by Mrs. Sarah Worthington King Peter in order to train young women in practical arts.<sup>62</sup> In 1850 Mrs. Peter successfully urged the officials of the Franklin Institute to assume management of her school:

For our men, there are now, and there must continue to exist, so many more direct and more easily to be attained avenues of fortune, that high excellence in the industrial arts of design can rarely be expected from them. Our women, on the contrary, are confined to the narrowest possible range of employment; and owing to the unceasing drain, by emigration to the west and elsewhere, of young and enterprising men, we have a constantly increasing number of young women who are chiefly or entirely dependent upon their own resources, possessing respectable acquirements, good abilities, sometimes even fine talents, yet who are shut out from every means of exercising them profitably for themselves or others. To such as these the establishment of a School of Design opens at once the prospect of a



comfortable livelihood, with the assurance of a useful and not ignoble career.<sup>63</sup>

The Philadelphia School of Design for Women at first offered instruction in many of the applied arts. Later it added classes in drawing and painting and required students to learn the fine arts as well as the applied arts.<sup>64</sup>

Thomas Woody notes that the school was stimulated by the Centennial Exhibition of 1876, which was held at Philadelphia, and that its three hundred yearly students "went out as teachers of art or were employed by industrial concerns."<sup>65</sup> In 1905 it was stated that graduates of the Philadelphia School of Design for Women were thoroughly prepared for successful careers as industrial designers in "all branches of design," including stained glass.<sup>66</sup>

Inasmuch as the school trained women in the art of designing for stained glass, it is probable that many of its graduates worked in the medium as independent designers or as employees of stained glass firms. Among the women artists in this study, only Mary Pemberton Ginther Heyler is known to have studied there. Sometime later, Paula Balano became a member of its faculty.<sup>67</sup> Other as yet unidentified graduates of the school may have been among those "poor and unknown" women designers referred to by Susan Carter in 1892.

Emily Sartain became the director of the Philadelphia School of Design for Women in 1886.<sup>68</sup> Sartain, who had studied at the Pennsylvania Academy, was the only woman to win a medal for painting at the Centennial

Exhibition.<sup>69</sup> In 1893 she was a member of the International Jury of Awards in the Fine Art section of the World's Columbian Exposition at Chicago, as well as a delegate to the World's Congress of Representative Women, an international assembly held in conjunction with the Exposition. Addressing the session devoted to the subject of women in industries and occupations, Sartain paid tribute to Sarah Peter and claimed that women artists had a "peculiar" physical advantage over men in the field of applied arts:

That peculiar disease of the eye called color-blindness exists among the sterner sex in the fixed proportion of four to five in the hundred, while among women the ratio is so small as not to amount to a percentage, it being only three or four in the thousand; so in this reunion to report progress it is natural that we should have to note great development in the applied arts, where sensitiveness to color is an essential. I do not narrow the term applied arts to mean alone those industrial arts which need a machine to translate and to embody the brain's conception, great as has been the progress in those branches.<sup>70</sup>

To illustrate her broader definition of the term "applied arts," Sartain listed some of the handcrafted works of art, made by women, that were then on display at the Exposition, including "stained-glass windows, employing the latest resources of the art on its practical side to heighten the effect of color and tone qualities."<sup>71</sup> Six years later Sartain addressed the International Congress of Women, held at London. At the session devoted to "Art in Its Various Branches as a Profession for Women," she referred to several women stained glass artists, including Elizabeth Abel, Mrs. Sweeney, and Sarah Bryant, all of Philadelphia, as well as Ella Condie Lamb, Pauline Imley

MacLean, Helen Maitland Armstrong, and Alice Morse.<sup>72</sup>

Another source of training in Philadelphia for women stained glass artists was the School of Industrial Art of the Pennsylvania Museum, incorporated in 1876 as a result of "the increased interest in art and art education awakened by the Centennial Exhibition."<sup>73</sup> The extensive curriculum included instruction in the use of tools and designing for all types of glass work.<sup>74</sup> The School of Industrial Art was open to both men and women. Laura Geckler (1890s-1983), who graduated from the school in 1907, is the only artist in this study who is known to have trained there.<sup>75</sup> However, it is likely that many other women graduates also were among the "happy and serene" designers who worked anonymously in stained glass studios.

One other institution at Philadelphia became a major training center for industrial designers, women as well as men. The Drexel Institute of Art, Science, and Industry, which opened in 1892, offered courses in applied design, decorative painting, wood carving, and stained glass.<sup>76</sup> The catalog for the 1892-1893 school year listed Ernest W. Smith as the instructor for stained glass work and outlined the scope of the training, which included "tracing from cartoons, pattern-cutting, glass-cutting, glazing with lead" and designing.<sup>77</sup> Another instructor at Drexel Institute was Nicola D'Ascenzo, a stained glass artist in Philadelphia. D'Ascenzo taught classes in design and decorative art, including the "planning and decoration of public buildings, memorials and churches."<sup>78</sup> Very likely D'Ascenzo

assisted as well in teaching the classes in stained glass.

Among the women students at Drexel Institute were Ellen Ahrens, Violet Oakley, and Paula Balano, all of whom also studied at the Pennsylvania Academy. Each of the three women may have taken the course in stained glass offered at the school. Balano probably received instruction from D'Ascenzo, in whose stained glass studio she later became an apprentice.<sup>79</sup> In addition to these identified women, there probably were other women who completed the training in stained glass work at Drexel Institute and then entered the profession in various capacities.

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, there were several stained glass firms located at Philadelphia. Some of these employed known women designers. Others may have employed women whose names and work have gone unrecorded. Fannie Sweeney, who had a studio in west Philadelphia at the turn of the century, employed Laura Geckler and Sarah Bryant as her assistants.<sup>80</sup> Elizabeth Abel, who demonstrated the making of stained glass windows at the World's Columbian Exposition, was in charge of glass work at the interior decorating firm that she headed with a Mrs. Priestman.<sup>81</sup> Like Paula Balano, Laura Geckler worked for D'Ascenzo.<sup>82</sup> In addition to Anne Lee Willet, there were Katharine Latta and other women at the Willet firm.<sup>83</sup> Other early twentieth-century stained glass studios at Philadelphia include those started by P. J. Reeves, George and Alice Bennett Sotter, and Oliver Smith.<sup>84</sup> Except for Alice Sotter, the names of women connected with these firms

have not been identified through this research. However, it is clear from contemporary accounts that women were working in stained glass studios at Philadelphia and other cities during the last two decades of the nineteenth century, if not earlier. Although some of these women may have gained their knowledge of stained glass through apprenticeships, most of the women artists who are fairly well documented were trained at art academies or schools of design before joining stained glass studios. Presumably, these women acquired additional knowledge of design and construction techniques through their work experience.

In 1902 a government report on trade and technical education investigated the professional activity of women who had been trained in industrial design. One section of the report was devoted to the results of a survey taken among "Designers of Art Novelties, House Decorations, Stained Glass, Etc." to discover the attitudes of graduates of trade and technical schools toward the technical training they had received. The survey found many women designers who were generally satisfied with their training and work:

All but two state that the fact that they were graduates resulted in their obtaining employment in a higher capacity and at a greater remuneration than would otherwise have been the case. They were fully prepared to engage in practical work on leaving school, and no apprenticeship was required. The wages they received ranged as follows: First year, \$9 to \$15 per week; second year, \$13 to \$16 per week; third year, \$15 to \$20 per week. They were unanimous in saying that their school training has been of great advantage to themselves, and they all believe that a similar course should be pursued by those who desire to engage in industrial designing.<sup>85</sup>

There were several schools in New York where women could receive art training during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. One of the oldest was the National Academy of Design, founded in 1826 and based on European models. Women were not admitted as regular students until 1846. Both men and women attended sketch classes that used clothed models (Figure 3). Although the men's Life School began in 1837, it was 1871 before a Life School for women was instituted.<sup>86</sup> The men's and women's Life Schools merged in 1930.<sup>87</sup>

Four women who received much of their art training at the National Academy were Ella Condie Lamb (1861-1936), Louise Howland King Cox (1865-1945), Clara Miller Burd (1873-1933), and Katharine Lamb Tait (1895-1981). Lamb, Cox, and Burd were at the National Academy in the late 1870s and 1880s. Tait, Lamb's daughter, was there from 1913 to 1914. In 1879, Ella Lamb won the Norman W. Dodge Prize, given for the best painting by a woman artist in the annual exhibition.<sup>88</sup> Louise Cox later won the Third Hallgarten Prize, awarded to artists under the age of thirty-five.<sup>89</sup> In addition, Cox was elected an Associate National Academician (A.N.A.) in 1902, one of the relatively few women to become a member of the National Academy of Design, which did not readily confer membership on women.<sup>90</sup> Clara Burd also won an award for her art work at the National Academy. Inasmuch as students at the National Academy of Design were trained in the fine arts rather than the applied arts, the women who attended the Academy and later became stained

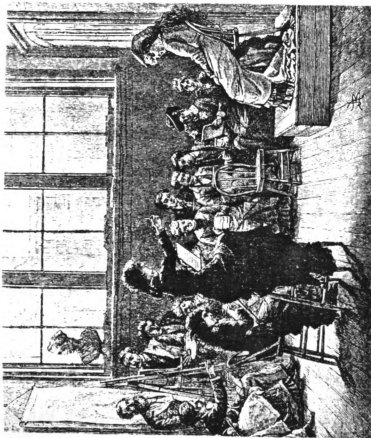


Figure 3. Sketch Class,  
National Academy of Design  
Drawn by Jennie Browncombe  
from "The Art Schools of New-York"  
by William C. Brownell  
Scribner's Monthly, October, 1878



Figure 4. A Class in Design,  
Woman's Art School, Cooper Union  
from "Art Student Life in New York"  
by May Denton  
Art and Progress, September, 1912

glass artists learned their craft through the instruction they received at other institutions or studios.

Another source of training at New York was the Art Students League, which came into existence in 1875 when the National Academy of Design temporarily closed its Life Schools due to financial difficulties. Membership in the League was open to both "Ladies and Gentlemen, who intend making Art a profession."<sup>91</sup> Like those at the National Academy, the life classes at the Art Students League were segregated by sex.<sup>92</sup> By the 1880s the League was well-established. In contrast to the more conservative National Academy, it became a progressive training ground for young artists.

The faculty of the Art Students League eventually included such well-known artists as William Merritt Chase, Thomas Dewing, Thomas Eakins, Daniel Chester French, Kenyon Cox, Augustus Saint-Gaudens, and Childe Hassam.<sup>93</sup> Eakins came from Philadelphia after his forced resignation from the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts. The question of whether women's classes should be allowed to use nude models, especially male models, was still a public issue in New York, as it had been in Philadelphia. The subject of life classes and their use of nude models inspired many newspaper articles, motivated perhaps more by prurient curiosity than by genuine concern for the welfare of the students.<sup>94</sup>

In 1889 the Art Students League joined with four other New York art organizations to form the American Fine Arts Society for the purpose of erecting a building to house



five groups. Among the officers of the new society were three men active as stained glass artists: Louis C. Tiffany, Frederick Crowninshield, and Charles R. Lamb. The twenty-fifth anniversary of the League was celebrated in its new quarters, completed in 1892. For this special occasion, the ground floor gallery was filled with a display of decorative art, "showing how ornament could be used with architecture--mural painting, designs for stained glass, mosaics, fabrics, and so on":

Copies of sixteenth century stained glass were shown by William Harris, sketches for decorations in New York churches, stained glass and painted panels, made up a large number of the exhibits; decorations for the elaborate Appellate Court building by Joseph Lauber, Robert Reid, Kenyon Cox, and Edwin Blashfield, designs for chancels and other church spaces by C. R. and F. Lamb, sketches for stained glass by John La Farge, posters and a great many smaller ornaments, were all exhibited as evidence of the practicability of the courses given at the League.<sup>95</sup>

When the exhibition opened, a yearly prize was established "for the encouragement of the practical rather than the theoretical in art."<sup>96</sup> Within the year the League had begun a class in the architectural decoration of churches and public buildings. The close association of stained glass artists with the League, the displays of decorative art, the founding of a prize for practical art, and the offering of instruction in architectural ornament all indicate that the Art Students League supported the applied arts as well as the fine arts.

Eleven, perhaps twelve, women artists in this study attended the Art Students League for at least part of their training. Among its students in the 1880s were Anne Goddard

Morse (1854-?), Ella Condie Lamb, Louise King Cox, Lydia Field Emmet, Margaret Redmond, Helen Maitland Armstrong (1869-1948), and possibly Jessie Van Brunt (1862-1947).<sup>97</sup> Violet Oakley was at the League from 1893 to 1894. The remaining four women, Isabel Hawxhurst Hall (1888-1952), Hildreth Meière (1893-1961), Alice Denniston Laughlin (1895-1952), and Katharine Lamb Tait, may all have been at the League during the period from 1910 to the early 1920s. Two of the twelve women married men associated with the Art Students League. In 1888 Ella Condie married Charles Lamb, who was president of the League in 1886 and 1887. Louise Howland King married her teacher, Kenyon Cox, in 1892.

In addition to the coeducational facilities of the National Academy of Design and the Art Students League, there also were New York art schools meant especially for women. The earliest was the Cooper Union Free-Art School for Women, which began in 1852 as the Woman's Art School of New York.<sup>98</sup> In 1859 the Woman's Art School affiliated with the Cooper Union for the Advancement of Science and Art, which had been founded by Peter Cooper in 1854.<sup>99</sup> The Cooper Union Art School for Women attracted many students, especially after the Civil War when "superfluous women" sought training in order to be self-supporting. So many women applied for admission that classes filled to overflowing and waiting lists developed a year in advance of enrollment.<sup>100</sup>

An account of women in industry, written in 1891, stressed the training in applied arts that was available at

Cooper Union, including the "arts of design as applied to making patterns for stained glass" and other forms of interior decoration<sup>101</sup> (Figure 4). The report also noted that students were allowed to supplement their incomes by doing work for business firms. For many women, it was necessary to have the income derived from the sale of their work. Susan Carter, the principal of the Cooper Union Art School, commented in 1892 on the disparity between the financial support given by their families to men and women students:

Parents of college boys are usually content to give their sons from four to seven years in which to prepare for the business of life. Many women allow themselves four years to study art, and often they take a longer time, but it most frequently happens that they themselves earned the money to defray the expense of their education, differing in this respect from their more favored brothers.<sup>102</sup>

Even when tuition was free or fees were waived, the cost of living in New York was considered high by the standards of the era. One writer in 1912 called attention to the financial problems faced by art students in New York, saying that "the lowest sum calculated to afford a class, respectable room and wholesome food is \$7 per week, and at this, little can be expected in the way of luxury."<sup>103</sup>

Among the women artists in this study, only Mary Adelina Edwarda Carter (1850s-?), Alice Cordelia Morse (1862-?), and Katharine Lamb Tait are known to have studied at Cooper Union Art School. Carter, who graduated in 1876, designed windows for Tiffany; Morse, after four years' study, became first an apprentice with La Farge and

then a designer for Tiffany; Tait, who attended Cooper Union from 1915 to 1917, became a designer in her family's firm.<sup>104</sup> Undoubtedly, there were other women who graduated from Cooper Union's courses in applied art before going into the stained glass studios of New York and other cities. These may have been the very women to whom Principal Carter referred in her article of 1892.

Another New York source of training in the applied arts was the School of Industrial Art and Technical Design for Women, founded in 1881 by Florence E. Cory to instruct young women "in the principles of design and the practical application of those principles to industrial art."<sup>105</sup> Cory had studied and taught at Cooper Union, where she adapted the principles of design to the requirements of the machinery used in art industries. After establishing her own school, Cory instituted a system of instruction by correspondence that enabled her to teach women "in every State and Territory in the United States, and several foreign countries."<sup>106</sup> During the two-year program at the school, students learned how to design carpets, wallpaper, oilcloth, linoleum, textiles, book covers, jewelry, and stained glass. Students helped to support themselves by selling their work to manufacturers. Cory claimed that many graduates of her school were "earning much higher wages than they could possibly command in other occupations where women are employed" and explained the effect of women designers upon the profession:

It is stated that some manufacturers do not want female designers, on account of a prejudice against women taking up the work of men. But where they are once employed they are preferred, because they are naturally of a more artistic temperament. They display more taste, are always reliable, and can do fully as good work as men. It is the opinion that the competition and employment of women in the field of design . . . has tended to improve the work of the men.<sup>107</sup>

Like Emily Sartain, Florence Cory addressed the World's Congress of Representative Women in 1893, at its session devoted to the subject of women in industries and occupations. In her speech, entitled "The Contribution of Women to the Applied Arts," she called attention to the rapid advancement of women in the field of decorative design since 1876:

Seventeen years ago, at the close of the Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia, there was no practical woman designer for any industrial manufacturing purpose. There were women in England, Scotland, France, Belgium, and America who assisted male designers, and who occasionally put ideas on paper--as suggestions merely, as to what might be pleasing for wall-papers, textiles, jewelry, and dainty novelties. These drawings, however, were not practical working-designs, and could not be manufactured from directly, but were simply sketches which had to be redrawn and recolored by a practical man before they could be either woven or printed.

To-day there are in America alone hundreds of women who have learned, or are learning, the arts of practical, applied, industrial designs--women whose work can be carried to the printing-drum or Jacquard loom and be manufactured from at once, without the intervention of a practical man. . . . Women have designed successfully for jewelry, lace, book-covers, stained-glass . . . and many other things.<sup>108</sup>

It is regrettable that this research has not yet identified any of the stained glass designers who graduated from Florence Cory's School of Industrial Art and Technical Design for Women. With its emphasis upon the practicality of designs, the sale of student work to manufacturers, and

the extensive program of home instruction, the school may have trained many women who supplied designs for stained glass windows, either as independent designers or as employees of large studios.

Still another industrial art school at New York was the New York School of Applied Design for Women, founded in 1892 for the purpose of training women so that they might "earn a livelihood by the employment of their taste and manual dexterity in the application of ornamental design to manufacture and the arts."<sup>109</sup> In addition to regular art and design courses, the school offered specialized design courses, including one in stained glass. As in some other schools, the students were able to sell their work and the graduates found regular employment or became free-lance designers.<sup>110</sup> Among the women artists who were trained at this school were Isabel Hawxhurst Hall and Hildreth Meiere. Jessie Van Brunt, who gave prizes for the annual exhibitions, was associated with the school in some capacity, perhaps as benefactor or member of the board of directors.<sup>111</sup>

In addition to the academic and industrial art training available for women at New York, apprenticeships in stained glass studios were another means of learning the technical skills necessary to become designers, even builders, of stained glass windows. Women were employed by several firms in New York, including those owned by Tiffany, La Farge, the Lamb family, and David Maitland Armstrong. As in the case of the Philadelphia studios, the presence of women in the New York studios is confirmed by the accounts

of contemporary writers, such as Emily Sartain, Susan Carter, and the authors of government reports on industrial education.

An article on the making of stained glass windows, written by novelist Theodore Dreiser, appeared in 1899 to offer visible as well as verbal testimony to the involvement of women in stained glass studios.<sup>112</sup> Although Dreiser does not identify the studio described in his article, the illustrations indicate that it was Tiffany's workshop.<sup>113</sup> In explaining the processes involved in the production of a stained glass window, Dreiser refers to three separate functions performed by women. He first mentions the work of enlarging the small sketch of the designer to a full-scale cartoon, which was "usually done by women."<sup>114</sup> Dreiser's second reference to women is seen in an illustration that accompanied the article. Entitled "Selecting the Plating," the illustration shows a woman at work on a large stained glass window<sup>115</sup> (Figure 5). She is choosing pieces of colored glass to be applied over or under certain sections of the window, in order to achieve effects not possible with single layers of glass. Dreiser's third mention of women's roles in the making of stained glass windows is a brief reference to "another window, the design of Mrs. Cox."<sup>116</sup> Other writers called attention to women's work as glaziers, those who actually cut the glass and assembled the window. Through their training in studios such as Tiffany's, women obtained much of the technical knowledge required for the design and construction of stained glass windows.

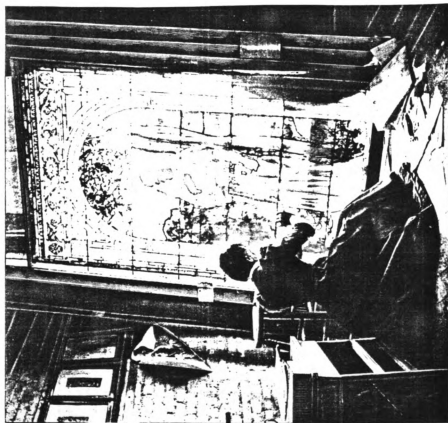


Figure 5. Selecting the Plating  
from "The Making of Stained-Glass Windows"  
by Theodore Dreiser  
Cosmopolitan, January, 1899



THE LATE JOHN LA FARGE IN HIS STUDIO

Figure 6. The Late John La Farge  
in His Studio  
in "John La Farge: An Appreciation"  
by Frank Jewett Mather, Jr.  
The World's Work, March, 1911



Tiffany himself once referred to his employment and training of women. In an article published in 1893, he discussed what he considered to be the strengths and weaknesses of women in his studio:

An American window cannot be left in the hands of an artisan if the desire is to produce a successful work of art. I use this word "artisan" advisedly, because for the mere mechanic there is no place in the art. A hundred little details at all stages of the production require the constant attention of the artist, and in order that he may be understood the artisan must be in sympathy with him. So true is this that of late this field has been opened to women possessing more or less of an artistic training, with the expectation that with their manual dexterity, acquired in learning to draw, and their natural color-grasp, they would produce better results than men. How true this is I am not prepared to say, as the trial is still in embryo. One or two points, however, are very clear to my mind. The women who have come immediately under my supervision are more ready to grasp the color-motive sought by the artist than men are. They seem to possess a more refined appreciation of the subtle [sic] differences between tone and tone and at the same time greater taste in their combination; while on the other hand the men show better appreciation of form and grasp the ensemble more perfectly. In another department of the glass-maker's art women seem to acquire proficiency with greater readiness than men--that is, in the knack of using the diamond in cutting glass; but on the other hand, they are less patient and are more apt to tire where there is a sameness of pattern or where the work in other ways becomes monotonous.<sup>117</sup>

Tiffany's comments on his women workers provide a rare instance where the head of a major stained glass firm wrote about the women in his employ. Apparently the trial of women proved to be a success. Four years later, another writer reported that women were still working for Tiffany and explained how their employment had come about:

I am told that there has only been one strike in the Tiffany establishment, and that interesting both in its causes and its results. When Mr. Tiffany first started his workshops, he soon found . . . that the only way to get his ideas carried out was by training boys to

the work from the beginning. So he employed such workmen as were to be had, putting boys under them as apprentices. After a while the men struck on the score of too many apprentices. Mr. Tiffany let them all go, replaced them by young women from the art schools where they had at least learned to use their eyes and their fingers in certain ways, and trained them himself. At present there are from forty to fifty young women employed in the glass workshop, working at either mosaic or windows, generally ornamental.<sup>118</sup>

Tiffany may have been motivated to hire women by an economic factor, inasmuch as the wages paid to women in his studio were only sixty per cent of the wages paid to his men workers.<sup>119</sup>

Several women have been identified as designers of windows for Tiffany. One of the foremost was Agnes Northrop (1857?-1953?), who joined the firm in 1884 at the age of twenty-seven and stayed for forty years.<sup>120</sup> Whether Northrop had previous art training or whether she learned to design windows as an apprentice with Tiffany has not been determined. Other women who designed windows for Tiffany include Mary Carter, Alice Morse, Clara Wolcott Driscoll, Clara Weaver Parrish, Louise Cox, Lydia Emmet, Clara Miller Burd and Anne Van Derlip Weston.<sup>121</sup> Many of these women were trained at art academies or design schools. Some, like Northrop and Driscoll, were full-time employees at the Tiffany firm. Others, such as Emmet and Cox, were probably independent designers. Free-lance designing of windows was fairly common and frequently done by artists who were better known for their illustrating or painting.

Women apprentices and assistants in the New York workshop of John La Farge (1835-1910) are more difficult to

document than those in Tiffany's studio. Although seven of the women artists in this study were pupils, assistants, or associates of La Farge, almost none of them are mentioned in publications that focus on the artist and his work. The chief exception is Mary Tillinghast (1845-1912) who was with La Farge from as early as 1878 until 1885. The last two years were spent as his partner in the La Farge Decorative Art Company, where she was in charge of executing the textiles.<sup>122</sup> Although Tillinghast is not mentioned in connection with the stained glass done by La Farge, she must have assisted with window commissions, since she set up her own stained glass studio when the partnership ended.<sup>123</sup> La Farge is identified as the teacher of at least five women, including Tillinghast. The other women include Anne Goddard Morse, Jessie Duncan Savage Cole (1858-1940), Alice Cordelia Morse, and Jessie Van Brunt. Tillinghast and Cole were with La Farge during the time he was engaged in important decorating commissions.<sup>124</sup> The two Morse women and Van Brunt also were apprentices, probably during the same years. The name of Grace Barnes appears in this study as a pupil or assistant to La Farge, although she is identified in other places as his secretary.

In an article written in 1910 after La Farge's death, Frank Mather described La Farge's use of assistants:

He renewed the lost tradition of the Renaissance workshop. From 1876 . . . Mr. La Farge always had about him a corps of assistants ranging from intelligent artisans to accomplished artists. Upon all of them he impressed his will so completely that even their invention cast itself in his forms.<sup>125</sup>

The same writer related a story told by La Farge to answer the question of his representing, as his own, the work of pupils, assistants, even a secretary:

"The other day," he said, "I was painting on the garden of the Confucius while my chief assistant was working on one of the heads. In came V. I. and I set him at a bit of drapery. Time was valuable, you see. L. looked in, and I set him at a bit of foreground foliage. I saw that the dead coloring of the sky needed deepening. At that moment my secretary, Miss B., entered with a letter. I gave her a broad brush, showed her how to charge it and sweep it with a mechanical stroke, and against her protest she, too, was enlisted. With that ineffable restrained smile of his he turned to me and asked, "Now whose picture was that?" And I was lucky enough to blunder out, "It was a fine La Farge."<sup>126</sup>

La Farge's anecdote relied for its point on the assumed artistic inability of his secretary, "Miss B.," Grace Barnes. However, she was clearly the same Grace Barnes who in 1916 built two magnificent windows designed by painter Edwin H. Blashfield for the First Presbyterian Church at Chattanooga, Tennessee. An article published that same year noted the close similarity of the Blashfield-Barnes windows to La Farge's own work and added, "This is not to be wondered at, for the windows were built by Miss Grace Barnes, who was associated with Mr. La Farge for several years."<sup>127</sup>

Frank Mather's article of 1910 featured a photograph of La Farge in his studio with two of his assistants<sup>128</sup> (Figure 6). One assistant is a woman who is painting on the mural commissioned for the Walker Art Building at Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Maine. The mural, begun in 1883, took La Farge and his assistants five years to

complete. Like the illustration in Dreiser's article, this photograph offers visual evidence that women assistants were present in the La Farge studio.

In addition to Tiffany and La Farge, other New York stained glass studios employed women in the production of windows. David Maitland Armstrong utilized the designing talents of his daughter, Helen Maitland Armstrong; Ella Condie Lamb, Clara Miller Burd, Isabel Hawxhurst Hall, and Katharine Lamb worked for the Lamb Studios; Violet Oakley and Clara Miller Burd supplied designs for the Church Glass and Decorating Company. Undoubtedly there were many additional women involved in the design and building of stained glass windows at these firms as well as at other New York stained glass workshops.

Boston was another city where women artists were able to obtain training in both the fine and applied arts. The earliest, the Boston School of Design, was started in 1851 to train women as industrial designers but it had closed in 1860 before any of the women in this study were old enough to attend.<sup>129</sup> One wonders whether some of its graduates might have become designers of stained glass as early as the 1850s or 1860s. Another early source of art education was the Massachusetts Normal Art School, founded in 1873 by act of the Massachusetts Legislature to train teachers of industrial and mechanical drawing.<sup>130</sup> By the end of the century, the curriculum included courses in both fine and applied arts. Although the school's goal was to train teachers, many of its graduates went into various

industrial occupations, including the production of stained glass windows.<sup>131</sup> Among the women in this study, Anne Goddard Morse received training at this art school.

Also at Boston was the School of the Museum of Fine Arts, which opened in 1877 to "cultivate the taste of the community in all matters of art" through instruction in both fine and industrial art.<sup>132</sup> By 1902 many who had studied in the department of decorative design had found employment as "designers of wallpaper, stained glass, magazine covers, etc."<sup>133</sup> John La Farge was on the first governing committee of the school. From 1879 to 1886, the teacher of the sketch class was Fredric Crowninshield, who headed his own nearby stained glass workshop, where some of his students helped draw cartoons for the windows he produced. Sarah Wyman Whitman also served as a member of the school's committee from 1885 until her death in 1904, the same years during which she was designing and building stained glass windows in her Boylston Street studio.<sup>134</sup> The close association of La Farge, Crowninshield, and Whitman with the School of the Museum of Fine arts may have been influential in directing some of its students toward the medium of stained glass. Among these were Ellen Wetherald Ahrens, Edith Brown (1874-1932), Mary Fraser Wesselhoeft (1873-?), and Mary Hamilton Frye (1890-1950s?).

In addition to the art institutions at Boston, a class for women was taught from 1868 to 1871 by the well-known painter, William Morris Hunt.<sup>135</sup> One of Hunt's pupils, who were drawn generally from Boston's upper-class

was Sarah Wyman Whitman, the socially prominent wife of a wealthy Boston wool merchant.<sup>136</sup> After Hunt's death in 1879, Whitman expressed admiration for him as a person, an artist, and a teacher, whose "supremely generous nature" had led him to begin a class for women in need of art training.<sup>137</sup>

Like Philadelphia and New York, Boston was the home of leading stained glass studios, of which at least a few provided training for women. Donaline (Donaldena) MacDonald (active 1870s) may have been one of the earliest American women to work in a stained glass firm.<sup>138</sup> She was associated with her father, Donald MacDonald, chief designer for the early Boston firm of W. J. McPherson and Company, which he later headed. MacDonald designed the Great West Window and the north and south transept windows for Harvard University's Memorial Hall. All three windows were in place by 1874.<sup>139</sup> Although very little is known about Donaline, she is given partial credit for the design of the west window and perhaps the other windows as well.<sup>140</sup> Since the Memorial Hall windows designed by the MacDonalds were made in the early 1870s, Donaline MacDonald is the earliest-known American woman to be involved in the production of stained glass windows. Her activity in the field coincided with the work of the French artist, Mme. Veuve Lorin, who in 1873 replaced the windows of St. John's Church at Washington, D.C.<sup>141</sup>

The art training received by women in the New York studio of John La Farge has been discussed. Women in the

Boston area also obtained instruction in mural painting and stained glass through their association with La Farge while he was working on major commissions at Boston and nearby Cambridge. In late 1876 La Farge was engaged to decorate the interior of Trinity Church at Boston, then being completed by architect Henry Hobson Richardson. This important commission was the most ambitious decorating project yet attempted in America and marked the beginning of American mural painting. The project also included several stained glass windows, which were designed and executed by La Farge over the next twenty-five years.<sup>142</sup> In his contract with the church, La Farge specified that he was "to employ such workmen as I judge proper" to execute his designs under his close supervision.<sup>143</sup> The only assistants whose names have been recorded were all men.<sup>144</sup> However, it is believed that some of La Farge's "ten or fifteen artists" at Trinity Church may have been women apprentices or assisting friends.<sup>145</sup> Since La Farge had women assistants in his New York studio, he would not have been opposed to their help at Boston.

A possible clue to the involvement of women in the decoration of Trinity Church is found in a novel written in 1884 by Henry Adams, who was a close friend of La Farge, architect Richardson, and Phillips Brooks, Trinity's rector. Adams, who lived at Boston, watched the progress of the decorating project with great interest. His novel, Esther, tells the story of the decoration of a major church by a famous artist.<sup>146</sup> There are striking similarities between



the plot and characters of Adams's novel and the actual activity and persons at Trinity Church.<sup>147</sup> Especially relevant to this study is the fact that in his novel Adams substituted one assistant, Esther Dudley, for the many assistants La Farge used at Trinity. La Farge's fictitious counterpart, Wharton, recruits Esther to paint one of the murals under his supervision by telling her, "you will find some other women employed there, to keep you company."<sup>148</sup> Adams's choice of one woman to represent La Farge's several assistants seems to imply that women were part of the decorating team.

One of La Farge's assistants may have been Sarah Whitman, a staunch member of Trinity Church and a good friend of Phillips Brooks.<sup>149</sup> She was at the center of Boston's social and cultural life. Her circle of friends included such prominent leaders as Josiah Royce, Oliver Wendell Holmes, James Russell Lowell, John Jay Chapman, and her art teacher, William Morris Hunt.<sup>150</sup> Since La Farge spent much time in Boston while he decorated Trinity Church and provided windows for Memorial Hall, he became involved in the city's cultural life and acquainted with Whitman. Whether or not Whitman assisted with any of the mural painting at Trinity, she almost certainly derived her knowledge of stained glass through her contact with La Farge and his windows at Boston.<sup>151</sup>

Charles Connick's Boston studio provided employment and training for several women stained glass artists, including Mary Hamilton Frye, Frances Hunt Skinner, Erica

Karawina, Eugenia Shepperd, Yvonne Williams, and Adé de Bethune.<sup>152</sup> Karawina, who is still an active artist, was an apprentice cartoonist with Connick's firm and a designer with Wilbur Burnham's studios in the early 1930s. She recalls, "The studios I was affiliated with were by and large against the policy of having a woman in their midst. At Connick's I was, you might say, merely tolerated."<sup>153</sup> However, Karawina also remembers that "Connick always encouraged artistic freedom. It was really wonderful that we were all permitted to work in our own style."<sup>154</sup>

In addition to the art education available for women at Philadelphia, New York, and Boston, there were ample opportunities for art training at many other American cities. Numerous schools across the country prepared hundreds of women for careers in the fine or applied arts. Census figures indicate that the total number of women active as architects, designers, and draftsmen increased from 327 in 1890, to 1,041 in 1900, 3,270 in 1910, and 7,801 in 1920.<sup>155</sup> The number of women designers alone rose from 2,572 in 1910 to 5,652 in 1920.<sup>156</sup> Surely some of these women were designers of stained glass windows. Their names and achievements should be rediscovered and recorded.

Art education abroad was another source of training for American women during the latter half of the nineteenth century. In the 1850s, a few American women sculptors, such as Harriet Hosmer, went to Rome to study. By the late 1860s, several American women were in Paris, copying paintings at the Louvre or taking private lessons in the

ateliers of French masters. From the 1870s through the 1890s, American art students of both sexes flocked to the academies and ateliers of England and the continent.<sup>157</sup>

Although most of the important overseas art schools did not admit women until nearly the end of the century, several women artists in this study went abroad for further training after completing their schooling at American institutions.<sup>158</sup> Because the doors of the École des Beaux-Arts were closed to women until the 1890s, those who went to Paris took private lessons or attended classes in privately-owned schools. Two of the more popular schools were the Academie Julian and the Academie Colarossi, both of which employed well-known artists to criticize the work of students.<sup>159</sup> The private schools usually held separate classes for men and women.<sup>160</sup> They often charged women at least twice the fees charged to men, justifying the practice on the grounds that, since women were not serious students, their instruction was a luxury and therefore should be more expensive.<sup>161</sup> Life classes in the "ateliers des dames" varied from school to school. At Julian's, the instructor visited his class only once or twice weekly to give two minutes of criticism to each student, a procedure similar to those in other schools.<sup>162</sup> In addition to the private academies, many artists offered individual instruction to American women.

Among the "lady students" in the private schools and ateliers of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Paris were Marietta Andrews Paula Balano, Clara Burd, Edith

Cowles, Lydia Emmet, Ella Lamb, Alice Laughlin, Violet Oakley, Margaret Redmond, Katharine Tait, Mary Tillinghast, and Mary Wesselhoeft. Sarah Whitman studied with Thomas Couture at Villiers-le-Bel, France. Some American women went to England for training, including Anne Willet, who also studied in France, Ella Lamb, who studied with Hubert van Herkomer, and Violet Oakley, who was a pupil of Charles Lazar.<sup>163</sup> Other women, such as Marietta Andrews and Mary Wesselhoeft, went to Germany, where they also received private instruction.<sup>164</sup>

The art training that American women received abroad during the nineteenth century focused on the fine arts of drawing, painting, and sculpture, rather than on the applied arts. Those who later became designers and builders of stained glass windows obtained their knowledge of the medium through classes and apprenticeships in this country. Even so, their training abroad and their opportunities to study the windows in English and European cathedrals gave to American women stained glass artists a broader foundation for the development of their own work.<sup>165</sup>

#### The Professional Roles of Women Stained Glass Artists

American women performed various roles in the production of stained glass windows during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Their involvement ranged from the conception of the initial design to the actual construction of the window. The full scope of their participation will not be known unless further information

about the anonymous women workers in the stained glass studios becomes available. However, enough information has been documented to establish their roles as designers, cartoonists, selectors of glass and plating, glass-cutters, glaziers, painters, and heads of studios. In some instances, they were responsible for the entire creative process, from start to finish. Their versatility in the medium was reported in 1900:

One of the widest and pleasantest fields for women is the designing and making of stained glass windows, and they have been found to be more apt than men in the adjustment of the glass. . . . Some women are such experts that they not only design the cartoons, but attend to the cutting of glass, arrangement of leads, and various details of a window.<sup>166</sup>

Almost all of the women included in this study were designers, with the possible exception of Anne Lee Willet and Grace Barnes. Some of these women were independent designers who sold their work to major studios. This was probably the case with Lydia Emmet, Violet Oakley, and many of the women for whom there is as yet so little information. Other women were designers within the large studios: Helen Armstrong in her father's firm; Paula Balano and Laura Geckler in D'Ascenzo's studio; Isabel Hall, Ella Lamb, Clara Burd, and Katharine Tait at the Lamb Studios; Agnes Northrop, Alice Morse, Clara Burd, Clara Driscoll, and Anne Weston at Tiffany's firm; and Frances Skinner, Mary Frye, and Erica Karawina at Connick's.

Still other women designed windows for their own clients, then built the windows themselves or had the windows built by glass workshops. Balano, the Cowles

sisters, Frye, Redmond, Tillinghast, Wesselhoeft, Van Brunt, and Karawina all were involved with the execution of their window designs within their own studios. The women who executed their own designs did the cartooning, glass selecting, often the glazing, painting, leading, and occasionally even the supervising of the window installations. Presumably, they hired some assistants when necessary. One woman, Grace Barnes, built at least two windows from the designs of another artist. Jessie Van Brunt frequently attended the dedication services for the installation of her windows. Laughlin, Ginther, and Emerson had their window designs executed by major stained glass firms. The women who ran larger studios supervised large staffs of assistants. Anne Lee Willet assumed direction of the Willet firm when her husband died in 1921; Helen Armstrong took over her father's firm after his death in 1918; Sarah Whitman operated her Lily Glass Works with the aid of several workers.

The documentation of these identified women and their roles in making stained glass windows, the recognized presence of other identified women whose roles are not yet clear, and the many references to anonymous women who performed various functions in major stained glass studios all attest to the considerable participation of American women in all phases of stained glass window production during the final decades of the 1800s and the early years of the present century.

## The Professional Memberships of Women Stained Glass Artists

An important part of the professional life of American women artists has been their membership in the various art associations that have provided recognition, encouragement, instruction, opportunities to exhibit, contacts with other artists, and the professional credentials that facilitate the securing of commissions. Many of the women stained glass artists in this study were affiliated with one or more such groups.

Some of the associations were organized by and for women artists. The earliest such organization in America was the Ladies' Art Association, founded at New York in 1867 by a group of women artists.<sup>167</sup> Another group formed especially for women was the Woman's Art Club of New York, organized in 1889. In 1912 this group became the National Association of Women Artists and, in 1914, the National Association of Women Painters and Sculptors, with five hundred members in forty states.<sup>168</sup> Throughout its history, this association has held annual exhibitions of women's art, to compensate for the exclusion of women from many other exhibitions. Ella Condie Lamb, Genevieve Cowles, and Paula Balano belonged to this organization. A third association for women artists was the Art Workers Club for women, formed in 1898 for the purposes of providing mutual help, artistic improvement, and protection for both artists and models "from any, who in either profession, would bring discredit on it."<sup>169</sup> The relationship between artists and their models was one of this group's major concerns, a reflection

of the long controversy over life classes for women. Maude Cowles, Genevieve Cowles, and Lydia Emmet listed the Art Workers Club for Women among their professional memberships.

Women stained glass artists joined other organizations that included both women and men. Some of these were national organizations, such as the Society of American Artists, the National Society of Mural Painters, the American Federation of Arts, and the Stained Glass Association of America. Other groups were regional associations: the Plastic Club of Philadelphia, the Philadelphia Art Alliance, the Society of Washington Artists, the New York Society of Craftsmen, and the Boston Society of Arts and Crafts, to name just a few. Three of the women in this study were elected to memberships in the National Academy of Design: Louise Cox, Lydia Emmet, and Violet Oakley. The affiliations of women stained glass artists with various art associations contributed significantly to their professional recognition and growth.

#### The Relationships of Women Stained Glass Artists to Their Male Colleagues

Historians of women's art have often called attention to the fact that many women artists were the daughters, wives, sisters, or nieces of well-known men artists. This was especially true in past centuries, when apprenticeships and art academies were closed to women. Those women who managed to become artists frequently obtained instruction at home. Anne Sutherland Harris and Linda Nochlin state that "most women artists before 1800



were trained by their fathers, or by their husbands or some other male relative."<sup>170</sup> Nochlin adds that many women artists in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries "had a close personal connection with a strong or dominant male artist."<sup>171</sup>

Examples abound of women artists who received their earliest training from their fathers. One thinks of Sabina von Steinbach, Lavinia Fontana, Angelica Kauffmann, Artemesia Gentileschi, Louise Moillon, Elizabeth-Louise Vigée-Lebrun, Rosa Bonheur, Marietta Tintoretto, the Peale women, and Jane Stuart, to name but a few. It is true that many men artists also were the offspring of artist fathers, from whom they received their first instruction. However, as both Nochlin and Greer point out, the proportion of men artists from artistic families was small in comparison to the overwhelming majority of women artists who were trained by male relatives.<sup>172</sup> Greer further suggests that, although these women had the advantage of training unavailable to other women, their artistic development often stifled by a dutiful wish to please their fathers, brothers, or husbands through imitation of their mentors' styles.<sup>173</sup>

The pattern of family ties to male artists among women painters and sculptors prior to the nineteenth century can be seen also among the earliest-known women stained glass artists of Europe and England. A review of those eight women glass painters identified by Wilfred Drake indicates that five, who were active prior to the nineteenth century, were related to male practitioners of the craft.

Inasmuch as apprenticeships were not available to them, they probably were trained by their male relatives, who had learned their craft as apprentices to master glass painters. The wives and daughters helped with commissions obtained by their husbands and fathers. In at least two cases, the widows continued the family businesses after their husbands' deaths. Although Drake recorded the names of only eight women among hundreds of glass painters active over several centuries, it seems plausible that many more unidentified wives and daughters worked together with their male relatives in the glass-painting profession.

Several of the women artists in this study were daughters, wives, or sisters of men stained glass artists, from whom they may have received at least part of their training. Almost all of these women are known to have attended art academies or schools of design, where they obtained their basic art education. Their association with male relatives in stained glass studios provided opportunities to learn the technical aspects of window design and construction.

The earliest American woman identified as a stained glass artist, Donaline MacDonald, is known only as her father's assistant. Although Donald MacDonald is thought to have lived until 1916, nothing more is heard of Donaline after her work on the windows of Memorial Hall in the early 1870s. Whether she died young or whether she married and retired from professional life is a question for future research. That so little is known of Donaline suggests that

she was content to work unrecognized, perhaps preferring the anonymity recommended as more proper for a "True Woman."

Another daughter of a male glass artist fared better in receiving recognition. Helen Maitland Armstrong, the daughter of David Maitland Armstrong, joined her father's firm in the 1890s after an education under private tutors and training at the Art Students League. The Armstrongs collaborated on several important commissions, such as the opalescent windows commissioned by George W. Vanderbilt for All Souls' Church near his Biltmore estate. Although her father is given sole credit for some of these joint efforts, Helen Armstrong is identified as her father's collaborator on other windows. It is difficult to assess the degree to which she may have been influenced by his style.

The Lamb family offers an interesting example of women artists working in stained glass with male relatives. When Elle Condie married Charles Lamb in 1888, he was a designer in the Lamb Studios founded by his father and uncle in 1857. His brother, Frederick Stymetz Lamb, also was a designer at the firm. Although she excelled in other media, it was perhaps inevitable that Ella Lamb would turn to stained glass design and remain associated with the family firm throughout her life. As the mother of five children, Ella Lamb divided her time and interest between her art and her domestic life. She has already been quoted on her gratitude to Charles for his encouragement and support, for which she granted him "more than half" the credit for her work.<sup>174</sup> Another time she recalled, "After my marriage

to an artist-architect, mural work was the natural outcome of my husband's need of what I could do in carrying out details of his comprehensive designs for glass mosaics or mural painting."<sup>175</sup> The windows designed by Ella Lamb employed the same pictorial opalescent style used by the Lamb firm during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Two of Ella and Charles Lamb's children also became closely associated with the family firm. Katharine Stymetz Lamb joined the Lamb Studios as a designer in the early 1920s, after a thorough art training in this country and abroad. Her training and her study of medieval windows converted her from the opalescent style to the neo-Gothic style advocated by Ralph Adams Cram, Charles Connick, and other twentieth-century medievalists. Although she partially retired for awhile after her marriage in 1925 and the birth of her children, Katharine Lamb Tait continued to design windows at home, through the help of her father Charles and her brother Karl, both of whom kept her supplied with work. Eventually, she returned to full-time designing and painting, in which she remained active until nearly the end of her life.<sup>176</sup>

Anne Lee Willet is another woman artist who worked closely with male relatives in their family's stained glass business. Her obituaries and entries in biographical sources identify Anne Willet as her husband's collaborator on several windows, the sole designer of other windows, and, with her son, the co-designer of still other windows.<sup>177</sup>

In spite of these attributions, Anne Willet's role as a designer is in doubt.<sup>178</sup> Whatever may be the truth about her contribution to window designs, she was unquestionably the head of the Willet firm after her husband's death and oversaw the production of numerous windows.

Still another woman artist related to a male stained glass artist was Frances Hunt Skinner, the wife of Orin E. Skinner. Married in 1917 after they had finished their art training at the Mechanics Institute of Rochester, New York, both worked as designers for Charles Connick's Boston firm, where Frances Skinner was responsible for the design and painting of many windows. Her work was interrupted in 1923 when the Skinner's only son was born.<sup>179</sup> Throughout their long association with the Connick firm, Frances and Orin Skinner adhered to Connick's philosophy of stained glass, based on medieval principles of design and "related to inherent qualities of the material itself and its use in architecture."<sup>180</sup>

There were other women stained glass artists with family ties to men in the field. Louise King Cox was the wife of Kenyon Cox, a well-known painter who also designed opalescent windows.<sup>181</sup> Alice Bennett Sotter worked with her husband, George Sotter. Ida Dougherty Aylward collaborated on window designs with her husband, William J. Aylward. Frances White designed windows for the firm owned by her brother, Walter Janes. All of these women are in the group of artists whose lives or windows need further research.

Women stained glass artists who were daughters, wives, or sisters of men in the same field may have found their positions a mixed blessing. On one hand, they risked being so overshadowed by dominant male relatives that they worked with little or no recognition, accepting the aesthetic standards of their male associates and stifling their own artistic instincts. On the other hand, they often received encouragement, financial support, opportunities for full or part-time employment, and professional assistance, companionship, and contacts through their family connections.

The changing social and professional worlds within which American women stained glass artists lived and worked during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were important factors in their decisions to become artists in a field of decorative art previously dominated by men, to avail themselves of the expanding opportunities for training in this country and abroad, to affiliate with professional art associations for mutual support and personal recognition, and to participate in all phases of the stained glass production. At the same time, these "new women" helped to accelerate changes in society and the world of art by extending the horizons of professional life for other women and by contributing to the development of stained glass in America.

## CHAPTER II NOTES

1. The life of women in colonial America is described in several books, including Eugenie Andruss Leonard, The Dear-Bought Heritage (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1965); Mary Beth Norton, Liberty's Daughters The Revolutionary Experience of American Women, 1750-1800 (Boston and Toronto: Little, Brown and Company, 1980); and Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, Good Wives: Image and Reality in the Lives of Women in Northern New England, 1650-1750 (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1982).
2. Alexander Hamilton, "Hamilton's Report on the Subject of Manufactures," The Works of Alexander Hamilton (New York, 1810), Vol. I, pp. 210-11. Quoted in Thomas Woody, A History of Women's Education in the United States, (Two Vols.: New York: Octagon Books, Inc., 1966), Vol. II, p. 6. (Hereinafter referred to as Women's Education.)
3. Woody, Women's Education, Vol. II, p. 6.
4. The manufacturing industry began to grow during the War of 1812 as a result of the British blockade of American ports. The cotton mills at Waltham and Lowell in Massachusetts were among the first to employ women as factory workers. During the War of 1812 women were hired at the Waltham mill and by 1823 they were working at Lowell. Douglas T. Miller, The Birth of Modern America, 1820-1850 (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1970), pp. 67-76, 91-99. There was a total of 732,157 men and 225,922 women working in all manufacturing industries by 1850. U.S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Ninth Census of the United States, 1870: Industry and Wealth, pp. 392-93.
5. Some of the writings were a reaction to Mary Wollstonecraft's feminist manifesto, Vindication of the Rights of Women, published in England in 1792. American writers of both sexes joined in the quest for woman's true character and role in life. One male physician attributed woman's alleged intellectual inferiority to the fact that her cranial space "destined to be filled with the brain is smaller." William P. Dewees, Treatise on the Diseases of Females (Philadelphia: H. C. Carey & I. Lea, 1826), p. 19. Another writer was adamant in her definition of woman's proper place: "That Home is her

appropriate and appointed sphere of action there cannot be a shadow of a doubt; for the dictates of nature are plain and imperative on this subject, and the injunctions given in Scripture no less explicit. . . . Whenever she . . . goes out of this sphere to mingle in any of the great public movements of the day, she is deserting the station which God and nature have assigned to her." Mrs. A. J. Graves, Woman in America: Being an Examination into the Moral and Intellectual Condition of American Female Society (New York: Harper & Bros., 1841), pp. 143-49. Numerous other writers concurred with these judgments.

6. Barbara Welter, Dimity Convictions: The American Woman in the Nineteenth Century (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 1976), p. 21. During the mid-nineteenth century, the terms "True Woman" and "True Womanhood" were frequently used in writings about women.
7. The piety and purity of "True Womanhood" were favorite themes of many writers. In 1840 a writer insisted that "female irreligion" was "the most revolting feature in human character." "Female Irreligion," Ladies' Companion, Vol. 13 (May-October, 1840), p. III. Another writer praised woman's natural purity, which elevated her "above those sordid and sensual considerations which hold such sway over men." William Alcott, The Young Man's Guide (Boston: Perkins and Marvin, 1836), p. 249.
8. An early nineteenth-century domestic manual admonished its female reader to "adapt yourself to your husband, whatever may be his peculiarities. Again, nature has made man the stronger, the consent of mankind has given him superiority over his wife, his inclination is, to claim his natural and acquired rights. He of course expects from you a degree of condescension, and he feels himself the more confident of the propriety of his claim, when he is informed, that St. Paul adds his authority to its support." Samuel K. Jennings The Married Lady's Companion, or Poor Man's Friend (New York: Lorenzo Dow, 1808), p. 61.
9. Godey's Lady's Book, one of the most popular nineteenth-century periodicals for women, often supported the tenets of "True Womanhood," as in this verse: "Not her hand can build the city / Not her voice should rule the State / She must reign by love and pity / Through her goodness make men great." Godey's Lady's Book (August, 1879). Quoted in June Sochen, Herstory: A Woman's View of American History (New York: Alfred Publishing Co., Inc., 1974), p. 119.
10. Women were warned against becoming "unnatural" or "unsexed" through straying from their appointed sphere. "When she assumes the place and tone of man as a public



- reformer, . . . her character becomes unnatural," the Congregationalist Ministers of Massachusetts warned women abolitionists. "Pastoral Letter of the General Assembly of Massachusetts (Orthodox) to the Churches Under Their Care," The Liberator (Boston), August 7, 1837.
11. Looking back in 1910 on his own life in the nineteenth century, one advocate of "True Womanhood" clung tenaciously to its tenets. "Nature made woman weaker, physically and mentally, than man, and also better and more refined. Man, compared with her, is coarse, strong and aggressive. By confining themselves to the duties for which nature has prepared them, respectively, the better they will harmonize. Let her stay in; let him go out." Charles W. Marsh, Recollections, 1837-1910 (Chicago: Farm Implement News, 1910), p. 298. In the same year, Harper's Weekly published a lengthy poem, which concludes with this stanza: "Let her, the fever and the fuss / Forsaking, bear her part again / To mother us and marry us / And, first and last, to make us men!" Francis Medhurst, "A Ballad of the True Woman," Harper's Weekly, February 26, 1910, p. 3.
  12. The ideal of the "True Woman" is still upheld by many conservative religious groups. Recent popular guide books also advocate the principles of "piety, purity, submissiveness, and domesticity." For example, see Marabel Morgan, The Total Woman (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1973).
  13. Higginson, a Unitarian minister and historian, wrote several books in which he declared the intellectual equality of the sexes and called for their political and economic equality. Wendell Phillips, a noted abolitionist, was often a featured speaker at women's suffrage rallies. The contributions of Anthony, Stone, and Stanton to the fight for women's full participation in American life are recorded by Eleanor Flexner in Century of Struggle: The Woman's Rights Movement in the United States (New York: Atheneum, 1974).
  14. See Amy Cruse, The Victorians and Their Reading (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1935). Chapter XVI traces the origin of the English "New Woman" to the example of Queen Victoria's reign, even though Victoria herself despised the "wicked folly of Women's Rights." As the "New Woman" appeared, a corresponding literature developed, which either disparaged or upheld her (pp. 337-63).
  15. Margaret Gibbons Wilson, The American Woman in Transition: The Urban Influence, 1870-1920 (Westport, CT., and London: Greenwood Press, 1979), p. 3.

16. Ibid., pp. 147-49.
17. Arthur Meier Schlesinger, The Rise of the City, 1878-1898 (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1944), pp. 141-42.
18. In the 1880s, an independent, unconventional type of woman was sometimes described as a "transitional woman." As an example, see Kate Gannett Wells, "The Transitional American Woman," The Atlantic, December, 1880, p. 824. The phrase, "New Woman," began to appear frequently in articles published in the 1890s. Typical articles include Ouida, "The New Woman," The North American Review, May, 1894, pp. 610-19, and Lillian Betts, "The New Woman," Outlook, October 12, 1895, p. 587.
19. It is beyond the scope of this study to follow the myriad twists and turns of the debate between those who upheld the ideal of "True Womanhood" and those who championed the progressive "New Woman." For examples of twentieth-century articles representing one or the other viewpoint, see William M. Salter, "What is the Real Emancipation of Woman?," Atlantic Monthly, January, 1902, pp. 28-35; Margaret Deland, "The New Woman Who Would Do Things," Ladies' Home Journal, September, 1908, p. 17; Edwin Bjorkman, "The Meaning of the New Woman," Collier's Magazine, January 29, 1910, p. 12; Ida M. Tarbell, "Making a Man of Herself," American Magazine, February 1912, pp. 427-30; and James Henle, "The New Woman," Harper's Weekly, November 20, 1915, pp. 502-503.
20. The inner conflicts produced in women by the opposite roles urged upon them have been explored by several writers. Carolyn Forrey's examination of late nineteenth-century novels written by women reveals that their heroines often faced the quandary of either reconciling or choosing between the conflicting ideals of "True Womanhood" or "New Womanhood." The female characters in Louisa May Alcott's Jo's Boys (1886), Sarah Orne Jewett's A Country Doctor (1884), Constance Cary Harrison's A Bachelor Maid (1894), Ellen Glasgow's The Descendent (1897), and in other popular novels of the 1880s and 1890s deal with the problems of the "New Woman" in various ways. Forrey maintains that the inner conflicts experienced by these fictional heroines mirrored the dilemma of many women during these decades. Carolyn Forrey, "The New Woman Revisited," Women's Studies: An Interdisciplinary Journal, Vol. II, No. 1 (1974), pp. 37-56. For differing views of women's inner conflicts, as perceived by early twentieth-century women writers, see such articles as Ella Wheeler Wilcox, "The Restlessness of Modern Woman," Cosmopolitan Magazine, July, 1901, pp. 314-17; Susanne Wilcox, "The Unrest of Modern Woman," The Independent, July 8, 1909, pp. 62-66;

and Ida M. Tarbell, "The Uneasy Woman," American Magazine, January, 1912, pp. 259-62.

21. There are numerous accounts of women who achieved eminence in their chosen field despite opposition from families, friends, and other well-meaning advisers. Some of their stories have been gathered into anthologies, such as The Female Experience: An American Documentary, ed. by Gerda Lerner (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1977). Others are book-length accounts, such as Anna Howard Shaw's The Story of a Pioneer (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1915, 1929).
22. American sculptor Harriet Hosmer (1820-1908) wrote of her decision to forego marriage for such reasons. "Even if so inclined, an artist has no business to marry. For a man, it may be well enough, but for a woman, on whom matrimonial duties and cares weigh more heavily, it is a moral wrong, I think, for she must neglect her profession or her family, becoming neither a good wife and mother nor a good artist. My ambition is to become the latter, so I wage eternal feud with the consolidating knot." Harriet Goodhue Hosmer, Letters and Memories, ed. by Cornelia Carr (London: Lane, 1913), p. 35. Wilson has found that the female labor force was predominantly young and single during the period between 1870 and 1920. Although during the early twentieth century there was an increase in the proportion of married women who worked (from 11.6% in 1890 to 21.1% in 1920), single women still predominated. Wilson, The American Woman in Transition, pp. 119-21, 181. A government report of 1910 listed the percentages of single, married, widowed, and divorced women in the work force for the years of 1890 and 1900. Married women comprised only 12.9% of all working women in 1890; in 1900 they accounted for 14.5% of the total. U.S., Congress, Senate, Report on Condition of Women and Child Wage-Earners in the United States, Vol. IX, History of Women in Industry in the United States, by Helen L. Sumner, S. Doc. 645, 61st Congress, 2d sess., 1910. Another government report on the status of working women, based upon census figures for the period from 1870 to 1920, reveals that in 1920 single women still far outnumbered married women, by four to one in the category of "artists, sculptors and teachers of art" and by five to one in the category of "designer." U.S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Women in Gainful Occupations, 1870-1920, Census Monograph IX, by Joseph Hill (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1929), pp. 182-83.
23. Wilson, The American Woman in Transition, p. 135. In 1916 another writer noted that there were "comparatively few married women gainfully employed outside the home [15% of the total] number of working women, according to the 1910 Census because pride on the part of our native

workmen serves to keep their wives out of the ranks of wage earners." Annie Marion MacLean, Women Workers and Society (Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co., 1916), pp. 38-39.

24. Wilson, The American Woman in Transition, pp. 148-49.
25. The young, unmarried women identified as stained glass artists in late nineteenth-century publications yet who seem to be missing from later records include Anne Goddard Morse (1855-?), Alice Cordelia Morse (1862-?), Donaline (Donaldena) MacDonald (active early 1870s), Mary E. McDowell (active 1890s), Elizabeth Abel (active 1890s), Miss Sears (active 1890s), Sarah Bryant (active 1890s), Mary A. Carter (active 1880s-90s) and Edith Brown (1874-?).
26. The married women in Group 1 include Paula H. Balano (1878-1967), Mary Pemberton Ginther Heyler (?-1959), Erica Karawina Hsaio (1904- ), Ella Condie Lamb (1862-1936), Irene LeCompte (active 1950s), Frances Skinner (1895-1979), Katharine Lamb Tait (1895-1981), Sarah Wyman Whitman (1842-1904), Anne Lee Willet (1866-1943), and Anne Van Derlip Weston (1861-1944). The women in Group 1 who remained single include Helen Maitland Armstrong (1869-1948), Clara Miller Burd (1873-1933), Maude Cowles (1871-1905), Genevieve Cowles (1871-1950), Edith Emerson (1888-1981), Mary Hamilton Frye (1890-?), Isabel Hawxhurst Hall (1888-1952), Alice Denniston Laughlin (1895-1952), Hildreth Meiere (1893-1961), Agnes F. Northop (c.1857-1953), Violet Oakley (1874-1961), Margaret Redmond (1867-1948), Mary E. Tillinghast (1845-1912), Jessie Van Brunt (1862-1947), and Mary F. Wesselhoeft (1873-?).
27. The women in Group 2 who are known to have married include Marietta Minnegerode Andrews (1869-1931), Ida Dougherty Aylward (1878-1955), Jessie Duncan Savage Cole (1858-1940), Louise Howland King Cox (1865-1945), Rosina Emmet Sherwood (1854-1940), Clara Weaver Parrish (?-1945), Frances Janes White (active ca. 1907), Clara Wolcott Driscoll (active 1887-1904+), Fannie Sweeney (active 1920s-1940), Alice Bennett Sotter (active 1920s), and Wilhelmina V. Ogtrop (active 1920s-1930s). The women in Group 2 who were unmarried (or are thought to have been unmarried) when their names were last published include Elizabeth Abel, Ellen Wetherald Ahrens (1859-1935), Margaret Armstrong, Grace Barnes (active 1916), Edith Brown (1874-?), Sarah Bryant, Mary A. Carter (active 1880s-90s), Edith Cowles (1874-?), Mildred Cowles (1876-1929), Lydia Field Emmet (1866-1952), Laura Geckler (1890s-1983), Maria Herndl (?-1912), Katherine Latta, Donaline MacDonald, Mary E. McDowell, Alice Cordelia Morse, Anne Goddard Morse, Miss Parsons, Miss Sears, Minnie Seaver (active 1930s), and E. Eugenia Shepperd (active 1920s).

The above lists include only those artists whose work has been verified to some extent. Other women are listed as stained glass artists in early volumes of the American Art Annual.

Writing in 1900, an American woman artist who lived in England discussed the question of whether women artists should marry or remain single: "The chief obstacle to a woman's success is that she can never have a wife. Just reflect what a wife does for an artist: Darns the stockings; Keeps his house; Writes his letters; Visits for his benefit; Wards off intruders; Is personally suggestive of beautiful pictures; Always an encouraging and partial critic. It is exceedingly difficult to be an artist without this time-saving help. A husband would be quite useless. He would never do any of these disagreeable things. Anna Lea Merritt, "A Letter to Artists, Especially Women Artists," McBride's Magazine, Vol. LXV (1900), pp. 476-68.

28. The married women in Group 1 who had children include Paula Balano, Ella Condie Lamb, Frances Skinner, Katharine Lamb Tait, Anne Lee Willet, and Anne Van Delip Weston. Married women in Group 2 who are known to have had children include Ida Aylward, Jessie Cole, Louise Cox, Rosina Emmet Sherwood, and Marietta Andrews.
29. Anne Lee Willet was the mother of Rachel, Henry Lee, and Elizabeth. Ella Condie Lamb was the mother of Richard, Karl, Katharine, Donald, and Joseph. Frances Skinner was the mother of Charles.
30. Katharine Tait was the mother of Barrie, Robin, Colin, and Kevin.
31. Giles Edgerton, "A Home in a Pasture Lot: Artists Who Live There: How It Was Built and the Life Within," The Craftsman, December, 1907, p. 290. An additional account of family support has come from Katharine Tait's daughter, who writes: "My mother certainly had a role model in her parents, who encouraged and supported her bent. My grandfather backed his wife's and daughter's careers before women even had the vote! But my father is the unsung hero who made it possible for my mother to combine roles. He shared family responsibilities and never felt threatened by her career or success. Such far-sighted men!" Letter from Barrie T. Collins, Bethany, Connecticut, February 19, 1985.
32. Lines written by a "GENTLEMAN who attended the Commencement" at the Young Ladies' Academy of Philadelphia in 1789, quoted in Gerda Lerner, The Female Experience: An American Documentary, p. 211.

33. Josephine Withers, "Artistic Women and Women Artists," Art Journal, Vol. XXXV, No. 4 (Summer, 1976), pp. 330-36.
34. A few trained women artists did practice professionally in America before the mid-nineteenth century. Some, like Henrietta Johnston and Ellen Sharples, were trained abroad before coming to America. Others, such as Ann Hall and Sarah Goodridge, were instructed by private teachers. Still others, who were trained by their artist fathers, include Jane Stuart and the Peale women, Margaretta and Sarah. In addition, some self-taught women painters were professional in the sense that the sold their work. Generally, however, the lives and work of these women, whether trained or untrained, are exceptions to the predominance of domestic artists and schoolgirl artists prior to the mid-1800s.
35. "Women Artists," Southern Review, April, 1869, pp. 301, 303, 313, 315. The anonymous writer concludes his lengthy article with a fervent affirmation of "True Womanhood": "After all, and in spite of all the twaddle of the half-breeched spasmodists, who are fretting to be unsexed, woman is thoroughly aware of the work set apart for her to do in the world: and she goes to her task with a perfect confidence, and that perfect love which casteth out fear. . . . The Bohemian phantasmists may try to lift her from this sphere; the femmes incomprises may knash their teeth at their own incompetence to move aright therein, but the true woman passes on, serene, and smiling, and content, knowing exactly her work, and performing it grandly" (pp. 321-22).
36. Jean Gordon, "Early American Women Artists and the Social Context in Which They Worked," American Quarterly, Vol. XXX, No. 1 (Spring, 1978), pp. 56-58.
37. In 1859 a popular woman novelist warned women against the impropriety of art training: "Art is the most difficult--perhaps, in its highest form, almost impossible to women. There are many reasons for this; in the course of education necessary for a painter, in the most unnatural repugnance that is felt to women's drawing from 'the life,' attending anatomical dissections, and so on--all which studies are indispensable to one who would plumb the depths and scale the heights of the most arduous of the liberal arts." Dinah M. Craik, A Woman's Thoughts About Women (New York: Rudd & Carleton, 1859), p. 50.
38. The long exclusion of women from the art academies of Europe and England is discussed by Ann Sutherland Harris and Linda Nochlin in Women Artists: 1550-1950, exhibition catalogue (New York: Los Angeles County Museum of Art and Alfred Knopf, 1976), pp. 36-53.

39. Christine Jones Huber, The Pennsylvania Academy and Its Women, exhibition catalogue (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, 1973), p. 21. (Hereinafter referred to as Pennsylvania Academy.)
40. Elsa Honig Fine, Women & Art: A History of Women Painters and Sculptors from the Renaissance to the 20th Century (Montclair, NJ: Allenheld & Schram, 1978), p. 95. (Hereinafter referred to as Women & Art.)
41. Charlotte Streifer Rubenstein, American Women Artists: From Early Indian Times to the Present (New York: Avon Books, 1982), p. 441, n. 3. (Hereinafter referred to as American Women Artists.)
42. In her early study of women artists, Elizabeth Ellet discussed their usual choice of subject matter: "The kind of painting, thus, in which the object is prominent has been most practiced by female artists. Portraits, landscapes, flowers, and pictures of animals are in favor among them. Historical or allegorical subjects have been comparatively neglected; and, perhaps, a sufficient reason for this has been that they could not command the years of study necessary for the attainment of eminence in these." Elizabeth Fries Lummet Ellet, Women Artists in All Ages and Countries (New York: Harper & Bros., 1859), p. 22.
43. "Woman's Position in Art," The Crayon, February, 1860, p. 26.
44. Susan N. Carter, "Women in the Field of Art-Work," The North American Review, September, 1892, p. 384.
45. "Art-Work for Women, Part I," The Art Journal (London), March 1, 1872, p. 65; Part II, 1872, p. 102.
46. Harris and Nochlin, Women Artists: 1550-1950, p. 59.
47. Ibid., p. 60.
48. Fine, Women & Art, pp. 171, 174.
49. Rozsika Parker and Griselda Pollock would answer Harris and Nochlin in the affirmative, inasmuch as they see the hierarchy of the arts as having its roots in class and sex stratification. See Parker and Pollock, Old Mistresses: Women, Art and Ideology (London and Henley: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1981), Chapter III, "Crafty Women and the Hierarchy of the Arts."
50. Thomas Woody notes that "by 1860 there were eight Eastern states . . . in which the excess of women was marked, totalling 74,360 more than men." Woody, Women's Education, Vol. II, pp. 1-2. The surplus of excess

women was, of course, much greater after the Civil War. As late as 1887, Mary Livermore observed that "in the Eastern and Middle States of the Union, there are nearly half a million more women than men," due primarily to the westward migration but also to their self-destructive drinking habits and the "inevitable fatalities attending the pursuits of men in pleasure and business, by overwork, and excessive haste to be rich." Mary A. Livermore, "Superfluous Women," The Chautauquan, January, 1887, pp. 216-17.

51. Arthur MacArthur, Education and Its Relation to Manual Industry (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1884), p. 83.
52. Earlier fine arts educational institutions had been the Columbianum or Art Academy of Painting, Sculpture, and Architecture, founded by Charles Willson Peale in 1795, and the American Academy of Fine Arts, founded in 1802. Fine, Women & Art, p. 95.
53. Huber, Pennsylvania Academy, p. 12.
54. Ibid., pp. 13, 21, 23.
55. William Brownell, "The Art Schools of Philadelphia," Scribner's Monthly, September, 1879, pp. 737-50.
56. Ibid., 740. Also see Christine Havice, "In a Class by Herself: 19th Century Images of the Woman Artist as Student," Woman's Art Journal, Vol. II, No. 1 (Spring-Summer, 1981), p. 38.
57. Harris and Nochlin, Women Artists: 1550-1950, p. 53.
58. Unless otherwise noted, the biographical information on women artists in this study was obtained from the following sources: American Art Annual, 27 vols. (Washington, D.C.: American Federation of Arts, 1903-1921); Avery Obituary Index of Architects and Artists (Boston: G. K. Hall & Co., 1963); Helen L. Earle, ed., Biographical Sketches of American Artists (Lansing, MI: Michigan State Library, 1924); Clara Erskine Clement, Women in the Fine Arts from the Seventh Century B.C. to the Twentieth Century A.D. (New York: Hacker Art Books, 1974), a reprint of the original edition of 1904; J. L. Collins, Women Artists in America: Eighteenth Century to the Present, 3 vols. (Chattanooga: University of Tennessee Art Department, 1973-1975); Mantle Fielding, Dictionary of American Painters, Sculptors & Engravers (New York: Paul A. Struck, 1945); Durward Howes, ed., American Women: The Official Who's Who Among the Women of the Nation, 3 vols. (Los Angeles, CA: Richard Blank Publishing Company, 1935-1939); National Cyclopedia of American Biography (New York: James T. White & Company,



1898-1980); Mabel W. Cameron and Emma C. Lee, eds., Biographical Cyclopedia of American Women, 2 vols. (New York: Halvard Publishing Co., 1924); Arnold T. Schwab, A Matter of Life and Death: Vital Biographical Facts About Selected American Artists (New York and London: Garland Publishing Co., 1977); Ralph Clifton Smith, Biographical Index of American Artists (Baltimore: The Williams & Wilkins Co., 1930); Who Was Who in America: A Companion Volume to Who's Who in American History, 7 vols. (Chicago: The A. N. Marquis Company, 1943-1981); Who's Who in American Art, 16 vols. (Washington, D.C.: The American Federation of Arts, 1935-1984); Who's Who of American Women, 14 vols. (Chicago: A. N. Marquis Company, 1958-1984); Daniel Trowbridge Mallett, Index of Artists (New York: R. R. Bowker Co., 1935, 1940); Supplement to Mallett's Index of Artists (New York: Peter Smith, 1948); and William Young, ed., A Dictionary of American Artists, Sculptors, and Engravers: From the Beginnings through the Turn of the Twentieth Century (Cambridge, MA: William Young and Co., 1968).

59. Ahrens, who studied under Eakins while at the Academy, was noted for her portraits and miniatures. Clara Erskine Clement refers to her as a designer of stained glass windows. Clement, Women in the Fine Arts from the Seventh Century B.C. to the Twentieth Century A.D., pp. 5-6.
60. Willet studied under painter Thomas Anshutz, who assisted Eakins and succeeded him as director when Eakins resigned. Redmond studied at the Pennsylvania Academy for five years, with Eakins, Anshutz, and William Merritt Chase.
61. Huber, Pennsylvania Academy, pp. 23-24.
62. U.S., Bureau of Labor, Seventh Annual Report of the Commissioner of Labor, 1902: Trade And Technical Education (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1902), p. 257. (Hereinafter referred to as Trade and Technical Education.)
63. Anthea Callen, Women Artists of the Arts & Crafts Movement, 1870-1914 (New York: Pantheon Books, 1979), p. 43.
64. J. D. Kershaw, "Philadelphia School of Design for Women," The Sketch Book, April, 1905, p. 190.
65. Woody, Women's Education, Vol. II, p. 77.
66. Kershaw, "Philadelphia School of Design for Women," pp. 194, 200.

67. Among Balano's students at the Philadelphia School of Design for Women was the late artist Alice Neel (1900-1984), who expressed great admiration for her former teacher. The Philadelphia School of Design for Women is now the Moore College of Art. Rubenstein, American Women Artists, p. 381.
68. Kershaw, "Philadelphia School of Design for Women," p. 188.
69. Huber, Pennsylvania Academy, p. 20.
70. May Wright Sewall, ed., The World's Congress of Representative Women (Chicago and New York: Rand, McNally & Company, 1894), p. 568.
71. Ibid.
72. The Countess of Aberdeen, ed., Women in Professions, Being the Professional Section of The International Congress of Women, London, July, 1899 (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1900), Vol. III, pp. 67-69. (Hereinafter referred to as Women in Professions.) At the same International Congress of Women, a paper entitled "Glass Painting" was presented by Mary Lowndes of Great Britain, in a session on "Special Aptitudes of Women for Handicrafts." See Women in Professions, Vol. IV, pp. 195-97.
73. U.S., Bureau of Labor, Trade and Technical Education (1902), p. 133.
74. Ibid., pp. 135, 138.
75. Letter from Helene Weis, Librarian, Willet Stained Glass Studios, Philadelphia, May 3, 1984.
76. U.S., Bureau of Labor, Eighth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Labor, 1892: Industrial Education (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1892), p. 95. (Hereinafter referred to as Industrial Education.)
77. Catalog for 1892-1893, Drexel Institute of Art, Science and Industry, Papers of Drexel Institute of Art, Science and Industry, Microfilm Roll No. P3, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.
78. Ibid., pp. 37, 126, 237.
79. Helene Weis, "Some Notes on Early Philadelphia Stained Glass," Stained Glass, Vol. I, No. 1 (Spring, 1976), p. 26.

80. Letter from Helene Weis, Philadelphia, May 3, 1984. Also, Countess of Aberdeen, ed., Women in Professions, Vol. III, p. 68.
81. Jeanne Madeline Weimann, The Fair Women (Chicago: Academy Chicago, 1981), pp. 421-22. Abel was sent to the Exposition by the New Century Club of Philadelphia. She gave her demonstrations in the Process Room of the Woman's Building.
82. Letter from Helene Weis, Philadelphia, May 3, 1984.
83. Ibid.
84. Weis, "Some Notes on Early Philadelphia Stained Glass," p. 26.
85. U.S., Bureau of Labor, Trade and Technical Education (1902), pp. 399-400.
86. Rubenstein, American Women Artists, p. 441. Fine, Women & Art, p. 95.
87. Fine, Women & Art, pp. 95-96.
88. Eliot Clark, History of the National Academy of Design, 1825-1953 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1954), p. 282. The Dodge Prize was later discontinued.
89. Three Hallgarten Prizes were given at each of the annual exhibitions. Ibid.
90. Julie Graham has observed that "out of its approximately 1300 Members and Associate Members from 1825 to 1953, only 75 were women." Julie Graham, "American Women Artists' Groups: 1867-1930," Woman's Art Journal, Vol. I, No. 1 (Spring-Summer, 1980), p. 8. Four other women in this study were elected to membership in the National Academy of Design, although they did not train there. These include Lydia Field Emmet, Hildreth Meière, Violet Oakley, and Rosina Emmet Sherwood.
91. Marchal E. Landgren, Years of Art: The Story of the Art Students League of New York (New York: Robert M. McBride & Company, 1940), pp. 17-19, 23. (Hereinafter referred to as Years of Art.)
92. William C. Brownell, "The Art Schools of New York," Scribner's Monthly, October, 1878, p. 776.
93. Landgren, Years of Art, p. 112.
94. In 1881 a woman newspaper columnist reported on her visit to the women's life class at the League, where she had gone to observe its propriety. Describing the

students' attitude toward their male model, she said, "It was a workshop in the strictest sense, and they were fully engrossed by the necessity of having their task nearly completed before the Professor came to pass judgement. . . . Anything further from any sense of impropriety could not be imagined, simply because there was no suggestion of sex about the matter." Quoted in Landgren, Years of Art, p. 50.

95. Ibid., pp. 59, 66.
96. Ibid., p. 67.
97. Inasmuch as three of Van Brunt's teachers were Kenyon Cox, Robert Reid, and H. Siddons Mowbray, all of whom taught at the Art Students League, Van Brunt may have been a student there.
98. Woody, Women's Education, p. 77.
99. U.S., Bureau of Labor, Trade and Technical Education (1902), pp. 235-36.
100. Alice Hyneman Rhine, "Woman in Industry," in Woman's Work in America, ed. by Annie Nathan Meyer (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1891), p. 289.
101. Ibid.
102. Carter, "Women in the Field of Art-Work," p. 382.
103. May Denton, "Art Student Life in New York," Art and Progress, September 1912, p. 710.
104. "Miss Mary Adaline Edwarda Carter," American Women, ed. by Frances Elizabeth Willard and Mary Ashton Livermore (New York: Mast, Crowell & Kirkpatrick, 1897), Vol. I, p. 157; "Miss Alice Cordelia Morse," A Woman of the Century: Leading American Women in All Walks of Life, ed. by Frances E. Willard and Mary A. Livermore (Buffalo, Chicago and New York: Charles Wells Moulton, 1893), p. 523; David Adams, "The Last Stained Glass Lamb: Katharine Lamb Tait, 1895-1981," Stained Glass, Vol. LXXVII, No. 1 (Spring, 1982), p. 42.
105. U.S., Bureau of Labor, Industrial Education (1892), p. 109.
106. Willard and Livermore, American Women, Vol. I, p. 209.
107. U.S., Bureau of Labor, Trade and Technical Education (1902), pp. 262-63.
108. Florence Elizabeth Cory, "The Contribution of Women to the Applied Arts," in The World's Congress of

Representative Women, ed. by May Wright Sewall (Chicago and New York: Rand, McNally & Company, 1894), pp. 565-66.

109. U.S., Bureau of Labor, Trade and Technical Education (1902), p. 263.
110. Ibid., pp. 265-66.
111. It seems unlikely that Van Brunt was a student at the school. When it was founded in 1892, she was about thirty years old and had already been trained by La Farge and probably also at the Art Students League. In 1882 she had graduated from Packer Collegiate Institute, where she eventually became art director.
112. Theodore Dreiser, "The Making of Stained-Glass Windows," Cosmopolitan, January, 1899, pp. 243-52.
113. The article features illustrations of a window design in three stages: cartoon, paper patterns, and finished window. Neither the designer of the window nor the studio is identified. However, all three illustrations appear in another recent publication where they are identified as a Tiffany window, The Education of the Virgin, designed by Frederick Wilson in 1897. See Alastair Duncan, Tiffany Windows (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1980), p. 79.
114. Dreiser, "The Making of Stained-Glass Windows," p. 247.
115. Ibid., p. 244.
116. Ibid., p. 260. Dreiser probably refers to Louise Cox.
117. Louis C. Tiffany, "American Art Supreme in Colored Glass," The Forum, July, 1893, p. 627.
118. Cecilia Waern, "The Industrial Arts of America: The Tiffany Glass and Decorative Co.," The Studio, August, 1897, p. 157.
119. Duncan, Tiffany Windows, p. 77.
120. Ibid., pp. 73-74.
121. Tiffany recruited Carter to do a variety of designing work, including several windows, for the Associated Artists. Willard and Livermore, American Women, Vol. I, p. 157. Morse designed windows for Tiffany after an apprenticeship with La Farge. Willard and Livermore, Woman of the Century, p. 523. Driscoll, who headed Tiffany's Lamp department, is said by Helene Weis to have designed many of the floral windows. Letter from Helene Weis, Philadelphia, May 3, 1984.

122. H. Barbara Weinberg, The Decorative Work of John La Farge (New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1977), pp. 381-83.
123. James Sturm, Stained Glass from Medieval Times to the Present: Treasures to Be Seen in New York (New York: E. P. Dutton, Inc., 1982), p. 46.
124. One biographical source says that Jessie Cole "assisted John La Farge in stained glass work and murals and executed murals for Harvard University and several famous American churches and homes." See "Jessie Duncan Savage Cole," Current Biography: Who's News and Why, ed. by Maxine Block (New York: The H. W. Wilson Co., 1940), Vol. I, p. 183. Her obituary states that she painted murals at Harvard's Memorial Hall, the Cornelius Vanderbilt house at New York, and St. Thomas Church at New York. These were all commissions of John La Farge. The New York Times, October 28, 1940, p. 17. However, Jessie Cole's name does not appear in discussions of La Farge and his work.
125. Frank Jewett Mather, Jr., "John La Farge: An Appreciation," World's Work, March, 1911, p. 14087.
126. Ibid.
127. Grace Humphrey, "The Blashfield Windows," International Studio, September, 1916, p. LX.
128. Mather, "John La Farge: An Appreciation," p. 14092.
129. Martha J. Hoppin, "Women Artists in Boston, 1870-1900: The Pupils of William Morris Hunt," American Art Journal, Vol. XIII, No. 1 (Winter, 1981), p. 18. (Hereinafter referred to as "Women Artists in Boston".)
130. James Parton Haney, ed., Art Education in the Public Schools of the United States: A Symposium Prepared Under the Auspices of the American Committee of the Third International Congress for the Development of Drawing and Art Teaching, London, August, 1908 (New York: American Art Annual, 1908), p. 26. The school's director was Walter Smith, whose favorable views toward art training for women were set forth in his book, Art Education, Scholastic and Industrial (Boston: James R. Osgood and Company, 1872).
131. U.S., Bureau of Labor, Trade and Technical Education (1902), p. 271.
132. H. Winthrop Peirce, The History of the School of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1877-1929 (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1930), p. 9. (Hereinafter referred to as School of Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.)

133. U.S., Bureau of Labor, Trade and Technical Education (1902), pp. 252-53.
134. Peirce, School of Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, pp. 17, 23, 38-40, 90-91. Letter from Betty S. Smith, South Harpswell, Maine, October 27, 1984. Smith's research on Whitman is not yet published. Also, Ethel M. Desborough, "Sarah de St. Prix Wyman Whitman (Mrs. Henry)," typewritten manuscript, Sarah Wyman Whitman Papers, Arthur and Elizabeth Schlesinger Library on the History of Women in America, Radcliffe College, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
135. Hoppin, "Women Artists in Boston," pp. 19, 27-31.
136. Whitman studied with Hunt for three seasons. Later she studied with Thomas Couture in France. Neither could have taught her the art of making stained glass windows, a skill she must have learned from La Farge. Letter from Betty S. Smith, South Harpswell, Maine, October 27, 1984.
137. Sarah W. Whitman, "William Morris Hunt," International Review, April, 1880, p. 396.
138. Alice Irma Prather-Moses and John Gilbert Lloyd refer to her as "Donaline." Orin E. Skinner and Mason Hammond give her name as "Donalena." Helene Weis says her name may have been "Donaldena." See Prather-Moses, The International Dictionary of Women Workers in the Decorative Arts (Metuchen, NJ, and London: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1981), p. 104; Lloyd, Stained Glass in America (Jenkintown, PA: Foundation Books, 1963), p. 49; Skinner, "Women in Stained Glass, Part I," Stained Glass, Vol. XXXV, No. 4 (Winter, 1940), pp. 113-14; Mason Hammond, "The Stained Glass Windows in Memorial Hall, Harvard University," mimeographed manuscript (Cambridge: Harvard University, 1978), p. 27. (Hereinafter referred to as "Memorial Hall.") Letter from Helene Weis, Philadelphia, May 3, 1984.
139. Charles J. Connick, Adventures in Light and Color: An Introduction to the Stained Glass Craft (London: George G. Harrop & Co., Ltd., 1937), pp. 411-12. (Hereinafter referred to as Adventures in Light and Color.) MacDonald's north transept window was replaced in 1898 with the Brimmer Window, designed by Sarah Wyman Whitman. Its present location is unknown. The Brimmer Window was moved to the south transept in late 1902 or early 1903 and MacDonald's south window, The Names of the Virtues, to its present north location. The exchange may have been made to allow more light through the dark Brimmer Window. Hammond, "Memorial Hall," pp. 34-37, 279-82.

140. Prather-Moses and Lloyd mention Donaline in connection with the Great West Window. Skinner lists both the Great West Window and the present north window as those on which "Donalena" may have worked. Hammond states that she is said to have helped on "some, if not all," the three main windows made by her father. See the citations in the note above.
141. Lloyd, Stained Glass in America, p. 43. Prather-Moses, Women Workers in the Decorative Arts, pp. 101-102.
142. Between 1883 and 1902, La Farge designed five windows for Trinity Church: Christ in Majesty (1883); The New Jerusalem (1884); Purity (1885); Presentation of Mary at the Temple (1888); and The Resurrection (1902).
143. Bettina A. Norton, ed., Trinity Church: The Story of an Episcopal Parish in the City of Boston (Boston: The Wardens & Vestry of Trinity Church in the City of Boston, 1978), p. 38.
144. Weinberg, The Decorative Work of John La Farge, pp. 97-98. Weinberg identifies the assistants as John du Fais, George Maynard, Francis Lathrop, Augustus Saint-Gaudens, Frank Millet, Sidney L. Smith, Edwin G. Champney, and George L. Rose.
145. Royal Cortissoz later quoted La Farge as saying that he "had the charge of ten to fifteen artists" at Trinity Church. Cortissoz, John La Farge, A Memoir and a Study (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1911), p. 159. Cited by Weinberg, The Decorative Work of John La Farge, pp. 99-100.
146. Henry Adams, Democracy and Esther, two novels (Gloucester, MA: Peter Smith, 1965). Esther was originally published in 1884 under the pseudonym of Frances Snow Compton.
147. The church in Adams's novel, "St. John's in New York", is said to represent Trinity Church, Boston; "Wharton," the artist in charge of decorating St. John's, is seen as La Farge; "Stephen Hazard," the rector of St. John's, is supposedly modeled after Phillips Brooks, Trinity's rector. Other parallels can be drawn between the murals and windows of St. John's and those of Trinity. Ernst Scheyer, The Circle of Henry Adams: Art & Artists (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1970), pp. 160-62.
148. Adams, Esther, p. 247.
149. Sarah Whitman taught a Bible class at Trinity Church for thirty-three years. In 1895 she designed a memorial window for Phillips Brooks, who had died in



1893. The window was installed in 1896 in the Parish House library, as a gift from Whitman and members of her Bible class. When Whitman died in 1904, a memorial service was held for her at Trinity Church. Desborough, "Sarah de St. Prix Wyman Whitman (Mrs. Henry)," Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe College, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
150. John Jay Chapman, Memories and Milestones (New York: Moffat, Yard and Company, 1915), pp. 106-107. Chapman mentions Royce, Holmes, and Lowell in his memories of gatherings at Whitman's home and studio. Whitman was also a friend of the parents of Samuel Eliot Morrison.
  151. Whitman's art training was with William Morris Hunt, Thomas Couture, and possibly William Rimmer, none of whom could have taught her the medium of stained glass. She could have learned the art only from La Farge, whom she knew personally and whose work she watched in progress at Trinity Church and Memorial Hall. Whitman's own windows at Memorial Hall include the Brimmer Memorial Window, installed in 1898, and the Honor & Peace Window, installed in 1900. Betty Smith suggests that the figure of the warrior in the first window was based on a drawing by La Farge and that the second window utilizes La Farge's techniques of "streaked glass, wrinkled glass, cut glass and opalescent glass," which he had employed in his Battle Window, installed at Memorial Hall in 1881. Letters from Betty S. Smith, South Harpswell, Maine, October 27, 1984, and December 6, 1984. Margaret Redmond also was inspired by La Farge to work in stained glass. She once wrote, "Knowing Mr. La Farge, my interest in stained and leaded glass led me to study the old windows abroad." Letter to Orin E. Skinner from Margaret Redmond, March 15, 1940. Papers of Margaret Redmond, Microfilm Roll No. 876, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.
  152. Skinner, "Women in Stained Glass, Part I," pp. 121-22. The lives and work of the three last-named artists do not fall within the time limits of this study. Moreover, Williams is a Canadian artist.
  153. Letter from Erica Karawina, Honolulu, June 30, 1984.
  154. Ibid.
  155. Woody, Women's Education, Vol. II, p. 381. Woody's figures are based on Statistical Abstracts of the U.S. for 1910, 1914, and 1924.
  156. U.S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Women in Gainful Occupations, 1870-1920, by Joseph A. Hill, Census Monograph IX (Washington, D.C.: Government

Printing Office, 1929), pp. 182-83, Table 115.

157. Huber, Pennsylvania Academy, p. 16.
158. The prestigious Ecole des Beaux-Arts at Paris did not admit women until 1896. Women were denied entrance to the Academy of Rome throughout the nineteenth century. The Royal Academy of England admitted a few persistent women but placed restrictions on their training. The state academies in Germany were still closed to women as late as the 1880s. Rubenstein, American Women Artists, p. 93.
159. Jo Ann Wein, "The Parisian Training of American Women Artists," Woman's Art Journal, Vol. II, No. 1 (Spring-Summer, 1981), pp. 42-43.
160. Ibid. Wein states that the men and women students at Julian's shared the same life classes during the early 1870s; however, by 1879 they had been separated into two groups, the usual arrangement at other schools.
161. May Alcott, the artist sister of Louisa May Alcott, complained in 1879 that women at Julien's had to pay twice the amount paid by men. She urged women to form their own class, rent a studio, and hire a critic and model, in order to reduce their costs. May Alcott Nieriker, Studying Abroad and How to Do it Cheaply (Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1879), p. 48.
162. Wein, "The Parisian Training of American Women Artists," pp. 42-43. One student wrote in 1886 that "the actual teaching is not, perhaps, the strong point so much as the regular work, and the advantage of working amongst others, which, in some studios, where the average of achievement is high, is of infinitely more practical use than any number of lessons, when the student sees no other drawings than his or her own." E. E. Somerville, "An 'Atelier des Dames,'" The Magazine of Art, Vol. IX (1886), p. 153. Students also received encouragement through the awarding of medals for their work and their behavior. Clara Miller Burd's diary, kept during her year of study at Paris, speaks of the "medaille" she received at Colarossi's for her "good drawing and excellent deportment." Clara Burd Diary, 1898-99, courtesy of Margaret B. Franklin.
163. Herkomer's autobiography reveals his disdain for his women students and his inflexible rule that they should be unmarried. Even widowed women were not permitted to attend. To one married applicant, he said, "Go home and make puddings." Hubert van Herkomer My School and My Gospel (London, 1908), p. 13. Quoted in Germaine

Greer, The Obstacle Race: The Fortunes of Women Painters and Their Work (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1979), p. 358, n. 16.

164. Women students in Munich paid for private lessons from teachers who visited them once or twice weekly at the women's rented studios whereas men students who had had previous training at the academy were given free studios and instruction. Charlotte J. Weeks, "Lady Art-Students in Munich," The Magazine of Art, Vol. IV (1881), pp. 343-47.
165. Clara Burd's diary includes several references to the windows she saw at Paris, including the "glorious" windows at the Musée de Cluny, the "most delicate and brilliant stained glass" at Ste. Chapelle, and the "rainbow-like" windows at Notre Dame, where the "sun shining through them on the stone sets the massive pillars all ablaze!" Clara Burd Diary, 1898-99.
166. Katherine Louise Smith, "Women in the Art Crafts," Brush and Pencil, November, 1900, p. 79.
167. Graham, "American Women Artists' Groups: 1867-1930," p. 9.
168. Ibid., p. 10.
169. Ibid., p. 11.
170. Harris and Nochlin, Women Artists: 1550-1950, p. 41.
171. Linda Nochlin, "Why Have There Been No Great Women Artists?," in Art and Sexual Politics: Women's Liberation, Women Artists, and Art History, ed. by Thomas B. Hess and Elizabeth C. Baker (New York: Collier Books, 1973), p. 30.
172. Ibid. Also see Greer, The Obstacle Race, p. 12.
173. Greer, The Obstacle Race, p. 13.
174. See quotation on page 74.
175. Geneva Armstrong, Woman in Art (privately printed, no date), p. 190.
176. Adams, The Last Stained Glass Lamb Katharine Lamb Tait, 1895-1981," pp. 42-43.
177. For example, see Mantle Fielding, Dictionary of American Painters, Sculptors & Engravers (New York: Paul A. Struck, 1945), p. 410.

178. Her son, Henry Lee Willet, claimed that his mother had never been a designer of windows. For a time Henry Willet operated his own studio. He subsequently bought from Ann Willet the right to use the Willet name in his own business. Letter from Helene Weis, Philadelphia, August 21, 1980.
179. Frances and Orin Skinner's son Charles died in the Second World War, when his transport ship was torpedoed on Christmas Eve, 1944. Orin E. Skinner, "An Autobiography," Stained Glass, Vol. LXXII, No. 4 (Winter, 1977-78), p.233.
180. Ibid., p. 234.
181. Connick, Adventures in Light and Color, p. 400.

### CHAPTER III

#### THE RELIGIOUS WORLD

Religious developments were significant components of the cultural context in which American women were active as stained glass artists during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Social, economic, and religious factors contributed to an overall increase in church membership, the formation of new congregations, the construction of numerous houses of worship, and a renewed interest in liturgical worship, enhanced by symbolic architectural and decorative settings. In addition, the relationship of women to the church was gradually changing, just as women's position in society as a whole was evolving. Such trends provided greater opportunities for women to become involved in the production of stained glass windows for new or remodeled worship facilities. Moreover, personal religious motives, as well as economic and social factors, inspired the work of some of the women artists in this study. These general developments and individual attitudes are examined as important aspects of the religious climate that prevailed during the period when America's first women stained glass artists flourished.

The Rise in Religious Organizations,  
Buildings, and Membership

The final decades of the nineteenth century witnessed an impressive rise in the number of religious congregations, ecclesiastical buildings, and individual members of religious groups. Statistics obtained through the 1890 census indicated that the total number of religious organizations, or congregations, had more than doubled in twenty years, increasing from 72,459 in 1870 to 165,177 in 1890, a net gain of 92,718 or nearly 128 percent. Similarly, the number of church buildings had increased from 63,082 in 1870 to 142,521 in 1890, a net gain of 79,439, or nearly 126 percent.<sup>1</sup> Because the 1870 census did not include membership figures, the exact rise in the number of communicants between 1870 and 1890 is not known. However, by using figures in the 1880 yearbooks of the twenty-one leading Protestant denominations, it is possible to determine a combined membership increase of 42.05 percent for those denominations during the decade ending in 1890. Inasmuch as the population increase of the entire country for the same ten-year period was only 24.86 percent, the increase in church membership for the major Protestant sector was more than 17 percent greater than population growth for the nation as a whole.<sup>2</sup>

Roman Catholic membership also rose dramatically during the latter half of the nineteenth century. By 1890, there were over six million Catholics reported in the United States, almost triple the number of the next largest

religious body, the Methodist Episcopal denomination. Comparisons with figures for previous years are not possible, since the Catholic yearbooks gave statistics for the Catholic population, including all baptized persons, whereas census statistics were for actual communicants. Nevertheless, the large influx of Roman Catholics from French Canada, Ireland, Germany, Poland, Italy and other European countries during the second half of the century virtually guaranteed a corresponding increase in Catholic church membership.<sup>3</sup>

Sixteen years later the Bureau of the Census reported additional gains. The number of religious bodies, including all denominations, had reached 212,230, up from 165,151 in 1890, or 28.5 percent.<sup>4</sup> The number of church edifices for all denominations had risen 35.3 percent, from 142,487 in 1890 to 192,795 in 1906.<sup>5</sup> The combined church membership of all reporting denominations totaled 32,936,445, an increase of 60.4 percent over the combined total of 20,597,954 members reported in 1890.<sup>6</sup>

The surge in church membership reflected in census statistics was confirmed by contemporary observers. Writing in 1886, Josiah Strong, the General Secretary of the Evangelical Alliance, called attention to the remarkable growth of Roman Catholicism:

From 1850 to 1880 the population increased 116 per cent, the communicants of evangelical churches 185 per cent, and the Romanist population 294 per cent. During the same period the number of evangelical churches increased 125 per cent, and the number of evangelical ministers 173 per cent, while Roman Catholic churches increased 447 per cent and priests 391 per cent.<sup>7</sup>

Several factors contributed to the growth of organized religion. Church extension programs conducted by the major Protestant denominations accounted for much of the increase in church membership, new congregations, and new buildings. In the 1880s, when the noted skeptic Robert G. Ingersoll charged that "the churches are dying out all over the land," Charles C. McCabe, a leader of the Methodist Church Extension Society, wired this reply:

DEAR ROBERT:

"All hail the power of Jesus' name"-- we are building more than one Methodist church for every day in the year and propose to make it two a day!

C. C. McCABE<sup>8</sup>

Many new Baptist churches also were established in the West, on sites that Baptist leaders had persuaded the railroads to donate in communities along their rights-of-way. Other denominations, notably the Presbyterians and Congregationalists, conducted similar programs of church extension in newly settled western areas that sprang up along the rail lines.<sup>9</sup> Robert T. Handy reports that "by the 1880s Protestant mission and extension societies were raising four million dollars a year for planting churches in new territories."<sup>10</sup> One of the Presbyterian missionaries, Sheldon Jackson, established many churches in the West and had prefabricated church buildings shipped to the prairie states where lumber was difficult to obtain.<sup>11</sup>

Immigration was another major cause of the increase in church membership, congregations, buildings, and even denominations. The flow of immigrants throughout the 1800s swelled significantly in the second half of the century and



reached its peak in the first decade of the present century. During the thirty-year period from 1821 through 1850, the total number of immigrants to this country was slightly under two and a half million. After 1850, immigrants arrived by the millions in every decade, with nearly nine million entering between 1901 and 1910.<sup>12</sup> Between 1850 and 1900, almost seventeen million people entered the country as immigrants. In the first three decades of this century, another eighteen and a half million arrived, before Congressional restrictions in the 1920s stemmed the tide.<sup>13</sup> As Winthrop Hudson points out, the magnitude of this influx is better appreciated by recalling that the total population of the country at the end of the Civil War was just over thirty million.<sup>14</sup> Migration on such a massive scale was bound to have an impact on the religious life of the nation, just as it would affect other aspects of American society.

The immigrants brought with them their religious beliefs, traditions, and denominational preferences, including Roman Catholicism, Eastern Orthodoxy, Judaism, and various forms of Protestantism. In his analysis of the last group, Sydney Ahlstrom has identified five types of Protestant immigrants, based upon their adjustment to the American religious scene: (1) Nominal members of European state churches, unaffiliated, or even anticlerical individuals; (2) sectarians, such as Mennonites, who were seeking greater freedom of worship; (3) deeply religious but dissatisfied members of European state churches; (4) loyal members of European state churches who affiliated with

American branches of their mother churches; and (5) members of state churches who organized new, independent churches based upon the doctrines and traditions of their mother churches.<sup>15</sup>

The first and third types of Protestant immigrants provided a field of potential converts for existing American churches, most of which made concerted evangelistic efforts to win them. Those in the fourth group also increased the membership rolls of established American churches. The second and fifth types of Protestant immigrants contributed not only to the rise in church membership but also to the increased number of congregations, church buildings, and even new denominations, such as the Christian Reformed Church, Evangelical Church Union of the West, and various Lutheran sects. The desire of many immigrants, both Catholic and Protestant, to worship in their native languages was another factor that encouraged the formation of numerous congregations and the construction of additional worship facilities within the same denominations and communities.

The flood of immigration in the second half of the century replaced the predominantly Protestant orientation and British background of American society with a religious and ethnic pluralism; it altered the relative strength of denominational groups; and it tended to deposit the newcomers in urban areas, changing the ethnic composition of the cities and aggravating the growing problems of poverty, crime, and slum housing.<sup>16</sup> Those who came from Ireland,

Italy, Poland and other central and southern European countries were primarily Catholic; German newcomers were either Catholic or Lutheran; Scandinavians were mainly Lutheran; eastern Europeans adhered to Eastern Orthodox traditions or to forms of Judaism. Winthrop Hudson observes that the arrival of these groups transformed the ethnic and religious character of the population:

By the end of the century the Lutherans had outdistanced the Presbyterians and were exceeded in number of adherents among Protestants only by the Methodists and Baptists. Eastern Orthodoxy had been launched on its American career, and even Buddhism had made its appearance on the Pacific coast. But the most spectacular feature of the post-Civil War years was the growth of the Roman Catholic Church.<sup>17</sup>

The majority of the Scandinavian immigrants and numerous Germans settled in the upper Midwestern farm lands. Other immigrant groups, as well as many Germans, gravitated into the cities, where there might be employment. The most common religious preference among the ethnic groups that settled in the urban centers was Roman Catholicism. By 1900 there were twelve million Catholic communicants in the country, ten million of whom were urban immigrants, mainly from Germany and Ireland but from other European countries as well.<sup>18</sup> Their diverse languages and ethnic backgrounds created tensions within the Catholic community, while the growing antagonism of many Protestant leaders and groups produced external problems for the Catholic clergy and their parishioners. Such problems as anti-Catholicism, nativism, German-Irish conflicts within Catholicism, and theological disputes over the "Americanism" of liberal

Catholics are beyond the scope of this study, except to note that the Roman Catholic church grew quickly in spite of these difficulties.

To meet the spiritual needs of the Catholic immigrants, priests were recruited, parishes formed, and churches erected at a rapid rate.<sup>19</sup> After a bitter dispute over parochial education was finally settled in the 1880s, Catholic schools also were built in many of the parishes. The urgent need to construct facilities for their newly-organized parishes and schools established practical priorities for local Catholic leaders:

Roman Catholics in America, of necessity, had little time for creative reflection. Most of the priests and bishops were forced to be "brick and mortar" men rather than theologians. Their major preoccupation was building new churches and institutions to minister to the tremendous influx of Catholics from abroad.<sup>20</sup>

Aaron Abell, like other historians, has identified an important factor in Catholicism's remarkable growth as its "sympathy with struggling humanity."<sup>21</sup> Arthur Schlesinger has aptly described Catholicism's sensitivity to the plight of its people:

The Catholic Church . . . reared its edifices where humanity was densest and thronged its pews three or four times each Sunday with worshipers whose hands and clothing plainly betrayed their humble station.<sup>22</sup>

In 1897 the prominent Protestant leader, Washington Gladden, also noted Catholicism's willingness to minister to the urban poor and laboring classes:

It is sometimes said that the working-classes have become alienated from the churches. From some of them, not from all of them. The great Roman Catholic church, in all lands, finds ample room for them in all its costliest sanctuaries.<sup>23</sup>

Although the majority of urban Catholic immigrants were poor, they often gave substantial portions of their meager incomes in order to erect the parish churches that became their social and cultural, as well as religious, centers. One account of Polish Catholic immigrants describes the sacrificial giving that provided funds for construction of their church homes:

Building churches was the first priority. Immigrants pooled scant resources and even mortgaged homes to build structures praised--and criticized--for their extravagance. The forty-five thousand members of Chicago's St. Stanislaus Kostka parish, for instance, held church properties worth \$500,000 in 1899; and in Milwaukee a much smaller congregation, St. Josaphat's, erected a monumental basilica whose costs eventually overtaxed their financial resources.<sup>24</sup>

The rise of Roman Catholicism during the late nineteenth century thus explains much of the increase in church membership, congregations, and ecclesiastical buildings.

The population growth of the cities resulted not only from the influx of immigrants but also from the migration of native-born Americans who left their farms and villages to seek employment in the urban centers of commerce and industry. Although these new city dwellers may have had Protestant affiliations in their rural homes, many drifted away from church attendance after their exposure to the Sunday diversions of the urban environment. Faced with a rapidly growing Catholic community and a large population of Protestant backsliders, the responses of urban Protestant churches were varied. An all too common reaction of many downtown churches was relocation. An anonymous contemporary writer reported that church relocations "in every case

originated in the change of residence of a few of the wealthier families."<sup>25</sup> As city centers became congested with masses of poor immigrants and transplanted rural folk, the more prosperous members of fashionable downtown churches gradually began to move to newer residential areas uptown. Their churches soon followed. Abell notes that this pattern of relocation began early:

All could see that as the working class crowded into the industrial quarters the old parochial churches sought congenial sites on the great avenues up town. When the Civil War ended nearly a half-hundred important congregations had already deserted lower New York, and soon after Bostonians were leaving historic meeting houses for sumptuous edifices in the Back Bay<sup>26</sup>

It was not unusual for some churches to relocate several times, as its members continued to move further away from the center of the city.<sup>27</sup> Sometimes the older buildings were sold to congregations of Catholic immigrants, who adapted them for their own use.<sup>28</sup> Ahlstrom points out that these second congregations would often repeat the process:

Later, this church too would follow "its people" to some more favorable location. The changing ownership of church buildings thus documented the demographic history of the city, while the successive locations and edifices of a single congregation recorded the upward mobility of membership.<sup>29</sup>

At other times the abandoned churches became shops or warehouses. Occasionally the older facilities were left to stand empty and unused, in the midst of thousands of unchurched city dwellers.<sup>30</sup>

The exodus of many prosperous downtown churches away from crowded urban centers alarmed some contemporary

observers such as Josiah Strong, whose books cited numerous statistics to document the trend. In The Challenge of the City, Strong lamented the effects of church relocation:

The American-born population, having higher standards of living than European peasants, leave these increasingly undesirable quarters to the swarming immigrants; and with the departing American population goes the Protestant Church membership. Thus during the 20 years, from 1868 to 1888, a population of nearly 200,000 moved in below Fourteenth Street, New York, and 17 Protestant churches moved out. Since 1888 no less than 87 churches and missions have abandoned the same district or have died there. . . . There are large districts nearly or quite abandoned. Thus on the lower East Side in New York there is a ward which contains over 80,000 people, and has only one Protestant house of worship.<sup>31</sup>

As a result of church relocations, Protestant strength declined in the cities, even though Protestant church membership was rising in the country as a whole. Moreover, as Strong and others pointed out, there were fewer churches in the very areas where population was most dense and needs were greatest.<sup>32</sup> Nevertheless, even though the frequent relocation and rebuilding of many Protestant churches may have ignored the spiritual needs of congested urban areas, it provided a continuing market for the designers and producers of stained glass windows.

Another response of Protestantism to the problems of the urban poor was the development of the "institutional" or "socialized" church. In his books Strong enumerated the perils that the industrial city held for both the country and the Protestant Church.<sup>33</sup> He urged urban Protestant churches to develop a social conscience based on the "social message of Jesus," asserting that "a church of this type has an enthusiasm for service" and "adapts itself to the needs

of the local environment":

It finds that the people living around it have in their homes no opportunity to take a bath; it therefore furnishes bathing facilities. It sees that the people have little or no healthful social life; it accordingly opens attractive social rooms, and organizes clubs for men, women, boys, and girls. The people know little of legitimate amusement; the church therefore provides it. They are ignorant of household economy; the church establishes its cooking-schools, its sewing classes, and the like. In their homes the people have few books and papers; in the church they find a free reading-room and library. The homes afford no opportunity for intellectual cultivation; the church opens evening schools and provides lecture courses. As in the human organism, when one organ fails, its functions are often undertaken and more or less imperfectly performed by some other organ; so in the great social organism of the city, when the home fails, the church sometimes undertakes its functions.<sup>34</sup>

Although Strong may have been motivated as much by fears of unchecked immigration and "Romanism" as by humanitarian concern, nonetheless he was, in Ahlstrom's words, "the most irrepressible spirit of the Social Gospel movement."<sup>35</sup>

Urban churches that implemented Strong's plan expanded their facilities to include a parish house or hall that held gymnasiums, classrooms, baths, reading rooms, recreation rooms, and whatever else seemed necessary for the physical and mental welfare of their communities.<sup>36</sup>

One result of the social work of the institutional church was an impressive rise in its membership, even as other Protestant urban churches were dying out or moving out. Strong's report in 1907 on institutional churches gave a glowing account of their programs and success in attracting converts.<sup>37</sup> By the turn of the century there were at least 173 institutional churches serving urban parishes.<sup>38</sup>



Inasmuch as the parish house was built to accommodate the social program of the institutional church, it did not require the extent of ornamentation used in the church proper. However, it was not uncommon for stained glass windows to be installed in its library or classrooms. Moreover, many parish houses included small chapels where stained glass windows were especially appropriate.<sup>39</sup> The expansion of institutional churches was therefore another means of increasing the demand for ecclesiastical stained glass.

Another application of the Social Gospel also resulted in the construction of new church buildings. City missions, established by non-denominational mission societies in the worst sections of the cities, ministered to the spiritual and material needs of the poor. When enough converts had been gathered in one locality, the sponsoring mission society sometimes organized and built a church for the new congregation.<sup>40</sup> Some of the mission churches were financed by large gifts from wealthy lay leaders. When the New York City Mission and Tract Society in 1880 expressed the need to enlarge many of its mission chapels, the Society's president, Morris K. Jesup, donated sixty thousand dollars for a new church building, which became DeWitt Memorial Church. The Broome Street Tabernacle, which developed from Carmel chapel, was built through the generosity of William E. Dodge, who gave \$140,000. The A. K. Ely family financed the building of another church that grew out of Olivet Chapel. All three

churches, which were in lower New York, conducted social programs in their communities.<sup>41</sup>

Denominational missionary efforts also erected new city churches to counteract the exodus of other congregations from downtown areas. Methodist church extension societies operated in major cities to aid existing Methodist churches and to build new ones. The extension society in Chicago, for example, had raised by 1900 "over a million dollars for a hundred churches which comprised at least a third of the Methodist membership of the city."<sup>42</sup> Similar church extension programs were developed by other denominations. The Chicago City Missionary Society, organized by the Congregational denomination in 1883, added over sixty churches to the downtown and suburban sections of the city.<sup>43</sup>

Protestant responses to the problems of the cities also included such developments as the Sunday School movement, the Young Men's Christian Association and its counterpart, the Young Women's Christian Association, the Christian Endeavor organization for young people, the work of the Salvation Army, and the revival crusades of urban evangelists. In varying degrees, these programs of evangelism and social ministry infused new vitality into organized religion and encouraged the growth in church membership during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.<sup>44</sup>

An important factor in the construction of many new churches, whether they were relocations away from congested

urban centers or expansions of institutional churches and inner city missions, was the influence of the so-called "Gospel of Wealth," which combined the "laissez-faire" economic theories of Adam Smith with principles of Christian charity. The Gospel of Wealth sanctified individualism, private property, free competition, and free accumulation of wealth as essential for national prosperity and progress. Its leading spokesman was Pittsburgh's steel millionaire, Andrew Carnegie, who explained its principles in his essay, "Wealth," published in 1889.<sup>45</sup> The Gospel of Wealth required the wise stewardship of one's personal fortune, which was to be used in ways that would best aid the less fortunate.<sup>46</sup> Among the leading Protestant clergymen who preached the gospel of wealth were Henry Ward Beecher of Plymouth Congregational Church in Brooklyn, Phillips Brooks of Trinity Church in Boston, and Russell H. Conwell of Grace Church in Philadelphia.<sup>47</sup> As a popular speaker on the Chautauqua circuit, Conwell delivered his Gospel of Wealth lecture, "Acres of Diamonds," an estimated six thousand times, exhorting his listeners to discover the opportunities for financial success that lay everywhere around them, so that they might engage in prudent philanthropy.<sup>48</sup>

The Gospel of Wealth, with its stress upon the responsibilities of stewardship, loosened the purse strings of many wealthy church members, who heeded its call to share their riches wisely by providing funds for the construction of churches, parish halls and seminaries. Some of the magnanimous gifts that permitted the building of city

mission churches have already been mentioned. Other prominent donors included J. P. Morgan, who financed the building of a parish house for St. George's Episcopal Church in New York City; John D. Rockefeller, whose gift of thirty-five million dollars established the Baptist-related University of Chicago in 1892 and who generously supported the Judson Memorial Baptist Church in New York; and Cornelius Vanderbilt and his mother, who in 1891 supplied most of the four hundred thousand dollars required to construct St. Bartholomew's enormous parish house, also in New York.<sup>49</sup>

Other less prominent but prosperous lay people were generous benefactors to their own church building and mission programs. Many churches were erected with funds provided by one wealthy parishioner or family. The wise distribution of one's earthly assets could also include the provision of church furnishings and ornamentation, often as memorials. The giving of stained glass windows allowed other less prosperous families to share in the spirit of the Gospel of Wealth and, at the same time, to honor the memory of their loved ones. Memorial windows were donated not only for new churches but also for older buildings which had originally been glazed with plain glass. Numerous windows also were installed in existing churches to replace earlier stained glass designs. One of the women artists discovered through the present study, Jessie Van Brunt, gave many windows that she had designed and made to churches in this and other countries.<sup>50</sup>

The increased demand for stained glass windows during the late nineteenth century and the early years of the present century is thus in part attributable to the proliferation of many new buildings, erected to meet the needs of growing congregations, new immigrant congregations, relocated churches, institutional church programs, church extension efforts, and expanding city missions. The construction of religious facilities was aided by the impact of the Gospel of Wealth, which persuaded both the wealthy and those of more modest means to provide funds for new buildings and their furnishings, as well as for new stained glass windows in older edifices. The resulting growth of the stained glass industry offered greater opportunities for the involvement of women in all of its phases.

The Renewal of Interest in the Role of Ecclesiastical  
Architecture and Ornamentation

Another development in the religious life of nineteenth century America which led to an increased market for stained glass windows was the growing appreciation for the role of architecture and ornamentation in worship. Greater awareness of the symbolic and psychological functions of ecclesiastical settings, including the use of stained glass, stemmed from several sources: the romantic movement of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries; the architectural theories of Augustus Welby Pugin; the revival of the Gothic style of architecture; the return of the Anglican church to traditional Catholic ritual and its appropriate architectural environment; the modern Gothic gospel of Ralph

Adams Cram; and American religious revivalism.

The romantic movement that permeated Western culture during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries affected the course of religious history, just as it influenced the direction of art, literature, and other intellectual disciplines. Romanticism emphasized the importance of the subjective experiences of intuition, emotion, and imagination; it stressed the primacy of the individual over society and of irregular "naturalness" over formal order; it turned to the distant past and to exotic cultures for inspiration in art, architecture, and literature. The various architectural revivals of the nineteenth century reflected the romantic fascination with the vanished past and the remote parts of the world. As Ahlstrom points out,

The ages which the Enlightenment had found so "dark" were now seen to be filled with grandeur, heroism, and beauty. For the eighteenth century, "Gothic" had been almost synonymous with barbarity, and the medieval stained glass of old cathedrals had sometimes been replaced to admit the clear light of day.<sup>51</sup>

The mysterious half-light that filtered through the stained glass of their Gothic Revival churches and cathedrals was far more satisfying to romantic imaginations than the clear illumination of the Age of Reason.

The romantic movement was intertwined with each of the other factors that contributed to the greater significance of church architecture and ornamentation. Although the romantic preoccupation with other eras and cultures led to the revival or adoption of several architectural styles, it was the revival of Gothic church architecture in England

which greatly influenced the ecclesiastical architecture of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century America and increased the demand for stained glass.<sup>52</sup> The Gothic Revival, which made a tentative beginning in the late eighteenth century, was bolstered by the literature of the romantic movement and by the vehement crusade of the English architect and theorist, Augustus Welby Pugin (1812-1852), a fervent convert to Catholicism and a fanatic disciple of the Gothic style.<sup>53</sup> In several books written between 1836 and his death in 1852, Pugin expounded on the aesthetic and moral superiority of Gothic architecture over all other styles, declaring that "in it alone we find the faith of Christianity embodied and its practices illustrated."<sup>54</sup> Pugin's aesthetic creed, which governed the integration of architecture and its ornamental features, was affirmed in The True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture as two basic rules for design:

1st, that there should be no features about a building which are not necessary for convenience, construction, or propriety; 2nd, that all ornament should consist of the essential construction of the building.<sup>55</sup>

Pugin once confessed to having "perpetrated abominations" during his earlier ignorance:

Indeed, till I discovered these laws of pointed design, which I set forth in my 'True Principles', I had no fixed rules to work upon, and frequently fell into error and extravagance. . . . But, from the moment I understood that the beauty of architectural design depended on its being the expression of what the building required, and that for Christians that expression could only be correctly given by the medium of pointed architecture, all difficulties vanished.<sup>56</sup>

Pugin built and restored many Gothic churches for which he also designed stained glass windows. His firm opinions on the proper design and use of stained glass guided the work of his contemporaries as well as later reformers, such as John Ruskin and William Morris. Windows that denied their architectural function as windows, by assuming the role of paintings and by ignoring the total decorative effect, were offensive to Pugin. In a book that deplored contemporary church architecture, he addressed the problem of proper window design:

The great mistake of modern glass-painters has been, in treating the panes of windows like pictures or transparencies with forcing lights and shadows. The old artists worked in a conventional manner, not through ignorance, but from science: they worked, in fact, to suit their material. The beautiful outline of the stone tracery is the better defined, by their manner of filling up the vacant spaces. They did not aim at a picture cut up with mullions, but they enriched the openings left by those mullions; and this principle was rigidly adhered to, till the decline of the painted style.<sup>57</sup>

Pugin's position on the need for integration of the windows with their setting is found in the same volume:

It is not unusual for modern artists to decry the ancient system of decorating churches with much painting; but those who raise these objections seem to forget that what is technically called keeping is quite as requisite in a building as in a picture. The moment colour is introduced in the windows, the rest of the ornaments must correspond--the ceiling, the floor all must bear their part in the general effect. A stained window in a white church is a mere spot, which, by its richness, serves only to exhibit in a more striking manner the poverty of the rest the building.<sup>58</sup>

Pugin's architectural theories reinforced the views of those Anglicans who were already looking back to the Middle Ages for ecclesiastical forms more expressive of



their faith. The situation that precipitated an intense interest in reviving true Gothic church architecture, as opposed to merely applying "Gothick" details to any type of church building, was the development of Anglican church movements that led back to traditional Catholic doctrines and liturgy, which were best expressed and enacted in medieval architectural settings.

Most of the existing parish churches in the early nineteenth century had been built or adapted for Protestant worship following the Reformation. The older, medieval parish churches had been cleansed of much of their Catholic ornamentation.<sup>59</sup> The newer churches followed the forms established by Sir Christopher Wren, who had built more than fifty churches to replace those lost in the London fire of 1666. Wren's churches and those that followed omitted or minimized the deep chancel which had once been reserved for the use of the clergy. Instead, the pulpit, having become the primary liturgical center, was prominently placed so that the entire congregation could see and hear the speaker, since the unity of clergy and laity was now emphasized. The altars also were positioned so that they might be easily reached by the communicants, now active participants in the Eucharist. Very few furnishings or decorations were used.<sup>60</sup> Phoebe Stanton notes that "natural light from large windows filled with clear glass replaced medieval dimness."<sup>61</sup>

By the early nineteenth century, the naves of these churches had been filled with private pews, areas enclosed with wooden panels or curtaining for the use of those

families who could afford them. Besides taking up much space, private pews were offensive to the poor, who were expected to stand or sit on plain benches. Moreover, the church buildings of the day were, in general, poorly maintained and often allowed to deteriorate. Little respect was accorded the buildings or their furnishings, since they were not regarded as especially sacred.<sup>62</sup>

High Church Anglicans, who favored a return to the Catholic doctrines and rituals of the pre-Reformation era, were repelled by the open auditory plan, with its emphasized pulpit, space-consuming pews, accessible altar, lack of separate chancel, and barren appearance. They were also appalled at the neglect and desecration of church buildings and furnishings.<sup>63</sup> Their dismay was channeled into remedial action through related movements at England's two great academic centers.

The first of these movements originated at Oxford in 1833, in response to excessive government interference with the Anglican church, particularly Parliament's suppression of some Anglican bishoprics in Ireland. Under the leadership of John Keble, Richard Hurrell Froude, Edward Bouverie Pusey, and John Henry Newman, the Oxford Movement called for an autonomous church, the apostolic succession of its bishops, an emphasis upon spiritual renewal through the sacramental life, and a return to the Catholic doctrines of the early church fathers. Through their Tracts for the Times, six volumes of ninety tracts published between 1833 and 1841, these men and their colleagues in the movement

launched a theological controversy within Anglicanism that had widespread effects in both England and America.<sup>64</sup>

The Oxford Movement attracted both a following and a fierce opposition which feared its "papist" tendencies. Newman's final Tract 90 of 1841, in which he sought to reconcile the movement's Catholic doctrines with the Thirty-nine Articles of Faith adopted in 1563 by the Anglican Church, was too much for the Tractarians' opponents, who denounced them as traitors. In 1845 Newman did convert to Roman Catholicism and several others in the Oxford Movement followed. Those who remained in the movement led the church to a more Anglo-Catholic stance.<sup>65</sup> Eugene R. Fairweather has identified some of the effects of the Oxford Movement as the recovery of "long-forgotten forms of spiritual discipline"; a revival of men's and women's religious communities; the return of ritualism as a result of the emphasis upon the Eucharist; and a greater openness to the "ecumenical dialogue" with all branches of Christendom.<sup>66</sup>

Fairweather and other scholars acknowledge that the leaders of the Oxford Movement were primarily interested in doctrinal reform, rather than in ritualism or aesthetics.<sup>67</sup> Rather, it was a related movement at another university that led the return to more ceremonialism in worship within traditional and symbolic architectural settings. The Cambridge Camden Society, organized in 1839 at Cambridge University, began with the goal of promoting "the study of Ecclesiastical Architecture and Antiquities, and the restoration of mutilated Architectural remains."<sup>68</sup> The

Society was affected both by the Oxford Movement and by romanticism. Although its members accepted the doctrines advanced by the Oxford Movement, they avoided theological debates, saying

We have always refused to enter into religious controversy. We set out with the principle of believing what the Church believes; and that creed we are not called upon to defend. But its symbolical and material expression is our peculiar province.<sup>69</sup>

Romantic ideals also permeated the words and work of the group, which embraced the Gothic style of the Middle Ages, when men were "more spiritually-minded" and "the architectural and ritual provision for Christian worship" had "reached its point of perfection."<sup>70</sup> White calls attention to the romantic character of the Cambridge Movement:

A return to the past, an intense nationalism, a stress on the natural and picturesque, the cult of the super-natural, and an emphasis on the importance of feeling, all these were characteristic features of Romanticism which were frequently evident in the activities of the Cambridge Camden Society.<sup>71</sup>

The English parish church in the Decorated Gothic style of the early fourteenth century was the architectural model advocated by the Society, which was highly critical of architects and buildings that failed to conform to its standards. Its essential criteria for correct church architecture included "reality" (or honesty in the use of materials). a "distinct and spacious chancel " and no "pues and galleries in any shape whatever."<sup>72</sup> The chancel should be separated from the nave, ideally by a roodscreen, and the clergy separated from the laity.<sup>73</sup> Thus, the ideal church proposed by the Cambridge Camden Society was a complete

rejection of the auditory church that had been the standard for almost two hundred years.

The Society also urged the use of architectural ornamentation, such as stained glass, wall paintings, and carved woodwork, to enhance the beauty and meaning of worship and to encourage an emotional response in the individual worshipper.<sup>74</sup> The use of color in church decoration was particularly important to the Society.

A church is not as it should be, till every window is filled with stained glass, till every inch of floor is covered with encaustic tiles, till there is a Roodscreen glowing with the brightest tints and with gold, nay, if we would arrive at perfection, the roof and walls must be painted and frescoed. For it may safely be asserted that ancient churches in general were so adorned.<sup>75</sup>

The Cambridge Camden Society found a wide audience for its views on ritual and ecclesiastical architecture through its many publications. Commencing in 1839, these included histories of church buildings and furnishings, manuals of advice on church architecture, and twenty-nine volumes of its journal, The Ecclesiologist, issued from 1841 to 1868.<sup>76</sup> According to the Society, the term "ecclesiology" meant the science of church architecture or "the science of Christian Aesthetics."<sup>77</sup> In time, the term came to include not only church architecture but also the rituals and music of worship. Inevitably, members of the Society became known as Ecclesiologists.

Through its publications, the Ecclesiologists urged the study of unrestored medieval parish churches so that their principles could be applied in the building of new churches. They were convinced that each architectural and

ornamental detail in a medieval church was symbolic of the Christian faith. One of their studies revealed that "every stone, every window was found to tell its own appropriate tale, to bear its own peculiar meaning."<sup>78</sup> The medieval church was valued also because of the Society's belief that Christian piety and worship had reached their apogee during the Middle Ages. The Ecclesiologists' view of the Gothic church as the purest expression of the Christian faith was comparable to Pugin's, though they denied his influence.<sup>79</sup>

The Ecclesiologist became the chief means of disseminating the Cambridge Camden Society's views. Throughout its years of publication, The Ecclesiologist featured many articles that dealt with the symbolism of church architecture and ornamentation. Numerous articles discussed stained glass windows, which were considered essential in the Gothic Revival church. Echoing Pugin, the Society asserted the superiority of medieval glass over that produced since the seventeenth century, because the early craftsmen had filled their bold linear designs with clear, unshaded colors whereas later artists employed the soft shading and refinement of easel painting.<sup>80</sup> One writer on stained glass called for windows that would "assist, not interfere with, the thoughts that naturally crowd in on a devout mind, when it feels itself in the house of God."<sup>81</sup>

The dogmatic opinions of the Cambridge Movement reached a wide audience also through its "Few Words" series of publications. Neale's A Few Words to Church Builders,

with an Appendix Containing Lists of Windows Fonts and Rood-screens Intended to Serve as Models was used by countless architects throughout England.<sup>82</sup> The series also included Neale's A Few Words to Churchwardens on Churches and Church Ornaments, which had an immeasurable impact on subsequent church architecture, even into this century.<sup>83</sup>

The ideas set forth in the various publications of the Cambridge Camden Society guided the restoration of numerous older churches and the design of many new churches, both in England and abroad. To insure that churches built abroad would conform to its standards, the Society prepared measured drawings of English medieval parish churches for the use of "the colonies."<sup>84</sup> Phoebe Stanton points out that the mature Gothic Revival in America, which began in the 1840s, was founded on the extensive English literature available to architects and laymen in the early nineteenth century. The publications of the Cambridge Camden Society, the books by Pugin, and works by other writers served as guides for American architects who built Gothic churches that employed more authentic medieval principles of construction, rather than pseudo-Gothic buildings with "Gothick" ornamentation applied but not integrated with the structure.<sup>85</sup>

The architectural creed of the Cambridge Movement was advanced in this country by the organization in 1848 of the New York Ecclesiological Society, which published its own journal, the New York Ecclesiologist, until 1853.<sup>86</sup> Among the American architects who were influenced by Pugin,

the Ecclesiologists, and other English sources were the High Church Anglican Richard Upjohn, the builder of Trinity Church (1839-46), and James Renwick, Jr., who built Grace Church (1843-6) and St. Patrick's Cathedral (1858-78). Trinity and Grace served Episcopal congregations in New York City.<sup>87</sup> St. Patrick's Cathedral, also at New York, was erected for Roman Catholics. Stained glass was an important part of these Gothic Revival edifices. The chancel window at Trinity was designed by Upjohn himself and executed by others, using glass imported from Germany. Grace Church was filled in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries with windows made by English firms, notably Clayton & Bell. However, one of its windows was the work of Mary Tillinghast, who provided the Hutton Memorial Window (Jacob's Dream) in 1887. St. Patrick's windows were made in French studios.<sup>88</sup>

Many of the first Gothic Revival churches in America were built by the Protestant Episcopal denomination, which had evolved from the American branch of the Anglican Church after the War of Independence. During the eighteenth century, American Anglicans had experimented with various church plans, most of them designed to unite the clergy and laity near the liturgical centers, so that all could see and participate in the worship service.<sup>89</sup> The Cambridge Movement naturally affected Episcopal congregations more than other Protestant groups in America.<sup>90</sup> A majority of the stained glass windows discovered through this research were located in Episcopal churches built in the Gothic Revival style.



However, the nonliturgical denominations also eventually succumbed to the aesthetic and emotional appeal of the Gothic idiom and stained glass. Largely responsible for the wide acceptance of the Gothic style in ecclesiastical architecture was Ralph Adams Cram (1863-1940), who designed numerous churches for Episcopal and Catholic congregations and for other major Protestant denominations in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Cram, a High Church Anglican like Upjohn, reaffirmed the views of Pugin and the Ecclesiologists in his work and his voluminous writings. In his Church Building of 1899, Cram emphasized the importance of "the using of art to lift men's minds from secular things to spiritual, that their souls may be brought into harmony with God":

Not in the barren and ugly meeting-house of the Puritans, its whitewashed walls, three-decker pulpit and box pews, were men most easily lifted out of themselves into spiritual communion with God,--not there did they come most clearly to know the charity and sweetness of Christianity and the exalting solemnity of divine worship, but where they were surrounded by the dim shadows of mysterious aisles, where lofty piers of stone softened high overhead into sweeping arches and shadowy vaults, where golden light struck down through storied windows, painted with the benignant faces of saints and angels; where the eye rested at every turn on a painted and carven Bible, manifesting itself through the senses to the imagination; where every wall, every foot of floor, bore its silent memorial to the dead, its thank-offering to God; where was always the faint odor of old incense, the still atmosphere of prayer and praise.<sup>91</sup>

Cram insisted on the necessity of "storied windows" for the Gothic Revival churches he designed:

Stained glass is an essential part of Catholic architecture. You cannot conceive of Catholic architecture either in the past or Catholic architecture vitalized for the present means without stained glass.

It is intimately bound up with the Catholic faith and inseparably bound up with it.<sup>92</sup>

In his autobiography, Cram described his firm's experience in designing Gothic Revival churches for nonliturgical denominations in the early years of this century:

We held . . . that there was something incongruous in using Catholic Gothic to express the ethos of that Protestantism which had revolted against all things Catholic and had done its best to destroy its architectural and other artistic manifestations, so we did our best to induce our "Non-conformist" clients to let us do Colonial structures for them. . . . Protestant congregations declined pretty generally to admit our Colonial premises, and increasingly demanded good Catholic art, refusing to accept any substitute, so we had very promptly to abandon our original position, and do just good Gothic as we possibly could for Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Baptists and even Unitarians.

A new spirit was working in the religious atmosphere, an extension, I suppose, of that which created the Oxford Movement in the Anglican Communion of the Catholic Church, at least in the way of aesthetic manifestations, and this I was quite prepared to accept with avidity. Protestants, and particularly Presbyterians, became quite as sympathetic and appreciative clients as Episcopalians, and so they have always remained.<sup>93</sup>

The widespread Protestant acceptance of the Gothic style church with its glowing stained glass windows was quite remarkable when one considers the architecture and attitudes that had prevailed among Protestant groups since the Reformation. In America, the meeting-houses of seventeenth-century Puritans and the classical revival churches of the eighteenth century were designed for preaching rather than elaborate liturgy. Their interiors were simple, with little, if any, ornamentation, and their windows filled with clear glass. Since the colonists' plain forms of worship avoided the use of settings that suggested Catholic "idolatry," images in the form of sculpture, painting, and

stained glass were shunned.<sup>94</sup>

The nineteenth-century influx of immigrants, most of whom were Catholic, intensified earlier fears of Catholicism and "popish" imagery. Although it rarely erupted into actual iconoclasm, the smashing of images, Protestant iconophobia was expressed through sermons, lectures, newspaper articles, textbooks, church creeds, hymns, verses, and cartoons.<sup>95</sup> Occasionally, fears of Catholic religious practices and potential political power led to violence. During the 1850s, mobs incited by the anti-Catholic exhortations of itinerant preachers rushed to destroy nearby Catholic churches. A dozen were burned or blown up, while "countless more were attacked, their crosses stolen, their altars violated, and their windows broken."<sup>96</sup>

In view of this fierce opposition to Catholic ways of worship, Protestantism's eventual acceptance of the Gothic style of architecture, long associated with Catholicism, was evidence of the gradual easing of religious tensions, as well as the overwhelming appeal of the Gothic idiom, made familiar through Episcopal use. When they built Gothic churches, however, nonliturgical Protestant denominations generally used only stained glass imagery, rarely painted or sculpted figures. Like the Swiss leader of the Reformation, Zwingli, who incited iconoclasm at Zurich yet "expressly protected the stained glass, since it led to no risk of idolatry," the Protestants of late nineteenth-century America evidently considered glass images relatively harmless.<sup>97</sup>

Another religious development also helped to free Protestant congregations from their fear of ornamentation and imagery. James White calls attention to the "strong stress on the importance of feeling and a tendency to exalt the individual" which were found in the religious revivalism of nineteenth-century America as well as in the Cambridge Movement.<sup>98</sup> Whether on the frontier or in eastern cities, the evangelists used sentimental music and impassioned oratory to create an atmosphere that would encourage conversion experiences, the primary purpose of revivalistic worship. Choral singing, song leaders, and, in city revivals, organ music, became important means in appealing to the emotions of each individual worshiper.

One of the lasting effects of revivalism on church architecture was the appearance of a new liturgical arrangement. In place of the large, box-like pulpit in which earlier preachers had stood, the revivalistic preacher preferred a small, lectern-type pulpit set on a preaching platform, which allowed him to use histrionic gestures, kneel, and move about freely, as he implored his listeners to repent and receive salvation. The preaching platform also provided room for the customary song leader, choir, and organ, so necessary to establish the desired subjective mood. Many Protestant churches were designed with the "concert stage" arrangement first used for revivals. Gradually it was realized that the total architectural setting of worship could produce an ambience that would foster spiritual experiences or conversions. As this idea gained favor,

Protestant churches added such ornamentation as organs with great, gilded pipes, robed choirs facing the congregation, and colorful stained glass windows. By the early twentieth century, these were standard features in many Protestant denominations.<sup>99</sup>

The Gothic Revival also found favor with Roman Catholics in America. The identification of Catholicism with the great Gothic cathedrals of medieval Europe made American Catholics receptive to Gothic forms. The first Gothic Revival church design in this country was the plan submitted in 1805 by Benjamin Latrobe for the Roman Catholic Cathedral at Baltimore.<sup>100</sup> Since Latrobe's Gothic design was not built, the earliest Gothic Revival church in America was the chapel designed in 1806 by French-born Maximilien Godefroy for St. Mary's Seminary at Baltimore. Although this and other early nineteenth-century Gothic churches were "stage-set Gothick" rather than the more authentic Gothic structures inspired by the Cambridge Movement, they symbolized for Roman Catholics the "stream of pure Christian doctrine" that had preceded the Renaissance and the Reformation.<sup>101</sup> Renwick's mid-century St. Patrick's Cathedral, along with many Gothic Revival churches that were built by High Church Episcopalians for liturgical worship, encouraged the building of Catholic churches in the Gothic style.<sup>102</sup>

The resurgence of the Gothic style in the churches built by both liturgical and nonliturgical denominations in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century America,

together with heightened interest in the ornamentation of church interiors, both old and new, added to the demand for stained glass windows. The enlarged market for church windows did not entirely benefit American firms, however, even though the industry was not new to this country. Stained glass windows had been produced in America since the mid-seventeenth century, when Dutch-born Evert Duyckinck began his glazing and glass-painting business at New Amsterdam (now New York), creating glass roundels with heraldic designs for the homes of prosperous Dutch settlers and a few heraldic windows for their churches.

In the decades that followed, other glass artisans arrived from Holland, Germany, and England, to set up glass-making, glazing, and glass-painting operations. Although some work was done for churches, Protestant fears of "popish" imagery, together with the current decline of the craft in Europe and the preference of the eighteenth-century Enlightenment for clear daylight, discouraged any extensive use of stained glass in ecclesiastical settings.<sup>103</sup>

By the early nineteenth century, however, the stained glass market had grown sufficiently to provide work for some local firms, even though the windows they produced were often undistinguished. The oldest extant windows of major significance to be made in America, the window designed by Upjohn for Trinity Church in New York City and the windows made by William Jay Bolton for the Church of the Holy Trinity in Brooklyn Heights, date from the 1840s.<sup>104</sup> As the Gothic Revival advocated by the Ecclesiologists

spread among American religious groups, the greater need for stained glass windows led to the establishment of additional studios, such as the firm started by Joseph and Richard Lamb at New York in 1857. Despite the availability of these American firms, many of the most important commissions for New York church windows went to foreign studios during the 1860s and 1870s.<sup>105</sup> Sturm points out the link between certain denominations and the national origins of their windows:

Catholics favored French or German glass, while Episcopalians were drawn toward English work. In this era most other Protestant denominations and Jews avoided stained glass or used simple and inexpensive geometric windows.<sup>106</sup>

Eventually, as the aesthetic and emotional appeal of the Gothic idiom captivated even the nonliturgical Protestant groups that had fewer ties to England or Europe, American studios garnered a greater share of the growing stained glass market.<sup>107</sup> The domestic industry was further strengthened by the immense popularity of "American glass," now called "opalescent glass," that was developed by both La Farge and Tiffany in the late 1870s and quickly adopted by other firms.<sup>108</sup> The opalescent landscape windows produced by Tiffany in the late 1880s offered a completely new concept for the iconographical programs of church windows and helped to overcome lingering suspicions of stained glass by fulfilling the needs of nonliturgical Protestant groups, as well as Jews, who wanted to enhance their places of worship and yet avoid the "Romanist" imagery of saints and martyrs:

The landscape window was the perfect answer to this dilemma for both Protestants and Jews. Theologically the landscape window was as innocent as geometry, which was . . . one way to bring stained glass to a congregation fearful of idolatry. But better than geometry, the landscape window added not just beauty, but beauty with a pious message. The landscape window could be expected to inspire reverence in its beholder, for was it not true, as poets particularly began to suggest in the late eighteenth century, that God was manifest in nature?<sup>109</sup>

Numerous opalescent landscapes were produced by Tiffany and his studio assistants, including Agnes Northrop who designed many of the Tiffany windows in this genre during her long career. A variation of the landscape window incorporated figures set against a landscape background, some of which were created by Clara Miller Burd, working either as an independent designer or for Tiffany and other studios. Both types of landscape windows proved to be irresistible to many of the churches that had once avoided stained glass ornamentation.<sup>110</sup>

The development of the American stained glass industry in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries owed much, therefore, to the renewal of interest in ecclesiastical architecture and ornamentation, which resulted primarily from two sources: the influence of those who advocated the Gothic Revival church as the ideal symbol of Christianity, and the effects of religious revivalism, which recognized the role of the total worship environment in evoking an emotional response that would lead to conversion. Although they represented very different theological viewpoints, the Anglo-Catholic advocates of the Gothic Revival style and the evangelical revivalists brought



about a deeper awareness, among various denominations, of the symbolic and psychological functions of church architecture. With the expansion of the stained glass industry to serve this broader market, American women entered the field of stained glass design and production in the 1870s, if not earlier.

### The Changing Roles of Women in Organized Religion

The relationship of women to the church was yet another religious dimension of the cultural context in which American women stained glass artists lived and worked during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Women had long formed a significant majority of church members. The nineteenth century witnessed a gradual expansion of their roles to include positions of leadership in several areas of religious activity.

The earliest organized involvement of American women in nineteenth-century religious movements was as both the objects and the promoters of revivalism, roles which seemed natural in view of the greater piety attributed to the "true woman." Since the colonial era, far more women than men had been church members, an imbalance that became even more pronounced in the nineteenth century.<sup>111</sup> Women's obvious religiosity stemmed in part from cultural expectations that arose during the late eighteenth century, when women were urged to be pious and virtuous in order to preserve the new republic.<sup>112</sup> The cultural pressures exerted on women made them especially receptive to religious revivalism and they

were converted in great numbers.<sup>113</sup>

After their conversions, women became proselytizers within their homes and often their communities. The salvation of her family was the converted woman's first priority, the spiritual welfare of her neighbors her wider concern. In addition to individual evangelizing, pious women frequently gathered in their homes for weekly prayer meetings, to pray together for sinners in their communities, to give moral support to the newly saved, and to encourage further revivals. Prayer meetings became the chief form of women's revivalistic activity. Although women conducted their own prayer meetings, they were generally discouraged from leading prayers in front of men, partly because of biblical injunctions against women speaking in religious gatherings.<sup>114</sup> Inasmuch as most women's evangelical work was directed toward other women, church membership became increasingly female. Nonetheless, some women dared to address mixed groups of men and women and a few, such as Phoebe Palmer and Margaret Van Cott, became revival leaders.<sup>115</sup> The debate over the issue of women's right to speak in religious assemblies where men were present continued throughout the nineteenth century and into the twentieth.

Women in nineteenth-century America found other ways in which to express their religious zeal. They were the mainstay of the Sunday school movement, which grew from its early nineteenth-century beginnings into a permanent feature of American religious life. As an educational and

evangelical tool, the Sunday school program greatly contributed to the growth in church membership, especially during times of revival. After the adoption in 1872 of the interdenominational uniform lesson plan and the introduction of teacher training institutes, the Sunday school was firmly established as a familiar American institution.<sup>116</sup> Although men were usually Sunday school superintendents and teachers of men's classes, countless women were enlisted as the teachers of children and other women.<sup>117</sup>

One of the main channels of women's religious work was the missionary society, which was organized at the local and national levels by women in most Protestant denominations during the second half of the century. The first national group, the nondenominational Woman's Union Missionary Society of America for Heathen Lands, was founded at New York in 1860 for the purpose of sending single women as missionaries to foreign countries. Other groups with denominational affiliations soon followed.<sup>118</sup> During the decades that the missionary societies were established, women were still unable to vote in most churches and denominational conventions, they were seldom found on the denominational governing boards, and few had as yet achieved ordination. The organization and administration of missionary societies gave opportunities for religious leadership to women, even though their activities were still outside the power structures of the church or denomination. Since many more women were involved in missionary societies than in social reform or women's rights movements, the experience

gained through leading the societies affected a greater number of women. Rosemary Skinner Keller observes that the societies also gave their members a sense of shared identity with one another and with women in other lands, in addition to providing national networks of women for cooperating on large scale programs.<sup>119</sup>

The emphasis in women's missionary society programs was on "women's work for women," a phrase that conveyed special concern for oppressed women at home and abroad, as well as recognition of women's roles within the societies. Through their prayers, letters, gift packages, and "mite-box" offerings, the women's missionary societies supported the work of home and foreign missions and encouraged single women to become evangelists, teachers, nurses, and physicians in the mission fields.<sup>120</sup> Beginning in the 1880s, the women's missionary societies established numerous missionary training schools, most of which were for women and taught by women.<sup>121</sup> The one- or two-year programs of these schools provided practical and spiritual training for women who were dedicated to missionary service at a time when most theological seminaries were still closed to them. Scores of young women became home or foreign missionaries after completing the courses of instruction provided at the missionary training schools.

An important function of the women's missionary societies was the publication of mission journals at the national level of each denomination.<sup>122</sup> These periodicals were designed to explain the goals of missions, offer advice

on organizing local groups and fund-raising, and publicize the work of the missions and missionary societies. In addition to being a source of information and encouragement, the journals fostered a feeling of unity among women in mission work and with women everywhere. The societies also sponsored educational programs, such as summer schools, conferences, and missionary speakers, to further educate their members about missions, and they incorporated lessons on missions into the Sunday school literature.<sup>123</sup>

The achievements of the women's missionary societies were impressive. Writing in 1910, fifty years after the founding of the first such society, Helen Barrett Montgomery listed their accomplishments:

In 1861 there was a single missionary in the field, Miss Marston, in Burma; in 1909, there were 4,610 unmarried women in the field, 1,948 of them from the United States. In 1861 there was one organized woman's society in our country; in 1910 there were forty-four. Then the supporters numbered a few hundreds; to-day there are at least two millions. Then the amount contributed was \$2,000; last year four million dollars was raised. The development on the field has been as remarkable as that at home. Beginning with a single teacher, there are at the opening of the Jubilee year 800 teachers, 140 physicians, 380 evangelists, 79 trained nurses, 5,783 Bible women and native helpers. Among the 2,100 schools there are 260 boarding and high schools. There are 75 hospitals and 78 dispensaries. In addition to carrying on these large tasks, the women's missionary organizations have built colleges, hospitals, dispensaries, nurses' homes, orphanages, leper asylums, homes for missionaries' children, training schools, and industrial plants. They have set up printing-presses, translated Bibles, tracts, and schoolbooks. . . . It is an achievement of which women may well be proud.<sup>124</sup>

One branch of women's missionary work was the deaconess movement, which served both home and foreign missions within many denominations. Although the deaconess

movement had been started by the Lutherans before the Civil War, the bias against women in such work had ended the initial attempt.<sup>125</sup> After the War, the fears aroused by the influx of immigrants into the cities revived interest in the idea of deaconesses, who might convert, educate, and "Americanize" the newcomers.<sup>126</sup> During the last three decades of the century, more than 140 denominational and interdenominational deaconess homes were established, where deaconesses, wearing simple, dark dresses, lived together as a voluntary "Protestant sisterhood." Those who served in the inner cities worked especially with women and children, dispensing evangelism, education, and medical care in the settlement houses they operated. Other deaconesses worked on Indian reservations or in rural communities, where they founded schools and chapels. Still others were sent to foreign lands to evangelize, educate, and give medical care to women and children in mission schools and hospitals.<sup>127</sup>

The opportunities for service as Sunday school teachers, missionaries, deaconesses, and leaders of prayer groups or missionary societies did not totally satisfy some nineteenth-century American women, who believed that they were "called" to preach. The question of women's right to be ordained ministers was debated and resolved by each of the major denominations at different times throughout a period of more than a century, beginning with the ordination of Antoinette Brown by the Congregational Church in 1853.<sup>128</sup> Nevertheless, by 1882 there were enough women active as preachers, whether licensed or ordained, to permit the

formation of an interdenominational Woman's Ministerial Conference for the encouragement of its members.<sup>129</sup>

Women preachers and leaders were more predominant in sectarian groups than in mainline denominations. Barbara Welter has pointed out that women who wanted larger roles than were possible in the denominations could become missionaries, serve the mainstream denominations in the West, where women participated more freely, or find even greater freedom within new sectarian movements or utopian communities, some of which were founded by women.<sup>130</sup> Barbara Brown Zikmund suggests a correlation between the growth of sectarianism and what Welter has called "the feminization of American religion," a process that involved the increased preponderance and participation of women in church life, and a consequent softening of theology, with an emphasis upon Christ's "feminine" nature: meek, humble, loving, suffering, forgiving, and sacrificial.<sup>131</sup> As women became more numerous and active in church life, says Zikmund, many were attracted to sects where theological viewpoints and organizational structures encouraged women to be leaders.<sup>132</sup>

The Shakers were an early instance of a sect that emphasized the androgynous nature of the Godhead and the equality of men and women as leaders and preachers. The same concepts of God's dual nature and sexual equality appeared in the late nineteenth-century sectarian movement, Christian Science, founded by Mary Baker Eddy. Other groups that stressed the equality of women with men included the Quakers, Seventh Day Adventists, Salvation Army, Holiness

and Pentecostal churches. The leadership and preaching abilities demonstrated by Shaker Eldress Lucy Wright, Quaker Lucretia Mott, Adventist Ellen Harmon White, Salvation Army leaders Catherine and Evangeline Booth, Christian Scientist Mary Baker Eddy, and other sectarian women, too numerous to name, provided encouraging role models for women in the mainstream denominations.<sup>133</sup>

Non-Protestant women also played significant roles in American religious history. Although it has been largely overlooked by religious historians, the work done by Roman Catholic nuns among Catholic immigrants during the nineteenth century was both extensive and impressive.<sup>134</sup> Mary Ewens notes that the number of nuns rose "from under forty to more than forty thousand" during the 1800s and that by the end of the century nuns outnumbered priests four to one. Nuns served their communities as teachers, nurses, founders and administrators of schools, hospitals, day care centers, settlement houses, mental institutions, and homes for unwed mothers, the aged, and orphaned. By the turn of the century, nuns were in charge of more than six hundred girls' academies and most of the nearly four thousand parochial schools in existence. They operated at least 265 hospitals throughout the century and served as military nurses in times of war.<sup>135</sup>

Although nuns bore much of the brunt of anti-Catholicism and nativism as a result of their distinctive garments and way of life, they were primarily responsible for creating more favorable attitudes toward Roman



Catholicism. Their schools in remote settlements sometimes attracted Protestant students, who came to respect the nun teachers and their beliefs. The devoted service rendered by nuns as military nurses during the Civil War was an even more significant factor in helping to ease Protestant fears of Roman Catholicism. Ministering to soldiers in military hospitals on both sides of the conflict, to non-Catholics as well as to Catholics, the sisters won wide admiration for their selfless dedication and concern.<sup>136</sup>

Ewens points out that the unique position of nuns among American women allowed them to make vital contributions to America's religious life:

In many aspects of their lives, nuns in nineteenth century America enjoyed opportunities open to few other women of their time: involvement in meaningful work, access to administrative positions, freedom from the responsibilities of marriage and motherhood, opportunities to live in sisterhood, and egalitarian friendships. Perhaps it was this freedom from the restrictive roles usually ascribed to women that enabled them to exert such a powerful influence on the American Church.<sup>137</sup>

The role of women in Judaism, like that of women in Christianity, also broadened during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Inasmuch as the cultural traditions and ethnic origins of the main Jewish immigrant groups produced differing attitudes towards women, the extent to which Jewish women entered into the religious life of their communities varied according to the form of Judaism each woman followed.

A chief concern of most Jewish groups was adaptation to American religious and secular life. In the early part of the nineteenth century, for example, Orthodox Jews

adopted such Christian features as mixed choirs and Sunday schools, the latter instituted at Philadelphia by Rebecca Gratz in 1838.<sup>138</sup> Because the responsibilities of women in Christian churches were increasing during the years when Judaism was developing in this country, the Americanization of some Jewish groups included a similar expansion of roles for Jewish women, especially within Reform Judaism. On the other hand, the Eastern European Orthodox immigrants, who began arriving in the late nineteenth century, resisted assimilation of American religious and secular practices.

Although Jews had settled in America as early as the seventeenth century, the first massive Jewish immigration occurred between 1820 and 1880, when between two and three hundred thousand Jews arrived among millions of German immigrants.<sup>139</sup> These German Jews brought with them Reform Judaism, which had emerged in western Europe as a result of the Enlightenment and which aimed at modernizing Jewish practices by applying the principles of reason. In 1846 the Reform Synod in Germany granted its women religious equality with men, allowing them to be counted in a minyan (the ten persons necessary for religious services), to sit in the main section of the synagogue, and to receive religious education.

Reform Judaism in America adopted these progressive measures and introduced other changes. Women sat with men in their family pews, sang in the choir, worked for charitable causes in the sisterhood organizations, maintained the temples, and provided religious education for the

children.<sup>140</sup> By the end of the century, many Reform Jewish women were active in the life of their temples, though they still could not become rabbis or temple administrators. A measure of their involvement in religious life was the calling of a Congress of Jewish Women, held in 1893 as part of the World Congress of Religions at the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago. From the Congress of Jewish Women, consisting primarily of German Reform members, emerged the National Council of Jewish Women, which addressed issues of concern to all Jews.<sup>141</sup>

The second major wave of Jewish immigrants arrived from Russia and Eastern Europe between 1880 and the early 1920s. The Orthodox traditions of these people kept their women from becoming active in the life of the synagogue. Unlike women in Reform Judaism, Orthodox women were not counted in the minyan, could not sing in the synagogue, and were not encouraged to study. Because the primary role of the Orthodox woman was to serve her family and home, her religious duties included observation of the dietary laws and ritual cleansing baths. As a result of their restricted positions, young Orthodox women who wanted to follow professional occupations often found it necessary to leave their faith and their communities.<sup>142</sup>

The development of Conservative Judaism in the early twentieth century offered a less stringent form of religion to the daughters and sons of Eastern European Jews. In Conservative congregations, women could sit with men, help to maintain the synagogues, and give religious education to

children. Other Jewish groups, more secular than religious, gave women additional opportunities for leadership and service. In the early 1900s, for example, women affiliated with the Zionist Organization of America worked to preserve Jewish culture and to promote a Jewish homeland through their own division, Hadassah. Numerous other organizations, both religious and secular, were founded in the 1920s and 1930s to involve Jewish women in various aspects of religious and community life.<sup>143</sup>

The struggle of Jewish women to enter the rabbinate was similar to the experience of women who wished to become Christian ministers. Like their Christian counterparts, some Jewish women became spiritual leaders without official ordination. In the late nineteenth century, for example, the preaching of a Jewish woman, Ray Frank, inspired the founding of several Jewish congregations on the West Coast.<sup>144</sup> Although various other women sought rabbinic ordination as early as the 1920s, it was 1972 before the first woman was ordained a rabbi after completing seminary training.<sup>145</sup> Since then, several women have been ordained to serve as the spiritual leaders of their congregations.

The preponderance of women and the expansion of their roles in organized religion form a significant portion of the religious world within which women stained glass artists were active during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The previously discussed increase in church membership, church buildings, and denominations was due in no small measure to women's religious affiliations,

revival evangelizing, missionary work, Sunday school teaching, philanthropy, preaching, and even founding of new religious groups. Their labors supported the institutional church programs and inner city missions and their wealth often provided for the construction or furnishing of new facilities. Because of their expanding responsibilities in the church, it is highly probable that women were also involved in the renewal of interest in the architectural and decorative settings of worship.

The "feminization of American religion" can also be related to the stylistic and iconographical innovations that appeared in the final decades of the last century. The opalescent windows of Tiffany, La Farge, and their followers were especially suitable for expressing theological viewpoints that stressed the gentle and loving nature of Christ and the goodness and mercy of God. The subtle gradations of color and light that were possible through the use of the textured surfaces and variegated tones of opalescent glass, together with the technique of plating, produced images that suggested the softer, more flexible "feminine theology" of the same period. As Sturm has observed, the widespread acceptance of the landscape window into church iconographical schemes also testified to a more optimistic theology, which saw the world of nature as "basically good, the manifestation of a beneficent deity."<sup>146</sup>

Although it is impossible to determine the religious persuasions of all of the women artists discussed in this study, their known denominational affiliations include

Episcopal, Congregational, Christian Scientist, Baptist, Presbyterian, Reformed, Roman Catholic, and Unitarian memberships. Within this group, the Episcopalians outnumbered the rest, perhaps because they were favorably predisposed to stained glass ornamentation as a result of the Cambridge movement. At least four of the women were daughters of clergymen, including one who was both the daughter of an Episcopal missionary and the wife of an Episcopal minister.<sup>147</sup> Through their words and their deeds, several of the women expressed deeply held religious convictions, which motivated much of their work in stained glass.

Sarah Wyman Whitman (1842-1904) was a faithful member of the Trinity Church at Boston, where she taught Sunday school for thirty-three years. She was a close friend of Trinity's rector, Phillips Brooks, in whose memory she designed a window in 1896 for the Parish House library. The Brooks Memorial Window was presented to the church by Whitman and the members of her Woman's Bible Class, which met throughout the winter months.<sup>148</sup> During the summer months, for almost as many years, Whitman also taught the Friends' Bible Class, which she organized at the Baptist Church of Beverly Farms, near her summer home. Under her leadership, the class provided for the building of a church parsonage.<sup>149</sup> At the memorial service held for Whitman in July of 1904 at the Beverly Farms Baptist church, one of the speakers recalled her as a gifted Sunday school teacher:

I have had as teachers business men, lawyers, doctors, professional men of different kinds, clergymen, and so on; yet I can honestly say I never listened to the word of God being expounded so clearly, so reasonably, and so just and right as in listening to Mrs. Whitman. . . . She could quote the words of God and make them living, moving influences, powers for good, in her gentle, persistent way.<sup>150</sup>

Agnes Northrop (1857-1953) joined the Protestant Reformed Dutch Church of Flushing (now the Bowne Street Community Church) in 1872 when she was fifteen. She and her mother were active in the Women's Missionary Society, which Agnes served as treasurer from 1879 through 1881. After moving to New York City, she remained "a staunch and loyal supporter" of the Flushing church, attending its services whenever possible.<sup>151</sup> In New York Northrop attended the Marble Collegiate Church, also Reformed, in order to hear the sermons of its pastor, Dr. Norman Vincent Peale, whom she greatly admired.<sup>152</sup> Peale's "power of positive thinking" may have been particularly appealing to Northrop, who had designed so many ecclesiastical landscape windows, which have been linked with the optimistic theology of the late nineteenth century.

The generosity of Jessie Van Brunt (1862-1947) in giving windows she had designed and made to churches throughout the world was inspired by an old Dutch hymn, a line of which read, "May I be in ceaseless adoration." Van Brunt felt that she could achieve the goal expressed in the hymn through the medium of stained glass. In 1936, when one of her windows had been placed in a Maori church in New Zealand, Van Brunt said, "This fulfills my life-long dream

that some day the sunlight would be streaming through one of my windows every hour of the twenty-four."<sup>153</sup> Van Brunt was a member of the Episcopal Church of the Incarnation at Brooklyn.<sup>154</sup> Most of her windows were given to Episcopal churches and mission chapels, including six windows placed in the Church of the Transfiguration ("The Little Church Around the Corner"), for which she also provided funds for the restoration of the original brick exterior. In addition to many in the United States, Van Brunt's windows were sent to Holland, Norway, Labrador, Alaska, Switzerland, England, France, New Zealand, Sweden, and British Columbia. The artist and her sister traveled to each location to attend the dedications of her windows. When asked why she gave many of her windows to wealthy churches that could afford to pay for them, she replied, "I give my windows to rich churches just to remind everyone that Christ loved us all."<sup>155</sup>

Genevieve Cowles (1871-1950) used her art to express her religious faith and her concern for prison conditions. Together with her twin sister Maude (1871-1905), she created stained glass church windows and painted murals for churches and the Connecticut state prison. Cowles's account of the painting of the prison mural, The Charge to St. Peter, testifies to the deep religious convictions that guided her life and her work.<sup>156</sup> Aided by prisoners who stretched her large canvas, mixed colors, and modeled, she labored for four years on the mural for the prison chapel, after spending three years of preparatory study in the Holy Land.



Cowles believed that she was led by God to paint a scene that would give the prisoners "courage and hope." During her years of work on the mural, Cowles was distressed by inhumane prison conditions that fostered criminal attitudes in the convicts and prevented rehabilitation. After completing the mural, she organized a project called "Parnassus on Wheels," to provide books, lectures, and educational opportunities for prison inmates, and devoted her time and resources to efforts for prison reform.<sup>157</sup>

Cowles once stated:

I desire especially to work for prisons, hospitals, and asylums--for those whose great need of beauty seems often to be forgotten.<sup>158</sup>

The religious devotion with which Cowles approached her mural painting directed all of her work, including her designs for stained glass windows.

Violet Oakley (1874-1961) was a member of the Episcopal church but turned to Christian Science in 1900, in the hope of helping her ailing father who soon died. Oakley's companion, Edith Emerson, who also was a follower of Christian Science, later wrote:

She was sustained during the ordeal by her new found faith which had brought her complete healing of the asthmatic attacks from which she had suffered for so many years. She never lost her love for the Episcopal Church in which she was confirmed, but felt compelled to embrace the new religion which revived the principles of the early Christians, despite warnings and lack of sympathy and remained faithful to it all her life.<sup>159</sup>

Since Oakley believed that art should inspire and instruct, she was drawn to religious and moralizing themes. Oakley's major murals reflect her concerns for world peace

and international cooperation. The influence of Christian Science concepts of the motherhood of God also may be detected in some of the murals, in which majestic female forms symbolize the major themes. One mural in particular suggests the theology of Mary Baker Eddy. The Apocalypse triptych, which Oakley made in 1924 for the Vassar College Alumnae House, depicts the "woman clothed with the sun" from the Book of Revelation, an image that Eddy equated with the deity and on occasion with herself. Oakley wrote of the Apocalypse mural:

Some have believed that the great unveiling of the Apocalypse is the unveiling of the ultimate and true idea of Woman, hidden in mysterious wrappings throughout the ages. . . . the high idea of woman and the offspring of her labors.<sup>160</sup>

Although Oakley's work in stained glass was limited and most of it lost, one example suggested the same female personification of deity. The stained glass dome, made in 1910-11 for the central hall of the Yarnall house at Philadelphia, was based on the theme of the entire room, "The Building of the House of Wisdom " (Figure 24). At the center of the dome was a woman's veiled head, the personification of Wisdom, surrounded by the words, "Wisdom Hath Buildd Her House." Other images in the dome and in the murals below illustrated the progress of civilization in the search for knowledge and truth.<sup>161</sup> Like the Apocalypse mural at Vassar, the dome for the Yarnall house expressed the feminine nature of divine omniscience. The influence of Oakley's religious outlook upon her approach to art was later summarized by Edith Emerson:

Throughout her life she searched out and revealed significant beauty in human and natural forms in a reverent spirit. To her the individual was always a temple of the Holy Ghost, evidence of things unseen and more important than the material and mortal.<sup>162</sup>

One can catch glimpses of religious commitment in the lives of other women artists included in this study. Marietta Minnegerode Andrews (1869-1931), a member of the governing board of the National Committee of Religious Pageantry, wrote several religious pageants, including The Cross Triumphant and That Sweet Story of Old.<sup>163</sup> Clara Miller Burd (1873-1933) organized and directed the Junior Department in the Sunday School of the Congregational church at Verona, New Jersey, where her brother was the pastor during the 1920s and 1930s.<sup>164</sup> Additional women artists who have been identified through this research may also have been involved in religious activities such as those described above.

Regardless of their individual beliefs, all of the women who designed and made windows for churches and synagogues may be viewed as participants in the widening of responsibilities for women which developed in organized religion during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The greater involvement of women in many aspects of religious life validated the participation of women stained glass artists in the creation of suitable settings for worship. Whereas much of women's religious work was done in a voluntary capacity, however, the role of the woman stained glass designer was almost always at the paid professional level. Whether she worked with little recognition

for a large studio or as an independent and recognized artist, the woman who created ecclesiastical windows should be counted among those women who contributed as professionals to American religious life.

The religious world within which American women stained glass artists were active during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was marked by complexity, controversy, and change. Three developments in particular were significant factors in opening the field of stained glass to women: the rapid growth in the membership, congregations, denominations, and buildings of organized religion; the increased interest in the symbolic and psychological functions of ecclesiastical architecture and ornamentation; and the expanded roles for women in the churches and synagogues. The first two developments led to a greater demand and broader market for stained glass; the last provided reinforcement for the involvement of women as professional artists in meeting religious needs. These three strands in the richly-textured tapestry of our national religious life thus offered new opportunities for women to contribute their artistic and managerial skills to the creation of worship environments for the American people.

### CHAPTER III NOTES

1. U.S., Department of the Interior, Census Office, Report on Statistics of Churches in the United States at the Eleventh Census: 1890, by Henry K. Carroll (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1894), pp. xxi and xxiii. These figures are for all reporting denominations.
2. Ibid., p. xxiv. In 1880 the year books of the twenty-one leading Protestant denominations reported a combined total of 9,263,234 communicants; ten years later the Census reported a total of 13,158,363 members for those same denominations, a 42.05 percent increase.
3. Ibid., pp. xvii and xxiv. The total membership for all denominations in 1890 was 20,612,806.
4. U.S., Department of Commerce and Labor, Bureau of the Census, Special Reports: Religious Bodies: 1906, Part I: Summary and General Tables (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1910), p. 22. These figures included 195,618 Protestant congregations, an increase of 27.8 percent over the 153,054 reported in 1890, and 12,482 Roman Catholic congregations, an increase of 21.9 percent over the 10,239 congregations of 1890. The figure of 165,151 religious organizations for 1890, reported in 1906, excludes twenty-six organizations in Alaska that were included in the figure of 165,177 organizations reported in 1890.
5. Ibid., p. 32. Protestant church buildings accounted for 178,850 of those reported, up from 132,891 in 1890, or 34.6 percent; Roman Catholic churches numbered 11,881, an increase of 35.3 percent over the 8,784 reported in 1890. The figure of 142,487 churches for 1890, reported in 1906, presumably excludes 34 edifices in Alaska that were included in the figure of 142,521 reported in 1890.
6. Ibid., p. 25. The Protestant membership stood at 20,287,742, up from 14,007,187 in 1890, an increase of 44.8 percent, and Catholic membership had reached 12,079,142, a growth of 93.5 percent over the 6,241,708 reported in 1890. The combined total membership figure of 20,597,954 for 1890, reported in 1906, excludes 14,852 members in the 26 Alaska organizations.

These members were included in the figure of 20,612,806 reported in 1890.

7. Josiah Strong, Our Country: Its Possible Future and Its Present Crisis (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1963), p. 85. Our Country was first published in 1885. The 1963 edition reproduced the revised edition of 1891. According to Strong's statistical yearbook, Social Progress, total church membership had risen by 1903 to 29,323,158, an increase of 8,710,352 over 20,612,806 in 1890 and of 482,458 over 28,840,699 in 1902. These figures included all religious denominations in the country. Josiah Strong, ed., Social Progress: A Year Book and Encyclopedia of Economic, Industrial, Social and Religious Statistics, 1904 (New York: The Baker and Taylor Co., 1904), pp. 159-60, Tables III and IV. (Hereinafter referred to as Social Progress.) Although more recent historians question the reliability of such statistics, they agree that church membership rose significantly during the late nineteenth century. See Arthur Meier Schlesinger, The Rise of the City, 1878-1898 (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1944), p. 344, and Stow Persons, "Religion and Modernity, 1865-1914," in The Shaping of American Religion, ed. by James Ward Smith and A. Leland Jamison, Vol. I of Religion in American Life (4 vols.; Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1961), p. 372.
8. Winthrop S. Hudson, American Protestantism (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1961), pp. 125-26. The exchange was set to music, enabling "Chaplain" McCabe to sing the following song, as he traveled the western frontier to establish Methodist churches:
 

"The infidels, a motley band,  
 In council met and said:  
 'The churches die all through the land,  
 The last will soon be dead.'  
 When suddenly a message came,  
 It filled them with dismay:  
 'All hail the power of Jesus' name!  
 We're building two a day."

See Winthrop S. Hudson, The Great Tradition of the American Churches (New York and Evanston. Harper & Row, 1953), p. 209. (Hereinafter referred to as Great Tradition.)
9. Winthrop S. Hudson, Religion in America (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1965), pp. 227-28. The Baptists shunted "chapel cars" onto railroad sidings and used them as places of worship until the churches could be built.

10. Robert T. Handy, A History of the Churches in the United States and Canada (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976), p. 274.
11. Ibid., pp. 274-75.
12. Sydney E. Ahlstrom, A Religious History of the American People, Vol. II (2 vols.; Garden City, NY: Image Books, 1975), pp. 208-209. Also see Strong, Social Progress, p. 14.
13. In 1921 Congress passed a quota law that limited the immigration from each country to three percent of the number of persons of that nationality who were living in the United States in 1910. The Immigration Act of 1924 changed the quota to two percent, based on the population figures of 1890. The national-origins law of 1929 imposed further restrictions.
14. Hudson, Religion in America, p. 238.
15. Ahlstrom, A Religious History of the American People, Vol. II, pp. 211-14.
16. Josiah Strong warned: "Our population will continue to swell by this foreign flood, and whatever strain it puts on American institutions, that strain is more than three times as great in our large cities as in the whole country." The Challenge of the City (New York: Eaton & Mains, 1907), p. 67. Also see Aaron Ignatius Abell, The Urban Impact on American Protestantism, 1865-1900 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1943), pp. 3-4, 57, (hereinafter referred to as Urban Impact), and Hudson, Religion in America, p. 238.
17. Hudson, Religion in America, p. 236.
18. Ibid., p. 247. Also see Abell, Urban Impact, p. 7.
19. Hudson, Religion in America, pp. 247-50.
20. Ibid., p. 259.
21. Abell, Urban Impact, p. 7.
22. Schlesinger, The Rise of the City, 1878-1898, p. 333.
23. Washington Gladden, "The Church" (1897), in The Church and the City, 1865-1910, ed. by Robert D. Cross (Indianapolis and New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1967), p. 47.
24. Anthony J. Kuzniewski, "Polish-American Catholics," in Eerdmans' Handbook to Christianity in America (Grand

Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1983), p. 359.

25. Startling Facts, quoted in "Religion in New York," Catholic World, Vol. III (June 1866), pp. 382-83, and in Abell, Urban Impact, p. 6.
26. Abell, Urban Impact, p. 6.
27. Following this pattern, "the First Presbyterian and the First Baptist churches of Chicago moved four or five times during the first century of their existence." Hudson, Great Tradition, p. 131.
28. Henry J. Browne, "Catholicism in the United States," in The Shaping of American Religion, ed. by James Ward Smith and A. Leland Jamison, Vol. I of Religion in American Life (4 vols.; Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1961), p. 93.
29. Ahlstrom, A Religious History of the American People, Vol. II, p. 194.
30. Strong, The Challenge of the City, p. 121.
31. Ibid., pp. 121-22. Strong cites additional statistics in Our Country, pp. 177-79, and in The New Era (New York: The Baker & Taylor Co., 1893), pp. 198-201. However, one Methodist minister defended the removal of prosperous Protestants and their churches to better districts: "The suggestion often made that the well-to-do should continue to reside in the midst of the tenement-house section is not in accordance with sancti-common-sense. We can find no fault with the desire of the people in the lower districts to better their condition by moving uptown. The purpose and tendency of Christianity is to move everybody up-town, if not in locality, at least in condition." James M. King, "The Present Condition of New York City Above Fourteenth Street" (1888), in The Church and the City, 1865-1910, p. 32.
32. Strong, The Challenge of the City, p. 119, and The New Era, p. 200.
33. In Our Country, Strong lists the perils that are magnified in the city: immigration, "romanism," intemperance, materialism, poverty, and socialism, all of which make the city "a serious menace to our civilization" (pp. 171-86).
34. Strong, The Challenge of the City, pp. 170-93, 209-10.



35. Ahlstrom, A Religious History of the American People, Vol. II, p. 265.
36. Many Episcopal churches which added facilities to house their social programs are described by George W. Shinn in his King's Handbook of Notable Episcopal Churches in the United States (Boston: Moses King Corporation, 1889). Shinn's Preface states that he includes "Parish Churches in cities and towns, in many cases with Chapels and Parish Buildings attached, designed to meet the new conditions of American life, and to bring the Church into more direct contact with the people" (p. 3).
37. Strong, Social Progress, pp. 220-21, and New Era, p. 245.
38. Russell H. Conwell, "The Church of the Future," Our Day, Vol. XIX (July 1899), p. 205, cited by Abell, Urban Impact, p. 163. Abell observes that Conwell's figure is valid "only if the term 'institutional' is restricted to churches engaged in a well-rounded social service and if missions and many other agencies are excluded" (pp. 163-64).
39. In 1896 the author of a book on institutional church programs recognized that aesthetic considerations were still important: "The study of architecture is a fascinating one, and churches and cathedrals have always stood among the highest types of the builder's art. We need not sacrifice the 'frozen music.' We may still have our groined arches, our flying buttresses, and our graceful spires, our deep pealing organ, and our stained-glass windows. But with these things we should have the beauty of the practical and the adaptation of structure to the varied uses of the church, which has for its high ideal ministering to the whole man on every day of every week." George Whitefield Mead, Modern Methods in Church Work (New York: Hodder & Stoughton, 1896), p. 329.
40. Abell, Urban Impact, pp. 34-35. Abell states that new churches were needed for mission converts because they "did not value membership in the wealthy congregations."
41. Ibid., pp. 139-41.
42. Ibid., p. 168.
43. Ibid., p. 176.
44. The role of revivalism in the growth of church membership has been of limited importance, according to one historian who states that "on the whole the rate of church-membership growth in America has probably not

been greatly influenced by revivalism. The spurts have been cancelled out by the declensions and the over-all rate of growth has remained fairly constant." William G. McLoughlin, Jr., Modern Revivalism: Charles Grandison Finney to Billy Graham (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1959), p. 529. Referring to Dwight L. Moody, the most popular evangelist of the late nineteenth century, McLoughlin asserts, "He boosted the morale of the regular churchgoers, but he did not reach the masses and he did not add appreciably to the numerical growth of the churches" (p. 265).

45. Andrew Carnegie, "Wealth," North American Review, Vol. CXLVIII (June 1889), pp. 653-64.
46. Carnegie stated: "This, then, is held to be the duty of the man of Wealth: First, to set an example of modest, unostentatious living, shunning display or extravagance; to provide moderately for the legitimate wants of those dependent upon him; and after doing so to consider all surplus revenues which come to him simply as trust funds, which he is called upon to administer, and strictly bound as a matter of duty to administer in the manner which, in his judgment, is best calculated to produce the most beneficial results for the community--the man of wealth thus becoming the mere agent and trustee for his poorer brethren, bringing to their service his superior wisdom, experience, and ability to administer, doing for them better than they would or could do for themselves." Ibid., pp. 661-62. It is interesting that Carnegie singled out Peter Cooper, the founder of the Cooper Institute, as an example of one who used his wealth wisely (pp. 660-61).
47. Hudson, Religion in America, p. 305, and Great Tradition, pp. 180-86; Ralph Henry Gabriel, The Course of American Democratic Thought (2d ed.; New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1956), p. 158; Henry F. May, Protestant Churches and Industrial America (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1949), pp. 64-72. Liberal Catholic clergymen also subscribed to the gospel of wealth.
48. Conwell advised his audiences to get rich: "Money is power. Every good man and woman ought to strive for power, to do good with it when obtained. Tens of thousands of men and women get rich honestly. But they are often accused by an envious, lazy crowd of unsuccessful persons of being dishonest and oppressive. I say, Get rich, get rich! But get money honestly, or it will be a withering curse." Russell H. Conwell, Acres of Diamonds (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1890), p. 19. Quoted in Gabriel, American Democratic Thought, p. 158.

49. A first-hand account of Morgan's generosity toward St. George's Episcopal Church is related by its rector, W. S. Rainsford, "Three Episodes in the Reconstruction of a Downtown Church" (1922), in The Church and the City, 1865-1910, pp. 314-15; Rockefeller's and Vanderbilt's munificent gifts are recorded by Hudson, Religion in America, p. 302, and Abell, Urban Impact, pp. 150-51. Believing himself merely the steward of God-given wealth, Rockefeller once said: "The good Lord gave me my money, and how could I withhold it from the University of Chicago?" Quoted in Gabriel, American Democratic Thought, p. 158.
50. Van Brunt, obviously a wealthy woman, also provided over seventy-five thousand dollars for the removal of brown stucco that had been added to the exterior of the Church of the Transfiguration in New York City, in order to restore the original red brick walls. J. H. Randolph Ray and Villa Stiles, My Little Church Around the Corner (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1957), pp. 284-87.
51. Ahlstrom, A Religious History of the American People, Vol. II, p. 22.
52. The revival of the Romanesque style for many churches also contributed to the increased demand for stained glass. Although H. H. Richardson's Trinity Church, completed at Boston in 1877 and decorated by La Farge, was actually an eclectic design that incorporated various Romanesque styles as well as some Gothic features, it inspired numerous Romanesque-type edifices enriched with stained glass windows. Donald Drew Egbert suggests that Trinity Church, which is "Low Church Episcopalian," may have purposely chosen "a medieval style other than the Gothic Revival in order to distinguish themselves from High Church Episcopalianism." Donald Drew Egbert, "Religious Expression in American Architecture," in Religious Perspectives in American Culture, ed. by James Ward Smith and A. Leland Jamison, Vol. II of Religion in American Life (Princeton, NJ.: Princeton University Press, 1961), p. 391.
53. The early Gothic Revival, which began in the mid-eighteenth century with such English buildings as Horace Walpole's villa, "Strawberry Hill", ignored the structural principles of medieval vaulting but exploited pointed arches, stained glass, and other ornamentation that would create a "Gothick" effect. This playful Gothic style appeared in America as early as 1799 when Benjamin Latrobe built "Sedgeley," a residence for William Crammond at Philadelphia. See Wayne Andrews, Architecture, Ambition and Americans

(New York: The Free Press, 1964), pp. 77-78, and American Gothic: Its Origins, Its Trials, Its Triumphs (New York: Random House, 1975), pp. 1-25.

54. A. Welby Pugin, Contrasts: or, a Parallel Between the Noble Edifices of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries, and Similar Buildings of the Present Day: Showing the Present State of Decay of Taste: Accompanied by Appropriate Text (Reprint of 2d ed., 1841; New York: Humanities Press, Leicester: University Press, 1969), p. 4.
55. A. Welby Pugin, The True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture (Reprint of original 1841 edition; London: Henry G. Bohn, 1853), p. 1.
56. A. Welby Pugin, An Apology for the Revival of Christian Architecture in England (London: John Weale, 1843), pp. 15-16n.
57. A. Welby Pugin, The Present State of Ecclesiastical Architecture in England (London: Charles Dolman, 1843), pp. 79-80.
58. Ibid., p. 26.
59. Extensive iconoclasm occurred during the reign of Henry VIII (1491-1547) after the English church broke away from Rome over the issue of the king's divorce. Henry's reforms included the removal and destruction of many religious images and relics which might be construed as Catholic. During the wave of destruction, much stained glass was spared because of the cost of replacing it. Nevertheless, considerable glass was broken or else offensive sections, such as heads or symbols of saints, were removed and replaced with plain glass. John Phillips, The Reformation of Images: Destruction of Art in England, 1535-1660 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), pp. 53-86. Royal injunctions issued in 1559 by Elizabethan reformers attempted to adapt existing churches for the vernacular liturgy of the Book of Common Prayer. Among other changes, "all shrines, pictures, and images which had given rise to supersititious and idolatrous practices were ordered to be destroyed" but, because stained glass windows were officially permitted, many escaped destruction. G. W. O. Addleshaw and Frederick Etchells, The Architectural Setting of Anglican Worship (3d ed.; London: Faber and Faber, 1956), p. 35. The English Puritans also were responsible for the destruction of much religious imagery. A liturgical revival in the Anglican church during the late 1500s and early 1600s attempted to restore ceremonial worship and images but resulted in the execution of Archbishop

William Laud for disobeying the injunctions against imagery and idolatry. According to Laud's critic, Puritan William Prynne, "Popery may creep in at a glasse window, as well as at a door." William Prynne, Canterburie's Doome, or the First Part of a Compleat History of the Commitment, Tryall, Condemnation, and Execution of William Laud (London, 1646), p. 466. Quoted in Phillips, The Reformation of Images, p. 184.

60. James F. White, The Cambridge Movement: The Ecclesiologists and the Gothic Revival (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1962), pp. 2-3, and Protestant Worship and Church Architecture (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), pp. 95-98, 134. (Hereinafter referred to as Cambridge Movement and Protestant Worship.)
61. Phoebe B. Stanton, The Gothic Revival & American Church Architecture: An Episode in Taste, 1840-1856 (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1968), p. 11. (Hereinafter referred to as Gothic Revival.)
62. White, Cambridge Movement, pp. 3-7.
63. Ibid.; also, Stanton, Gothic Revival, pp. 10-11.
64. Ahlstrom, A Religious History of the American People, Vol. II, pp. 60-61.
65. Stanton, Gothic Revival, p. xix; James Thayer Addison, The Episcopal Church in the United States, 1789-1931 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1951), pp. 152-56; White, Cambridge Movement, pp. 18-19.
66. Eugene R. Fairweather, ed., The Oxford Movement (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), pp. 12-13.
67. Ibid.; Addison, The Episcopal Church in the United States, p. 155; Stanton, Gothic Revival, p. xx; White, Cambridge Movement, pp. 19-24. White quotes several of Pusey's statements which indicate that the Tractarians were either disinterested in or disturbed by any emphasis on ceremonialism or aesthetics, "lest the whole movement should become superficial" (p. 21).
68. White, Cambridge Movement, p. 40. Among the early leaders of the Society were John Mason Neale, Edward Jacob Boyce, Benjamin Webb, and Alexander James Beresford Hope.
69. The Ecclesiologist, Vol. V, No. VII (January 1846), p. 3. Although their nearly simultaneous development suggests a close connection between the Oxford and

Cambridge movements, Stanton notes that "the Cambridge revivalists preferred to believe that they were independent but sympathetic observers of religious developments at Oxford." Stanton, Gothic Revival, p. xx.

70. Report of the Cambridge Camden Society for MDCCCXLII (Cambridge, 1842), pp. 14, 16. Quoted in White, Cambridge Movement, p. 29.
71. White, Cambridge Movement, p. 29.
72. A Few Words to Church Builders (3d ed.; Cambridge: University Press, 1844), p. 5. Quoted in White, Cambridge Movement, p. 98.
73. White, Protestant Worship, p. 133.
74. Ibid., p. 136.
75. John Mason Neale, Church Enlargement and Church Arrangement (Cambridge: University Press, 1843), p. 12. Quoted in White, Cambridge Movement, p. 187. Many articles on the importance of color also appeared in the Ecclesiologist.
76. The Society's interest in promoting changes in ritual within the Anglican Church also resulted in its publication of Hierugia Anglicana or Documents and Extracts Illustrative of the Ritual of the Church in England after the Reformation (London: J. G. F. and J. Rivington, 1848). This scholarly collection of historical documents was issued as evidence of authoritative Protestant support for the ceremonialism advocated by the group.
77. The Ecclesiologist, Vol. VII, p. 2. quoted in White, Cambridge Movement, p. 49.
78. The Ecclesiologist, Vol. VII, p. 88, quoted in White, Cambridge Movement, p. 50.
79. White, Cambridge Movement, p. 14; Stanton, Gothic Revival, pp. 19-22. Stanton states that the Ecclesiologists found it necessary to disassociate themselves from Pugin in order to "evade charges of sympathy with Roman Catholicism and validate their claim of originality" (p. 22).
80. The Ecclesiologist, Vol. III (September 1843), pp. 16-20.
81. "Some Remarks on Glass-Painting--No. II," The Ecclesiologist, Vol. XVIII (April 1857), p. 74.

82. (2d ed.; Cambridge: University Press, 1842).
83. (Cambridge: University Press, 1841). There were two volumes to this work: No. I, Suited to Country Parishes and No. II, Suited to Town and Manufacturing Parishes. Both were widely read in England and America. White refers to the former as "surely one of the most influential publications ever on church architecture. It contained the full orthodoxy of the Cambridge Movement, ideas which ever since have dominated a large segment of Protestant church building. . . . One only needs to note that in the 1940s an influential book by an American Methodist advocated the same arrangement to see what a wide circulation these ideas have had." White, Protestant Worship, p. 133.
84. Stanton, Gothic Revival, p. 53. Measured drawings of medieval churches were available also through the Oxford Architectural Society and in books by English writers.
85. Ibid., pp. 41-43. Stanton cites the published drawings of the Oxford Architectural Society and the writings of Pugin, John Britton, Raphael and J. Arthur Brandon, George R. Lewis, Ewan Christian, G. A. Poole, and J. L. Petit, as well as the Ecclesiologist and other publications of the Cambridge Camden Society.
86. Ibid., p. 29.
87. Alan Gowans observes that Upjohn's Trinity Church "provided the first great impetus towards making Gothic respectable for churches" in America. Gowans points out other connotations of the Gothic style, in addition to its religious symbolism. Despite the frequent association of the Gothic Revival with eccentricity, social and intellectual pretensions, and undemocratic ideas, it was preferred by many over classical styles as "the truest cultural expression of the times": "The best of the Gothic Revivalists . . . realized how surely and how fast the growth of cities, of nation-wide industry and finance, of complexity in every side of life was destroying the old self-sufficiency. that confidence in individuals' abilities to control and mould their world, on which the 18th-century classical tradition depended; and they believed that Gothic, imperfect as it was, was a better expression of and response to the new civilization that was taking shape." Essentially, the difference lay in the "altered relationship between man and nature," with the classical style symbolizing the separation between rational order and natural chaos and the Gothic style representing the integration of the two. See Alan Gowans, Images of American Living: Four Centuries of

Architecture and Furniture as Cultural Expression (New York, Hagerstown, San Francisco, and London: Harper & Row, 1976), pp. 308-309.

88. James L. Sturm, Stained Glass from Medieval Times to the Present: Treasures to be Seen in New York (New York: E. P. Dutton, Inc., 1982), pp. 19, 24-25, 29, 45. (Hereinafter referred to as Stained Glass from Medieval Times to the Present.)
89. White, Protestant Worship, pp. 98-105; also, Egbert, "Religious Expression in American Architecture," pp. 364-65, 374-81. Some of the earliest American Anglican churches, dating from the 1600s, were like medieval English parish churches of the same period, Gothic in form but modified for Protestant preaching. Egbert notes that the classical style of the later auditory churches built in England by Christopher Wren and his successor, James Gibbs, greatly influenced 18th-century American church architecture, both Anglican and non-Anglican.
90. Stanton states that between 1840 and 1845 "at least ten major churches were built in New York City," dating the arrival in this country of the English Gothic Revival in church architecture. Nine of these were Protestant Episcopal churches. Stanton, Gothic Revival, p. 56.
91. Ralph Adams Cram, Church Building: A Study of the Principles of Architecture in Their Relation to the Church (Boston: Small, Maynard & Company, 1901), p. 8. Originally published in serial form by The Churchman in 1899.
92. Ralph Adams Cram, "Address of Mr. Ralph Adams Cram," The Stained Glass Bulletin, Vol. XXIX (July 1925), p. 11.
93. Ralph Adams Cram, My Life in Architecture (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1936), pp. 96-97. One of Cram's major commissions, for an institution long associated with Presbyterian theology, was his Gothic style Princeton University Chapel, completed in 1928. Cram had been appointed supervising architect of Princeton University in 1907. Egbert, "Religious Expression in American Architecture," p. 393.
94. The New England meeting house was itself a symbol of early Christian simplicity, the priesthood of all believers, and the primacy of Scripture; "into its simplicity nothing was allowed to intrude which might distract from the direct connection of the individual of the congregation with the word of God: no crosses,



- no images, no altar with the relics of the saints." Egbert, "Religious Expression in American Architecture," p. 368.
95. An early nineteenth-century example of anti-Catholic propaganda aimed at young minds can be found in a history textbook, which compared Catholic ostentation to Protestant simplicity by describing the elaborate interior of Mexico City's cathedral, including its "statues of saints made of silver, and ornamented with precious stones": "Such is the pomp of a Catholic Church; but who would exchange the humble little meeting-houses of our own country for these gorgeous edifices? Who would exchange our simple religion for the hollow ceremonies that may be witnessed in a Mexican Cathedral?" S. G. Goodrich, Peter Parley's First Book of History (1831), p. 130, quoted in Sr. Marie Leonore Fell, The Foundations of Nativism in American Textbooks, 1783-1860 (Washington, D.C.: University of America Press, 1941), p. 125.
  96. Ray Allen Billington, The Protestant Crusade, 1800-1860: A Study of the Origins of American Nativism (Gloucester, MA: Peter Smith, 1963), p. 309.
  97. Zwingli's approval of stained glass windows is cited by G. G. Coulton, Art and the Reformation (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953), p. 410.
  98. White, Protestant Worship, p. 120.
  99. Ibid., pp. 124-25. Sturm calls attention to the use of rose windows by some nonliturgical churches as early as the 1880s. The complex gabled roofs required for their auditorium-style churches offered space for circular windows, most of which featured geometric designs made of opalescent or enameled glass. Rose windows did not become popular in Gothic Revival churches until the twentieth-century. Sturm, Stained Glass from Medieval Times to Present, pp. 73-74.
  100. Latrobe's alternate classical design, based on the Pantheon at Rome, was chosen for the Cathedral because it represented both "patriotic Americanism" and "loyalty to Rome," an important dual symbol for Roman Catholics in a predominantly Protestant country. Gowans, Images of American Living, p. 262.
  101. Egbert, "Religious Expression in American Architecture," p. 388.
  102. In recent years Roman Catholic architecture has moved in other directions as a result of another theological development. The modern Liturgical Movement, which

spread from its nineteenth-century monastic origins to the parochial level within the Roman Catholic Church, and then to Anglican, Episcopal, Lutheran, and even Calvinist groups, greatly differs from the liturgical and architectural revival advocated by the Cambridge Movement. In the latter, the emphasis was on passive, individual responses to the rituals of worship, performed only by the clergy within a separate liturgical space. For such worship, the Gothic church with its distinct chancel and long, rectangular nave was ideal. The recent Liturgical Movement, however, has encouraged the participation of the laity in the liturgy, inasmuch as it views the church as the local incarnation of the Body of Christ, to be nourished through corporate activity in the eucharist. As a result, the Movement has promoted the building of smaller churches designed so that all can see, hear, and take part in the Mass or worship service. It has even minimized church buildings by advocating worship within private homes. In this way, the Liturgical Movement resembles the attitudes of the early church and the Reformation. The Catholic and Protestant churches built under the influence of the Liturgical Movement have experimented with architectural arrangements that promote the role of the laity and a sense of community. For a discussion of several European and American churches, both Catholic and Protestant, that express the spirit of the modern Liturgical Movement, see White, Protestant Worship, pp. 143-78.

103. Sturm, Stained Glass from Medieval Times to the Present, p. 13; also, John Gilbert Lloyd, Stained Glass in America (Jenkintown, PA.: Foundation Books, 1963), pp. 36-38.
104. Sturm, Stained Glass from Medieval Times to the Present, pp. 15-16.
105. A writer in 1887 attributed the situation of twenty years previous to the low quality of American work: "None of the windows made here could compare with those foreign windows, and the larger part were so dreadful in color that sometimes, now that we know better, we wisely pull them out and throw them away; for it is better to see plain glass than permit young people to grow up in sight of such hideous construction." Charles Barnard, "The Art Industries," The Chautauquan, Vol. VII, No. 6 (March 1887), p. 336.
106. Sturm, Stained Glass from Medieval Times to the Present, pp. 23-24.
107. In 1888 a stained glass designer rhapsodized over the expanding market for American work: "That this art,

which is so nearly allied to the old world of the past, should find its renaissance in the last years of the nineteenth century amidst the dust and clamor of our new-world mart is curious enough. But in a country where, in default of cathedrals inherited from ages gone by, our interest in the church is in part manifested by the fact that there are more than four thousand religious edifices now in course of construction, this revival is more than curious; it becomes a question of eminent artistic importance. In the old world the field of the glass-stainer is virtually limited to the Roman Catholic Church and the Established Church of England. Here, with the widening of sect-distinctions, the churches of nearly all denominations are open to him, and it needs no gift of prophecy to foresee, in the near future, the clear sunshine gaining admittance to all our churches through colored glass, and carrying with it messages of faith and fortitude, of joyous hope and reverent memory." Will H. Low, "Old Glass in New Windows," Scribner's Magazine, Vol. IV, No. 6 (December 1888), p. 675.

108. The impact of opalescent windows on the American stained glass industry was described by a contemporary observer: "They exhibited artistic effects never seen before and of the greatest value, and it seemed as if a wholly new art had been created. . . . The result is that to-day stained glass is everywhere in our churches, in our houses and in our public buildings. Hundreds of people have found employment in the business, and new shops for making windows have sprung up in all our cities. Artists have found the new glass a charming mode of expressing their ideas of beautiful forms and colors, and both the artists and all the people are gainers in the extraordinary revolution that has come in this field of work." Barnard, "The Art Industries," p. 336.
109. Sturm, Stained Glass from Medieval Times to the Present, p. 41. Sturm states that the Landscape window also "became a metaphor for the optimistic theology of late nineteenth-century America" by suggesting the goodness of God, man, and nature (p. 43).
110. A writer in 1900 declared that "our artists today are not limited to geometrical designs and saintly figures. It was long a mooted point, for instance, whether landscapes were permissible in stained glass, but this question has been settled affirmatively by American stained-glass workers, and bits of charming scenery have been successfully produced." Kirk D. Henry, "American Art Industries--III: Stained-Glass Work," Brush and Pencil, Vol. VII, No. 3 (December 1900), p. 162.

111. Various studies have noted the preponderance of women in church membership records after 1660. Mary Maples Dunn cites membership figures for twenty-eight Congregational churches in Massachusetts and Connecticut that show percentages of female church admissions increasing from 65 percent of total admissions in 1660 to 70 percent in 1750. See Dunn, "Saints and Sisters: Congregational and Quaker Women in the Early Colonial Period," in Women In American Religion, ed. by Janet Wilson James (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1980), pp. 35-36. Gerald F. Moran's analysis of admissions to New England churches shows the same numerical superiority of women throughout the 1600s. See Moran, "'Sisters in Christ': Women and the Church in Seventeenth-Century New England," in Women in American Religion, pp. 48-53. Laurel Thatcher Ulrich also calls attention to the predominance of women in colonial New England churches, "though women were denied full participation in the establishment or the governance of religion." Ulrich, Good Wives: Image and Reality in the Lives of Women in Northern New England, 1650-1750 (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1982), pp. 215-16.
112. In 1778 Benjamin Rush asserted, "Virtue alone . . . is the basis of a republic." Quoted in Mary Beth Norton, Liberty's Daughters: The Revolutionary Experience of American Women, 1750-1800 (Boston and Toronto: Little, Brown and Company, 1980), p. 242. Norton notes the emphasis placed on the home "as the source of virtue and stability in government" and on women as the standard bearers of virtuous behavior (p. 243.) Martha Blauvelt suggests that women were urged to be pious to ensure their virtuous behavior. Martha Tomhave Blauvelt, "Women and Revivalism," in Women and Religion in America, Vol. I: The Nineteenth Century, ed. by Rosemary Radford Ruether and Rosemary Skinner Keller (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1981), pp. 1-3.
113. Blauvelt states that during the First Great Awakening (1739-1743) women comprised about 56 percent of those joining Congregational churches; during the Second Awakening (1795-1830) they formed about two thirds of the new members in New Jersey Presbyterian, New England Congregational, and Southern evangelical churches. During nonrevival years, the proportion of women among new church members was even higher. Blauvelt, "Women and Revivalism," p. 2.
114. Favorite Pauline arguments were 1 Timothy 2:11-12: "Let a woman learn in silence with all submissiveness. I permit no woman to teach or to have authority over men; she is to keep silent"; and 1 Corinthians 14:34: "The women should keep silence in the churches." Many

clergymen and churchgoers agreed with the opinion of a prominent Presbyterian minister: "The general rule . . . laid down by the Spirit of Christ, speaking by the mouth of St. Paul, is now in force, without an exception. Women are, in no case, to be publick preachers and teachers, in assemblies promiscuously composed of the two sexes." Ashbel Green, The Christian Duty of Christian Women. A Discourse, Delivered in the Church of Princeton, New Jersey, August 23rd, 1825, before the Princeton Female Society, for the Support of a Female School in India, quoted in Blauvelt, "Women and Revivalism," p. 35.

115. Phoebe Worrall Palmer (1807-1874) became involved in the revivalism of the 1830s by leading women's prayer meetings in which she promoted the Methodist doctrine of "holiness" or "perfectionism." Having attracted a large following, Palmer and her husband, Dr. Walter C. Palmer, began conducting holiness revival meetings during the 1850s. In 1868 Margaret Van Cott (1830-1914) was the first woman to receive a license to preach in the Methodist Episcopal Church. Van Cott preached until she retired in 1902.
116. Ahlstrom, A Religious History of the American People, Vol. II, pp. 198-99.
117. During the urban revivals of 1857-58, prospective women teachers were offered words of encouragement in a clergyman's book entitled, significantly, The True Woman: "The Sabbath school is your home. Here your kind words, your faithful instructions, your gentle admonitions, and fervent prayers are to aid largely in forming the Church of the future. Here, as well as in the nursery, you will stamp the coming age with your own intelligence, and mold, by your sympathies and example, the minds upon which the destinies of millions depend. Here you will arouse the careless, reclaim the erring, save the lost, and fix upon immortal minds the stamp of eternity. In this field you will find full scope for your wisdom, your sympathies, and your efforts for a lifetime. . . . Give it the dignity of a calling, a life labor worthy of your highest abilities and greatest sacrifices. Then you will make your Sunday-school work the joy of your heart and the glory of your highest enthusiasm. . . . In behalf of your own sex, who will understand you better than they will us, and who will yield to your suggestions with less timidity and more assurance than to those we can give, you must impart the light of your experience, the aid of your counsels, and the power of your prayers." Jesse T. Peck, The True Woman; or, Life and Happiness at Home and Abroad (New York: Carlton & Porter, 1857), pp. 303-304.

118. The forerunners of the late nineteenth-century missionary societies were the local and interdenominational groups organized in New England during the early 1800s to promote missionary work and other benevolent activity. Women from six denominations joined to form the Women's Union Missionary Society in 1860. Rosemary Skinner Keller, "Lay Women in the Protestant Tradition," Women and Religion in America, Vol I: The Nineteenth Century, p. 244. The founding date of the WUMS is given as 1861 by Virginia Lieson Brereton and Christa Ressmeyer Klein, "American Women in Ministry: A History of Protestant Beginning Points," in Women in American Religion, p. 174.
119. Keller, "Lay Women in the Protestant Tradition," pp. 245-46.
120. Less than a dozen unmarried American women were foreign missionaries before 1861. Most of the women serving at foreign mission stations were the wives of missionaries. Although the missionary wives assumed many responsibilities, too much of their time was required for domestic duties. By mid-century, it was apparent that single women were needed to minister to native women, who were inaccessible to male missionaries. Barbara Welter, "She Hath Done What She Could: Protestant Women's Missionary Careers in Nineteenth-Century America," in Women in American Religion, pp. 113-14, 117-18; Brereton and Klein, "American Women in Ministry," p. 177.
121. The Woman's Baptist Missionary Training School, founded at Chicago in 1881 by the Woman's American Baptist Home Mission Society, was the first such institution. By 1916 there were about sixty similar schools, mainly for women. Brereton and Klein, "American Women in Ministry," p. 178.
122. Typical publications included the Heathen Woman's Friend, journal of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church; Light and Life for Heathen Women, journal of the Congregational Woman's Board of Missions; the Missionary Helper, journal of the Free Baptist Women's Society; and the Woman's Evangel, journal of the Women's Missionary Society of the United Brethren Church. "By the 1890s, sixty thousand women were subscribing to the three largest women's publications in the Presbyterian, Methodist Episcopal, and Baptist Churches." Keller, "Lay Women in the Protestant Tradition," p. 261.
123. Brereton and Klein, "American Women in Ministry," p. 177.

124. Helen Barrett Montgomery, Western Women in Eastern Lands: Fifty Years of Woman's Work in Foreign Missions (New York: Macmillan Co., 1910). Quoted in Rosemary Skinner Keller, "Lay Women in the Protestant Tradition," p. 290.
125. The American deaconess movement was first started in 1849 by the Evangelical Alliance of the Lutheran Church but did not succeed among Lutherans until 1884. The Chicago Training School was opened by Lucy Rider Meyer in the late 1880s to prepare deaconesses in the Methodist Episcopal Church. Deaconesses also were trained in other denominations, including black groups such as the African Methodist Episcopal Church. Brereton and Klein, "American Women in Ministry," p. 179; Keller, "Lay Women in the Protestant Tradition," p. 247.
126. Writing in 1903, a historian of the deaconess movement called attention to the failure of the church to solve the problems of the congested cities and the consequent need for deaconesses: "It is a fact that the unchristian and ignorant masses in the great cities are threatening civilization. . . . Almost universally the large, wealthy Churches are removed to the suburbs, and the population of the poor in the older city quarters are left to themselves. . . . More than ever before are we in need to-day of female power. We need women who will give up the luxuries of life, who will forsake society and friends, and condescend to help this class of men. They must patiently persevere until these people regain confidence and give heed to the Church and the gospel. The only hope and possibility of elevating and saving this class of the population in our great cities lies in the unselfish and devoted activity of such women. The sufferings, cares, and sicknesses of these most abandoned ones can only be reached by ministrations of love that will take a personal interest, nurse, encourage, counsel and assist; that will give work to the unemployed, gather the children in kindergartens and the infants in day nurseries, and be present everywhere where help is needed." Reverend Christian Golder, History of the Deaconess Movement in the Christian Church (Cincinnati: Jennings & Pye, 1903), pp. 255-56.
127. Keller, "Lay Women in the Protestant Tradition," pp. 243, 246-49.
128. Brereton and Klein, "American Women in Ministry," p. 171; Barbara Brown Zikmund, "The Struggle for the Right to Preach," in Women and Religion in America, p. 195. Zikmund has summarized the arguments that supported or opposed women as preachers: "Advocates for

change believed that this right was: (1) grounded in the work of the Holy Spirit (2) justified by practical considerations, (3) already happening on the mission field, and (4) acceptable because of new enlightened interpretations of Scripture. Those who defended the status quo . . . argued that: (1) biblical authority prohibited these changes, (2) women's role in the church was expanding enough under proper limitations, and (3) historical, social, intellectual, and political reasons made any changes in the place of women totally unacceptable." Zikmund, "The Struggle for the Right to Preach," p. 205.

129. Annual meetings had been held since 1873, when women ministers in the Boston area convened at the urging of Julia Ward Howe, who became the president of the Women's Ministerial Conference in 1882. Ada C. Bowles, "Woman in the Ministry," in Woman's Work in America, ed. by Annie Nathan Meyer (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1891), p. 215. Also in 1882, many women preachers were among the notable American women included in a book written by a Universalist woman minister, who declared: "The coming preacher who is to gain the ear of churches is a woman,--not one woman of any church, but the consecrated, God-given women preachers of all the churches." Phebe A. Hanaford, Daughters of America; or, Women of the Century (Augusta, ME.: True and Company, 1882), p. 474.
130. Barbara Welter, "The Feminization of American Religion, 1800-1860," Ch. IV of Dimity Convictions: The American Woman in the Nineteenth Century (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 1976), pp. 90-98.
131. Ibid., pp. 83-90.
132. Barbara Brown Zikmund, "The Feminist Thrust of Sectarian Christianity," in Women of Spirit: Female Leadership in the Jewish and Christian Traditions, ed. by Rosemary Ruether and Eleanor McLaughlin (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1979), pp. 207-209.
133. Ibid., pp. 209-11, 215-20. Mary Baker Eddy affirmed the feminine side of God: "In divine science we have not as much authority for considering God masculine, as we have for considering him feminine, for Love imparts the clearest idea of Deity." Mary Baker Eddy, Science and Health (Boston: A. V. Stewart, 1910), p. 517. In the mother church of the Church of Christ, Scientist, at Boston, is a window depicting the woman described in the Book of Revelation. She is "clothed with the sun, and the moon under her feet, and upon her head a crown of twelve stars" (Rev. 12:1). Eddy interprets this vision "as the spiritual idea or type of God's



Motherhood." Eddy, Science and Health, With Key to the Scriptures, (68th ed.: Boston: E. J. Foster Eddy, 1894), p. 554.

134. Several recent studies have pointed out the lack of recognition given by historians to the achievements of American nuns and other Catholic women. See Sister Elizabeth Kolmer, "Catholic Women Religious and Women's History: A Survey of the Literature," in Women in American Religion, pp. 127-39; Mary J. Oates, "Organized Volunteerism: The Catholic Sisters in Massachusetts, 1876-1940," in Women in American Religion, pp. 141-42; and James J. Kenneally, "Eve, Mary, and the Historians," in Women in American Religion, pp. 191-206.
135. Mary Ewens, "The Leadership of Nuns in Immigrant Catholicism," in Women and Religion in America, Vol. I: The Nineteenth Century, pp. 101-103. During the Civil War, 640 nuns served in the military hospitals of both North and South; 282 were military nurses during the Spanish-American War. The lives and contributions of American nuns are discussed in detail in Ewens's book, The Role of the Nun in Nineteenth-Century America (New York: Arno Press, 1979).
136. Ibid., p. 102.
137. Ibid., p. 107.
138. Ann Braude, "The Jewish Woman's Encounter with American Culture," in Women and Religion in America, Vol. I, p. 166.
139. Ibid., p. 150; also Norma Fain Pratt, "Transitions in Judaism. The Jewish American Woman through the 1930s," in Women in American Religion, p. 208.
140. Pratt, "Transitions in Judaism: The Jewish American Woman through the 1930s," pp. 208-9. In 1913 the National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods was founded by fifty-two local sisterhoods representing 5,000 members.
141. Braude, "The Jewish Woman's Encounter with American Culture," p. 158; Pratt, "Transitions in Judaism: The Jewish American Woman through the 1930s," pp. 209-10.
142. Braude, "The Jewish Woman's Encounter with American Culture," pp. 150-51, 158; Pratt, "Transitions in Judaism: The Jewish American Woman through the 1930s," pp. 210-12.

143. Pratt, "Transitions in Judaism: The Jewish American Woman through the 1930s," pp. 213, 222-23.
144. Ellen M. Umansky, "Women in Judaism: From the Reform Movement to Contemporary Jewish Religious Feminism," in Women of Spirit: Female Leadership in the Jewish and Christian Traditions, p. 343. Umansky notes that Frank inspired Jews in Spokane Falls, Washington, "to form a permanent congregation and build a house of worship."
145. The first American woman to seek rabbinic ordination was Martha Neumark, a student in 1921 at Hebrew Union College, a Reform theological seminary at Cincinnati. In 1972 Sally Priesand was the first woman to be ordained by Hebrew Union College, which had merged with the Jewish Institute of Religion. Ibid., p. 339-42.
146. Sturm, Stained Glass from Medieval Times to the Present, p. 43.
147. Anne Lee Willet was the daughter of a Presbyterian minister. Anne Van Derlip Weston was the daughter of a Baptist minister. Jessie Cole was the daughter of an Episcopal missionary to Africa and the wife of an Episcopal minister. Clara Miller Burd was the sister of a Congregational minister.
148. Martha J. Hoppin, "Women Artists in Boston, 1870-1900: The Pupils of William Morris Hunt," The American Art Journal, Vol. XIII, No. 1 (Winter 1961), p. 31; Betty S. Smith, "Biographical Outline: Sarah Wyman Whitman (1842-1904)," unpublished manuscript, pp. 7, 12.
149. "Address of James B. Dow," in Sarah Whitman (Boston: The Merrymount Press, 1904), p. 4; Ethel M. Desborough, "Sarah de St. Prix Wyman Whitman (Mrs. Henry)," Sarah Wyman Whitman Papers, The Arthur and Elizabeth Schlesinger Library on the History of Women in America, Radcliffe College, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
150. "Address of James B. Dow," in Sarah Whitman, pp. 4-5.
151. Letter to the author from Joanne R. Claassen, Church Secretary, The Bowne Street Community Church, Flushing, New York, July 1, 1984; Letter from Agnes F. Northrop to James P. Eadie, Flushing, New York, December 4, 1941.
152. Northrop once wrote: "I go out to Flushing once in a while--but the Marble Collegiate, with Dr. Peale with his wonderful sermons--is a bit nearer." Letter to James P. Eadie, Flushing, New York, April 10, 1940.

153. Ray and Stiles, My Little Church Around the Corner, p. 286; "Jessie Van Brunt, Artist, 84, is Dead," The New York Times, March 2, 1947, p. 60.
154. "Dedicate Windows," The Brooklyn Daily Eagle, April 11, 1927. Clipping in the Jessie Van Brunt Papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.
155. Ray and Stiles, My Little Church Around the Corner, p. 284; Emma Bugbee, "Windows She Designs Given to Churches by Brooklynite," New York Herald Tribune, July 4, 1938. Clipping in the Jessie Van Brunt Papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.
156. Genevieve Cowles, "The Prisoners and Their Pictures," McClure's Magazine, Part I (November 1922), pp. 62-74, Part II (December 1922), pp. 47-55, 80-82. Maude died just as the prison mural project was begun. Genevieve and Maude had two other sisters, Mildred and Edith, who also were artists. They were probably reared as Episcopalians. Edith later converted to Catholicism, joined a sisterhood in Italy and became the Mother Superior of an orphanage for children orphaned by World War I. The Farmington Library Historical Archives, Farmington, Connecticut. Genevieve also may have become a Catholic convert. She is listed as such by Durward Howes, ed., American Women: The Official Who's Who Among the Women of the Nation, Vol. III (1939-40) (Los Angeles, CA.: Richard Blank Publishing Company, 1940), p. 196.
157. Durward Howes, ed., American Women: The Official Who's Who Among the Women of the Nation, Vol. III, p. 196.
158. Clara Erskine (Waters) Clement, Women in the Fine Arts from the Seventh Century B.C. to the Twentieth Century A.D. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1904), pp. 92-93. Unfortunately, Genevieve Cowles's prison mural has not fared well, in spite of her dedication and years of toil. When the prison was razed in the 1960s, the mural was rolled up and stored. Later inspection revealed too much fading and cracking for it to be used. The Farmington Library Historical Archives, Farmington, Connecticut.
159. Edith Emerson, "Violet Oakley, 1874-1961," The Germantowne Crier, December, 1961, Vol. XIII, p. 8. Violet Oakley Papers, lent by Edith Emerson, Microfilm Roll Number 1188 in the Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.
160. Violet Oakley, illuminated manuscript entitled The Great Wonder, 1924, Collection of Vassar College

Library. Quoted in Vassar Quarterly (June 1924), p. 260, and in Patricia Likos, "Violet Oakley (1874-1961)," Bulletin of the Philadelphia Museum of Art, Vol. LXXV, No. 325 (June 1979), p. 8.

161. Likos, "Violet Oakley (1874-1961), p. 14. According to the organization that occupied the Yarnall house from 1927 until 1940, the stained glass dome was broken sometime after 1940. It is now being recreated by Philadelphia artist John Biers for the present owners. Letter from Marie Odgers, President, Republican Women of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, March 16, 1984.
162. Emerson, "Violet Oakley, 1874-1961," p. 8.
163. Who's Who in America, Vol. XIV, p. 174.
164. Letter from Margaret B. Franklin, Palm Harbor, Florida, July 20, 1985.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE ARTISTIC WORLD

The aesthetic background for American women stained glass artists who were active from the 1870s through the 1930s was composed of overlapping trends that were both similar and diverse. It encompassed several interrelated movements and events that affected the production and direction of stained glass. The revival of Gothic church architecture, led by Pugin, the Ecclesiologists, and Cram, was an important component of the aesthetic context as well as the religious context in which these women worked. Another significant development was the Arts and Crafts movement, which originated in England and spread to America in the final decades of the nineteenth century. Still another movement that affected the art of stained glass was the emergence of the "American Renaissance," which grew out of a new appreciation of the European Renaissance, its classical origins, and America's own past. Other influential components of the artistic climate included the aesthetic and technical innovations of La Farge and Tiffany, whose work set new directions for American stained glass. Finally, the impact of the great expositions of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was felt in many

areas of American culture, especially in architecture and art. Although these movements and events often included the same individuals and achievements, each can be examined as a separate aesthetic aspect of the era during which American women became active in the field of stained glass.

The movements, styles, materials, and methods that prevailed in American stained glass from the 1870s through the 1930s guided the work of these women artists in different directions. In order to better understand the relationship of American women stained glass artists and their windows to the major styles and leading figures of the period, it will be helpful to briefly review the history of stained glass, especially the developments throughout earlier decades of the nineteenth century.

### The Early History of Stained Glass

The date when stained glass windows were first used is unknown.<sup>1</sup> Various writers have called attention to the close identification of the stained glass medium with the rise of Christianity.<sup>2</sup> Although colored glass had long been used as a decorative element for the windows and walls of non-Christian cultures, the art of joining pieces of stained and painted glass by means of lead channels into symbolic or pictorial designs developed primarily with the spread of Christian thought and architecture. The earliest recorded colored glass church windows, made in the sixth century, have disappeared. These were probably nonrepresentational, either unpainted or with painted linear patterns.

The oldest surviving fragments of windows incorporating representational forms date from the ninth or tenth century, while the oldest extant complete windows were made in the eleventh century.<sup>3</sup> By the early twelfth century, the art of stained glass was firmly established and was included in a treatise on the decorative arts written by the German monk Theophilus.<sup>4</sup>

The flowering of stained glass began with the age of the great cathedrals. For three hundred years, from the mid-eleventh to the mid-fourteenth centuries, scores of cathedrals and hundreds of churches were built throughout western Europe, as a result of the increased peace and prosperity that followed the end of barbaric invasions. The cathedrals and churches were also an expression of the religious fervor and renewed optimism that ensued when predictions that the world would end in 1,000 A.D. proved to be false.<sup>5</sup> In most of these new places of worship, stained glass played an important aesthetic and spiritual role.

Although the cathedral age included the building of both Romanesque and Gothic structures, it was the latter style of architecture that spurred the development of stained glass. The round-arched windows of eleventh- and twelfth-century Romanesque-style churches were limited in size and number to preserve the strength of the thick, load-bearing walls. Because the thinner walls of Gothic churches were no longer load-bearing, they permitted the use of larger expanses of glass. In the mid-twelfth century, Abbot

Suger rebuilt his abbey church of St. Denis near Paris in the new Gothic style, filling its choir with stained glass windows to function as both sources of beauty and symbols of divine illumination.<sup>6</sup> The success of St. Denis inspired the construction of countless Gothic churches and cathedrals in the centuries that followed. The era of the first great Gothic cathedrals, the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, was also the "Golden Age of Stained Glass," when the art reached unsurpassed heights of aesthetic splendor, technical brilliance, and spiritual expression.

The windows created during this early Gothic period were like glass mosaics that continued the surfaces of the walls. The medieval glass artist used glazing to construct his design out of "pot-metal", transparent glass that was colored in the molten state by the addition of metallic oxides. Small, irregularly-shaped pieces of pot-metal were assembled by means of lead channels into two-dimensional designs, in which the lead work was an aesthetic element. Very little painting was used, except to delineate human features or folds of clothing, since the application of enamel to the glass obstructed the flow of light and dimmed the radiance of the window. The early artist-glaziers, aware of the ways in which light modified the colors of their transparent medium, composed their color relationships to control and exploit the effects of transmitted sunlight.

Medieval windows owed much of their beauty to imperfections in the glass itself. Variations in the thickness



of the glass and an uneven distribution of color produced subtle gradations of tone, while irregular surfaces and impurities within the glass refracted the light at different angles to produce a shimmering quality.<sup>7</sup> The designs of these early Gothic windows used line and flat areas of color to depict simplified figures and settings that symbolized religious saints, stories, or doctrines. Because they were abstract and symbolic, instead of natural and pictorial, the windows functioned as integral parts of the wall, rather than as paintings or as views into the outside world.

An important factor in the design of early medieval windows was the close collaboration between the architect and the craftsmen engaged in the building and ornamentation of a church or cathedral. Stained glass artists, who were also the glaziers or builders of the windows, frequently established their workshops at the construction site where they could easily confer with the architect and other artisans. Their collaboration fostered a sense of unity throughout the entire structure and its ornamental components. By working together with the architect and other craftsmen, the stained glass artist-glazier remained well aware of the structural role of his windows and the need to harmonize them with the total architectural and decorative scheme.<sup>8</sup>

Throughout subsequent centuries the art of stained glass underwent many changes as a result of religious, technical, artistic, natural, and political causes. A trend

toward greater naturalism, inspired by the thirteenth-century preaching of St. Francis and the humanistic thought of the Renaissance, altered the previously abstract and symbolic character of window designs.<sup>9</sup> Painting was increasingly employed to render depth, perspective, and facial expressions. As stained glass artists turned from glazing to enameling in order to achieve new pictorial effects, much of the transparency of the medium was sacrificed. Windows gradually assumed the role of easel paintings or of scenes viewed through openings in the walls. Their true identity as architectural elements was obscured.

Technical innovations also contributed to changes in the design and construction of stained glass windows. The discovery of silver, or yellow, stain in the fourteenth century reduced the amount of lead work required in a window. By painting clear glass with varying strengths of silver nitrate solution and firing it at different temperatures, the glass artist could achieve several shades of yellow, even on the same piece of glass, thereby eliminating the need to lead several separate pieces of glass together. Since the colors produced by silver stain did not permeate the entire thickness of the glass, as in true pot-metal, the effect was lighter and more delicate. A growing preference for lighter interiors encouraged the use of more clear glass and silver stain.<sup>10</sup>

Improved methods of glass manufacture also affected the design of stained glass windows by producing larger

sheets of glass, thus allowing the use of bigger and fewer pieces and further reducing the number of lead strips required. Lead work grew less important as a design element and was used merely to hold the glass in place. The larger pieces of glass encouraged an even greater use of paint to produce the various parts of the design that formerly were created through the assembling of many small bits of glass. Moreover, the new glass was uniform in thickness and color, with fewer impurities and surface irregularities. Such improvements, together with extensive painting, diminished the transparency of the glass and the shimmering radiance of the transmitted light.<sup>11</sup>

By the sixteenth century, glass painting had largely replaced the art of glazing mosaic-type stained glass windows. Using newly developed soft enamel paints in various colors, the glass painter employed the Renaissance painting techniques of perspective, chiaroscuro, and atmospheric effects to create pictorial windows that emulated easel paintings. The enameled designs not only reduced the translucency of the glass, they also grew faded and often eventually peeled away in spots, leaving the bare glass exposed.<sup>12</sup> Renaissance architecture also was unfavorable to stained glass, since the revived Classical styles tended to use clear windows that admitted more light and to favor mural painting rather than stained glass for decoration.<sup>13</sup> Moreover, the prestige bestowed on the Renaissance artist separated the designer of windows from the painter or

glazier. Although master glaziers of previous centuries had both designed and built their windows, the Renaissance painter and glazier often merely copied the cartoons supplied by artists who were unfamiliar with the principles and problems of the stained glass medium.<sup>14</sup>

The decline of stained glass was hastened also by natural disasters, religious fears, and political strife. The "Black Death" plague, which swept through Europe in the mid-fourteenth century, took the lives of many stained glass craftsmen whose techniques and secret glass formulas died with them.<sup>15</sup> With the coming of the Reformation, the opposition of religious zealots to imagery in the churches resulted in the destruction of countless windows throughout Europe and England. Although the iconoclasts sometimes spared stained glass for practical reasons, they succeeded in eliminating much of the work of previous centuries.<sup>16</sup> Not only did such widespread devastation destroy many windows that might have served as models for later work, it also discouraged the production of new windows for religious settings. Political upheavals also added to the destruction and decline of stained glass. An especially damaging blow was struck in the 1630s by the French king Louis XIII, who invaded Lorraine and demolished the major glass works that had supplied most of the pot-metal required for windows of the early mosaic type.<sup>17</sup> The ensuing scarcity of richly colored glass encouraged an even greater use of enamel painting on clear glass. Although a few stained glass



artists continued to work in the traditional manner, by the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the painted "glass picture" had virtually replaced glass mosaic windows.

### The Nineteenth-Century Revival of Stained Glass

The nineteenth century saw the gradual revival of aesthetic standards that had prevailed during the early Gothic "Golden Age" of stained glass. The renewal of interest in Gothic church architecture, spurred by the writings of Pugin and the Ecclesiologists at Cambridge, included an appreciation for the principles and qualities of medieval windows. However, although the Ecclesiologists advocated such medieval qualities as flatness, symbolic imagery, limited painting, and the integration of lead work into the design, they also urged stained glass artists to avoid the distortions and clumsy forms often seen in early Gothic windows.<sup>18</sup> As James Sturm has pointed out, the nineteenth-century Gothic Revival of stained glass included many styles, ranging from strict imitations of medieval styles, techniques, and glass to fresh adaptations of the Gothic idiom.<sup>19</sup>

Pugin's opposition to painted picture windows and his crusade on behalf of stained glass in the Gothic style were cited earlier.<sup>20</sup> In addition to his insistence upon the honest use of materials, Pugin's "true principles" stressed the need for an organic quality in both architecture and ornament, the latter to be "generated" by its architectural setting.<sup>21</sup> Pugin's theories provided much of the

foundation for nineteenth-century reforms in stained glass.

Other influential artists, architects, and theorists joined the crusade. In mid-nineteenth century France, the "scientific romantics," led by Eugène Viollet-le-Duc (1814-1879), expressed the same aversion to picture windows, especially those copied after well-known paintings, and demanded the revival of medieval standards. In England, the writings of Charles Winston (1814-1864) emphasized the role of lead bars as design elements and the importance of maintaining transparency. Winston's research on the chemical composition of medieval glass to determine the reasons for its brilliance led to the production of pot-metal which possessed the radiant quality of glass in early windows.<sup>22</sup> The availability of good colored glass aided those artists who wished to avoid the use of enamel paints and return to medieval principles of design and construction in their work.

Another English advocate of reform was John Ruskin (1819-1900), whose theories were to have a profound effect upon William Morris and the Arts and Crafts movement. Like Pugin, Ruskin called for the honest use of materials and an organic quality in architectural and ornamental design. In his Stones of Venice of 1851, Ruskin stressed the need for stained glass artists to remain true to the inherent nature of their medium:

In the case of windows, the points which we have to insist upon are, the transparency of the glass and its susceptibility of the most brilliant colors; and therefore the attempt to turn painted windows into pretty

pictures is one of the most gross and ridiculous barbarisms of this pre-eminently barbarous century. . . . The true perfection of a painted window is to be serene, intense, brilliant, like flaming jewellery; full of easily legible and quaint subjects, and exquisitely subtle, yet simple, in its harmonies. In a word, this perfection has been consummated in the designs, never to be surpassed, if ever again to be approached by human art, of the French windows of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.<sup>23</sup>

For Ruskin, the organic character of a building and its ornament should evolve from the use of elements abstracted from nature and from the human element involved in the creative process. Because of the latter aim, he denounced the "deceitful" use of machinery in place of handwork.<sup>24</sup> Ruskin also advocated the involvement of the designer in the total creative process and the ideal of collaboration among architects, artists, and artisans:

The painter should grind his own colours, the architect work in the mason's yard with his men; the master and manufacturer be himself a more skilful operative than any man in the mills; and the distinction between one man and another be only in experience and skill, and the authority and wealth which these must naturally and justly obtain.<sup>25</sup>

Ruskin's call for the integrity of materials in architecture and ornamentation through a return to earlier standards and practices was received with enthusiasm by younger men like William Morris (1834-1896) and his colleagues. The Great Exhibition held at London's Crystal Palace in 1851 had given evidence of the generally poor designs of mass-produced furniture and other decorative arts.<sup>26</sup> In 1861 Morris and his associates formed a company to produce well-designed furnishings, based upon the principles of honesty in design and the use of materials, the



"organic" approach to design, handwork as opposed to machine work, and the ideal of collaboration among architects, designers, and craftsmen.<sup>27</sup>

Designs for windows were among the first commissions secured by the Morris firm, which became noted for its work in glass. The early windows were a result of collaboration between various members of the firm, with Morris in charge.<sup>28</sup> A pamphlet issued by the firm for the Foreign Fair at Boston in 1883 emphasized the unique characteristics of good stained glass to be found in its own windows: "absolute blackness of outline, translucency of color, . . . well-balanced and shapely figures, pure and simple drawing, and a minimum of light and shade."<sup>29</sup> Despite their advocacy of the medieval principles of two-dimensional designs, meaningful lead work, and transparency, most of the stained glass produced by Morris and his associates differed from the Gothic Revival windows of their contemporaries. Their choice of colors, tapestry-like backgrounds of rich foliage, and fluid, linear forms owed much to the influence of the Pre-Raphaelite movement upon the firm's chief window designers: Edward Burne-Jones, Dante Gabriel Rossetti, Ford Madox Brown, and Morris himself.<sup>30</sup>

#### The Arts and Crafts Movement in England

The writings and work of William Morris and his circle provided the final impetus for the appearance of the Arts and Crafts movement in late nineteenth-century England. Although the movement was not christened until 1888, when

the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society was formed, it had gathered momentum since the first half of the century. Its roots can be found in the calls for reform issued by Pugin, Ruskin, and other concerned architects, artists, and aestheticians, as well as in early reform efforts, such as the founding of Schools of Design, which aimed at upgrading the applied arts through closer ties with industry.<sup>31</sup> Under Morris's leadership, the Arts and Crafts movement developed into a powerful aesthetic force that spurred the formation of craft workshops, guilds, and societies throughout Britain and spread to both Europe and America before the end of the century.

The English Arts and Crafts movement had certain basic goals: good designs and craftsmanship in architecture and the decorative arts; the personal involvement of the designer in the entire creative process; the collaboration of architects, designers, and craftsmen; and a society in which art and creativity would enrich the lives of everyone. This last aim provided a strong utopian dimension that was much less apparent in the American movement. Throughout the nineteenth-century, English intellectuals, such as Thomas Carlyle, William Blake, Pugin, and Ruskin, had deplored the dehumanizing effects of industrialization upon the working classes. The Industrial Revolution had replaced many master craftsmen, who took pride in their handmade objects, with factory workers, who had little interest in the articles produced by their machines. Moreover, industrialization had

created dreary and dangerous working and living conditions for factory laborers.

The leaders of the English Arts and Crafts movement shared these negative views of the Machine Age, which they saw as the source of poor designs, shoddy workmanship, and social ills. They believed that improving the environments of industrial workers would both restore their pride in creativity and result in higher standards of design and craftsmanship.<sup>32</sup> Social change would involve, in Morris's words, "Art made by the people and for the people, a joy to the maker and the user."<sup>33</sup> Convinced that change could come only by replacing capitalism with a socialist system in which all could be free to create art, Morris and several others in the movement became active members of the Socialist party.<sup>34</sup>

The Arts and Crafts approach to stained glass, in contrast to the production-like operations employed by some contemporary stained glass firms, included the belief that the stained glass designer should be involved in all phases of a window's creation, from start to finish. Martin Harrison has identified the distinguishing traits of English Arts and Crafts stained glass as the use of this approach, together with figures inspired by the Pre-Raphaelites and foliate backgrounds derived from Morris and Ruskin.<sup>35</sup> The eventual leader of Arts and Crafts stained glass in England was Christopher Whall (1849-1924), who trained many younger artists, including his daughter, Veronica Whall (1887-1967),

and one of the American women in this study, Mary Hamilton Frye (1890-1950s?).<sup>36</sup> Other characteristics of Arts and Crafts stained glass, seen in the work of Whall and his followers, have been identified by Peter Cormack as the use of much "Early English" and "Norman" slab glass, as well as "gold pink" glass.<sup>37</sup>

### The Decorative Arts in America

In America the importance of good design and craftsmanship in the decorative arts was already recognized in the 1870s, even though it was 1897 before the first Arts and Crafts exhibition was held in this country and the first American Arts and Crafts societies organized. The growth that occurred in American decorative arts between 1876 and 1916 has been divided by Robert Judson Clark into three stylistic periods, each beginning with the date of a major American exposition: the Centennial Exhibition in 1876, the World's Columbian Exposition in 1893, and the Pan-American Exposition in 1901. According to Clark, the initial period between 1876 and 1893 was "a time of nationalism and industrial expansion," with strong British and Oriental influences; the years from 1893 to 1901 were marked by artistic self-confidence gained at the Columbian Exposition, a new academicism and technical innovations in architecture, and the influence of Art Nouveau in both architectural ornament and the decorative work of Tiffany; the final period between 1901 and 1916 was led by the "Craftsman Movement" in furniture and ornamentation and by the Prairie school in

architecture.<sup>38</sup>

The Centennial Exhibition at Philadelphia in 1876 brought together the industrial and artistic products of many nations. Like the effect of the Great Exhibition of 1851 upon English observers, the Centennial demonstrated the need for improvement in American design. Among the foreign displays of decorative art that impressed American visitors were those of English needlework and French and Japanese ceramics.<sup>39</sup> Embroideries sent by the Kensington School of Art Needlework inspired Candace Wheeler (1827-1923) to form the New York Society of Decorative Art in 1877, in order to promote the work of women in the applied arts, through exhibitions, sales, and training.<sup>40</sup> The pottery displays motivated Mary Louise McLaughlin to search for the secret of Limoges underglaze painting, a process she rediscovered in 1877.<sup>41</sup> The Women's Pavilion at the Centennial featured women's achievements in many fields, including the decorative arts of woodcarving and needlework.<sup>42</sup> An exhibit of stained glass in the Main Building of the Centennial displayed both American and English windows, although none from the Morris firm.<sup>43</sup> Illustrations of some windows on exhibit suggest that they were in the painted pictorial style. There is as yet no evidence that any windows made by women were included.

The Centennial Exhibition was a catalyst to prompt the establishment of many new schools of art and design, including the School of Industrial Art of the Philadelphia

Museum in 1876, the School of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts in 1877, Pratt Institute in 1887, and the New York School of Applied Design in 1892.<sup>44</sup> It also encouraged the formation of various decorative art firms, such as the Louis C. Tiffany Company and Associated Artists in 1879, Rookwood Pottery in 1880, the La Farge Decorative Art Company in 1882, and the Tiffany Glass and Decorating Company in 1885.<sup>45</sup> It was during the year of the Centennial that La Farge undertook the decorating of Trinity Church at Boston, the first major project of its type ever attempted in this country. In that same year Tiffany made his first stained glass windows.<sup>46</sup>

### The American Renaissance

The growing interest and activity in the decorative arts was due not only to the combined influence of the Centennial and the English Arts and Crafts movement but also to a parallel cultural development, the "American Renaissance," which spanned the period from the 1870s to the 1930s. The emergence and greatest strength of this era in American culture occurred between 1876 and 1917, the years during which the Arts and Crafts movement developed and flourished in America.<sup>47</sup> The two movements were similar in their admiration for the artistic styles of previous centuries, even though their historic models differed. They were alike also in their concern for excellence of design and craftsmanship in the decorative arts. Both stressed the importance of collaboration among architects, artists, and

craftsmen, in order to achieve unified designs. Moreover, they were linked by the association of such artists as La Farge and Tiffany with both developments. In many of its aspects, the Arts and Crafts movement in this country can be viewed as an expression of the American Renaissance.

The era of the American Renaissance saw a growing fascination with the European Renaissance of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and a belief that a similar cultural rebirth was taking place in this country in the fields of art, architecture, scholarship, industry, finance, and politics. Eventually, interest in the past widened to include ancient Greece and Rome, France and England of the sixteenth through the eighteenth centuries, and America of the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Richard Guy Wilson has traced the origins of the American Renaissance to three cultural trends: nationalism, idealism and the genteel tradition, and cosmopolitanism. The nationalism of late nineteenth-century America involved a heightened sense of the country's own past as the centennial of its founding drew near; art was viewed as a means of strengthening national identity and loyalty. The genteel tradition sought a didactic and moralistic art that would express the higher values through classical architecture and idealized imagery. American cosmopolitanism included an intense interest in the art and architecture of other countries, especially that of England and Europe, and the desire to absorb their best features into American art.<sup>48</sup>

During the era of the American Renaissance, artists and architects were encouraged to turn to the chosen models of the past for guidance in creating a national art, which would reflect America's role as the pinnacle of civilization. This viewpoint resulted in the spread of the City Beautiful movement and the proliferation of public monuments and buildings, decorated with murals and sculpture, to celebrate national heroes and uphold high ideals. The art and architecture of the American Renaissance also mirrored the vast wealth of the country's capitalists through the construction and decoration of their palatial homes and the cultural institutions they often generously endowed.<sup>49</sup>

The effect of these trends was clearly felt in the realm of interior design and the decorative arts, which were necessary for the creation of luxurious public and private interiors. In her discussion of these areas of art, Dianne H. Pilgrim has identified two stylistic periods within the era of the American Renaissance: "one of relatively free historical adaptation during the 1870s and 1880s to one of a more scientific eclecticism of the 1890s going well into the twentieth century."<sup>50</sup> During the first period, the Renaissance ideal of creating a unified decorative scheme through the collaboration of many artists was initially expressed in the work done by John La Farge and his associates, first in Trinity Church at Boston in 1876-1877, then in St. Thomas Church at New York in 1877-1878.<sup>51</sup> The work for these ecclesiastical commissions included mural



painting, stained glass, sculpture, and textiles. Possibly among those who worked with La Farge on these early projects were two women later known as stained glass artists: Sarah Wyman Whitman at Trinity and Jessie Cole at St. Thomas.<sup>52</sup>

The La Farge Decorative Art Company, which lasted from 1882 until 1885, was a partnership that included Mary Tillinghast, who was responsible for the execution of its textiles. One of the firm's commissions was for the decorating of the Brick Presbyterian Church at New York in 1883. The embroideries for this church were designed by La Farge and made by Tillinghast, who was to open her own stained glass studio just two years later.<sup>53</sup>

Much of the stained glass work of La Farge, Tiffany and others associated with the American Renaissance was for private dwellings. The ideal of well-designed domestic interiors became a matter of grave concern to many Americans who were guided by William Morris, the painter James McNeill Whistler, and other apostles of good taste.<sup>54</sup> The new urban mansions that appeared in the late 1870s called for the services of decorating specialists or "interior decorators," such as the Associated Artists, organized in 1879 by Tiffany, Candace Wheeler, Samuel Colman, and Lockwood de Forest.<sup>55</sup> Their firm used the Renaissance concept of collaboration to create unified decorative schemes for private homes, just as La Farge had done for religious settings.<sup>56</sup> La Farge also provided decoration for domestic interiors, including two of the three Vanderbilt mansions that were erected in New York

City between 1877 and 1882.<sup>57</sup> In her examination of La Farge's decorative work, Helene Barbara Weinberg sees the manifestation of American Renaissance ideals in these rooms:

In spirit and execution, his work for the Vanderbilts exemplifies the taste of these self-consciously reincarnated Medici for sumptuous decoration dependent upon consultation with the European tradition for style, upon appropriation of the world's richest and most varied materials for detail, and upon collaboration of craftsmen in various media for execution.<sup>58</sup>

### The Dawn of Opalescence

The new concept of integrated decorative schemes for interiors involved the use of furnishings and architectural elements in a wide range of styles and materials, unified through color and texture.<sup>59</sup> The role of stained glass as an important means of achieving unity through harmonious color effects suggested greater potential for the medium, leading to technical and stylistic innovations by both La Farge and Tiffany in the late 1870s. La Farge's initial experiments with the type of opaline glass used in small toiletry articles were undertaken in the hope of finding a material that would fulfil his goals: the elimination of paint, which destroyed the color and translucency of glass; the modulation of color for tonal harmony, shading, and depth; the fracturing and diffusion of light through variations in the color and thickness of glass; and the ability to soften the brilliant quality of American sunlight.<sup>60</sup> The development of opalescent glass to meet these needs launched a new era in American stained glass history. Within a short time, Tiffany was exploiting the new material in his own

stained glass work, which he successfully promoted to a wide market.<sup>61</sup>

Opalescent glass, known as "American glass" in Europe, was cloudy and variegated in appearance, due to the addition of various chemicals and colors while the glass was still molten.<sup>62</sup> The color gradations in the hardened glass resulted in varying degrees of opacity or translucency. Both La Farge and Tiffany produced opalescent glass with varied surface textures, thicknesses, and shapes, created by the techniques of molding, rippling, hammering, or stamping the malleable glass during its heated state. One process invented by Tiffany produced "drapery glass" by pushing hot glass into folds and ridges similar to the folds in a garment. Other effects were achieved by imbedding bits of colored glass through the hot glass to create "fractured" or "confetti glass" or by chipping or molding blocks of glass into faceted gem-like forms.<sup>63</sup>

The artist using opalescent glass could select pieces that had the proper color density, thickness, shape, and texture for each part of his or her design. Greater modulation of color and control of light effects could be obtained through the use of "plating," a technique that involved the placement of additional layers of clear or opalescent glass against those areas of the window that needed to be softened and harmonized with the rest of the design. Painting with enamels was used sparingly, mainly for details of the human figure.<sup>64</sup>

Opalescent glass proved to be the ideal material for the decorative stained glass work undertaken by La Farge, Tiffany, and others who followed their lead. Both La Farge and Tiffany developed styles that exploited the color range, textural effects, and soft luminosity of their opalescent glass medium. Both also gave greater attention to the role of lead work in window designs, although Tiffany developed techniques that often obscured the leading.<sup>65</sup> Exhibiting the cosmopolitan outlook of the American Renaissance, each traveled widely and was receptive to the influences of Eastern as well as Western art. La Farge's visits with Henry Adams to Japan and the South Seas and Tiffany's travels to North Africa and the Near East strengthened their instinctive affinity for color and texture. To contemporary observers, their emphasis on color became a distinguishing trait of American stained glass.<sup>66</sup> Sturm suggests that the interest of both La Farge and Tiffany in capturing the effects of atmospheric light, which each had expressed in painting, led them to use opalescent glass for similar luminous qualities in their windows.<sup>67</sup> The variations of texture, color, thickness, and translucency in opalescent glass, together with the use of plating, permitted a manipulation of light analogous to Impressionist painting techniques.

La Farge used his new material and methods in the window he created for Harvard's Memorial Hall. Completed in 1879, the Battle Window was removed in 1881 and revised

by La Farge to incorporate wrinkled opalescent glass, gem-like cut glass, and plating, changes he thought necessary to improve its color and texture.<sup>68</sup> For Trinity Church at Boston, La Farge designed five opalescent windows that were installed between 1883 and 1902.<sup>69</sup> The backgrounds of his monumental Christ in Majesty window and its two adjacent lancets are filled with blue-green glass nuggets that provide rich texture and a scintillating atmospheric light.<sup>70</sup> In 1903 an article in The Craftsman called special attention to the Revelation or New Jerusalem window at Trinity Church:

The opaline glass so closely connected with the name of La Farge here appears as his sign manual, pouring its lambent flame through "the gates of pearl" and the wings of "the angel of the Apocalypse." Great jewels in rich colors burn in the breastplate of "the bride adorned for her husband" and the brilliancy of their substance has been further increased by the device of breaking the thick glass irregularly with a hammer, so that their fractured edges may catch and play with the light in its passage.<sup>71</sup>

The development of opalescent glass and its ancillary techniques guided the work of many American women stained glass artists during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. At least seven women were associated with La Farge as pupils or assistants. His workshop was modeled after a Renaissance "bottega," with a staff of assistants, "ranging from intelligent artisans to accomplished artists," who executed his designs under his direction.<sup>72</sup> Like Ruskin, La Farge emphasized the necessity for the designer to be involved in all phases of the creative process, either as craftsman or as supervisor.<sup>73</sup>

Research thus far has found no information about the work done by three of the women who were associated with La Farge. Anne Goddard Morse, Jessie Duncan Savage Cole, and Alice Cordelia Morse, identified through various sources as stained glass artists, either studied with La Farge or assisted with his commissions, perhaps both.<sup>74</sup> It seems reasonable to assume that their own windows were made with opalescent glass, using the techniques developed by their mentor.

A fourth woman, La Farge's secretary, Grace Barnes, is credited with the construction of two stained glass windows designed by the artist Edwin H. Blashfield in 1916, six years after La Farge's death (Figures 7 and 8). A contemporary account of the Blashfield-Barnes windows pointed out their resemblance to work done by La Farge:

The massing of the many-coloured flowers, which glisten in the sunlight like jewels; a foreground into which you could walk, and the sense of far-reaching space behind the figures; the noteworthy blue of the draperies; and that most important thing in a window, the leading, every line of which has a meaning--these details are like La Farge.<sup>75</sup>

The description of the windows indicated also that Barnes had acquired considerable technical and artistic ability during her stay with La Farge:

The careful selecting of many pieces of glass; the countless trials of this piece or that, to get the desired effect; the using of a smooth, a folded, or a crinkled piece; the single or double or triple plating--for in some portions the glass is four layers deep--the successful results of all this, and much of the beauty of the windows, are due to Miss Barnes, to whom the spectators, with Mr. Blashfield, give the highest praise.<sup>76</sup>

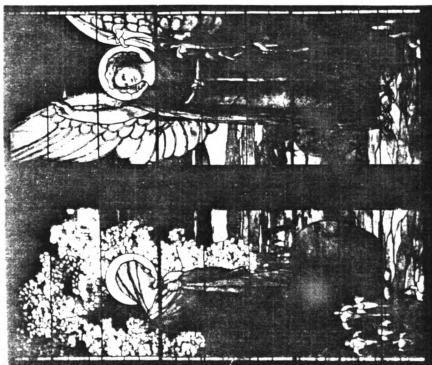


Figure 7. The Annunciation, 1916  
Designed by Edwin H. Blaschfield  
Built by Grace Barnes  
First Presbyterian Church  
Chattanooga, Tennessee

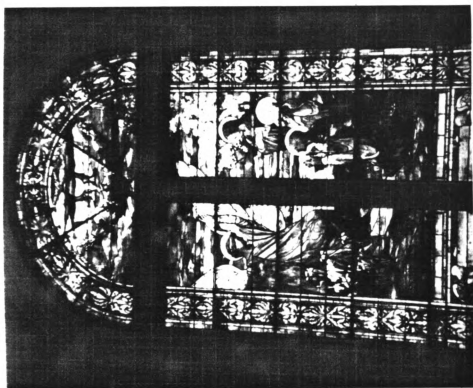


Figure 8. The Resurrection, 1916  
Designed by Edwin H. Blaschfield  
Built by Grace Barnes  
First Presbyterian Church  
Chattanooga, Tennessee

Somewhat more is known about the remaining three women who were associated with La Farge. Sarah Wyman Whitman, prominent in Boston's social and cultural affairs, knew La Farge and may have assisted him at Trinity Church, where she was an active member.<sup>77</sup> She undoubtedly was familiar with his stained glass windows at Trinity and Memorial Hall and almost certainly acquired her knowledge of the medium from observing him work, inasmuch as there is no record of her having trained with another stained glass artist. A student of both William Morris Hunt and Thomas Couture, Whitman exhibited her paintings for several years before turning to the designing of book covers, stained glass, and interiors. In the early 1880s, she established her own stained glass studio, which she named "The Lily Glass Works."<sup>78</sup> Orin Skinner relates an amusing anecdote about Whitman's workshop and gives some indication of her approach to design:

Her studio was maintained in the grand style. They say it was an inspiring sight to see the cutters and glaziers going to work in their Prince Alberts and high hats. . . . She liked nuggets of molded glass and chunks of pot cullet glass, and designed them in leaded wreaths and swags of flowers and fruit.<sup>79</sup>

Following La Farge's lead, Whitman supervised the entire construction of her window designs, which were built by assistants at her studio.<sup>80</sup> Some of her earliest windows were designed for Christ Church at Andover, Massachusetts, in 1886-1887. The original five windows in the apse, depicting St. John the Baptist, are lost, but the triple rear windows, still in place, show Whitman's use of



opalescent glass.<sup>81</sup> Whitman designed two windows for Harvard's Memorial Hall: the Martin Brimmer Memorial Window of 1898 and the Honor and Peace Window of 1900. The latter window incorporates the same type of opalescent glass and techniques that are found in La Farge's Battle Window of 1881 at Memorial Hall.<sup>82</sup> Whitman's last window, made in 1904 for the St. Louis Exposition, is now in the Schlesinger Library of Radcliffe College. A tripart design that represents the virtues of courage, love, and patience, her final window again demonstrates Whitman's use of opalescent glass, reinforced by plating (Figure 9).

Whitman's complete acceptance of the medium developed by La Farge is clearly evident in the article she wrote in 1903 for Handicraft magazine, in response to an earlier article that had criticized opalescent windows. Her spirited defense of the new material pointed out that it permitted "infinite variety of tones, . . . of thickness also, . . . the manufacture and use of jewels" that "give brilliancy and a highly decorative value to the work," and the process of plating "to work with a fuller palette, and thus to reach more subtle and enduring results."<sup>83</sup>

Mary E. Tillinghast was with La Farge from 1878 to 1885, first as his pupil and then as his partner in the La Farge Decorative Art Company, where she was in charge of textiles. Biographical sources state that she began her stained glass work in 1882, while she was still with La Farge.<sup>84</sup> When their partnership dissolved in 1885, she

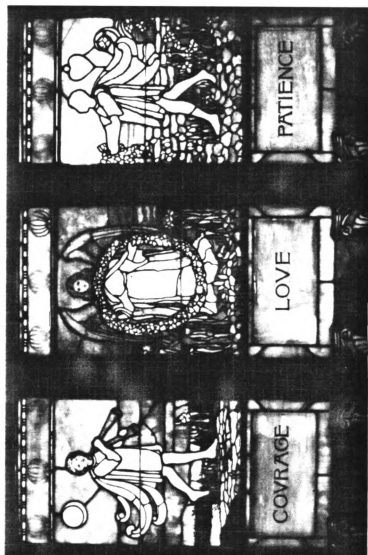


Figure 9. Courage, Love and Patience, 1904  
 By Sarah Wyman Whitman (1842-1904)  
 Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe College  
 Cambridge, Massachusetts  
 (Photograph: John Lach)

set up her own stained glass studio.<sup>85</sup> One of her first commissions was the Hutton Memorial Window (Jacob's Dream), made in 1887 for Grace Church in New York City<sup>86</sup>. Other important commissions followed, including twelve windows for St. Stephen's Church at Pittsfield, Massachusetts, windows for the First Presbyterian Church at Syracuse, New York, the Great Window for the Second Congregational Church at Attleboro, Massachusetts, and a window, The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, for the New-York Historical Society<sup>87</sup>. All of Tillinghast's located windows utilized opalescent glass. At least two of her windows, the Nativity and the Ascension windows at St. Anne's Church of Morrisania in the Bronx, were built by the Tiffany Glass & Decorating Company<sup>88</sup> (Figures 10 and 11). Tillinghast also was the architect, decorator, and window designer for the Gordon Mackay mausoleum, built in 1893 at Pittsfield. The windows for the mausoleum were exhibited at the World's Columbian Exposition before being installed.<sup>89</sup>

Jessie Van Brunt also studied with La Farge, possibly during the 1880s after her graduation from college in 1882. It is assumed that she learned the rudiments of stained glass design and construction in his workshop. Van Brunt's career was unusual in that she gave away her windows to churches and missions throughout the world. A wealthy and devout woman, Van Brunt wished to be "in ceaseless adoration" by having the sunlight stream through one of her windows each hour of the day.<sup>90</sup> All of her simple and

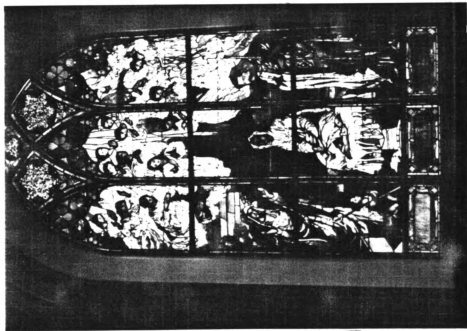


Figure 10. The Nativity, 1893  
 By Mary E. Tillinghast (1845-1912)  
 St. Anne's Church of Morrisania  
 Mott Haven, The Bronx, New York  
 (Photograph: Michael Coleman)

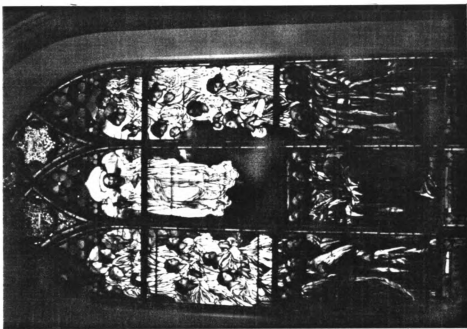


Figure 11. The Ascension, 1894  
 By Mary E. Tillinghast (1845-1912)  
 St. Anne's Church of Morrisania  
 Mott Haven, The Bronx, New York  
 (Photograph: Michael Coleman)

original designs were made of opalescent glass, assembled with lead work that defined the forms. She often incorporated her own verses into the window designs. Van Brunt herself did much of the actual construction of her windows, with some assistance in cutting and soldering.<sup>91</sup> Several of her windows, including the Actors' Memorial Window, were given to the Church of the Transfiguration ("The Little Church Around the Corner") in New York City<sup>92</sup> (Figure 12). Van Brunt's work for mission churches includes two small windows made for the Chapel of the Transfiguration at Moose, Wyoming (Figure 13).

Tiffany, like La Farge, explored the decorative possibilities of the new glass medium, at first by making opalescent windows in geometric designs suggesting Islamic or Celtic patterns.<sup>93</sup> His special contribution to the iconography of the opalescent era was the landscape window, which first appeared in the 1880s.<sup>94</sup> Featuring romantic vistas that glowed with color and light, landscape windows greatly appealed to nineteenth-century American tastes and were produced in great numbers for domestic interiors. Their immense popularity dispelled much of the prejudice against stained glass still harbored by nonliturgical denominations, with the result that innumerable landscape windows were soon also installed in church interiors, where they took on spiritual overtones.<sup>95</sup>

Tiffany's workshop employed a large staff of assistants, both men and women, to design and build windows.

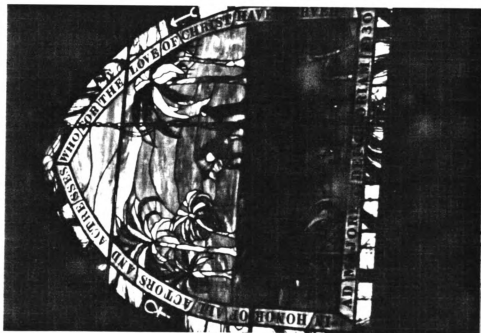


Figure 12. Actors' Memorial Window (1930)  
By Jessie Van Brunt (1862-1947)  
Church of the Transfiguration  
New York, New York

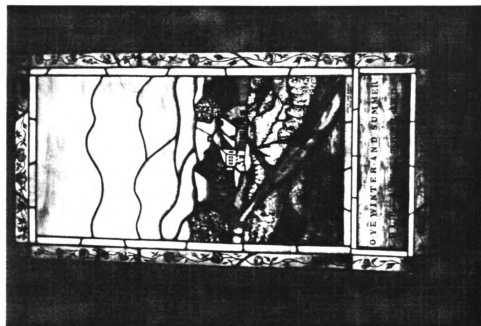


Figure 13. Winter  
By Jessie Van Brunt (1862-1947)  
Chapel of the Transfiguration  
Moose, Wyoming

Hugh McKean notes that of the thousands of windows produced by Tiffany's firm, "a rare few were from his own designs. Most were from designs by artists on his staff" but made under his supervision.<sup>96</sup> The introduction of the opalescent landscape window into American stained glass coincided with the entry in 1884 of Agnes Northrop into the Tiffany firm. Although her name rarely appears in print, Northrop designed numerous landscape and floral windows during her forty years with Tiffany.<sup>97</sup> The few windows specifically attributed to Northrop indicate that she shared her employer's aptitude for exploiting the varied textures, lush colors, and light effects that were possible with opalescent glass and plating. A fine example of her work is the Northrop Memorial Window, made in 1903 for the Bowne Street Community Church at Flushing, New York, as a memorial to her father (Figure 14).

Tiffany's staff of designers also included Mary A. Carter, Alice C. Morse (who had been with La Farge), Clara Weaver Parrish, Clara Wolcott Driscoll, Anne Van Derlip, who became Anne Weston, and, for a brief time, Clara Miller Burd.<sup>99</sup> The windows designed by Carter, Morse, and Parrish have not yet been identified.<sup>100</sup> Driscoll, who designed many Tiffany lamps, is also said to have designed floral windows.<sup>101</sup> Van Derlip, the head of the design department, was responsible for at least one window while she was at the firm. After her marriage in 1888, she moved to Minnesota where she continued to design independently for Tiffany

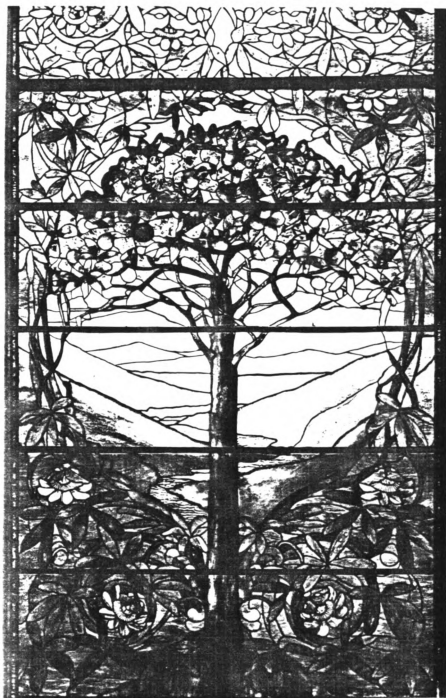


Figure 14. Northrop Memorial Window, 1903  
By Agnes Northrop (c.1857-c.1953)  
Bowne Street Community Church  
Flushing, New York



while raising her family. Both her Minne-ha-ha Window of 1893 and her Greysolon Dulhut (Lake Superior) Window of 1904 were made with opalescent glass of variegated colors and varied textures.<sup>102</sup> Other artists who supplied designs to Tiffany include Louise King Cox, Lydia Emmet, and Rosina Emmet Sherwood.<sup>103</sup>

The popularity of opalescent windows produced by both La Farge and Tiffany quickly persuaded other studios to follow their lead. By 1880 windows were being made in the new American glass by many firms, including the J. & R. Lamb Studios and the D. Maitland Armstrong Studios.<sup>104</sup> Ella Condie Lamb, who collaborated with her husband Charles on several decorating commissions, also designed stained glass windows for churches and schools. An article, written in 1899 by Charles Lamb and illustrated with Ella Lamb's window designs, described the procedure used by the Lamb firm in making an "American stained glass window."<sup>105</sup> Their methods called for the use of "American glass," plating to provide greater variety and depth of color, careful consideration of the lead work, minimal painting, and the involvement of the designer in the entire process of window construction. Other articles written by Charles Lamb's brother, Frederick Stymetz Lamb, reaffirmed the Lamb approach to window design and manufacture.<sup>106</sup> Ella Lamb's Russell Memorial Window of 1902 for Wells College at Aurora, New York, is similar to other work done by the Lamb Studios during the opalescent era (Figure 15). Her much later Perry Memorial Window of

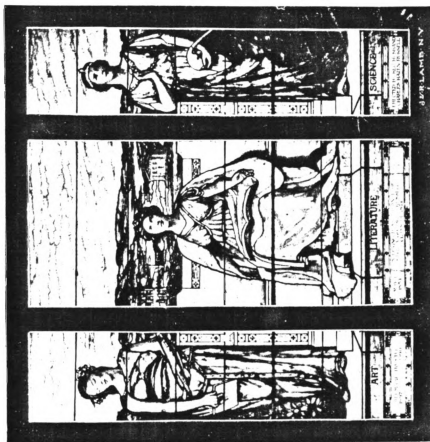


Figure 15. Russell Memorial Window, 1902  
By Ella Condie Lamb (1862-1936)  
Wells College  
Aurora, New York



Figure 16. Perry Memorial Window, 1922  
By Ella Condie Lamb (1862-1936)  
Christ Episcopal Church  
West Haven, Connecticut

1922 for Christ Episcopal Church at West Haven, Connecticut, is still in the pictorial opalescent manner (Figure 16).

There were other women at the Lamb Studios, including Clara Miller Burd and Isabel Hawxhurst Hall. Hall joined the firm in about the second decade of this century and worked in the opalescent style. Her Good Shepherd Window for the Methodist church at Tenafly, New Jersey, may have been one of her last designs before her death in 1955 (Figure 17).

The studios of D. Maitland Armstrong also climbed aboard the opalescent bandwagon. During the 1890s Helen Maitland Armstrong became a partner in her father's firm, which she continued after his death in 1918. According to one source,

She built hundreds of windows all over the country from Florida to California, some in American opalescent glass, others in painted glass after the early French and English manner.<sup>107</sup>

Helen and her father collaborated on six opalescent windows, commissioned by George W. Vanderbilt and installed in 1898 in All Souls' Church next to Biltmore, his magnificent estate at Asheville, North Carolina.<sup>108</sup> Other opalescent windows designed by Helen Armstrong alone include three for St. Michael's Church at New York City, a memorial for her brother at Grace Church in New York, and seven for the Presbyterian Church at Flemington, New Jersey (Figure 18).

In addition to the women designers associated with well-known studios, there also were independent women artists who commissioned glass workshops to build windows according to their designs. The Cowles sisters apparently

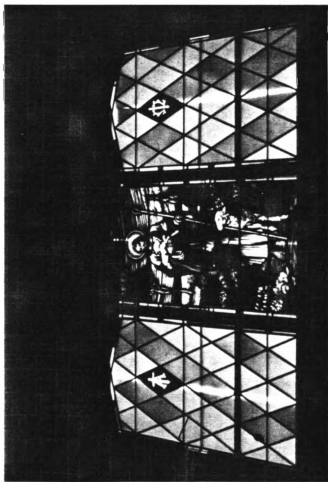


Figure 17. The Good Shepherd  
By Isabel Hawxhurst Hall (1888-1952)  
The Methodist Church  
Tenafly, New Jersey

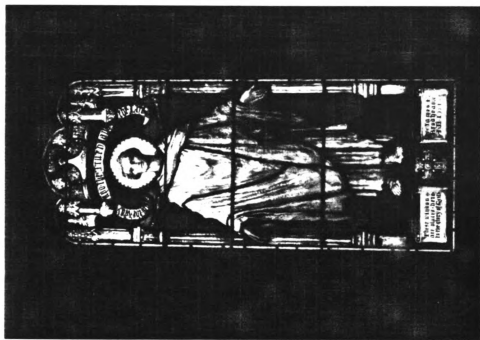


Figure 18. Christ, 1924  
By Helen Maitland Armstrong (1869-1948)  
The Presbyterian Church  
Flemington, New Jersey

followed this procedure. Genevieve, Maude, and Edith Cowles are all known to have designed stained glass windows. Their sister Mildred also may have been a designer.<sup>109</sup> Maude Cowles designed the Stillman Memorial Window for Grace Church in New York (Figure 19). She and her twin sister Genevieve collaborated on a series of windows, The Seven Parables, also for Grace Church. Although Maude died after only two windows had been finished, Genevieve completed the remaining five.<sup>110</sup> Among other windows that she designed alone is the Burnham Memorial Window at St. Luke's Episcopal Church in Beacon, New York (Figure 20). In an article that explained how her windows were built by a glass workshop, Genevieve Cowles was enthusiastic about opalescent glass and John La Farge:

Opalescent glass is marvelous. On the bench it may look black, dark blue, dark green, and prove almost transparent when held to the light. Not only is American glass of manifold colors, greens, blues, reds, one hue changing to many variegated hues, its surface may be smooth or wrinkled or granulated or rippled. . . . La Farge!! The men utter his name with awe, enthusiasm, devotion. To have built windows under La Farge, to have served under him, that is the pride of the journeyman.<sup>111</sup>

Mary Pemberton Ginther Heyler was another designer who may have hired workshops to build her windows. Under the name of Pemberton Ginther, she was known primarily as an author and illustrator of books for young people. One of Ginther's books, possibly based on her own experience, tells the story of a young girl who learns to be a stained glass artists.<sup>112</sup> Ginther is credited with the design of two windows. The only verified window, the Phillips Memorial

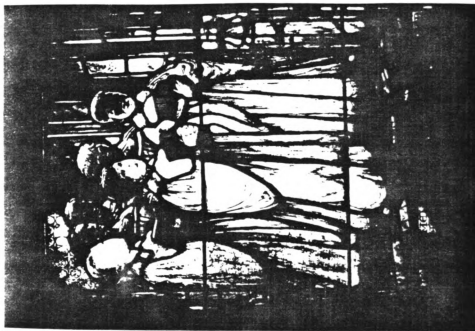


Figure 19. Stillman Memorial Window  
By Maude A. Cowles (1871-1905)  
Grace Church in New York  
New York, New York

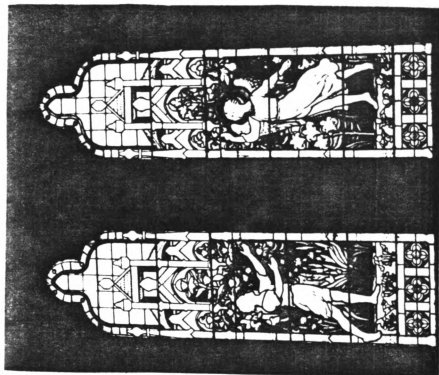


Figure 20. Burnham Memorial Window  
By Genevieve A. Cowles (1871-1950)  
St. Luke's Episcopal Church  
Beacon, New York

Window for St. Paul's Episcopal Church at Suffolk, Virginia, attests to her skill in the medium of stained glass and suggests that she must have designed several others<sup>113</sup>.

Clara Miller Burd, who had worked for Tiffany, the Lamb Studios, and the Church Glass and Decorating Company before opening her own studio, also designed windows that she then had constructed by glass workshops. Like La Farge and Tiffany, she supervised the building of her windows, stressed their function as decorative elements to be harmonized with the architectural setting, and gave special consideration to the importance of lead work. Because she also believed that windows should be light in value in order to admit more sunlight, Burd combined opalescent and translucent pot-metal in her work, a procedure she employed in the Van Nostrand Memorial Window, installed in 1913 at the West End Collegiate Church in New York. In this window the figure of Christ stands before a light-filled landscape similar to scenes in many Tiffany landscape windows (Figure 21). Burd's Davis Memorial Windows (The Angels of Death and Life), installed in 1914 in the First Church of Christ at Pittsfield, Massachusetts, also used both types of glass<sup>114</sup> (Figure 22). The windows at Pittsfield reveal also the influence of Tiffany's late nineteenth-century work. The sinuous lines of the flowing robes and flame-like forms are characteristic of the Art Nouveau style that Tiffany popularized in many of his own windows, lamps, and other decorative furnishings.<sup>115</sup>

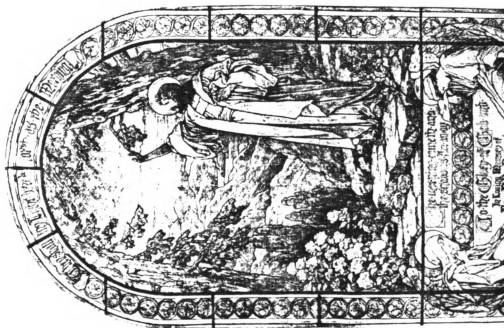


Figure 21. Van Nostrand Memorial Window, 1913  
By Clara Miller Burd (1873-1933)  
West End Collegiate Church  
New York, New York

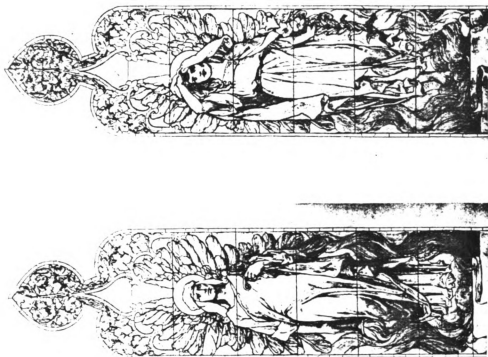


Figure 22. Davis Memorial Windows, 1912  
By Clara Miller Burd (1873-1933)  
First Church of Christ  
Pittsfield, Massachusetts



The World's Columbian Exposition, held at Chicago in 1893, provided a showcase for the art and architecture of the American Renaissance. Tiffany had asked for a gallery devoted entirely to American windows, so that the work of different studios could be compared. When his suggestion was turned down, he created an elaborate display of work from his own firm in the Manufactures and Liberal Arts Building. The high point of his exhibit was a Romanesque chapel, its interior covered with glass mosaics and filled with twelve opalescent windows.<sup>116</sup> Tiffany's chapel attracted much attention and admiration from visitors. One report noted that "it was not an uncommon sight to see men remove their hats upon entering the 'sacred' precincts."<sup>117</sup>

Elsewhere in the Exposition, a few windows from other American firms were displayed with the windows of foreign countries. Contemporary accounts expressed disappointment at the limited showing of American windows but noted the superiority of American opalescent windows over the painted windows from Germany, France and England.<sup>118</sup> The "figure windows" of Mary Tillinghast were singled out for special praise.<sup>119</sup> In the Minnesota Building, Anne Weston's Minne-ha-ha Window was on display.<sup>120</sup> Other state buildings also may have contained windows designed or built by women.

Several writers called attention to the stained glass designs and windows exhibited in the Women's Building. A section devoted to stained glass was located on the ground

floor near the display of American applied arts. In the Process Room, Elizabeth Abel of Philadelphia demonstrated how to cut, polish, and lead stained glass windows.<sup>121</sup> The second floor Assembly Room held three stained glass windows made by Boston women, including Elizabeth Parsons and Edith Brown, and a fourth window made by women in Pennsylvania.<sup>122</sup> Other windows in the Women's Building also were designed and built by women. The New York Times commented that these displays "show one branch of applied arts in which women are dangerously near man's work."<sup>123</sup> Maud Howe Elliott's catalogue of arts and crafts housed in the Women's Building illustrated the window designs of several women who were identified with the opalescent style, including Helen Maitland Armstrong, Lydia Emmet, Ella Condie Lamb, Mary Tillinghast, Louise Cox, Clara Weaver Parrish, Anne Weston, and Agnes Northrop.<sup>124</sup> Elliott noted:

In the great American revival of stained glass, our women are doing much creditable work. Many of the best firms, including that of Tiffany, employ women designers, who have met with very great success.<sup>125</sup>

Clearly, American women stained glass artists had become more prominent since the Centennial of 1876, when they were virtually unknown.

While the Exposition was in progress, Tiffany wrote an article entitled "American Art Supreme in Colored Glass," in which he expressed his belief that his opalescent windows represented a return to the aesthetic standards of thirteenth-century stained glass. His article pointed out that, whereas the nineteenth-century European revival of

stained glass had relied heavily on paint to create effects of light and shade, American artists had achieved the same effects through the use of opalescent glass, with its variations of translucency, thickness, texture, and tone, and at the same time had revived the pure color and mosaic techniques of early Gothic windows. Tiffany defended such American innovations as special glass made to emulate flesh, foliage, and sky, stating that "true art is ever progressive and impatient of fixed rules."<sup>126</sup>

The high period of the American Renaissance was clearly expressed at the World's Columbian Exposition. The neoclassical buildings, statuary, and murals of Chicago's "White City" inspired the construction of countless public buildings and civic monuments based upon classical or Renaissance styles. These revealed the presence of a new spirit of "scientific eclecticism" that characterized the mature period of the American Renaissance. In contrast to the earlier "synthetic" eclecticism, which freely mixed styles from various sources, artists and architects now gave greater attention to authenticity in their use of historical models.<sup>127</sup>

Despite the new interest in historical accuracy, however, stained glass was still used, even in neoclassical buildings. Sturm points out that this seeming paradox stemmed from several sources: the demands of clients who wanted stained glass windows even though they were historically incorrect; the well-established professional and

social connections between architects and stained glass artists that encouraged their continued collaboration; and the variegated, semi-opaque appearance of opalescent glass that blended so well with neoclassical walls of marble and other stone. With the aid of a cast-iron framework, opalescent glass could even be used to simulate stone in neoclassical domes and ceilings. If the opalescent windows admitted too little light, the problem was solved with the new electric illumination.<sup>128</sup>

The neoclassical craze produced many churches, built in Roman or Renaissance styles and fitted with opalescent windows, in which biblical figures and backgrounds sometimes suggested classical statuary set into stone wall niches.<sup>129</sup> At the same time, opalescent windows were installed in new Gothic style churches, as well as in earlier Gothic Revival churches, where they replaced plain glass or painted windows.<sup>130</sup> Regardless of which architectural styles were used, the era of the American Renaissance was surely the age of opalescence.

#### The Arts and Crafts Movement in America

The display of architecture and art at the World's Columbian Exposition bolstered the confidence of Americans in their own artistic ability and taste. Interest in the decorative arts, which had increased after the Centennial, grew even stronger and more widespread, through published reports on the English Arts and Crafts movement and personal contacts with its leaders. During the 1880s and 1890s,

several spokesman for the English movement had lectured in this country, and Americans had visited Morris and his associates in England. In 1897 the first major Arts and Crafts exhibition in America was held at Boston, and the first American Arts and Crafts societies were organized at Boston and Chicago, to be followed by numerous arts and crafts groups in other cities. The basic goal of all of these organizations was "to raise the standard of American handicraft."<sup>131</sup>

The American Arts and Crafts movement differed in some respects from its English origins. Aesthetic concerns were more significant than socialist and utopian tendencies, some of which were expressed by Gustav Stickley in early issues of The Craftsman and through several utopian craft communities, such as Byrdcliffe in Ulster County, New York, Elverhoj Colony near Washington, Rose Valley Association near Philadelphia, and Elbert Hubbard's Roycroft at East Aurora, New York.<sup>132</sup> Opposition to the Machine Age also was minimal in the American movement. Instead, the potential benefits of mechanization upon art were eagerly anticipated by Frank Lloyd Wright in his lecture, "The Art and Craft of the Machine," given in 1901.<sup>133</sup>

The extensive involvement of American women in Arts and Crafts societies was another way in which the movement in this country differed from its English counterpart. Almost from the first, women were involved in various levels of the movement, in both England and America. Andrea Callen

has identified several obstacles encountered by women in the English Arts and Crafts movement: the social stigma attached to middle- and upper-class women working for pay, which caused some women to avoid professional recognition; a gender-based division of labor which relegated women to lower-paying roles as obscure assistants executing men's designs and to certain crafts, thus reducing competition for male-dominated roles and crafts; and the exclusion of women from the all-male Arts and Crafts power structure and professional organizations.<sup>134</sup> The first two problems existed to some extent in America, judging by the anonymity and lower wages of many women designers and craft workers in the major stained glass studios. However, women were often the organizers and leaders of the many Arts and Crafts societies that sprang up in various parts of America after the turn of the century.<sup>135</sup> This freedom of American women to fully participate in the professional and supportive Arts and Crafts organizations may have resulted from the movement's relatively late arrival in this country, at a time when nineteenth-century views regarding women's proper place in society were changing and the "New Woman" was challenging the ideal of "True Womanhood."

The Arts and Crafts movement in America was a culmination of the widespread interest and activity in the decorative arts that had been gaining strength since the Centennial. The movement attracted many followers through the various articles and periodicals that disseminated Arts

and Crafts ideals to a broad audience.<sup>136</sup> By 1904 the movement was significant enough to be the subject of a report issued by the U.S. Bureau of Labor and by 1907 a National League of Handicrafts was formed to consolidate the work of many local Arts and Crafts organizations.<sup>137</sup> The extent of the movement was bound to increase interest in the art of stained glass as one of the medieval crafts that should be properly revived.

Any discussion of Arts and Crafts stained glass in America must take into account its broad stylistic scope. Exhibitions and studies of the American movement have included stained glass artists as diverse as Tiffany and La Farge at one end of the spectrum and Frank Lloyd Wright at the other.<sup>138</sup> Also closely identified with the Arts and Crafts revival of medieval principles in window design were the neo-Gothic architect Ralph Adams Cram and stained glass artists such as Charles Connick, William Willet, and Anne Lee Willet, all of whom expressed their adherence to Arts and Crafts ideals, as well as their opposition to the opalescent style. The work and writings of these leaders in architecture and design established new directions for American stained glass in the early twentieth century.

Not everyone agreed with Tiffany's firm conviction that his use of opalescent glass and new techniques had revived the medieval principles of stained glass. Even some of those who regularly used opalescent glass often combined it with clear or colored transparent glass to allow the

entrance of more light, as Clara Miller Burd did. The semi-opaque quality of opalescent glass was one of its drawbacks. When opalescent glass was used for plating, the additional layers of glass magnified the opacity and further reduced the transmitted light. Moreover, dirt often forced its way between the glass layers, giving the window a dingy look. The extra layers of glass also added weight to some parts of the window, frequently causing it to buckle and crack in certain areas. The opacity and sagging effect of opalescent windows presented an exterior appearance that many found unpleasing. In addition, the distinctive qualities of opalescent glass tempted many artists to create sweetly sentimental and illusionistic "picture windows," filled with depth and shading, which had little relationship to their architectural settings.<sup>139</sup>

The disadvantages of opalescent glass gradually became apparent to many stained glass artists, who turned to other materials and methods. One such artist was Frances White, a designer for the firm owned by her brother, Walter Janes. For her Lyons Memorial Window, made in 1907 for the West End Collegiate Church in New York, White used translucent glass of many colors, to which she sparingly applied brown paint (Figure 23). White's window represents a return to the painted window made of "antique" rather than opalescent glass. A contemporary writer was pleased that Americans were "beginning to realize that the antique process of window decoration still has possibilities."<sup>140</sup>



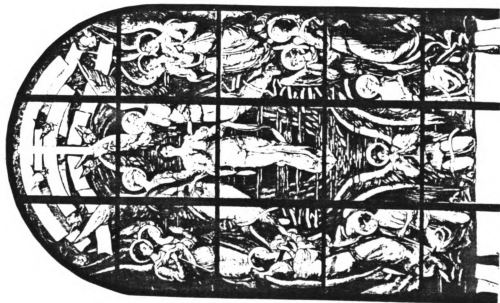


Figure 23. Lyons Memorial Window, 1907  
By Frances Jones White  
West End Collegiate Church  
New York, New York



Figure 24. Wisdom, 1910-11  
By Violet Oakley (1874-1961)  
The Yarnall House  
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Violet Oakley also made painted windows, rather than windows made of opalescent glass. Oakley's stained glass work was limited to eight or nine windows, most of which are lost.<sup>141</sup> Her window designs show the influence of the English Pre-Raphaelite style in her use of supple, female figures and flowing lines. One window, The Wise Virgins for St. Peter's Episcopal Church at Germantown, Pennsylvania, suggests Burne-Jones especially.<sup>142</sup> Oakley's glass dome for the Yarnall house at Philadelphia held swirling female forms representing the four winds encircling a female personification of Wisdom<sup>143</sup> (Figure 24).

#### Modern Gothic Stained Glass

Artists such as White and Oakley may have had little interest in the opalescent style. However, no critic of opalescence was more formidable than the evangelist for modern Gothic churches, Ralph Adams Cram. Guided by the same spirit that had motivated Pugin, Ruskin, and Morris in their crusade to restore medieval standards of design and craftsmanship, Cram had much to say about architectural and decorative matters. His numerous writings, lectures, and churches converted many architects, designers, and clients to the Gothic creed, which called for more authenticity in the use of medieval styles and materials. In his Church Building of 1899, Cram adamantly proclaimed the "true principles" of stained glass:

Any art, to be good, must be based on, even modified by, its own limitations; it must hold itself rigidly to the qualities of its own medium. . . . First of all, then,

to enunciate a new doctrine that is yet old,--since it is the governing law of all that was done in this line up to the eighteenth century,--a stained glass window is simply a piece of colored and translucent decoration, absolutely subordinate to its architectural environment, and simply a small component of a great artistic whole. It must continue the structural wall surface perfectly: therefore, it must be flat, without perspective or modeling. It must be decorative and conventional in design and color and in no respect naturalistic. It must never be a hole in a masonry wall, but a portion of that wall made translucent. It must not assert itself; that is, it must hold its place without insolence or insistence. . . . In the second place, it is technically a mosaic of pieces of glass; and this it must always remain. Great sheets of glass modelled into folds of drapery are forever forbidden. The glass must be in comparatively small pieces, fastened together by strips of lead of varying widths; and this leading must be as carefully studied, as fully respected, as the glass itself. . . . To the glowing colors of the quarries it gives the strength and vigor they would otherwise lack. The treating of leads as a misfortune to be minimized and concealed is one of the worst offences of the modern makers of picture windows, and vitiates their work permanently.<sup>144</sup>

Cram's dogmatic pronouncements obviously referred to Tiffany's opalescent windows. He had equally harsh words for painted windows ("no excuse whatever"), for picture windows based on well-known paintings ("perverse," . . . hopelessly bad"), and for picture windows with original landscape scenes that spread "over the whole window opening, regardless of mullions and tracery":

The modern and fashionable design that shows clouds and trees and distant rivers and mountains, with people wandering about behind a paling of black mullions, would be grotesque, were it not so indicative of a certain barbarism, and, therefore, tragic.<sup>145</sup>

Cram was aided in his "Gothic quest" by the dwindling use of opalescent glass and the declining demand for any type of stained glass in domestic and public buildings. The final opalescent stylistic flourish was in

the short-lived wave of Art Nouveau, which Tiffany had popularized in this country. As the restless convolutions of Art Nouveau lost favor, the preference for opalescent windows also faded. In addition, the flat and angular distortions of medieval windows seemed more closely related to the primitive art of non-Western cultures, an important source for modern art of the early twentieth century, than did the idealized forms of the Renaissance or the atmospheric effects of Impressionism. Stained glass in general was much less in demand for domestic environments, as wealthy clients moved into city apartments or Colonial-style country homes, where clear glass windows were more appropriate. The declining market for stained glass in homes and public buildings provided a practical motive for stained glass artists to concentrate on ecclesiastical work.<sup>146</sup>

The influence of Cram on church architecture and ornamentation, together with their own changing tastes, led many stained glass designers into designing medieval-style windows, made of true pot-metal and with stricter adherence to historical accuracy. Among the first designers to turn from opalescent "picture windows" to more authentic medieval designs were William Willet (1867-1921) and Anne Lee Willet. William Willet had previously designed opalescent windows for the Pittsburgh Stained Glass Studio but, rebelling against their pictorial and opaque qualities, had formed his own firm in order to work in another stylistic

direction.<sup>147</sup> Several sources list his wife, Anne Lee Willet, as her husband's collaborator in the work of the Willet firm.<sup>148</sup> When she married William in 1896, Anne Lee was a trained artist, having studied at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts and under private tutors, both here and abroad. William, who had studied with La Farge, established the Willet Stained Glass and Decorating Company at Pittsburgh in 1899, three years after their marriage.<sup>149</sup> The chronology is important for it indicates that Anne was present at the very beginning of the firm.

William Willet's window of 1908 for Cram's modern Gothic Calvary Episcopal Church at Pittsburgh was influential in guiding other stained glass artists toward the same neomedieval style.<sup>150</sup> Its success led to many other important commissions for Gothic-style windows, which are attributed to both William and Anne. Perhaps the best-known are those for the Chapel at the West Point Military Academy and the Great West Window of 1913 at Princeton's Graduate School, Proctor Hall, which had been built by Cram (Figures 25 and 26).

When William Willet died in 1921, Anne became the president of their firm, which by then had been relocated at Philadelphia. Many windows made at the Willet firm during the 1920s are attributed to Anne Willet and her son, Henry Lee Willet, who assumed presidency of the firm in 1933.<sup>151</sup> Anne Willet was known also as a lecturer and writer on the art of stained glass. When she died in 1943, she was



Figures 25 and 26. Details, Great West Window, 1913  
 By William and Anne Lee Willet (1866-1943)  
 Proctor Hall, Princeton University  
 Princeton, New Jersey

credited with numerous windows for American churches and other institutions. The actual extent of her role is difficult to determine. Despite the many windows attributed to Anne alone or in collaboration with her husband or son, her role as a designer is uncertain.<sup>152</sup> Nevertheless, she was with the firm from its inception and directed its work for more than a decade.

The intertwined careers of Anne Lee Willet and William Willet coincided almost exactly with the years during which the American Arts and Crafts movement flourished. Both expressed Arts and Crafts ideals in their discussions of stained glass. Echoing Cram, William urged the adoption of medieval principles:

Many architects and church committees formerly associated American glass with the opalescent school introduced in this country by the late John La Farge; accepted opinion now holds that opalescent glass is not a fit material for church windows. . . . The opalescent school emphasizes the pictorial, and in its many phases violates the province of decorative art. Legitimate stained glass should be nothing more or less than a flat, formalistic transparent section of the wall which supports it, unobtrusive and forming an integral part of the architectural whole. . . . We must dig deeper for inspiration--from the masters of the eleventh and thirteenth centuries, putting what we can of our own spirit and that of the times<sup>153</sup> in the crucible. All honor to the medieval craftsmen.

Anne Willet later expressed a similar approach and paid tribute to her husband, who had died eight years earlier:

The stained glass artist . . . does literally paint with the light . . . and how essential that he bear in mind always that he is working with two media: light, and glass which holds in its own atoms the colors of the rainbow. He must concern himself first with admitting the proper light into the particular building on which

he is working, and he must realize that color should be used only to beautify, diminish or intensify that light, for the window is an integral part of the wall. . . . The window itself should be built in collaboration with the architect.

In this country, after the Civil War, we were sunk deep in the picture-window wave and the opalescent mania, from which we were rescued by the master mind of William Willet, who more than any other artist was responsible for making the mediaeval style of window and antique glass popular in this country, and turning the people to the "glory that is glass."<sup>154</sup>

Charles Connick (1875-1945) was another artist who embraced the medieval principles of stained glass design. Like William Willet, he renounced the opalescent style early in his career.<sup>155</sup> His long association with Cram, his visits to Chartres, and the Arts and Crafts windows of Christopher Whall were major influences on Connick's own window designs.<sup>156</sup> He in turn became an apostle for the modern Gothic stained glass style, through his lectures and writings as well as his own work. Connick's widely read personal testament to stained glass, Adventures in Light and Color, played a pivotal role in the spread of neomedieval principles.

Connick employed several women in his Boston studio. Frances Skinner, Mary Hamilton Frye, and Erica Karawina all followed the precepts of medieval window design in their work for Connick. Skinner designed, cartooned, painted, and glazed at Connick Studios for many years.<sup>157</sup> Her windows for the Princeton University Chapel designed by Cram and for All Saints Church at Belmont, Massachusetts, incorporate the early Gothic characteristics that Cram and Connick both advocated (Figure 27). Frye, who had studied with Whall in





Figure 27. Claflin Memorial Windows  
By Frances Skinner (1895-1979)  
All Saints' Church  
Belmont, Massachusetts

London, was at Connick's firm before opening her own studio at Cambridge, Massachusetts. Her six windows made in 1940 for St. Luke's Church at Mechanicville, New York, are "in the manner of the mediaeval windows of the 13th century."<sup>158</sup> (Figure 28). Karawina was with Connick from 1930 to 1933 as an apprentice cartoonist, before joining Wilbur Burnham as a designer. During these early years of her career, she assisted Connick with several important commissions, including the Great West Rose Window for Cram's Cathedral of St. John the Divine at New York City.<sup>159</sup> Karawina is still active in Hawaii, where she has developed her own individual approach to design (Figure 29). In recent years she has used faceted glass to create monumental abstract mosaic murals.<sup>160</sup>

Other stained glass studios also produced windows based on medieval models. At Philadelphia, Nicola D'Ascenzo applied early Gothic aesthetic ideals in the windows done at his firm. One of his designers was Paula Balano, who had studied at the Drexel Institute where D'Ascenzo once taught classes in design.<sup>161</sup> During her years at the D'Ascenzo Studios, Balano worked on many important commissions, including the windows for the Washington Memorial Chapel at Valley Forge. Begun in 1914, these were "created in the style and with the long-lost spirit" of the windows at Chartres Cathedral.<sup>162</sup> Helene Weis observes that the Valley Forge windows were instrumental in the spread of the medieval style since they were "seen and admired by more tourists from all over the country than any other windows

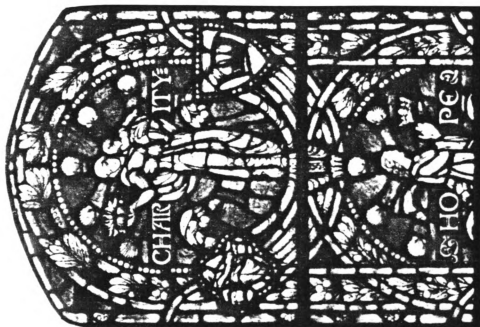


Figure 28. Detail, *The Virtues*, 1940  
By Mary Hamilton Frye (1890-1950s?)  
St. Luke's Church  
Mechanicville, New York

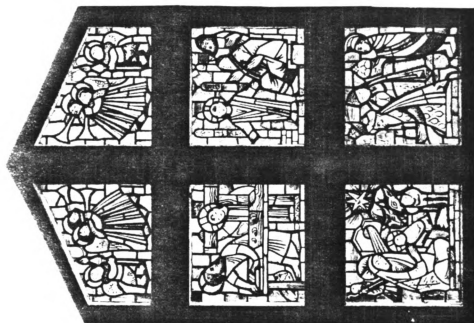


Figure 29. *The Children's Window*  
By Erica Karawina (1904- )  
Waioli Children's Chapel  
Manoa Valley, Honolulu, Hawaii

in America."<sup>163</sup> After leaving D'Ascenzo, Balano started her own studio, where she continued to design and execute windows in the Gothic idiom. Her extensive work includes windows at St. Stephen's Catholic Church at Philadelphia, St. Alban's Episcopal Church at Roxboro, and St. Peter's Church at Germantown.

At the Lamb Studios, which had produced many opalescent windows since the 1880s, Katharine Lamb Tait introduced the medieval style in about 1920, after she had seen the Gothic windows of Europe. Her designs influenced the gradual replacement of the studio's opalescent style with "a more angular, intricate, handpainted 'Gothic' and antique glass conception."<sup>164</sup> Throughout her sixty years as a designer for her family's firm, Tait supplied designs for over one thousand windows, most in the medieval mode.<sup>165</sup> Other windows by Tait have been described as having "Neo-Romanesque" or "Art Deco" qualities. Among her major commissions were all of the windows for the Protestant and Catholic chapels at the Marine Corps' Camp Lejeune in North Carolina and the Rand Memorial Window at Old Mariners' Church in Detroit (Figures 30 and 31).

Other women stained glass artists who worked in the Gothic idiom were Edith Emerson, Mary Fraser Wesselhoeft, Margaret Redmond, and Alice Laughlin. Emerson's Roosevelt Memorial Window (Elijah Window) of 1919 for Temple Keneseth Israel at Philadelphia was built by D'Ascenzo Studios (Figure 32). A contemporary description of the window noted

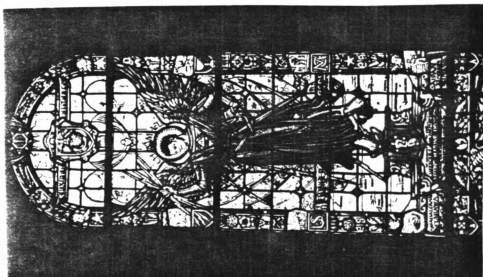


Figure 30. Archangel Chamael, c.1945  
By Katharine Lamb Tait (1895-1981)  
Main Protestant Chapel  
Camp Lejeune, North Carolina

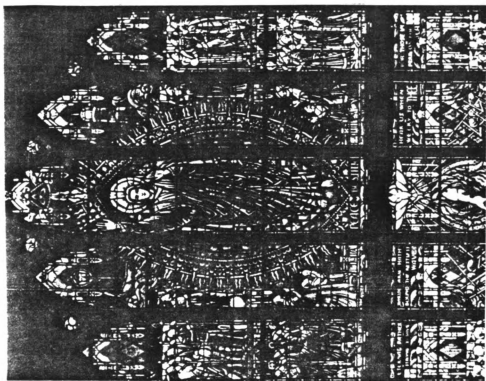


Figure 31. Rand Memorial Window  
By Katharine Lamb Tait (1895-1981)  
Old Mariners' Church  
Detroit, Michigan

that it was "made of imported English antique glass, painted and leaded after the manner of 13th century French and English windows, but Syrian in the character of its design."<sup>166</sup> Wesselhoeft's Musson Memorial Window, made in 1913 for Grace and Holy Trinity Cathedral at Kansas City, Missouri, is a highly individual interpretation of Gothic elements, almost iconic in its intensity (Figure 33).

Redmond designed a number of Gothic-style windows, inspired by her study of old glass in France, Spain, and England.<sup>167</sup> In spite of her acknowledged debt to La Farge, she preferred to use English glass in her own work. Redmond's windows at Trinity Church, Boston, and at St. Paul's Church, Englewood, New Jersey, reveal her use of the medieval vocabulary (Figure 34). Alice Laughlin also developed a personal style based on medieval principles of design. Her windows for the Chapel of the Archbishop of Boston are close to the forms and spirit of early Gothic windows<sup>168</sup> (Figure 35).

The aesthetic currents that flowed through the stream of American culture in the years that followed the Centennial Exhibition of 1876 were forces that affected the use and stylistic direction of stained glass during that period. The American Renaissance and the Arts and Crafts movement focused attention on all of the decorative arts, while the innovations of La Farge and Tiffany and the crusade of the neomedievalists provided the two styles that predominated in turn among American stained glass artists, the opalescent and modern Gothic modes.

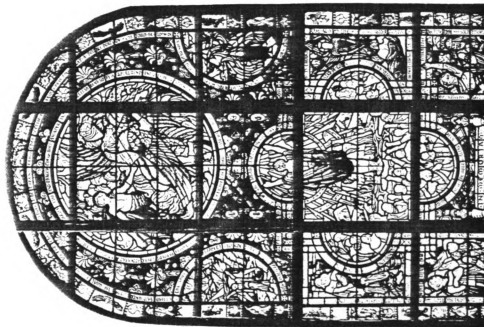


Figure 32. Roosevelt Memorial Window, 1919  
By Edith Emerson (1881-1981)  
Keneseth Israel Reform Congregation  
Elkins Park, Pennsylvania

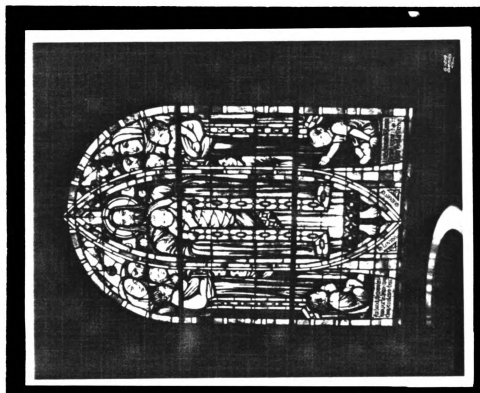


Figure 33. Musson Memorial Window, 1913  
By Mary F. Wesselhoeft (1873-?)  
Grace and Holy Trinity Cathedral  
Kansas City, Missouri



Figure 34. St. Francis of Assisi  
By Margaret Redmond (1867-1948)  
St. Paul's Church  
Englewood, New Jersey



Figure 35. Detail, Consecration of a Bishop  
By Alice D. Laughlin (1895-1952)  
Archbishop's Chapel  
Boston, Massachusetts



Like their male colleagues, most women in the field of stained glass worked in the styles that prevailed during the period in which they were active. The full extent of their roles in stylistic developments may never be known, due to the anonymity of individual artists at the major studios. Their suggestions and innovations could easily have been appropriated by the better-known artists with whom they were associated. Susan Carter's remark that men such as La Farge, Tiffany, and Crowninshield could "guide the brain of those who yet furnish many a delicate thought in clever arrangement of form or color" points to the contribution of women to stylistic changes in stained glass. They may have been involved in iconographical and technical innovations as well. The personal adaptations of prevailing styles, seen in the work of several women, also suggest their possible influence on stylistic trends. The role of women in the development of stained glass between the 1870s and the 1930s needs further careful study of a greater number of their windows.

## CHAPTER IV NOTES

1. "Stained glass" is a misleading term, which has been used to describe windows made by different methods, including the coloring of glass throughout by the addition of metallic oxides or chemicals to the molten mass, the painting of clear glass with vitreous enamels that are then fired onto the glass, the staining of glass with silver oxides that are then fired, or the "flashing" of clear glass with a thin layer of colored glass, to name the most common. Colored glass windows made by all of these methods are referred to as "stained glass." See Erne R. and Florence Frueh, Chicago Stained Glass (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1983), p. 19, and Lawrence Lee, George Seddon, and Francis Stephens, Stained Glass (New York: Crown Publishers, Inc., 1976), pp. 8-9, 84.
2. For example, Ralph Adams Cram calls stained glass "the great contribution of Christianity to the aesthetic galaxy." "Stained Glass: An Art Restored," The Ornamental Glass Bulletin, Vol. VIII (May, 1924), p. 5.
3. The earliest-known colored glass church windows were the sixth century windows of St. Martin at Tours, France. The oldest-known surviving fragments are those excavated at Lorsch Abbey in Germany. The oldest complete windows still existing are the five prophet windows in Augsburg Cathedral. Frueh and Frueh, Chicago Stained Glass, p. 19-20. Lee, Seddon, and Stephens, Stained Glass, pp. 12-13.
4. Frueh and Frueh, Chicago Stained Glass, p. 24. Lee, Seddon, and Stephens, Stained Glass, p. 10.
5. Lee, Seddon, and Stephens, Stained Glass, p. 64.
6. Frueh and Frueh, Chicago Stained Glass, p. 22. Suger wrote: "When the house of God, many colored as the radiance of precious stones, called me from the cares of the world . . . I seemed to find myself, as it were, in some strange part of the universe, which was neither wholly of the baseness of the earth, nor wholly of the serenity of heaven; but by the grace of God, I seemed lifted in some mystic manner from this lower, toward the upper sphere." Quoted in Helen Gardner, Art

Through the Ages (New York: Harcourt Brace & Co., 1948), p. 360.

7. Freda Diamond, The Story of Glass (New York: Harcourt Brace & Co., 1953), p. 98. James Sturm, Stained Glass From Medieval Times to the Present: Treasures to Be Seen in New York (New York: E. P. Dutton, Inc., 1982), pp. 1-2. (Hereinafter referred to as Stained Glass From Medieval Times to Present.)
8. Frueh and Frueh, Chicago Stained Glass, p. 24. Although Renaissance artists also collaborated to create unified architectural and decorative schemes, the artist who designed the windows was not always involved in their actual creation.
9. Lee, Seddon, and Stephens, Stained Glass, p. 38. John Gilbert Lloyd, Stained Glass in America (Jenkintown, PA: Foundation Books, 1963), p. 24.
10. Frueh and Frueh, Chicago Stained Glass, p. 25. Lee, Seddon, and Stephens, Stained Glass, p. 84. Joseph G. Reynolds, Jr., "Stained Glass", The Church Monthly, Vol. II, No. 11 (September, 1928), p. 253.
11. Diamond, The Story of Glass, p. 98. Lloyd, Stained Glass in America, p. 26. Frueh and Frueh, Chicago Stained Glass, p. 25.
12. Lee, Seddon, and Stephens, Stained Glass, p. 124. Reynolds, "Stained Glass," p. 256.
13. Lee, Seddon, and Stephens, Stained Glass, p. 142. Frueh and Frueh, Chicago Stained Glass, p. 26.
14. Lee, Seddon, and Stephens, Stained Glass, pp. 60-62. Lloyd, Stained Glass in America, p. 26.
15. Lee, Seddon, and Stephens, Stained Glass, pp. 84-86. Lloyd, Stained Glass in America, p. 25.
16. Frueh and Frueh, Chicago Stained Glass, p. 25. Lee, Seddon, and Stephens, Stained Glass, pp. 135, 142.
17. Frueh and Frueh, Chicago Stained Glass, p. 26. Lee, Seddon, and Stephens, Stained Glass, p. 142. Lloyd, Stained Glass in America, p. 36.
18. Martin Harrison, Victorian Stained Glass (London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1980), p. 22.
19. Sturm, Stained Glass From Medieval Times to Present, p. 33.

20. See Chapter III, p. 166.
21. A. W. N. Pugin, The True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1853), p. 38; A. W. N. Pugin, An Apology for the Revival of Christian Architecture in England (London: W. Hughes, 1843), p. 2.
22. Lee, Seddon, and Stephens, Stained Glass, p. 146.
23. John Ruskin, The Stones of Venice, Vol. II (Boston: Dana Estes & Company, 1897), pp. 396-96. First published in 1851.
24. John Ruskin, The Seven Lamps of Architecture (New York: The Noonday Press, 1961), pp. 55-57.
25. Ruskin, The Stones of Venice, Vol. II. Quoted in Gillian Naylor, The Arts and Crafts Movement: A Study of Its Sources, Ideals, and Influence on Design Theory (London: Studio Vista, 1971), p. 29. (Hereinafter referred to as Arts and Crafts Movement.)
26. Gillian Naylor, The Arts and Crafts Movement, pp. 20-21.
27. The founders of the firm were William Morris, Dante Gabriel Rossetti, Edward Burne-Jones, Ford Madox Brown, Philip Webb, Charles Faulkner and Peter Paul Marshall. At first called Morris, Marshall, Faulkner & Co., it was later known simply as Morris & Co.
28. Naylor, Arts and Crafts Movement, p. 102.
29. The Morris Exhibit at the Foreign Fair, Boston (Boston: 1883), pp. 29-30. Quoted in Charles Sewter, The Stained Glass of William Morris and His Circle (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974), pp. 21-22.
30. Harrison, Victorian Stained Glass, p. 51. Sturm, Stained Glass from Medieval Times to Present, pp. 28-33. Naylor, Arts and Crafts Movement, pp. 102-103. Lee, Seddon, and Stephens, Stained Glass, pp. 63, 146, 152-53.
31. Naylor, Arts and Crafts Movement, pp. 17-18.
32. Lionel Lambourne, Utopian Craftsmen: The Arts and Crafts Movement from the Cotswolds to Chicago (London: Astragal Books, 1980), pp. 3-6, 12-16. (Hereinafter referred to as Utopian Craftsmen). Naylor, Arts and Crafts Movement, pp. 7-8, 12-15, 108-109.
33. "The Beauty of Life," William Morris, Centenary Edition, ed. by G. D. H. Cole (London: Nonesuch Press,

- 1948), p. 564. Quoted in Naylor, Arts and Crafts Movement, p. 108.
34. Naylor, Arts and Crafts Movement, pp. 108-109. Lambourne, Utopian Craftsmen, p. 27.
  35. Harrison, Victorian Stained Glass, p. 63.
  36. Ibid., pp. 65, 84. Andrea Callen, Women Artists of the Arts and Crafts Movement: 1870-1914 (New York: Pantheon Books, 1979), pp. 175-77. Peter Cormack points out that Frye's earliest work shows the influence of Whall in her use of quarried backgrounds and canopies made of trees. Letter from Peter Cormack, Deputy Keeper, William Morris Gallery, London, October 5, 1985.
  37. Peter Cormack, Women Stained Glass Artists of the Arts and Crafts Movement, exhibition catalogue (London: London Borough of Waltham Forest Libraries & Arts Dept., 1985), pp 2-3. Slab glass has deeply colored centers and uneven surfaces due to the way in which it is produced. "Gold pink" glass, the "colour of a rich sunset," is made by the addition of gold dust to the molten glass (p. 3).
  38. Robert Judson Clark, ed., The Arts and Crafts Movement in America, 1876-1916, exhibition catalogue (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1972), pp. 9-10.
  39. Isabelle Anscombe and Charlotte Gere, Arts & Crafts in Britain and America (New York: Rizzoli International Publications, 1978), p. 55. Edward Lucie-Smith, The Story of Craft: The Craftsman's Role in Society (Oxford: Phaidon Press, 1981), pp. 221-23. (Herein-after referred to as Story of Craft.)
  40. Anscombe and Gere, Arts & Crafts in Britain and America, p. 95. Callen, Women Artists of the Arts and Crafts Movement: 1870-1914, Preface. For Wheeler's own account, see her autobiography, Yesterdays in A Busy Life (New York and London: Harper & Bros., 1918, pp. 210-30.
  41. Lucie-Smith, Story of Craft, p. 222.
  42. Judith Paine, "The Women's Pavilion of 1876," Feminist Art Journal, Vol. IV, No. 4 (Winter, 1975-76), pp. 10-11. Minimizing their accomplishments, a male writer complained: "Of women's work, the Exhibition contains many examples--some of it, such as the carving in wood, of a kind heretofore monopolized by men, and others, such as the needle-work of a character truly feminine. In this latter class, decidedly the most interesting display in the Main Building is the contribution sent

from London by the Royal School of Art Needle-Work. . . . Chiefly owing to the encouragement now given to it by the Royal School is this beautiful branch of woman's work being revived. . . . We have a fancy that our lack of art schools and other institutions where women can learn to employ themselves usefully and profitably at work which is in itself interesting and beautiful, is one of the causes which drives them to so unsex themselves as to seek to engage in men's affairs. Give our American women the same art facilities as their European sisters, and they will flock to the studios and let the ballot-box alone." Phillip T. Sandhurst and others, The Great Centennial Exhibition (Philadelphia and Chicago: P. W. Ziegler & Co., 1876), pp. 173-76.

43. Robert Koch, Louis C. Tiffany, Rebel in Glass (3d ed: New York: Crown Publishers, Inc., 1984), pp. 10, 29. Philadelphia International Exhibition, 1876: Official Catalogue of the British Section, Part I (London, 1876), pp. 224-25.
44. James Parton Haney, ed., Art Education in the Public Schools of the United States (New York: American Art Annual, 1908), p. 46.
45. Clark, Arts and Crafts Movement in America, p. 10.
46. Sturm, Stained Glass from Medieval Times to Present, p. 39.
47. Richard Guy Wilson, Dianne H. Pilgrim, and Richard N. Murray, The American Renaissance: 1876-1917, exhibition catalogue (New York: The Brooklyn Museum, 1979) p. 63. (Hereinafter identified as American Renaissance.) In his opening essay, "The Great Civilization," Wilson identifies three phases of the American Renaissance: "a prelude period from the mid-1870s to the mid-1880s, a period of intense interest and activity in all the arts from the later 1880s to World War I, and a later period of declining spirit from 1918 to the mid-1930s."
48. Ibid., pp. 28-32.
49. Ibid., pp. 13-15, 16-21.
50. Wilson, Pilgrim, and Murray, American Renaissance, p. 112.
51. Ibid., p. 116. H. Barbara Weinberg, The Decorative Work of John La Farge (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1977), pp. 78-80.
52. See Chapter II, pp. 110-11.

53. Weinberg, The Decorative Work of John La Farge, pp. 205, 209-10, 382.
54. Wilson, Pilgrim, and Murray, American Renaissance, pp. 112-14.
55. Ibid., pp. 114-17. The term "interior decorator" first appeared in the late 1870s to denote the new profession that developed from the "concept of unity and harmony of design" (p. 114).
56. Ibid., pp. 12-23. Weinberg, The Decorative Work of John La Farge, pp. 258, 262-64.
57. La Farge decorated the William H. Vanderbilt home (1879-81) and the Cornelius V. Vanderbilt home (1878-1882). He provided stained glass for the William K. Vanderbilt home (1877-81), which was decorated by the Herter Brothers. Wilson, Pilgrim, and Murray, American Renaissance, pp. 118-22.
58. Weinberg, The Decorative Work of John La Farge, pp. 255-56.
59. Wilson, Pilgrim, and Murray, American Renaissance, pp. 118, 131.
60. Helene Barbara Weinberg, "The Early Stained Glass Work of John La Farge," Stained Glass, Vol. LXVII, No. 2 (Summer, 1972), pp. 6, 10. Various writers on stained glass pointed out the need to control the greater intensity of American sunlight. See, for example, Will H. Low, "Old Glass in New Windows," Scribner's Magazine, Vol. IV, No. 6 (December, 1888), p. 675, and Samuel Howe, "The Making of Glass," The Craftsman, Vol. III, No. 6 (March, 1903), p. 365.
61. Weinberg has provided evidence that La Farge was the first to recognize the possibilities of opalescent glass as a stained glass medium. His patent was issued in February of 1880 whereas Tiffany's first patent was issued in February of 1881. Helene Barbara Weinberg, "John La Farge and the Invention of American Opalescent Windows," Stained Glass, Vol. LXVII, No. 3 (Autumn, 1972), pp. 5, 10.
62. Because of the way it was produced, it was also referred to as "opalescent pot-metal." The chemical agents added to the molten glass were phosphate of lime, peroxide of tin, or arsenic. The arsenic provided the orange glint characteristic of an opal. "According as the ingredients are evenly or unevenly mixed in the melting-pot, subjected to even or uneven pressure, corrugated or otherwise manipulated, the glass varies

in its effect in the most surprising manner." Kirk D. Henry, "American Art Industries III: Stained Glass Work," Brush and Pencil, Vol. VII, No. 3 (December, 1900), p. 155.

63. Ibid., pp. 159-60. Other descriptions of the processes are found in Alastair Duncan, Tiffany Windows (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1980), p. 97; C. Hanford Henderson, "The History of a Picture-Window," The Popular Science Monthly, Vol. XXXV (May, 1889), p. 25; Howe, "The Making of Glass," p. 367; Low, "Old Glass in New Windows," p. 682; Ethel Syford, "Examples of Recent Work from the Studio of Louis C. Tiffany," New England Magazine, N.S., Vol. LX, No. 1 (September, 1911), p. 102; Louis C. Tiffany, "American Art Supreme in Colored Glass," The Forum, Vol. XV (July, 1893), p. 624.
64. Caryl Coleman, "The Second Spring," The Architectural Record, Vol. II, No. 3 (1893), p. 485. Theodore Dreiser, "The Making of Stained-Glass Windows," Cosmopolitan, Vol 26, No. 3 (January, 1899), pp. 244, 249. Duncan, Tiffany Windows, 11, 98-99. Henry, "American Art Industries III: Stained-Glass Work," pp. 158-59. Joseph Lauber, "European Versus American Color Windows," The Architectural Record, Vol. XXXI, No. 2 (February, 1912), pp. 147-48. Tiffany, "American Art Supreme in Colored Glass," pp. 623-25.
65. Dreiser, "The Making of Stained-Glass Windows," p. 250. Duncan, Tiffany Windows, pp. 99-101. Syford, "Examples of Recent Work from the Studio of Louis C. Tiffany," p. 103. Tiffany, "American Art Supreme in Colored Glass," p. 625.
66. Charles H. Caffin, "Decorated Windows," The Craftsman, Vol. III, No. 6 (March, 1903), pp. 355. Coleman, "Second Spring," pp. 484-85. Lauber, "European Versus American Color Windows," p. 148. Tiffany, "American Art Supreme in Colored Glass," p. 623.
67. Sturm, Stained Glass from Medieval Times to Present, pp. 35-39.
68. Helene Barbara Weinberg, "A Note on the Chronology of La Farge's Early Windows," Stained Glass, Vol. LXVII, No. 4 (Winter, 1972-73), pp. 14-15. Frank Jewett Mather, Jr., "John La Farge--An Appreciation," The World's Work, Vol. XXI, No. 5 (March, 1911), p. 14091.
69. Bettina A. Norton, ed., Trinity Church: The Story of an Episcopal Parish in the City of Boston (Boston: The Wardens & Vestry of Trinity Church, 1978), p. 47.



70. Weinberg, "The Early Stained Glass Work of John La Farge," p. 16.
71. Irene Sargent, "Trinity Church, Boston, as a Monument of American Art," The Craftsman, Vol. III, No. 6 (March, 1903), pp. 339-40.
72. Mather, "John La Farge--An Appreciation," p. 151. Weinberg, The Decorative Work of John La Farge, p. 80.
73. La Farge wrote: "I thought that I had noticed in the work of the English artists in stained glass that they had come to the end of their rope, and that their work in glass had ceased improving, and it seemed to me that the cause of this was mainly because the designer had become separated from the men who made the actual windows. . . . It occurred to me that if I made a design for stained glass to be carried out as was proposed in this country, that I should follow the entire manufacture, selecting the colors myself, and watching every detail." Quoted in Helene Barbara Weinberg, "The Early Stained Glass Work of John La Farge," pp. 5-6.
74. See Chapter II, pp. 105-106.
75. Grace Humphrey, "The Blashfield Windows," International Studio, Vol. LXI, No. 235 (September, 1916), p. 1x.
76. Ibid.
77. See Chapter II, pp. 110-111.
78. Letter from Betty S. Smith, South Harpswell, Maine, October 27, 1984.
79. Orin E. Skinner, "Women in Stained Glass," Stained Glass, Vol. XXXV, No. 4 (Winter, 1940), pp. 114-15.
80. Letter from Betty S. Smith, South Harpswell, Maine, October 27, 1984.
81. Letter from Edith M. Cady, Church Historian, Christ Church, Andover, Massachusetts, March 26, 1984.
82. Letter from Betty S. Smith, South Harpswell, Maine, October 27, 1984. Smith's research points out that Whitman also used pot metal and plain glass in many of her windows, sometimes combining various glasses. She describes the Brimmer window as "in the Gothic Revival style for color, imagery, design and ornament"; the Honor and Peace Window is in a Renaissance style, with "Venetian Renaissance" figures and ornamentation suggesting Renaissance stonework. Smith, "Sarah Wyman

- Whitman (1842-1904): Outline of Her Life and Work." (April, 1986), pp. 11-22. I greatly appreciate the use of Betty Smith's unpublished research on Sarah Whitman.
83. Sarah de St. P. Whitman, "Stained Glass," Handicraft, Vol. II, No. 6 (September, 1903), pp. 122-27.
  84. "Mary E. Tillinghast," obituary, The New York Times, December 16, 1912, p. 13.
  85. Sturm, Stained Glass from Medieval Times to Present, p. 46.
  86. The Hutton Memorial Window, which is illustrated on page 45 of Sturm's book, was said to be the first window "made entirely of American glass." National Cyclopaedia of American Biography (New York: James T. White & Company, 1926), Vol. XIX, p. 361.
  87. The window for the New-York Historical Society also is illustrated on page 45 of Sturm's book.
  88. The Nativity Window and Ascension Window at St. Ann's Church of Morrisania, The Bronx, New York, were designed by Tillinghast and executed by Tiffany. Letter from Patricia Sullivan, New York, NY, April 15, 1984.
  89. The marble mausoleum is over twenty-two feet in diameter and more than twenty feet high, with a mosaic ceiling. Letter from Ulrich Herliczek, Superintendent, Pittsfield Cemetery, Pittsfield, Massachusetts, April 20, 1984.
  90. See Chapter III, pp. 197-98.
  91. Emma Bugbee, "Windows She Designs Given to Churches by Brooklynite," New York Herald Tribune, July 4, 1938. Jessie Van Brunt Papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.
  92. Van Brunt's windows for the Church of the Transfiguration include the Bird in Flight Window and Tree Window of 1934, the Golden Rule Window of 1933, the St. Francis of Assisi Window of 1941, and the Actors' Memorial (Flight into Egypt) Window of 1930. Illustrated Guide Book with Historical Sketch of The Little Church Around the Corner, rev. by Suzette G. Stuart (New York: The Church of the Transfiguration, 1963), pp. 11-12, 16-17, 24.
  93. Sturm, Stained Glass from Medieval Times to Present, pp. 39-40.

94. Ibid., pp. 40-43.
95. See Chapter III, p. 182.
96. McKean, The "Lost" Treasures of Louis Comfort Tiffany, p. 83.
97. Duncan, Tiffany Windows, pp. 73-74. Letter from Helene Weis, Librarian, Willet Stained Glass Studios, Philadelphia, May 3, 1984. Letter from Robert Koch, Stamford, Connecticut, March 11, 1985.
98. The Northrop Memorial Window was made in memory of Agnes Northrop's father, Allen Parkhill Northrop, for the church where she and her parents were members. Letter from Joanne R. Claassen, Secretary, The Bowne Street Community Church, Flushing, New York, July 2, 1984.
99. Burd was with Tiffany briefly before joining first the Lamb Studios, then the Church Glass & Decorating Company, and finally setting up her own studio. Letter from Margaret B. Franklin, Palm Harbor, Florida, March 24, 1986. I appreciate the valuable information about Clara Burd provided by Mrs. Franklin, Burd's niece.
100. Carter was with Tiffany several years. "Her designs for memorial and other windows . . . have been used in churches . . . , both east and west." Frances Elizabeth Willard and Mary Ashton Livermore, eds., American Women, Vol. I (New York: Mast, Crowell & Kirkpatrick, 1897), p. 157. Morse designed a window for the Beecher Memorial Church in Brooklyn. "Miss Alice Cordelia Morse," A Woman of the Century: Leading American Women in All Walks of Life, ed. by Frances E. Willard and Mary A. Livermore (Buffalo, Chicago and New York: Charles Wells Moulton, 1893), p. 523. The location of the church, which closed in 1919 or 1920, is not known. Letter from Harold F. Worthley, Librarian, Congregational Library, Boston, Massachusetts, April 30, 1984. Parrish's success as a designer of stained glass windows is mentioned by Julia R. Tutwiler, "The Southern Woman in New York," The Bookman, Vol. XIX, No. 52 (March, 1904), pp. 57-58. Her obituary states that she collaborated with Tiffany Studios in the production of many church windows, "most placed in the South." "Clara Weaver Parrish," The New York Times, November 14, 1925, p. 15.
101. Letter from Helen Weis, Librarian, Willet Stained Glass Studios, Philadelphia, May 3, 1984.

102. Weston is said to have been the head designer for Tiffany until she moved to Minnesota. Letter from Wade Lawrence, Greenville, Delaware, March 30, 1986. Wade Alan Lawrence, "Tiffanys in Duluth: The Anne Weston Connection," (unpublished thesis, University of Minnesota, Spring, 1984), pp. 14-20. I am grateful to Wade Lawrence for sharing his research on Anne Weston with me. Weston's Minne-ha-ha Window is illustrated in Duncan, Tiffany Windows, p. 18, Figure 4.
103. A window design by "Mrs. Cox" is mentioned by Theodore Dreiser, "The Making of Stained-Glass Windows," p. 250. Lydia Field Emmet and her sister, Rosina Emmet Sherwood, both supplied designs to Tiffany. Sherwood designed for the Associated Artists. A window entitled Fall or Autumn has been attributed to Sherwood by Caryl Coleman and to Emmet by Alastair Duncan. After being displayed at the World's Columbian Exposition, the window was installed in the home of Mark Twain at Hartford, Connecticut. Removed in 1902, its present location is unknown. Colman, "Second Spring," pp. 487-88. Duncan, Tiffany Windows, p. 159.
104. Sturm, Stained Glass from Medieval Times to Present, p. 46.
105. Charles Rollinson Lamb, "How An American Stained Glass Window is Made," The Chautauquan, Vol XXIX, No. 6 (September, 1899), pp. 515-21.
106. Frederick Stymetz Lamb, "Stained Glass in Its Relation to Church Ornamentation," The Catholic World, Vol. LXXIV, No. 443 (February, 1902), pp. 667-77. Frederick S. Lamb, "The Painted Window," The Craftsman, Vol. III, No. 6 (March, 1903), pp. 341-49. Frederick S. Lamb, "The Making of a Modern Stained Glass Window--Its History and Process, and a Word About Mosaics," The Craftsman, Vol. X (April, 1906), pp. 18-31.
107. The Biographical Cyclopaedia of American Women, Vol. II, compiled by Erma C. Lee (New York: Halvard Publishing Co., 1924), p. 50.
108. In a letter to All Souls' Church, Helen Armstrong wrote: "The glass in these windows is the sort known as opalescent 'American' glass, as distinguished from painted 'antique' glass. . . . As opalescent glass is now made commercially in large quantities, there is less variety to be had, and you may be interested to know that the actual glass used in All Souls' windows is far finer than any that could be supplied by manufacturers today. It was made under my father's personal supervision in small quantities and in great variety. In 'American' windows, only the faces, heads

and hands are painted; whereas in 'antique' glass windows, there is much elaborate painting all over." Quoted in booklet (title and date unknown) about All Souls' Church, p. 10, supplied in letter from Joan Marshall, All Souls' Church, Asheville, North Carolina, June 10, 1984.

109. Edith V. Cowles is credited with five windows at a St. Michael's Church, Brooklyn. This research has not yet located the correct church. Mildred Lancaster Cowles is listed as a stained glass artist in the "Necrology" of Who's Who in American Art (Washington, D.C.: The American Federation of Arts, 1939), Vol. II, p. 628. This research has found none of her windows.
110. Genevieve's account of their collaboration and Maude's untimely death is found in "The Prisoners and Their Pictures," Part I, McClure's Magazine, Vol. LIV, No. 10 (December, 1922), pp. 69-70.
111. Genevieve N. Cowles, "Building A Stained-Glass Window: How It Looks From the Viewpoint of the Artist-Artisan," The Craftsman, Vol. XV, No. 1 (October, 1908), pp. 98, 101.
112. Pemberton Ginther, Hilda of the Green Smock (1925). One of Ginther's illustrations shows the apprentice Hilda at work in the studio.
113. The only other window attributed to Ginther-Heyler is the St. John on Patmos Window in the Unitarian Universalist Church of the Restoration at Philadelphia.
114. Charles H. Dorr, "The Art of Making a Stained Glass Window, With Notes on the Work of Clara M. Burd," The Architectural Record, Vol. XXXV, No. 2 (February, 1914), pp. 164-68. In describing the Davis Memorial Windows, Dorr observed that "the most delicate opalescent coloring has been used in order to admit ample rays of light, for the artist who designed this memorial does not believe in dark windows" (p. 167).
115. Sturm, Stained Glass from Medieval Times to Present, p. 55.
116. Duncan, Tiffany Windows, pp. 105-106. Koch, Louis C. Tiffany: Rebel in Glass, pp. 75-77.
117. "On the Exhibit of Stained Glass at the Fair," American Architect and Building News, November 11, 1893, p. 75.
118. Ibid., pp. 74-75.

119. "Applied Arts at the Fair," The Art Amateur, Vol. XXIX, No. 6 (November, 1893), p. 146.
120. Lawrence, "Tiffanys in Duluth: The Anne Weston Connection," pp. 28-32.
121. Jeanne Madeline Weimann, The Fair Women (Chicago: Academy Chicago, 1981), pp. 152, 264.
122. Ibid., p. 265. Ellen Henrotin, "An Outsider's View of the Woman's Exhibit," Cosmopolitan, Vol. XV, No. 5 (September, 1893), p. 562.
123. "In the Woman's Building: Some of the Beautiful Things to Be Seen There," The New York Times, June 25, 1893, p. 17.
124. Maud Howe Elliott, ed., Art and Handicraft in the Woman's Building of the World's Columbian Exposition (Paris and New York: Goupil & Co., 1893). Mary E. McDowell's cartoon was illustrated but no other information about her has been found during this study.
125. Ibid., p. 64.
126. Louis C. Tiffany, "American Art Supreme in Colored Glass," The Forum, Vol. XV (July, 1893), pp. 621-28.
127. Wilson, Pilgrim, and Murray, American Renaissance, pp. 57, 63, 144. As Wilson has observed, the impact of the World's Columbian Exposition led to several other large expositions in the next two decades. "As a cumulative body they brought the word of the American Renaissance to people of all classes from all parts of the country. . . . Certain elements became standards: large, central bodies of water, buildings grouped in cohesive arrangements, statuary, mural and wall painting, and some form of the classical style"(p. 68).
128. Sturm, Stained Glass from Medieval Times to Present, pp. 49-50. Mary Tillinghast once said that "the electric lighting of churches is destined to make a great difference in the spectacular effect of the window designs." "Mary E. Tillinghast: Designed Many Famous Stained Glass Windows--Associated with La Farge," obituary, The New York Times, December 16, 1912, p. 13.
129. Sturm, Stained Glass from Medieval Times to Present, p. 51. Responding to criticism of his Pantheon-like Madison Square Presbyterian Church, architect Stanford White argued that its style, "of the early Christians," was more suitable for Christian use than medieval forms. Quoted in Wilson, Pilgrim, and Murray, American

Renaissance, p. 106.

130. Sturm, Stained Glass from Medieval Times to Present, p. 58.
131. C. Howard Walker, "The Arts and Crafts Movement in the United States," in Art in Industry, by Charles R. Richards (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1929), p. 440.
132. Isabelle Anscombe and Charlotte Gere, Arts & Crafts in Britain and America (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold Company, 1983), pp. 31-41, 139-50.
133. Wright once declared, "My God is machinery, and the art of the future will be the expression of the individual artist through the thousand powers of the machine--the machine doing all those things that the individual workman cannot do. The creative artist is the man who controls all this and understands it." Quoted in Gillian Naylor, Arts and Crafts Movement, p. 174.
134. Callen, Women Artists of the Arts and Crafts Movement, pp. 9, 15, 52-54, 219, and Anthea Callen, "Sexual Division of Labor in the Arts and Crafts Movement," Woman's Art Journal, Vol. V, No. 2 (Fall, 1984/Winter, 1985), pp. 1-6. However, Peter Cormack points out the significant role of stained glass artist Mary Lowndes, whose firm of Lowndes and Drury gave encouragement and employment to many women, and of other fully-trained women who set up their own stained glass studios in the early 1900s. Cormack, Women Stained Glass Artists of the Arts and Crafts Movement, pp. 1-2.
135. For an extensive report on the progress of the American Arts and Crafts movement, including the names of many women participants, see Max West, "The Revival of Handicrafts in America," in U.S., Department of Commerce and Labor, Bulletin of the Bureau of Labor, No. 54, September, 1904 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1904), pp. 1597-1622. Women stained glass artists who are known to have been members of Arts and Crafts societies include Sarah Whitman, Mary Frye, Margaret Redmond, and Frances Skinner, who belonged to the Boston Society of Arts and Crafts, and Isabel Hall and Alice Laughlin, who were members of the New York Society of Craftsmen.
136. Among influential periodicals were House Beautiful, Keramic Studio, House and Garden, The Craftsman, and Handicraft.
137. Max West, "The Revival of Handicrafts in America." Walker, "The Arts and Crafts Movement in the United States," p. 440.

138. Clark, The Arts and Crafts Movement in America: 1876-1916.
139. Duncan, Tiffany Windows, p. 102. Charles Connick, Adventures in Light and Color: An Introduction to the Stained Glass Craft (London: George G. Harrop & Co., Ltd., 1937), p. 124.
140. Taken from the Christian Intelligencer, April 15, 1908, and sent in a letter from The Reverend Kenneth A. Gorsuch, Pastor, West End Collegiate Church, New York City, April 9, 1984.
141. Oakley's six windows made for All Angels' Church between 1900 and 1903 were sold at auction as Tiffany windows in 1978 before the church was razed in 1979. Letter from Sara J. Nelson, Chair, Building & Maintenance Committee, All Angels' Church, New York City, April 11, 1984. Her window made in 1903 for the Convent of the Holy Child in Sharon Hill, Pennsylvania, also has been lost. Letter from Sister Dorothy Cropper, Archivist, Sisters of the Holy Child Jesus, Rosemont, Pennsylvania, March 7, 1984. The glass dome for the Yarnall house was broken sometime after 1940. Letter from Marie Odgers, President, Republican Women of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, March 16, 1984.
142. Patricia Likos, "Violet Oakley (1874-1961)," Bulletin of the Philadelphia Museum of Art, Vol. LXXV, No. 325 (June, 1979), p. 10.
143. Ibid., p. 14.
144. Ralph Adams Cram, Church Building (Boston: Small, Maynard & Company, 1901), pp. 136-40.
145. Ibid., pp. 140-43.
146. Sturm, Stained Glass from Medieval Times to Present, pp. 60-62.
147. Dumas Malone, ed., Dictionary of American Biography (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1943), Vol. XX, p. 244. Connick, Adventures in Light and Color, p. 404.
148. For example, her obituary in Stained Glass, which states, "She became known as a co-worker with him, designing and making such works as the Sanctuary window at West Point, the Great West Window in the Graduate School at Princeton, and windows in Calvary Episcopal Church, Pittsburgh." "Anne Lee Willet, 1867-1943", Stained Glass, Vol. XXXVIII, No. 1 (Spring, 1943), pp. 30-31.



149. Malone, Dictionary of American Biography, p. 244.
150. Lloyd, Stained Glass in America, p. 65. Connick, Adventures in Light and Color, p. 404.
151. Among these are windows for the Military Academy Chapel at West Point; the Du Pont Memorial Windows at St. John's Cathedral, Wilmington, Delaware; some for St. Aloysius Church at Detroit; and windows for St. Colomba's Church, Washington, D.C. "Anne Lee Willet", Stained Glass, p. 31.
152. Letter from Helene Weis, Librarian, The Willet Stained Glass Studios, Philadelphia, August 21, 1980.
153. William Willet, "The Art of Stained Glass," Architecture, Vol. XXXVII, No. 4 (April, 1918), p. 85.
154. Anne Lee Willet, "The Window," Art and Archaeology, Vol. XXVIII, No. 6 (December, 1929), pp. 207-208, 223.
155. Sturm, Stained Glass from Medieval Times to Present, p. 68.
156. Malone, Dictionary of American Biography, Supp. 3, p. 183.
157. Letter from Orin E. Skinner, Boston, Massachusetts, February 19, 1984.
158. Description of Six Stained Glass Windows in St. Luke's Church, Mechanicville, New York (Privately printed, 1940), p. 1.
159. Durward Howes, ed., American Women: The Official Who's Who Among the Women of the Nation (Los Angeles: Richard Blank Publishing Company, 1940), Vol. III, p. 471.
160. Letter from Erica Karawina, Honolulu, Hawaii, June 30, 1984.
161. See Chapter II, pp. 89-90.
162. Windows in the Chapel, guide brochure, Washington Memorial Chapel, Valley Forge, Pennsylvania, p. 1.
163. Helene Weis, "Some Notes on Early Philadelphia Stained Glass," Stained Glass, Vol. LXXI, No. 1 (Spring, 1976), pp. 25-26.
164. David Adams, "The Last Stained Glass Lamb: Katharine Lamb Tait, 1895-1981," Stained Glass, Vol. LXXVII, No. 1 (Spring, 1982), p. 42.

165. Ibid. Adams identifies two other styles that were used by Tait: a stylized "Neo-Romanesque" manner and an "Art Deco design sensibility." Sometimes Tait combined her three styles, says Adams, citing the Rand Memorial Window as an example.
166. "The Roosevelt Memorial Window," The Magazine of American Art, Vol. XI (April, 1920), p. 202.
167. Orin E. Skinner, "Women in Stained Glass," p. 119.
168. In a letter to Archbishop Richard J. Cushing, Alice Laughlin quoted Abbot Suger's statement on the spiritual power of stained glass windows and added that she wished to work "with great subjects in the greatest tradition of stained glass." Letter from Alice D. Laughlin to Archbishop Richard J. Cushing, dated December 9, 1946, courtesy of the Archdiocese of Boston.

## CHAPTER V

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The final decades of the nineteenth century and the early years of the present century were marked by aesthetic developments that formed an important chapter in the history of American decorative arts. The women stained glass artists identified through this study were a significant part of that chapter. As the first generation of American women to enter the field of stained glass, they provided a link between women glass artists of past eras and other countries and the women who have been active in stained glass since the middle of this century.

The documentation of the lives and art of these pioneering American women stained glass artists and an examination of their world have been two major goals of this study. The presence of many American women in the field of stained glass is clearly confirmed by their own recorded statements, the accounts of their contemporaries, and, above all, by the positive identification of their windows, which provide tangible evidence of their artistic achievements.

The investigation of the cultural context within which these women lived and worked has identified various factors that encouraged and directed their involvement in

the medium of stained glass. The change in social attitudes toward women motivated many more women to move out of the domestic sphere into areas of activity from which they had long been excluded. The view that the decorative arts were more suitable for women than the fine arts and the founding of numerous schools of design to meet the needs of both industry and "superfluous women" were significant factors in steering women toward careers as designers. Women who became professional artists received added support through their memberships in local and national art organizations, which gave them some degree of recognition among other artists. In the case of some stained glass artists found through this study, additional support came from their family relationships to men in the field.

Religious developments also provided opportunities for more women to enter the field of stained glass. The increase in church membership, the formation of new congregations, and the repeated relocation of countless urban churches spurred the construction of many additional houses of worship. The application of both the Social Gospel and the Gospel of Wealth gave an added impetus to the building of religious facilities and the donation of innumerable memorial windows for both old and new structures. Many of the new churches were built in the Gothic Revival architectural style advocated by Anglo-Catholics as the finest expression of the Christian faith. These Gothic style churches required stained glass windows, to increase the

beauty, symbolism, and emotional impact of worship. Nonliturgical churches, also aware of the role of the architectural setting in evoking religious responses, began to add stained glass windows to their own auditorium-style churches, for both aesthetic and psychological effects. These trends created a much broader market for the stained glass industry, providing many more opportunities for women to become active in the medium. The expansion of women's roles in organized religion was yet another dimension of the religious context that gave support to their professional involvement as stained glass artists in the creation of suitable worship environments.

Aesthetic movements were additional factors that affected the entrance of women into the field of stained glass and the stylistic direction of their work. The American Renaissance in many areas of culture gave added importance to the decorative arts, which were used to create unified schemes for religious and domestic interiors. The role of stained glass in achieving harmonious color effects motivated La Farge and Tiffany to develop new material and techniques, marking the start of the opalescent style in which so many of the women stained glass artists were to work. The tremendous popularity of opalescent windows called for many more designers and craft workers in the major studios and allowed several women to establish their own stained glass firms. The introduction of the opalescent landscape window was especially significant in persuading

nonliturgical denominations to install stained glass in their often otherwise unadorned churches.

Interest in the decorative arts was heightened also by the major expositions of the late nineteenth century, as well as by the arrival of the Arts and Crafts movement. The World's Columbian Exposition of 1893 and the expositions that followed provided evidence of the growing number of talented women stained glass artists. Women also played an important role in the spread of the American Arts and Crafts movement through their organization and leadership of countless Arts and Crafts societies dedicated to raising the "standard of American handicraft."

The modern Gothic gospel preached by Ralph Adams Cram and other twentieth-century medievalists redirected the work of many stained glass artists away from the opalescent picture window toward more authentic interpretations of early medieval windows. The return to transparent glass, together with early Gothic principles of design, is seen in the work of many of the women in this study. Some of their windows are highly personal adaptations of the medieval idiom.

Many of the forces that shaped American culture during the final years of the nineteenth century and the opening decades of the twentieth had lost their momentum by the beginning of the 1930s. The opalescent craze had waned early in the century, as a result of opposition from the neomedievalists and the influence of new trends in art and

architecture. The American Renaissance in all of the arts lost its vigor as artists and architects turned from the emulation of past styles to the creation of forms that would better express the forward-looking spirit of a technological age. The emergence of avant-garde movements such as Cubism and Expressionism guided the stylistic direction of some younger artists, although the "vielle garde," as Will Low called his own generation, continued to cling to classical traditions.<sup>1</sup> The change in directions was hastened by the nation's involvement in the Great War, which dampened enthusiasm for the historic styles of Europe.<sup>2</sup> The final phase of the Arts and Crafts movement, from 1901 to 1916, was dominated by the influence of Gustav Stickley's Craftsman magazine, which promoted severe, rectilinear designs in furniture and ornament. When the Craftsman ceased publication in 1916 after Stickley's bankruptcy, the Arts and Crafts movement also gradually declined.<sup>3</sup>

By the arrival of the 1930s, the "New Woman," who had bravely ventured beyond the borders of "True Womanhood" into professional areas once closed to her, now found her economic and personal freedoms curtailed by the grim reality of the Great Depression. In the field of stained glass, as in many other areas, there were fewer opportunities for employment. During the 1920s the industry had been stimulated by the construction of numerous churches and the popularity of memorial windows dedicated to those lost in the Great War. In the 1930s, under the impact of mass

unemployment, the number of new church buildings and the demand for stained glass windows dwindled, forcing the closing of hundreds of studios.<sup>4</sup> Although some women continued to be involved in the field throughout the lean years of the Depression, competition for the fewer open positions made entry into the profession more difficult for women during this decade. The economic turmoil of the 1930s, which followed the fading of both the American Renaissance and the Arts and Crafts movement, marked the end of an important era in the history of American decorative arts, the same era during which American women first entered the field of stained glass.

The third goal of this study has been to assess the contributions of women stained glass artists to American art and life during the years between the Centennial Exhibition of 1876 and the Great Depression of the 1930s. Perhaps their most significant achievement was their entry into the profession of stained glass, thereby continuing a long tradition established by women artists in previous centuries and other countries. At the same time, these first American women stained glass artists provided a professional path for later generations of women artists to follow. The specific contributions of these women are more difficult to judge, primarily because of the anonymity that surrounded most of those who worked in the major studios. Part of their lack of recognition resulted from the way in which studios were operated, with credit for the windows assigned to the firm



rather than to the individual designers. Their neglect can also be traced in some cases to their own modesty, one of the lingering effects of "True Womanhood". One thinks of Agnes Northrop's wish to be left out of the book about Tiffany, for example. Whatever the reasons for their neglect, the omission of their names from records and publications has made it difficult to identify many of the windows that should be attributed to them.

The contributions of these women to stylistic, iconographical, and technical innovations in stained glass may never be entirely known. Their own designs may have suggested new directions for the work of the studios. In some cases, these innovations have been acknowledged. Katharine Tait's adoption of the medieval style of stained glass was an important factor in changing the stylistic direction of the Lamb Studios, for instance. Other women also may have taken the lead in initiating new styles, new subjects, and new techniques. What role did Agnes Northrop play in the development of the landscape window, for example? Did Frances White suggest the return to transparent "antique" glass in her brother's studio? The research for this study has raised many similar questions that call for further investigation. These can be answered, if at all, only by access to the archives of major stained glass studios and by locating enough windows of specific women to identify innovative stylistic elements in the development of their work.

Other questions have emerged from this research. What happened to all of those identified young women who are known to have worked as stained glass designers in the late nineteenth century and yet disappeared from the record? Who were those "happy and serene" women who worked anonymously in the large studios? Why is there so little published information even on the identified women who contributed greatly to the work of these firms? What role, if any, did women donors play in commissioning the work of women stained glass artists? These and other questions present challenging problems for future research.

This study has attempted to restore to the record the names and work of the first American women to become stained glass artists. It is far from complete in its documentation of these women and their windows. Further research will undoubtedly add many more names of women who were active in the medium of stained glass during the first few decades of women's involvement in the field. It may also provide ample evidence of the significant contributions made by these women to the stylistic, iconographical, and technical development of American stained glass. Whatever future investigation may reveal about the role of these women and their windows in the development of stained glass, it can be said with certainty that as "New Women" they contributed to the expansion of women's social, professional, religious, and artistic worlds.

## CHAPTER V NOTES

1. In a letter to Kenyon Cox in 1917, the artist Will Low described his current work on a classical-type mural as "hopelessly out of touch with art as she is spoke at the present time. . . . We, with one or two others, constitute the 'vielle garde,' we who yesterday were the insurgents." Quoted by Richard N. Murray in Richard Guy Wilson, Dianne H. Pilgrim, and Richard N. Murray, The American Renaissance: 1876-1917, exhibition catalogue (Brooklyn, NY: The Brooklyn Museum, 1979), p. 189.
2. Ibid., p. 69.
3. Robert Judson Clark, The Arts and Crafts Movement in America, 1876-1916, exhibition catalogue (Princeton, NJ: The Princeton University Press, 1972), pp. 9-10.
4. John Gilbert Lloyd, Stained Glass in America, (Jenkintown, PA: Foundation Books, 1963), pp. 71-71. Even Tiffany Studios went bankrupt in 1932.

## APPENDIX

## APPENDIX

### INDEX OF AMERICAN WOMEN STAINED GLASS ARTISTS

1870s to 1930s

#### Group 1: Women Whose Lives and/or Windows Are Documented

ARMSTRONG, HELEN MAITLAND. Born: 1869, Florence, Italy. Died: November 26, 1948, NYC. Parents: David Maitland and Helena Neilson Armstrong. Resided: NYC and Quebec, Canada. Worked at NYC. Training: Art Students League, NY. Media: Mosaics, murals, stained glass, illustration. Studio affiliations: Maitland Armstrong Co., NY. Roles in making windows: Designer, builder, cartoonist, painter, head of studio after father's death. Religious affiliation: Episcopal. Verified windows: Presbyterian Church, Flemington, NJ; Church of Our Lady of Perpetual Help, Bernardsville, NJ; Church of the Ascension, NYC; All Souls' Chapel, Asheville, NC; Grace Church, NYC; Calvary Presbyterian Church, West New Brighton, Staten Island, NY.

BALANO, PAULA HIMMELSBACH. Born: May 10, 1878, Leipsig, Germany. Died: July 24, 1967, Phila. Resided: Germantown, Phila., PA; Lansdowne, PA. Worked at Phila. Training: Penn. Acad. of Fine Arts; Drexel Institute; with Mucha in Paris. Media: oil, watercolor, stained glass. Studio affiliations: D'Ascenzo Studios, own studio. Roles in making windows: designer, builder. Awards: Shillard Gold Medal for watercolor, Plastic Club, 1916; Traveling Fellowship, PAFA, ca. 1900; Joan of Arc Medal for oil, 1927. Memberships: Phila. Watercolor Club; NY Watercolor Club; Nat. Assoc. of Women Painters and Sculptors; Phila. Art Alliance; Plastic Club; Wash. Art Club; Conshohocken Art League; Faculty: Phila. School of Design for Women (Moore College of Art). Married: Cosme Balano, children. Verified windows: Chapel of the Convent of Christ Our King, Wilmington, DE; St. Peter's Episcopal Church, Germantown, Phila.; St. Alban's Church, Roxborough, PA; Probable windows: St. Stephen's Church, Phila.; Church of the Ascension, Phila.; St. Agnes' Church, West Chester, PA; St. Thomas Church, Wilmington, DE; St. Anthony's Church, Wilmington, DE; Church of the Visitation, Phila.; Calvary Church, Conshohocken, PA; St. John's Church, Newark, DE.; Unitarian Church, Germantown, Phila.

BURD, CLARA MILLER. Born May 17, 1873, NYC. Died: Nov. 11, 1933, Montclair, NJ. Parents: Charles Edwin and Amelia Roe Burd. Resided: Patchogue, L.I.; Montclair, NJ. Worked at NYC. Training: Nat. Acad. of Design; with Courtois and Colarossi in Paris, 1898-99. Media: Painting, illustration, stained glass. Studio affiliations: Tiffany Studios (1901), Lamb Studios, Church Glass & Decorating Co., own studio. Awards: Nat. Acad. of Design medalist. Memberships: Artists Guild. Marital status: single. Religious affiliation: Congregational. Verified Windows: First Church, Pittsfield, MA; West End Collegiate Church, NYC; Chapel at Annapolis Naval Academy; St. Andrew's Episcopal Church, Pittsburgh, PA; Trinity Episcopal Church, Roslyn, L.I.

COWLES, GENEVIEVE ALMEDA. Born: Feb. 23, 1871, Farmington, CT. Died: Oct. 5, 1950. Parents: James Lewis and Martha L. Cowles. Resided: Hartford, CT; Farmington, CT; Wethersfield, CT; NYC. Training: Yale Art School, Cowles Art School, Boston; Europe. Media: illustration, murals, frescoes, stained glass. Memberships: Amer. Professional Artists League; Artists Council for Prisoners; Woman's Art Club, NYC; Club of Women Art Workers, NYC; Paint and Clay Club, New Haven. Marital status: single. Religious affiliation: Catholic(?). Verified windows: Grace Church, NYC; Trinity Episcopal Church, Fishkill, NY.

COWLES, MAUDE ALICE. Born: Feb. 23, 1871, Farmington, CT; Died: May 16, 1905. Parents: James Lewis and Martha L. Cowles. Training: Yale Art School, Cowles Art School, Boston; Europe. Awards: Bronze medal for drawing, Paris Expo., 1900; medal, Pan-Am Expo., Buffalo, 1901; St. Louis Expo., 1904. Verified window: Grace Church, NYC.

EMERSON, EDITH. Born: July 27, 1888, Oxford OH. Died Nov. 21, 1981. Resided Phila., PA. Worked at Phila. Training: Art Institute of Chicago; Penn. Acad. of Fine Arts; Japan, Mexico, Europe. Media: Painting, murals, watercolor, stained glass, illustration. Awards: Toppan Prizes, 1915, 1916; Fellowships, PAFA. Exhibitions: PAFA; NAD; Corcoran Gallery; Carnegie Institute; Arch. League of NY; Phila. Mus. of Art; Art Inst. Chi.; Conn. Acad. FA; Woodmere Art Gallery. Memberships: National Assoc. Mural Painters; Phila. Art Alliance; Art League of Germantown; Nat. Soc. Bookplate Coll. & Designers; Phila. Watercolor Club; Phila. Print Club. Faculty, Agnes Irwin School; Phila. Mus. School of Industrial Art; College of Chestnut Hill. Marital status: single. Religious affiliation: Christian Scientist. Verified window: Keneseth Israel Reform Congregation, Elkins Park, PA.

FRYE, MARY HAMILTON. Born: April 18, 1890, Salem, MA. Died: ? Resided: Cambridge, MA. Training: School of Boston Museum of Fine Art; London with Christopher Whall. Media: stained glass. Studio affiliations: Connick, Whall, own

studio. Memberships: Boston Society of Arts and Crafts. Marital status: single. Verified windows: St. Luke's Church, Mechanicville, NY.

HALL, ISABEL HAWXHURST. Born: 1888, NYC. Died: Oct. 4, 1951, NYC. Training: Pratt Institute; Art Students League, NYC; NY School of Applied Design for Women. Media: stained glass, illustration. textile design. Studio affiliations: Lamb Studios, J. C. Koechig & Sons. Memberships: NY Soc. of Craftsmen. Marital status: single. Verified window: Methodist Church, Tenafly, NJ. Possible windows: St. Benedict Joseph Labre Church, Richmond Hill, Queens, NY.

GINTHER (HEYLER), MARY PEMBERTON. Born: ? Died: Aug. 7, 1959. Parents: David and Mary E. Ginther. Resided: Buckingham, PA; Lahaska, PA. Training: Penn. Acad. of Fine Arts; School of Design, Phila. Media: stained glass, oil, watercolor, illustration. Awards: Gold medal, Plastic Club; Fellowship, PAFA; Portrait prize, Miss. Art Assoc. Memberships: Phila. Alliance, Plastic Club. Exhibitions: PAFA; Phila. Art Club; Plastic Club; Art Alliance. Married: Willis A. Heyler, Sept. 25, 1915. Religious affiliation: Episcopalian. Verified windows: St. Paul's Church, Suffolk, VA. Probable window: Universalist Church of the Restoration, Phila.

KARAWINA, ERICA. Born: Jan. 25, 1904, Germany. Parents: Paul and Meta Karawina. Resides: Honolulu, Hawaii. Training: Germany, France, Connick Studios. Media: stained glass, painting, sculpture, lithography, mosaic. Studio affiliations: Connick, Burnham, own studio. Role in making windows: designing, cartooning, building. Exhibitions: PAFA; Grace Horne Gal., Boston; Soc. Indep. Artists, Boston; Wadsworth Athneum, Hartford, CT; Art Club, Lancaster, PA; Colby College, Texas State College; Univ. of Dayton, NY World's Fair. Married: Dr. Sidney C. T. Hsiao. Verified windows: All Saints' Episcopal Church, Kauai, Hawaii; Waioli Children's Chapel, Honolulu, Hawaii.

LAMB, ELLA CONDIE. Born: 1862. Died: Jan. 23, 1936. Parents: James and Ellen Condie. Resided: Cresskill, NJ. Worked at NYC; Cresskill, NJ. Training: Nat. Acad. of Design; Art Students League; England, Paris. Media: painting, illustration, stained glass, mosaic. Studio affiliation: Lamb Studios. Awards: Dodge Prize, NAD; Hon. Men., Columb. Expo.; Gold medal, Atlanta Expo, 1895; Hon. Men., Pan-Am Expo, 1901. Memberships: Art Students League, NY; Nat. Arts Club; Nat. Soc. Mural Ptrs.; Soc. Women Ptrs. and Sculpt.; Municipal Art Soc.; Woman's Art Club. Married: Charles R. Lamb, 1888. Children: five. Verified windows: Wells College, Aurora, NY; Christ Church, West Haven, CT.

LAUGHLIN, ALICE DENNISTON. Born: Oct. 19, 1895, Pittsburgh, PA. Died: July 30, 1952, NYC. Parents: James and Clara Belle Laughlin. Resided: NYC; Norwalk, CT. Training: Art Students League, NY; Paris. Media: stained glass, wood engraving, drawing, stage design, oil, watercolor, ceramics, fresco, ceramics, furniture, photography. Studio affiliations: work executed by Reynolds, Francis and Rohnstock, Boston. Role in making windows: designer. Exhibitions: Phila. Sesquicent. Expo, 1926; NY World's Fair, 1939; Brooklyn Mus.; Johns Hopkins Univ; Boston Inst. Contemp. Art. Memberships: Stained Glass Assoc. of Amer.; Amer. Fed. of Arts; Mural Artists' Guild, NY; NY Soc. Craftsmen; Scenic Artists Local Union, AFL. Marital status: single. Religious affiliation: Presbyterian. Verified windows: Masters School, Dobbs Ferry, NY; Chapel of Archbishop of Boston; Whale Cay Episcopal Chapel, Bahamas.

LECOMPTE, IRENE. Dates unknown. Married: Rowan LeCompte. Verified windows: Washington Cathedral, Washington. D.C.

MEIÈRE, HILDRETH M. Born: 1893, NYC. Died: May 3, 1961. Parents: Ernest and Marie Hildreth Meiere. Resided: NYC. Training: Florence, Italy; Art Students League, NY; Calif. School of Fine Arts, San Francisco; NY School of Applied Design for Women; Beaux Arts Institute of Design. Media: painting, mosaics, stained glass. Studio affiliation: Rambusch. Awards: Gold medal, Arch. League of NY, 1928; Fine arts medal, Amer. Inst. Arch., 1956. Memberships: Soc. Mural Ptrs.; Arch. League of NY; Municipal Art Soc.; Arch. Guild of Amer.; Liturgical Arts Soc.; Assoc. Nat. Acad. Design. Married: Richard Alex Goebel, May 3, 1929. Children: one. Religious affiliation: Catholic. Verified windows: St. Bartholomew's Church, NYC.

NORTHROP, AGNES F. Born: c. 1857. Died: c. 1953. Parents: Allen Parkhill and Emily Northrop. Resided: NYC. Studio affiliation: Tiffany Studios, Westminster Memorial Studios. Media: watercolor, stained glass. Exhibitions: Columb. Expo, 1893. Marital status: single. Religious affiliation: Reformed Church. Verified windows: Bowne Street Community Church, Flushing, NY; St. Mary's and St. Jude's Church, Northeast Harbor, ME.

OAKLEY, VIOLET. Born: June 10, 1874, Jersey City, NJ. Died: Feb. 25, 1961, Phila. Resided NYC; Phila. Training: Art Students League; Penn. Acad. of Fine Arts; Drexel Institute; Paris, England. Media: murals, illustration, stained glass, painting. Role in making windows: designer. Awards: Gold medal, silver medal, St. Louis Expo., 1904; Gold Medal of Honor, PAFA; Medal of Honor, San Fran. Expo, 1915; Medal of Honor, NY Arch. League, 1916; Phila. Prize, PAFA, 1922. Memberships: Phila. Watercolor Club; Plastic Club, Phila; Assoc. Nat. Acad., NA, 1929; NY Watercolor Club; Phila. Alliance, Amer. Fed. Art. Marital status: single. Religious



affiliation: Christian Scientist. Verified windows: All Angels' Church, NYC; St. Peter's Church, Germantown, Phila.; Convent of the Holy Child Jesus, Sharon Hill, PA; Yarnall House, Phila.; U.S. Apostolic Delegation, Washington, D.C.

REDMOND, MARGARET. Born: Dec. 6, 1867 Philadelphia. Died: Sept. 23, 1948, Boston. Parents: Henry and Jane Redmond. Resided: Boston; Chesham, NH. Studio affiliations: Fenway Studios, Boston; own studio. Training: Penn. Acad. of Fine Arts; Paris; Harvard School of Arch.; Art Students League, NY. Role in making windows: designer, builder. Awards: Gold medal, Boston Tercentenary Exh. of Stained and Leaded Glass; Bronze medal for model of Persian Garden, Garden Club of America. Memberships: Copley Society; Boston Society of Arts and Crafts; Phila. Watercolor Club; Stained Glass Assoc. of Amer.; Amer. Fed. of Arts; Soc. of Independent Artists; Phila. Alliance. Marital status: single. Religious affiliation: Episcopal. Verified windows: Trinity Church, Boston; St. Paul's Church, Englewood, NJ; Englewood Library, Englewood, NJ; St. Peter's Church, Beverly, MA; St. Paul's Church, North Andover, MA; St. Paul's Church, Peabody, MA; All Saints' Parish, Peterborough, NH; St. James' Church, Oconoma, ME; St. Saviour's Church, Bar Harbor, ME; St. Paul's Church, Fort Fairfield, ME.

SKINNER, FRANCES VAN ARSDALE HUNT. Born: July 24, 1895, Canandaigua, NY. Died: Aug. 17, 1979. Resided: Newtonville, MA. Worked at: Boston. Training: Rochester Athenaeum Art School and Mechanics Institute, Rochester, NY. Media: stained glass. Studio affiliation: Connick Studios. Role in making windows: designing, painting, cartooning, glazing. Awards: Boston Society of Arts and Crafts medal of excellence. Membership: Boston Society of Arts and Crafts. Married: Orin E. Skinner April 29, 1917. Children: Charles. Religious affiliation: Episcopal. Verified windows: College of Arts and Sciences, University of Pittsburgh; Stephen Foster Memorial Center, Pittsburgh; Princeton University Chapel; St. John's Episcopal Church, Newtonville, MA; Christ Church, Glendale, OH; Grace Church, Medford, MA; St. Stephen's Chapel, Sewickley, PA; All Saints' Church, Belmont, MA.

TAIT, KATHARINE STYMETZ LAMB. Born: June 3, 1895, Alpine, NJ. Died: Aug. 11, 1981, Cresskill, NJ. Parents: Charles R. and Ella Condie Lamb. Resided: Cresskill, NJ. Training: Columbia College; Nat. Acad. of Design; Art Students League; Cooper Union Art School; Colorossi's, Paris; England; Italy. Media: stained glass, watercolor, mosaic. Studio affiliation: Lamb Studios. Role in making windows: head designer. Memberships: Nat. Soc. Mural Ptrs.; Stained Glass Assoc. Amer.; Nat. Arts Club; Soc. of Designer Craftsmen. Married: Trevor S. Tait, Nov. 14, 1925. Children: four. Verified windows: Camp Lejeune, NC; Newark Museum of Art; Ginter Park Memorial Church, Richmond, VA; St. Stephen's

Church, Richmond, VA; Old Mariner's Church, Detroit, MI; All Saints Church, Morris, NY; Church of Our Saviour, Plainville, CT; St. John's Church, Hollywood, FL; Grace Episcopal Church, Gainesville, GA; many others.

TILLINGHAST, MARY ELIZABETH. Born: Dec. 31, 1845, NYC. Died: Dec. 15, 1912, NYC. Parents: Philip and Julia Tillinghast. Resided: NYC. Training: Paris; John La Farge in NYC. Media: stained glass, painting, oil portraits, textiles. Studio affiliations: La Farge; own studio. Awards: Gold medal, Columb. Expo, 1893; Gold and bronze medals, Cotton States Expo, 1895; Gold and bronze medals, Charleston Expo, 1902. Memberships: Soc. of Nat. Arts; Nat. Sculpture Soc. Marital status: single. Verified windows: New-York Historical Society; First Presbyterian Church, Syracuse, NY; Grace Church, NYC; St. Stephen's Church, Pittsfield, MA; McKay Mausoleum, Pittsfield, MA; St. Mark's Church, Orange, NJ; All Saints' Church, Attleboro, MA; St. Ann's Church of Morrisania, Mott Haven, The Bronx, NY; Second Congregational Church, Attleboro, MA.

VAN BRUNT, JESSIE. Born: 1862, Brooklyn, NY. Died: Feb. 28, 1947, Brooklyn. Parents: Cornelius Henshaw and Carrie Currier Van Brunt. Resided: Brooklyn. Training: Packer Collegiate Institute; La Farge; possibly Art Students League. Media: stained glass. Faculty: Art Dir. Packer Collegiate Inst.; assoc. with NY School of Applied Design for Women. Marital status: single. Religious affiliation: Episcopal. Verified windows: Church of the Transfiguration, NYC; First Presbyterian Church, NYC; Grace Episcopal Church, Brooklyn; Church of the Transfiguration, Moose, Wyoming; St. Matthew's Cathedral, Laramie, WY., various churches around the world.

WESSELHOEFT, MARY FRASER. Born: Feb. 15, 1873, Cambridge, MA. Died: ? Resided: Santa Barbara, CA. Training: School of Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Media: stained glass, painting, lithography. Awards: Hon. men. Calif. Watercolor Society, Los Angeles. Memberships: Calif. Watercolor Society; Craftworkers of Santa Barbara. Marital status: single. Religious affiliation: Unitarian. Verified windows: Grace and Holy Trinity Cathedral, Kansas City, MO; Unitarian Church, Santa Barbara, CA.

WESTON, ANNE VAN DERLIP. Born: August 11, 1861, NYC. Died: Sept. 8, 1944, Hemet, CA. Parents: George and Grace Van Derlip. Resided: NYC; Duluth, MN. Training: Rutgers Female College, NYC. Studio affiliation: Tiffany Studios. Media: stained glass, watercolor. Married: Dr. John B. Weston. Children: five. Religious affiliation: Baptist. Verified windows: St. Louis County Heritage and Arts Center (The Depot); First Presbyterian Church, Duluth, Minn.; Aftenro Home, Duluth, Minn.

WHITMAN, SARAH DE ST. PRIX WYMAN. Born: 1842, Lowell, MA. Died: 1904, Boston, MA. Parents: William and Sarah Treat Wyman. Resided: Boston; Beverly Farms, MA. Training: with William Morris Hunt; William Rimmer; Thomas Couture; learned art of stained glass from observing La Farge. Media: Oil, watercolor, pastel, stained glass, bookcover designs. Studio affiliations: Own studio. Married: Henry Whitman, June 8, 1866. Religious affiliation: Episcopal. Awards: Bronze medal, Columb. Expo., 1893; Gold and bronze medals, Atlanta Expo; Bronze medal, Pan-Amer. Expo., Buffalo, 1901. Exhibitions: Boston art galleries; Boston Art Club; St. Botolph Club: 1-woman show, 1889; National Academy of Design; Society of American Artists. Memberships: Soc. Amer. Artists, NY; Copley Society, Boston; Watercolor Club, Boston; Permanent Committee, School of Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Windows: United Church of Christ, Congregational, Worcester, MA; Christ church, Andover, MA; Fogg Memorial Building, Berwick Academy, South Berwick, ME; Trinity Church, Boston; Memorial Hall, Harvard University, Cambridge; St. Ann's Church, Kennebunkport, ME; Boston Atheneum, Boston; Memorial Hall, Bowdoin College, Brunswick, ME; Groton School, Groton, MA; Radcliffe College, Cambridge, MA.

WILLET, ANNE LEE. Born: Dec. 15, 1866, Bristol, PA. Died: Jan. 18, 1943, Atlanta, GA. Resided: Philadelphia. Training: Penn. Acad. of Fine Arts; England, France. Media: stained glass, mural painting. Studio affiliations: Willet Studios. Role in making windows: possible designer, head of Willet Studios 1921-1933. Exhibitions: Metro. Mus.; Arch. League; Edw. MacDowell Club; New York Public Library; PAFA; Phila. Mus.; Cosmopolitan Club; Art Alliance; Temple Univ. Married: William Willet, June 30, 1896. Children: three. Memberships: Am. Fed. Arts; Acad. Fine Arts; Edw. MacDowell Assoc.; Phila. Art Alliance; St. Dunstan's Guild, Boston; Stained Glass Assoc. of America. Religious affiliation: Presbyterian. Verified windows attrib. to both Anne and William: U.S. Military Academy, West Point, NY; Proctor Hall, Princeton Univ., numerous others.

Group 2: Women Whose Lives and/or Windows  
Need Further Documentation

ABEL, ELIZABETH. Active at Philadelphia, 1890s.

AHRENS, ELLEN WETHERALD. Born: June 6, 1859, Baltimore, MD. Died: 1935. Resided: Lansdowne, PA. Training: Boston Museum School; Penn. Acad. Fine Arts; Drexel Institute. Media: Painting, illustration, stained glass. Awards: Silver medal, Carnegie Inst., 1901; Bronze medals, St. Louis Expo., 1904; Prizes, PAFA, 1884. Exhibitions: Copley Soc., Boston. Memberships: Penn. Soc. Min. Ptrs., Phila. Plastic Club; Phila. Alliance. Marital status: single.

ANDREWS, MARIETTA MINNEGERODE. Born: Dec. 11, 1869, Richmond, VA. Died: Aug. 7, 1931, Alexandria, VA. Resided: Washington, D.C. Training: Corcoran Sch. of Art; Paris; Munich. Media: Painting, stained glass, silhouettes. Awards: Corcoran Gold Medal, 1899. Memberships: Soc. of Wash. Artists; Wash. Watercolor Club. Married: Eliphalet Fraser Andrews, Sept. 24, 1895. Children: two.

ARMSTRONG, MARGARET. Sister of Helen Maitland Armstrong.

AYLWARD, IDA DOUGHERTY. Born: 1878, Fairport, NY. Died: 1955, Port Washington, L.I. Resided: Port Washington. Training: Art Students League, NY. Media: Painting, illustration, stained glass. Married: William J. Aylward. Children: One.

BARNES, GRACE. Dates unknown. Active 1916, NYC. Training: with John La Farge. Marital status: single. Verified windows that she built: First Presbyterian Church, Chattanooga, TN.

BROWN, EDITH. Born: 1874, Wolfville, Nova Scotia. Died: Aug. 27, 1932, Brighton, MA. Parents: John L. and Elizabeth Brown. Training: Boston Museum of Fine Arts School. Media: Drawing, stained glass, clay modeling. Exhibitions: Columb. Expo, 1893. Memberships: Copley Soc., Boston.

BRYANT, SARAH. Dates unknown. Worked for Fannie Sweeney at Philadelphia.

CARTER, MARY ADALINE EDWARDS. Born: Hinesburgh, VT; Parents: Edward H. and Mary A. Carter. Resided NYC. Training Cooper Union Woman's Art School. Studio affiliation: Tiffany and Associated Artists. Media: needlework, pottery, painting, stained glass, mosaics, drawing.

COLE, JESSIE DUNCAN SAVAGE. Born: 1858, Pass Christian, MS; Died: Oct. 27, 1940, Wellesley, MA. Father: Thomas S. Savage. Resided: Yonkers, NY. Training: Pupil of Wyatt Eaton, John La Farge. Media: Painting, stained glass. Studio affiliation: Assisted La Farge with windows, murals. Exhibitions: Soc. of Amer. Artists, Nat. Acad. of Des. Married: Rev. Thomas L. Cole. Children: two. Religious affiliation: Episcopal.

COWLES, EDITH VAUGHN. Born: May 17, 1874, Farmington, CT. Died: ? Parents: James Lewis and Martha L. Cowles. Resided: NYC. Training: Yale Art School; Paris. Media: Painting, illustration, stained glass. Religious affiliation: Roman Catholic. Unverified windows: St. Michael's Church, Brooklyn.

COWLES, MILDRED LANCASTER. Born: April 24, 1876, Farmington, CT. Died: Jan. 2, 1929, Paris. Parents: James L. and Martha Cowles. Training: Yale Art School. Media: Painting, stained glass.

COX, LOUISE HOWLAND KING. Born: June 23, 1865, San Francisco, CA. Died: Dec. 11, 1945, Windham, CT. Father: J. C. King. Resided: Mount Kisco, NY. Training: Nat. Acad. of Design; Art Students League, NY. Media: Painting, stained glass. Studio affiliation: Probably independent designer. Awards: Third Hallgarten Prize, NAD, 1896; Bronze medal, Paris Expo, 1900. Silver medal, Pan-Amer. Expo, 1901; Shaw Mem. Prize, Soc. Amer. Artists, 1903; Silver medal, St. Louis Expo, 1904. Married: Kenyon Cox, June 30, 1892. Children: three.

DRISCOLL, CLARA WOLCOTT. Dates unknown. Designer of lamps for Tiffany. Also said to have designed floral windows.

EMMET, LYDIA FIELD. Born: Jan. 23, 1866, New Rochelle, NY. Died: Aug. 16, 1952, NYC. Parents: William J. and Julia C. Emmet. Resided: NYC; Stockbridge, MA. Worked at NYC. Training: Art Students League, NY; Paris; Shinnecock School of Art with W. M. Chase. Media: Painting, illustration, stained glass. Studio affiliation: Probably independent designer for Tiffany. Role in making windows: Designer. Awards: Bronze medal, Columb. Expo, 1893; Bronze medal, Atlanta Expo., 1895; Hon. Men., Pan-Am Expo, 1901; Silver medal, St. Louis Expo., 1904; Shaw Prize, Soc. Amer. Artists, 1906; Proctor Prize, NAD. 1907; Clarke Prize, NAD, 1909; Hon. Men., Pittsburgh Intl. Exh. 1912; Phila. Prize, PAFA, 1915. Memberships: ANA, 1909; NA 1911; ASL, NY; Nat. Assn. Port. Ptrs.; NY Munic. Art Soc.; NY WC Club; Amer. Fed. Arts. Marital Status: single. Religious affiliation: Episcopal. Known window (now missing): Autumn (1893), also attributed to Rosina Emmet Sherwood.

GECKLER, LAURA. (1890s-1983). Training: Graduated in 1907 from School of Industrial Art of Pennsylvania Museum. Studio affiliation: D'Ascenzo Studios.

HERNDL, MARIA ? - 1912. Verified window: U.S. Senate.

LATTA, KATHERINE. Dates unknown. Studio affiliation: Willet Studios, Philadelphia.

MACDONALD, DONALINE. Active 1870s, Boston. Father: Donald MacDonald. Studio affiliation: Probably W. J. McPherson & Co., Boston. Marital status: single. Windows: Memorial Hall, Harvard.

MCDOWELL, MARY E. Dates unknown. Exhibited window design at World's Columb. Expo.

MORSE, ALICE CORDELIA 1862 - ? Born June 1, 1862, Hammondsville, Ohio. Resided: Brooklyn, NY. Training: Cooper Union Woman's Art School; with La Farge and Tiffany. Media: Painting, bookcover design, illustration, stained glass. Studio affiliations: La Farge, Tiffany. Awards: Won several contests for bookcover designs; Silver medal, Life Class, Cooper Union, 1891. Exhibitions: Annual NY Arch. League Exhib.; bookcovers at Columbian Expo, 1893. Unverified window: Beecher Memorial Church, Brooklyn.

MORSE, ANNE GODDARD. Born: Jan. 17, 1855, Providence, R.I. Resided: Providence. Training: Mass. Normal Art School; Art Students League, NY. With La Farge for stained glass.

OGTROP, WILHELMINA V. Dates unknown.

PARRISH, CLARA WEAVER ? - 1945. Born: Selma, AL. Died: Nov. 13, 1925. Parents: William M. and Lucia M. Weaver. Resided: NYC. Training: Art Students League, NY; Adademie Colarossi, Paris. Media: oils, watercolor, etching, illustration, murals, stained glass. Studio affiliation: Tiffany. Married: William Peck Parrish. Exhibited: Columbian Expo., 1893.

PARSONS, ELIZABETH. Active 1890s.

SEARS, MISS. Active 1890s.

SEAYER, MINNIE. Active 1930s. Studio affiliations: Alfred Bell, Horace Phipps, Spence-Bell.

SHEPPERD, E. EUGENIA. Active 1920s. Studio affiliation: Connick Studios.

SHERWOOD, ROSINA EMMET. Born: Dec. 13, 1854, NYC. Died Jan. 17, 1948. Parents: William J. and Julia Colt Emmet. Training: with William M. Chase, NY; Julian Academy, Paris; Media: painting, illustration, stained glass design. Married: Arthur M. Sherwood, June 1, 1887. Children: five. Awards: Silver medal, Paris Expo., 1889; medal, Chicago Expo., 1893; bronze medals, Buffalo Expo., 1901; silver medal, St. Louis Expo, 1904. Memberships: Nat. Acad. of Design; NY Watercolor Club; Amer. Watercolor Society. Possible window: The Fall, also attrib. to Lydia Emmet.

SOTTER, ALICE BENNETT. Active 1920s. Collaborated with husband George Sotter in Bucks County, PA.

SWEENEY, FANNIE. Had own studio in west Philadelphia. Employed Sarah Bryant, possibly Laura Geckler.

WHITE, FRANCES JANES. Active ca. 1907. Designed for studio owned by brother, Walter Janes.

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February 4, 1985; April 1, 1985; April 4, 1986.

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21, 1980.

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1985.

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1984.

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Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, March 16, 1984.

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July 20, 1985; March 24, 1986.

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Andover, Massachusetts, March 26, 1984; May 2, 1984

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Cemetery, Pittsfield, Massachusetts, April 20, 1984.

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North Carolina, June 10, 1984.

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End Collegiate Church, New York, New York, April 9,  
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Holy Child Jesus, Rosemont, Pennsylvania, March 7, 1984.

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1984; May 2, 1984; April 15, 1984.

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Pennsylvania, March 10, 1984.

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February 12, 1986.

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Richmond Hill, New York, April 14, 1984.

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26, 1984.

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Masters School, Dobbs Ferry, New York, May 24, 1984.

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Church, New York, New York, April 10, 1984.

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St. Jude's Church, Northeast Harbor, Maine, April 11,  
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July 10, 1985.

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United Methodist Church, Dumont, New Jersey, March 14,  
1984; April 9, 1984; April 24, 1984.

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Gainesville, Florida, April 6, 1984.

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Cragmoor, New York, May 13, 1984.

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Peter's Episcopal Church, Charlotte, North Carolina,  
April 17, 1984; May 1, 1984.

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Church, Lapeer, Michigan, May 21, 1984.

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May 7, 1984.

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