TWENTIETH CENTURY STAINED GLASS IN MELBOURNE CHURCHES

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Declaration

I declare that this thesis contains only my original work, except where due acknowledgement has been made in the text to all other materials used.

This thesis is approximately 39,200 words in length, exclusive of bibliographies, endnotes, catalogue and appendices.

Bronwyn Hughes

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Anglican

Altona
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Balaclava
Holy Trinity, Brighton Road, Balaclava

Balwyn
St. Barnabas’, 86 Balwyn Road, Balwyn

Black Rock
St. Agnes’, Arkaringa Crescent, Black Rock

Brighton
St. Andrew’s, cnr. New & Church Streets, Brighton

Brighton Beach
St. Peter’s, cnr. Were & Moffat Streets, Brighton Beach

Camberwell
St. John’s, Burke Road, Camberwell
St. Mark’s, cnr. Burke & Canterbury Roads, Camberwell

Castlemaine
Christ Church, Mostyn Street, Castlemaine

Caulfield
St. Mary’s, Glen Eira Road, Caulfield
St. Paul’s, cnr. Dandenong Road & Glenferrie Street, Caulfield North
Corio
All Saint’s Chapel, Geelong Grammar School, Corio

Croydon
St. John the Divine, Toorak Avenue, Croydon

Darebin
St. Stephen’s, 22-24 Merton Street, Darebin

Daylesford
Christ Church, Central Springs Road, Daylesford

Eastern Hill (East Melbourne)
St. Peter’s, Albert Street, Eastern Hill

Elsternwick
St. Clement’s, cnr. Glenhuntly & Brighton Roads, Elsternwick

Elwood
St. Bede’s, cnr. Ormond Road & Tiuna Grove, Elwood

Fitzroy
St. Mark’s, George Street, Fitzroy

Frankston
St. Luke’s, McMahon’s Road, Frankston East
St. Paul’s, cnr Bay & High Streets, Frankston

Glen Iris
St. Oswald’s, cnr. Seaton & High Streets, Glen Iris

Hamilton
Christ Church Co-Cathedral, cnr. Gray & McIntyre Streets, Hamilton
Hawthorn
Christ Church, cnr. Denham & Church Streets, Hawthorn
St. Columb’s, cnr. St. Columb’s Street & Burwood Road, Hawthorn

Heidelberg
St. John the Evangelist, cnr. Yarra & Cape Streets, Heidelberg

Highton
St. John’s, Roslyn Road, Highton

Hobart
St. David’s Cathedral, Hobart

Kew
Holy Trinity, cnr. High & Pakington Streets, Kew

Malvern
St. George’s, Glenferrie Road, Malvern
St. John the Evangelist, Finch Street, Malvern

Melbourne
St. Paul’s Cathedral, cnr. Swanston & Flinders Streets, Melbourne

Mentone
St. Augustine’s, Como Parade, Mentone

Middle Park
St. Anselm’s, cnr. Langridge Street & Park Road, Middle Park

Moonee Ponds
St. Thomas’, cnr. Mount Alexander & Pascoe Vale Roads, Moonee Ponds

Mornington
St. Peter’s, 3 Queen Street, Mornington

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Mt. Eliza
St. James the Less, cnr. Koetong Parade & Nepean Highway, Mt. Eliza
Toorak College, Old Mornington Road, Mt. Eliza

Murrumbeena
St. Peter’s Neerim Road, Murrumbeena

Oakleigh
Holy Trinity, cnr. Warrigal & Dandenong Roads, Oakleigh

Parkville
Trinity College Chapel, The University of Melbourne, Royal Parade, Parkville

Port Melbourne
Holy Trinity, cnr. Bay & Graham Streets, Port Melbourne

Richmond
St. Stephen’s, 360 Church Street, Richmond

St. Kilda
All Saint’s, Chapel Street, St. Kilda East
Christ Church, 14 Acland Street, St. Kilda

Sandringham
All Soul’s, Bay Road, Sandringham

South Yarra
Christ Church, cnr. Toorak & Punt Roads, South Yarra
St. Peter’s Chapel, Melbourne Grammar School, cnr. St. Kilda & Domain Roads, South Yarra

Toorak
St. John’s, 510 Toorak Road, Toorak
West Melbourne
St. James' Old Cathedral, cnr. King & Batman Streets, West Melbourne

Williamstown
Holy Trinity, Pasco Street, Williamstown

Catholic

Bayswater
Our Lady of Lourdes, Orange Grove, Bayswater

Bentleigh
St. Paul's, 122 Jasper Road, Bentleigh

Brighton Beach
Kostka Hall, Xavier College Preparatory School Chapel, South Road, Brighton Beach

Brunswick
Our Lady Help of Christians, 49 Nicholson Street, Brunswick East

Camberwell
Our Lady of Victories, 548 Burke Road, Camberwell
St. Dominic's, 816 Riversdale Road, Camberwell East

Chadstone
Holy Eucharist, 1241 Dandenong Road, Chadstone

Clayton
Corpus Christi Roman Catholic College, Bayview Road, Clayton

Collingwood
St. Joseph's, 46 Otter Street, Collingwood
East Melbourne
   St. Patrick’s Cathedral, Cathedral Place, East Melbourne

Elsternwick
   St. Joseph’s, 71 Orrong Road, Elsternwick

Frankston
   St. Francis Xavier, 60 Davey Street, Frankston

Gardenvale
   Star of the Sea College Chapel, Martin Street, Gardenvale

Geelong
   Sacred Heart,
   St. Mary’s, Yarra Street, Geelong

Glen Iris
   St. Roch’s, 200 Burke Road, Glen Iris

Hamilton
   St. Mary’s, cnr. Lonsdale Street & Hilliers Lane, Hamilton

Hawthorn
   Sacred Heart, Hawthorn

Hobart
   St. Mary’s Cathedral, Patrick Street, Hobart, Tasmania

Kew
   Genazzano F. C. J. College Chapel, 301 Cotham Road, Kew
   Sacred Heart, 116 Cotham Road, Kew
Melbourne
   St. Francis’, Lonsdale Street, Melbourne

Moonee Ponds (Essendon)
   St. Monica’s, Mt. Alexander Road, Moonee Ponds

Mordialloc
   St. Brigid’s, 520 Main Street, Mordialloc

Newtown
   Sacred Heart Girls School, Retreat Road, Newtown

North Melbourne
   St. Mary’s Star of the Sea, 33 Howard Street, North Melbourne

Pascoe Vale
   St. Oliver Plunkett, Landells Road, Pascoe Vale

Reservoir
   St. Gabriel’s, 1 Viola Street, Reservoir

Richmond
   St. Ignatius’, 326 Church Street, Richmond

St. Kilda
   Sacred Heart, 87 Grey Street, St. Kilda
   St. Mary’s, 208 Dandenong Road, St. Kilda East

Toorak
   St. Peter’s, 585 Toorak Road, Toorak

Warrnambool
   St. Joseph’s (new church), 169 Kepler Street, Warrnambool
**Lutheran**

East Melbourne
Holy Trinity, 22 Parliament Place, East Melbourne

Croydon
St. John’s College, Croydon

Hamilton
St. Luke’s, cnr. Ballarat & Millers Streets, Hamilton

**Non-denominational**

Clayton
Religious Centre, Monash University, Clayton

**Non-Ecclesiastic**

Campbell
Australian War Memorial, Fairbairn Avenue, Campbell, ACT

Daylesford
Convent Gallery (formerly Holy Cross Convent), Daly Street, Daylesford

Melbourne
Melbourne Town Hall, Swanston Street, Melbourne

Oakleigh
Commonwealth Golf Club, Glennie Avenue, Oakleigh South
Uniting
(including Methodist, Presbyterian, Congregational)

Auburn
Chalmers Presbyterian, Rathmines Road, Auburn

Bagdad
Congregational Church, Bagdad, Tasmania

Ballarat
St. Andrew’s Kirk, cnr. Sturt & Dawson Streets, Ballarat

Brighton
Girrawheen Nursing Home Chapel (formerly Ebenezer Methodist), 453 New Street, Brighton

Essendon
St. John’s, Mt. Alexander Road, Essendon

Frankston
St. Andrew’s, High Street, Frankston
Wesley Church, High Street, Frankston

Gardiner
St. Andrew’s, cnr. Malvern & Burke Roads, Gardiner

Glen Waverley
Uniting, cnr. Springvale Road & Kingsway, Glen Waverley

Hawthorn
Littlejohn Memorial Chapel Scotch College, Morrison Street, Hawthorn
Memorial Hall Scotch College, Morrison Street, Hawthorn
Ivanhoe
Uniting, cnr. Lower Heidelberg Road & King Street, Ivanhoe East

Keysborough
Haileybury College, Springvale Road, Keysborough

Launceston
Pilgrim, Launceston, Tasmania

Melbourne
St. Michael’s, Russell Street, Melbourne
Scots’ Church, Russell Street, Melbourne
Wesley, Lonsdale Street, Melbourne

Moonee Ponds
Essendon District Presbyterian, cnr. McPherson & Wilson Streets, Moonee Ponds
Uniting, 25 Gladstone Street, Moonee Ponds

Murrumbeena
St. Giles, Murrumbeena Road, Murrumbeena

Parkville
Queen’s College Chapel, The University of Melbourne, Parkville

St. Kilda
Presbyterian, cnr. Alma Road & Barkly Street, St. Kilda

Yarraville
Pilgrim, Bayview Road, Yarraville
Introduction

Stained glass is essentially an art form of Western Christianity, evolving from the Romanesque period to a zenith in Gothic architecture of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. By the seventeenth century, stained glass was impoverished\(^1\) and by the early nineteenth century, it had declined to a point where it was considered a lost art\(^2\). It was only the Gothic Revival in architecture that brought new interest in the medium, along with religious debate, craft skills and new materials that affirmed the resurgence of stained glass in church architecture.

Initially imported mainly from Britain, Melbourne’s church glass was installed from the 1850s. Little glass remains from the first permanent churches, with the exception of St. Peter’s, Eastern Hill where original diamond leadlights remain extant, probably installed by the Melbourne firm of Ferguson & Urie\(^3\).

The window installations of almost 150 years represent an important record of the social, architectural, economic and cultural heritage of Melbourne, as well as providing insights into its artistic history. This study addresses the need for a survey of twentieth century stained glass to determine its extent and its significance.

The term ‘stained glass’ refers to glass that has been painted with black or brown pigments, and stained with compounds of silver to create gold colourings, before kiln-firing to make the colour permanent. The fired glass pieces are then joined together by means of lead came cemented with putty. Increasingly, the term is used to cover leadlights, which are not painted but use the same system of glazing with lead and putty.

Despite the wealth of visual material in Melbourne’s church glass, very little scholarly research has been undertaken to determine either its extent or significance. The notable exception, Geoffrey Down’s Master of Arts thesis, ‘Nineteenth-Century Stained Glass in Melbourne’, University of Melbourne
(1975), was the forerunner of two important books, Jenny Zimmer’s *Stained Glass in Australia* and Beverley Sherry’s, *Australia’s Historic Stained Glass*.

This present study is intended to supplement the documented knowledge on Melbourne’s church stained glass and to examine the major threads that run concurrently through the century: the continuation of nineteenth century images, techniques and themes and the influence of modernism on stained glass. It seemed appropriate to chronologically follow from Down’s closing date of 1910, subsequently revised to cover the early years of the century and to close with the flurry of activity surrounding the Bicentennial Year, 1988.

‘Melbourne’ is defined as the geographical region as it now stands, in 1997. The Geelong region has also been included in the study where extant windows have assisted in the clarification of an artist’s work, design or technique and occasionally reference is made to country and interstate examples for similar reasons.

Prompted by the need to document the few remaining artists and artisans who had experienced the climate and conditions of stained glass firms in Melbourne prior to World War II and the changed environment in the post-war period, research has focussed on personal interviews as a substantial source of information. Where possible, corroborating evidence was sought from conventional sources, as indicated in the bibliography.

Hampered by a scarcity of company documentation and records, which rarely survived the closure of firms, the study has relied heavily on the evidence of the windows. The scope of the study was ambitious and only a proportion of possible churches has been fully examined. In all, 112 churches were visited (see List of Sites) and extensive photographic records made of thousands of windows, wherever possible.

Unlike easel painters, and in the tradition of medieval craftsmen, stained glass is rarely signed and their makers remain unknown and unacknowledged. The evidence of thousands of windows has provided an extraordinary opportunity to
examine and evaluate many works in situ and to recognise each artist's oeuvre and contribution. The focus of research has therefore concentrated on the people involved with design and making, themes and sources, and not with the donors, clients or specific iconography. They remain important aspects for future investigation.

However, a few remarkable documents have survived and been unearthed in the course of the research. A collection of Brooks Robinson & Co. cartoons made between 1940 and 1957, notebooks and job books from the stained glass department at Brooks Robinson & Co. and a few of William Frater's early colour sketches have all of proved invaluable in adding to the knowledge of the period. The study relies on these records as a primary source of data.

In keeping with the traditional church setting of stained glass, the study uses the ecclesiastical rather than the geographical compass to identify window placements within church buildings.

So many areas remain for further detailed study, such as the Nazarene influence on stained glass, or the individual and collaborative glasswork of Napier and Christian Waller, or the innovative contribution of artists like Rein Slagmolen: the range and scope of further research is extensive. The present research is regarded as only a beginning that may encourage others to expand current knowledge and develop a critical dialogue within the study of stained glass.
Chapter 1: The Early Years of the Century

The twentieth century began in a mood of optimism amid celebrations proclaiming the Commonwealth of Australia and fast-diminishing memories of the 1890s depression. Suddenly, the Victorian age was ending and the Edwardian era brought new architectural styles, new technologies and the tempo of building steadily increased.

High Victorian architecture had virtually ended with the depression years of the 1890s to be replaced by Queen Anne or Federation architectural style that was beginning to emerge in Australia, ten years after its more exuberant flowering in Europe. By 1905, decorative Art Nouveau, albeit in a restrained and filtered form, was being used on Australian buildings, embellishing the red brick, plaster and paint of new suburban housing.

New church building generally did not follow the new architectural trends and the predominance of Neo-gothic prevailed, if somewhat modified on occasions, and nineteenth century modes of decoration, including stained glass, continued to be installed. The lancet and, to a lesser extent, round-headed windows, continued to be filled with historiated glass and stained glass firms and artists had a steady, if slow, stream of orders.

During the nineteenth century firms like Brooks Robinson & Co. developed a thriving business and were reasonably well placed to maintain their market sector in the early twentieth century. Brooks Robinson had established a solid reputation through their connection with the English firm of Clayton & Bell and had consolidated their position during the installation of Clayton & Bell’s glass in St. Paul’s Anglican Cathedral. Orders steadily trickled in, even through the lean years of the early century.

Other firms did not survive into the twentieth century: Ferguson & Urie, the principal nineteenth century firm, ceased operation in 1899; C. Rogers & Co.
was last listed in the Sands & McDougall Directory of 1900; Barnett Brothers moved to Western Australia in 1899; and J. Chadwick of Yarraville lasted only one year before disappearing from the Sands & McDougall lists.

In 1901, only three firms were listed in the Sands & McDougall Directory under the ‘Glass Stainers’ category: Auguste Fischer; Lironi & Johnstone; and William Montgomery.

No windows have been identified by Lironi & Johnstone or by Peter Lironi who continued to operate alone after the partnership ceased in 1903. He remained in business at 67 Little Collins Street until 1924, indicating that he ran a reasonably successful business over many years.

**Auguste Fischer**

Auguste Fischer’s studio survived the depression of the 1890s, suggesting that he was sufficiently well respected to maintain a proportion of Melbourne’s stained glass commissions. First listed in the Sands & McDougall Directory of 1893 he remained at 184 Little Flinders Street, Melbourne until 1911 when his address changed to 12 Watson Place. The last listing was in 1927 under ‘Stained Glass Window Manufacturers’ at the same address.

Fischer was born in London, attended school at Rugby and then at the Anglo-French College in London before spending a final year studying in Paris. Born of English parents, he studied the French language during this early period. He studied stained glass in Warwick for five years before returning to London.

Coming to Australia around 1884, he travelled back to Europe and America in 1908 and 1911. In all, he spent nine months on tour, stating that ‘buying glass’ was his reason for travelling: an indication that he was the principal of a considerable business.

The few windows that have been positively identified as his work do not allow for a comprehensive assessment of his artistry or significance. Geoffrey Down has amply described the only example of his work in a Melbourne
church, _Noli Me Tangere_ at St. Stephen’s, Richmond, transposed into stained glass from the painting of the same name by Herbert Schmalz.\(^\text{12}\)

Fischer is believed to have fulfilled orders for the Canton Club in China, South Africa and New Zealand\(^\text{13}\) but the three-light east window at St. Peter’s Anglican, Mornington (c.1903)\(^\text{14}\) was cited by _The Australasian Decorator and Painter_ as ‘[p]erhaps his best stained-glass church window’\(^\text{15}\).

_The Good Shepherd_ is the subject of the central light and shows Christ cradling a lamb in His right arm and holding a crook in His left hand. Sheep curl around the lower robes. It is flanked by two popular images, _Christ Blessing the Children_ and _Christ Calling to Peter_, all very similarly draughted and painted. The colour selection and painting is predictable and a standard version of the theme, but nevertheless is competently handled. The figure in each light is set against a striated sky and surmounted by an architectural canopy and base. Fischer has created a tableau in which the gesturing figures seem uncomfortably frozen.

The only other twentieth century window identified so far is installed in the Chapel of the former Presentation Convent, Daylesford. [Fig.1] _The Good Shepherd_ is again the subject, but Fischer has painted the figure of Christ with the lamb settled more comfortably on His arm and with a single sheep at His side. In contrast to the ‘Gothic’ canopy and base at Mornington, a wide and elaborate floral border is an imaginative solution to the problem of transition from the narrow, cusped historiated shape to the rectangular window opening. A band of lilies gives a broad pattern to the majority of the width, with narrow bands of red, white and zigzag gold to finish the border. Decorative corners and symbolic ornamentation break the design. The dove of the Holy Spirit hovers in the border above Christ’s head and the upper infilled corners contain the initials ‘BVM’ and ‘IHS’. The window is inscribed with the artist’s name and was ‘Presented by Kempson, Connelly and S. Oldham Architects Melbourne’ to the Presentation Convent, which is painted across the lower section of the border\(^\text{16}\)
William Montgomery

William Montgomery was another ‘Glass Stainer’ whose reputation was well-established by the start of the twentieth century, having arrived in Melbourne in 1887 with English training at the Clayton & Bell studios and several years of experience in Europe\(^1\). It was swiftly perceived by some donors and clergy that Montgomery offered a comparable alternative to the imported product. He was quickly accepted into the art circles of Melbourne and exhibited with the newly-formed Victorian Artists’ Society from 1888\(^1\) and continued to regularly participate in their shows until his death in 1927\(^1\). He was a Victorian Artists’ Society Council Member between 1893-96 and was elected President from 1912 to 1916, steering the society through one of its most difficult periods\(^2\). He was a fierce advocate for stained glass as an art form, speaking publicly and writing extensively on the subject\(^3\), and, unlike almost all other stained glass artists\(^4\), exhibiting designs for stained glass in exhibitions\(^5\).

By 1901, Montgomery was the leading exponent of the art and craft of stained glass in Melbourne and he occupied premises at 164 Flinders Street, Melbourne\(^6\), but by 1904, he had moved to 18 Alfred Place, Collins Street East\(^7\). He remained at this address until 1927 when 443 Little Collins Street is listed, as well as another address, 138 Lord Street, Richmond\(^8\). For a short time after his death in 1927, his staff continued to complete orders from the Richmond address.

Montgomery designed few grand multi-light windows\(^9\) but ‘there is scarcely a church in Melbourne which does not possess a window by him’\(^10\). His windows can be seen in Protestant and Catholic churches throughout the eastern states of Australia. The researcher is considerably aided by the regular inclusion of a signature, and sometimes address, painted or scratched in the lower section of most windows\(^11\).

One of the windows from the early 1900s is a window of modest proportions in the west wall of Christ Church, St. Kilda, believed by Down to be one of the
best examples of his work\textsuperscript{30}. [Fig.2] Depicting The Virtuous Woman seated and instructing her son, the scene is deceptively simple, with the figures comfortably filling the space, and a suggestion of landscape behind them. The figures are clearly drawn, without sentimental overtones, and the painting style is reminiscent of crisp line-engraving and showing none of the dusty stipple technique prevalent in the windows of other makers from this period.

The palette is restricted to a range of blues, browns and whites, with a rich red glass for the woman's cloak. The whole scheme is lifted by the use of gold silver stain to enrich the garments and to highlight the boy's hair: the composition is thus given a restrained elegance. The architectural canopy and base complement the principal scene, partly through the repetition of the gold, white and red glass.

The 'engraved' painting technique is used in the ribbon inscription, a method regularly used by Montgomery and seen in the Ascension, a contemporaneous window in the west wall at Christ Church, South Yarra\textsuperscript{31}. [Fig.3] In each case, the wording has been picked out from a wide painted ribbon with light edges. The 'Ucial Gothic' letters have been stained gold, making the inscription and dedication highly legible. [Fig.4]

The Ascension window focuses on the ascended Christ surrounded by small seraphim, which form a vesica shape on a deep blue background. Four disciples are somewhat cramped into the lower portion of the window above the text and dedication, with a fifth disciple's head squeezing in from the right hand border. The ribbon of the dedication is held by an angel, a common device of Montgomery's, undoubtedly learned from his days at Clayton & Bell. Unlike The Virtuous Woman, this window uses colour to enrich the composition, rather than silver stain.

Two years later in 1904, Montgomery was commissioned to fill another of the tall, narrow single lights of the nave of Christ Church, South Yarra. The subject was the archangel St. Michael [Fig.5] dressed in gold armour, in memory of Lieutenant Edward Newbegin\textsuperscript{32}. Montgomery fills the available space with
the single large figure and in this instance is able to indulge his preference for
decorative elements in the staff and ensign, the wide halo, golden armour and
generally strong colour.  *St. Michael* was modelled on a portrait of Lieutenant
Newbegin, a not altogether satisfactory result, as the face is two-dimensional,
lacking the substance of a life model and leaving a weakness in the design.

‘Uncial Gothic’ is again used for the lengthy dedication, but the ribbon has been
flattened to accommodate the extensive wording and it now runs in bands across
the base of the window.

The single saint forms a significant proportion of Montgomery’s output and
examples include *St. Joseph* at St. Joseph’s Catholic Church, Collingwood, *St.
Simeon* at Christ Church, St. Kilda and *St. Paul* in the nave at Christ Church,
South Yarra. Single figures are among his most successful windows, and he
handles the scale and organisation of space with more skill than multiple (often
smaller) figure compositions.

In All Saints’ Chapel at Geelong Grammar School there are six groups of two-
light windows placed as World War I memorials to former students. Installed
within a short period of time, they allow comparison of Montgomery’s different
treatments within a substantially similar format for each window.

Each light depicts a single saint set within an elaborate architectural canopy and
supported by a base with different sets of angels holding ribbons bearing the
dedications. The subjects all have decorative haloes, elaborately folded and
embroidered garments and display their associated attributes. Montgomery’s
training at Clayton & Bell is not only evident in the treatment of drapery but
also in the fine line work and gesturing of his figures. However, his figures
often appear posed and the gestures static, despite the richness of the general
composition.

On either side of the chancel, in positions of precedence, are groups of two
evangelists – *St. Matthew* and *St. John* \(^33\) in the north wall \([Fig.6]\) and *St. Luke* and
*St. Mark* \(^34\) in the south wall. \([Fig.7]\) The figures are set against flat patterned
backgrounds with no suggestions of landscape. The colouring of *St. Matthew
and St. John is predominantly cool green with purple and blue, offset by the warm gold/white of the architectural work. The opposite pair, St. Luke and St. Mark are similarly coloured, but the overall effect is of cool colour, made so by the cool white/green glass of the architectural canopy.

The most flamboyant of Montgomery's Geelong Grammar windows is the pair St. Michael and St. Gabriel\footnote{35}, installed in the south wall of the chancel, for although he uses his customary palette, it is the somewhat chaotic arrangement of the colour that makes this window a departure from the usually restrained and 'tasteful' Montgomery. [Fig.8]

Here, Montgomery has given free rein to his decorative tendencies in the armour of St. Michael, the robes of St. Gabriel and the archangels' wings. The static poses of the figures are contrasted with the undulations of the 'clouds' on blue backgrounds, which add to the general profusion of colour and movement. The architectural canopy is not as well delineated as in the evangelist windows and tends to blend into the confusion of the background.

There is evidence in the Geelong collection of the two distinct head forms indicative of Montgomery's style. Both show the fine detailing learned from Clayton & Bell, which is particularly noticeable in the dark eyes and direct gaze of certain figures. Head #1 has a rather pinched mouth, (even evident under a profusion of beard growth), a long straight nose, and the head is often turned to present a three-quarter view of the face. Head #2 is more delicate, almost elfin in its smaller-featured face. Usually, the gaze is directly facing the viewer and the head slightly tilted towards one side. The differences can be seen side-by-side in the window of St. Matthew (#1) and St. John (#2). [see Fig.6] St. John has similarities with a more exaggerated example, St. Stephen in the nave at St. Mark's Anglican Church, Fitzroy [Fig.9] while St. Matthew can be compared with St. Mark, also in St. Mark's, Fitzroy\footnote{36}. [Fig.10]

Montgomery had a preference for a particular green glass that he often used for faces, as well as for neutral forms of 'white'. It is especially pronounced in the St. Stephen window at St. Mark's, Fitzroy. He used it to good effect in groups
of figures where the greenish tones were used in the faces of rear figures, making them appear to recede, as can be seen in the detail of the *Suffer Little Children*... window in the nave of Christ Church, South Yarra. [Fig. 11] He is also one of the few glass stainers who painted on the outside of his glass with a thin coat of flesh-red to darken faces, a feature which is clearly visible on the windows at All Saints’ Chapel, Geelong and St. Mark’s, Fitzroy.

Montgomery worked to educate and enthuse the establishment of Melbourne about stained glass and believed that given economic wealth and improved taste stained glass would become more popular in private homes. Although he successfully built a personal reputation with clergy, architects and artists, he failed to ignite the public with a proper understanding of the aesthetic and architectural importance of stained glass. In his many public lectures and writings on the subject he spoke on the art of stained glass but he emphasised the skills of the craft. Like many of the small studios he trained few staff and even at 77 years of age it appears he only employed one assistant and a kiln technician leaving few with the depth of knowledge and understanding of the artistic principles that are necessary for successful stained glass.

His legacy to Melbourne is the extraordinary number of good quality windows that remain in Protestant and Catholic churches. At the time of his death in 1927, William Montgomery was working on the multi-light Edward Stevens window for Wilson Hall at the University of Melbourne. His broad understanding of the religious, architectural and aesthetic requirements of stained glass were to be embraced and surpassed by Mervyn Napier Waller, his successor as stained glass artist at Wilson Hall. But his death was to leave the field open to his biggest competitor, Brooks Robinson & Co., whose interests leaned towards commercial considerations of the craft, instead of the artistic principles that underpin stained glass.
Chapter 2: Brooks Robinson & Co.

The most prolific manufacturer of stained glass in Victoria, Australia, during the twentieth century was Brooks Robinson & Co., a company which produced stained and painted windows in Melbourne for more than 100 years. The Stained Glass Department provided windows for prominent Melbourne public buildings, private residences and churches. Although no complete records have survived, a few documents remain which indicate that from 1923 to the closure of the company in 1967, more than 2100 windows were produced for churches in all states of Australia, in New Zealand and Papua New Guinea and through the Pacific islands including Tonga and Nauru1.

Nineteenth Century Legacy
The firm began in 1854 as Henry Brooks & Co.2, taking the name of its founder, a glass merchant who had landed in Melbourne two years previously, ‘attracted to the country by the news of the discovery of gold’3. Initially the firm imported window glass, paints and wallpaper, only moving into the stained glass industry some years later4. It is not until 1888 that the company is first listed in the Sands and McDougall Directory under the “Glass Stainers” heading, presumably capitalising on the business advantages offered by Melbourne’s land and building boom. It is clear however that Brooks Robinson made stained glass earlier than 18885, as examples of their church stained glass have been identified, including the east window of St John the Evangelist Anglican Church, Heidelberg, produced in 18826.

Clearly, by 1888, Brooks Robinson & Co. had built a sufficiently good reputation with architect Joseph Reed to be selected to install the Clayton & Bell windows at St. Paul’s Anglican Cathedral, Melbourne7. Whether they had connections with Clayton & Bell prior to this major work is unclear, but the relationship was well established when a member of Clayton & Bell’s studio, known only as ‘Hughes’, came to Melbourne to supervise the installation of the windows at St. Paul’s and continued to work with Brooks Robinson after its completion8. Importantly for the prospects of the firm, he was able to give Brooks Robinson’s windows a
‘Clayton & Bell’ style, ‘recognisable through lack of flesh tones, especially around the lips’

**Early Twentieth Century 1901 - 1940**

The windows of the early century show a strong continuation of the nineteenth century traditions, with little sign of innovation in style or content. Essentially the windows were a reflection of Melbourne taste, which remained locked into the middle (High) Victorian period. Just as Australian society in general looked to Britain as the ‘mother country’, Brooks Robinson maintained a close relationship with its British parentage and continued to recruit English managers, designers and glass painters through its entire history, although local men filled lesser positions in the company.

The ascendancy of the firm during the twentieth century was assisted in part by the closure of Ferguson & Urie - the principal nineteenth century local exponent of the craft - in 1899, and in the early part of this century Brooks Robinson was producing windows of good quality for a mass market. By the early 1900s, Brooks Robinson had built a reputation under the direction of a designer known only as “Brown”

His replacement was William ‘Jock’ Frater who only remained with the company for ‘about a year’ before also returning to Europe. Of his replacement ‘A. Mitchell’ nothing is known.

During the first half of the century many other men were recruited from Britain including William Prince Wheeldon, George Dancey and William Kerr-Morgan, who all had extensive experience in stained glass in the United Kingdom prior to their arrival in Australia.

Although these men contributed to the decorative adornment of Melbourne’s churches, they remain shadowy figures because of the lack of documentation which might allow a greater recognition of their legacy. They and others, who worked as part of a large team, were involved in designing, painting, firing, leading and glazing thousands of installations but individuals were never
recognised. Only rarely does the name “Brooks Robinson Melbourne” appear neatly lettered on the lower border of the glass [Fig.12] but from around 1905\textsuperscript{17} it became the policy of the company not to include even this mild form of identification\textsuperscript{18}.

Brooks Robinson & Co. was a commercial enterprise supplying manufactured goods to the building industry and based firmly on nineteenth century notions of trade between Britain and her Empire. Stained glass windows were a prestigious part of a large importing business, which by the 1880s was also providing locally made goods to a growing market.

Stained glass was a discrete and an important part of their business but can be seen as only one aspect of a larger business enterprise. Nevertheless, the early work combined the best principles of good glass design and occasionally very good art. However, the continued use and re-use of cartoons meant a gradual decline in artistic integrity in an effort to adapt to different window sizes and situations.

A half-page entry on the company in \textit{The Jubilee History of South Melbourne}, published in 1905, recommends a visit to the showrooms in Elizabeth Street, where ‘there is exhibited a complete assortment of high-class examples of the company’s manufactures, together with a large variety of the latest styles of grates and tiles, specially imported\textsuperscript{10}’. The entry is accompanied by a full page photograph of the ‘Stained Glass Works and Mantelpiece Factory of Brooks Robinson & Co. Ltd., City Rd\textsuperscript{20}. By the early part of the twentieth century, Brooks Robinson was clearly a diverse and prosperous enterprise and the Stained Glass Department had an established reputation, as indicated in the laudatory \textit{Jubilee History of South Melbourne}: ‘The company’s artistic productions in stained glass are well known throughout the Commonwealth\textsuperscript{21}.

Listings in the Sands and McDougall directory for 1918 included references to the supply of ‘window glass, oil and colour [paints], paperhangings, mouldings, gasoliers, electric light fittings and mantelpieces\textsuperscript{22}. Ten years later they added ‘fire-resisting glass\textsuperscript{23} and, in 1929 ‘sanitary fittings’ are mentioned, all of which
suggests that Brooks Robinson was responding to new developments in the building and construction industry.

The response to marketing of new products was not reflected in the organisation of the Stained Glass Department. From its earliest days Brooks Robinson adopted a rigid hierarchy of work, typical of the firms of the period and based on the nineteenth century British studio/workshop model. There was a clear difference in status between sections - from the head artist to the glass painters, setters-out, embossers, leadlighters, and cementers\(^2\). Each employee, from head of the stained glass studio to the apprentice and 'boy', accepted an allotted task.

The full operation is difficult to reconstruct but it appears to have been conventionally organised with the Manager of the Stained Glass Department responsible for clients' orders and the management of the manufacturing process. He was often responsible for sketch designs that reflected client requirements. It seems that the role of 'manager' and 'stained glass artist' may have been often concurrent, with other 'stained glass artists' employed under the manager.

In the early years of the century scale sketch designs, also known as 'thumbnails', were passed to a cartoon-maker for drawing up to the full scale of the window opening. Selection of glass was a matter not only of client demands and aesthetics, but also client budgets and therefore undertaken jointly by stained glass artist and manager, before being cut to the pattern of the cartoon by the setter-out.

In the painting section, apprentices were given the lettering to 'pick out', the improvers tackled the ornament, robes were next in the hierarchy, and the top painters only painted flesh. A progression like this took many years and some employees never reached the dizzy heights of 'flesh'. While within each area, there was opportunity for advancement through the ranks there was little opportunity for movement between sections.
The layout of the three-storey building at 59-65 Elizabeth Street reflected the hierarchy of the studio. The top floor housed the office of the manager and his secretary, the only female worker in the firm. Painting was the main process on the centre level where the painters occupied small curtained cubicles, each equipped with a glass painting easel in front of a double-hung sash window facing west onto Queen Street. At the opposite end of the room was a roll back door which housed the lift, similar to a ‘dumb waiter’, which transported the painted glass between the painting room and the kiln room on the ground floor.

Initially, the painted glass was fired at South Melbourne but later this process was moved to the basement of the Elizabeth Street building, probably when the firm bought William Montgomery’s kiln in 1928, shortly after his death in 1927. The gas-fired 5’ x 2’ plaster bed kiln ensured a swift flow of painted glass for the leadlighters and cementers.

The managers and stained glass artists had a significant influence on the firm, reinforcing its conservative direction throughout the twentieth century.

William ‘Jock’ Frater (1890-1974) arrived in Australia in 1910 at the age of 19 and worked for a short period at Brooks Robinson & Co. before returning to Glasgow. He had been introduced to stained glass by Oscar Patterson, an artist close to the centre of the Arts and Crafts movement, who encouraged him to attend the Glasgow Art School. His employment in the stained glass department presented the firm with an opportunity for change towards a contemporary interpretation of the medium but Frater’s first window for Brooks Robinson, made shortly after his arrival, was not a great success. Its present whereabouts is unknown, however it is believed to have reflected his Arts & Crafts sensibility. It is described by Laurence Course in his essay ‘Tradition and New Accents: The Art of William Frater’ as ‘[m]uch simplified, the spatial accent and two Raphaelesque figures are locked to the decorative plane by more simple and lucid sweeps of the leaded lights’. It appears to have combined elements of the classical and modern and it may have been this restrained modernity which made the original commissioner reject it.
Frater’s position at Brooks Robinson is unlikely to have been one of great influence, considering his age and experience\textsuperscript{32}, however ‘one of his proudest achievements’ is reported to be the large west window at Wesley Church, Lonsdale Street, Melbourne\textsuperscript{33}. [Fig.13]

This four-light window occupies a dominant position in the church. Appropriately for a church with a strong preaching tradition, the central subject is \textit{Paul Preaching}, which runs across the two inner lights. The other lights are the \textit{Good Samaritan} on the left and \textit{Charity of Dorcas} on the right.

Paul is placed in the right-hand of the two lights and stands with his right hand raised and his left gesturing towards the group of listeners, placed in the left-hand light. It is a decidedly static group, almost theatrical in the arrangement of figures and gestures. The \textit{Good Samaritan} is believed to be painted from a “Brown” cartoon dating from 1894 for a window at St. John the Evangelist, Heidelberg. A tall architectural canopy surmounts the scenes blending into symbolic patterning that is repeated in the tracery sections. The cusped arches of the canopy are repeated in the lower panel of each light and a broad ribbon across the base contains the memorial information. The ornamental work is light and predominantly white and gold, and in stark contrast to the colouring of the figure scenes which is dark, particularly the background, with a preponderance of brown shades in the clothing of the figures. Except in the architectural surrounds, there is little trace of Clayton & Bell’s influence remaining at Brooks Robinson and no evidence of Frater’s Arts & Crafts training.

When Frater joined the firm, the Manager of the department was William Prince Wheildon (1873-1941). Wheildon was appointed as Stained Glass Artist at Brooks Robinson in 1905 having served his apprenticeship in Warwick and Birmingham\textsuperscript{34}. His work in England is unrecorded but his working life in Australia was all with Brooks Robinson. He retired in 1938 as Managing Director\textsuperscript{35} and died in 1941\textsuperscript{36}. 
Few windows by Wheildon have been positively identified\textsuperscript{37} and apart from two small stained glass windows for the bar of Commonwealth Golf Club (c.1929)\textsuperscript{38}, [Fig.14] only one reference to his work exists in the Brooks Robinson job books: 'Blessed Virgin altered from Mr Wheildon's cartoon'\textsuperscript{39}. \textit{Blessed Virgin and Child} was ordered in 1928, one of a series of three lights\textsuperscript{40} destined for St Bede's Anglican Church, Semaphore in South Australia. Clive Elliott, employed as 'boy' for four years before entering the army in 1940, remembers Wheildon as an imposing man with a homburg hat and walking stick\textsuperscript{41}. At this late stage of his career with the company his role was that of 'manager', the design development being handled by others on his staff, led principally by William Kerr-Morgan. Wheildon was responsible for many thousands of window installations during the period from 1905 to the late 1930s\textsuperscript{42}, and was respected for his good business acumen. His pricing policy was 'flexible' and depended very much on the ability of the client to pay\textsuperscript{43}.

During Wheildon's early years he worked with an exceptional artist named George H. Dancey who was responsible for many of the fine cartoons made early in this century. Leaving a successful career in London\textsuperscript{44}, he arrived in Australia in 1891, where he was employed as cartoonist for the Melbourne \textit{Punch} between 1894 and 1919\textsuperscript{45}. Examination of the Melbourne \textit{Punch} shows Dancey's skill as a cartoonist and satirist. He drew a full-page cartoon for each issue and smaller examples of his work were often included throughout the paper. One cartoon was used for the cover of \textit{Punch Almanac} for the year 1900. A major exhibition of 200 original wash cartoons by George H. Dancey and Charles Nuttall was held at the Athenaeum Galleries, Melbourne in 1916\textsuperscript{46}. The drawings spanned the period from the early days of World War I 'to 1916, showing the progress of the conflict through the cartoonists'\textsuperscript{47} satirical brush. Both cartoonists were frankly propagandist although Dancey focussed on Germany as the aggressor and Nuttall saw the conflict more often from the Australian viewpoint. A single example from this exhibition, \textit{The Great Delusion}, is held in the Print Collection of the Baillieu Library, The University of Melbourne\textsuperscript{48}.
Dancey was clearly an artist of some reputation and was an exhibiting member of the Victorian Artists' Society between 1901 and 1918 and a Council Member from 1902 to 1904. The present whereabouts of most of his paintings and drawings are generally unknown and therefore unable to be reviewed, but perhaps the most important indication of his ability is the 'spirit fresco' in the Great War Honour Roll (1921) in the south transept of Christ Church St Kilda in memory of 150 soldiers who volunteered for service from the district of St. Kilda. The Honour Roll, designed by architect Norman Peebles and measuring 12' x 9', is stone carved in the Gothic style, with opus sectile mosaic tiling by Brooks Robinson filling in the 'tracery' and the two flanking panels surrounding the painting. The subject of the painting is the archangel Michael, portrayed with sword upraised in his right hand, triumphant over the prostrate manacled figure of Satan. It is signed in the lower right-hand corner, 'G. Dancey'. It is an heroic piece, in keeping with the function it serves and the sentiments of the period.

The Melbourne Herald of 7 December 1921 reviewed it under the heading: "Varied Art of G. Dancey. An Impressive Soldiers' Memorial".

[Dancey has been]...known for many years.... as the popular cartoonist for a Melbourne paper, and to others by virtue of his great skill as a designer of stained glass windows. It is possible that Mr. Dancey's long practice in evolving colour schemes and subject matter for Church windows may have helped to developed [sic] in him his strong feeling for mural decorative painting which is ecclesiastical in its tendency and far removed, both in spirit and execution, from the robust or elegant suggestive work of so-many present-day decorators.

Dancey's memorial panel to a young Australian soldier killed at Gallipoli was hung in the Victorian Artists Society Exhibition of 1916 and 'The Crucifixion' in 1918 - both works considered to be of exceptional merit and interest - but the reviewer was considerably more impressed by the 'power and dignity, strength without a sense of the physical' evident in the Soldiers' Memorial in Christ Church, St. Kilda.
Importantly for the purpose of identification of windows, the draughting of St. Michael’s distinctive wide jaw and square face can be linked to many Brooks Robinson stained glass windows dating from this time, the cartoons of which are attributable to Dancey. He appears to have used the same model to produce the figure of St George, a cartoon which was often requested for war memorials, and for the Centurion in Christ Bearing the Cross at Kyneton.

The Brooks Robinson job books refer to Dancey’s oil painting of the Crucifixion, which was used as the model for the window of the same subject in Holy Trinity, Port Melbourne in 1933. It is highly likely that this is the same panel which was exhibited at the Spring Show of the Victorian Artists’ Society in 1918 and reviewed by Alexander Colquhoun on September 7th. He considered the composition ‘not a work to be considered by the usual technical standards, its aim and conception being based on a technical convention’. The unusual choice of words here may imply that Colquhoun recognised the work as a study for another medium.

Although the Holy Trinity window was not grand, measuring only 33 inches across and clearly only part of the original design, it is indicative of Dancey’s ‘obsession with the work of Lord Leighton’, particularly following the folded garments in Leighton’s figures. In Dancey’s Crucifixion, the figure of Christ is swathed in a convoluted cloth which has been painted in great detail, and with unnatural voluminosity. Other cartoons reveal his predilection for draping and layering of folds. The cartoon of St George reveals a robust form, almost hampered by both cloth and armour, but Dancey uses it to delineate the figure and to enrich the heroic design.

Christ Bearing the Cross is treated with greater simplicity. The subject of Christ leaning towards Veronica allows Dancey to indulge in his ‘obsession’. The folds of Christ’s garments, the cloth raised by Veronica, and her gown and cloak are all heavily folded and occupy almost two-thirds of the window space. Here, the draping of figures is used to accentuate the expressive faces and gestures of Christ and Veronica.
Dancey was credited with many cartoons during his period at Brooks Robinson and was responsible for some of the more important liturgical windows usually placed at the east and west ends of a church including the Crucifixion and the Nativity. Minor subjects - Christ Blessing the Children [Fig.20], Christ Before the Doctors, St Cecilia, The Annunciation, The Assumption, The Charity of Dorcas, Presentation in the Temple, St Raphael, St John, St Luke, Sacred Heart and The Sower were all popular Dancey images and were re-used on numerous occasions.

George Dancey is not listed in the Sands and McDougall Directory after 1923 and there is no direct mention of Dancey in the Brooks Robinson job books from 1924. However, his cartoons remained precious and were regularly re-used over the next forty years.

Between 1923 and 1966 his version of Light of the World was adapted to fit windows throughout Melbourne. All are recognisable as ‘Dancey’ but often display individual characteristics, for instance in the Light of the World in the Congregational Church at Baghdad, Tasmania, the lamp designed by Holman Hunt is substituted instead of the simpler Dancey model[^60]. Different versions are even more evident in Dancey’s Good Shepherd. When the window space is particularly tight a single sheep is placed around Christ’s legs, as in the Presbyterian Church Bacchus Marsh, but in the ‘original’ version there are two. The Warrnambool version of the Good Shepherd was simply an enlargement of the Wangaratta window design.

The few surviving Dancey cartoons reveal his draughting skill, his sense of form, and his ability to interpret the subject in a carefully organised design. The cartoons of The Agony in the Garden [Fig.21] and Christ Bearing the Cross are tonal pencil drawings with Christ’s image placed to be the principal focus of the design. In both of these cartoons, the background setting is used to accentuate Christ’s isolation from events surrounding Him. In the Agony cartoon, Dancey has used foliage as a backdrop to the kneeling figure, visually separating Christ from the sleeping disciples[^61]. In Christ Bearing the Cross the visual isolation is achieved through the placement of the wooden cross which forms a wide “X” behind

[^60]:
[^61]:
Christ's head, behind which the gesturing figures of centurions, one on horseback, may be glimpsed.

Both cartoons are carefully drawn to accommodate the lead lines necessary for the interpretation into glass, and evidence of Dancey's care can be seen on the cartoon where faint lines in red pencil outline the proposed glass pieces. The pieces are generally even in size and, as was common in nineteenth century glass, large by comparison with medieval mosaic stained glass. Unlike many of Brooks Robinson cartoons made later in the century, Dancey made his cuts very sensitively, to blend with and enhance the design.

William Kerr-Morgan (1896-1967) was employed in 1924, possibly as the replacement for George Dancey. Initially working as 'Stained Glass Artist' 62, he later became Manager of the Stained Glass Department 63. He was born March 26, 1896 at Lanchester, Durham 64. After serving in France during World War I he studied art at Armstrong College, now part of Durham University. He married in 1923 and he and his wife sailed to Australia aboard the S. S. Benalla, arriving in Fremantle on January 7, 1924. He continued on to Melbourne where he joined Brooks Robinson & Co. in the same year 65 and remained employed by them until his retirement in 1964, aged 68 66. He died only three years later in Box Hill Hospital.

The first documented evidence of his work at Brooks Robinson is in reference to the re-drawing of figures in the side panels of a three-light Ascension for St John's Church, Whorouly, ordered in 1924 67. Although his role appears to have become more administrative over time, he maintained an infrequent, although constant, interest in design and cartooning until 1962 68. He was regularly called upon to re-draw old cartoons and to work up new ones from photographed prints. His designs were characterised by the drapery which came to a point and 'drove the leaders nuts' 69. It is possible to identify windows cut to his design by the narrower spacing of the eyes than is usual in Brooks' work generally, a particular fullness and curve to the upper lip, the drawing of fingers which appear unnaturally even in size, and the previously mentioned pointed drapery.
Despite having a huge stock of cartoons dating back to the nineteenth century, Brooks Robinson responded to requests for less conventional subjects or windows for specific occasions or spaces. Kerr-Morgan was responsible for drawing new cartoons particularly when unusual subjects were requested. This was the case for Prudence [Fig.22] and Fortitude [Fig.23], two ‘decorative figure panels’ ordered for Toorak Ladies College at Mt Eliza in 1928 which were ‘drawn by W K Morgan’, who also made the new cartoons70. The windows are set either side of the main entrance foyer to the school, in timber frames with small brass plaques below which read: ‘A Gift from Mary Wheildon’ and ‘A Gift from Suzette Wheildon’. They were students at the school71 and the daughters of the Manager of the Stained Glass Department at Brooks Robinson.

The two virtues are pictured as young women and carry a shield (Fortitude) and a lamp (Prudence). Prudence’s robe has connotations of habit and vestment and she wears a blue head scarf which suggests the virginity of Mary. The dress of Fortitude is ‘secular’ by comparison, with a jewel-edged cloak over a girdled dress and her uncovered hair is braided.

These two small windows differ from the usual Brooks Robinson arrangement of space, the organisation of leadlines and the selection of glasses. The figure fills the space and a small waster border replaces the ubiquitous ornamental canopy. The backgrounds for Fortitude and Prudence have been carefully considered to reflect the temper and culture of the school by selecting Australia’s national flower, the wattle which is stylised in wide bands, alternating with plain glass pieces. Complementary blue and brown glass colours have been selected, relieved by small amounts of whites and golds. The result is subdued and subtle but the inherent transparency, and therefore ‘life’ of the glass, is not lost. The stipple painting of hands and faces, known as ‘silk matte’72, identifies it with the firm’s output during this period, but the unfettered style of the remaining paintwork does not conform to Brooks Robinson’s usual pattern.

References to ‘Morgan’ in the Brooks Robinson job books suggest that he spent a large proportion of his time working up old cartoons to suit new orders rather than developing original ideas. An order in 1931 for a window depicting St Thomas
Aquinas for Sacred Heart Roman Catholic Church, Hawthorn was taken from a print and 'background made up by Mr Morgan'. In the same year, St Mary’s Catholic Church, Dookie ordered The Sacred Heart Appearing to Blessed Margaret Mary. The main window design was cobbled together from existing cartoons but Morgan was responsible for drawing the unusual subject of Pope Clement X in the lower base. Occasionally the references reveal only his minor contributions as in St. Ann at Sacred Heart, Kew (1930) ‘made up by W. Morgan’, or the Good Shepherd for Camberwell Methodist Church in 1938, ‘touched up by Mr Morgan’, the last reference to his work prior to World War II.

A more fulfilling job may have been the opportunity to fill a side chapel window in St. John’s Anglican Church, Toorak. Described as a wheel window, 54” x 54”, it depicts an angel and was a ‘new cartoon drawn by Mr. Morgan’ and ordered by Reverend Law in 1936.

Here, William Kerr-Morgan’s use of bold line work and pointed drapery can be seen to advantage in the sweeping robes of the Angel and the delineated facial features. The contrast between this work and Dancey’s more delicate line work is accentuated by the painter’s interpretation which makes use of black (rather than the softer brown) glass paint.

The use of lead to emphasise the form is also more marked in the earlier work, exemplified by Dancey, but is also clearly evident in the work of “Brown” and other earlier cartoonists. Dancey determined the glass pieces as appropriate for the design, thus creating unevenly sized glass sections but allowing the blending of lead into the design. The viewer becomes more aware of the leadline in William Kerr-Morgan’s designs as it reinforces the flow of forms but distracts from the sense of unity of the window on occasions. This tendency for the leadline to intrude on the subject of a window was to become even more marked in the Post-war period.

The outbreak of war caused a shortage of employees at Brooks Robinson, as in all businesses. As highly skilled staff joined the military forces, juniors received unprecedented promotions. The ‘boy’ Clive Elliott was swiftly moved from
menial tasks to flesh painting, by-passing the customary ‘apprenticeship’, and Jim Armstrong, an embosser from the South Melbourne branch of the firm, was also promoted to the painting section where he swiftly learned to master the requisite techniques.

Clive Elliott remembers working on the east window for Trinity College, Parkville, participating in the painting and assisting with the installation in 1939. A large undertaking at a time of staff shortage, it comprised three lights: Mary and John on the left, Crucifixion in the central light and Mary, Mother of John and Mary Magdalene in the right-hand light. The subject of the central light occupied the full window space, but the two flanking panels have smaller base panels of Emperor Constantine and John Gualberto.

The last window to be ordered pre-war was John and Peter at the Tomb ordered on the 20 June, 1940 by St. Bede’s Anglican Church, Elwood. Some cartoons were sent to Adelaide in 1941, probably to Thompson & Harvey or Clarkson’s as both companies ordered many figurative scenes from Brooks Robinson, simply adding their own quarries, borders and ornament. It is likely that Brooks Robinson & Co. closed the Stained Glass Department at this time and that the Adelaide firm completed their own outstanding orders before also closing their doors for the remainder of the war years.

William Kerr-Morgan appears to have remained until the shut-down, then served as an Administrative Officer in RAAF Training Station at Tocumwal between 1944-45 before returning to Brooks Robinson & Co. to resume his former position.

Post-World War II 1945 - 1966

Although skilled staff were hard to find, work resumed in the Stained Glass Department of Brooks Robinson & Co. in December, 1945 with the placing of an order for a two-light window, The Crown of Life for the Anglican Church, Lancefield. It was to become one of the more popular stock memorial windows in the post-World War II period. It is an understandable choice when the full text is revealed: ‘Be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life’.
Prior to World War II, employees seem generally to have remained with the firm for long periods in much the same manner as William Wheildon. Painter Yellis Brommeyer, cutliner Bert Brown, and the kiln technician Jim Reardon were among a number of employees who worked in the department for more than twenty years. Brommeyer, an employee from before 1924 until 1939, was typical of many who did not continue after the war. He was a glass painter, and occasionally a designer and acid etcher, but he is chiefly remembered as the zealous guardian of George Dancey's cartoons.

Lionel Kerr-Morgan, the son of the manager, joined Brooks Robinson in 1945 and William Kerr-Morgan offered Clive Elliott employment again but he declined the offer, recognising it as a retrograde step. His decision was influenced by the working conditions that he had accepted pre-war but which he now saw as out-dated and poor. When the studios and workshops were first set up in the late 1800s, they reflected work practices and building requirements of the late nineteenth century, however there is little evidence of change from that time. The bituminised roof added heat to the building, as did the kiln in the lower floor. Clive Elliott recalls that the building would become so hot in summer that the beeswax which held the glass pieces to the easel for painting against the light would melt and cause the glass to slip or fall off.

The management of the department reflected the lack of change in the building. William Gleeson, employed from 1946 until 1955, 'remembers it as an old-fashioned establishment strongly modelled on the English glass studio of the Victorian period.'

The sequence of processes in fulfilling each window order was followed with only minor variations, as had been the practice since the 1890s. It could be likened to a factory production line where each worker was responsible for only a section of the work and with no reference to the finished product.

After selection of the subject a new colour sketch was drawn to scale (if necessary), and from this a full sized cartoon was drawn up. Glass selections were
determined by the manager and cut to shape from a cutline. Little care was given
to the glass, which was simply piled into a box and delivered, with the cartoon, to
the glass-painters. Each painter was responsible for distinct sections of a full
window, relying on the glass selection and 'house style' to unify the final window.
Painters often had no notion of where a particular section of work would be finally
installed, simply noting the order number on their time sheet for the day. The
glass-painter may have worked on several window sections during the course of a
day and all would be duly recorded by number.

Employees who were keen to learn the complete stained glass process used
different strategies to force changes to the system. In the 1950s, designer and
cutliner Derek Pearse used the ploy of 'needing to better understand painting
techniques' in order to spend some time in the painting studio and extend his
knowledge of the full process. John Ferguson and Nick Pappas, who joined the
firm after returning from war service in New Guinea, did not approve of the
piecemeal approach to window-making, arguing strongly for change. They
looked at the window as a whole while Kerr-Morgan 'would look at the individual
beauty of glass fragments.' They eventually won the right to take a job from
design to completed window.

There were few permanent or far-reaching reforms to the stained glass depart-
ment in the 1940s and 1950s, despite the efforts of these few staff and the opportunities
for change while the company was undergoing changes in ownership.

On the death of the company's founder, Henry Brooks, in 1895, the business was
acquired by two of his sons, Harry Wilkinson Brooks and Ernest John Patrick
Brooks who remained owners of the company until their respective deaths -
'Wilkie' in 1944 and Ernest in 1948. Although both died in London, it appears
that they divided their time between Melbourne and London and were actively
involved in all aspects of the company's operations. Brooks Robinson was
registered as a Public Company in 1950 and taken over by Email Limited in 1954.

The post-war building and manufacturing upsurge extended to Brooks Robinson
where stained glass orders began to trickle in to the department. As had been
experienced after the Great War, stained glass memorial windows became another important factor in increased demand. In the last few months of 1945, 18 new window orders were taken, followed by 46 in the following year. A peak of 99 window orders was reached in 1951, gradually declining over the next 15 years.

After the 1914-1918 War, service memorials were sometimes grand multi-light windows, dedicated to individuals and groups, mainly men, who had died for king and country. Many suburban and country churches, which may have filled the east window with stained glass prior to 1918, sometimes had a quarry-filled west window and proportion of plain quarry windows in the nave that could be utilised for war memorials. Examples of grand west windows can be seen from the 1920s, including the four-light memorial at St. John the Evangelist, East Malvern.

[Fig.24]

The St. John the Evangelist memorial window is dedicated ‘To the Glory of God and in Grateful Memory of the Men from this Parish who gave their lives in the Great War 1914 – 1918’. It depicts four important Christian scenes - Jesus in the Garden of Gesthemane, the Crucifixion, Christ Appearing at the Tomb, and the Ascension. The figures are larger than life size, as they were in many of Brooks Robinson windows at this time, dominating the tall spaces of the lights and framed by ornamental canopies and bases. The tracery pieces are filled with A and Ω, Cross and Crown and the symbols of the Evangelists. Stippled painting, strongly coloured purple and brown glass, and the use of greenish glasses for flesh distinguish Brooks Robinson’s work of the period and are all evident in this window. Christ’s garments in Appearing at the Tomb and the Ascension are made up from a range of green tinted glass, with some browns, creating an ethereal impression, also typical of the ‘green period’. The light colouring of the figures contrasts with fairly dark backgrounds, adding drama to the illustration of these momentous events.

The Ascension was a popular subject for memorial windows, particularly after World War I. Focussing on re-birth rather than death, it was regularly the subject of windows dedicated to the memory of a group of parishioners, as was the case at
Wesley Church, Gardiner. This three-light window group, another from the green period, is dedicated ‘In memory of Noble Men from this Church who died for King and Country in the World’s Great War, 1914-1918’. The figure of Christ rises above the three disciples, Peter, James and John, surrounded by the glowing radiance. The greenish glass gives the scene an aura of mysticism, as in the St. John’s window, which is accentuated by the dark blues of the background sky. The same cartoon was used at St. Barnabas’ Anglican Church, North Balwyn, but Brooks used a whiter glass for flesh and more colourful glass selections for the robes of the four figures, altering the tone and feeling of the window. Parishioners subscribed for this single light commemorating ‘The Great War, 1914-1918’ and naming seventeen young men from the parish who died on war service.

World War I memorials more often used the warrior saints to accentuate the heroic deeds and sacrifice of young men. Popular legendary heroes - symbolic representations of triumph over evil – included St. George, St. Michael and St. Alban. St. George is the subject of a nave window in Christ Church, Hawthorn in memory of Geoffrey Gordon McCrae, and also at St. Peter’s, Mornington ‘in honoured memory of the men of Mornington who fell in the Great War’. In St. Barnabas’, North Balwyn, Fortitude is depicted as a knight in armour with sword and shield, a memorial to Flight Lieutenant Edward John Bice, M. C. who was killed in action near Amiens, 8th August, 1918, aged 26 years and nine months.

In the post-World War II period, Brooks Robinson’s clients were mainly drawn from established churches and old clients returning to the company to complete cycles of windows. Few opportunities for principal east and west windows or multi-lights remained in older churches and orders tended to be for single lights, placed by families in memory of their sons.

Changes in the way wars were fought meant some new subjects inevitably emerged. For a small proportion of Brooks’ clients, the heroic knight in armour no longer retained its relevance and potency as a symbol. One new subject that emerged was the depiction of the airman; a subject which only emerged with the
formation of a separate air force and not considered when the Bice memorial was installed in St. Barnabas', North Balwyn in 1920.

Early in 1946, an Australian airman was incorporated into the new cartoons for a two-light window, *Our Lady of the Sky*, for St. Augustine's Catholic Church, Yarraville - the only suburban Melbourne example to be made and installed by Brooks Robinson & Co. Later in the same year, a new cartoon was drawn for the Presbyterian Church, Tatura featuring 'the figure of an airman' and the Air Force crest in the base. In 1947, the Presbyterian Church at Lake Bolac and Holy Trinity Anglican Church, Yarram ordered windows based on the Tatura cartoon. The head of the airman in the Yarram window was drawn from a photograph of the client's son, Mrs. L. B. Jones.

Crests from all defence forces and the merchant navy were used as ornamentation in war memorial quarry windows, predominantly (but not exclusively) in non-conformist churches. Often they were placed in conjunction with symbols of Christ's passion or the Eucharist as in the Congregational Church, Camberwell where the Crown and Palm and Torch are placed in the lower sections of the AIF and Air Force windows.

However, old favourites such as the *Light of the World*, the *Good Shepherd* and *Christ Blessing the Children* continued to be the most popular selections for windows, with the *Light of the World* installed in 25 churches in just over five years, between 1945 and 1950. After World War II, the *Good Shepherd* overhauled the *Light of the World* as the most requested subject. The vast majority of these were memorials, but not always war service related.

Memorials took many forms, including *Defend O Lord this Child* (1957) in St. Columb's Anglican Church, Hawthorn which was installed to commemorate Tintern Girls' Grammar School's years of worship at the church. William Kerr-Morgan's cartoon of *Defend O Lord This Child* was draughted in response to the brief from the Headmistress on behalf of the Tintern Old Girls' Association (TOGA). The subject of Christ blessing a small child is
surmounted by Tintern’s crest\textsuperscript{120} - the mitre, and the school motto - ‘Factis Non Verbis’.

The windows for two Melbourne girls’ colleges, Toorak Ladies’ College (1927) and Tintern Girls’ Grammar School (1957) span the period of William Kerr-Morgan’s years at Brooks Robinson. Comparing the two orders, it is possible to identify changes in Morgan’s designing techniques and changes in Brooks Robinson policies and practices over almost thirty years.

Admittedly, Kerr-Morgan’s earlier windows at Toorak College are atypical examples of the Brooks Robinson’s of the period, however they show that there was an opportunity for individual interpretations of subject matter, glass selection and painting style, even at a time when a ‘house style’ was discernible and commercial interests prevailed. The Toorak College windows have elements of Arts and Crafts naturalism, exhibit an understanding of formal design principles and a creative approach to the subjects. On the other hand, the Tintern window uses a generic image of Christ, lacking a stamp of individuality. The integration of subject and background remain separate entities, leaving ‘spare’ window space needing to be filled up with fairly meaningless glass shapes in vague imitation of Christ’s halo. The full effect owes more to leadlighting techniques than stained glass and neglects the importance of spatial design.

The two styles of glass-painting also differ conspicuously: the rustic flourish of brushwork in the Virtues is reminiscent of Christopher Whall and the Arts and Crafts precepts and, while the Tintern window is stylised and highly competent, it lacks the delicate touch of the earlier windows. The selection of glasses heightens differences between the windows, with complementary blues and browns bringing harmony to the Toorak College designs and brightly coloured glasses set against strong leadlines amplifying the effect of high contrast in the Tintern example. As a completed pair, Fortitude and Prudence have an air of medieval romanticism, while Defend O Lord This Child tends towards sentimentality.

The windows of 1927 and 1957 encapsulate the change in Brooks Robinson & Co. over the same period. Already by 1928 there was a precedent for re-using old
cartoons, but clients who brought new ideas and unusual texts or images were accommodated and new cartoons were developed. Not all the new cartoons showed the imagination of the Toorak College windows, and as skilled staff retired or left, the company relied increasingly on the old and successful patterns.

Brooks Robinson & Co. failed to capitalise on the closure of a strong competitor, Mathieson and Gibson, in 1952 at which time several of Mathieson’s painting staff were employed by Brooks Robinson. Derek Pearse was already an employee at Brooks, having left Mathieson’s about twelve months prior to its closure. Brooks Robinson also took over many of the outstanding jobs on Mathieson’s books, often using cartoons and cutlines supplied by Mathieson. It becomes increasingly difficult to separate the styles of the two companies as the glass painting was undertaken by former employees of Mathieson’s under new direction at Brooks Robinson & Co.

Continuing the tradition of recruiting English artists to fill its senior roles, the last manager of Brooks Robinson’s stained glass department was Joseph Stansfield, (1921-) A.R.C.A (London), who was interviewed in 1960 by the London representative of Email Limited. Brooks Robinson had been acquired by Email in 1954 and over the next decade they gradually closed the firm down, with the stained glass department one of the last to be dismantled.

When Joseph Stansfield arrived in Melbourne in 1962, he found the premises in Elizabeth Street closed and the stained glass department moved to ‘the Yard’ in South Melbourne. William Kerr-Morgan was still with the company making Stansfield’s job particularly difficult and although the firm was in a state of decline, there was a huge backlog of orders, which Stansfield attempted to clear, as well as fulfil new orders.

Stansfield studied stained glass at the Royal College of Art, London under the direction of Martin Travers. The introduction of rectangular grid backgrounds and the extensive use of white glass reflect Travers’ influence and distinguish the Brooks Robinson & Co. windows of this period. In Christ Blessing the Children, ordered for the Baptist Church, Sandringham (c. 1964), the usual landscape...
background was replaced with square quarries, a practice that became more prevalent during this period.

Moonee Ponds Methodist Church ordered a window in 1962, *Do This in Remembrance of Me* as a pair for an earlier installation, *St. Michael* (1954). Both windows depict a centrally placed figure with architectural canopy and base, surrounded by square quarries in white/green glasses. However, in the second installation, the figure is less resplendent, the quarries are simply matted and the ornamentation is reduced and its silver staining less richly coloured.

Simplification of subjects and designs was influenced by post-war budgetary restraints and the fewer trained glass painters in the firm who were coping with a large backlog of orders. A relatively large proportion of orders were for Methodist, Baptist and Presbyterian churches, the simplified style suiting their requirement for restrained ornamentation and emblematic symbols.

After the closure of Brooks Robinson & Co. Joseph Stansfield formed Phoenix Studios, in partnership with Jim Lynch, the firm’s highly regarded foreman and continued the traditional style of Brooks Robinson, modified by his use of geometric backgrounds and robust colouration and painting technique.

Despite the apparent demand, stained glass was no longer as acceptable as an element in new and old church buildings. Nevertheless, there was a new market, which Brooks Robinson either ignored or failed to appreciate. Rather than pursue the development of public awareness and taste, to parallel developments in modern art, or to evolve a new local product, Brooks Robinson followed the formula which had proved to be effective, profitable (at least, until the latter years), and responsive to clients’ uncritical demands. The post-War church building boom of the 1950s and 60s largely passed Brooks Robinson by because architects saw traditional stained glass as increasingly irrelevant in a modern setting.
Chapter 3: Other Melbourne Firms and Artists

Among the local makers, Brooks Robinson & Co. was both the largest and most influential of the artists and firms of the twentieth century, however there were significant smaller local enterprises which made an impact on the corpus of stained glass. Principal contributors in the first half of the century were E. L. Yencken & Co. Pty. Ltd. (1904-1941) and Mathieson & Gibson (1930-1953).

E. L. Yencken & Co. Pty. Ltd.

In 1904 E. L. Yencken, a former office clerk from Brooks Robinson & Co., set up as a stained glass window manufacturer in premises at 384 Little Collins Street, Melbourne[1]. The business was successful and had expanded to 384-396 by 1911[2] where it remained until the closure of the stained glass department in 1942[3].

The bulk of Yencken’s output was for domestic and commercial leadlights, but a proportion of work came from church commissions, chiefly from the Non-conformist groups whose main requirements were for plain or ornamental leadlights.

Identification of Yencken’s early windows is unreliable as they show elements indicative of other makers. Apart from colleagues at Brooks Robinson, it is likely that staff were drawn from several makers[4] including Ferguson & Urie whose business closed in 1899[5] and C. Rogers & Co., whose final Sands and McDougall entry is in 1900.

Yencken employed William Frater as head of the section and the firm’s only designer after he returned from Scotland in 1914. This decision was crucial to the success of the stained glass department that then developed under Frater’s direction. Frater had been an apprentice in the studio of Oscar Patterson, one of the leading exponents of the Scottish Arts & Crafts movement, and trained at the Glasgow School of Art under the influential teaching of Baltus, Robert Anning Bell and Maurice Greiffenhagen[6]. Bell, a stained glass artist with
family connections to the London firm of Clayton & Bell, encouraged ‘design, blending the medieval, the classic, and the modern’ thus reinforcing the skills of the trade Frater had learned in Patterson’s studio.

Frater’s exposure to the Glasgow Arts & Crafts movement through his association with Patterson was to influence his stained glass, even in the restrictive atmosphere prevalent in Melbourne at the time. His training as an artist complemented his understanding of the special needs of stained glass and he was able to integrate successfully the art and craft aspects of the medium.

An early example of his work, which incorporated Arts & Crafts qualities, is described as ‘[m]uch simplified, the spatial accent and two Raphaelesque figures are nicely locked to the decorative plane by more simple and lucid sweeps of the leaded lights’. Rejected by the original client, it was sold to a Presbyterian church, possibly in Malvern, which accepted its ‘restrained modernity’. Completed in 1910 when Frater was starting out at Brooks Robinson, the experience may have stifled his natural desire to incorporate modernist ideals into future stained glass commissions and discouraged Brooks Robinson from any further costly experimentation.

A series of windows installed (c.1918) at St. John’s Uniting Church, Essendon, show some allegiance to the Arts & Crafts tradition. The three windows are St. George [Fig.30], and David [Fig.31] and Jonathan in the adjacent windows. Installed as World War I service memorials, each figure is set above the appropriate colour patch and dedication. The figures are freshly drawn and the glass tones and paint application is light, in marked contrast to the other windows in the church. The flat background is a loose grid of diamond quarries, in a daring red glass, damped down with the application of paint that throws the figure into relief. The rudimentary architectural canopy and suggestion of a base appears to be an attempt to unite these windows with the earlier installation adjacent to St. George.

Two windows made for Holy Trinity Anglican Church, Oakleigh (1931), I Am the Way [Fig.33] and Light of the World [Fig.32 & 114] follow the conventional
forms, but the juxtaposition of colour and the integration of the figures with the surrounding borders make them unusually fine examples. Subtly coloured glasses in a range of warm streaky rust, khaki green and purples are reminiscent of Burne-Jones’ and Arts & Crafts windows, while the intertwining white-on-grey floral patterning in the canopy suggests Art Nouveau influence.

Unfortunately, many of Yencken’s windows designed by Frater do not continue the freshness and individuality promised in the examples at St. John’s, Essendon. Certainly, windows such as St. Luke, made for the porch of Wesley Church, Lonsdale Street, show only minimal influence from Frater’s early training and owe more to the nineteenth century depiction of the saint bordered by an architectural canopy and base. The flat treatment of the background and introduction of painted creatures in the canopy above St. Luke are the only suggestions of Frater’s early training. The muddiness of colour evident in the St. Luke window is echoed in Humanity, a memorial window in Queen’s College Chapel, installed about 1932 and loosely based on the Charity of Dorcas. The soft, deep blues and browns are overlaid with matted paint that excessively darkens and deadens the window.

Several of William Frater’s sketch designs have survived in the scrapbooks of Alan Sumner, Frater’s assistant and, after William Frater’s departure in 1940, head of the stained glass department. While well proportioned and skilfully draughted, these subdued and traditionally conceived sketches give no indication of the modernist easel paintings for which Frater is best known. Frater himself tended to dismiss his stained glass as a part of his working life, seeing it as unrelated to his modernist painting: ‘Much of it was a mistake, in as much as I had to concern myself with business, making the department pay, doing all kinds of work - good and bad, for the customers, whose tastes were often crude, had to be pleased.’

The diminution of orders in the 1930s resulted in the staff of twenty-five being reduced to a few key people. Frater and his glass painter, Alan Sumner, were retained, a decision helped in part by Sumner’s earlier commitment to learning all facets of the process under Frater’s guidance.
After World War II, when Yencken’s stained glass section no longer operated, Alan Sumner fulfilled many orders in Yencken’s name. Among a number of memorials were orders for a three-light window in the Chalmers Presbyterian Church, Auburn and the Methodist churches at Brighton, Balaclava and Ivanhoe.

The earliest of Alan Sumner’s windows, made from 1946, followed the precepts of the Yencken studio, Sumner probably re-using their old cartoons and cutlines for the Light of the World, the Good Samaritan and other well-tried old favourites. It is only in the early 1950s as Sumner was completing the last of Yencken’s orders that a new interpretation began to emerge which would evolve into a modernist style.

Mathieson & Gibson
Mathieson & Gibson is first listed in the Sands and McDougall Directories in 1930 under ‘Stained Glass Window Manufacturers’ but records from Brooks Robinson & Co. indicate that the firm was already in existence in November 1929 when they placed an order for an opus sectile mosaic with the firm. The tile, measuring 15 x 24 inches (38 x 60 cm.) had been set out by Mathieson and Gibson and was to be installed in the VTA Building, Flinders Street, Melbourne.

Between 1930 and 1935 their studio address was 1 Collins Place, Melbourne. By 1939 they were listed at 32 Flinders Street, next to the Herald-Sun building and from early days, advertised as ‘designers of stained glass windows’. The last entry in Sands and McDougall Directory is 1949, at the same address. The firm continued to occupy these premises until 1952 or 1953 when the business moved to Notting Hill. It did not survive the move and by October 1953, Brooks Robinson & Co. were constructing Mathieson & Gibson windows at their Elizabeth Street premises.
William Mathieson worked in the stained glass department at Brooks Robinson & Co. prior to establishing his business with Gibson. Mathieson was the partnership's arbiter of aesthetics, dealing with the church clients and taking responsibility for the daily working of the studio. Despite his previous training and experience, he rarely designed or painted the windows.

Little is known of Mr. Gibson, except that he possibly worked for the firm of Shrigley & Hunt, Lancashire. Whatever his prior experience and earlier involvement, by 1948 his role was largely administrative and he took no part in the making of stained glass. However, in these later years, he had a significant impact on the firm's style as he regularly travelled to Britain, buying cartoons from British designers and makers as specified by William Mathieson. Mathieson & Gibson are believed to have bought their cartoons from a small number of artists who clearly had experience of the process of interpretation into the glass medium. These English cartoons, carefully prepared in sepia tones, were the principal source of Mathieson & Gibson's designs and were considered a great asset by their Anglophile clientele. Precisely because of the English origins of the cartoons, Mathieson & Gibson's windows are occasionally mistakenly attributed to English manufacturers.

Although the source (or sources) of their English cartoons remains unknown, it is possible that Gibson retained some connection with Shrigley & Hunt, however there is no clear stylistic connection with this, or other firms. The only other slight connection to an English firm was late in their history when Mathieson & Gibson made the St. Paul and Love windows (c.1951) for the apse of Holy Trinity, Balaclava to original designs by Gibbs & Howard, 64 Charlotte Street, Fitzroy Square, London.

One of the first commissions undertaken by Mathieson & Gibson was the multi-light series of windows in the east end of the Memorial Hall at Scotch College, Hawthorn. The three groups of windows, St. Andrew and St. Martin, King Arthur and Sir Galahad, and St. Michael and St. George were unveiled by Lady Somers on Armistice Day, 1930. Intended as exemplars for
the boys, they were seen by Lady Somers to embody 'romantic ideals on which to mould your lives'^39^.

Mathieson & Gibson prepared an extensive description of the windows, which was designed to instruct the boys in the symbolism, the method of making and the technical problems of painting and firing the glass'^40^ . 'The designing of the windows and the drawing of the cartoons was done by Mr. Mathieson, an Old Boy of the School. Mr. Gibson, who was for many years with the famous English firm of Shrigley and Hurst [sic], was responsible for the manufacture of the windows themselves...'^41^ . In each light the figure occupies the central space with a dove poised above each figure bearing a scroll inscribed with the twelve Fruits of the Holy Spirit'^42^ , and the coats-of-arms of the six States of the Commonwealth in the heads of the windows. In the base panels, the coat-of-arms of Scotch College are linked with those of England, Australia and Scotland, representing the military links between them'^43^.

The figures, richly robed or armoured, are set against a curved arras and white glass, diamond quarry background. The carefully selected glasses diffuse the light through streaky white and greenish tints that make the windows glow in the changing light conditions. The strong colouring of the figures is enhanced by the liberal use of silver stain, which gives an overall gold lustre to the lights. Even the border is ornate, with alternating rectangles of blue, red and silver-stained crowns and oak leaves. The overall effect is one of ornate, symbolic grandeur.

The Memorial Hall windows were a significant achievement for a new firm and are among some of the finest work which the firm was to produce over the next twenty years.

The windows at Scotch College are not typical of the firm's output, which increasingly shows a tendency to richer, even garish colour schemes, all selected by William Mathieson for their windows. He often selected a brightly coloured sky and particular 'streaky' antique glasses'^44^ that distinguish the work from Brooks Robinson's of the same period. Stipple brush work, striated skies,
receding backgrounds and ornamental canopy work were elements common to both firms, however Mathieson had a preference for a high colour scheme, including a distinctive purple and green. As the strength of colour became richer, it tended to overwhelm the subject and reduce the message of the window.

The east window in Queen’s College Chapel at Melbourne University is a seven-light window in which Mathieson & Gibson’s work is placed alongside windows by William Montgomery. In 1926, Montgomery’s three central lights, Resurrection, Crucifixion and Ascension, were dedicated to the College’s first Master, Edward Holdsworth Sugden. After Sugden’s death in 1935 the pair of panels either side of the earlier windows were commissioned from Mathieson & Gibson.

Although Mathieson & Gibson attempted to integrate the new with the old windows by means of the canopy and base work, the larger figures, which fill the later windows, in conjunction with the high colour scheme points to a different maker. The earlier Montgomery windows provide a clear contrast. He filled each panel with smaller figures grouped around the focal figure of Christ. Greenish-tinged glass, which he commonly preferred for hands and faces, predominates in the generally quiet colour scheme. Unusually, Montgomery selected dramatic sky colouring to highlight the importance of the events, a technique which was to be a feature of so much of Mathieson’s work. The most noticeable difference between the two makers is the effect of the receding ‘perspective’ background in the later installations, a common Mathieson feature, using classical architectural elements, rusticated stonework and combined with the selection of his favoured streaky blue-amethyst glasses.

A similar formula can be seen in both Mathieson & Gibson’s large, single figure windows and in the scenes and events depicted in windows at St. Mary’s, East St. Kilda, St. Mary of the Angels, Geelong [Fig.40] and at St. Paul’s Anglican Church, North Caulfield.
The full cycle of windows in St. Paul's, North Caulfield was one of the firm's larger commissions: a comprehensive dedication to the life of St. Paul installed from the 1960s. The windows were made and installed to designs supplied by Mathieson & Gibson, although three later windows, installed in the 1980s, were clearly the work of a firm that did not have access to the cartoons or cutlines. Most of the cartoons for the main scenes were imported and Mathieson & Gibson staff designed the lower sections with symbolic insets and the unifying ornamentation.

At Mathieson & Gibson, the imported cartoons were the basis for the sketch designs that were prepared with details of figure arrangements, colour selection and ornamentation, as appropriate for each specification. William Mathieson usually developed these sketch designs and presented them to the clients. The archive of St. Paul's, North Caulfield holds one of the only surviving examples of a coloured sketch design signed 'W. Mathieson'. The sketch is quite detailed and finished in sepia in the manner of their English cartoons, specifying the glass colours intended for the window.

Opportunities for Mathieson & Gibson's staff to exercise their design skills were few, apart from adding 'cabbage' and background to the imported cartoons. Derek Pearse (b.1928) was employed as a cutliner and to draw segments of designs for placement in old cartoons. He joined the firm in 1948 after emigrating from England where he had trained at Faith House in London as an architectural draughtsman and designer of church furnishings. He was responsible for producing the cutlines for some of the windows at St. Paul's, North Caulfield, including Paul's Divine Vision.

Other staff at this time included Laurie Stamford who was the 'flesh' painter, Lindsay Takin, glass-painter, "Jim" [surname unknown] and Harry Lester, who had worked in the industry for 44 years - the two men who cut, ground and leaded the glass - and John Munday, the single apprentice.

The firm was quite small and working conditions were cramped and unhealthy. The studio consisted of a single L-shaped room in which all aspects of the
process were undertaken including the grinding of glass. Cutliner, painters and leadlighters shared the space with the gas-fired continuous kiln which was not equipped with a flue for venting waste gases. The firm also made its own silver stain, a noxious process that added to the unpleasant atmosphere in the small studio.

The windows of Mathieson & Gibson and Brooks Robinson have similarities of style, which make them difficult to distinguish. The problem of attribution becomes more marked after the closure of Mathieson & Gibson when outstanding orders were regularly filled by Brooks Robinson & Co., who fulfilled more than fifty between 1952 and 1961. Orders came directly from William Mathieson, who usually supplied the cartoon and other details for each job. Three of the windows for St. Paul's Church, North Caulfield were among them - The Philippian Gaoler and St. Paul Before the Areopagus, ordered in 1956 and, two years later, St. Paul and the Ephesians, their last collaboration for this church. In each case, all material for the windows was supplied by Mathieson, including cutlines, details and sketches.

The difficulty of attribution is compounded when several staff moved to Brooks Robinson & Co. in Elizabeth Street, after Mathieson's closed. Derek Pearse had joined Brooks Robinson & Co. in July 1953, Laurie Stamford and the two glass cutter/leadlighters were employed after the firm's closure, and they assisted with outstanding Mathieson & Gibson commissions.

In earlier Mathieson & Gibson windows, the painting technique is identifiable by the use of a clean outline and minimal matting. Examples in the aisle windows at All Souls', Sandringham, completed in 1931, and at St. Mary's Catholic Church, East St. Kilda differ from later windows executed by Brooks Robinson. The north nave window at Christ Church, South Yarra, Madonna and Child made in 1953, has the distinctive dusty matting and highly modelled features prevalent in the flesh painting of Brooks Robinson.

The last window made for Mathieson & Gibson by Brooks Robinson & Co. was a single-light window, Love, for St. Paul's Anglican Church, Korumburra.
in 1961. The cutline was made up from the cartoon, background and border supplied once again by William H. Mathieson of East Malvern.

Women Glass Artists

While there is a long history of women donors and female biblical images in church glass, there is little evidence of women as artists, designers or makers of stained glass for churches. Research has revealed only a handful of Victorian women taking a greater or lesser role in designing and making stained glass prior to World War II, - Christian Waller, Amalie Field and Rebecca Rigg among them. Christian Waller’s stained glass, which substantiates her reputation as one of the foremost Australian practitioners, is discussed in Chapter 7.

Miss Amalie Field (1894-1974) was known for her portraits of children, which Juliet Peers noted she achieved without the cloying sentimentality prevalent in mid-twentieth century child portraiture in Australia. She commenced her art training at the School of Mines and Industries Ballarat where she was an outstanding student, and was on the staff between 1918 and 1931 as Instructor in Stained Glass Painting and Pottery. Two windows have been identified in St. Andrew’s Kirk, Ballarat: Charity and Dorcas in memory of Mary McLeod Murphy who died in 1910, and the Soldiers’ Memorial, given in memory of parishioners who died in the Great War. A third window in the church, Well Done Good and Faithful Servant, can be attributed to Field on stylistic grounds. The windows are believed to have been made in Melbourne.

Of the three windows, the Soldiers’ Memorial is the most distinctive, the other two following traditional nineteenth century formulas. The principal figure in the Soldiers’ Memorial is clad in gold armour, appearing to move forward, his left arm raised high, holding a sword. Behind him, replacing the traditional arras, are ribbons of colour, reinforcing the movement of the figure. In the round head of the window are four angels, three carrying palm fronds - the symbol of victory. The gold, silver-stained armour and deep green and burgundy cape of the soldier are in sharp contrast to the pale, pastel-clad angel figures set on a background of deep blue glass. The static stance of the angels
provides a quiet backdrop to the energy of the triumphant soldier. The most unusual and distinctive features of the design are the contemporary treatment of facial features - finely pencilled eyebrows and 'cupid's bow' lips, and closely bobbed and 'Marcel-waved hairstyles. It is a well-considered and successful design.

Field moved to Melbourne in 1927 to become Art Mistress at the Working Men's College and studied painting under Max Meldrum and A. D. Colquhoun whom she later married. Although she was clearly a respected exhibiting member of the Australian Academy of Art, Victorian Artists' Society and Twenty Melbourne Painters, there is no evidence of a continuation of her stained glass. Examples have been identified only in Ballarat, Victoria however the Women's Mirror reported in 1926 that 'memorial windows [by Field] are now to be seen in many Victorian churches and civic buildings', suggesting, that even allowing for journalistic exaggeration, more windows may yet be rediscovered.

Rebecca Rigg (d. 1958) is a very shadowy figure who appears not to have participated in the art world of Melbourne. She died in 1958, aged 86 and a short obituary lists window examples in St. John the Evangelist Anglican Church, Malvern; Melbourne Grammar Chapel and Christ Church Anglican, South Yarra; All Souls' Sandringham, and the Chapel of Mission Sisters in Spring Street, Melbourne.

It is possible that she did make windows for St. John the Evangelist, Malvern, as she lived in Finch Street not far from the church from 1923 until 1959. However, no window by her has been positively identified at either St. John's or at Christ Church, South Yarra. The building that housed the Mission Sisters Chapel in Spring Street is no longer standing.

'Miss Rigg' is listed as the designer of a three-light memorial window at St. John's Anglican Church, Camberwell in 1928. It was the last group of three windows to be installed in the south wall of the church and illustrated Aquila and Priscilla welcoming St. Paul at Ephesus. This was the only one of two
known examples of *Aquila and Priscilla* in Melbourne and was the only one made by Brooks Robinson & Co. A good description is all that remains of the window, which was unfortunately destroyed with the entire church, in a tragic fire in 1955. 82. "In the central window, St. Paul [is] standing in the prow of a Levantine boat about to be moored. Aquila and Priscilla appeared in each of the side windows stretching out their hands in welcome. Background shows columns of Corinthian architecture." 83 In sharp contrast to the other, earlier depiction at St. John's, Heidelberg, Rebecca Rigg appears to have attempted considerable narrative to give substance and meaning to a subject with which the congregation may have been less familiar.

Rebecca Rigg's windows in Melbourne Grammar Chapel are of *David* [Fig.44] and *Samuel* [Fig.45], installed in the south transept in 1931 84. The lights have been designed to complement the adjacent windows of *David* and *Jonathan*, imported from the firm of Clayton & Bell 85. Although there is a slight awkwardness in the figures, which is not evident in the mannerly finish of the English windows Rigg's windows have a freshness similar to Frater's *David* and *Jonathan* at St. John's, Essendon. The intertwining branches and foliage of the backgrounds exhibit some Arts & Crafts characteristics, reminiscent of Christopher Whall, an impression compounded by the graininess of the painting style which was to become more marked in the window for All Souls' Anglican Church, Sandringham.

The example of her work in All Soul's, Sandringham was made some years later, in 1947 86. Its subject is *John on the Isle of Patmos* [Fig.46] and it illustrates John holding the cup of poison, symbolised by a serpent emerging from the cup. It is believed to have been 'executed by Miss R. Rigg' 87.

It is a distinctive window, executed in a vigorous, painterly style which owes more to Arts & Crafts precepts than to the slickness of a commercial maker. St. John, who faces and engages the viewer, is an imposing figure, placed tightly within an inner frame. This device creates a wide border, made up of alternating bands of stylised lilies and plain glass. The colouring is strong, similar to the Melbourne Grammar windows - John is predominantly dressed in
rich blue robes with a red background behind his gold halo. These colours reappear in smaller pieces within the border and are tempered by sections of neutral white and green\textsuperscript{88}. The use of black paint adds to the drama of the window, particularly as it has been applied with a flourishing, painterly style. [Fig.47] The result is startlingly effective and shows the designer's confidence with form and colour.

The competence with which Rebecca Rigg handles the stained glass medium suggests that she had reasonable experience as both artist and artisan. It is therefore highly likely that more examples of her work will ultimately be rediscovered.
Chapter 4: Imported Stained Glass

During the nineteenth century, the importation of glass was based on the 'belief that the quality of goods produced “back home” was far superior to anything of colonial manufacture'. The added expense and inevitable delay was considered to be worthwhile.

However, from the 1880s there was a gradual turn towards Australian interests as the issues and debate surrounding the move towards Federation gained support. Certainly, it was hoped that the new Federalism would make the local product more attractive, as politicians had vowed to protect Australian trade. The interest in the local product was assisted in part because, by the turn of the century, many of the older English firms which had supplied glass to Australia were defunct, their style no longer contemporaneous with the prevailing mood in Europe.

The twentieth century has seen an increasing change towards the locally made product, which has coincided with a drop in the quantity of imported stained glass windows. As indicated in Chapter 1, local firms were severely affected by the depression of the 1890s, but the depression was a world phenomenon and European firms experienced similar difficulties, which resulted in a slow-down of the importation of glass.

By 1901, the cathedrals and prominent churches had already filled their primary east and west windows with significant imported glass multi-lights and cycles: local makers could well fill the less important single lights in naves and transepts. The need for grand gesture had diminished.

English Imports

Two English firms, John Hardman & Co. of Birmingham and Clayton & Bell, London, had made important contributions to Melbourne’s nineteenth century glass. The Marian cycle in the Lady Chapel at St. Francis’ Catholic Church, Lonsdale Street (1858) and the Ascension west window at St. Patrick’s Catholic
Cathedral, East Melbourne (1867) were Hardman’s most prominent works and Clayton & Bell supplied the cycle for St. Paul’s Anglican Cathedral, described as ‘the most stylistically and iconographically consistent and unified body of glass without peer in Australia’.

The twentieth century Hardman windows in St. Patrick’s Cathedral lack the rhythmic format and glowing colour of the nineteenth century Ascension window. By 1902, (and after the death of John Hardman Powell who had been chief designer since 1852), two three-light Hardman windows were placed in the Chapel of the Sacred Heart. A weakness in design is evident in the overly decorative ornamentation, although the rich clarity of colour remains as one of Hardman’s strengths. Design becomes an even less successful factor in the windows of the apsidal chapels of St. Joseph (1902), St. Thomas Aquinas (1907) and St. Brigid (1907). While the colour remains rich, it lacks the brilliance of their earlier High Victorian work. ‘Compared to their great predecessor in the west, all these pale into insignificance; none has such balance of hue, such luminosity, spaciousness, vitality or rhythm of line. Similar comments could be made about the Hardman windows in St. Ignatius’ Catholic Church, Richmond installed around the same period.

Few suburban churches were to follow the lead of the cathedrals and import their twentieth century infill glass. One of the few exceptions, Our Lady of Victories, Camberwell (1913-18), has a complete cycle of Hardman stained glass, produced in a lavish Renaissance style not unsympathetic to the neo-Romanesque architecture in which it is placed. The theme throughout the church is the life of the Virgin, starting at the west end of the nave, north side, with the Presentation of the Virgin and culminating in the highly decorative west window, The Battle of Lepanto (Fig.48), which explains, in numerous scenes, the victory over the Muslim infidels from which the church takes its name.

A central scene from the Virgin’s life dominates each of the nave windows with a round-headed arch uniting the two lights, and a base in the form of a ‘marble’ step. Above the arch, a pointed architectural façade with central ‘rose’ is an incongruous, and somewhat overwhelming, addition. The rich colouring is
typically Hardman, but the figure arrangement and style is more closely related to German windows of the nineteenth century. [Fig.49]

The earliest windows in the church, installed as World War I memorials, are finely finished, almost slick in the placement of figures and application of paint. Later work, from the 1920s, is muddier in colour and the paint application is grainy and appears to be under-fired.

St. Monica’s Catholic Church, Moonee Ponds (Essendon) has an important group of late Hardman windows. The earliest windows in the Lady Chapel date from 1910-12 and were re-installed from the old church, which had been demolished in 1934. A note in the St. Monica’s Parish pamphlet indicates that Hardman & Co. had modified their style: ‘the tones subdued because of the brightness of the Australian sun’. This may also explain the dull tonings in the decorative work in St. Patrick’s Cathedral where varnishing the glass surface could well have been a deliberate attempt to rectify a perceived problem.

The older windows at St. Monica’s, the Ascension and Mater Dolorosa (1910-12), originally single lights in the old church, were repositioned in the centre of three-light windows, flanked by Brooks Robinson & Co. side lights. [Fig.50] The integration of the additional designs with the Hardman windows is reasonably cohesive, assisted in part by the careful selection of coloured glass, arrangement of the figures and the overarching tracery for each window, completed by Brooks as part of the order. The same cannot be said for the third Hardman window, the Assumption of the Virgin, with a D. Taylor Kellock window either side. [Fig.51] Although individually successful and amongst some of Kellock’s strongest work, the difference in style to the central light is too marked to achieve overall integration.

The late 1940s and 1950s nave windows in the church show a change in style from the earlier windows. They comprise a series of tall two-light windows on the south aisle, each divided into a central scene, based on the Passion of Christ, which runs across the two lights with two smaller related scenes in the upper and lower sections. The tracery pieces cover a large part of the upper window
and have a background filled with red and blue double lattice work, reminiscent in style, if not in colour, of French Gothic windows of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

The colour is recognisably Hardman with strongly coloured reds and blues dominating, supported by gold, green and white in lesser proportions. The images have less impact than earlier examples and occasionally seem almost lost in the predominantly red quarry background and the expanse of window. In the later panels, soft modelling of form is replaced with hard-edged brushwork and black paint resulting in accentuation of planes and a tendency to abstraction.

The aisle windows lead iconographically towards the west window depicting Christ in Glory (c. 1950) [Fig. 52 & 53], with the enthroned Christ surrounded by the saints. It is one of the largest west windows in Melbourne’s suburban churches, a five-light window with extensive tracery. In the central light, Christ is enthroned, with the dove of the Holy Spirit above and St. Michael striking the devil into tongues of fire below. In comparison with its counterpart at St. Patrick’s, the hierarchy of saints is difficult to read and there is no rhythmic pattern to draw the design together.

One English stained glass company, Whippell’s of London10, is well represented by a number of windows in St. Peter’s Anglican Church, Brighton Beach11. Several windows placed between 1957 and 1972 follow a pattern set with the first of the windows, Peter the Fisherman. [Fig. 54] The single imposing figure has his feet placed on a wide ribbon, which reads: ‘Upon this rock I will build my church’. The lower section has a small scene of Peter preaching and the inscription lies at the base of the window. [Fig. 55] All three sections of the window are set against a random diamond quarry background and the border is without ornamentation. The head of the lancet holds another small scene, Christ receiving Peter into heaven. The work has stylistic connections with the work of English glass artist Martin Travers through the extensive use of white glass, however Whippell’s figures display a boldness of colour often lacking in the later Travers windows. The Whippell palette is subdued without being dull
and the white glass background sets the figure into high relief, assisted by the clarity of the colour, stylised painting technique and minimum of shading.

The general format of *Peter the Fisherman* is followed again in *St. Luke* and the *Nativity* windows. The 1972 installation *Presentation in the Temple* necessarily deviates from the format to accommodate the group of figures. A striated sky is introduced above a series of round arches, and a larger ribbon text and plaque-like dedication replace the lower scene. The painting style remains very similar to earlier work and the glass colouring, although richer than the earlier examples, retains its clarity. A final Whippell window, dedicated to the long-serving minister, the Reverend Eva, could well be mistaken for a Brooks Robinson example of *Christ Blessing the Children*. [Fig.56] The striated sky, 'cabbage' infill, the stance and placement of figures all point to the possibility of a copy, made from a photograph.

Single windows dotted around in Melbourne churches represent a few English makers. Mention should be made of the celebrated architect and stained glass designer Sir J. Ninian Comper (1864-1960), who is represented in St. Mark’s Anglican Church, Camberwell by the chapel window of *St. George* (1955)12 and a pair of windows, *Saint Peter Apostle* and *Nurse Edith Cavell*. [Fig.57] The later windows were made around 1958, towards the end of his career, and show how little he had moved from the historicist approach that was in vogue in the nineteenth century. They all suffer from a lack of flesh tone that gives a washed out appearance and unevenness to the light levels across each panel13.

F. X. Zettler

The firm of F. X. Zettler, Stained Glass Studios of Munich supplied windows for Melbourne’s churches during the nineteenth century, including a series for the aisles of Scots Church, Collins Street, considered to be examples of the best Munich style14. In the early years of this century, Zettler windows were imported through their Melbourne agent, H. Credgington, art dealers and church furnishing agents of Melbourne15.
The most complete collection of Zettler glass has been installed in Our Lady Help of Christians, East Brunswick. Three single lights, the rose window and 'eight windows with groups' were installed pre-World War I followed by another five windows after the war. The last to be installed were Pope Pius X and St. John Vianney in 1954. The windows in the nave make a unified and coherent cycle that represents the five Joyful Mysteries and five Glorious Mysteries of the Rosary. They are highly decorative and detailed and bear some compositional similarities with the Hardman windows in Our Lady of Victories at Camberwell. The painting is finely outlined with warm brown paints predominating and the shaded areas are lightly matted.

A four-light west window at St. Mary's, East St. Kilda [Fig.58] shows some of the flair which brought Zettler a world-wide clientele. The tall lights have been filled with well-proportioned scenes depicting Christ and the Virgin. The narrow outer panels each contain five scenes from the life of Christ: the Joyful Mysteries - Annunciation, Visitation, Nativity, Presentation and Jesus and the Doctors on the left and the Sorrowful Mysteries on the right - Agony in the Garden, the Scourging of Christ, Crown of Thorns, Bearing the Cross and the Crucifixion. The Scourging of Christ is an unusual subject for stained glass, and the depiction of two soldiers winding the Crown of Thorns around the head of Christ has no precedent in Melbourne's glass. The five Glorious Mysteries are the central subjects: the Resurrection and the Assumption of Mary [Fig.59] are adjacent in the lower central lights with the Ascension of Christ and the Crowning of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the upper portions. The Descent of the Holy Spirit is in the upper section of the Crowning. The window has small architectural canopies and bases, but the inner two lights are divided by elongated canopies to separate the larger scenes. Each scene has its own integrity as well as combining to form a cohesive whole. The play of light through the window is even but allows the colour to glow, even in poor light conditions.

Zettler were not always required to produce large scale works and the four windows in the porches of St. Joseph's Catholic Church, Elsternwick are simple, uncluttered windows with only a small waster border. St. Mary and
Resurrection (1980) and Nativity and Baptism (1981)\textsuperscript{18} [Fig.60] although competent, show little of the earlier skill in painting and richness of design evident in the nineteenth century Scots Church or the St. Mary’s, East St. Kilda windows.

**Irish Imports**

Windows imported from Ireland include a number of examples from the Harry Clarke Studios\textsuperscript{19} and Richard King\textsuperscript{20}. St. Dominic’s Catholic Church, Camberwell East has a series of three two-light windows, high in the chancel, which were installed in the late 1930s\textsuperscript{21}. The central window represents St. Dominic in the left-hand light receiving the rosary from Mary carrying the infant Jesus Christ. The three-part tracery above shows Mary as the Mother of Mercy protecting members of the Dominican orders. The lower sections depict the Rosary Shield and the Shield of the Holy Name Society. The flanking windows depict St. Thomas asking for approval for his writing from the crucified Christ on the left and St. Catherine of Siena pleading with Pope Gregory XI to return to Rome on the right. [Fig.61]

Harry Clarke’s windows were characterised by their rich colour, achieved with the application of acid to multi-coloured flashed glasses and an intricate web of leaded glass pieces. The delicate ‘embroidered’ painting style [Fig.62] and the resulting pattern, not realism, enhance the glittering mosaic effect, however, the windows are more than mere decoration. Clarke was heavily influenced by the Arts & Crafts movement but sought to bring a wholly Irish interpretation to it by using Celtic symbols and subjects and weaving them together with the religious imagery throughout each window. The chancel windows at St. Dominic’s, installed within a few years of Clarke’s death, continue to reflect his underlying concerns. The sinuous linear style and the symbolic imagery of the chancel windows are less apparent in the later windows in the church where an element of realism is evident in the figures.

From around 1924, Clarke experimented with stylised geometric and floral painted glass set in unusual leaded patterns\textsuperscript{22} which he sometimes used as a decorative backdrop to his figures, or set with medallion portraits\textsuperscript{23}. The lancet
window by Harry Clarke Studios\textsuperscript{24} in the baptistery of St. Mary's Catholic Church, East St. Kilda is a small example of the floral ornament which became a hallmark of the studio. \textsuperscript{[Fig.63]} The narrow window space is predominantly a pattern of multi-coloured glasses, painted and leaded to appear more like a richly embroidered patchwork quilt. Two scenes are inset, rather like oval cameos, against the floral patterning. The lower scene of \textit{St. Patrick Baptising the Irish Princesses} glows with the typical rich green of the studio, touched with occasional golds and whites. The design and execution show the studio's confidence with the sweeping curves of Art Nouveau style. The upper cameo exhibits none of these attributes and appears to be by a different, less experienced hand\textsuperscript{25}.

In the \textit{Resurrection} window \textsuperscript{[Fig.64]}, also in St. Dominic's church, the designer Richard King has taken the idea of pattern to the point of abstraction. \textsuperscript{[Fig.65]} King uses large pieces of glass, a limited strong colour palette – mainly blues with some deep red on Christ's garment - and only broad shading to indicate folds and features. He relies on changes in colour across the antique glasses to create the distortions and tonal changes which make the window glow. The overall effect is one of quiet majesty.

King trained in the studios of Harry Clarke\textsuperscript{26}, but his work shows more affinity with another Irish glass artist Evie Hone, apparent in his use of strong colour and powerful line to create monumental images. In contrast to the powerful image of Christ, the west windows, the \textit{Virgin of the Rosary} and the \textit{Immaculate Conception}, each made up of two lights and a small tracery piece are narrative pictures illustrating events from the life of the Virgin. Despite the distance between them they were designed as a cohesive group, the two inner lights each containing the figure of the Virgin, clothed in shades of whites. The dominance of each figure is assured by the contrasting reds and golds used as background. The outer lights are more subdued - the predominantly deep blues and greens adding to the drama of each scene. An image of St. Dominic's Church is contained in the upper section of the right-hand window. The figures have been painted in the contained style of the \textit{Resurrection}, however vigorous brushwork is used in the background.
A few single windows were imported from sources unusual for Melbourne churches. A window by the French stained glass artist, Gabriel Loire in St. Aidan’s Uniting Church, North Balwyn\textsuperscript{27} is one of few examples of imported \textit{dalle de verre} glass\textsuperscript{28}.

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The windows imported from Hardman & Co., F. X Zettler, Harry Clarke Studio and Richard King were installed in Catholic churches while Whippell Moubray windows were Anglican installations. Despite the major nineteenth century Clayton & Bell cycle at St. Paul’s Cathedral, interest in the firm waned after the turn of the century. The small number of their later windows may reflect the decay of the firm after the death Alfred Bell in 1895\textsuperscript{29} and the withdrawal of Richard Clayton from company affairs shortly afterwards\textsuperscript{30}. Clayton & Bell and other firms either declined or moved forward from the earlier medieval style, but these changes went largely unnoticed or were ignored in Melbourne church decoration.

Ties with Britain, although still strong, lessened after Federation and the death of Queen Victoria. Clearly, some churches had good relationships with makers, local and overseas, and chose to continue the practice of importation. Hardman continued to be employed by some architects and clergy, and although the German firms suffered, Irish Catholics resumed their former ties after the Great War and again after World War II.

The Great War disrupted the rhythm of trade between Europe and Australia, and client confidence in the competent local makers like William Montgomery and Brooks Robinson & Co. tempered its resumption after 1918.
Chapter 5: Themes and Subjects in Melbourne Stained Glass

Predominantly, church stained glass of the twentieth century continues the themes and images of the nineteenth century. As in the nineteenth century, the range of themes is remarkably small and repetitious\(^1\) with a predominance of episodes from the New Testament. This suggests a limited visual vocabulary amongst the stakeholders of the church and lack of imagination by artists and makers to extend the range of themes beyond those of the nineteenth century. By looking at the windows, and the themes and subjects, one gets an impression of a formula which was set and required to be followed, a style which said ‘neo-gothic’, and with little ambition to alter this arrangement.

More practically, the important – liturgically and visually- east and west windows were often filled before the twentieth century and thus set the pattern for other windows in the building. Although opportunities for great thematic cycles in older churches were restricted by the number and placement of available windows, new opportunities arose with the construction of new churches in the post-World War II period\(^2\). The challenge of new architectural styles allowed artists to design new interpretations, however the themes and subjects remained similar to those already predominating in churches throughout Melbourne.

Old Testament Themes

The Old Testament does not appear to have inspired the artists and makers of twentieth century glass, neither can it have been a source of instruction by clergy nor a source of solace to donors as so few themes and subjects occur in Melbourne churches. As the largest and most prolific of Melbourne’s stained glass manufacturers Brooks Robinson & Co. produced windows using Old Testament themes, however, only a few windows mainly based on incidents in the life of Abraham, Moses, Ruth and Samuel comprise their entire output. 

*Abraham and Isaac*, installed in 1933 at St Paul’s Anglican Church, Frankston\(^3\)
and _Abraham Going Forth_ for St Matthew’s, Mulgrave (1938) were the only windows based on Abraham’s life to grace suburban Melbourne churches.

Images of Samuel appear to be equally sparse, with only three examples to be installed, all in the post-World War II era: St Mary’s Anglican Church, Caulfield (1948); St Margaret’s, Eltham (1955); and, the Methodist Church, Bentleigh (1958). Other images from the Books of Samuel include the _Ebenezer_ window in the Ebenezer Chapel, New Street, Brighton, _Jonathan_ at Queen’s Park Presbyterian (1951), and _David_ at St Columb’s Anglican (1952), St Stephen’s, Caulfield (1947) and Melbourne Grammar Chapel (1931).

_David_, as boy, saint, king and harpist, was a relatively popular Brooks Robinson image and fourteen examples were installed between 1934 and 1961: _David Playing his Harp before Saul_ is used once only at the Highbury Road Methodist Church, Kew (1934); _St. David_ at the Armadale Presbyterian (1936); and _King David_ at the Independent Church, Collins Street, Melbourne (1937) and Methodist, Albert Park (1938). _David the Psalmist_ is the subject of a window at the Methodist Church, Moonee Ponds.

Images of _David_ were the subject of World War II memorials at Anglican churches in Northcote (1954), Hampton (1954) and Caulfield (1960).

A small group of three windows depicting the Old Testament Prophets, _Moses, Samuel_ and _Elijah_ were installed in the south porch of the Scots Church, Collins Street, Melbourne in 1925 but all other Brooks Robinson & Co installations were in country or interstate locations. Although equally few in number, incidents from Moses’ life are more varied than the Abraham depictions—_Finding of Moses (Pharaoh’s Daughter)_ , _Moses Descending from the Mountain with the Tablets of the Law_ and _Moses and the Burning Bush_.

The _Finding of Moses_ light, no longer extant at St John’s Church, Camberwell, was flanked by _Rebekah at the Well_ and _Boaz and Ruth the Gleaner_, all Old Testament subjects featuring women. The subject of _Ruth_ was favoured as a
memorial to women, with *Ruth and Naomi* and *Ruth the Gleaner* both popular throughout the century. An example at Christ Church, St. Kilda, *Ruth and Naomi* (1938) [Fig.66], memorialises Margaret Currie Worseldine, 'a life-long parishioner and active church worker' 24.

Brooks Robinson & Co. installed *Ruth and Naomi* at the Methodist, Gardenvale (1939) and St. Jude's Anglican, Alphington (1959), and *Ruth the Gleaner* at Anglican Churches in Dandenong (1937), Doncaster (1946), and Oakleigh (1952) and Methodist churches at Elsternwick (1952), Newtown (1949) and Yarra Street, Geelong (1947) 25.

Only one image of *Jacob's Ladder*, subtitled *Nearer My God to Thee*, was made by Brooks Robinson & Co. for St. John's Uniting Church, Essendon and installed in 1928 26. [Fig.67] A modern version by D. Taylor Kellock was the subject of a World War II memorial window at St. Andrew's Uniting, Gardiner. [Fig.68]

Of all the Old Testament images, *The Burning Bush* remains the most often repeated because of its importance as an emblem of the Presbyterian Church, the exclusive recipient of Brooks Robinson's twentieth century output of this image. It is rarely seen as part of the Moses narrative but more often supporting an historiated panel, and with little reference to its biblical context 27. Its significance is as a symbol and is most often set in a diamond quarry ornamental light, as at Trinity Church, Camberwell, (1935) and Queen's Park Presbyterian Church, Moonee Ponds (1952) 28. In the nineteenth century, the motto *nec tamen consumebatur*, taken from Exodus 3:2 and 3, often accompanied the image of the burning bush, but the majority of twentieth century examples remain without the text 29.

In St. Oswald's, Glen Iris, the imagery of the burst of new growth after bushfire is used to illustrate the Holy Spirit giving 'life and vitality to the dead bones of people's lives' 30, taken from *The Valley of Dry Bones*, from the Old Testament Book of Ezekiel 31.
The window program at St. Paul’s Catholic Church, Bentleigh is one of the few Old Testament examples in a modern church setting. [See Fig. 130] Installed in stages from 1960, it was designed by Alan Sumner: the clerestory windows on the north side depict stories from the Old Testament which complement the New Testament cycle of Christ’s life on the south side. The juxtaposition of parallel stories from the Old and New Testaments was a feature of medieval glass, providing a rich, instructional narrative for the congregation, but it remains an isolated instance in Melbourne’s twentieth century glass.

New Testament Themes
In the twentieth century, Melbourne’s church buildings have grown along with the growth of new and expanding suburbs. The majority of windows are based around New Testament themes, and although the range has expanded significantly from the nineteenth century, it remains relatively limited, despite the opportunity for new themes and interpretations.

As in the nineteenth century, Christological images, the parables and particular incidents from His ministry remain most popular, although often reduced to a predictable set of events. Opportunities to design cycles of Christ’s life, as occurred in a number of Melbourne churches in the nineteenth century32, do not arise in the twentieth century until the construction of new churches from the late 1950s onward.

The *Life of Christ* window cycle in St Paul’s Catholic Church, Bentleigh was the first of three interpretations designed by Alan Sumner. His second cycle, at St. Gabriel’s Catholic Church, Reservoir, was a comprehensive plan implemented between 1962 (*Garden of Gethsemane*) and 1970 (*Nativity*). The cycle comprises six windows: *The Annunciation; Nativity; Presentation in the Temple; Jesus with the Doctors; Garden of Gethsemane* and *Jesus appears to the Soldiers*.

Single subjects are much more varied, appearing to be dependent on a range of circumstances including the donor, the church and the purpose of the window. In his thesis on nineteenth century stained glass, Geoffrey Down noted that
'there is on the whole less attention given to Christ's miracles than to his parables and to his ministry'\(^{33}\). The same pattern emerges in the twentieth century, but with even greater emphasis.

Both the *Raising of Jairus' Daughter* and *Raising of Lazarus* have disappeared from the repertoire altogether, and only a single *Miracle of the Pool at Bethesda* window has been identified at St. John's Anglican Church, Toorak\(^{34}\). The miracle of turning water into wine, *The Marriage at Cana*, is the subject of a window in Our Lady of Victories, Camberwell\(^{35}\).

On the other hand, *Jesus at the House of Martha and Mary* is seen more frequently and the *Nativity* and the *Crucifixion* increasingly become staple subjects for most churches during the twentieth century.

More than fourteen Brooks Robinson & Co. examples of *Jesus at the House of Martha and Mary* have been identified, including the Anglican churches of All Soul's, Sandringham (1929), St. Thomas', Essendon (1935) [Fig.69], St. Jude's, Carlton, (1947), Holy Trinity, Northcote (1948), and Holy Trinity, Surrey Hills (1950). It was less popular in other denominations but is represented in the Baptist Church, Armadale (1948), Sacred Heart Convent, Burke Road, Malvern (1938), and Presbyterian Churches in Glenhuntly (1953), Newtown and Footscray (1955)\(^{36}\). Phoenix Studios, under the direction of Joseph Stansfield, produced a two-light *Martha and Mary* [Fig.70] window for St. Clement’s Anglican Church, Elsternwick in 1974\(^{37}\) as part of a series of windows based on aspects of Christ’s life.

The *Nativity*, one of the pivotal subjects of the New Testament, can be seen in almost every church in Melbourne. Brooks Robinson & Co. installed at least 23 versions between 1935 and 1962, Mathieson & Gibson have several examples in Melbourne and country churches and Alan Sumner is known to have produced eight versions, often as part of Christological cycles, such as those installed at St Gabriel’s, Reservoir and St. Paul’s, Bentleigh. The subject has been popular throughout the century as an image alone, as in Sacred Heart, St. Kilda (1925)\(^{38}\) and Holy Trinity, Port Melbourne (1958)\(^{39}\). [Fig.71] Mathieson
& Gibson made three windows: for St. Paul's Anglican, Caulfield, All Soul's Anglican, Sandringham and St. Mary of the Angels, Geelong, all from the same basic cartoon. [Fig.72]

The Nativity is more frequently installed in conjunction with related themes. It accompanies the Annunciation in the Catholic Churches at Sandringham (1925) and Melton (1930), and at Holy Trinity Anglican Church, Hampton (1949). Appropriately, it is seen in combination with the Adoration of the Magi at Holy Trinity, Thornbury (1932) and with Christ in the Temple at the Presbyterian Church, Glenhuntly, (1949) 40, but the relevance of its placement with the Good Samaritan at the Methodist Church, Malvern (1949) is more obscure. The last Nativity to be installed by Brooks Robinson & Co. was at St. Joan of Arc Catholic Church, Brighton as one of a four-light installation - Resurrection, Ascension, Nativity and Crucifixion, ordered in 1962 and among the last windows to be made by Brooks Robinson 41.

The subject of the Crucifixion, as the most important event in the Christian church, should occupy the east window, and as most older churches filled this window in the nineteenth century, very few examples of the Crucifixion appear in the first half of the century. The east window of Trinity College Chapel, Parkville 42 and Holy Trinity, Port Melbourne 43 [see Fig.19] are notable exceptions.

The east window in Neo-gothic churches is usually composed of a number of lights, most commonly three, four or five. To fill this space, adhering to liturgical principles, the Crucifixion is expanded to include other images as is the case at Trinity College Chapel where Mary and John are the subjects of the left-hand light and Mary Magdalene and Mary, Mother of John fill the right-hand light. The Trinity College Chapel window is the model for Holy Trinity, Oakleigh that has a similar, though smaller, Brooks Robinson Crucifixion, [Fig.73] installed in 1947 44.

At St. Aidan's Anglican Church, Strathmore (1929), St. Michael's Catholic Church, North Melbourne (1951) and St. David's Anglican Church, Moorabbin (1951) 45 the Resurrection and Ascension were installed alongside the
Crucifixion, giving an expanded, and more hopeful, Easter narrative. The Agony in the Garden, popular in nineteenth century and early twentieth century glass is reduced to a single example after World War II, a window installed in St. Peter's Catholic Church, Toorak in 1955.

Many events from Christ's life that are represented in stained glass include Baptism in the Jordan, Christ in the Carpenter's Shop, Jesus and the Doctors, and The Last Supper. Christ Blessing the Children remains one of the most repeated images of the twentieth century, third only to the allegorical Christ as the Light of the World and the Good Shepherd.

Brooks Robinson & Co. made ninety-five Christ Blessing the Children windows between 1924 and 1966, from a limited range of cartoons. Twenty-five churches installed Christ Blessing the Children before World War II, including St. Stephen's Anglican, Richmond (1925), Holy Trinity, Kew (1926), Holy Trinity, Williamstown (1927), Methodist, Elsternwick (1928), Presbyterian, Ivanhoe (1928), All Soul's Anglican, Sandringham (1929), Methodist, Dandenong (1933), Methodist, Coburg (1933), St. Mary's Anglican, Caulfield (1936), St. Andrew's Presbyterian, Williamstown (1939) and the Presbyterian, Keysborough (1939). Post-war installations included All Anglican, East Malvern (1947), St. Alban's Anglican, Armadale (1947), Methodist, Coburg West (1940), St. Columb's Anglican, Hawthorn (1949), St. Augustine's Anglican, Mentone (1954), St. Philip's, Heidelberg West (1957) and the Baptist Church, Sandringham (c.1963).

Despite the wide scope for interpretation of Jesus' many parables, the Good Shepherd and Good Samaritan continue to be preferred throughout the twentieth century. A single example of The Pearl of Great Price is installed in the aisle of Scots' Church, Collins Street, Melbourne, believed to be the work of William Frater and a few windows depicting The Sower can be seen in Melbourne churches including Holy Trinity, Doncaster (1927), Holy Trinity, Williamstown (1952) and the Presbyterian Church, Kangaroo Ground (1958). Two other examples were made in the 1960s by Brooks Robinson & Co. for All Saints, Clayton and St. Andrew's Presbyterian, Footscray. A
small rectangular version was installed in the choir of St. Andrew’s Uniting Church, Gardiner (c.1987), which is the work of John Ferguson.

The number of parable windows is unclear however, like Christ Blessing the Children, the Good Shepherd and the Good Samaritan were regularly repeated by Brooks Robinson – more than 170 versions of the Good Shepherd and forty of The Good Samaritan between 1923 and 1966.73

Single lights, usually the majority of windows in any church, are more appropriate spaces for single figures. The figure saint, so popular in nineteenth century Neo-gothic Melbourne church architecture, remained a popular tradition in the 1900s. The images rarely deviate from the themes and figures of earlier glass, even after the advent of modernism into stained glass in the 1950s.

Patronal saints were often among the first windows to be filled in Neo-gothic churches and were usually filled last century and few twentieth century examples can be identified: St. Anselm at the church of the same name in South Melbourne74, St. Martin the Beggar at St. Martin’s, Deepdene75, St. Francis Xavier at Frankston76 and St. Jude at Carlton77, and at St. Jude’s Anglican Church, Alphington, the patronal saint was installed with St. Paul, St. Stephen and St. John in 195878. In the Post-World War II Anglican Church of St. Paul, Caulfield a full cycle of events from the Life of St. Paul was installed between 1949 and the late 1960s79.

St. Paul is regularly the subject of single windows, as installed at Christ Church, St. Kilda (c.1905)80, St. Aloysius’ Catholic Church, Caulfield (1924)81 and St. John’s Anglican, Heidelberg (1950)82. The example at Christ Church, St. Kilda shows the figure against an arras with his left hand raised in blessing and his right hand holding his sword. [see Fig.12] However, other windows depict events from Paul’s life, as in the Mathieson & Gibson examples at St. Paul’s, Caulfield and in the side chapel at Christ Church, Hawthorn.
At Holy Trinity Anglican, Surrey Hills, a series of lights depicting the saints, St. George, St. Matthew, St. Mark, St. Luke, St. Peter, and St. Paul was installed in 1946. Because of their importance in Christian liturgy, the Evangelists, St. Peter and Mary, mother of Jesus are among the more numerous subjects of single windows continuing from the nineteenth century. Other saints are popular as memorial windows, particularly the warrior saints, St. George [see Fig.17] and St. Michael [Fig.75] [see also Fig.5, 8] after both World Wars and St. Patrick, St. Joseph, St. Teresa and Blessed Margaret Mary figure frequently in Catholic Church windows. In contrast, Hugh of Lincoln and St. John Vianney, appear only rarely in Catholic churches while St. Tarsicius and St. Frideswide are rare occurrences in Protestant settings.

Occasionally modern martyrs and missionaries were selected as subjects, conveying the spirit of the Christian doctrines of service and sacrifice, for example, the Uganda Martyrs, and the New Guinea Martyrs, and missionaries to Uganda (1915-1940) Canon and Mrs. Lawrence, memorialised at St. Columb’s Anglican Church, Hawthorn. [Fig.76]

The most unlikely subject for a window is Judas. The only known example is prominently positioned in the west window of All Saints’ Anglican Church, St. Kilda.

Non-Biblical Subjects
As well as a plethora of biblical subjects, most of which can largely be anticipated, the twentieth century has seen the introduction of a few new and unusual subjects.

The development of powered flight from 1911 made possible the image of The Airman and the Jervis Bay as service memorials, and the discoveries leading to the modern science of nuclear physics are celebrated in the Marie Curie window at St. Paul’s Anglican Church, Frankston. Florence Nightingale is the subject of windows in Anglican churches at St. Peter’s, Brighton Beach.
Distinctly Australian themes are few in Melbourne and particularly rare in church windows. Occasionally, sprigs of wattle adorn a border, as in the *James Frances Corbett* window at St. Mary's Catholic Church, East St. Kilda or gum leaves form a canopy, a device used by Christian and Napier Waller to form the border of the *St. Luke* window in St. Stephen's, Darebin. In 1946, the Glendeary Grove Methodist Church, Malvern installed a three-light Honour Roll in which a gumnut design in the left-hand light and a wattle design in the right-hand light surrounded the names of the servicemen. The ornamentation of the central panel was the grapevine. All Soul's Anglican, Sandringham includes a window of *St. Francis* (1956) which places the saint in an Australian setting.

Since World War II, secular themes have increasingly been accepted into church windows. This is not apparent in the windows which follow the visual traditions of the nineteenth century, but becomes very apparent in the windows of the late twentieth century, which draw their artistic parameters from modernist ideas. One approach, which links Biblical ideas with contemporary images, is apparent in the eight nave windows in St. Oswald's Anglican Church, Glen Iris. The window, *The Gifts of Science and Technology*, depicts 'the gift of free inquiring minds [which] enables men and women to understand the laws of the universe, to grasp the patterns for well-being and growth, to develop communal life and individual care.'

**Distribution of Themes**

The selection of particular themes is generally dictated by denominational preferences. In the early years of the century, it is evident that denominational differences followed the pattern set in the nineteenth century, but there is a marked lessening of difference towards the latter part of the century.
As expected, images of Our Lady\textsuperscript{106}, St. Patrick, the Assumption and the Sacred Heart\textsuperscript{107} are only found in Catholic churches, but the Madonna and Child appears more frequently in Anglican rather than Catholic churches\textsuperscript{108}. Both Anglican and Catholic churches installed depictions of the Annunciation, although more examples appear in Anglican settings\textsuperscript{109}.

Principal events in the life of Christ occur in Protestant and Catholic churches in almost equal numbers, except for the Nativity, Crucifixion and Ascension, which appear more frequently in Anglican churches. Christ Blessing the Children is a firm favourite of Anglican congregations although five windows have been identified in Catholic settings\textsuperscript{110}.

Of the saints, St. Brigid, St. Patrick and St. Francis Xavier are only depicted in Catholic churches; St. Joseph is predominantly a Catholic image but a single window can be seen in the Anglican Church of St. Thomas', Essendon. St. Michael and St. George are seen in Protestant churches, St. Michael finding favour with Methodist, Anglican and Presbyterian alike; St. George, patron saint of England, is only found in Anglican churches, and St. Andrew is predominantly seen in Presbyterian churches, although two examples can be found in Anglican settings.

The Charity of Dorcas and Ruth are only seen in Protestant church windows, as is the Light of the World and the other Parables of Jesus, the Good Samaritan and the Good Shepherd. The Light of the World is most commonly seen in Anglican churches, while the Good Shepherd and Good Samaritan have been more often selected for Presbyterian and Methodist churches.

Data from Brooks Robinson & Co., the most prolific maker of Melbourne’s stained glass this century, indicates the likely distribution of windows by denomination\textsuperscript{111}, which largely follows the wider pattern of distribution in the nineteenth century\textsuperscript{112}. Table 1 shows a predominance of windows made for Anglican churches followed by Catholic, Presbyterian, Methodist and Congregational. A small number of windows were also made for the
Lutheran and Baptist churches and even a single window for the Welsh Church in Melbourne.

Windows for Anglican and Catholic churches were ordered in approximately equal numbers pre-1941, but post-1945 Anglican churches ordered significantly more windows. Numbers in the Methodist and Presbyterian denominations rise appreciably after World War II. The increase in windows ordered by Methodist churches from Brooks Robinson & Co. may be explained in part by the closure of the stained glass department at E. L. Yencken & Co. in 1940, the pre-war source of many Methodist and Presbyterian windows.

The most marked change over the course of the century is the gradual acceptance of historiated windows into the Methodist church. This is particularly evident after World War II when Methodist congregations selected a wide range of subjects, the most popular including *Follow Me*, a reflection of the evangelical character of the denomination, the *Good Shepherd* and the *Light of the World*. Ornamental and plain windows, which predominated before the war, were installed only in four suburban locations - Springvale, Burwood, Boronia and Highett. At the Girraween Chapel, Brighton, the change is made particularly striking as the two world war memorials have been installed side-by-side: the World War I window is a list of names, surrounded by a simple border, while the World War II memorial is an historiated tableau.

Although the total number of windows is not so great as other denominations, the Congregational and Baptist Church orders also show a marked increase. Of the twenty-two windows installed by Brooks Robinson in Congregational churches, twenty are Post-World War II additions. Unlike the Methodist installations, the windows in Congregational churches remain predominantly ornamental, embellished occasionally with symbols and service badges. The exceptions are three historiated windows: *Faithful Unto Death* at Canterbury, *Christ Walking on the Water* at Black Rock and the *Light of the World* at Brighton.

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The themes and subjects of church windows generally follow predictable patterns, dictated by liturgical practice and custom but more generally by contemporary taste and community attitudes. The central role of the church in daily life has lessened over the century and it no longer occupies a position of influence at either the personal or community level. The change of emphasis is reflected in the gradual secularisation of subjects for windows and the narrowing of biblical subjects to the easily identifiable and readily understood images.

The distinction between the Catholic and Protestant selections for stained glass have become less apparent, as is evident between the religions themselves. Nevertheless, discernible differences remain as indicated elsewhere in this chapter. The diminution of distinctions between the Methodist, Presbyterian and Congregational strands of the Protestant denominations enabled the formation of the Uniting Church in 1977, and is reflected in differences in Congregational, and Methodist glass imagery preceding and following the amalgamation.

Memorial windows make up the main corpus of glass in all churches, however, distinct changes in subject can be identified. The images of knights in armour representing the heroes of war, particularly St. George, or occasionally even the legendary Sir Galahad, were largely replaced after World War II with less overtly 'war-like' representations, such as I am the Way, Faith or Hope which looked to a future of life without war rather than to war itself. Other Second World War images focussed on the servicemen and depicted them naturalistically and in uniform as in the west windows of St. Peter’s Chapel, Melbourne Grammar School and the Littlejohn Memorial Chapel at Scotch College¹¹⁹.

The gradual inclusion of secular subjects and symbolism increases after the resurgence of interest in the crafts movement since the late 1960s. Practitioners in stained glass were entering the field from a range of backgrounds unrelated to either the commercial firms or the church and bringing an alternative approach to subjects and images¹²⁰. Some subjects used Biblical texts as the basis for
introduction of a secularised interpretation, as in the cycle of windows at the previously mentioned St. Oswald's, Glen Iris. A poem based on Biblical themes was the subject of a major cycle of nineteen windows at St. Michael's Uniting Church, Collins Street, Melbourne\textsuperscript{121} in which contemporary representations were interwoven with traditional themes. The introduction of images that can be readily interpreted by present-day congregations marks a shift from strictly Bible-based teaching to a church-going congregation increasingly concerned with community issues and the human condition.
Chapter 6: Sources of Twentieth Century Stained Glass Images

Over centuries of reinterpretation, the visual form of the principal biblical characters and events have become stylised and clearly recognisable to a worshipping congregation, well versed in the forms and rituals of the liturgy. Title or text becomes unnecessary to identify the principal characters: whether painting, sculpture or window, the image can be ‘read’ and understood by its intended audience.

Through long usage, figures are recognisable by their position in a composition, by attribute, or by association with an event. Artists reinterpreted Biblical representations from earlier periods and different cultures, creating and reinforcing archetypal images in a range of media, while at the same time bringing new insights and imagination to invigorate the images for a contemporary audience.

As shown in the preceding chapter, images in stained glass are predominantly taken from a limited range of Biblical texts, a range which has diminished over the last one hundred years as stained glass has become the province of commercial firms and no longer solely the prerogative of artists.

With the shift in emphasis from art to commerce has developed a reliance on reuse of images and less on new interpretations. The simplest sources for the stained glass firms were their own old cartoons, ably recycled for different audiences by the addition (or deletion) of borders, alternative colour schemes and size changes to fit new window apertures.

One example of a cartoon which was recycled many times over a period of years is the three-light, Sermon on the Mount, made by Brooks Robinson & Co. in the early 1900s and located in the south gallery of the Wesley Uniting Church, Lonsdale Street, Melbourne. The seated figure of Christ occupies the central light with small groups of figures in the flanking panels. The format of the grouping is sufficiently ambiguous to allow various elements to be recycled.
into scenes of *Christ Blessing the Children* as well as subsequent versions of the *Sermon on the Mount*.

For a two-light window at St Stephen’s Anglican Church, Richmond\(^1\), ordered in 1925, two rear figures were taken and re-worked into an enlarged *Christ Blessing the Children* and, in the same year, figures from the same cartoon were again used for a three-light window at St John’s, Camberwell\(^2\). The head of Christ from the *Sermon on the Mount* was used in versions of *Christ Blessing the Children*\(^3\), *Christ the Teacher*\(^4\) [Fig.79] and *Christ Preaching to the Multitudes*\(^5\) for three churches in South Australia. St. Andrew’s Presbyterian Church, Williamstown ordered a window of *Christ Blessing the Children* in which the figure of ‘Christ and the child looking up’ was recycled from the Wesley Church window and other figures incorporated from the St. Stephen’s, Richmond version\(^6\). Eventually, in 1951, St. Stephen’s ordered a two-light window of the *Sermon on the Mount*\(^7\) however, Brooks Robinson & Co. prudently selected another version to install alongside *Christ Blessing the Children*.

In 1929, a large four-light window was commissioned for St Columb’s Anglican Church, Hawthorn as a memorial to Randal James Alcock, lay canon of St. Paul’s Cathedral, to be erected in the important west window space\(^8\). The main image was the *Sermon on the Mount* [Fig.80 & 81] not only using the cartoon from Wesley Church yet again, but also another ten cartoons were raided for suitable images to make up the final composition\(^9\). Across the lower sections, the image is of *The Last Supper*.

The fresco of *The Last Supper* (1495-98) by Leonardo da Vinci has been the basis of many stained glass windows. Well-known to clergy, donors and congregations through reproductions, it was seen as the epitome of the High Renaissance, and when coupled with its importance in the life of Christ, was an exceptional image for interpretation in stained glass. Brooks Robinson used two versions of the image.
The Last Supper, usually a horizontal design, is an uncomfortable image to accommodate within the vertical window arrangement found in Neo-gothic churches. For the five-light west window at St John’s Uniting Church, Essendon (1928) [Fig.82], the difficulty was overcome by spreading the subject across the five lights and using a quarry background with extensive architectural canopies and bases to fill in the remaining space. The cartoon faithfully sets out the figures at the table in the ‘Leonardo’ manner, although some allowance has been made to accommodate the window mullions. This version was based on an earlier three-light window installed at the Naval Base, HMAS Cerberus at Crib Point in 1926\(^{10}\). The background to the seated figures deviates from the original fresco and an arrangement of round-headed windows replaces the original perspective diminishing towards the lighter window spaces behind Christ’s head. The Last Supper at St. Columb’s, Hawthorn also closely follows the Leonardo fresco, however, the background is once again altered and here resembles a landscape. The four-light format forces an asymmetric arrangement of figures and Christ appears in the second light from the left.

This second image of The Last Supper was the work of the nineteenth century Brooks Robinson artist, “Brown”. His cartoon was used at St Mary’s Star of the Sea, North Melbourne (1926)\(^{11}\) across the lower sections of the five-light north transept window of The Presentation, The Transfiguration and Christ Before the Doctors. [Fig.83] This version is more reminiscent of the work of Raphael\(^{12}\) than Leonardo as “Brown” has grouped his figures more tightly across the three central lights in groups of five either side of Christ with two disciples in the centre space. However, unlike Raphael’s Last Supper, Christ stands with right hand raised to bless the sacrament\(^{13}\).

A version of The Last Supper made for an unnamed Catholic church in Geelong in 1935\(^{14}\) has no clear antecedents, the details of the cartoon simply indicate that it was ‘photographed from print sent by client’ and may have been one of a number of prints of the Last Supper circulating at the time. To the client, this was a legitimate and convenient method of conveying their preference for a particular Biblical event or subject for their stained glass donation.
References in the Brooks Robinson & Co. job books suggest that the inspiration for a significant number of images came from print sources, Leonardo da Vinci’s *Last Supper* among them.

Prints had become a major form of visual mass communication during the nineteenth century, allowing a world-wide audience to glimpse the Old Masters and the most popular (though not always the best) of contemporary art. The selection of paintings for reproduction was by public vote at special exhibitions, inevitably resulted in genre images of sentimental appeal and sometimes limited artistic merit. Religious paintings were not immune from the tendency to sentimentality and poetic romanticism. Painters were also accused of painting for the Art-Union, a far more lucrative activity for many of them than selling the original work.

Many of the prints published by the burgeoning Art-Unions and private publishers found a ready market in the colonies, including Australia, where hundreds of engravings were distributed widely. In England, the proliferation of engravings was spurred on by a demanding ‘art conscious, or at least fashion conscious, middle-class public’ but the Australian market was broader and prints extending beyond the middle-class, reaching even the gold miners in the diggings.

Good quality engravings and later, photographs of art works were the mainstay and pride of magazines like *The Art Journal* and later *The Studio*, pictured sculpture, paintings, stained glass and furnishings. A series on ‘German Painters of the Modern School’ in *The Art Journal* ran for several issues and promoted the work of Cornelius, Overbeck, Schadow, Viet and Schnorr to a new audience. J. D. Cooper’s engravings of Overbeck’s *Christ Blessing Little Children* and *The Holy Family* show their suitability for translation into stained glass. Overbeck’s painting, a combination of ‘Catholic sentiment with Renaissance style’ was frequently directly translated into English stained glass of the 1850s. His influence was not as marked in Australia but the trend towards the pictorial windows that his work inspired was evident before the end of the nineteenth century.
One English maker, John Hardman exported an interpretation of Overbeck's *Visitation*\textsuperscript{27} to Australia for installation in Our Lady of Victories, Camberwell. The round-headed window is unusual as it shows the two husbands witnessing the women embracing.

Numerous nineteenth century editions of Bibles and Biblical commentaries contained engraved illustrations that were, in the Imperial Family Bible, 'selected with much care and research from the Works of the Old Masters, and from those of the existing Schools of painting on the Continent and in Britain'\textsuperscript{28}. The illustrations included Raphael’s *Madonna Sixtina* [Fig. 84 & 85], and *Suffer Little Children to Come Unto Me*\textsuperscript{29} engraved from the painting by Overbeck. Designed around the same time, but for a Catholic audience, Rutter’s *Life of Christ*\textsuperscript{30} was also 'embellished with splendid steel engravings'\textsuperscript{31} including Murillo’s *Annunciation*, Veronese’s *Nativity* and *Christ Bearing the Cross* by Scheffer. Copies of these and similar volumes were a part of the reference material held by the major stained glass artists and firms and were regularly consulted for clarification of texts and images.

At Brooks Robinson & Co., the modest library was kept in the office of the head of department, alongside Dancey’s oil painting of *The Crucifixion* and an opus sectile of *St. Matthew*. *Flight into Egypt*, a window for St. Mary’s Catholic Cathedral, Hobart was taken from a print source in *Christ’s Life in Pictures*, a book by an unknown author, kept in the office of the stained glass department\textsuperscript{32}. *Sacred Art: The Bible Story in Pictures by Eminent Modern Painters*\textsuperscript{33} was a regular source of images for Brooks Robinson’s stained glass cartoons. Images of the *Holy Family* and the *Charity of Dorcas* were transposed into cartoons for windows at Holy Trinity, Kew in 1929 and 1930 respectively\textsuperscript{34}, as were windows based on illustrations of *Marys at the Tomb*\textsuperscript{35} and *Ruth and Naomi*\textsuperscript{36}. Prominently featured as frontispiece of the book was William Holman Hunt’s *The Light of the World*\textsuperscript{37}, the most influential religious picture of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.
By the twentieth century, photogravure had superseded photolithography as an inexpensive, fast and accurate method of reproduction, but many of the illustrations in the newer books were simply photographs of the old engraved versions. Bibles came not only from Britain but also from America and local publications served a growing Australian market. Charles Foster's *The Story of the Bible from Genesis to Revelation, told in simple language for the young* was published in Melbourne by the Royal Publishing Company in 1884 and used engravings to extensively illustrate the work. The volume *Sixteen Masterpieces of Modern German Art* published in 1884 contained both etchings and photogravures, and the *Treasury of Catholic Doctrine* published in the early twentieth century was extensively illustrated using colour photolithography, engravings and photographs. Although the books that used photographic processes were more cheaply produced, the reproductions were often of an inferior quality and the same images of Old Masters and contemporary painters regularly reappeared.

The most popular of these images were also produced as postcards and votive pictures and could therefore be easily supplied by the client to the stained glass firm as the basis for a new cartoon. Brooks Robinson & Co. used images readily available through Catholic bookshops, such as Anthony Van Dyck's *Ecco Homo*, the *Sacred Heart* and *Our Lady*, as sources for numerous windows, particularly for country and interstate clients who would have found the postcard or votive picture a convenient method of conveying their requirements. A small, but significant number of schools and orphanages sent prints, possibly because the children would be sure to recognise and relate to the familiar images, already part of daily religious worship. The majority of prints were of saints, such as *St. Ann* (1930) and *St. Thomas Aquinas* (1931) at Sacred Heart, Kew; *St. Michael* at the Catholic Church, Rosanna (1938) and *St. Teresa* at St. Aloysius', Caulfield (1924).

Very few Biblical scenes were the subject of 'prints sent by clients', however local exceptions included *Maries at the Tomb* for St. Barnabas', Balwyn (1930); *Christ Stilling the Storm* for the Lutheran Church, East Melbourne (1936).
Supper at Emmaus for St. Agnes’, Carnegie (1937)51 and Woman at the Well for St. Columb’s, Hawthorn (1950)52. [Fig.86 & 87]

One of the most popular images in stained glass was Christ Blessing the Children, an image that was also popular in print form, often in small postcard format, for Sunday school use. Brooks Robinson’s cartoon of Christ Blessing the Children by “Brown” is reminiscent of the romantic religious painting, Christ Blessing Little Children, engraved by James Henry Watt in 1847, after a painting by Sir Charles Lock Eastlake dated 183953. The later image of Christ from Christ Blessing the Children by George Dancey, shows a strong resemblance to the head of Christ in Eastlake’s painting.

Some of the postcard versions were untitled and the artists unnamed, but three identifiable examples have been the source of historiated windows including Christ Blessing the Children for the Convent of Mercy at Geelong in 193054. Apart from the Overbeck engraving previously mentioned, an early twentieth century print of the painting by German artist, Bernard Plockhorst (1825-1907) was produced in large numbers by Brown-Robertson Co. Art Education, Inc., New York, and Hofmann’s Christ Blessing Little Children was published by The Perry Pictures, New York edition55.

By the twentieth century, Christ Blessing the Children had been reduced to a formula – the seated Christ surrounded by children of different ages and sizes, and their mothers, occasionally holding an infant. Although each interpretation differed slightly in the arrangement of figures, the result is a sentimental tableau bearing little of the intention conveyed in the title.

Another work by Hofmann, Christ and the Adulteress56 [Fig.88], was adapted for a stained glass window at St. Andrew’s Presbyterian Church, Gardiner57. Brooks Robinson & Co. renamed it He That is Without Sin58 [Fig.89 & 90], reduced the number of onlookers to suit the elongated window format and added extra cloth to the bodice of the young adulteress, however Hofmann’s painting clearly remains its parent source. It is an unusual selection when many versions that are more famous abound - Rembrandt, Titian and Tintoretto, among them.
However, in his rendering of *Christ Blessing Little Children* and *Christ and the Adulteress*, Hofmann captured the archetypal Christ, as popularised by William Holman Hunt in his *Light of the World*, and surrounded him with recognisably European figures. He was also responsible for adding to the myth with his own *Christus*, which was reproduced in a coloured postcard issued by the Brown-Robertson Co. It seems that these anglicised images appealed to and reflected the British background and orientation of the majority of an Australian audience.

References to a book, ‘Hoffman’s [sic] *Christ’s Life*’, appear in the pages of the Brooks’ job books. The image of *Christ Blessing the Children* appeared in this volume, as well as proliferating in postcard form and it was used for windows at the Methodist Church, Elsternwick and Presbyterian Church, Ivanhoe in 1928. Other images were taken from the book: *Boy Jesus with the Doctors* for Christ Church, Castlemaine and the lower figures for *Christ Bearing the Cross* at the Catholic Church, Port Fairy.

Multi-light windows required small infill stained glass pieces to be inserted in tracery and Brooks Robinson & Co. windows may often be recognised for the painted cherubim and seraphim which decorate many of their upper lights. A window for Trinity College Chapel, Parkville used Sir Joshua Reynolds’ ‘angels’ in the upper part of *St. Alban*, and cartoons of these small seraphim were used and re-used as decorative elements, usually in flashed and painted red glass.

Artists have always drawn from their visual experience to interpret images in stained glass. Alan Sumner filled dozens of scrapbooks and looseleaf folders with extraordinary numbers of images of people, animals, hands and feet, ornamentation and stained glass clipped from newspapers and magazines or collected on his travels. His library of Bibles and other textual sources was extensive and well used. One of his earliest windows is *David*, installed in Wesley Church, Frankston (c.1950), which bears a marked resemblance to *David, Pastor* from the Llandaff Triptych by D. G. Rossetti. Although the attitude and general demeanour of the figure are very similar Sumner’s *David* is
more muscular, but it does not achieve the vigour and rhythmic movement that is evident in Rossetti’s image. In the late 1940s, Alan Sumner was clearly attempting to interpret his own ideas into stained glass as he established his own studio from the remnants of E. L. Yencken’s pre-War business. The struggle was to take some years, and many of the early works show that he often drew from old cartoons and pictorial sources.65

Working earlier in the twentieth century, William Montgomery filled sketchbooks with his drawings from paintings and sculptures at the National Gallery, London and his travels in Europe. His ability to reproduce realist images is clearly evident in his surviving paintings and from the rich decoration, particularly the draping of the figures, in his stained glass. His windows are usually based on original material, but two examples can be traced to pictorial sources. Montgomery’s Naaman’s Wife (c.1918) in Scots Church, Collins Street is taken from a painting by T. W. W. Topham which was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1888, but also selected by Temple for his book, Sacred Art, published in 1898.67 [Fig.91] Even allowing for the simplification and compression necessary for stained glass, Montgomery has faithfully reproduced many details including the carving on the table, the floor tiling and the curtain behind the servant girl. [Fig.92] Another window at All Saints’ Chapel, Geelong Grammar School [Fig.93] is a direct copy of Sir Galahad, painted by G. F. Watts for another school, Eton College, in 1897.68 It is not clear whether Montgomery saw the original while in London or, more probably, had access to an engraving, but the likeness is complete. Queen’s College Chapel, Melbourne University has a similar Sir Galahad, clearly from the same painting source, but by a different hand at Brooks Robinson & Co.69 The idealised subject was considered ‘solemn and imaginative’ for a Victorian school setting, but although the legendary hero was considered an appropriate subject for a war memorial when installed at Geelong in the 1920s, it was beginning to collide with the secular subjects which would gradually infiltrate twentieth century church decoration.

Similar to Sir Galahad in its intention to evoke a sense of chivalry and sacrifice, Sir Edwin Poynter’s ‘pompier’ painting, Faithful Unto Death [Fig.94], provided a
model for a memorial to Methodist ministers at Wesley Church, Lonsdale Street, Melbourne. Made early this century, it conveys a sense of civic duty through the single staunch Roman figure. Poynter’s painting was more explicit, with distraught (and dead) civilians, distanced from their guard by a corridor and portal. [Fig.95]

Nineteenth century painting in the ‘pompiere’ style was a natural selection for interpretation in stained glass because of its noble sentiments, morality and nationalism. Subjects appear static or, if movement is intended, the moment of movement frozen and emotions never overly expressed. Emotional atmosphere, in so far as it exists, and it must always be remembered that the pompiere arouses emotion not by his painting but by what he is painting, is created by the arrangement of objects rather than the selection of colours, manipulation of textures, or exercise of the language of painting itself.72

The qualities attributed to this style of romantic painting suited the techniques of stained glass as well as serving the bourgeois tastes of donors. Its appeal lay in the blandness of the subject matter, which would appeal to a wide audience and offend no one.

Another of the sources of subjects for stained glass was the use of images that were from catalogues. The Brooks Robinson & Co. job books constantly refer to cartoons from the ‘Sears catalogues’, although no connection has been found that links them to the American company Sears Roebuck, famous for its mail order catalogues.73

Items from the ‘Sears’ catalogue were reproduced in the form of transparent images known as ‘Duffet’ slides, mounted between glass in much the same manner as lantern slides, although the size was larger, approximately 150mm. x 150mm. By the use of a process camera, the images were projected to the required window size and a new cartoon could be quickly produced on photosensitive paper. The catalogues may have contributed to the longevity of many of Brooks Robinson’s images, as the method allowed for a new cartoon to be made each time the older one wore out.
Cartoons that were stored in this format were numbered for easy access, for instance the *Ascension* Nos. 11 and 12; *Annunciation* Nos. 13 and 14; and Holman Hunt’s *Light of the World* was No.125 in the Sears catalogue. The system appears to have been updated at some time during the late 1920s as references are made to ‘Sears old system’ and numbers become erratic, suggesting both systems remained in use for some time.

Catalogues from other firms were probably kept in order to keep in touch with likely competition but they could also be the source of new material. In 1928, the Convent of the Good Shepherd in South Melbourne ordered a significant four-light window of the *Annunciation* and the *Visitation*. The *Annunciation* was ‘photographed from coloured print in Heaton, Butler and Bayne’s catalogue and remodelled’. Heaton, Butler & Bayne operated in England between 1860 and 1953 and several catalogues of their windows are known to have been produced.

Rather than deal in pictures from catalogues, Mathieson & Gibson chose to import most of their cartoons from England, and Mr. Gibson travelled regularly to Britain for this purpose. Unfortunately, the designers and sources of these cartoons remain unknown.

For the firms of the twentieth century, moving inexorably into the commercialisation of stained glass, the use of catalogues, re-use of cartoons, and re-working of engravings, illustrations and photographs into cartoons were methods of serving their clients by providing a well-tried and proven formula of traditional (usually nineteenth century) images.

Even the artists employed by the large firms largely saw it as a business and interpreted the images into glass from a stock of second- and thirdhand sources. The image of an ‘Old Master’ was rarely garnered from the original painting but from a reproduction of that painting, which itself might be derived from an earlier reproduction. The employees of the firms saw themselves as artisans making a decorative element for a building, not creating an original work of art.
In hindsight, one can see the lost opportunities to reinvigorate the art by those artists involved in the making of stained glass. ‘Jock’ Frater, head of the stained glass department at E. L. Yencken’s between 1914 and 1940, clearly saw his stained glass in terms of business and, although he designed his own windows, he felt continually constrained by the needs of clients.

Alan Sumner’s experience as a craftsman in the firm of E. L. Yencken was, in his own view, a totally separate activity to his work as a painter of the developing Modernist school in Melbourne of the 1930s. He was echoing the opinion of his colleague, ‘Jock’ Frater. It was only when Alan Sumner began the establishment of his studio in Collingwood in the late 1940s that the twin demands of art and craft collided in his work. He soon realised the ways of the firm would not satisfy his artistic ideals and set about developing a personal expression of his ideas on Modern art through the medium and craftsmanship of stained glass. He quickly gave away the use of old cartoons and stereotypical images and embraced an innovative and imaginative approach that reflected the principals of Modernism.
Chapter 7: The Light of the World

‘One of the most celebrated religious pictures ever painted’¹ is how Jeremy Maas sums up the *Light of the World* [Fig.96], originally painted by William Holman Hunt between 1851 and 1853 and exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1854² it is now housed at Keble College, Oxford. As well as becoming a religious phenomenon in its own right, it inspired a generation of stained glass artists and remains popular more than a century later³.

There are two examples of the subject known to exist prior to Holman Hunt’s painting: Philip Veit’s *Christ Knocking on the Door of the Soul*, exhibited Munich 1826 of which engravings and a drawing were made, and a copy after a lost etching *Behold I Stand at the Door* in the style of Overbeck⁴. [Fig.97]

William Holman Hunt (1827-1910) was a religious man who believed that ‘Christianity was ... the sublime ethical formula that alone could redeem the world’⁵. Hunt’s form of religion leant towards the Evangelical movement of the time and this is evident in his literal conception of the Bible, his insistence on strict morality, and his use of typological symbolism⁶. In this, he did no more than reflect the preoccupation of the general British population, which was experiencing a period of religious fervour.

At the start of the nineteenth century, the Non-Conformist movement continued to flourish, but the Anglican clergy were largely content within ‘their fortress of tradition’⁷. The need for reform of their moribund religious practices was only recognised by the threat of interference from the British Parliament. Through the Oxford Movement, Keble, Newman, Pusey and others sought to reassert the authority of the Church and wrote scholarly *Tracts for our Times* (1833-41) which spread their thoughts and concerns on theological and ecclesiastical issues to a wide clerical and lay audience. When Newman and others seceded to Rome, panic gripped the Church of England but it also created enough angst to spark a genuine religious revival.
As was to be expected, the revival first stimulated the High Church party. Anglican clergy, who had been influenced by the Tractarians to study and revive the ancient usages of the pre-Reformation church, began to wear surplices and vestments in place of the plain, black gown; to light candles on the altar; to use incense and to restore the confessional. These men were in no way deterred by the disapproval of Queen Victoria or the attempt of the Disraeli government to stop the new practices by act of parliament. Even those who disliked what Disraeli used to call ‘ritualistic high jinks’ felt the effect of the Oxford Movement. Nor could they truthfully deny that the whole Anglican Church had experienced a stirring of the spirit which was to be of lasting benefit.

As a result, the Victorians became ... ‘far more regular both in private prayer and public worship than ...their eighteenth century forebears’. At home, the family Bible indicated readings for each day and at school, a strongly religious atmosphere prevailed.

The painting of the *Light of the World* is based on a text from the New Testament, Revelation 3:20: ‘Here I am! I stand at the door and knock. If anyone hears my voice and opens the door, I will come in and will sup with him, and he with me’. This was one of a number of Hunt’s paintings which used religious themes or allegories. Maas has suggested that this was intended to be one of a series of works which glorified God with almost ‘missionary zeal’.

The phrase which Hunt used for the title of his painting is mentioned several times in the Bible. Maas believes that Hunt’s painting is consistent with the reference in John 12.46 ‘I am come a light into the world, that whosoever believeth on me should not abide in darkness’ however the precise wording can be traced to John 8:12 - ‘I am the light of the world’.

The title of a painting was considered quite as important as the subject and content of the work to the Victorian painter and the public alike. Artists went
to great lengths to select appropriate titles which would capture the imagination of the viewing and buying public and catapult the work to stardom\textsuperscript{14}. Success did not always follow however, and it was only after a long letter from John Ruskin to \textit{The Times}\textsuperscript{15}, explaining the symbolism of the \textit{Light of the World} and championing the ‘principal Pre-Raphaelite picture in the Exhibition of the Royal Academy...’ that it began to be accepted. Even then criticism of the painting continued, possibly enhancing its reputation, as people flocked to see it.

It was the translation of the painting into the popular engraved print medium which gave it world-wide appeal. Copyright of the painting was bought by Ernest Gambart and the services of William Henry Simmons engaged to undertake engraving the plates and the first prints were distributed late in 1860. Gambart was an astute businessman and he exploited the good market for prints amongst the burgeoning middle-classes. He maximised his opportunities by exhibiting the painting throughout Britain and had his agent on hand at all venues to receive orders for the engraving\textsuperscript{16}.

The fame of the painting spread and Australians purchased the engraving, along with the rest of the world, by subscription. It was extraordinarily successful\textsuperscript{17} and began, from this time to evolve as an ‘iconographical entity, quite distinct from the original picture’\textsuperscript{18}. In time, William Holman Hunt’s image became regarded as the archetypal Christ, one which was used by poets, writers and artists, but more especially accepted into general religious sentiment and popular culture.

As a painting of the Victorian period, the \textit{Light of the World} illustrated an important scriptural message through narrative and it conveyed a highly symbolic representation of Christ through an aesthetic sensibility. The representation of light on canvas made it a logical choice of subject for stained glass. The translation allowed for a greater brilliance to be achieved by the passage of daylight through gold and white glass and an opportunity to exploit fully the religious significance of ‘light’ as a symbol for God/Jesus Christ.
An early example of the *Light of the World* in stained glass is part of a three-light west window at St Peter’s Anglican Church, Merino. [Fig. 98] It was made by Ferguson & Urie of Melbourne in 1866-67. The stance of Christ, with His head slightly forward and inclined towards the door, right hand raised to knock, the folds of the robes and the distinctive clasp at the neck clearly identify the source as William Holman Hunt’s *The Light of the World*. Particularly convincing is the lantern, which matches the Hunt original in all respects. It is likely that Ferguson & Urie had access to the engraving or had seen the painting in England. However, Ferguson & Urie have made some changes in transposing the painting/engraving to glass. The night landscape of Holman Hunt’s background has been changed to a flat blue plane and matted with a light vine pattern, similar to floral embroidery. Christ’s simple gold band has been altered to a red/gold cruciform halo and patterning has been added to Christ’s simple robe. All are characteristic of Ferguson & Urie’s work of the period and allow the eye to focus on reading the image of Christ, particularly in this instance where the panel is set in the upper section of a tall light.

Writing in *The Art Annual* more than forty years after the painting was first shown, Archdeacon Farrar and Mrs. Meynell reiterate Ruskin’s praise and are moved to ask ‘who has not been haunted …. by the pathetic majesty of that awful figure, and the depth of passion and tenderness in the glowing eyes?’ Engravings were now reproduced in quantity photographically, and the *Light of the World* retained its popularity.

It was bolstered considerably by a tour of a larger second version throughout the world. Australia was included as part of an itinerary which included Canada, New Zealand and South Africa. The exhibition opened in Adelaide in 1906 and was immediately an astonishing success, particularly with the predominantly Anglican middle-class that numbered nearly 800,000 in 1901. The Methodists, surprisingly, made up a larger than anticipated proportion of the viewing public.

This enthusiasm for the painting was reflected in increasing orders for stained glass. The *Light of the World* became immensely popular and between 1901
and 1988, hundreds of windows were installed in Melbourne churches. While
the bulk of windows reside in Anglican churches; examples can be seen in
Presbyterian, Methodist and Congregational (now mostly Uniting) churches.
Early examples from the turn of the century include a three-light interpretation
by Brooks Robinson & Co installed in the north transept of Christ Church, St.
Kilda. The Light of the World [Fig.99] is the subject of the central light and is
flanked by angels kneeling in the two outer lights. The proportional height of
the windows has been 'modified' by the addition of patterned canopy work and
a tessellated base panel. The three lights have been visually united by a modest
ogee-shaped architectural canopy. The selection of colours for the robes seems
to have been made in the interests of design and little attempt made to conform
to Hunt's colour scheme. The cloak remains red, patterned to suggest
embroidery, but a dusky pink glass has been used for the robe and gold cuffs
finish the sleeves. The window is a memorial to Mr. F. Grey-Smith, prominent
St. Kilda resident, Vestryman and Treasurer of the Parish.

The same cartoon was used for the central panel of St. John's Anglican Church,
East Malvern (c.1910)[Fig.100] where the colouring of the garments more closely
follows those in the original painting - white robe (with gold cuffs) and a deep
red cloak.

Stained glass windows interpreted by Brooks Robinson & Co. from the W.
Holman Hunt painting can be seen across Australia. A window sent to Hobart
in 1925 was a simplified version and had none of the architectural ornament
which frames the window at St. John's, East Malvern. The same version was
sent to Thompson & Harvey in Adelaide twice (1927) and (1933). In 1933
Wesley Central Mission, Lonsdale Street, Melbourne, ordered windows for the
Hoban Chapel, including the Light of the World [Fig.101] for the central window.
A new cartoon was drawn, with a new architectural canopy. It seems to have
inspired interest from other Wesleyans and two versions were ordered for
Methodist churches shortly afterwards: Scott Street, Dandenong (1933); Oxley
Road, Auburn (1935); Neil Street, Ballarat (1936). The Independent Church
(Congregational), Collins Street also installed a copy with background based
on the Hobart cartoon.
One of the last *Light of the World* windows to be made prior to World War II was for St. Andrew’s Presbyterian Church, Gardiner⁴⁰ [Fig.102] as a memorial to Rev. John Gray M.A., B. Ed., Minister of the church from 1921 to 1932⁴¹. It is one of the more faithful representations with the design of the lantern and embroidered cloak and clasp closely following Hunt’s painting. A simplified interpretation of the orchard fills the background and an apple lies at Christ’s feet. Unlike the painting, a crescent moon has been added to the sky, effectively removing the ambiguity of the halo/moon. The architectural canopy used in earlier versions has been replaced with the intertwining grapevine pattern, which was a popular canopy device at Brooks Robinson in the 1930s. The overall effect is vegetal and bright.

In the early 1900s, the popularity of the painting and engraving of the *Light of the World* ensured that clients generally preferred the Holman Hunt model, but not all the extant examples follow this interpretation. Brooks Robinson & Co. had at least two alternative cartoons to the ‘Holman Hunt’ version, one of which was drawn by the artist George Dancey when he worked closely with Brooks Robinson & Co. in the early years of this century. While there are significant differences between the two cartoons (which are outlined below), the similarity of the images indicates that W. Holman Hunt’s painting was the inspiration for Dancey’s version. This cartoon gradually superseded the W. Holman Hunt one as the most popular version⁴².

Dancey’s figure of Christ is turned towards the door and appears to look beyond the viewer, in contrast to the W. Holman Hunt figure which faces, and almost (on occasions) confronts the viewer with an arresting look. As in the W. Holman Hunt, Dancey’s Christ carries a lantern in the left hand and reaches to knock with the right. However, Dancey has omitted the worldly crown and retained only the simple crown of thorns around the head. He has chosen to signal Christ’s kingship by draping his figure in richly coloured and gold-edged robes, skilfully and voluminously draped over the body⁴³.
One of the earliest known examples[^44] of the George Dancey *Light of the World* was installed in the nave of St. Peter’s Anglican Church, Mornington around 1907. [Fig.103] It is an ornate window with predominantly white and gold glass used in the canopy, side columns and base. The upper ornament is decorated with an angel bearing a lute; the lower section has two angels bearing a scroll plate which reads ‘I am the Light of the World’. The finely modelled features of Christ’s face are emphasised by using a white and gold decorated halo. The result is a rich and decorative mixture of colour and form.

It is noticeable however, that the rich symbolism of the W. Holman Hunt painting is significantly diminished. Here, the door is almost beyond the confines of the frame and indistinguishable from the background; the halo is unambiguous and the lantern, while it does have a simple cross is not the symbol-laden seven-sided image it once was. The focus on Christ’s face is certainly more appealing[^45] than its more mysterious forebear[^46], but it tends to be even more sentimental.

The growing popularity of this version may lie with its greater appeal to a congregation (and client) less versed in the symbolism of the original painting, less oriented to its British heritage (if only marginally, after World War I) and increasingly more concerned with decoration of the church environment.

Examples of later Dancey versions of the *Light of the World* show little deviation from the basic cartoon, but there are inevitably details of difference created by client requirements and the size and proportion of the window space.

It is noticeable that the majority of the W. Holman Hunt and Dancey *Lights of the World* have architectural canopies[^47] and bases. It was a common device in nineteenth century Neo-gothic church buildings and, as many of these windows were placed to infill plain glazing in the nave, the custom continued in the interests of architectural unity in the early decades of the twentieth century. On occasions, the canopy threatens to overwhelm the image, as at St. John’s Highton, Geelong [Fig.104], where the canopy and base take up more than one-third of the available window space.
Inevitably, colours of garments differ from example to example and although the robe generally remains a fairly neutral green, white or pink (sometimes all three) and the cloak usually a deep red (Mornington, Frankston and Highton), it appears as very deep, rich purple at The Anglican Church of St. John the Evangelist, Heidelberg. [Fig.105] In one instance sighted the lantern has been replaced with the W. Holman Hunt original and in another the nimbus has been entirely removed.

However, the changes to the original Dancey cartoon are minor and the differences appear to be in the mood of the interpretation. Dancey has provided a kindlier, less foreboding Light of the World, and yet in some cases there has been an attempt to recreate the more mysterious aspects of W. Holman Hunt in windows produced from this newer cartoon.

The Dancey Light of the World at St. John’s, Heidelberg (1925) [Fig.106] is a much darker version than at St. Peter’s, Mornington. This has been created by the use of deep purple for the cloak and by painting a large proportion of the face, hands and garments with a black rather than a brown paint, a technique used again for the window at Wesley Church, Frankston in 1939. [Fig.107] The method of paint application differs, as the darker version appears grainy and thick in comparison to the finer application on the earlier St. Peter’s window. The lighter style appears again at St. John’s Anglican Church, Highton, Geelong in 1927 and at Christ Church, Hawthorn about 1930. [Fig.108]

This suggests that at least two ‘hands’ were involved in work on ‘flesh painting’ at Brooks Robinson over this period and these differences may reflect each glass painter’s individual ability and painting style as well as the client’s requirements.

A third interpretation of the Light of the World was used infrequently and only between 1940 and 1954. The few examples discovered so far show a version which has moved even further from the ideals of W. Holman Hunt when he contemplated the original painting.
The head of Christ is in profile and the figure is turned towards the door, the left hand holding a lantern and the right hand raised to knock on the door - the reverse of the earlier versions. This seems a stooping, timid knock, and well removed from Holman Hunt's raised hand or Dancey's entreaty. Christ's head has no halo and he is dressed very simply in a girdled robe. Whether its simplicity was a requirement of the first client is unclear, however the Methodist church may not have relished the opulent Dancey interpretation.

Close examination of the cartoon shows that the cartoon was undoubtedly a compilation of other cartoons, a common practice at Brooks Robinson. The head of Christ has been taken from another old Dancey cartoon, Christ Blessing the Children, and the lantern is from the St. Peter's Mornington / Dancey version of the Light of the World. The symbolism is almost non-existent in version #3 and the image has become mere decoration.

One of the few examples of Brooks Robinson's version #3 is in St James the Less Anglican (old church) at Mount Eliza, installed sometime between 1941 and 1946. Brooks Robinson had heightened the colour range of glass and bright colours - particularly red and green for garments - were commonly used in combination with bright graduated blue/purple skies in the backgrounds. Similarly, in the Uniting Church, Clifton Hill, installed in 1952, high colour and contrast have been used to inject the window with drama and life. Brightly coloured and without ornament, it typifies much of the Brooks Robinson work of this period.

The Light of the World was made by other firms and artists including Mathieson & Gibson who operated in Melbourne in the 1930s and 1940s. Their cartoon was loosely based on the Holman Hunt but was usually severely modified to suit the window spaces. At the Anglican Church of Christ the King, Ballarat, the single nave light is tall and narrow, and the figure of Christ cramped into the width. The lantern follows the Hunt model but it is no longer chained to the wrist of Christ - another instance of the symbolism being lost in the interests of decorative expediency. The upper and lower sections are
exceedingly decorative: a dove and climbing rose canopy form a lancet-shape over Christ's head. Mathieson & Gibson selected high colour for the predominantly red and purple cloak that contrasts sharply with a pale face and almost white robe. Mathieson & Gibson's climbing rose design was probably seen by the firm as an innovation, in a similar way to the vine and grape design introduced at this time by Brooks Robinson.

At E. L. Yencken & Co., William Frater designed a *Light of the World* (c.1930) as a memorial to Rev. H. H. J. Norwood⁵⁵. Frater has broadly followed Holman Hunt's format, possibly using the third painting as his model. Christ's slim form is accentuated by the heavily folded, unembellished garment, loosely knotted at the neck. The stance differs from Holman Hunt's with the weight placed on the left leg, making the figure appear to be turning away from the door. The disengagement with the activity is reinforced by Christ's head, which is no longer inclined towards the door.

The same cartoon was used as a memorial for another clergyman, Thomas Randall, at Holy Trinity Anglican Church, Oakleigh, one of a pair of lights in the sanctuary. While the setting clearly follows the Holman Hunt model, it has been influenced and modified by Arts & Crafts practice.

The number of requests for *Light of the World* windows remained remarkably steady, particularly at Brooks Robinson & Co., where an average of four windows per year were ordered during the forty years between 1924 and 1964. A slight peak can be seen to coincide with the post-World War II period of the 1950s which correlates with a general increase in interest in stained glass for service memorials and less frequently for new church buildings. After Brooks Robinson closed in 1966 Joseph Stansfield, the former head of the stained glass department, completed orders for the *Light of the World*⁶⁶ and other studios continue to receive requests for new examples of the window⁵⁷.

The symbolism of the window was increasingly diminished as studios used and re-used old cartoons and as the understanding of religious iconography and significance has also diminished over the century. Studio practice at Brooks
Robinson had degenerated to a commercial enterprise which had little interest in new interpretations of a proven success. Artist/managers of the stained glass department had little opportunity to use their skills when their clients demanded the traditional image.

The *Light of the World* phenomenon in stained glass is not easily explained, but it is recognised as an image which several generations of Australians have accepted as the archetypal Christ image. Its popularity in Australia is far greater than in any other country, including Britain.
Chapter 8: Modernism in Stained Glass

While the commercial firms continued to fulfil window commissions according to the requirements of largely conservative clients and in much the same way that had been done in the nineteenth century, there were opportunities for stained glass to embrace the new concerns, already being explored in painting and architecture.

Napier and Christian Waller and Australian Modernism

William Frater had made a brief, unsuccessful attempt to introduce Arts & Crafts concepts into the commercial glass field, but it was Mervyn Napier Waller (1893-1972) and his wife Christian Yandell Waller (1894-1956) who brought new life to an ossifying art form, believing that stained glass (and mosaic), used symbolically and sensitively, offered the same scope for self-expression as was possible from painting.

Napier Waller had established his artistic reputation through his paintings, murals and linocuts before his work in stained glass began. It was the untimely death of William Montgomery in 1927 which gave Napier (and most probably Christian) the commission to complete the Edward Stevens window for Melbourne University's Wilson Hall. His ability to work on a monumental scale was proven through the completion of several large-scale murals prior to the Stevens commission. He was also familiar with the specialist skills required for stained glass through his association with the Montgomery family but his experience was limited and Brooks Robinson & Co. were engaged to complete the construction of the window in February 1928. Waller's contribution was sufficiently recognised for him to be commissioned to design the John E. Leckie window for the western embrasure.

In 1929 Napier and Christian Waller travelled to England to study stained glass at the premier Arts & Crafts studio, Whall & Whall Limited with Veronica Whall (1887-1967), who had assumed control of the firm after the death of her father, Christopher Whall, in 1924.
One of the first windows to be completed on the Waller’s return to Melbourne, was the service memorial to John and George Russell Bell in All Saints’ Chapel, at Geelong Grammar School. Installed in 1931, the windows picture Thomas Arnold and William of Wykeham in two lights, both highly appropriate subjects for boys’ School Chapel. The left-hand light shows the benign and noble headmaster of Rugby School, papers in hand, and a small schoolboy looking up towards him. In the right-hand light the figure of William, the founder of the public school system places his right hand on the head of a boy who reads from his bible. Waller has incorporated images of the colleges these men founded in the background, and Wykeham’s contribution to the establishment of English Perpendicular Gothic architecture is celebrated in his imaginatively designed staff.

The influence of the Whall studio is immediately apparent, as the adjoining pair of windows, St. Giles and St. Francis, are the work of Christopher Whall.

Whall’s influence can be seen in the treatment of the Bell borders where the traditional architecture has been replaced with the stems and foliage of Arts & Crafts windows. The figures have the gritty painting technique reminiscent of Whall, but Waller’s draughting ability and understanding of human anatomy give his subjects a robust strength and solidity, which is not apparent in the adjoining Whall window.

Although Waller follows the traditional pose and placement of the single saint, even in this early example there are elements of the compositional devices and details that make Waller’s work distinctive. Symbolic references are incorporated into the detail of each panel enriching the visual and religious meaning.

A window at Wesley Church, Lonsdale Street, Melbourne, completed in 1935 has four lights, each containing the single image of an Old Testament figure, Abram, Isaiah, Amos and Jonah. Waller has moved beyond the earlier Arts & Crafts influences of the Bell memorial at Geelong and has embraced elements of Art Deco style. This is most obvious in the style of lettering and...
the distinctly angular cut and lead lines which break up the figures and background. Although the limbs of Waller's figures are strongly drawn and finely detailed, the forms lack the realism of the earlier work at Geelong Grammar, becoming more elongated and tending towards abstraction.

They no longer stand in a landscape, amid grass and flowers but are firmly placed on a suggestion of turf and distant buildings are only alluded to within the two-dimensional setting of the glass. Waller has reduced the background colour to whites rising to blues above the figures, and each figure has a coloured outer garment over a plain robe in neutral tones.

Napier Waller did not continue to pursue an overtly Art Deco style but developed a personal interpretation which integrated many of its simplifications but with realistic figuration. Many of his windows based on the single figure maintained the simplified backdrop but identified the figures as individuals with character, for instance, in the Hall of Memory at the Australian War Memorial, Canberra\textsuperscript{10}, in his portrait windows at St. Stephen’s, Darebin\textsuperscript{11} and Christ Church, South Yarra\textsuperscript{12} and in Holy Trinity, Williamstown\textsuperscript{13}.

Possibly the most successful of Napier Waller's Melbourne windows to use the single figure is the three-light \textit{Transfiguration} (1952) in St. Mark's Anglican Church, Camberwell [Fig.118], installed 'in memory of the men and women of the Church ... who served in World War I and World War II'\textsuperscript{14}. Designed around the same time as his great services monument at the Australian War Memorial, it bears similarities in design and colour selection, despite differences in scale and concept. Waller has successfully captured the religious significance of the \textit{Transfiguration} and powerfully portrayed it in its correct Biblical context\textsuperscript{15}. The composition pivots around the image of Christ, 'his raiment ... white as the light'\textsuperscript{16}, flanked by Moses and Elias in the outer lights. The disciples, Peter, James and John crouch in the lower sections of each light as the voice of God speaks. Napier Waller has visually separated them from the bewildering phenomenon by means of an 'intervening belt of cloud'\textsuperscript{17}. Similar to the Wesley Church window, the colour is predominantly made up of whites rising
through a range of blues to the upper tracery where the Trinity shines out of the deepest blue. The central form of this small image is the crucified Christ.

The image of the Crucifixion is a recurring one in Napier Waller's œuvre and between 1941 and 1957 he completed four windows that show the development towards his mature style and the repetition of particular design devices within his work. In each of the single lights, an image of Christ on the Cross is placed centrally in the panel, occupying the width of the space at a point below the spring line of the window head. Christ's arms, nailed to the cross are positioned close to the external border.

The first of the single-light windows was for St. Bartholomew's Church, Norwood in South Australia, completed in 1941\(^\text{18}\). The image of Christ is drawn looking upwards towards the lighter tones in the top of the window where the Holy Spirit in the form of the dove hovers above the scroll, 'In Hac Salus'. The influence of the Art Deco style is apparent in the vertical-leading pattern and abstract building forms of the background. A centurion stands in the left-hand side of the panel, partly obscured by the border and the haloed heads of the mourners, including Mary and St. John, are placed at the foot of the cross in the lower section of the window. Each of the five heads is in profile and sharply outlined by the white and gold of their haloes. The dedication runs across the base of the window. The colouring is muted by the use of greys and browns, effectively tied together by the light at the top and base of the window.

The devices that make this an outstanding example of Napier Waller’s ability to combine many elements of design successfully were repeated in the Crucifixion [Fig.119] at St. John’s, Heidelberg installed in the west end of the nave in 1947. Vestiges of Art Deco remain in the small section of background ‘sky’ in the head of the window, but the participants in the Easter story now fill the sections on either side of the central cross where Christ is depicted with His head bowed. Again, Waller has used only the heads of priests, Pilate, the mourners and soldiers to express the roles they played in the drama [Fig.120] through gesture and extracts from biblical texts to deliver a complex narrative of the event. The
sombre sense of occasion is enhanced by the subtle use of a limited colour range, mainly blues, greys and mauves with only touches of livelier colour.

The Crucifixion (1949) at St. Peter's, Eastern Hill occupies the central panel of a multi-scene World War II memorial. Although the image is smaller than the previous examples Christ is clearly remains the focus of the three-light window. Full figures, in profile, are used to border the cross form, and disciples and prophets gaze out from the upper section of each window, almost as a replacement of the architectural canopy.

The format of the Crucifixion (1957) window for St. Mark’s, Camberwell [Fig.121] follows the earlier windows but lacks a sense of occasion and strength of design. Christ is drawn, head bowed, with the partly obscured figures of the mourners and a centurion ranged on either side of the cross. [Fig.122] The figures in the lower window and white banners either side of the cross effectively form the border. The development of a brighter and more varied palette, apparent in the St. Peter’s window, is even bolder in this later window with its greater dependence on colour to realise the design. The strong verticality of the Norwood and Heidelberg windows has been replaced by larger glass pieces and less detail in both the figures and the background design.

Christian Waller was a painter, print-maker and book illustrator before becoming involved in the designing and making of stained glass. After more than three years in the Drawing and Painting classes at the National Gallery School, Melbourne, she exhibited with the Victorian Artists’ Society (1915 to 1922). Despite the critical success of her book of linocuts, The Great Breath, printed in 1932, she switched her focus almost entirely to stained glass.

The apparent similarity between Napier’s and Christian’s work, and the fact that they sometimes collaborated on projects, has caused some incorrect attributions and many of Christian’s windows, sometimes even those signed by her, have been credited to her husband. This is not surprising as superficially their windows have elements in common, such as the head in profile, the grainy texture of the earlier painting style and the occasional use of a different related
image in a base panel\textsuperscript{24}. Both artists, in the Arts & Crafts tradition, avoided using the architectural canopy and base as a means to fill space or divide a taller light.

Although Napier Waller's windows contain symbolic references, he relies more on the portrayal of the image, particularly the strength and personality of his individual players, than Christian who weaves symbolic references in intricately detailed and expressive treatment of images. Her most successful windows give an impression of the deep thought and the strong personal philosophy behind her work.

Christian Waller brought her many interests together through her stained glass. The interest in theosophy in her earlier years has been well documented\textsuperscript{25} and it lead her towards other interests in contemporary art movements – Symbolist, Arts & Crafts, Art Nouveau and later, Art Deco, using elements of all to give form and meaning to her windows. Her illustrations and linocuts, as well as her stained glass, show how adept she was at paring down images to their essence and how expertly she used line as a vehicle for the interpretation.

The bulk of Christian Waller's work was completed in the 1930s and 1940s when her interest in theosophy had broadened into a wider spiritual awareness. Some of Christian Waller's most impressive work is contained in the small panels made during this period. Dynamic lines of colour and lead recur throughout her work, but are particularly effective in the intense and compact designs at Littlejohn Memorial Chapel, Scotch College, \textit{St. Peter's Sermon on the Morning of Pentecost}\textsuperscript{26}, and the baptistery windows in All Saint's Chapel, Geelong Grammar School [Fig.123 & 124] and St. Paul's, Frankston\textsuperscript{27}. [Fig.125 & 126]

In each of the examples above, the treatment of lead lines on the figures follows a predictable pattern but this static line work is in contrast with strong arcs of colour and lead in the backgrounds. Her use of colour is subtle and complex and she confidently juxtaposes unusual plain and streaky glasses, often in quite small pieces, to achieve the desired emotional and design results.
In the baptistery windows at Geelong Grammar, *His Banner Over Me Was Love*\(^{28}\) and *The Light Shineth in Darkness*\(^{29}\), the panels gradually lighten from deep colouring below towards the light glowing through the colour in the upper window. It is this combination of light and colour, which she controlled to great effect that gives Christian Waller’s windows a sense of powerful symbolism\(^{30}\). In an earlier, less colourful window, *St. Giles* at St. Giles’ Murrumbeena, this technique was used to focus on the saint who looks upward and beyond the window, apparently into the light\(^{31}\).

The selection of unusual texts for the baptistery windows at Geelong was not uncommon in Christian’s work. Commissioned to execute a window of St. Francis at Queen’s College, Parkville, she chose as her ‘text’, *Song of St. Francis*, (1936)\(^{[Fig.127]}\) representing him as a joyous monk with his hands uplifted in praise.

In the windows made later in her career for St. Mark’s, Camberwell (c.1948), there appeared a more naturalistic approach to the figures, and less attention to the previous dynamism of her backgrounds. The single figures, filling most of the frame, were set against simple geometric backgrounds, using larger pieces of glass. Despite the references to Art Deco in the glass and lead line treatment, Christian Waller retained elements of the Arts & Crafts style: her figures stand on rocks and grass, there are occasional glimpses of flowers and a rabbit nestles near the foot of *St. John*. \(^{[Fig.128]}\) The figures in profile, *St. John*\(^{32}\) and *St. Luke*, are stately and imposing, in marked contrast to the images of *St. Andrew, Florence Nightingale* and the airman, *Andrew Seton Campbell* \(^{[Fig.129]}\) who all face towards the viewer in benign and rather informal stances. There is a sense of the lives beyond the image in all these windows, far removed from the repetitive formula windows of the commercial makers.

Christian Waller’s fine contribution to the stained glass of the twentieth century, particularly in the inter-war years, is an equally important contribution to the fabric and decoration of churches as that of Napier Waller, however it is only recently that she has received public attention and recognition of her achievement in stained glass\(^{33}\).
Napier and Christian Waller worked extensively with architects, principally for the Anglican denomination through Louis R. Williams, the most prolific church architect and responsible for the Melbourne Anglican Diocese\textsuperscript{34}. Christian's abilities were particularly admired by Williams\textsuperscript{35} and more than half her windows were for churches with which he was associated\textsuperscript{36} including Geelong Grammar School Chapel, St. Paul's, Frankston and St. Stephen's, Darebin\textsuperscript{37}.

The work of twentieth century architecture is beyond the scope of this study, however the importance of the collaboration between architect and artist is a significant factor in the quality and congruity of some of the best glass for architecture.

Early Modern architects such as Harold Desbrowe Annear and Walter Burley Griffin struggled to introduce an architecture of and for the twentieth century – a style that was not unduly dependent on historic influences and one that responded to new technologies and place\textsuperscript{38}. By the end of the 1930s clear evidence of Modernism could be seen in Melbourne schools, office buildings, hospitals, factories and, to a limited extent, housing\textsuperscript{39}. But church architects failed to respond to the same ideas and technologies, reflecting instead the conservative nature of religious institutions by predominantly continuing the Gothic Revival\textsuperscript{40} of the nineteenth century with all its symbolic associations.

Between the wars, Melbourne housing expanded outwards to such places as Caulfield, Coburg, Essendon, Heidelberg and Sandringham, prompted by the acute shortage of inner-city housing and encouraged by the extension of the public transport system\textsuperscript{41}. New churches, such as All Soul's, Sandringham (1919-21), St. Mark's, Camberwell (1927-8) and St. Monica's, Moonee Ponds (1934) were conceived in various shades of Gothic, as was considered appropriate by their congregations.

The 'baby boom' period after World War II, bolstered by unprecedented post-war migration, had a similar, if more dramatic impact on Melbourne's sprawling suburbs. Gradually, new churches were built as families settled into the
burgeoning suburbs - Reservoir, Pascoe Vale, Bentleigh, Moorabbin, Frankston, Waverley and Bayswater among them. But by the 1950s and 1960s, Neogothic was almost entirely rejected in favour of churches that focussed on Modernism\textsuperscript{42}. For the clients, this may well have been dictated in part by economic factors rather than complete enthusiasm for Modernist architecture: functionalism and truth to materials fitted well with limited budgets. In the post-war period, higher wages and materials discouraged building in the old styles, thus compelling the designer and client to accept a simpler solution\textsuperscript{43}. 

Church architects were left with a dilemma: stained glass's long and strong association with the Gothic needed to be balanced against its function as artefact and liturgical adjunct. Clearly, if stained glass were to survive, new interpretations that took account of Modernist principles would need exploration and definition.

In England, Modernist architecture was thrust into public gaze in 1951 when Basil Spence's design won an open competition for a new Cathedral Church of St. Michael at Coventry, England. The 15th century church had been virtually destroyed during the Second World War\textsuperscript{44}. Spence's revolutionary design caused a sensation in British architectural and ecclesiastical circles\textsuperscript{45}, bitter controversy and horror among sections of the public\textsuperscript{46}. Not completed and consecrated for more than ten years of difficult gestation because of its radical departure from past styles\textsuperscript{47}, it was to prove pivotal to the growth and acceptance of Modernist church architecture. When the debate extended to Australia it was still heated but dulled by distance, and it ultimately hastened the demise of the Gothic tradition and laid the ground for a local interpretation.

The Melbourne suburban Parish Church was hardly as revolutionary as Spence's Cathedral but the impact of Modernism effected a significant change in church design, most obviously expressed in the external appearance of the building. Instead of the solidity of Neo-Gothic stone or Arts & Crafts brick, the church of the 1950s and 1960's was built in cream brick, often with a low pitched roof, made possible by the development of steel beams, and steel- or
aluminium-framed windows. It had much in common with its growing neighbourhood.

Internally, the orientation was changing in line with current liturgical practice. The Bishop of Coventry encouraged Basil Spence to see the altar as offering an invitation to worship and Communion. Spence responded by siting the altar towards the front of the sanctuary and closer to the congregation and in keeping with gradually changing attitudes towards a more informal religious observance. Similarly, the Catholic Church was moving towards sweeping changes in liturgical practice that would radically alter church architecture.

The east window was traditionally the position of the most important stained glass, the Crucifixion or Ascension deemed to be suitable subjects for focussing the congregations’ attention on the liturgy. In the suburban churches of the post-war period, the east wall remained solid and sculptured crosses or paintings appeared instead. The tall lancets of the Neo-gothic nave windows were sometimes replaced with rectangular windows in zig-zag walls, like Coventry Cathedral, or reduced to the upper sections, or banished to the clerestory.

Architects and clients looking for a new glass language were unlikely to approach Brooks Robinson & Co., the mainstay of the traditional church clientele. It was Napier Waller, Christian Waller and Alan Sumner who were the major recipients of the new architectural work.

After fifteen years at E. L. Yencken & Co., Alan Sumner (1910-1994) set up an independent studio and by the mid-1950s he had established a modest reputation based largely on his early work but increasingly on a new Modernist direction, which he evolved after returning from a trip through Europe in 1953. He was not only profoundly moved by the rhythm, colour and complexity of the medieval stained glass of Chartres and St. Chapelle but also the great painters, including Cezanne and El Greco.

In 1954, Sumner designed and made the west window for the new cream brick Catholic church, St. Francis Xavier, Frankston on the theme of The Passion of
The focus of the window was a symbolic representation of the Cross, from which radiated a golden light. Lilies intertwined with thorny vine to weave a meaningful pattern through the centre of the Cross. The symbols of Christ’s Passion—the three nails, the shrouded cross, the spear and sponge, and the crown of thorns were set against the gold background glass. In response to budgetary constraints, Sumner used a large quantity of inexpensive industrial glasses that were painted and stained to achieve the warm gold light that pervades the church and included small amounts of antique glass to catch and refract the light.

Sumner seemed equally proficient with symbolic, heraldic and figurative design. In 1977 at Our Lady of Lourdes, Bayswater he collaborated with the priest to design a cycle of ten tall windows based on the sacraments and the signs and symbols of the love of God. The Coat-of-Arms of Pope Paul VI dominates the Church window and forms the focal point for the whole church interior. At St. Luke’s Anglican Church, Frankston the west window is a tribute to the former Victorian Governor, Sir Dallas Brooks who was a parishioner of the church. Sumner has integrated the Governor’s various insignia, Christian symbols and figurative work that result in a rich tapestry of light and colour.

Alan Sumner and Alan Robertson, the architect of St. Francis Xavier were to collaborate again at St. Brigid’s, Mordialloc and at The Parish Church of St. Oliver Plunkett, Pascoe Vale, which opened in 1961. Possibly Sumner’s most important cycle, the Pascoe Vale windows comprise the largest continuous area of stained glass in the southern hemisphere, 1800 square feet in the west window wall, and complemented by a tall seven-light window in the sanctuary. Unusually, the ‘cycle’ is limited to the events around Easter, beginning with the living Christ on the Cross, the subject of the sanctuary window. The west window is read from left to right: The Deposition placed above The Three Women at the Sepulchre; the Ascension with the disciples grouped around Jesus, and Jesus appearing to Mary.
The windows at St. Oliver Plunkett exemplify Sumner's mature style and are far-removed from the windows of the 1940s, as illustrated by Figure 35. The elongation of the figures and sweeping robes, confident painting technique, and appropriate colour and glass selections on such a large scale record his mastery of the medium.

Alan Sumner completed more than 400 windows between 1946 and 1994. He successfully made the transition from traditional imagery and training to a form of Modernist stained glass that was in accord with contemporary architectural principles and ecclesiastical needs.

John Ferguson (1923-) was another who made the transition successfully. Leaving Brooks Robinson & Co. in 1951, he, in partnership with Nicholas Papas, worked initially in a traditional mode and an early example, *Drink this in Remembrance of Me* is installed in Christ Church, Hawthorn in 1955. The simplified ornament and straightforward treatment of the figure is representative of their transitional style, however they moved quickly towards a Modernist approach when given the opportunity to design windows for new churches.

A window in the narthex of St. Andrew's Uniting Church, Frankston depicts *Andrew, the Fisherman* (c.1965) pulling a net towards an open boat. The main scene occupies the lower panels and the boat's sail rises high into the upper window. The painting style and colour selection is bold and the figure simplified. The background is largely made up of plain industrial glasses, in sympathy with the Modern architecture as well as budgetary limitations.

Ferguson & Papas were among the artists experimenting with *dalle de verre* glass set in concrete or resin, a medium that was particularly suited to incorporation in the building during construction. The thick slabs and heavy matrix make it more suitable for abstract imagery and symbolism that do not require the delicate detail of traditional painting. Pioneered in France, it was Ferdinand Légear's striking cubist interpretation at the Church of the Sacred Heart, Audincourt (1950 and 1952) that established *dalle de verre* as a medium.
for modern church glass. However, acceptance of the new method in Australia was probably assured by success of the bold baptistery window at Coventry Cathedral, designed by John Piper and made by Patrick Reyntiens.

It was largely the painters among the glass artists who perceived the relevance of *dalle de verre* for stained glass and were prepared to explore and solve the technical difficulties of the medium. In the mid-1960s John Ferguson completed a 96 metre glass and epoxy screen in the Traralgon Catholic Church, described as one of Ferguson & Papas’ finest achievements; Alan Sumner made six non-figurative *dalle de verre* windows at Trinity Uniting Church, North Balwyn, complementing his figurative Charlesworth Memorial window (1971). Leonard French (1928-), credited with introducing the medium to Australia, trialed the method through a series of windows at the National Library, Canberra (1965-68) prior to the installation of his major work in the Great Hall at the National Gallery of Victoria. Amongst French’s few church commissions are two small *dalle de verre* windows in a side chapel of the Religious Centre at Monash University, Clayton. French also explored the use of ‘glass applique’, a method of layering glass using coloured silicon adhesives, which he used for the Haileybury Chapel windows (1987) at Keysborough and for *Triptych* in the extension to St. James the Less, Mt. Eliza.

‘New Australian’ Glass

Among the migrants arriving from Europe were a small group of artists and craftsmen who were experienced artists or designers for stained glass. Bela Kozak, John Orval, Dr. Miloslav Zika and Jacob Valstar joined Brooks Robinson & Co., although few stayed for any length of time.

John Orval, (1911-1987) artist and glass painter, emigrated from Holland in 1953 where his stained glass was already recognised as individual, modern and well-crafted. Starting at Brooks Robinson in June 1954, possibly around the same time as his fellow countryman Jacob (Jack) Valstar, he quickly became disillusioned with the lack of understanding of stained glass as an art form and
the stereotypical mass-production approach of the firm. Jack Valstar left in 1955, moving to Bendigo to start a small studio.

Orval’s most important commissions were for churches in the Western District of Victoria, including St. Mary’s Catholic Church, Hamilton which has a fine four-light west window of the *Nativity* (1959), Christ Church Co-Cathedral, Hamilton, which houses a series of his windows in the Chapel, and the portrait window of *Mother Mary Mackillop* (1967) at St. Joseph’s Convent, Penola. Living and working in Hamilton may have limited his opportunities for city commissions, however a small but significant corpus of his work is installed in Melbourne churches.

The first Orval windows were installed in Melbourne at St. George’s Anglican Church, Malvern in 1964. Set in the west wall of the church the two tall narrow lights, *Baptism* and *Christ Blessing the Children*, tower above the baptismal font. The bold colouring – strong golds in the garments and blues/aquas in the backgrounds – unite the two panels across an expanse of wall. Typical of Orval’s style, the windows are characterised by the spare, gaunt figures of Christ with long faces and large hands, set against the flat plane of the background. His use of traditional Christian symbols, the dove, the book and the hand of God, provides a recognisable link with his haunting images, heavily painted to produce a dramatic effect of light and shade.

In 1968, St. James the Less, Mt. Eliza selected the church’s patron saint as the subject for the entrance porch of the old church. Typical of Orval’s style, the central section of the window is dominated by *St. James the Less*, dressed in ecclesiastical robes, his right hand raised in benediction and his left hand holding a shepherd’s crook. The figure is surrounded by a rich red ground, bordered with an equally strong blue, which echoes the blue on the robes. Below the saint’s feet are his attribute, the fuller’s club and a laurel wreath. The figure almost floats in the space but is anchored tenuously, through the clever placement of the lead lines of the background. The use of colour is striking but not garish as it is toned down by the matting of dark paint. The most striking feature of the window is the large eyes with their sorrowful
gaze engaging the viewer’s attention in the manner of the medieval prophet windows at Augsburg Cathedral.

Two windows in the baptistery at St. Mark’s, Camberwell reflect the Gothic compositional technique that divided tall spaces with roundels and vignettes. Small scenes from Jesus’ life are rhythmically woven through the window and, coupled with bold colour and simple painterly treatment they give these windows an immediate sense of joy. [Fig.141]

Orval hoped to develop a centre for stained glass in Western Victoria, an ambitious dream, which was not to be realised. Dr. Miloslav (Mila) Zika, William (Bill) Gleeson and Jim Armstrong were more successful in setting up San Damiano Studio in the grounds of the Franciscan Friars Monastery, Box Hill. Although never fully achieving it aim to be ‘a centre for the study of the history and iconography of Christian art’ it did produce glass and mosaics in the modern style in the few years of its operation.

In a period of little more than two years they made a series of small windows for St. James’ Anglican, East St. Kilda, two windows for the Cisterian Abbey, Yarra Glen, an installation in Our Lady of Perpetual Succour, Wattle Park and the Resurrection window (1960), described by Jenny Zimmer as ‘the studio’s finest achievement’, for Star of the Sea Chapel, Gardenvale.

Rein Slagmolen (b.1907) was another who emigrated from the Netherlands with art school training. With the intention of providing a full design service he formed Vetrart Studios Pty. Ltd. with H. W. Jones Pty. Ltd., experienced leadlighters, merchants and importers, recognising the need for architects, artists and industry to work collaboratively in new church buildings. His work was not restricted to a single material and he worked in bronze, aluminium, concrete and plastics, as well as glass.

His first church commission was the remarkably ambitious 45-foot tall stained glass window Chalice of the Precious Blood and Host (1962-63) that dominates the west wall of Holy Eucharist Catholic Church, Chadstone. [Fig.143] The
symbols of the Eucharist - chalice, bread and wine - are simply represented in vibrant, primary colours reminiscent of abstract painting of the 1960s. He used similar unpainted coloured glass in a much smaller window, the *Good Shepherd* at the Pilgrim Uniting Church, Yarraville. [Fig. 144]

Slagnl0len worked with C.S.I.R.O. to develop innovative techniques to hold and strengthen glass panels. On the Holy Eucharist window the lead camees were electroplated to add strength and to avoid the necessity of windbars. He was also among the artists exploring the possibilities of *dalle de verre* and he installed three small windows in the sanctuary at Chadstone, and 'sculptured glass windows' at St. Peter's, Clayton and Immaculate Heart of Mary, Hampton East.

Slagnl0len collaborated with architect Louis Williams on the re-building of St. Andrew's Anglican Church, Brighton. Although making some concession to Modernism, evident in the simplification of form and decoration, St. Andrew's restrained style followed the Neo-gothic verticality and cruciform plan. The glass is plain with no figure work, relying instead on colour gradation of the leadlight to imply symbolic references. The sanctuary and baptistery windows are predominantly deep blues, greens and reds, while the *Tree of Life* west window uses cool blues in the base rising to warm golds in the top of the window. The west window tracery was designed to suggest the branching of a tree and the impression is enhanced by the inclusion of leaf-shaped russet-coloured glass in the apex of the window.

British emigrant, D. Taylor Kellock, a Fellow of the British Society of Master Glass-Painters, trained in Edinburgh before coming to Australia in the late 1930s, spending most of his working life in Ballarat where many of his windows are installed. Although many of his windows were designed for existing buildings he was commissioned for some notable new architecture, including the cream brick Church of St. John, Apostle and Evangelist, Camberwell designed by Louis Williams.
The first of fifteen Kellock windows was installed in 1957, before completion of the building. The single tall light, placed in the centre of the west wall, was titled *Peace and Praise*, in a complex arrangement of symbols and images, typical of Kellock’s work. In summary, ‘it symbolised many beliefs of the Christian faith, woven around the basic tenets of Revelation, Sacrifice, Judgement and the eventual triumph of God’s purposes for His Creation...’ Like many of Kellock’s windows, it requires time for contemplation and a comprehensive knowledge of Biblical texts and symbols before the full meaning is revealed. His tall multi-light memorial windows at Scotch College, Hawthorn, All Saints’ Chapel, Geelong Grammar School and St. Peter’s Chapel, Melbourne Grammar School, South Yarra are typical of his complex style.

The difficulty of ‘reading’ is further hindered by the use of large areas of white glasses, not countered by matting of the surfaces with paints to separate background from foreground, as is the common practice. Some of his most successful examples are small windows, for instance, the Lady Chapel windows in St. Andrew’s, Brighton, where multiple images are not required to fill the spaces. Repetition of the tree-form of the west window tracery unifies these figurative windows with the rest of the church and provides Kellock with a basic composition for each scene.

Another emigrant from Britain, Derek Pearse, arriving ten years after D. Taylor Kellock, worked for several years for the larger Melbourne firms before electing to start his own small studio. He left Brooks Robinson & Co. in 1956, seeking to introduce new forms and techniques to stained glass alongside his strong painterly approach. Constrained by clients’ requirements and commissions for Neo-gothic church buildings, the rare opportunities for expanding his ideas came from residential commissions. It was a Bicentennial project for St. James’ Old Cathedral, West Melbourne, one of Melbourne’s oldest churches, that allowed him the freedom to eschew traditional figurative forms and explore symbolic references using a wider range of techniques, including fused glass and handblown forms.
Placed in the west end under the octagonal tower, the window is dedicated 'to the glory of God and to honour business and professional women, 1788-1988 and beyond ... [and] dedicated to all women who pioneer the future and who dream, dare and achieve'\(^99\). [Fig. 147]

The design focuses on four pairs of hands, the lowest is manacled, rising through the panel to the fourth pair which cradles a glass sphere that represents the seed of new life. [Fig. 148] The second pair of hands represents adversity and hope and the third pair hold instruments of labour and represent women's labour and striving for excellence. In the upper window the earth and stars float and the dove of peace hovers high above the embryonic life\(^{100}\). Strong colour in the base of the panel breaks into gentle blues and whites in the central and upper sections with three stars in the cosmos forming a canopy in the round head of the window.

Derek Pearse has infused the panel with contemporary symbols of the Christian faith interwoven with interpretations of the feminine spirit and emblems of Australia, Victoria and the commissioning organisation. The result, although highly detailed and imbued with meaning, is rhythmically and calmly ordered and presents a coherent reading of the complex themes.

This window was pivotal to Pearse’s work and several commissions since 1988 (outside the period of this study) advance the design and symbolic content beyond that of the *Pioneer Women* window at St. James'\(^{101}\).

**The Resurgence from the 1960s**

It was in the mid-1960s that Australia's many divergent threads of craft practice began to progress towards a coherent 'Crafts Movement'. During the same period that the narrow conception of fine art began to expand and fully recognise alternative materials and practice.

The closure of Brooks Robinson & Co. in 1967 broke the last link with the old trade training for stained glass practitioners and it was widely assumed that the
demise of the industry was at hand. At the same time, craftspeople were
beginning to embrace the Modernist ideals of the independent artist and 'the
autonomy of art objects as independent of history and the context of their
production'.

Stained glass makers who were involved in other facets of the arts adapted an
existing practice to the new parameters, for example Leonard French's bold
symbols and clear religious themes readily making the transition into glass.

An increasing numbers of galleries exhibited stained glass, not in its 'natural'
setting in architecture, but as autonomous panels, hung and sold like easel
paintings. Klaus Zimmer (1928-) and David Wright (1948-) were
among the first in Australia to exhibit their autonomous panels.

At the Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology, William Gleeson used his
experience as a painter, teacher and his training in stained glass to introduce fine
arts students to the potential of glass as an alternative medium. His initiative
was the catalyst for Klaus Zimmer and Les Kossatz to experiment with glass
within their mainstream interests of printmaking, painting and sculpture.

Klaus Zimmer had trained in graphic design in Berlin before arriving in
Australia in 1952. Working in non-figurative forms Zimmer developed a
highly personal narrative disguised within a rich and decorative form. Over
time, his autonomous panels have become more jewel-like through the multi-
laying of glass, paint and reflective lustres, and development of an ornamental
lead technique, which combine to be equally successful in both transmitted and
reflective light.

By contrast, his church commissions rely essentially on strong formal
arrangement, and, although superficially influenced by German stained glass of
the post-war period, are imbued with symbolic layering of meaning.

During the mid-1980s, Zimmer designed a 7 by 8 metre window for the east end
of St. John's Lutheran College Chapel, Croydon, which he made in
collaboration with Dylan Thornton from Yencken Sandy Glass Industries.

[Fig.149] The main image in the window is a chalice containing a Cross-form in the central section above the altar. The Cross is understated, outlined in deep purple rising to soft mauve and filled with a winding ribbon, which may be read as the shroud of Christ, or as an abstracted human form. Another ribbon winds quietly through the chalice-shape finally to end directly above the centre of the cross, as if the Spirit has departed. Designed in modules of approximately one square metre to fit the framing design, each panel is subdivided on a grid, which reflect the ‘space-frame’ style of the building. The lower panels are dark, deep blues with only small jewels of light glowing through the grid but gradually becoming lighter towards the upper section where the exterior architectural elements are revealed against the background of the sky.

Zimmer’s most challenging commission was the series of nineteen windows for St. Michael’s (Independent) Church, Collins Street, Melbourne in 1988, based on a poem, Streams of Consciousness by Dr. Francis Macnab, minister of the Church. The windows surround the amphitheatrical body of the church, creating a calm and formal backdrop to worship. Lines of poetry and repetitive horizontal ribbons across the base of each window link and unify the cycle as well as symbolically representing the blood of Christ and human spirituality. Using symbolic and abstract forms to weave Biblical and contemporary themes within the poetry and texts the windows encourage contemplation on several levels, from purely narrative to extraordinarily complex meaning.

Zimmer has used symbolic references that change, depending on the context. As in the window at St. John’s College, the ribbon is used as a metaphor: in Elijah (1) and The Winds of God (2) the ribbon represents the wind but also, in the latter, suggests Christ’s shroud fluttering from the Cross. In Good Tidings (14), the ribbon transforms into the Holy Spirit breaking beyond the confines of the panel similarly to the St. John’s window. In sharp contrast to the St. John’s window, the less-formal grid and the extensive use of painterly abstract images add a decorative richness to each panel.
Severely light restricted by the surrounding buildings, Zimmer used German opal glasses to allow maximum light penetration and obscure external interference. The extensive use of lustres, opal jewels and strong lead lines, allow the windows to be read in any light, similarly to his autonomous works.

Les Kossatz' cycle of twenty abstract windows for the Religious Centre at Monash University, Clayton (1968) [Fig. 150] were among the earliest Melbourne church installations to incorporate fused and laminated sections with more traditional techniques. Discarding the traditions of cartoon making and cutlining, Kossatz worked intuitively, mixing and matching his glass in the manner of painting, until he achieved his desired results 107. The slim windows, set high in the angled walls, are bright and lively with sections that suggest animal parts, ribbons and growth with no suggestion of religiosity. [Fig. 151]

In the later Stations of the Cross in the Chapel at Corpus Christi College, Clayton (1973), the powerful panels are deceptively simple, allowing the message to be revealed through an image of the Cross, central to the interpretation of the fifteen texts 108 and, in combination with wide bands of colour, provide a unifying element within the opus. Kossatz constructed the panels from dalles de verre, with traditional painting on sheet glass for the central sections - an unusual and successful procedure to attain monumentality in the glass.

In contrast to Kossatz preoccupation with 'heraldic images, medals and ribbons' stemming from his paintings in the 1950s 109, David Wright's early work was flowing and organic, concerned with 'microscopic delicacy and the complexity of nature' 110. At first, using only glass and lead, he developed intricate networks of colour and shape suggestive of plant and animal forms. Through experimental kiln-forming, sand-blasting and screen-printing he developed a rich pool of surface textures and techniques to interpret his ideas. [Fig. 152] Unlike most artists working on church commissions, he does not use paints or stains but relies strongly on design, using shape, colour and texture to impart the message of his text.

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His first major church commission was for St. Eanswythe Anglican Church, Altona (1979 and 1989)\textsuperscript{111} where, without losing a sense of the spiritual, he presented a radical version of Biblical texts of relevance to a late-twentieth century congregation. In later commissions for St. Oswald’s Anglican Church, Glen Iris (1984-1991) and the Lady Chapel of St. John the Divine, Croydon (1993) the themes which recur in Wright’s work are explored further, namely ‘creativity, risk, surrender, death transformation and resurrection’\textsuperscript{112}. The \textit{Baptism of Christ} window in St. John’s is designed around the figure of Christ who stands above the river Jordan. Arms outstretched, he gazes directly at the viewer, (quite unlike the bowed head of more sentimental versions) with the dove of the Holy Spirit above. In the lower part of the panel, the waters flow out of the earth, creating new life, represented by an embryo in the water of the womb, seeds and sprouting pods, and the cycle of life is completed by rain falling from the heaven surrounding the Kingdom of God.

Life-giving water, the embryo and nurturing hands are recurring images in Wright’s work and represent the intersection between the secular and spiritual, evident in all his church installations.

John Ferguson, Derek Pearse, Klaus Zimmer and David Wright continue to design and make glass for churches, adding to an already considerable body of work. Working within a broad modernist banner, all of them recognise the need to interpret religious themes relevant to late-twentieth century concerns, but use different visual language in their expression. Ferguson’s glass is still firmly based on liturgical text and traditional interpretation of images. Pearse takes text and symbol, intertwining the two. Zimmer and Wright use overt symbolism - Zimmer through elegant geometry and Wright by organic and personal images. Despite the differences in style, they are united in striving to convey the spiritual meaning of their subjects and texts. It remains for others to assess their contribution to church art and architecture of the twentieth century.
Conclusion

At the beginning of the twentieth century, Melbourne’s stained glass essentially continued the Neo-gothic styles and traditional subjects which had gained popularity throughout the preceding century.

British artists, images and methods of making underpinned local production and although imported glass also came from Europe, it had little impact on local interpretation. The glass designs of George Dancey and William Montgomery exemplified the predominantly British style, which was the result of solid artistic training, skilful drawing and a complete understanding of the medium.

Although by the turn of the century stained glass was slowly declining, a mild revival occurred after World War I, as clergy, congregations and relatives ordered memorials to honour those who served God, King and country. Stained glass images and forms remained pedestrian and predictable, epitomised by St. George, the most popular and accepted symbol of military and historical union with Britain. Unlike Sydney, the interest in Federation and an emerging, if tentative, national ethos were not reflected in the images selected for Melbourne’s stained glass.

Overwhelmingly, Melbourne’s glass focussed on historiated Biblical scenes, the figures of saints and the phenomenally successful parables, the Light of the World and the Good Shepherd, to fill diamond quarry windows in old and new Neo-gothic church buildings. The commercialisation of stained glass firms that had begun in the nineteenth century brought with it the use of old cartoons and secondhand images, resulting in a gradual decline in artistic integrity and vigour. Commercial firms produced glass for a mass market and although the repetition of images was good business, it was not necessarily good art and the paucity of artists working in the medium left few alternatives for the more open-minded clients.
While effectively embedded in the traditional Neo-gothic imagery and format of the nineteenth century, tentative attempts were made early this century to introduce progressive ideas into stained glass. Nineteenth century Europe embraced a range of progressive art movements, loosely categorised as 'Modern' but it was thirty years before they gained a measure of acceptance in Britain and even later, by extension, in Australia. William Frater introduced the Scottish version of the Arts & Crafts movement to Australia in 1910, but he was unable to convince either his employer or his clients of its merit and his later works show only occasional glimpses of the possibilities in his early ideas.

The first examples of modern stained glass appeared as Arts & Crafts and Art Deco forms in the work of M. Napier and Christian Waller in the late 1920s. By the 1930s and 1940s, the Wallers were using glass with a mastery of technique and convincing images, and with total understanding of concept and design. Coupled with a growing relationship between architect and artist, the Wallers made some of their most successful glass at this time, which remains unsurpassed in the twentieth century.

Increased church building after World War II provided new opportunities for rethinking stained glass to sit appropriately and convincingly within a new architectural context. The most successful buildings ‘[cast] off the symbols of Gothic architecture as well as the liturgical strait-jackets that went with them’\(^1\), a comment that applies equally well to stained glass. The brief period when artists and architects genuinely collaborated produced some of the most adventurous stained glass of the century. At the same time, the drift towards secularisation of subjects and their interpretation becomes evident.

Brooks Robinson & Co., the last of the large commercial firms, steadfastly produced conventional stained glass for Neo-gothic churches, but failed to adjust to new opportunities in a post-World War II market. The firm outlived its rivals and was instrumental in keeping the craft alive, despite the depression of the 1930s and two World Wars. The company finally closed in 1967 after more than one hundred years of involvement in stained glass.
However, Brooks Robinson & Co. was an important, if unintentional participant in the development of a new generation of artists. Employees John Orval, John Ferguson, Nick Papas, Derek Pearse, William Gleeson and Mila Zika railed (more or less) against the commercial manufacturing systems, quitting the company to found studios and small businesses in stained glass. These artists found individual modes of expression, often influenced by European modernist ideas and well removed from the nineteenth century tradition, but in keeping with contemporary religious, artistic and architectural parameters.

The resurgence of interest in the crafts, which began in the late 1960s, encouraged greater involvement in the making of stained glass as ‘crafts practice’ began to replace former working-class artisans and trades. Stained glass practitioners including former architect David Wright were drawn from other fields and secular interpretation of images gained greater acceptance. It was also a period when artists turning to alternative practices made some important contributions to stained glass, as seen in the work of Klaus Zimmer, Les Kossatz and Leonard French.

Stained glass in churches relies on architecture for its context, painting for its inspiration, and religion for its meaning. The clear relationship between religion, architecture and stained glass is the significant common thread through the century’s best examples.
Introduction

1 In England, the destruction of historiated glass in Henry VIII’s reign (1534 onwards) was followed by the Civil War and parliamentary decree (1643-1644) which resulted in huge losses of stained glass, particularly in Catholic churches.

2 For a full exploration of the subject see R. Sowers, The Lost Art: A Survey of One Thousand Years of Stained Glass, [c.1954].


5 B. Sherry, Australia’s Historic Stained Glass, 1991.

6 ‘Melbourne’ is defined as the geographical region as it now stands, in 1997. The Geelong region has also been included in the study where extant windows have assisted in the clarification of an artist’s work, design or technique.

7 ‘If I had known you would come along thirty years later, I would have written it down’ Jim Armstrong interviewed by the author, February 1994. [A common reaction from interviewees.]

Chapter 1

1 There are, of course, notable exceptions, including the Neo-Romanesque (second church) St. John’s East Melbourne (1900); the exotic Church of the Holy Annunciation, East Melbourne (1900-02); the dramatic ‘blood and bandage’ Romanesque St. Joseph’s Catholic Church, Malvern (1908).

2 An example of the eclectic manner in which styles were melded is Robert Haddon’s Presbyterian Church, Malvern (1906) which Miles Lewis describes as ‘Arts & Crafts Gothic’. M. Lewis (ed.), Victorian Churches, 1991, p.77.

3 All listed under ‘Glass Stainers’ in the Sands & McDougall Directories.

4 Sands & McDougall Directories 1901 -1904.

5 Sands & McDougall Directories 1904 -1925.

6 Sands & McDougall Directories 1893 -1911. Although he died in 1916, Auguste Fischer remains listed under ‘Stained Glass Window Manufacturers’ at the same address in 1927, suggesting that the business may have continued well after his death.

7 Sands & McDougall Directory 1877.

8 The details of Fischer’s life are taken from his handwritten statement (November 1914) made to the Victoria Police on behalf of the 31st Military District, Intelligence Section General Staff. He was responding to an allegation that he had been sighted outside ‘The Age’ office excitedly speaking in German (he insisted he was speaking French) and reading the War Notices (which included the fact that a spy had been shot in England). Australian Archives Vic. Attorney General’s Dept. Intelligence Section Records 1914-1923 File No: 1914/3/52.


10 Auguste Fischer statement, November 1914.

11 The difficulty of attribution is compounded by the occasional misspelling of Fischer’s name as ‘Fisher’ and the possible confusion with others: ‘A. Fischer’, listed as ‘Artist and Portrait Painter’ at 182 Little Flinders Street, Melbourne in the Sands & McDougall Directories; ‘Alfred Fischer’, exhibitor with the Victorian Artists Society between 1904 and 1914 and architect; ‘Arthur H. Fisher’ of Flinders Lane, designer of a stained glass memorial window for Holy Trinity Church, Hobart, Christ Church, Ballarat and ‘large orders for Capetown, South Africa’, reported in the Building, Engineering & Mining Journal, 18 June 1898, p.181. Windows attributed to Auguste Fischer have been identified in domestic settings in the Plenty Valley, Melbourne.


14 The window was installed as a memorial to the prominent Melbourne Senator Sir Frederick Thomas Sargood K.C.M.G. Kt (1834-1903).


16 Although beyond the scope of this thesis, as one of only two twentieth century examples of his work it is considered valuable as a possible pointer to other windows by Fischer.


Rothenberg, Bavaria, watercolour; Cat. No.152, design for stained glass, *Return of the Prodigal Son*.

19 Two works, Cat. Nos. 189 and 190, were entered for the Spring show in 1927. It is noted in the catalogue 'exhibited by the late William Montgomery'.


22 George Dancey, cartoonist for the *Melbourne Punch*, exhibited his stained glass designs at the Victorian Artists' Society. See also Chapter 2: Brooks Robinson & Co.

23 Apart from the first Victorian Artists' Society exhibition cited in endnote 20, Montgomery exhibited designs for stained glass in Winter 1889, *Hunting Scene*, and *Charity*, for an Orphanage window; Winter 1890 (untitled design); Spring 1921, *And the Land had Peace from War*. In August 1893, he exhibited an untitled design in the Australian Art Exhibition.

24 Listed under 'Glass Stainers', Sands & McDougall Directory, 1901.


26 Listed under 'Glass Stainers' and 'Stained Glass Window Manufacturers' from 1912-1918, after this year the 'Glass Stainers' category no longer appears. Sands & McDougall Directories 1904-28, with the exception of 1926 when no Montgomery listing was included under 'Stained Glass Window Manufacturers'.

27 A notable exception is the four-light east window at St. Columb’s Anglican Church, Hawthorn.

28 G. Down, 'Nineteenth-Century Stained Glass in Melbourne', p. 98.

29 Of course, there are exceptions, several windows at St. Mark's Anglican Church, Fitzroy among them. It is likely that signatures are removed from some windows as they undergo repairs and the 'waster' borders are discarded.


31 Christ Church, South Yarra has four Montgomery windows, installed between 1902 and 1908.

32 The dedication reads: 'In loving remembrance of / Lieutenant Edward Lesslie Newbegin / Australian Field Artillery. Died 6th May 1904. / Erected by his father Edward Newbegin of Stella / 1904'.

33 The dedication reads: 'ADMG In memory of Bertil Manifold / killed in action in France 26th Apr. 1917'.

34 The dedication reads: 'ADMG In memory of Kenneth Charles Webb Ware / killed in action in France 21st March, 1918'.

35 The dedication reads: 'ADMG In memory of George Pollard Kay / killed in France / June 29th 1917'.

36 At St. John's, Creswick is an especially elfin-like example of *St. George*, a World War I memorial that is quite unlike the usually robust depictions of this warrior saint.


38 Rev. Charles Perry appears to have been one champion of his cause, ordering an *Annunciation in memory of his mother for St. Jude’s*, Carlton (G. Down, p. 104) and donating the *Ascension* window for the chancel of St. John's, Camberwell in memory of his brother and sister in 1914. R. J. Macdougall, *History of St. John’s, Camberwell*, p. 47. Furthermore, he was Curate at Christ Church, South Yarra at a time when several Montgomery windows were installed.

39 Uncorroborated information from Derek Pearse, colleague of H. E. R. Scarfe, Montgomery’s kiln technician. Interview with the author, June, 1996.

Chapter 2

1 Brooks Robinson & Co. job books No. 1 and No. 2.


4 G. Down, 'Nineteenth-Century Stained Glass in Melbourne', p. 87.

5 G. Down, 'Nineteenth-Century Stained Glass in Melbourne', p. 89.

6 Photographic records, St John's, Heidelberg and G. Down, 'Nineteenth-Century Stained Glass in Melbourne', p. 89.

7 G. Down, 'Nineteenth-Century Stained Glass in Melbourne', p. 92.

George Dancey is believed to have left England principally for health reasons. A. McCulloch, *Encyclopaedia of Australian Art*, 1984, p.262-3.


I am grateful to the Curator of Prints, Mr Geoffrey Down for drawing this print to my attention.

Index to Art Exhibitions, State Library of Victoria.

The Melbourne Savage Club has a work entitled *Study* by George Dancey.


The model for this and many of Dancey’s stained glass cartoons is believed to be a Mrs Davenport. The original ‘thumbnail’ sketch was given to the Vicar of Christ Church, St. Kilda by the model’s son who delighted in telling him ‘he was in the painting’ as his mother was pregnant at the time.

The ‘femininity’ of the face is accentuated in the *St. George* window at St. Peter’s, Mornington where the same cartoon has been used, but the trace line and matting emphasises the facial details.

*The oil painting of the Crucifixion was used as model for an opus sectile in South Yarra* (1929).


A. McCulloch, *Encyclopaedia of Australian Art*, p.263.

See Chapter 7: The Light of the World.

In some windows, these figures were removed, diminishing the strength of the concept of isolation evident in the original Dancey *Agony*.

*Occupation as listed on Lionel Kerr-Morgan’s Bell Street Primary School Registration. Letter from Lionel Kerr-Morgan to the author, 18 June 1996.*

Date of his appointment as Manager is unknown but may have coincided with the departure of William Wheildon in 1938.

All dates and places are from documents held by William Kerr-Morgan’s son, Mr Lionel Kerr-Morgan.

*No documentary evidence for William Kerr-Morgan’s commencement date at Brooks Robinson, but Lionel Ker-Morgan suggests it would have been highly risky to arrive here without a job. As he also purchased a new home in June of the same year, it seems probable that a regular and permanent income was available.*

Information from Lionel Kerr-Morgan. He was reported in 1963 as ‘recently retired after thirty-nine years as head of the firm’s stained glass studio’. ‘Craftsmen in Glass’ *Foundations*, Vol.3, No.5. p.23.


Brooks Robinson & Co. job books indicate his direct involvement each year with up to six cartoons (1958).

Derek Pearse. Interview with the author, November 1994.


Letter from Alice Wheildon to author, 18 February 1997.


Brooks Robinson & Co. job book No.1. p.335


Dancey’s cartoons have fine red lines drawn over the tonal drawing to indicate the breakup of glass pieces and placement of leads.

It is considered preferable to keep the glass pieces as evenly-sized as possible to distribute weight and stress evenly across the panel.
81 Clive Elliott. Interview with the author, 2 July 1993.
82 Jim Armstrong. Interview with the author, February 1995
83 Clive Elliott. Interview with the author, 2 July 1993.
86 The cartoons were St George, Presentation in the Temple, Christ Before the Doctors, Nativity and Good Samaritan. Brooks Robinson & Co. job book No.1, p.525.
87 Letter from Lionel Kerr-Morgan to the author, 18 June 1996.
89 Eight Crown of Life windows were ordered between 1945 and 1951. Brooks Robinson & Co. job book No.2.
90 Revelation Chapter 2, v. 10.
91 Yellis Brommeyer is believed to have retired. 'Yo Brommeyer' remained listed in the Sands & McDougall Directory until 1953.
95 Clive Elliott. Interview with the author, February 1995. The opposite conditions prevailed in winter: William Kerr-Morgan installed his own 'thermalator' in the painting area to relieve the extreme cold.
99 Derek Pearse. Interview with the author, 26 September 1994.
100 Derek Pearse. Interview with the author, 26 September 1994.
102 Harry Wilkinson Brooks was the fourth child of Henry and Emma Brooks, born 19.10.1862 Melbourne; died 24.6.1944 Harrold, Bedford. F. Packard, Our Family History: Brooks, Harrison, Nutter, Seppings, p.17.
103 Ernest John Patrick Brooks was the eighth child of Henry and Emma Brooks, born 20.3.1869; died 19.2.1948, London. F. Packard, Our Family History: Brooks, Harrison, Nutter, Seppings, p.27.
104 Both men are described as 'Glass Merchant[s] of London and Melbourne'. F. Packard, Our Family History: Brooks, Harrison, Nutter, Seppings, p.24 and p.27.
105 See Table 7 for the number of windows made by Brooks Robinson between 1923-1966.
106 Inscription in base of the window.
107 The window was moved to St. Andrew’s Uniting Church, Gardiner in 1985.
108 Inscription below the main subject.
109 Between 1945 and 1950, 13 windows were made of St. Michael and three with St George as the subject. Brooks Robinson & Co. job book No.2.
110 A red and white shield and motto- “Fortitudine”, is placed in the base of the window denoting McCrae’s military service.
111 Inscription in lower centre of base section.
115 Brooks Robinson & Co. job book No.2, p.6. The window measured 95 ½ x 24 ½ inches and, unusually, was not surrounded by ornament.
118 Brooks Robinson & Co. job book No.2.
119 I am indebted to Margaret Abbott, Tintern Archivist for information on the donors of the window.
120 Ordered by Mrs Woods, Head of Tintern, Ringwood. Brooks Robinson job book No.2, p.154. This was a farewell gift as well as memorial, as Tintern had moved from Hawthorn, where it was close to St Columb’s Church, to the new growth areas of Melbourne’s far eastern suburbs.
121 See Chapter 3: Other Melbourne Firms and Artists, for an account of Mathieson and Gibson’s contribution to twentieth century stained glass.
Derek Pearse, Bill Gleeson, Jim Armstrong and John Ferguson had all resigned before Stansfield's arrival. See Chapter 8: Modernism in Stained Glass. Glass painter Jim Bell was recruited in England and commenced work in July 1962. Brooks Robinson notebooks.

From 1962, Brooks Robinson & Co. received the following orders: Anglican 20; Catholic 15; Methodist 10; Presbyterian 8; Baptist 4; Congregational 3. Many other windows, from orders dating back years, were completed by Joseph Stansfield during the last years of the firm. Brooks Robinson & Co. job books.


See Chapter 8: Modernism in Stained Glass.

Chapter 3

3. Interview with Alan Sumner, 6 April, 1991. The firm continued as glass and general merchants from the same address.
8. The location of this window is unknown.
12. The window was installed as a memorial to Ruth Hannah Sugden after her death in 1932. O. Parnaby, Queen's College University of Melbourne A Centenary History, p.125.
13. As well as Christ Still ing the Storm (Fig. 34) the sketches include The Good Shepherd and The Four Evangelists, each set as the central panel in a three-light group and Christ Blessing, a single lancet.
17. See Chapter 8: Modernism in Stained Glass.
22. Sumner repeated both these images at the Brighton Methodist Church, now Girrawheen Chapel and The Good Samaritan at St. Columb's Anglican Church, Hawthorn.
23. See Chapter 8: Modernism in Stained Glass.
26. The building was probably the Commercial Travellers' Association building, designed in 1912 by Harry Tompkins.
(,() 6

48 'Cabbage' was the term used to describe the vegetal infill prevalent in many of the commercial O.

46 Co. job book No.2.

45 Derek Pearse labelled the most excessive, 'chocolate box colour'. Derek Pearse. Interview with the author, 22 June 1994.

44 Mathieson singled out streaky glass when describing the G. Harvey, First Hundred Years Scotch College Melbourne 1851-1951, p.187.


42 Faith, Meekness, Patience, Longsuffering, Gentleness, Chastity, Goodness, Temperance, Peace, Modesty, Love and Joy, G. Harvey, First Hundred Years Scotch College Melbourne 1851-1951, p.185

41 Derek Pearse. Interview with the author, 29 November 1994.

40 Derek Pearse. Interview with the author, 29 November 1994.

39 G. Harvey, First Hundred Years Scotch College Melbourne 1851-1951, p.187.

38 Reasons for the selection were as follows: St. Andrew is Patron St. Martin Feast Day falls on November 11; King Arthur and Sir Galahad typified the moral and spiritual values of soldiers; St. Michael and St. George were Patron Saints of Soldiers. G. Harvey, First Hundred Years Scotch College Melbourne 1851-1951, p.186.

37 G. Down, 'Nineteenth-Century Stained Glass in Melbourne', p.265. Gibbs & Howard set up in business in 1873 at the address above. B. Haward, Nineteenth Century Suffolk Stained Glass, 1989, p.160. Any direct connection with this firm is remote as the last known reference to its existence is 1915, although no twentieth century windows are listed. M. Harrison, Victorian Stained Glass, p.77.

36 The firm Shrigley & Hunt are listed as in operation in The firm Shrigley & Hunt are listed as in operation in 1873 at the address above. B. Haward, Nineteenth Century Suffolk Stained Glass, 1989, p.160. Any direct connection with this firm is remote as the last known reference to its existence is 1915, although no twentieth century windows are listed. M. Harrison, Victorian Stained Glass, p.77.


31 Entries in the Brooks Robinson & Co. job books for September and October 1933 show that Mathieson was responsible for a proportion of the cartoons for windows ordered for the Roman Catholic Church, Williamstown and The Mission to Seamen Chapel, Flinders Street, Melbourne. It suggests a possibility that there continued to be some collaboration, between the two firms, even after the establishment of the Mathieson & Gibson partnership.

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29 The Melbourne Herald, Tuesday November 22, 1949.

28 Derek Pearse. Interview with the author, 22 June 1994. The Sands & McDougall Directory has no listing of the firm at Notting Hill.

27 Derek Pearse. Interview with the author, 22 June 1994. The Sands & McDougall Directory has no listing of the firm at Notting Hill.

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0 Derek Pearse. Interview with the author, 22 June 1994. The Sands & McDougall Directory has no listing of the firm at Notting Hill.
The window was ordered by Miss Fielding of Kew on behalf of the family, in memory of 'our parents, Sophia Fielding and Thomas Fielding'.

No. 2, p. 24; Chapter 4

The window bears the inscription: 'In memory of William Belcher Grey Souls & Aquila and Priscilla."

Chapter 4


The Ascension window was made shortly before John Hardman's death in 1867 and at a time when his nephew and successor, John Hardman Powell (1828-95) was chief designer for the firm, although the hieratic scheme reflects a Puginesque style.

A comprehensive description of the windows is included in G. Down, 'Nineteenth-Century Stained Glass in Melbourne', p. 133-4.

Extract from Victorian Births, Deaths and Marriages Index, State Library of Victoria, verified by the Death Certificate.

The few details of Rebecca Rigg's life and work are intriguing and deserve further research to ascertain the extent of her oeuvre. Her surname is spelt 'Rigge' in some references.

The entry in Melbourne Grammar Chapel booklet on the windows indicates that she was 'prominent in the craft scene in Melbourne in the 1930s'.

Rebecca Rigg is believed to have had glass especially made for her windows by a local glassmaker, others, particularly the thicker, handmade glasses could well be the product of E. L. Robert's glass works.

The spelling of Miss Field's name is sometimes misspelt Feild.


The Hermit of St. Mark's, Fitzroy. The windows are indicative of her illustrative style and were made by Brooks Robinson & Co. from her drawings (1927). Brooks Robinson & Co. job book No. 1, p. 162. Fifteen stained glass memorial windows for the Melbourne Synagogue, South Yarra by Rimona Kedem are noted in A. McCulloch's catalogue, Several Decades of Glass, Mornington Peninsula Arts Centre, April 1979.

There is no detailed biography of Miss Field, although she is noted as Miss Fielding in 1952. The spelling of Miss Field's name is sometimes misspelt Feild.

The Obituary notice is an undated clipping. Last entry in the Sands & McDougall Directory, 1959.

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Extract from Victorian Births, Deaths and Marriages Index, State Library of Victoria, verified by the Death Certificate.
By 1972, the date of the last installation, the firm was called Whippell Moubray Church Furnishing Ltd.

The firm was believed to be the selection of the incumbent at the time, (Reverend Eva), who reportedly ordered the windows during travels to England. Discussion with former Whippell & Co. employee, Roy C. Coomer, Bristol, England, February, 1994.

The window is signed 'JNC' between St. George's fingers. The Comper strawberry emblem also appears in all his windows.


Sands & McDougall Directories between 1918 and 1929.

List of Australian and New Zealand windows from F. X. Zettler, 1956.


The date on the window is 1979, which may indicate a delay in installation.

St. Stephen's Catholic Cathedral, Brisbane has Harry Clarke windows made in 1923, the only known Australian examples made in his lifetime (1889-1931). N. Bowe, *Harry Clarke*, 1979, p.52-53.

A third company, Earley Studios, Dublin has an extensive cycle of windows installed in St. Joseph's Catholic Church, Warrnambool (c.1953) Stylistically, they show a close connection with the work from Harry Clarke Studios.


Examples were installed in 1923 and 1924 in churches at Dingle and Belchamp Chapel, Ireland. N. Bowe, *Harry Clarke*, p.38.

It is one of two windows. The other was made by Brooks Robinson & Co. in 1959 to match the Clarke. While a good match has been effected with the background, the small scene of Christ's Baptism is a very small copy of the same cartoon as used for St. Mark's, Fitzroy. Brooks Robinson & Co. Job book No.2, p.139.

The workmanship and style suggests it is not original. The lower cameo is in dire need of repair and should be carefully conserved rather than suffer a similar fate.

B. Sherry, *Australia's Historic Stained Glass*, p.93.

J. Zimmer, *Stained Glass in Australia*, p.84.

See Chapter 8: Modernism in Stained Glass.


Chapter 5

1. G. Down, 'Nineteenth-Century Stained Glass in Melbourne', p.204.
2. See Chapter 8: Modernism in Stained Glass, for details of post World War II church glass.
3. Destroyed by fire in 1957.
4. Country installations of *Abraham Going Forth* include Presbyterian Church, Portland, (1934); St Paul's Carisbrook, (1936); and the Anglican Church, Heathcote, (1937). St. Patrick's Cathedral, East Melbourne has several nineteenth century examples.
6. Ebenezer (Methodist) Chapel is now the Chapel of Girrawheen, attached to Girrawheen Uniting Church nursing home.
9. Windows of Paul and Andrew were also ordered at the same time. Brooks Robinson & Co. Job book No.2, p.22.
10. Designed by Rebecca Rigg.
19 Dedicated to Archibald Currie and his wife, Jessie. The windows formed part of a series of nine windows that also included the four Evangelists and John the Baptist.
20 The Moses made for Clarksons in Adelaide (1928) was probably used as the central section of a larger window, whereabouts unknown. Brooks Robinson & Co. job book No.1, p.1; Moses and the Burning Bush for Presbyterian Church, Castlemaine (1954), Brooks Robinson & Co. job book No.2, p.95; and the Methodist Church, Forrest Street, Bendigo installed a grand five-light Moses Descending from the Mountain with the Tablets of the Law (1939) as memorial to Sir John Quick, Brooks Robinson & Co. job book No.1, p.516.
21 Installed in St John's Anglican Church, Camberwell (1926). The window was destroyed by fire in 1955. R. J. Macdougall, History of St John's Camberwell, p.191.
27 Although several examples have been identified, all were installed in country Victoria, New South Wales, Tasmania, Queensland and exported to New Zealand. Amongst others - in the base panel of Ascension for Hamilton, Victoria (1947); in base of the Light of the World for Rockhampton (1948); and Christchurch, New Zealand where a central panel of St Andrew was flanked by The Burning Bush and Book emblems, set in painted quarries (1938). Brooks Robinson & Co. job books Nos.1 & 2.
28 Other windows were installed at Cheltenham (1946), Hartwell (1952), Fairfield and Footscray (1955), Werribee (1957) and Carlton (1962). Brooks Robinson & Co. job book No.2.
29 Two exceptions have been found: St. Andrew's Presbyterian, Bairnsdale (1948) and Moe (1952).
34 Windows of St. Oswald's, Glen Iris, [n.d.], p.1.
35 The window is one of a series designed by David Wright and installed between 1984 and 1991.
40 Brooks Robinson & Co. job books Nos. 1 & 2.
42 Brooks Robinson & Co. job book No.1, p.84.
44 Brooks Robinson & Co. job books Nos.1 & 2.
48 All windows are the work of Brooks Robinson & Co.
49 Christ Blessing the Children also called Suffer Little Children. The former was the title commonly entered in Brooks Robinson & Co. job books.
50 See Chapter 7: The Light of the World.
51 See Table 4 for popularity of subjects made by Brooks Robinson & Co. 1923-1966.
52 See Chapter 6: Sources of Twentieth Century Stained Glass Images.
69 The cartoon used for this window was adapted from the original by “Brown”. Brooks Robinson & Co. job book No.1, p.152.
73 Brooks Robinson & Co. job books Nos.1 & 2. See Table 4 1923-1966, Table 5 1923-1941, and Table 6 1941-1966.
76 Alan Sumner window installed in the south transept (1954).
79 Principally the work of Mathieson & Gibson, a few later windows were made by Brooks Robinson & Co. to Mathieson’s cartoons and the last windows are by an unknown maker.
81 Brooks Robinson & Co. job book No.1, p.22.
83 See Table 4 for Brooks Robinson & Co. windows.
88 Single window by Joseph Stansfield installed as part of a series (1970s) at St. Mark’s Anglican Church, Camberwell.
89 New Guinea Martyrs example by M. Napier Waller at St. Peter’s Anglican Church, Eastern Hill (1946). N. Drafftin, *The Art of Napier Waller*, p.12; and B. Sherry, *Australia’s Historic Stained Glass*, p.95. Another example was installed at St. Mark’s, Camberwell by Joseph Stansfield (c.1970).
90 Window executed by Alan Sumner in 1980s.
92 Installed in 1913, maker unknown.
94 Installed at St. Peter’s Chapel, Missions to Seamen, Melbourne in 1947.
95 Designed and made by Christian Waller, date unknown.
96 Made by Whippell & Co. Ltd., London, date unknown
98 Designed and made by Christian Waller, date unknown.
99 One of only two windows in Australia designed by Sir J. Ninian Comper. The other window, also in St. Mark’s, is St. Peter Apostle.
101 St. Luke, memorial to Norman MacGeorge (1962). Foliage was used as canopy in many of the Waller windows at All Saints’ Chapel, Geelong Grammar School, most notably in the *Faithful Christian... Apollyon* pair of lights.
Designed and made by Ferguson and Papas.

See Chapter 8: Modernism in Stained Glass.

The eight nave windows were designed by David Wright in 1984 and installed 1984-1991.

Information from the artist and a church brochure.

*Windows of St. Oswald's, Glen Iris*, p.1.

*Our Lady (5), Madonna by the Fountain (1).*

The Sacred Heart is usually accompanied by Blessed Margaret Mary.

Five Anglican and two Catholic examples.

Eight Anglican and four Catholic examples.

The selection of this subject is often for a church or chapel attached to a school, for example St. Catherine's School, Geelong. Brooks Robinson & Co. job book No.1, p.451.

The data should be accepted with caution as anecdotal information from former employees suggests a bias by the company towards Anglican Church clientele. See Table 1 Brooks Robinson orders by denomination 1923-1966, Table 2 1923-41, and Table 3 1945-1966.


Our Lady (5), Madonna by the Fountain (1).

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Four windows were made for the East Melbourne church and one for Box Hill.


Yencken's continued to take orders after World War II, however these were sub-contracted to Alan Sumner.


Both windows were the work of D. Taylor Kellock and commemorated the service of Old Boys from the schools.

See Chapter 8: Modernism in Stained Glass.

The poem was written by Dr. Frances Macnab and the windows designed by Klaus Zimmer and made by his studio, Australia Studios, 1988. See Chapter 8: Modernism in Stained Glass.

Chapter 6

1 Brooks Robinson & Co. job book No.1, p.50.
2 Brooks Robinson & Co. job book No.1, p.50. The window was destroyed by fire in 1955.
4 Brooks Robinson & Co. job book No.1, p.439. (1936). A second example titled *Christ Teaching* was made for Christ Church, Hawthorn, in the 1940s.
7 Brooks Robinson & Co. job book No.2, p.61. The image was taken from a cartoon made for St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church, Hamilton in 1936.
8 Brooks Robinson & Co. job book No.1, p.309. Full dedication reads: 'To the glory of God and in loving memory of Randal James Alcock, lay Canon of St. Paul's Cathedral and for 32 years a Worshipper in this church 1895-1927. Erected by his widow and other dear ones.'
9 Main images came from cartoons of the *Sermon on the Mount* (No.233); *St. Paul* (No.151); *Paul Preaching* (No.152); woman and child (No.58); old man and other figures (No.234); also unidentified cartoons (Nos.150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155). Brooks Robinson & Co. job book No.1, p.309.
10 Entry includes: 'cartoons reduced from Leonardo...touched up by Mr. Morgan'. Brooks Robinson & Co. job book No.1, p.130.
12 The "Brown" version was re-used at the Presbyterian Church, Warrigal (1934), Brooks Robinson & Co. job book No.1, p.412; and for an opus sectile version at St. Mark's, Fitzroy (1939). Brooks Robinson & Co. job book No.1, p.520.
13 Ernest Gambart, L. V. Flatau and Thomas Agnew & Sons, Manchester and London, were instrumental in sending numerous prints throughout the world - Gambart's marketing of the Light of the World among the most successful. See Chapter 7: The Light of the World.
14 By 1885, there were 73 agents for the Art-Union of London in Australia and New Zealand. H. Guise,
Great Victorian Engravings, p.15.
21 The influence of The Studio was more apparent in stained glass and leadlight for Australian homes.
26 Overbeck's Christ Blessing Children was particularly popular and examples by stained glass artists
Thomas Baillie, Michael and Arthur O'Connor and Thomas Wilmshurst were made for English
churches. M. Harrison, Victorian Stained Glass, p.35.
28 Publisher's preface, The Imperial Family Bible, 1870.
29 Often the titles 'Christ Blessing Little Children' and 'Suffer Little Children...' were interchanged
although the image remained the same.
Blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, as recorded by the Four Evangelists, [c.1866].
31 Title page of H. Rutter, The Life, Doctrine, and Sufferings of Our Blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus
Christ, as recorded by the Four Evangelists, [c.1866].
35 Window of Maries at the Tomb for St. Andrew's, Bendigo. Brooks Robinson & Co. job book No.1,
p.324 (1930).
36 Window of Ruth and Naomi is quite specific: 'taken from book Sacred Art p.107'. Brooks Robinson
37 See Chapter 7: The Light of the World.
38 Part of the extensive library of Alan Sumner, annotated by him and now in possession of the author.
39 F. Allen, Sixteen Masterpieces of Modern German Art, with biographical and descriptive text,
40 This volume is undated but photographs of Pope Benedict XV and various Australian Catholic clergy
place its publication c.1914-17. Alan Sumner library, now in possession of the author.
41 Included in H. Rutter, The Life, Doctrine, and Sufferings of Our Blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus
Christ, as recorded by the Four Evangelists, engraved by J.C. Armytage. An inferior version is in W.
Shaw Sparrow, British Etching from Barton to Seymour Haden (undated). References are made in the
job books to 'print supplied by client'. The latter volume was part of the collection at Brooks Robinson
& Co.
Ecc() Homo ordered by St. Catherine's School, Highton in 1936. Brooks Robinson job book No.1,
42 Sacred Heart was ordered by the Foundling Home, Broadmeadows in 1924. The entry includes the
comment 'Sacred Heart painted from Coloured Print commonly seen everywhere'. Brooks Robinson
& Co. job book No.1, p.34. Other examples: Burnie, Tasmania (1933) with Blessed Virgin Mary and
Nativity all from prints. Brooks Robinson & Co. job book No.1, p.393; Convent of Mercy, Heidelberg
43 Our Lady of Perpetual Succour at St. Kevin's College, Toorak (1932) Brooks Robinson & Co. job
book No.1, p.357; Our Lady at Sacred Heart, St. Kilda (1934). Brooks Robinson & Co. job book No.1,
p.395; and Our Blessed Lady of Mt. Carmel at St. Vincent de Paul, South Melbourne. Brooks
44 Between 1924 and 1966 prints, postcards and votive pictures were the basis of 26 country orders and
23 interstate orders. 32 orders were received from local churches, including Geelong. Brooks
Robinson & Co. job books.
45 Thirteen orders were from schools and orphanages. Brooks Robinson & Co. job books.
49 Brooks Robinson & Co. job book No.1, p.14
Chapter 7

3. Database of the author has records of more than 160 windows, most of which date from 1901 to 1988.
10. D. Lindsay and E. S. Washington, A Portrait of Britain Between the Exhibitions 1851-1951, p.89.
15. Letter from John Ruskin to The Times quoted in J. Maas, Holman Hunt and the Light of the World, pp. 61-64.
20. With Pre-Raphaelite attention to truth and detail, Holman Hunt had a brass lantern made to his design. J. Maas, Holman Hunt and the Light of the World, p.22-23. The finished piece differs from the design, the stained glass version is identical to the painted version.
21. Ferguson is believed to have been in England in 1860 where he recruited David Drape, artist and glass painter for their Melbourne firm. E. Bradshaw, ‘David Relph Drape, Artist, Architect and Glass Stainer’, MS, State Library of Victoria.
26. This may have been in part because entry was free. J. Maas, Holman Hunt and the Light of the World, p.87. Also because of entrepreneurial marketing.
29. Brooks Robinson & Co. job books indicate that more than 170 windows were ordered from the company between 1924 and its closure in mid-1960. See Table 4.
31. A full dedication is recorded on an accompanying plaque.
35. All windows were ordered for the Hoban Chapel glazing program: Christ Washing the Disciples’ Feet; Light of the World and Peter Preaching at Pentecost. Each was ordered as the central panel, set in architectural canopy and quarry surround in one of three sets of three lights. Each main panel was flanked by emblem panels.
40. Now St Andrew’s Uniting Church, Gardiner. The window was probably installed in the new church which opened on 4 May 1940.
41. Inscription in lower section of the window.
42. It is difficult to be absolute about these figures as many more windows remain to be examined. Brooks Robinson & Co. job books and personal sighting.
43. For discussion on Dancey’s style see Chapter 2: Brooks Robinson & Co.
44. This window dates from c.1907. It is a memorial to district pioneers Alexander and Emma Balcombe and was installed by their children.
45. One order in Brooks Robinson job books goes so far as to request the ‘nice face’. Brooks Robinson & Co. job book No.2, p.11.
47. An exception: St Paul’s Ringwood. ‘Cartoon same as Christ Church Geelong...No ornament’
48 St John's Anglican Church, Highton, Geelong.
49 Wesley Uniting Church, Frankston.
51 The description is taken from the earliest known example of version #3 in 1940, made for the Yarra Street Methodist Church, Geelong.
52 In private collection.
53 Only six examples of this version have been verified: Yarra Street Methodist Church, Geelong (1940); St. James the Less Anglican, Mt. Eliza (1941-46); Methodist Church, Bentleigh (1946); St. Andrew's Presbyterian, Murtoa (1950); St. Augustine's Anglican, Shepparton (1951); Uniting Church, Clifton Hill (1952).
55 The whereabouts of the window is, as yet, unknown. A photograph of the window survived in the Alan Sumner archive, now in the possession of the author.
56 The Uniting Church in Footscray required an infill window (c.1966) and specifically asked for the 'Holman Hunt' version.
57 Toucan Glass Studio of Brighton made windows in memory of H. L. Edgar Schutt (died 1975) for the German Lutheran Church, East Melbourne and Frederick Porter, Vicar of St Peter’s Anglican Church, Brighton (1960-1972) for the church.
3 An example was recently discovered in Spain by Helen Fuller.

Chapter 8
1 See Chapter 3: Other Melbourne Firms and Artists.
3 It is most likely that they were already well aware of the processes attached to making stained glass. Christian Waller and Montgomery's son had been fellow students at the National Gallery School from 1910. N. Draffin, 'Shared Symbols, Private and Public: Christian and Napier Waller', The Art of Christian Waller, 1992, p.49. (Exhibition catalogue)
4 Melbourne Town Hall, Swanston Street (1926-1927) carried out by H. Oliver & Sons; Menzies Hotel, Melbourne (1927)
5 Brooks Robinson & Co. job book No.1, p.216. Unfortunately, few details accompany the entry.
6 Completed in 1935. R. Crawford, Wilson Hall: Centre and Symbol of the University. 1952.
7 Two earlier windows were completed in 1929: the Apotheosis of David at St John's, Camberwell (destroyed by fire in 1955) and The Triumphant Christ for St. Matthew’s, East Geelong, N. Draffin, The Art of M. Napier Waller, 1978, p.12.
8 John Bell died of wounds in France, 27 December 1917, and George Russell Bell on 9 December 1918.
9 This window was dedicated in 1929 and may well have been completed by the Whall & Whall studio after Christopher Whall's death. C. Miley, 'Towards the Light: Christian Waller's Stained Glass', The Art of Christian Waller, p.43 & endnote p.48. A history of Geelong Grammar School states that the Christopher Whall window was installed in the Chapel 'in the early 1920s'. W. Bate, Light Blue Down Under: the History of Geelong Grammar School, p.277.
10 Made and installed between 1952 and 1958, supervised by M. Napier Waller.
12 Baptism, W. N. McGuinness Memorial, 1961, installed in the south transept.
14 Details from the accompanying plaque. It is the earliest installation (1952) of many M. Napier and Christian Waller windows in the church.
15 Stained glass artists seem to have regularly confused elements of the Transfiguration with the Resurrection and / or the Ascension. Clearly identifiable images of all three subjects are included in the Waller windows at St. Mark's.
16 Matthew 17:1-6.
17 A plaque adjacent to the window gives an explanation of the subject.
19 This window was made at the same time Waller was supervising the stained glass at the Australian War Memorial (1952-58) and he may not have devoted the same time to his other, smaller
commissions.

26 For further detail on Christian Waller 's art and interests see D. Thomas, 'A Very Singular Artist', The Art of Christian Waller, pp.7-9; and C. Miley, 'Towards the Light: Christian Waller's Stained Glass', The Art of Christian Waller, pp.43-48.

27 Index to Art Exhibitions, State Library of Victoria.


29 Although now correctly attributed, the nave windows of St. James' Old Cathedral were believed to be designed by M. Napier Waller although Christian Waller's signature is on each window. See H. Lewis, A History of St. James Old Cathedral, 1982, p.23.

30 This device was not unusual in Melbourne and can be seen in more 'traditional' windows, for example in the windows at St. Mark's, Fitzroy.


32 All the windows mentioned here were made around 1948.

33 C. Miley, 'Towards the Light: Christian Waller's Stained Glass', The Art of Christian Waller, p.34.

34 Designed in 1934. C. Miley, 'Towards the Light: Christian Waller's Stained Glass', The Art of Christian Waller, p.64.

35 The inscription reads: 'Captain Stewart Irvine Weir AAMC AIF killed in action Greece 19 April 1941'.

36 Text is from John 1:5. The inscription reads: 'In memoriam Filii nostri Robert de Wolf XIV Annon. Natus'.

37 Caroline Miley states that this device 'can be regarded as characteristic of Waller's own experience being projected through these windows, whatever the subject', C. Miley, 'Towards the Light: Christian Waller's Stained Glass', The Art of Christian Waller, p.46.

38 Window designed in the late 1920s.

39 All the windows mentioned here were made around 1948.


41 Williams also designed for Methodist and Presbyterian denominations. C. Miley, 'Towards the Light: Christian Waller's Stained Glass', The Art of Christian Waller, p.47.


44 Miles Lewis has written that the mass output of Louis Williams is generally uninspiring, but the Arts & Crafts style St. Stephen's, Darebin (1926-7) is one of his best churches. M. Lewis (ed.), Victorian Churches, p.74.


46 Examples include: MacRobertson Girls High School, South Melbourne; McPherson's Building, Collins Street; Missions to Seamen Building, Port Melbourne; Prince Henry's Hospital, St. Kilda Road.


51 Coventry Cathedral was bombed on the 14 November 1940. The Royal Fine Arts Commission did not accept Sir Gilbert Scott's design for its Gothic replacement (1944). B. Spence, Phoenix at Coventry: the Building of a Cathedral, 1962, p.2.

52 The Architectural Review editor, J. M. Richards led a debate in his journal (Architectural Review, January, 1952), which was followed by the architectural press generally. The Builder's editor gave staunch support. B. Spence, Phoenix at Coventry, p.32.

53 B. Spence, Phoenix at Coventry, pp.25-6.

54 In terms of the past, this was really quite fast: Salisbury Cathedral, one of the speedier efforts, took less than forty years (1220 - 1258). P. Cormack, English Cathedrals, 1984, p.74.


56 From a message from the Bishop and Provost included with the competition conditions. Quoted by B. Spence, Phoenix at Coventry, p.4.

57 Alan Sumner also worked with Louis Williams (Methodist, Sandringham) and Bates, Smart and McCutcheon (Methodist, Black Rock). 'Masterful Creation of Stained Glass', Foundations, Vol.2.
According to Jim Armstrong, lack of business acumen, rather than a lack of ideas or clients was the primary reason for its closure. Jim Armstrong. Interview with the author, February 1995.


51) See Chapter 3: Other Melbourne Firms and Artists, for details of Sumner’s windows in the period after leaving E. L. Yencken.

52) Interview with the author, 6 April 1991.

53) Alan Sumner travel notebook.

54) Sumner also made the south transept window, St. Francis Xavier.

55) Alan Robertson designed St. Francis Xavier, Frankston.


57) The window designs include representations of Baptism, Eucharist, Blessed Virgin, Scripture, Church, Marriage and Priesthood.

58) When this church was consecrated in 1961 it was known as Blessed Oliver Plunkett. He was canonised by Pope Paul VI in 1975.

59) The Leonard French ceiling in the National Gallery of Victoria, made in the dalle de verre method, is 50 metres by 14.6 metres.


61) An omission from the glass cycle is the Crucifixion, which was in the form of a sculpture in wood, placed on the east wall. The same solution was used at St. Gabriel’s Catholic Church, Reservoir.


63) The moulded 2.5 cm. thick slab, a dalle, was developed in the 1930s by two stained glass artists, Labouret and Chaudiere. C. Bray, Dictionary of Glass Materials and Techniques, 1995, p.86.

64) L. Lee (et al), Stained Glass, p.171.

65) Piper and Reyntiens were responsible for the glass in the central lantern at Liverpool Catholic Cathedral. The leftover dalles were bought by the Western Australian glass artists, Gowers & Brown who used them in windows at the University of Western Australia.

66) A. McCulloch, Several Decades of Glass, Mornington Peninsula Arts Centre, April 1979. It is highly likely that Gowers & Brown and Rein Slagmolen were already using the medium.


68) Another was John Firinauskas. He made a cartoon of the Light of the World, which was used in 1955 for All Saints’ Anglican, Kallista. Brooks Robinson & Co. job book No.2, p.104.


72) Valstar produced traditional windows for a local market including St. Paul at Christ Church Anglican, Daylesford. There is a suggestion of Modernist style in the pared down detail and horizontal divisions in the background, however the figure follows a more traditional form.


75) One of two Orval windows. A third window is by D. Taylor Kellock.

76) The technique was revived in the nineteenth century and used extensively by Ferguson & Urie in their Melbourne church windows.

77) Orval occasionally used enamels to introduce small amounts of colour into his windows, a technique which he has used more extensively in the St. Mark’s, Camberwell windows.


80) According to Jim Armstrong, lack of business acumen, rather than a lack of ideas or clients was the primary reason for its closure. Jim Armstrong. Interview with the author, February 1995.
The Anglican Church of Holy Advent, Malvern (1989) and a series of three windows in the sanctuary at the Glen Waverley Uniting Church (1991). In the latter group, Pearse has dispensed with lead altogether and used a glass applique technique to interpret his themes of Christian faith and sacrament.


Slagmolen also designed and made the Stations of the Cross and the Holy Spirit (dove) in the baptistery. The distinctive A-frame design was by architects, Robertson & Summers. *Art in Architecture — a comprehensive service*, Foundations, Vol.3 No.5, 1963 p.3.

One innovation was the development of 'Plastalum', which combined aluminium and resin to strength and bond the glass. Interview with the author, November 1994.

Slagmolen's term for a range of installations that used 'Plastalum' and other original techniques in his slab glass panels. Interview with the author, November 1994.

The Neo-gothic building was largely destroyed by fire in 1961. Williams worked the remnant of the nave into the new design as the north transept, now called the Pioneers Chapel. M. Lewis (ed.), *Victorian Churches*, p.60.

Slagmolen was also responsible for the metalwork on the crests, crucifix, candlesticks and the bronze font cover. *Art in Architecture — a comprehensive service*, Foundations, Vol.3 No.5, p.3.


D. Taylor Kellock examples include four windows in St. Peter's Anglican Church, Sturt Street, Ballarat.

This church (designed 1955-6) was clearly the forerunner of Williams' design for St. Andrew's, Brighton (1962).


Dedicated to Clarice Holdsworth who died on 27th January 1955.


See Chapter 3: Other Melbourne Firms and Artists.

Inscription at the base of the window. Commissioned by the Australian Federation of Business and Professional Women (Victorian Division).

*A Memorial Window dedicated to the Pioneering Women of Victoria*; and Derek Pearse. Interview with the author, November 1992.

Notable examples include two triangular windows, *The Armour of Light* and *The New Jerusalem*, at The Anglican Church of Holy Advent, Malvern (1989) and a series of three windows in the sanctuary at the Glen Waverley Uniting Church (1991). In the latter group, Pearse has dispensed with lead altogether and used a glass applique technique to interpret his themes of Christian faith and sacrament.


The methodology used to create the effects is discussed by J. Zimmer, 'Design Section: Glass Panels', *Craft Australia*, No.3, Spring 1981, pp.31-33.

Klaus Zimmer was assisted by Paul Danaher (the Lead Balloon) and Alison McMillan.


Corpus Christi College Historical Commission selected the texts for guidance of the artist. Typewritten notes, C.C.C.H.C.


David Wright: an exhibition of stained glass, Deutsher Galleries, [1976].

Although David Wright was speaking about the portico windows at St. James', Sydney, the
description applies equally to his other church installations. Quoted in *The David Wright Windows in

Conclusion

**TABLE 1**

**BROOKS ROBINSON ORDERS BY DENOMINATION 1923-1966**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Baptist</th>
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<th>Congregational</th>
<th>Jewish</th>
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Note: that 'Other' orders include entries with insufficient data, opus sectiles and private and commercial buildings.
TABLE 2
BROOKS ROBINSON ORDERS BY DENOMINATION 1923-41

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Note that 'Other' orders include entries with insufficient data, opus sectiles and private and commercial buildings.
TABLE 3
BROOKS ROBINSON ORDERS BY DENOMINATION 1945-1966

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Note that 'Other' orders include entries with insufficient data, opus sectiles and private and commercial buildings.
TABLE 4

BROOKS ROBINSON WINDOWS BY SUBJECT - 1923-1966
TABLE 6

BRICKS ROBINSON WINDOWS BY SUBJECT 1941-1966
TABLE 7
BROOKS ROBINSON WINDOW PRODUCTION 1923-1966
Figure 1 - The Good Shepherd
Convent Gallery Chapel, formerly Presentation Sisters Convent, Daylesford.
Auguste Fischer.
Figure 2 - *The Virtuous Woman*
Christ Church Anglican, St. Kilda.
William Montgomery.
Figure 3 - *The Ascension*

Christ Church Anglican, South Yarra.

William Montgomery.
Figure 4 - Detail of lettering and signature, *The Virtuous Woman*
Christ Church Anglican, St. Kilda
William Montgomery.
Figure 5 - *St. Michael*
Christ Church Anglican, South Yarra. 
William Montgomery.
Figure 6 - St. Matthew and St. John
All Saints' Chapel, Geelong Grammar School.
William Montgomery.
Figure 7 - *St. Luke* and *St. Mark*
All Saints' Chapel, Geelong Grammar School.
William Montgomery.
Figure 8 - *St. Michael and St. Gabriel*

All Saints' Chapel, Geelong Grammar School.

William Montgomery.
Figure 9 - *St. Stephen*

St. Mark's Anglican, Fitzroy.
William Montgomery.
Figure 10 - *St. Mark*
St. Mark's Anglican, Fitzroy.
William Montgomery.
Figure 11 - Suffer Little Children...
Christ Church Anglican, South Yarra.
William Montgomery.
Figure 12 - St. Paul
Christ Church Anglican, St. Kilda.
signed Brooks Robinson.
Figure 13 - *The Good Samaritan, Paul Preaching and The Charity of Dorcas*  
Wesley Uniting Church, Lonsdale Street, Melbourne.  
Brooks Robinson & Co (William Frater).
Figure 14 - 'It is a Royal and ancient game...'
Commonwealth Golf Club, Oakleigh South.
Figure 15 - *St. Michael*

Great War Honour Roll, Christ Church Anglican, St. Kilda.
Figure 16 - Cartoon of St. George
George Dancey.
Figure 17 - St. George
Wesley Uniting Church, Lonsdale Street, Melbourne
Brooks Robinson & Co.
Figure 18 - Cartoon of *Christ Bearing the Cross*
George Dancey.
Figure 19 - Detail of *Crucifixion*
Holy Trinity Anglican, Port Melbourne.
Brooks Robinson & Co. (George Dancey).
Figure 20 - Cartoon of *Christ Blessing the Children*
George Dancey.
Figure 21 - Cartoon of *The Agony in the Garden*.
George Dancey.
Figure 22 – Prudence
Toorak Ladies College, Mt. Eliza.
Figure 23 – *Fortitude*
Toorak Ladies College, Mt. Eliza.
Figure 24 - Agony, Crucifixion, Resurrection, Ascension
St. John the Evangelist Anglican, East Malvern.
Brooks Robinson & Co.
Figure 25 - The Ascension
St. Andrew’s Uniting, Gardiner, formerly Wesley Church, Gardiner.
Brooks Robinson & Co.
Figure 26 - Cartoon of *Defend O Lord this Child*
Figure 27 - *Defend O Lord this Child*
St. Columb's Anglican, Hawthorn.
Brooks Robinson & Co.
Figure 28 - *Christ Stilling the Storm*  
St. Clement’s Anglican, Elsternwick.  
Figure 29 – *The Venerable Bede*
St. Mark’s Anglican, Camberwell.
Figure 30 - *St. George*

St. John's Uniting, Essendon.
E. L. Yencken. (William Frater).
Figure 31 – *David*
St. John’s Uniting, Essendon.
E. L. Yencken. (William Frater).
Figure 32 - I am the Light
Holy Trinity Anglican, Oakleigh.
Figure 33 - Detail of *I am the Way*
Holy Trinity Anglican, Oakleigh
Figure 34 - Sketch design of *Christ Stilling the Storm*.
William Frater.
Figure 35 - The Good Samaritan
St. Columb’s Anglican, Hawthorn.
Alan Sumner.
Figure 36 - Detail of *St. Martin*
Memorial Hall Scotch College, Hawthorn
Mathieson & Gibson. (attributed to William Mathieson).
Figure 37 - King Arthur and Sir Galahad
Memorial Hall Scotch College, Hawthorn.
Mathieson & Gibson. (attributed to William Mathieson).
Figure 38 - East Window
Queen's College Chapel, The University of Melbourne, Parkville.
Figure 39 - Detail of East Window
Queen's College Chapel, The University of Melbourne, Parkville.
Mathieson & Gibson.
Figure 40 - Our Lady of Lourdes
St. Mary of the Angels Catholic, Geelong.
Mathieson & Gibson. 1939.
Figure 41 - Detail of *Faith*
All Souls’ Anglican, Sandringham.
Mathieson & Gibson. 1931.
Figure 42 - *Madonna and Child*

Christ Church Anglican, South Yarra
Brooks Robinson & Co. for Mathieson & Gibson. 1953.
Figure 43 - Soldiers' Memorial
St. Andrew's Kirk, Ballarat.
Amalie Field.
Figure 44 – David
Chapel of St. Peter, Melbourne Grammar School, South Yarra.
Rebecca Rigg. 1931.
Figure 45 – Samuel
Chapel of St. Peter, Melbourne Grammar School, South Yarra.
Rebecca Rigg. 1931.
Figure 46 - *John on the Isle of Patmos*
All Souls' Anglican, Sandringham.
Rebecca Rigg.
Figure 47 - Detail of John on the Isle of Patmos
All Souls' Anglican, Sandringham
Rebecca Rigg.
Figure 48 - *The Battle of Lepanto*
Our Lady of Victories Catholic, Camberwell.
Hardman & Co., Birmingham.
Figure 49 - Annunciation of the Virgin
Our Lady of Victories Catholic, Camberwell.
Hardman & Co., Birmingham.
Figure 50 – Ascension
St. Monica’s Catholic, Essendon.
Figure 51 - Assumption of the Virgin
St. Monica's Catholic, Essendon.
Figure 82 - Christ in Glory
St. Monica's Catholic, Essendon.
Hardman & Co., Birmingham.
Figure 53 - Detail of *Christ in Glory*
St. Monica’s Catholic, Essendon.
Hardman & Co., Birmingham.
Figure 54 - Peter the Fisherman
St. Peter’s Anglican, Brighton Beach.
Whippell’s of London.
Figure 55 - Detail of Peter the Fisherman
St. Peter’s Anglican, Brighton Beach.
Whippell’s of London.
Figure 56 - *Christ Blessing the Children*
St. Peter's Anglican, Brighton Beach.
Whippell's of London.
Figure 57 - Nurse Edith Cavell
St. Mark's Anglican, Camberwell.
Sir J. Ninian Comper.
Figure 58 - West Window
St. Mary's Catholic, East St. Kilda, signed by F. X. Zettler.
Figure 59 - Assumption of Mary
St. Mary's Catholic, East St. Kilda.
F. X. Zettler. Detail of west window.
Figure 60 - *Nativity and Baptism*
St. Joseph's Catholic, Elsternwick.
Figure 61 - St. Catherine of Siena pleading with Pope Gregory XI
St. Dominic's Catholic, Camberwell East.
Harry Clarke Studios, Dublin.
Figure 62 - Detail of St. Catherine of Siena
St. Dominic's Catholic, Camberwell East.
Harry Clarke Studios, Dublin.
Figure 63 - Baptistry window.
St. Mary's Catholic, East St. Kilda.
signed by Harry Clarke Stained Glass, Dublin (left); Brooks Robinson & Co.,
Figure 64 – Resurrection
St. Dominic’s Catholic, Camberwell East.
Richard King.
Figure 65 - Detail of *Resurrection*
St. Dominic's Catholic, Camberwell East.
Richard King.
Figure 66 - Ruth and Naomi
Christ Church Anglican, St. Kilda.
Brooks Robinson & Co.
Figure 67 - *Jacob's Ladder* (and *Baptism in the Jordan*)
St. John's Uniting, Essendon
Brooks Robinson & Co. 1928 (and 1951).
Figure 68 - Detail of Jacob's Ladder
St. Andrew's Uniting, Gardiner.
D. Taylor Kellock.
Figure 69 - Jesus at the House of Martha and Mary
St. Thomas' Anglican, Essendon.
Figure 70 - Jesus at the House of Martha and Mary
St. Clement's Anglican, Elsternwick.
Phoenix Studios. (Joseph Stansfield).
Figure 71 - Nativity
Holy Trinity Anglican, Port Melbourne. (no longer extant).
Figure 72 - Nativity
St. Mary of the Angels Catholic, Geelong,
Mathieson & Gibson.
Figure 73 – Crucifixion
Holy Trinity Anglican, Oakleigh.
Figure 74 – Christ Blessing the Children (and St. John)
St. Clement’s Anglican, Elsternwick.
Figure 75 – *St. Michael*
Holy Trinity Anglican, Oakleigh.
Figure 76 – Missionaries Memorial
St. Columb’s Anglican, Hawthorn.
Alan Sumner. c. 1982.
Figure 77 - *Junkt*

All Saints' Anglican, St. Kilda
[unknown]. 1913.
Figure 78 - Florence Nightingale
St. Peter's Anglican, Brighton Beach.
[Whippell & Moubray?].
Figure 79 - Christ Teaching

Christ Church Anglican, Hawthorn.
[Brooks Robinson & Co.?], c. 1940.
Figure 80 – *The Sermon on the Mount* and *The Last Supper*
St. Columb’s Anglican, Hawthorn.
Brooks Robinson & Co. 1929.
Figure 81 – Detail of *The Sermon on the Mount*
St. Columb’s Anglican, Hawthorn.
Brooks Robinson & Co. 1929.
Figure 82 – *The Last Supper*
St. John’s Uniting, Essendon.
Brooks Robinson & Co. 1928.
Figure 83 – Multi-light north transept Chapel window. St. Mary’s Star of the Sea Catholic, North Melbourne. Brooks Robinson & Co. (Cartoon by ‘Brown’).
Figure 84 – Madonna Sixtina
Collection of Alan Sumner.
Figure 85 – Madonna and Child
St. Mary of the Angels Catholic, Geelong.
Mathieson & Gibson.
Figure 86 – Cartoon of *Woman at the Well*
Brooks Robinson & Co.
Figure 87 – *Woman at the Well*
St. Columb’s Anglican, Hawthorn.
Brooks Robinson & Co. 1948.
Figure 88 – *Christ and the Adulteress*
Figure 89 – Cartoon of *He That is Without Sin*
Brooks Robinson & Co.
Figure 90 – *He That is Without Sin*
St. Andrew’s Presbyterian, Gardiner.
Brooks Robinson & Co.
Figure 91 – Naaman’s Wife
Figure 92 – Naaman and a Servant Girl
Scots’ Church, Collins Street, Melbourne.
William Montgomery. 1918.
Figure 93 – Sir Galahad
All Saints’ Chapel, Geelong Grammar School.
William Montgomery. c.1918.
Figure 94 – Faithful Unto Death
Figure 95 – *Faithful Unto Death*
Wesley Uniting Church, Lonsdale Street, Melbourne.
Brooks Robinson & Co.
Figure 96 – *Light of the World*
William Holman Hunt.
Tim Tiley Ltd., Bristol.
Figure 97 – Christ Knocking on the Door of the Soul
Philip Veit
[source unknown]
Figure 98 - *Light of the World*
St. Peter's Anglican, Merino.
Ferguson & Urie. 1866-67.
Figure 99 - *Light of the World*

Christ Church Anglican, St. Kilda.
Brooks Robinson & Co.
Figure 100 - *Light of the World*
St John\'s Anglican, Malvern.
Brooks Robinson & Co.
Figure 101 - *Light of the World*

Figure 102 - *Light of the World*

St. Andrew's Presbyterian, Gardiner.
Brooks Robinson & Co. 1938.
Figure 103 - Light of the World
St. Peter's Anglican, Mornington.
Brooks Robinson & Co. (George Dancey). c. 1907.
Figure 104 - *Light of the World*
St. John’s Anglican, Highton, Geelong.
Brooks Robinson & Co. 1927.
Figure 105 - *Light of the World*

The Anglican Church of St. John the Evangelist, Heidelberg.
Brooks Robinson & Co. 1925.
Figure 106 – Detail of *Light of the World*
The Anglican Church of St. John the Evangelist, Heidelberg.
Brooks Robinson & Co. (George Dancey). 1925.
Figure 107 – Detail of *Light of the World*
Wesley Uniting, Frankston.
Brooks Robinson & Co. (George Dancey). 1939.
Figure 108 - *Light of the World*
Christ Church Anglican, Hawthorn.
Brooks Robinson & Co. c.1930.
Figure 109 – Cartoon of *Light of the World*
Methodist Church, Yarra Street, Geelong.
Brooks Robinson & Co.
Figure 110 - *Light of the World*
St. James the Less (Old Church), Mt. Eliza.
Brooks Robinson & Co. c.1941-1946.
Figure 111 — *Light of the World*

Uniting, Clifton Hill.

Brooks Robinson & Co.
Figure 112 - Detail of *Light of the World*
Anglican Cathedral Church of Christ the King, Ballarat.
Mathieson & Gibson.
Figure 113 – Design for *Light of the World*
E. L. Yencken & Co.
William Frater.
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