Introduction: Australian-made stained and painted glass in Sydney.

The pioneer glass painting firm in Melbourne, and perhaps in the whole of Australia, was that of Ferguson & Urie and it appears to have been established some time in the 1850's.269

The pioneer glass painter in Sydney, John Falconer, appeared with his first set of windows in May 1864, made for the newly built Anglican Church of St Mary, Waverley. By that time, John Lamb Bowes-Lyon was already working with Ferguson and Urie in Melbourne; he had arrived from Scotland in 1861. In 1873, Lyon moved to Sydney where he and Daniel Cottier established a studio of their own - the second professional glass painting firm in Sydney. (The firm of Lyon and Cottier is discussed in greater detail in Part C of this thesis.) All three pioneers of glass painting in Sydney came from Scotland. About the same time, Frederick Ashwin, who came from Birmingham, England, joined Falconer's firm as a partner.

Sir Richard Bourke's Church Act of 1836270 marked the beginning of an era in church building. The Colonial Treasury contributed money as soon as at least three hundred pounds were collected by the people for the building of a church. In the 1850's, newspapers were already publishing long lists of contributors. The discovery of gold caused a temporary cessation of building, but in the 1870's and in

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the 1880's Sydney experienced a boom in the construction of new churches of all denominations.

Sydney newspapers of the 1860's and the 1870's allowed considerable space for reports on building projects, both secular and ecclesiastical. Painted windows were almost always mentioned, but the names of the artists appeared only seldom. When they did, their work was really appreciated and described in glowing terms. Apart from pages devoted to business, the daily press extensively reported on political, ecclesiastical and cultural events in Australia and abroad. A sense of belonging to two different worlds was strongly felt, expressed in an intense interest in events in England, Ireland and Scotland, ranging from those of world importance to the most trivial ones. At the same time, a new Australian national awareness and pride were growing, out of the legacy of the old world and the achievements on the new continent, with a will and enthusiasm which went beyond merely wishing to recreate a part of the lost old homeland.

In Sydney, there were many small-scale cultural activities. Newspapers reported meetings of various cultural circles, sometimes reprinting entire texts of lectures given on various subjects; musical evenings and theatrical performances were also described, with a special emphasis on personalities both performing and attending. The bulk of
the people who enjoyed these products of culture were by no means connoisseurs, but they appear to have attended them at least as much out of interest, as for social reasons. They were the people who commissioned the majority of painted glass windows for the newly built churches. The revived custom of memorial windows proved to be a great incentive. An elite of better educated and professional people, who were quite aware of the developments in the revival of glass painting, took great care in selecting workshops. Some had personally inspected glass painting studios while on overseas trips, before making the final choice, especially before the establishment of the local workshops in Sydney. Leading Sydney merchants, well-to-do land owners throughout New South Wales and professional people were often the donors of windows in the larger building projects.

With the establishment of glass painting firms in Sydney, the import of church windows diminished, but by the early 1880's work was plentiful for both local and overseas firms. Most windows came from England, but the Roman Catholic churches imported many windows from France, particularly in the 1880's and the 1890's. During the 1890's, there existed at least ten leadlighting and glass painting firms in Sydney, although a decline in church building and consequently in the production of painted windows began in that decade.
The styles of the two major workshops in Sydney differ widely, most of all, in general colouring. The style of the workshop of Lyon, Cottier & Co. retained over the years enough typical qualities and features, in spite of the variety of individual artists' styles, but the windows from the workshop of John Falconer, later from his partnership with Frederick Ashwin and later still from the period of Frederick Ashwin's collaboration with John Radecki, vary to such an extent within a few years, that it may be impossible to identify them without some kind of proof.

The 1880's was a period of little innovation, in both local and imported glass. Most firms seem to have settled for the easiest "safe" ways to satisfy increased demand. Practically all churches were built in the Gothic Revival style. Gothic architectural canopies, rather than a more inventive ornament, became almost the rule; even the colour schemes were predictable. In this period, an exception among both local and overseas workshops was the firm of Lyon, Cottier & Co. which showed a particularly vigorous development and freshness of style until the early 1890's, when an economic depression set in. One of the strongest points in the firm's style was colour.

1891 was a bad year for Sydney glass: first Daniel Cottier, then John Falconer died. The workshop style of Lyon, Cottier & Co. soon began to decline, but within the rival
firm of F. Ashwin & Co. a young artist appeared. He was John Radecki, Polish-born (1866), trained for the greatest part in Sydney, without an art diploma, but a "natural" artist. He effected a major change in the workshop style and remained the leading artist in Sydney painted glass until 1954, one year before he died.271 As every glass painter of the older generation still maintains, Radecki was the only artist whose work satisfied Fred Ashwin. He had an exceptional ability for figure drawing and composition, and an eye for colour. His cartoons and colour schemes have been plagiarised over the years, almost to this day, by the lesser people in the trade.

The workshop of Lyon, Cottier & Co. anticipated many qualities of Art Nouveau, but by the time the style appeared overseas, the workshop was losing its creativity very fast. The workshop was also affected by the economic depression of the 1890's when building activities slowed down. The demand for painted glass and leadlights diminished and important artists left the workshop, as the changes in workshop style suggest.

Ecclesiastical glass in Sydney was not greatly affected by Art Nouveau. Art Nouveau leadlights, similar to domestic leadlights, were made for churches, many of them dating from after the style had already subsided overseas. Art Nouveau
and Art Deco glass in public and private buildings of the Sydney area could be an interesting separate study. Glazed tiles, metalwork and other items of exterior and interior decoration were also abundant at that time, but are steadily disappearing now, under the developers' hammer.
CHAPTER I

1. John Falconer, 1863 - c.1874  
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1. **John Falconer, 1863 - c.1874.**

According to John Falconer's death certificate, he came to Australia at the age of eighteen, in 1856, and married at nineteen (App. Item 8). He was the exact contemporary of Daniel Cottier and two years older than John Lamb Lyon. While both Cottier and Lyon furthered their experience in England for a while, Falconer appears to have come out to Australia directly after his period of training at Gibbs and Warrington in London, then called "the great Early English House".  

At twenty-six Falconer was in charge of the first professional glass painting workshop in Sydney which made its debut at the Anglican Church of St Mary, Waverley, with coloured pattern windows for the chancel. They were installed in time for the opening of the church on the 19th May, 1864 (plates 42 and 43 b). (Cat. FA - 1864.) All other windows in the body of the church were, for the time being, "filled with matted glass and edged with a neat coloured band ...".  

This appears to have been the general practice in most churches, before stained glass windows could be installed. The daily press hailed the effort as the first "in the colony", the firm of "Messrs. Falconer and Aldis" of Pitt-street, Sydney ... having built a kiln on purpose to execute the order. The side windows of the chancel and all other windows of the church were made by the same firm, who merit encouragement in the
new branch of art which their enterprise has opened up in this colony." The church was designed by E.T. Blacket; the foundation stone had been laid 5.6.1863.

By 1863, when Falconer began to work professionally, many churches in Sydney and in the country areas already had coloured windows from England. The most important secular establishment in Sydney, the University, designed by and built under the supervision of E.T. Blacket, officially opened its Great Hall in 1859, with Clayton & Bell windows.

Among the most important ecclesiastical buildings of the time was Old St Mary's Cathedral which already contained a number of painted windows from the 1840's and the 1850's, one of which has survived for the most part (Cat. B - 1859-60.) The windows for St Andrew's Cathedral were in the making in the early 1860's, by J. Hardman & Co. Christ Church St Laurence windows, by various pioneers of the revival of glass painting in England, were by then almost a complete set. The two Anglican churches in Parramatta were filled with windows of a completely different character again. The Church of St John, Parramatta, received its pressed quarry windows and grisailles in the late 1850's. Highly coloured pattern windows and some with figural medallions, all made in the mosaic enamel method, were installed at All Saints', Parramatta, in 1861-62. The east window of St Paul's, Redfern, a cool grisaille of pressed glass, was installed in
All these examples were too early to be influenced by William Morris, but Winston's principles were already evident.

Although these imported windows could not have failed to impress Falconer, none of his windows were closely based on them. Similarities are more due to both the English windows and those by Falconer deriving from common sources and being made to agree with revival architecture which favoured earlier English medieval styles, particularly for the smaller churches. The earliest windows of Falconer have large areas of white glass and strong colour contrasts. This could have been due equally to a narrow range of available colours, while the firm was getting organised, as well as to Falconer's personal taste and the influence of Winston's examples of pattern windows. In the coming years, Falconer developed a richer colouring and a more effective control of light, but his ornamental style remained bold. While the components of design may not always be perfectly balanced, Falconer's pattern windows in particular differ from all others because of their almost barbaric strength and brilliance of colour which seem to redeem shortcomings, and a logic of its own kind, all of which amounts to a distinct personal style.

For St Mary's Waverley, Falconer chose designs to agree in character with the Early English revival architecture. Some
ten years later, he continued in a consistent style with the south wall and west end windows. The elongated ornament in the east window (plate 42) may be reminiscent of the character of an earlier English-made window, that of St Paul's, Redfern (plate 5a), but the colouring is bright, completely different. Falconer often used elongated, chain-like designs typical of the Early English (or Early Gothic) style. They adapted themselves very well to narrow lancets (see also plate 47 a). The ornament in the main fields of the Waverley east window is larger in proportion and broader in style, than in all other windows that followed, large or small, where it became more condensed and more varied in colouring and detail.

In the lower centre light of the east window at Waverley (plate 42 b), the Newman family coat of arms is more elaborately treated than the rest, with acid-etched motifs on coated ruby glass and designs on white glass previously covered with black enamel. It could be expected that Falconer was well trained to use these methods. Fromberg gives detailed instructions "On Engraving upon Glass with Hydrofluoric Acid", Gessert's treatise does not supply information on acid-etching; it barely mentions the grinding with emery.

In the main fields of the east window, the drawing is bold to the point of hardness; the rambling ivy appears to be
starved of water. There is no cross-hatching to create in-between tonal areas. A characteristic modelling style appears in the borders: in the white leaves, a shallow relief effect is achieved by wiping off the matt at the tips and around the centre, in a concentric manner. In many windows attributable to Falconer, the same method continues into the 1870's. The same method of modelling can be seen in the grapevine leaves of the east window at Cobbitty by William Warrington (plate 13). Falconer probably adopted this method while training with Warrington.

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A small pair of lights originally made for the chancel (plate 43 b) is an adaptation of Winston's plate V - an Early English window from Stockbury church, Kent. Falconer concentrated the darker-toned colours (blue and ruby) around the main quatrefoil motifs. Yellow stain is applied in bands surrounding oak leaves on grisaille grounds, where on a larger scale, strips of yellow glass coloured in the mass would normally be used. The inside outlines of the yellow bands act as fake leads. The yellow stain is not used to warm up the grisaille in any other way, therefore the Early English character remains preserved. While the much larger east window was made without cross-hatching, these two small lights are much richer tonally because of cross-hatching. The subtle
variations in angles of the lines, in Winston's original, have eluded the artist, so that perpendicular and horizontal, rather than oblique directions inside the quatrefoils contribute to a certain rigidity.

This little window at Waverley has an older English relative in Parramatta - two lights above the main entrance to the Church of St John (plate 8), installed some seven years earlier, made of pressed glass. In the Waverley window, made of thinner glass, Falconer achieved the same kind of tonal control which is very effective for the local light conditions.

During the 1873 extensions to St Mary's, Waverley, this pair of lights was moved from the chancel to the easternmost position in the south wall, to a newly added bay. E.T. Blacket's plans for alterations were approved of in June, 1872; the changes were completed in 1873.

The church has recently undergone considerable alterations. The nave has been lengthened eighteen feet ... An organ chamber has been built at the North side of the chancel ... Two handsome stained glass windows have been placed in the western end, one containing a figure of the Virgin Mary, and the other that of St. John. Of the twelve windows in the nave, four are of stained glass, and six other are promised, the whole being gifts of various members of the church.

The westernmost window in the south wall (plate 49 b; Cat. FA 1873-74) is "The Gift of E.T. Blacket", architect of the church. The window bears no date. Similar designs
incorporating a spiral scroll with a gentle suggestion of three-dimensionality by tonal modelling, appeared at about the same time also in the west end of St Paul's, Carlingford; combined with floral designs, at St Philip's, Sydney, and at St Stephen's, Newtown (plate 51 b).

Three more windows in the south wall of St Mary's, Waverley, were promised at a meeting on the 14th May, 1873; 285 none of them are figural. After ten years had passed since the earliest work for this church, Falconer's pattern windows became more detailed and the range of colours and tones widened. The two western lights contain figural panels with ornamental grounds which are in keeping with the style of ornament used in the east window and one other small window in particular. The figures are composed from rather large pieces of glass and the headlines are concealed wherever possible. A considerable amount of white glass is used. The style is very similar to the Kemp memorial window at St Peter's, East Sydney, made six or seven years earlier, the account of which follows.

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It would be difficult to believe that Falconer had not attempted figure work before 1867, but the Charles Kemp memorial window at St Peter's, East Sydney (pl. 44 a) should
be one of the earliest (Cat. FA - 1867). This, and the east window from Ferguson & Urie in Melbourne (plate 74) were installed first, in time for the opening.

The inscription states that the window was designed by W. Kemp, architect, and made by J. Falconer. William E. Kemp was for a time associated with E.T. Blacket in the Colonial Architect's office and was a younger brother of Charles Kemp, the co-founder (together with Fairfax) of the "Sydney Morning Herald". The window stands out among others in this church because of its large (almost life-size) figures, its broad areas of colour and bold, strongly coloured ornament.

The figure of Christ closely resembles the central figure of Christ in the Ferguson & Urie east window; both could have had common iconographical origins. Or it could have been a case of Kemp having seen the Ferguson & Urie design sent for approval, and using a very similar figure in the smaller window. Ferguson & Urie's figure of Christ is modelled deeply enough to appear statuesque, while Falconer has not succeeded in arranging the draperies either sculpturally or decoratively, to the same degree. In both windows, the draperies of the figures are cut in the largest possible pieces of glass, with leadlines placed mainly at the boundaries of colours, in agreement with Gessert's remark on leadlines in windows made for close viewing.  

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The painting of skin tones and hair is done on white glass. It is too delicate to stand up to good light - a common nineteenth century failing in the combined mosaic enamel method. The abruptly joined-on white ground below the figures' feet is treated only with faint lines in black enamel, resembling etching. This colourless area is the glairiest part of the window.

The real weakness of Falconer, observable in the 1860's in particular, was his inability to see the whole, in a series of related tones and intensities. He had a taste for strong colours and a particular liking for blue. Colour problems were always more acute in figure work than in ornament, because a certain degree of representational reality had to be considered. Like the nineteenth century writers on the subject, Falconer seems to have been caught between an admiration for the richness of medieval colour and a desire to follow natural appearances. In the Kemp memorial window, blue appears in both the draperies and the background, adjacent to other areas of practically the same blue (Christ's halo) or dark green, similar in tone. The intense blue of the background is diapered too delicately to make any difference.

William E. Kemp's conception for this window dominated by large figures in Classical poses was in keeping with the taste upheld by J.B. Waring in the illustrated catalogue of the 1862
International Exhibition in London - published only about five years before Kemp designed this window. At this exhibition, Charles Winston was only an associate juror; William Morris attracted only a minor medal. It is understandable that such an impressive catalogue could have been influential and treated as a guide in taste, especially by a designer who was not a professional glass painter of some standing.

Examples of glass painting in this catalogue appear to have been selected for their expressive and pictorial qualities, although colour is always mentioned. Each work is described as a painting on glass, which tells a story or expresses literary or scriptural ideas. To Waring, "Of all the examples of stained and painted glass in the Exhibition, Bertini's window ... was certainly prominent for drawing, expression, and general harmony of effect." It was a 'Madonna and Child', based on the Renaissance tradition, but static and symmetrical rather than stable and balanced, with figures realistically modelled in tone, as one would paint on canvas. Pictorial depth exists to a large degree, and it is inconsistent: the lower half, especially the floor, slides forward, while the upper half exists on both sides of the picture surface, with the rambling ornament on the plane of the glass. The leadlines are concealed along colour boundaries. All over the window, and especially in the pale background to the
rambling plant, the glass is cut in large and often most awkwardly shaped pieces, in order to avoid using leadlines as much as possible.

As Bertini's round-arched window was probably intended for a building in the Renaissance tradition and provided with Renaissance decoration, Falconer's and Kemp's pointed lights are decorated with appropriate medieval motifs, to suit the Early Gothic revival church. The ornament in this window closely resembles the hexafoils by Wailes in his 1851 coloured pattern window, originally made for Christ Church St Laurence, but at that time already at St Barnabas', Sydney (plate 2).

The attitude to leadlines, as shown in the work by Bertini of Milan, approved of by Waring and Gessert and followed by W.E. Kemp and Falconer in the Charles Kemp memorial window, was completely contrary to the enlightened attitude of Winston. He clearly recognised their essential role in the mechanical construction of windows, in the mosaic system of glass painting which alone could produce "the most brilliant and powerful effects of light and colour", brilliancy and translucency being the unique qualities of glass as a medium. All other design considerations, including many pictorial qualities, should be adapted to these properties of the medium, even if they appeared to be shortcomings (such as the limited scale of colour and transparent shadows, which generate "a certain flatness"), to the mind and the eye conditioned by the Classical standards of taste.
A single-light window, contemporary with the Charles Kemp memorial at St Peter's, East Sydney, and with no pretensions to monumentality, exists at the Church of St Barnabas, Sydney (plate 44 b, Cat. FA - 1867). As in the former, the figure is placed on a diapered ground; the classical pose is very similar. The lettering on a white band surrounding the vesica-shaped medallion is Gothic, rather thin and it appears to have been done by the same hand as in the Kemp memorial window. However, the difference between the styles of both windows is so great, one could easily believe they came from different workshops. While the East Sydney window is broad in its style particularly in figure presentation, this window stresses decorative detail and it bears close scrutiny. The Decorated head of the window has inspired a very attractive adaptation of the main grisaille motif with interlacing green and ruby strips. A part of the complete main motif at the base appears in the head, as an inverted fan shape, surrounded by a meandering Gothic border. The cross-hatching is fine and dense and gives the whole window a filigree effect. The colour range is basic and its distribution finely balanced; blue next to blue areas do not occur. Amber rather than yellow stain in the grisaille blends with the colours in the glass rather than contrasting with them. All fine oraments are neatly designed. Tone is expertly controlled by a balanced alternation of white and coloured areas and by the use of
traditional painted details, such as diapering and beading, besides cross-hatching.

There is a token reference to Gothic architectural motif - a small canopy framing the figure. The style of the canopy and other decoration is consistent with the Decorated architectural style. The canopy appears in Falconer's work only seldom. This window could have been the result of Falconer's collaboration with another artist in the workshop; it could have also been inspired by an example in a pattern book. However, fine detailing was something of which Falconer was himself very capable.

Falconer and his clients seem to have remained for a while under the spell of the Charles Kemp memorial window, as many single-figure per light windows appeared in the following years, similar in colouring and space filling. In the same church of St Barnabas, four pairs of small clerestory lights in the chancel could have come only from Falconer's workshop. They look like next-generation descendants from the Kemp window (plates 45 a & b). The figures are in stable poses with symbolic gestures and they stem from the Classical tradition. Their simplified outlines tend to limpness - probably a combined result of some of the methods of tracing, enlarging or reducing, offered in the Appendix to Gessert's treatise,\textsuperscript{294} as well as of the way the glass was cut. The
figures could have derived from a variety of sources available in the second half of the 19th century, such as lithographs, engravings, photographs, pattern books and loose-leaf folios for designers in various trades.

The colours are strong and basic, and their range is a little wider than in the Kemp window. A large proportion of glass is white (heads, hands and feet, parts of the draperies, the floor, parts of the ornament). Again, the painting of the facial features on white glass is tonally the weakest part.

The canopies and backgrounds have similarities with earlier work by Hardman which could be seen in Sydney. More parallels can be drawn with Hardman's windows for St Andrew's Cathedral made in the 1860's, than with the only surviving window from Old St Mary's.

Ogee forms are a part of many canopy designs at St Andrew's Cathedral, and in the west end they are combined with various purely decorative Gothic arch outlines without architectural substance, as well as with floral ornament. The heads of some of Falconer's windows at St Barnabas' also sprout a scrolled plant motif of the same character, strongly related to the Classical tradition, out of the point of a cusped arch outline. The heads of lights featuring the Evangelists (plate 45 a) could have been inspired by Hardman's western end
cathedral windows facing the aisles, such as the 'Transfiguration' window (plate 21). Small medallions are developed from the ogee curve of the canopy arch. They bear the Evangelists' symbols and they are surrounded by a scrolled plant ornament on ruby ground, as in Hardman's 'Transfiguration'. Even the colours are basically the same. Strongly coloured ornament rather than the Gothic architectural canopy was obviously preferred by Falconer.

That Falconer was not in favour of medievalisms has been testified by the anonymous author of the fifth article to "The Sydney Mail" (29.4.1871). Falconer's pattern windows are based on medieval ornament interpreted as flat, colourful mosaic screens. It was the architectural substance in Gothic canopies that Falconer particularly disliked; credit must be given to him for using other kinds of ornament, sometimes quite original, at the time when Gothic architectural canopies were becoming increasingly more used, even by the most eminent glass painting firms with no shortage of talent or skill.

A church where Falconer could have seen well designed, colourful ornament to complement architecture of the Classical tradition was the Church of St Matthew in Windsor, N.S.W. Its two earliest English windows were installed in 1864 (one of these is shown in plate 16). Falconer's clerestory windows, with their strong leanings towards the Classical tradition, are just
as much in agreement with the bare and spacious interior of St Barnabas', which is almost Georgian in character, as are the much more elaborate, detailed, medievalising compositions by Hardman, meant to complement the Perpendicular Gothic Revival style, or the English windows at Windsor. Neither the buildings, nor the windows, are archaeologically correct—they are nineteenth century interpretations based on styles of the past. Many Classical features survived throughout the Middle Ages and became an integral part of the style; it is the mode of employment of each motif or element, rather than the element itself, that makes it a part of the style in question.

The "Gothic tree" also occurs in Falconer's clerestory windows at St Barnabas', as it does at St Andrew's Cathedral, and particularly in its main east window (plate 24). This motif is common enough in genuine medieval art and in 19th century revival windows, therefore Hardman did not need to be the example followed.

A shoulder-level screen is also used as a background in these clerestory windows (plate 45a), in very much the same way as in Hardman's only surviving window from Old St Mary's (plate 20), installed in 1860. While Hardman's background is all in colour, Falconer used a white band which cuts the lights across. Other colour problems remain very much the same as they were in the Kemp window: adjacent blues and other cool colours of the same tone.
Before discussing the more complex figural windows by Falconer, the possible influence of Gessert and Fromberg should be examined. Both writers were mentioned in relation to Falconer in "The Sydney Mail" in 1871, but it could be expected that he was familiar with their treatises while still in England. The author of the articles to the daily paper referred to a wide range of books on stained and painted glass and on other related subjects, among them books by Winston, Mrs Merrifield, Gessert and Fromberg. Fromberg's treatise, he thought, was "perhaps of too technical a character for the ordinary reader." ("S.M.", 22.4.1871.) The "more elementary and popular work" by Gessert he used to explain to the reader the procedures at Falconer's workshop: if, after reading Dr. Gessert's treatise, "the pilgrim of Art in Sydney were to visit Mr. John Falconer's glass-works ... much of what he could there see for himself would be readily intelligible, especially as Mr. Falconer's methods are obviously identical with those described by Gessert."\(^{295}\) The truth is that the methods of producing a window are identical in both treatises.

While both treatises were written with a practical aim in mind, Fromberg supplied more practical, detailed information. He also had more to say about the directions glass painting should take. Gessert begins his Introduction with a glowing approval of the present state of glass manufacture and painting; his only regret is that this art is not as widely spread as it should be.\(^{296}\) Fromberg was happy with the material
resources available, but felt that they are not always used "with sufficient taste and spirit". 297

Gessert's treatise "Die Kunst auf Glas zu malen" 298 published in an English translation in 1844, only two years after its first German publication, 299 defines the art as "painting on transparent glass with vitreous colours", 300 and divides it into three methods:

- painting with coloured enamels on a single sheet of white glass;
- mosaic glass painting, in which pieces of pot metal are used, with a minimum of painting; and
- the combined method, using pieces of pot metal as well as white glass painted with coloured enamels, in the one work. 301

This is by no means an original classification, as all 19th century glass painters and writers distinguished between the three methods. Winston stressed that the mosaic method produced the most translucent windows and "the most powerful effects of light and colour" 302 - a truth with which both Gessert and Fromberg agreed. However, Gessert stated that the mosaic method "is but little practiced, since the leaden bars, in a picture calculated from a near view, are detrimental to the effect." 303 The remark reveals that he was still strongly conditioned to see painted glass windows in pictorial terms. In Chapter IV, "Of the Operation of Fixing together or Leading Mosaic Glass", he recommends the "Common window lead of the glaziers, but of very small dimensions ..." 304

Both statements reveal a lack of realisation of the vital
importance of leadlines in structure and design. The same uncertainty is noticeable in much of figural work originating from Falconer's workshop. In the 1850's, when Falconer was learning his craft in Britain, and even in the 1860's, this kind of attitude to leadlines was still quite common. The use of leadlines in Falconer's pattern windows, which are translucent glass mosaics, is appropriate.

Fromberg's ideas were more advanced. He pointed out the futility of imitating oil painting on glass because of "the presence of the leading and the iron bars ... which it is in vain to attempt to conceal entirely in the shadows of the picture ...." \(^\text{305}\) He stressed the structural role of the leadlines and armature and advised against cutting glass into large pieces in order not to affect soundness of construction. \(^\text{306}\)

Winston's book was compiled in manuscript form and circulated as early as 1838. \(^\text{307}\) He had read and acknowledged the English translation of Fromberg's treatise by his friend Henry James Clarke, published by Weale in 1845, before he published his own inquiry in 1847. \(^\text{308}\) On the question of the leadlines, Winston is uncompromising: they are "an integral part of the design." \(^\text{309}\) This attitude was by no means immediately adopted by all.

Winston, whose book Falconer undoubtedly used, stood out among other writers on the subject in that he classified the historic styles of glass painting in England, made a serious
attempt to define "the true principles of glass painting" and considered "the selection of a style" in relation to architecture and contemporary needs.

Fonberg, in the brief Introductory Essay to his treatise, arrived nearer to Winston's reasoning, while Gessert was left behind, in the domain of general technicalities and lacking a critical vision. The Appendix to the later editions of Gessert's treatise is a bonus to the copyist: two-thirds of it are devoted to methods of tracing, copying and off-printing from ready-made prints, books and nature, "for the more easily obtaining a just Outline".310 The writer to "The Sydney Mail" (App. Item 10) calls it a "valuable appendix", which was, most likely, Falconer's own opinion. Everybody in the trade used these and other methods of reproduction and of altering the size, as a time-saving device. They still do. The danger lies in misusing them as substitutes for original work, to remedy one's inability to draw complex subjects, whether in order to achieve a "just outline", or to cope with problems of design for this specific medium (in this latter case, copying methods do not help).

As a conclusion, it could be assumed that Falconer used all three above mentioned books, especially because they were available in Sydney. It would be difficult to prove or to disprove which actual formulae Falconer used for producing the enamels for painting on glass, such as a flesh tint: a
different recipe is given by both Gessert\textsuperscript{311} and Fromberg\textsuperscript{312}, different ingredients being involved in each case.

Two four-light windows at St Benedict's Church, Sydney, dating from 1869, may be Falconer's earliest windows involving many figures.\textsuperscript{313}

The 'Angels Adoring the Holy Sacrament' window (plate 46a) to the left of the main altar window, has been criticised in "The Sydney Mail" (App. Item 11) because of the use of "a large stone altar stretching right across" the window. The altar does not stretch right across, although it draws immediate attention because it is modelled in the palest tones and is not interrupted by any other shapes. From a distance, and especially in strong light, this becomes the weakest area. The altar relief and all other objects and faces are expertly modelled in tones, colours and textures characteristic of each substance represented (gold, silver, marble, etc.), but the window has to be viewed from very near, in order to be able to appreciate such refinements. The coats of arms display Falconer's familiarity with various techniques used in heraldic work on overlaid glass, such as etching with hydrofluoric acid\textsuperscript{314} and the use of coloured enamels.

All figures are piled up in the outer lights, leaving a visually vacant centre, with the chalice and the ciborium.
separated by a mullion. This emptiness of the centre is remedied by a vibrant and warm, dark purple drapery in the background, which comes forward and exists on the same plane as the draperies of the angels, all made of the same kind of lustrous glass, probably 'antique'.

The design is divided into horizontal zones, contradicting the verticality of the mullions, but, when viewing the actual window, this division is counteracted by the placing of horizontal areas of sombre colours - the blues, greens, maroons and violets.

The canopies are insipid and weakly drawn. Other rich colours and fine painting make them look unfinished. It is evident that Falconer included them against his better judgment.

Of the three east end windows, this one has the most dynamic, flamboyant stone tracery. The opportunity to complement this sense of movement could not be used when the heads of the lights had to be filled with conventional canopies. Even the main figural composition is ill-proportioned and static. The entire idea could have come from the client's favourite little picture in his prayer book.

The writer to "The Sydney Mail" excuses Falconer "from any serious blame", suggesting that the window was not Falconer's own idea, but a special order (App. Item 11). Few ecclesiastical
subjects could have been as meaningful as this one for the chancel of a Roman Catholic church, but few compositions could have made a worse window. Falconer's antipathy for gothicisms is also evident. Could he have refused to carry out this order? Probably not very well, as the status of glass painters in the 19th century was certainly lower than that of painters on canvas, no matter how trivial the subjects of oil painting may have been. Nineteenth century artists' biographical dictionaries teem with painters of little or no importance, but it is rare to find an entry accorded to a major glass painter and a head of a large firm, unless he also practised some "higher" branch of art or published books. Glass painters usually carried out their clients' orders. An artist of Hardman's calibre dared occasionally to humbly suggest changes for the better, when meaning threatened the final aesthetic effect. It can be understood why Falconer must have felt safer, after teaming up with William Macleod Anderson (later William Macleod), a versatile young artist with a reputation, who designed some figural windows for him.

The wife of Macleod, in the biography of her already deceased husband, listed the windows she attributed to him. Although she listed both windows at St Benedict's, only the 'Epiphany' window (plate 46 b) is likely to have been designed by Macleod, in the light of what the "Sydney Mail" correspondent wrote about the 'Adoration' window - that Falconer made it to order, rather unwillingly. This does not exclude the
possibility of some help from Macleod. The choice of colours in both windows is very similar, but the idea of the 'Adoration' being Macleod's design is not worth considering.

Macleod was very young when he became involved in designing windows for Falconer - probably no more than 18 years of age. Whatever he knew of the particular requirements and limitations of the medium, he could have known only from Falconer; "the young artist whose pencil first traced the picture, and who must wisely have been not too proud to take advantage of the practical hints of a skilful glass-stainer - one who, in such a matter, can always teach the very best artist as to what will probably be the ultimate effects of colour when burned into glass." (App. Item 10.)

His wife also affirms that Macleod was gaining some practical experience from Falconer:

He not only conceived and executed such designs, and coloured them for facsimile reproduction, but he frequently supervised the erection of the windows and the work of fixing and adjusting the mosaics of variously tinted glass."317

A number of windows designed by Macleod are in various parts of New South Wales. Mrs Macleod writes that William Macleod used to travel far on stained glass business. Therefore, any windows originally designed by Macleod, should be regarded very much as a joint effort of Macleod and Falconer.
It is likely that both Falconer and Macleod were impressed by Clutterbuck's 1860 east window for the Church of the Holy Trinity, Millers Point (plate 17), and particularly by its pictorial qualities, including the massing of colours, which helps to unite all the subjects. This window also contains an 'Epiphany' scene, with a stable and with a distant landscape background. There is a similar striding figure of one of the Kings, but coming forward and wearing a seventeenth century costume.

The 'Epiphany' window (plate 46 b, Cat. FA - 1869) which followed 'Adoration' is much more pictorial in concept. The illusion of space is deep. The distant landscape with hills, clouds and city buildings is rendered in a variety of techniques, on white and coated blue glass, painted with brown enamel and stained yellow, tonal gradations obtained either by acid-etching or abrasion. The comparatively large stable in the middle distance is a touch of the picturesque, with its dilapidated roof, stone walls and round arches - something one would expect to find in Dürer's or Altdorfer's work.

This intensely pictorial conception of the window - something Falconer is not known to have attempted earlier - the new richness of colouring, yet a different colour emphasis in the ornamental part, suggest that Falconer was in collaboration
what washed out by light because of a paternety technique and
glass, the dense colours become denser and the pale ones some-
in a similar colour scheme in which, when translated into
translucent enamels, one can easily visualize an oil painting
colours of port metal, to parts painted on white glass in
itself, there are sudden changes from fully saturated, dark
other intense colours are very important. In the picture
and paternety effects on pale glass, to the other, ruby and
about colour: one which exudes ruby and favours a rusty red
The window appears to consist of two colour schemes, two moods

century. 378

portion of an atmosphere in colour, paterned in the 15th
portion on the same subject. It is the middle
tochness, painting on the same subject. It is the middle
resembles the pose and the the painting of a figure in stephen
the extreme right, turned as if he were walking away, closely
tradition, by Macrae. The figure of the youngest king, on
they fit tightly between the multitudes. The picture appears
figures are much larger than in the, adoration, window and
completely conceals the figure of the kneeling king. The
conscious of obstructive multitudes. The central multitudes almost
although the figures exist on the picture plane, we are very
composition in which the figures are psychologically related.
earthly example of a multiuple-light window fitted with a
with an artist who was a partner. This also may be the
and not enough reinforcement by strong line. The picture was
probably planned by Macleod, while Falconer supplied the
ornament in strong basic colours.

The heads, hair and haloes are cut in one piece for each
figure. Gessert's advice seems to have been accepted this
time, to avoid leadlines. The process of enamel painting on
white glass is explained by Gessert in Chapter II of his
treatise,\textsuperscript{319} and by Fromberg, in greater detail.\textsuperscript{320} The
medium mixed with the pigments was most probably oil which
allows a more even spread of colour,\textsuperscript{321} while the lines could
have been drawn with a goose quill or a pointed brush, with a
carefully measured quantity of sugar added to facilitate
drawing.\textsuperscript{322} Both authors agree that painting with pigments
mixed with water was less frequently used.

The faces are modelled by tones of a warm enamel colour and
the features are drawn in fine lines. The faces look better
from near - they are transparent paintings. From further
away, the entire areas of white painted glass tend to become
faded and the fine features obliterated. The haloes are in
various pale tints - green, pink and several yellows. While
they probably looked very good in the project, they are greatly
weakened by light. Fromberg has warned against imitating oil
painting, for these reasons.\textsuperscript{323}
A metal bar has been crudely placed across the eyes of the Infant and of the kneeling King—just about four inches below the level of Falconer's original saddle-bars—the work of some glazier who "repaired" the window.

The very lively and unconventional ornament in the heads of the lights above the 'Epiphany' scene could have been inspired by the ornament in Hardman's only surviving window from Old St Mary's (plate 20 b), dating from 1860. The freely designed crocus-like flowers in sparkling colours hinted at possible original developments in the future, but after the arrival of Frederick Ashwin, who was superior to Falconer in figure work, the firm's pattern windows and canopy designs became standardised, repetitive and often subdued in colouring. Gothic canopies, which Falconer detested, became one of the most obvious distinguishing marks of the firm's windows. In the traceries of the 'Epiphany' window, the white crocus design is enlarged and formalised to suit symmetrical openings, so that much of the liveliness is lost. One cannot help wondering what Falconer would have invented for the flamboyant traceries of the other window, had these two subjects been arranged the other way.

A palm with emerald-green fronds appears on the extreme right of the 'Epiphany'. This motif will continue in later years, after the arrival of Frederick Ashwin, as in the 1876 window at the Church of St Anne, Ryde (plate 53 a).
A window which Macleod seems to have designed entirely and without any doubt, is missing. It was the 'Crucifixion', in three lights, for the Church of St Francis de Sales, Sydney, (Cat. FA - 1870 ), which was demolished early in this century. Mrs Macleod, as well as the contemporary periodical press, agree about it having been designed by Macleod. A description of this window (App. Item 10 ) suggests a style very similar to that of the 'Epiphany' window at St Benedict's: tight filling of the lights with figures, crosses, etc.; expressive faces; clear colours; "judicious contrasts in some details, and yet a harmony of the whole." The window "is, taken as a whole, an original composition, but it bears traces of a creditable study of some of the best designs of the old masters."

Falconer left Britain about 1856, at the critical pioneering stage, when a variety of workshop styles existed, many of them making excellent imitations of medieval windows, and few, like Clayton & Bell or Hardman, looking for new ways with the new materials. Charles Winston had already stirred up much enthusiasm, and the manufacture of an extended range of colours was already beginning. The William Morris workshop had been established only three years before Falconer completed his first commission in Sydney.

Lacking independent design experience; often, no doubt, feeling overwhelmed by the variety of English glass painting styles appearing in Sydney; having developed a dislike for gothicisms,
possibly because of too much exposure to them at the workshop of Gibbs and Warrington; Falconer also had problems in figure drawing and composition. Not that he was the only glaring example lacking this particular talent — William Morris developed an ability 'to draw figures only gradually';[324] most English firms are known to have employed figural artists who prepared projects and drew cartoons, on both permanent and casual basis. Falconer collaborated with figural artists who, although better at figure drawing, had to be introduced to the medium of glass. He was particularly swayed by the painterly taste of Macleod, an artist who already was a successful portrait painter and who later gravitated towards black and white illustrations for "The Bulletin" and for "The Picturesque Atlas of Australia".[325]

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Falconer continued to make effective coloured pattern windows for which he did not need figural artists' assistance, as well as making windows with a large figure in each light, the remaining areas being filled with ornament.

The three-light east window in a little redundant stone church of St Paul, Carlingford (plate 47 a) was installed in 1872, although the church was opened in 1850. Two more single-light windows in the chancel appear to have been made at the same time (Cat. FA – 1872).[326] In the east window, both the colouring and the details drawn in black enamel are bold. The effect is very decorative and screen-like. The monograms are

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acid-etched on coated blue glass and treated with yellow stain and black enamel.

One single-light window contains (or contained – it has been extensively damaged) the figure of St Paul (Cat. FA – 1872?), in the unmistakable figural style of Falconer, with delicately tinted and sensitively drawn features. As such, it is completely satisfactory for a small interior.

Two almost identical tall and narrow lights (only about 16 in. wide) in the west end, date probably from 1870 and are a variant of Falconer's much-used cross-and-scroll motif (47 b; Cat. FA – 1870). Their backgrounds consist of recently introduced "new Quarrie Glass" (plate 48; App. Item 13). Such quarries were large or small ready-cut, diamond-shaped pieces, coated with dull and neutral grey or pinkish-brown stencilled designs. The quarries could be further decorated with yellow stain and enamels. However, additional decoration did little to remedy their basically flimsy appearance and lack of sparkle.

Many windows of this kind of glass were installed in newly-built churches, Congregational ones in particular, in and around Sydney, as well as in some Anglican and Roman Catholic churches. They have worn badly; the stencilled designs are disappearing gradually.\(^{327}\)
The advertisement (plate 48) appeared for the first time in "The Australian Churchman", 6.12.1873. The previous advertisement in the same periodical was very modest (App. Item 12); it did not list prizes received at exhibitions. A sudden change in advertising style was probably prompted by the establishment in Sydney of the rival studio of Cottier, Lyon & Co., in the same year. In its advertisement, the new firm boasted of a prize Cottier received at the Exposition Universelle in Paris, in 1867.\textsuperscript{328} Frederick Ashwin may have already arrived in Sydney by 1873, but his name does not appear in an advertisement until 1875, and in "Sand's Sydney Directory" only in 1876.\textsuperscript{329}

Plate 49 a is one of two windows at St Mary's, Waverley, made in 1873-74 (Cat. FA – 1873-74). Curvilinear patterns are painted on white grounds, with yellow stain and dark outlines; blue is reduced to a minimum. All this is quite unlike any other pattern windows by Falconer, to that date. They were made within the first two years from the establishment of Lyon, Cottier & Co. in Sydney. From the beginning and throughout the 1870's, the rival firm made many pattern windows with backgrounds of white glass, decorated with plant motifs, generously painted with yellow stain, and with colourful medallions. (Examples: plates 75-79, in the Sydney area, but a large amount of work by Lyon, Cottier & Co. was done for
New South Wales churches outside Sydney.) It appears that Falconer was influenced by these windows to try a similar kind of his own; they did not look like anything else made locally or imported, especially in their golden, harmonious colouring.

This particular window (plate 49 a) at the Waverley church is the earliest known instance when Falconer used the sunflower motif - the symbol of the Aesthetic Movement, brought to stained and painted glass in Sydney and New South Wales, by Lyon, Cottier & Co. The firm of Falconer & Ashwin later continued making windows decorated with various adaptations of this motif, into the 1880's (plates 55, 56, 62 a & b).

Plate 50 represents the east window at the Church of St Mary Magdalene, at St Marys, an outer suburb of Sydney. (Cat. FA - 1873 ) one of Falconer's last highly coloured pattern windows which ceased to be made soon after Fred Ashwin joined the workshop.

Bold pattern and a basic colour scheme are in agreement with the Romanesque character of the openings. The structure of the ornament is the same as that in the 1851 Wailes' window, now at St Barnabas', Sydney, but the colouring of this Falconer window is dominated by ruby. Morning light is effectively screened. The smaller amount of white has gained
a new importance here: white is not only the lightest tone which separates colour areas and which provides a background against which these fully saturated colours gleam; it creates a sense of rhythm as well.

The circular tracery lacks in this white contrast and therefore its colours tend to create a brownish-purple mixture of light, alien to the colouring of the main lights.

The leaves in the borders are no longer modelled in concentric areas of tone, as they were in Warrington's window of 1856 (plate 13) and in the early work of Falconer. The background is not cross-hatched, but stippled with a warm, dark grey. These differences in details do not necessarily suggest different artists at work. This window is contemporary with the second group of windows Falconer made for the Waverley church, in which different ways were also tried, in the choice of designs, colouring and the treatment of detail. In nine years' time, Falconer had gained practical experience in both pattern and figural windows.

This window was installed at the end of extensive repairs and remodelling of the building. The restorations' architect was W.E. Kemp, with whom Falconer had collaborated on a window in 1867 (plate 44 a). Other windows in this church, large and with round-arched heads, are filled with much later painted glass, none of them by Falconer.
A four-light coloured pattern window, in the north-western transept of St Stephen's Church, Newtown (plate 51a; Cat. FA - 1874) could have been made only in Falconer's workshop. The window is like a catalogue of all motifs Falconer ever used.

The church, designed by E.T. Blacket, was completed and opened in 1874, with the chancel window ("at the northern extremity"), most likely English (Cat. U - 1873-74), installed in time for the opening. The north-western transept window, almost as large and facing the sun most of the day, was probably made soon after the main window, as its ornamental style belongs to Falconer's work of the early 1870's.

The colours are strong and saturated by an overall warm glow; the whites are subdued. All drawing is sharp and strong. The larger areas of white ground are filled with diaper pattern drawn with black enamel. The glare is completely eliminated.

The motifs derive from Gothic ornament, but there is something Celtic about their intertwining abundance and colouring. Floral panels on blue grounds form a more restful centre. Unpainted white glass exists only as an accent.

The letters are beautifully shaped (plate 51b); their style is more refined than before. This script seems to have fallen into disuse soon after the arrival of Frederick Ashwin. The scrolls in such windows are always slightly curved to suggest
some relief, but without destroying the flatness of the entire screen-like design. The delicate shading of the scrolls with inscriptions makes them appear like ribbons of satin. This particular script on white "ribbons" is a prominent feature of Falconer's windows between 1870 and 1874.

The overall warm harmony could have been the influence of the Lyon, Cottier & Co. distinguishing colouring. Direct contrasts between ruby and blue have been avoided; the red is mostly dark wine-red; bright ruby is used as an accent and to light up the traceries. Yellow stain is a part of this harmony, as it usually is in Lyon, Cottier & Co. windows.

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The earliest so far located 'Crucifixion' window by Falconer, made in 1868, cannot be seen because it is completely shut off from the outside, so that no light comes in. It is at the former Church of St John the Evangelist, now used as a theatre, in Kent Street, Sydney. 332

The still missing 1870 'Crucifixion' window was designed by William Macleod and it won a bronze medal at the 1870 Intercolonial Exhibition in Sydney. (See App. Item 10.) It was a more complex composition than either the Kent Street window or the Edgecliff window (described below), with a cross in each light and seven figures at ground level.
The east window in the Church of St Joseph, Edgecliff (plate 52), contains the same figures as the Kent Street window of 1868, with the addition of a Roman soldier and a Centurion. It may be an adaptation of the previous windows. While the Edgecliff window is not documented, its style is unmistakably from Falconer's workshop. The faces are delicately modelled; each one bears a different expression, which was a trait mentioned in relation to the missing 1870 window, although such subtleties cannot be appreciated from a distance. The same warm skin colour has been used, as in the 1869 'Epiphany' window (plate 46 b). The figure of Christ is a realistically modelled study of the nude. It may or may not have been painted by Macleod. The composition, unlike the 1869 'Epiphany' window, has only a relief-like depth. Its colouring more successfully distinguishes between the tonal values of colours, so that the lighter tones, the blues, the warm colours and painted white glass are distributed in a more balanced way than before. Frederick Ashwin should have been at Falconer's studio by this time, and these new qualities may be due to his influence, although it is still difficult to pin down anything in particular as definitely his.

There are two more windows in the same style, in the nave, but none of them bear dates or signatures. The church was opened on the 20th September, 1874.333 On the same occasion, it was reported that the nave windows were of "stained glass
in lead quarries" and that "two of them are to hold figure objects, as also the central window in the chancel."\textsuperscript{334}

Therefore, it seems, these figural windows were already in the making.

Compared with earlier figural windows from Falconer's workshop, there are other differences and improvements as well. The cutting of glass is done with much more feeling for form and for the medium, particularly in the side lights of the chancel window and in the 'Madonna and Child' single light window in the north wall. The drapery is tidily modelled; highlights are wiped off from a smoothly applied matt, the direction of the strokes suggesting relief-forming contours. The draperies are related to correct sculptural figure forms underneath; they also suggest woollen, linen and silk cloths. The leadlines are more independent and decorative. For these differences Ashwin may have been responsible.

The small canopies in the east window are a blend of colourful ornament of Renaissance derivation and flat fragments of Gothic arch forms. While the canopies of the main window represent Falconer's taste, the two single-light windows in the north wall have neatly drawn Gothic canopies resting on slim, tubular colonnettes, decorated in fine patterns typical of Romanesque colonnetes. This architectural framework suggests some third dimension. For this gothicism, again, Ashwin may have been responsible, while new at the workshop and still
playing a subordinate role.

An already familiar palm appears in the left side light of the main window, above Mary's head. Colourful and very decoratively stylised foliage of a 'Gothic tree' appears against blue ground, which is also finely patterned in all three lights. The foliage and the purely ornamental canopies form in this way double canopies.

The ground on which the 'Crucifixion' figures stand is still very uninteresting, hesitating between realistic drawing and decorative arrangement, and becoming neither.

The wide, bejewelled borders of the cloaks create much decorative and sculptural interest in the lower parts of the outer lights in the east window. Such wide borders, sometimes with fringes, were frequently used in Fred Ashwin's time and they continued into the 20th century.

The reverse side of St John's cloak was an opportunity to Falconer to demonstrate his familiarity with some unusual effects which can be achieved in glass. The colour is of shot silk, a mixture of bright pink and gold light. It appears to have been done on ruby-coated glass, its colour tone varied by the application of hydrofluoric acid; the plain side of the glass was then treated with yellow stain. This method and principle has been explained by Gessert, in
a very concise way: the pigments used for outlines and shadows are applied on the front side of the glass; the "illuminating colours", especially the silver yellow and red, are painted on the back.
Summing up John Falconer's style

The work from Falconer's studio, during the ten years between 1864 and 1874, presents variations in style, even before the appearance of Frederick Ashwin. This variety appears to have existed not so much because of the division of the tasks performed in the workshop, as described in Gessert's treatise and in "The Sydney Mail" of 1871, but to the fact that this particular studio was a true pioneer in this branch of art, that it experimented and gained experience as it progressed. It was not a team of experts, used to working together. The interaction of several artistic personalities is evident, namely that of the architect W.E. Kemp, the painter and graphic artist W. Macleod and that of John Falconer himself, who somehow managed to leave the most permanent imprint of his taste and skill in all this variety of work.

A unity of purpose lasting a decade could hardly be expected from a workshop which had to build up everything from nothing, and in which the assistants probably had been trained as nothing more than ordinary glaziers capable of plain leadlighting. The workshop was far more disadvantaged than any other newly established firm in Britain would have been, because it was far away from the centres of the revival of glass painting, from where artists and craftsmen could be recruited and coloured glass obtained. Communications were by sea, and very slow.

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The firm of William Morris, which had also started with little experience in glass, although with a considerable talent in other branches of art and craft, also learned by experience and showed variations in style which were particularly pronounced in the early years. Workshop styles of Hardman & Co., or Lavers, Barraud & Westlake, in England, or of Lyon, Cottier & Co. in Sydney, also changed after a period of several years, depending on the changes of the leading artists. Falconer's studio sometimes changed its style from window to window, in the same year. Only the pattern windows are more readily identifiable as Falconer's, even when, in 1873-74, some influence from Lyon, Cottier & Co. could be felt.

Qualities which help to identify Falconer's style before 1874-75:

- contrasts of colour more typical than harmonies; thinking in terms of various colours rather than in terms of tonal relationships;
- a prominent use of a vivid, deep blue pot metal;
- in pattern windows, the mosaic method used; bold, colourful patterns of medieval derivation, in agreement with the particular architectural style; these colourful windows may have been inspired by Continental European examples, but the greater proportion of colour to white
glass may have equally well been necessitated by very strong local light, particularly because Falconer's pattern windows become progressively more colourful and darker in tone;

in figural windows, the combined mosaic enamel method used; painting done in transparent coloured enamels on white glass, particularly for skin colour, usually a delicate pinkish-brown or reddish colour applied in a range of tones; the drawing of the facial features not strong enough to be viewed from a distance or in glary light;

figures based on Classical models, as in the majority of 19th century glass paintings;

leadlines tend to be concealed along the boundaries of colours and contours of forms, rather than playing a more independent visual and structural role unique in this medium;

exquisite detailing and a familiarity with a wide range of glass painter's techniques;

Gothic canopies avoided, particularly the kind suggesting volume; canopies are usually based on Classical motifs interpreted in lively colours; the ornament is sometimes invented; the purely ornamental canopies are never large, but a double canopy may be formed together with the foliage surrounding the figures' heads.
2. Falconer & Ashwin, c.1874-1879.

In 1871, Frederick Ashwin was no longer listed in the census in London. When the correspondent to "The Sydney Mail" visited Falconer's workshop in the first half of 1871, John Falconer was still the only artist in the establishment. William Macleod was associated with Falconer in a casual way.

In 1872, Frederick Ashwin's window entitled 'Charity' was hailed at the International Exhibition in London, as being the best glass exhibit. As late as May 1874, new windows from Falconer's workshop were described in Sydney periodical press, as the work of John Falconer. He was also reported to have won the Agricultural Society's medal in the same year (Cat. FA - 1874). This does not necessarily mean that Ashwin was not already working with Falconer, but it definitely means that he was not yet a partner. The first advertisement so far discovered, in which the names of Falconer and Ashwin appear together, appeared in "The Australian Churchman", on the 20th November, 1875.

As mentioned earlier, at the end of 1873 Falconer changed from a very simple (plate 48) to an elaborate advertisement in "The Australian Churchman", listing prizes received at the International Exhibitions of 1870, 1872 and 1873 in Sydney (App. Item 13). It would be difficult to believe that Falconer would have omitted listing F. Ashwin's 1872 prize, had Ashwin been already

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employed at Falconer's studio in any capacity. The rival firm of Lyon, Cottier & Co. never failed to draw attention to internationally won prizes by Cottier, although he spent very little time in Sydney. An 1875 advertisement is the earliest discovered, which reveals that Ashwin was a partner of Falconer by that time. It lists Ashwin's English prizes, before Falconer's own prizes won at Sydney exhibitions (App. Item 14); the "new Quarrie Glass" is never mentioned again, after Ashwin's appearance.

The 1875 advertisement also gives a new address at 360 Pitt Street, Sydney. The partners must have taken better premises, this time, a little nearer to the city centre, only about thirty numbers further than Lyon, Cottier & Co. in the same street.

In "Sand's Sydney Directory", Frederick Ashwin is listed for the first time in 1876, in the alphabetical section: "Ashwin, Frederick (Falconer & Co.), Ashfield". To be listed in 1876, the particulars must have been given in 1875. Ashfield appears to have been Ashwin's residential address. Next year's directory supplied the name of the street (Arthur Street) but no number, even in the 1880's. The workshop moved again to a smaller number in Pitt Street, apparently 1879, the year in which Ashwin apparently became the senior partner, as the 1880 "Sand's Sydney Directory" lists his name before Falconer's.
After Falconer's death in 1891 (Death Certificate, App. Item 8), the firm was listed as "Ashwin, F. & Co." until 1894, while the previous address at 314-316 Pitt Street, became 314 Pitt Street, the year after Falconer's death. Frederick Ashwin died in 1909 (App. Item 13a) but the workshop remained at 314 Pitt Street under the same name for about two more years, when it moved further away to Commonwealth Street.

There are still many questions unanswered, many details remain to be checked in printed references, and with people who remember. It appears, that by later 1875 Falconer and Ashwin were partners. The precise date at which Ashwin started to work in Falconer's studio is still not known. It is reasonable to believe that he did not become a partner in a firm the day he joined it. The question remains, where was Ashwin between 1871 and 1873?

After Fred Ashwin joined the workshop, figural windows became less pictorial and more in agreement with the medium, but their quality varied. Some of the most boring and repetitious windows were the renderings of the figure of Christ in the guise of either the 'Good Shepherd' or 'Suffer the Little Children'. Either subject could be transformed into the other, still using the same cartoon, by substituting babies and children for lambs, and vice versa, with other minor adjustments. Even the colouring remained basically the same. This particular figure was
used only from the mid-1870's, for about ten years, yet it would be difficult to believe that Ashwin would have chosen it to introduce himself to Sydney. More likely, there was a third designer – glass painter in the expanding workshop responsible for some of the windows.

One of the earliest uses of this cartoon was for the Church of St Anne in Ryde (plate 53 a), dated from 1876 (Cat. FA – 1876). A tiny church of St David in Arncliffe, opened most likely in 1879, had a small altar window (plate 53 b) with practically the same figure of Christ, reduced in size, holding a baby instead of a lamb, the remaining space suitably filled with children (Cat. FA – 1879?). It was a more colourful version of the Ryde window.

In this series of figures, yellow stain was used to paint most heads and beards; the colours are very basic and restricted in range; the hair and draperies tend to be limp. The decorative rendering of clumps of grass under the figures' feet, as in the Arncliffe window, could have been painted by Ashwin or by somebody else from Ashwin's cartoons; the same applies to the Gothic canopy in the Arncliffe window, quite different in style from the canopies Falconer used at St Benedict's, Sydney (plate 46 b), in 1869. Fruit trees in the background develop into more decorative and more colourful treatments, forming canopies around the figures' heads. The draperies nearly always have
ornate borders, drawn in dark enamel detail and stained yellow. The hems are very long and rest on the feet or cover them.

The small window at Arncliffe shows much more feeling for the medium of glass than does the centre light at Ryde. The cut-lines are simplified, yet they seem to be filled with a kind of tension or energy which enlivens the design. It would be reasonable to assume that such improvements in the workshop style were due to the actual work done and advice given by a master-craftsman such as Frederick Ashwin.

The lettering of the dedication in the Ryde window is characterless enough to be deemed a replacement; a style of lettering was quickly evolving in these years which remained typical of the workshop for many years to come (plate 54 b). Old St David's, Arncliffe, windows used this lettering. The letters appear in the warm yellow colour of the glass, the ground being painted with black enamel.

The altar window at Ryde (plates 53 a and 54 a) is the earliest documented example of the kind of white pattern which the workshop produced in great quantities, at least into the mid-1880's. The east window at St Stephen's, Penrith (plate 54 b) is another variant (Cat. FA - 1878). One more window in the Ryde church has the same kind of design, as well as busts in roundels (Cat. FA - 1876).
The faces in the roundels at Ryde, such as in plate 54 a, show a style of drawing new to the workshop. It is characterised by strong line; hard, curly hair; well shaped eyes with emphasised outer corners. The style is no longer Falconer's and it is not painterly and delicate. The Evangelists and Apostles are individually characterised. The leadlines are emphasised.

This kind of pattern on white ground and the roundels with the busts of saints or angels are an aid for identifying windows from this workshop, when no other evidence exists.

The busts in roundels also occur on coloured pattern ground, of the kind shown in plate 56. Another variant is busts in cinquefoils, surrounded by a curvilinear pattern on white ground, painted with yellow stain and dark enamel.\(^{347}\)

A great variety of Falconer's windows can be easily identified, because Falconer signed most of his figural windows. The periodical press often referred to him, because he was, for a decade, the first and only professional glass painter in Sydney. Frederick Ashwin signed his windows extremely rarely; the enthusiasm of the periodical press regarding painted windows had also subsided; there was so much more to write about, from the 1870's onwards, as the colony and town life in general developed. The firm of Lyon, Cottier & Co. seemed to receive a little more attention, possibly because it produced more
windows. Even without any documentation or signatures on the windows, the style of Lyon, Cottier & Co. is almost immediately recognisable. The windows of the period when John Falconer and Fred Ashwin worked together, are more difficult to locate and to identify. Every possible aspect of style must be carefully considered.

The Church of St James, Forest Lodge, was opened on the 1st September, 1878. Built in the Venetian Gothic style designed by John Kirkpatrick, with glass by Falconer & Ashwin, it also has tile work in the western gable by Lyon, Cottier & Co. Three triple windows in the apse (plate 55) were installed in time for the opening.

Unlike the earlier figural compositions by Macleod and Falconer, this 'Crucifixion' scene at Forest Lodge has been designed for the mosaic enamel method, with the leadlines being structurally and visually very important. It is not a painting translated into another medium. The number of colours is restricted, yet the impression is richly decorative. The design exists on the plane of the glass. Every part is well controlled in tone, in relation to all the others in this panel. The draperies are modelled in relief, by tone and cross-hatching as in plate 56.

Natural poses and emotional, although restrained mood, suggest
the influence of innumerable 'Crucifixions' made by the Morris workshop, and particularly those designed by Burne-Jones. Both Falconer and Ashwin may have seen the 1876 'Crucifixion' window at St Mary's, Mudgee, N.S.W. (plate 111), which Lyon, Cottier & Co. produced, and which is very close to Morris' windows, although not a copy of anything shown by A.C. Sewter in his book. The features which most closely resemble the Mudgee window are the garlands of "cloudwaves" and the overlapping of the borders by the arms of the cross. The treatment of various decorative elements, such as the clumps of plants on the ground, suggest the influence of the William Morris studio, although Ashwin's colouring, ornament and iconography were not as adventurous.

When coming to Australia, Ashwin may have brought some drawings made of William Morris' windows, as he brought some drawings of Raphael's cartoons from the Victoria & Albert Museum (see plate 56, which bears some relation to them) which were on display from 1865.350

Somewhat awkward figures of St James and St John the Evangelist, in the main medallions of the side windows, do not share in the emotional quality of the 'Crucifixion'. Their very basic colouring and the importance of the headlines differ from the usual Falconer's style. Even on this small scale, the heads and the haloes are cut in several pieces (plate 55 c), unlike in earlier windows made definitely before Ashwin's arrival.
(plates 46 a and b). The ground below the Evangelists' feet matches the ground in the 'Crucifixion' panel in its decorative treatment of clumps of grasses, painted with black line and yellow stain, and separated by leadlines. The areas of white glass and their treatment with dark, neutral enamels make them a part of the total tonal scheme, rather than islands of faded colour. The busts in the circular roundels are treated in the same way.

The modest ogee-form canopy over 'Crucifixion' is a concession to the "Venetian Gothic" building style. It is basically a Decorated canopy. 351

The treatment of ornament ranges from well controlled as well as sketchy in the figural panels, to rather crude in other parts. It can be expected that windows of this size were the work not only of Falconer and Ashwin, but also of other glass painters in the workshop.

1878 may have been the last year in which Falconer was the senior partner. Forest Lodge chancel windows may have been his first and last commission of this size. The "Official Record of the Sydney International Exhibition, 1879", although printed in 1881, 352 when Ashwin was already the senior partner, lists Ashwin & Falconer as the recipients of the "First degree of Merit" for "Painted Ornamental Windows" (Cat. FA - 1879). Although the Sydney periodical press was not very particular
about which name went first between 1879 and 1881, in the news items concerning the firm, "Sand's Sydney Directory" of 1880 listed Ashwin's name first, i.e., the changeover must have taken place in 1879.

Although an excellent painter, Falconer appears to have been less able to plan for a large scale. His larger figural windows of three or four lights, were largely or completely designed by Macleod Anderson. (A design such as in plate 46a is likely to have been imposed on him by the client.) The four-light ornamental window at St Stephen's, Newtown (plate 51a) is a sum of parts, although a very decorative and colourful one. Something went wrong with the planning of the chancel windows for the Forest Lodge church. They look like a miscalculated enlargement of a small watercolour project. While the small project would have looked good, the completed windows in their setting have too much white glass not sufficiently controlled by dark enamel detail, for the brightness of the light in Sydney. Every decorative element outside the figural panels, including the Gothic borders, is at least twice as large as normally used in churches smaller than cathedrals. The large square quarries are particularly unpleasant and out of proportion, even with other large ornament beside them. They are further accented by broad, very warm yellow stained borders, in a sharp contrast with all the blues and in competition with all the
rubies. The small roundels have rather crude borders, not in character with finer work done on the busts of the Apostles inside them. Although the work outside the figural panels must have been carried out by glass painters other than the two main artists in the workshop, it can be expected that they worked according to designs and instructions given to them by the head of the firm.

It appears that before becoming the senior partner, Ashwin was entrusted with an increasing share in figure work, in windows planned by Falconer, and that he designed and painted some smaller windows by himself. It still remains to be established whether Ashwin designed and carried out any larger than two-light windows, before becoming the senior partner.
3. Ashwin & Falconer, 1879--1884

A two-light window at St Peter's Church, East Sydney (plate 56, Cat. FA - 1876-80) is completely undocumented. By comparing various parts of it, with identified windows in Sydney and with coloured slides of windows in the country centres of N.S.W., it could be safely assumed that the window was made at the workshop of Falconer and Ashwin and that it is substantially the work of Ashwin. A true evaluation of Frederick Ashwin's work (or that of any other artist represented in Sydney) will not be possible until after a much wider exploration.

The colour scheme in the figural panels is unusual because it has a great proportion of various greens; the deep, vivid blue Falconer liked so much, is non-existent. The sky is quite pale. A tree with fruit appears in the background, similar to the kind Burne-Jones used in his 1857 cartoon for the 'Annunciation', made up about 1860 by Lavers and Barraud, design completed by Michael F. Halliday.\(^{353}\) Grass in the foreground is a mosaic of various greens, decoratively treated with dark enamel, something which was done in the Morris studio from its earliest years.

The treatment of the ground in the east window at Forest Lodge (plate 55) is basically the same. The importance of the draperies used to fill the foreground with their sculpturally modelled folds, is another trait the East Sydney window shares with the Forest Lodge 'Crucifixion'.

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Busts of saints or angels, usually in roundels, but sometimes in foiled forms or in arches, is another element associated with the windows from the workshop of Ashwin and Falconer. They were already used in the Ryde church, in its east window (plate 53 a) and its easternmost window of the south wall (not ill.), in 1876. At the Holy Trinity, Kelso, N.S.W, in the "Abraham's Sacrifice" window, busts of two Evangelists are painted inside Gothic arch forms, along the base of the window, made after 1876. (Cat. FA - 1877-78?) Busts with roundels can be seen in other examples: plate 63, 1883-84; plate 64, c.1886; photographically realistic busts in quatrefoils at Strathfield Congregational Church, c.1899; portrait heads representing Evangelists, in quatrefoils, at St Clement's, Marrickville, 1899 (see Cat. FA under these dates).

While in a window at Kelso, 'St Paul Preaching at Athens' (Cat. FA - 1876- ), every figure and the background are based on Raphael's tapestry cartoon of the same title, the East Sydney window (plate 56) bears a more vague relationship to these cartoons. The figure of Christ may be an adaptation from 'Christ's Charge to St Peter'. facing the way it is in the Vatican tapestries; the sick man crouching in the corner of the left hand side light is more similar to the figure of St Peter in the same cartoon, than to the lame man in 'The Healing of the Lame Man'. St Peter is facing the way he does in the woven tapestry, but the position of his arms has been
altered. The cloak is in a similar yellow colour as it is in the cartoon, but decorated with circular designs in line, to resemble brocade. The crowd in both lights (plate 56) is similar to the crowd scenes in Raphael's cartoons, where only the heads are visible beyond the first row. The heads in the above mentioned Kelso window and in plate 56 are drawn in the same style. The general style of the Kelso window is more ornate. The parish of St Peter (formerly Woolloomooloo, now East Sydney) has never been a well-to-do area.

The style of drawing faces, draperies and ornament is the same in the East Sydney window, as it is in two Kelso windows - 'St Paul Preaching at Athens' and 'The Sacrifice of Isaac'. The latter is probably a contemporary of a documented Falconer & Ashwin window of the same title, at St Matthew's, Windsor. N.S.W., made in 1877 and erected early in 1878. The same cartoon has been the starting point for both, with necessary adjustments made for slightly different proportions. (Cat. FA - 1877-78.)

Detailed and colourful canopies of the Decorated style are also similar in plate 56, the 'Sacrifice of Isaac' at Kelso and a set of 1880 Falconer & Ashwin windows at the Church of St John, Mudgee, N.S.W. (Cat. FA - 1880) which has been positively

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identified. They incorporate many horizontal features and there is no architectural 3rd dimension in them. The Mudgee windows also have the same kind of highly coloured square panels at the base of each light, with busts in roundels, as the East Sydney window, plate 56. There can be therefore no doubt about the workshop responsible for the latter window. It should date from between 1876 and 1880.

The figure of the woman crouching at Christ's feet (plate 56) is closely related to Mary Magdalen in the 'Crucifixion' panel at Forest Lodge (plate 55, 1878). All the heads in the East Sydney window do not necessarily originate from Raphael's cartoons, but they bear a family resemblance to 15th century Italian fresco painters, such as Mantegna: full faces, curly and textured hair and its brownish colouring, simplified draperies and broad masses of colour, are some of the similarities.

The modelling of the draperies and skin areas, is practically the method used in the first half of the 16th century, favoured by Winston and described in his "Inquiry". The method of evenly coating the glass with enamel and scratching out the lights and half-shadows is described in detail by Fromberg (peinture par enlevage), a book which Winston must have read. Winston valued this method of modelling because it produced translucent shadows. The highlights and other lightest areas
may be completely cleaned off enamel coating. Half-tones in the draperies of the East Sydney window are created by scratching out parallel lines in the direction of relief curvatures. Further deepening of the shadows and sculptural moulding of the draperies was done by hatching and cross-hatching in dark line, over the existing matt, without blocking the light. The darkest tone is reserved only for carefully selected emphases and definition, carried out in strong, crisp lines. It closely relates to the headlines.

The draperies in this window are an abstraction which can be enjoyed for their own sake. They are nearest to the eye level, spread out in the front of each picture, as Ashwin seemed to like to do. They look back to the Northern European tradition of the second half of the fifteenth century, where they are as decorative as they are sculptural, remaining related to the picture surface. Associations of this kind suggest that Frederick Ashwin had a much more extensive education in, and understanding of, the styles of the past than Falconer had.

A series of windows featuring biblical kings was made from about 1876 and especially after 1880. None of these examples are documented so far, but they occur together with other familiar elements, such as particular canopies and narrow architectural borders; busts in roundels; lettering styles,
Roman or Gothic, identifiable as Falconer & Ashwin's; or with other recognisable figures, such as the 'Good Shepherd'. They all have the same kind of a basic colouring, dominated by a deep blue (already used by Falconer), white, ruby and yellow stain used with good judgment. The figures wear crisp, voluminous gowns with wide borders, golden crowns and other insignia. Their hair and beards are drawn in a strong, wiry, linear style, in brown enamel and are sometimes treated with yellow stain. The figures are in very similar stable poses, drawn from only a few cartoons which are sometimes reversed.

The St Andrew's Scots' Presbyterian Church, formerly in Sydney, was reconstructed early in the 20th century, to accommodate the original windows. Many windows in this church are by Lyon, Cottier & Co.; they were made within a few years beginning with 1875 (see Cat. LC - 1875- ). The windows in the style of Falconer & Ashwin should be from the same period. (Cat. FA - 1876- ).

A pair of lights in the southern transept (plate 57) features highly coloured panels on quarry grounds, with St John the Baptist (possibly an earlier cartoon by Falconer, redrawn by Ashwin) and a royal figure, probably King Solomon. In the heads of the lights there are busts in small roundels, in the usual style of this period. The quarry ground is probably also by Falconer & Ashwin. Closely packed Gothic lettering,
in yellow on black ground, was one of two typical lettering styles used by this workshop, in the 19th century.

The bold design of the quarries, combined with round blue motifs and a simple Gothic border, is completely in agreement with the medievalising style of the figural panels. The quarries appear to be made of much thicker glass than they really are. The removal of the borders from the lower part of the window, nearest the eye level, has upset the original balance of colour and design.

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While the Rose Bay window favours the Decorated style, with its canopies and the way they continue down to frame the figures, remaining a flat decoration,\(^{365}\) the canopies of the east window at St Mary's, Balmain (plate 58a; Cat. FA - 1879-80?) are consistent with the Perpendicular stone traceries and they have some three-dimensional substance;\(^{366}\) they are a more elaborate variant than the one used in a part of Hardman's east window for St Andrew's Cathedral, Sydney (1867-68, plate 58 b). The arrangement and colouring of the 'Good Shepherd' in both examples are strikingly similar; they appear to have come from a common source. The seated figure is awkwardly proportioned; it is likely to be an adaptation of the upright prototype. Ashwin's treatment of the 'Good Shepherd' figure is stronger and with a better control of relief forms and
linear detail, than is the treatment of this part of Hardman's window, in which drawing styles differ from light to light.

In some of Hardman's windows for St Andrew's Cathedral, Sydney, elements common to both the style of Frederick Ashwin and Hardman's artists of the 1860's can be found: the ubiquitous Gothic canopies, some elaborated in a very similar way; some of the stronger styles of drawing hair and other linear details; the colouring, in some instances. Ashwin could have been familiar with Hardman's work before coming to Australia, especially since he was born in Birmingham. (App. Item 13a.) The possibility of his having been apprenticed at Hardman's still needs to be investigated, as well as some similarities with the style and workmanship of Clayton & Bell.

The Balmain window, although apparently the work of several artists and craftsmen under the master's supervision, shares many characteristics with other windows from the same workshop, such as the East Sydney window (plate 56); the window at St Patrick's, Sydney (plate 64); the 'Crucifixion' panel at Forest Lodge (plate 55). The same style of drawing the hair and beards is common; facial features reveal the knowledge of bones and muscles underneath; the eyes are clearly outlined, their outer corners emphasised by joining them to the eyebrows with a streak of a darker tone; layers of positive and negative cross-hatching mould three-dimensional forms; tonal work does not obscure the colour of the glass.
In the Sydney area, three most medieval windows by Fred Ashwin were made between about 1876 and 1883 (plates 59-61). Two of them contain medallions with figures and one, a wheel window (plate 61), is purely a pattern window. After the wheel window was identified from a newspaper reference, this particular style of foliated pattern became the most obvious proof of the origin of two medallion windows (plates 59 and 60).

This type of foliated scrollwork originated in Ancient Roman art. Its variants appeared in Romanesque grisailles and borders of many coloured windows; it filled the spaces between medallions in the Early Gothic French and English cathedrals, although it is far less common in France than it is in England. It occurs at Chartres and it is abundant at Salisbury and Canterbury. In this sense, Ashwin's windows in which he used this ornament are more typical of England than of Continental Europe.

Vesica-shaped medallions occur in relief sculpture, manuscript illuminations and stained glass, in the Romanesque and Early Gothic periods and they are found in Byzantine pictorial art. The colouring of the ornament in this group of Ashwin & Falconer windows is typical of the period to which it belongs. Mosaic technique allows a controlled distribution of colour and tone. The proportion and the placement of ruby, blue and other colours produce changes of domination of blue or ruby,
under varying light conditions, particularly well judged in the two larger windows (plates 60 and 61).

A small two-light window at St Peter's, East Sydney (plate 59; Cat. FA - 1876-80) is probably the earliest of the three and it could be approximately contemporary with similar windows at the Church of the Holy Trinity, Kelso, N.S.W. (Cat. FA - 1876), which contains a variety of windows in the style of Ashwin & Falconer.

Most motifs in both medallion windows (plates 59 and 60) are the same. The single figures of the Evangelists are identical in both. While the ornament and the framework to figural compositions belong to the Romanesque-Early Gothic period; the figures themselves, particularly the compositions in the larger medallions and their colouring, belong to 15th century Gothic tradition in the pictorial arts, in Europe north of the Alps.

In East Sydney, the window can be studied at eye level. The female figures (Mary, sister of Martha) in the upper left medallion (plate 59) is a Late Medieval rendering of two other very similar figures: Mary Magdalen in the 1878 Forest Lodge window (plate 55) and the female figure crouching in a corner of the other window at East Sydney, plate 56. All three figures are good studies in drapery and all three have been placed in a similar way, in the front of each picture, so that the draperies occupy the most important position in the fore-
ground. The crisp, sculptural modelling of the drapery and hair of Mary in the East Sydney window, agitated enough to express an ecstatic mood; the contrast of mood in the calm, upright figure of Christ with the garland-like cloudwave behind it; the naturalness of poses and proportions; the colouring - all these qualities make it a very successful example of mosaic enamel work.

Larger-sized main medallions in the Ashfield window (plate 60, Cat. FA - 1876-1883) allowed the artist to design with more compositional freedom; the arrangements are closely related to the outlines of the medallions, almost to the point of elegance; the colouring is more varied; still, the two-figure medallion in the East Sydney window (plate 59 b) more basic in colouring and almost symmetrically arranged, surpasses these other compositions in its very direct emotional appeal and visual strength.

The 'Transfiguration' Christ in the small window (plate 59 a) becomes a more buoyant figure, redesigned as 'Ascension', in the circular light of the Ashfield window. It appears again, reversed, in the large 1883 east window at Leichhardt, as the central 'Ascension' figure (plate 63).

The drawing of the faces, hands and accessories, particularly in the medallions containing the Evangelists (plate 59 c) is strongly linear and it resembles larger-scale work in medieval cathedrals.
While the colouring of the Ashfield window remains effective under any light conditions, changing from a dominant ruby to mostly blue, the colouring of the smaller window at East Sydney is not as successful, under normal light conditions. The difference lies in a greater proportion of yellow in the foliated background ornament, filets and borders. In strong light, the ornamental background looks faded and thin, which spoils the excellent colour balance in the medallions.

In the large wheel window of the former St Luke's Presbyterian Church, Redfern, the foliated scrollwork comes into its own (plate 61). It was made by Ashwin & Falconer in 1883, in time for the opening of the church in November (Cat. FA - 1883). The glazing contract included the small round window in the eastern gable, also filled with coloured glass, and side windows in plain diamond leadlights, still in existence (with the exception of two more recent painted windows in the south wall, by unidentified makers).

The wheel is some 15 feet in diameter. The choice of the pattern in glass is consistent with the Romanesque character of masonry of the window. It dominates the austere western facade and it is the most luxuriant feature of the interior.

From a distance, the pattern has a calligraphic quality, reminiscent of Islamic tiles and metalwork. Linear designs
are traced in white light, on coloured grounds, by an artist who was able to think in terms of intensities of light. The wheel is divided into geometrically-based colour zones which overlap like petals. As Ashwin's main interest was figure work, this must be one of his rare coloured pattern windows, very different from the usual kind of pale windows (such as plates 64 a and b).

The Redfern wheel window is in a need of urgent restoration as the spokes of the wheel (stone colonnettes) are slipping and dragging the glass with them. Wide gaps have opened.
Ashwin & Falconer continued making pale pattern windows in the 1880's. The most frequently used kind of design was like that in the east window at Penrith (plate 54), while the kind shown in plate 62 b is rare. The Church of St Nektarios, Burwood, contains both kinds of pattern as well as a colourful east window (plate 66) based on flower motifs.

The St Nektarios Greek Orthodox Church, formerly Burwood Methodist Church, was built in 1883. In the entrance porch of this small church of rough sandstone is one of the tiniest windows in Sydney – barely ten inches across (plate 62 a). The motifs resemble sunflower stems and leaves. Rippled glass enhances the brilliance and colouring. (Cat. FA – 1883.)

The curvilinear pattern window in the north wall of St. Peter's, East Sydney (plate 62 b), is not dated but it is adjacent to an 1883 pale pattern window, similar to plate 54 (Cat. FA – 1883, St Peter's, East Sydney). The design has Persian overtones, and some of the motifs may be stylised sunflower stems, leaves and flowers. The lettering style is typical of the Ashwin & Falconer workshop and very different from all other lettering styles in 19th century windows in Sydney.

The five-light east window at All Souls' Church, Leichhardt (plate 63), is the largest window by Ashwin & Falconer, found
to this date (Cat. FA - 1883). An offer to pay for "a costly window" was made about the time of the laying of the foundation stone on the 31st March, 1883; the architects were Blacket & Son. The church opened on the 2nd February, 1884. "The large coloured memorial window was made and created by Messrs Ashwin and Falconer, and is said to be one of the finest in the colony", reported the Anglican press.

The lights are finely proportioned, taller as well as a little wider towards the centre, where the main subject is concentrated. The arrangement is a larger version of another 'Ascension' - a three-light east window at St Luke's Church, Liverpool (Cat. FA - c.1882), which appears to be a close contemporary of the Leichhardt window. Both windows share the same firm, linear style of drawing, restricted colouring and brocaded draperies.

All ornament above the figural panels partakes in the upward orientation of the subject, culminating in the middle light - the Ascension itself. The blue circular motifs echo the deeper blue in the backgrounds to the figures and the busts in roundels at the base.

This window was made by many hands, as the varying quality of glass cutting and painting suggests. The centre light contains the most sensitive and original style of workmanship, as well as some parts of other lights. The rest appears to be an imitation of the master's style, according to each craftsman's
ability. Even the blue diapered grounds are in two noticeably
different styles of painting - one crisp, another wilted.

The distribution of tonal areas is balanced. Every hue has
been carefully chosen; the yellow is particularly well controlled.
The most brilliant yellow has been reserved for the mantle of
the ascending figure of Christ; the canopies are golden-olive
rather than the more frequently seen golden-yellow, in order not
to compete with the main figure. The use of yellow stain in
other parts has been reduced to a minimum. All other yellow
glass is subdued by ornamentation in dark enamel.

The Norton family coat of arms displays a variety of techniques
in enamelling, etching, staining and drawing, including a wide
range of tones in the yellow stain and deftly painted textures.

The main subject is psychologically unified only in the three
centre lights, while the Evangelists on the sides seem to be
little concerned onlookers. They appear to be enlargements of
smaller figures, such as the Evangelists in the Ashfield window
(plate 60) or in the smaller East Sydney window (plate 59).
Somewhere along the process of transformation, they have become
very uninteresting in the cutting of the glass and painting,
losing their original liveliness of pose and gesture. Their
scale is also slightly larger than that of the figures in the
three inner lights.
The general effect of the window is monumental. It dominates the whole interior.

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CHAPTER II

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1. The years of Frederick Ashwin - John Radecki collaboration, 1885-1903.

John Radecki started working for F. Ashwin & Co. in 1885.\textsuperscript{376} That he had worked for "a European firm of stained-glass makers" before coming to Australia,\textsuperscript{377} is not likely to be true. The family emigrated to Australia when he was a boy of sixteen, and student at a German art school in Poznan (Posen, a town in the part of Poland which was allotted to Prussia during the partitions of the Commonwealth of Poland and Lithuania, in 1793 and in 1815). Both he and his father started working the coal mines near Wollongong.\textsuperscript{378} When John Radecki came to Ashwin, he was about nineteen. He learned about glass from Fred Ashwin. Older people in the glass painting and leadlight business in Sydney believe that he had no official qualifications, but that he was a natural artist, and the only one in the workshop able to satisfy Ashwin's exacting standards; also that Radecki attended art classes at two different establishments in Sydney, each one for a short time.\textsuperscript{379} Radecki never travelled overseas from Australia.

If Radecki attended art classes at the Sydney Technical College, Ultimo, some time between 1883 (when the Government took over Art education in New South Wales)\textsuperscript{380} and 1889,\textsuperscript{380a} he would have been a student of Lucien Henry who was appointed the first teacher of Art, "par excellence a designer from
nature" and considered a good figure painter, sculptor and designer, familiar with all kinds of media, and a student of Viollet-le-Duc, who learned from him to study "the past for style and nature for inspiration." His figure work was strongly Classical in derivation, as revealed in his illustrations to his "Australian Legend: The War-Atah" and in his windows at the Sydney Town Hall (Cat. OA - 1888). In Government art schools, figure drawing was, as a rule, done from antiques and from plaster casts, until in 1894 life drawing classes were introduced; by that time, John Radecki was 28 years of age, and it is more likely that he would have attended some other school, at an earlier age, to practise drawing the nude figure from a live model, before he had to carry increased design responsibilities at the workshop. Radecki's skill in figure drawing goes beyond that which a student can learn from drawing motionless statues. In Government art schools, even after 1894, the attitude towards life drawing remained too academic to satisfy any budding artist with a genuine interest in live figure work:

No one should undertake to make finished drawings from the living model without having first had considerable practice in drawing from the antique or the plaster cast. There is no harm, however, in making sketches from the figure that requires no longer than 15 to 20 minutes time...

The descendants of John Radecki testify that he constantly used them as models for various poses needed in the windows he designed.
After 1885, changes in the workshop style become perceptible. These gradual transformations lead to a more consistent style in which the personalities of Frederick Ashwin and John Radecki merge. The characteristic style of Ashwin's painting, particularly of the heads, continued for some years alongside the younger man's developing style, then the style which is no longer Ashwin's began to dominate. Radecki learned the fundamentals of sound window construction and workmanship in glass and metal, and the principles of design for leaded glass, from Ashwin. In this respect, the joint work of both artists ranks among the best anywhere.

The window shown in plate 64, at St Patrick's Church, Sydney, is obviously in the workshop style of Ashwin & Falconer. No printed or written evidence has been found so far, but the characteristic ornament and the saints in roundels are immediately recognisable, without looking at the finer details of the drawing style. Two similar, small windows are in the chancel, at clerestory level. One has the same circular motifs of ornaments and busts of saints in roundels, the other is a figural composition. (Cat. FA - 1886?)\(^{387}\)

Most of the other windows are French, made between 1883 and 1886. (Cat. F - 1883, 1885 and 1886, Claudius Lavergne et son fils.)

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This tall Ashwin & Falconer window is in the western wall, nearest the entrance. (The chancel faces north.) Being furthest removed from the chancel, the window was probably commissioned when the last French window was made, i.e., in 1886. It is partly obscured by the gallery.

Raphael's tapestry cartoon 'Christ's Charge to Peter'\textsuperscript{388} has served again as a model for the figure of Christ in the left hand side panel. This familiar face, with a short beard and a friendly expression, appears in innumerable St Joseph figures painted by this firm in the 1880's.

The composition in the right hand side panel has been treated with a new ease. The figures are shown in more lively movements and dramatic attitudes which evoke 16th century Italian art, especially Venetian, rather than 15th century. The natural grace and idealised form of the semi-nude figure of Christ is in the Classical tradition. There is a new sense of movement and space, which in no way interferes with what the eye perceives as a flat and decorative design, because of the arrangement of areas of white glass and strong colours, with an emphasis on tonal contrast. This particular panel could be one of the earliest attempts by young Radecki, under Ashwin's guidance, as qualities apparent here manifest themselves more clearly in later, larger compositions. Naturalness of poses and a command of space in which many figures can be accommodated

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without appearing crowded, are perhaps the most important new qualities.

In Campbelltown, N.S.W., 33½ miles from Sydney, the first Roman Catholic Church of St John the Evangelist (or St John the Divine) was built by Father Therry and opened in 1841.389 The second church was opened for services 19.12.1886390 and officially opened in May, 1887.391 It was a Gothic Revival building in stone, now "updated" by the removal of solid walls and their replacement by glass panes in metal frames. The windows have been arranged largely in the same order, but instead of being the sources of light, they are now dark patches against a translucent ground and they cannot be properly seen because of the reflections on the surface of coloured glass, from the glass walls opposite. Originally, they were two-light windows. In the long walls, the lights have been reset at equal distances, therefore the once unified compositions have lost their impact and meaning.

The "elaborate stained glass circular window, framed and dressed in stone above the main entrance, which floods the building with light gleaming over the choir and children's gallery",392 most likely, by either F. Ashwin & Co. or J. Ashwin & Co., was not reinstalled and is missing.

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The earliest four windows were made for the original stone chancel (Cat. FA - 1886) which was in the form of five sides of an octagon. These single lights in the chancel were slightly narrower than the lights in the long walls of the church. There were two one-figure windows on either side of the centre where the altar must have been. Three of these windows are in the present glass chancel. The fourth - St Brigid's window - has been placed in the entrance porch, in yellow glass walls, alongside recent windows of rather crude appearance which have nothing in common with the small figure of the nun in the old window, and its subdued colouring.

The best-preserved window of the original chancel is the window of St John the Evangelist. It was made from the same cartoon as an earlier window at St James' Church, Forest Lodge (Cat. FA - 1879-80), but carried out in a more subtle colour scheme and with elaborately patterned draperies. A certain fluidity of style and the more lively, smoothly painted face of the patron-saint of the church distinguish it from the workshop style as it was before 1885 (or 1886) and from the other three more static figures. The slight difference in style could be due to John Radecki beginning to work for Fred Ashwin. After 1885, many windows from this workshop appear to have been the result of collaboration of both artists, the younger one learning from the master, and each one contributing his own special abilities.
Judging by the dates in these memorial windows of the Campbelltown church (while some windows bear no dates), they were made in a continuous succession by F. Ashwin & Co., then after 1909, by J. Ashwin & Co. with John Radecki as the main artist, to about 1920. The uniformity of style in the canopies has been maintained throughout and the style of the inscriptions has changed very little. The best quality of work belongs to the years of F. Ashwin - J. Radecki artistic partnership and to windows on which each artist did most of the work himself. Under the new business management of John Ashwin, where Radecki was a partner and the chief artist, the cartoons appear to have been prepared mainly be Radecki, as he had a particular talent for figure drawing and composition, while the painting was done by a number of artists, including Radecki himself, therefore the quality began to vary. Weak imitations of the genuine artist's style appeared.

The role of John Falconer in the last years of his life (died late 1891) is not at all clear. As an artist, he seems to have faded out about the time Frederick Ashwin became the senior partner. He died at the early age of 53, when Ashwin was about 66, yet there is not even a part of any window which could be attributed with absolute certainty to the younger man in the last twelve or thirteen years before his death. He always had problems with figure work and probably became submerged, performing a variety of other tasks in the workshop.
The pair of lights representing 'The Blessed Virgin' and 'St Joseph' (plate 65) was originally nearest to the chancel (which faces south), in the long western wall. The window is not dated, as so often is the case in Roman Catholic churches. The adjacent window, originally further removed from the chancel, was made in France and is inscribed with the date 1896 (Cat. F - 1896). The figural style of 'The Blessed Virgin' and 'St Joseph' is still largely a continuation of the 1880's single-figure windows, yet it can be felt that a new artist is at work, expressing his own taste when adjusting Frederick Ashwin's cartoons. The figure of the Virgin in particular is transitional in style between the 1880's and the female figures in the 1890's windows, such as plate 67b. These two lights could have been made soon after the chancel windows, i.e., between 1887 and 1890, and before all the other windows in the body of the Campbelltown church (Cat. FA - 1887-90).

A more exuberant, luxuriant style of the Virgin, as compared to the figure of St Joseph, immediately presents itself to the eye. The draperies no longer fall in straight, almost vertical folds, as they do in another window, made in a style not less decorative but more conservative, from cartoons used many times before - the east window in the Roman Catholic church of St Matthew, Windsor, N.S.W. (not to be confused with a much earlier Anglican church there, of the same name),
The centre light holds the familiar figure of the Good Shepherd, with the figures of Mary and St Joseph on either side (Cat. FA - 1880-86). The hands in both windows are very similar - they continue in the same style. While the mantle of St Joseph at Campbelltown has been redesigned mainly to stress the play of curved diagonals, that of the Virgin has an almost Baroque fullness. The humble Virgin of Windsor has been transformed into a happy, almost proud young girl, by turning her shoulders more to a frontal position, giving her a smile and wrapping her in voluminous draperies. All decorative details surrounding the figures in both churches are practically the same. The Virgin's mantle at Campbelltown has a definite Oriental flavour: it has probably been influenced by Indian silk textiles which the artists could have seen at intercolonial or international exhibitions frequently staged in Sydney and Melbourne.

The colouring of the Virgin panel is more opulent, as compared to that of St Joseph. A lucid greenish-blue colour of the mantle, decorated with gold, glows against a neutralised ground of square quarries and strikes an exotic chord together with the warmer blue below the canopy. It is a departure from Ashwin's more basic colouring, towards a wider range of cool colours which Radecki used so well in the 1890's and within the first two decades of the 20th century. This could have been Radecki's colour choice, as it could have also been
in the St John window, in the chancel of the same church - a window which is the only one to have a blending of predominantly cool colours not found in earlier windows by Frederick Ashwin, where cool and warm colours are more evenly balanced. In the early 1890's work of F. Ashwin and J. Radecki, such as the transept window at Cobbitty, N.S.W. (plate 67b), and a smaller window on the same subject at St Jude's, Randwick, which probably immediately precedes it (Cat. FA - c.1892), colour range became more extensive within the bounds of a general harmony.

The young blonde Madonna at Campbelltown is the predecessor of many female figures with long and wavy golden hair, which John Radecki liked to place in prominent positions. The female figure seldom had such an eye-catching importance in Fred Ashwin's work before Radecki's time. In Radecki's hands, it truly came to life.

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Plate 66 (Cat. FA - 1893) represents the east window at St Nektarios Church, Burwood. The date on the window suggests that it was made not earlier than 1890; more likely in 1893, the year of the additions. 397

John Falconer had died two years earlier (App. Item 8). Very few windows by this firm have been found dating from the 1890's and before 1898, undoubtedly, because of the economic
depression, but the quality remained unaffected, unlike the work of the rival major firm of Lyon, Cottier & Co. which had also lost its partner, Daniel Cottier, in 1891. Apart from these two major firms, there existed by 1890 at least five firms in Sydney which made leadlights and practised other decorative crafts in glass and other materials, in connection with domestic buildings and business needs. Some of these firms survived into the years of World War I. Occasionally, these minor firms made figural windows for churches and for public buildings.

The east window at St Nektarios, at first glance, is very different from all other windows of both Ashwin and Falconer, yet the lettering at the base of the window (barely visible as it is obscured by some outbuilding with a corrugated iron roof) is typical of the firm, and so is the scrolled background ornament painted with yellow stain; the angel in the quatrefoil; the basically simple colour scheme and the high standard of workmanship. The main floral panels are based on the wild rose, the upper ones are filled with daisies. Australian flowers appear in the lower medallions; they are Christmas Bells. Each colour is a separate piece of glass, excepting the yellow stain. The high degree of elaboration makes the window look like golden filigree with jewel-coloured inalys. Another example of both European and Australian plants
in church windows, is the Church of St Peter, Cooks River (the suburb of St Peters now), where small circular medallions are inserted in windows facing one another across the church, dating from 1884 (Cat. LC - 1884).

From the 1880's onwards, a number of designers in Sydney were preparing designs based on Australian fauna and flora, to be carried out in a variety of media, including leadlights and stained glass. Strangely enough, the initiative came not from Australian-born artists (they preferred European motifs), but from a Frenchman who stayed in Sydney barely ten years - Lucien Henry, who was the first teacher in Art in the Sydney Technical College, Ultimo. The Waratah appealed to him most of all. Long after Lucien Henry had departed from Sydney, his influence continued. In 1911 and 1912, an article "The Waratah in Applied Art" was printed in instalments, written by R.T. Baker, Curator of the Technological Museum, Ultimo, illustrated with designs by Lucien Henry, Parnell W. Johnson (late Lecturer-in-Charge of the Department of Industrial Art at the Sydney Technical College) and J.W. (?) Hulme. The article extolled the beauty, uniqueness and versatility of Australian fauna and flora and paid tribute to Lucien Henry who drew the artists' attention to this local source of design.

The east window at St. Nektarios' was made about five years
after two windows which would have been well known to the public: those on either side of the Sydney Town Hall, on the landing of the stairs, designed by Lucien Henry and abundantly decorated with highly coloured Australian flowers. Lucien Henry's writings and designs encouraged Australian artists to use local design inspiration, which they did in the 1890's more often than before.

The date of the east window at St Nektarios falls within the early years of the Art Nouveau period overseas. In the 1890's the firm of Ashwin & Co. made simplified, even more geometric versions of earlier pale-tinted windows. It was an economical way of glazing churches in something a little more elaborate than plain white glass. In 1890, Goodlet & Smith glazed the St Andrew's Presbyterian Church at Manly with pale-tinted square quarries of rippled glass, with sparse ornamentation of Gothic origin. A rectangular window in the porch, featuring a bouquet of Australian flowers, possibly waratahs, quite confectionery-like in colouring, is in the style of the same firm, and of glass used in the walls of the church (Cat. OA 1890 and 1890-92?).

The workshop of Lyon, Cottier & Co. had decidedly anticipated many qualities of Art Nouveau in the 1880's, but in the 1890's the firm practically disbanded and promising developments never took place. A few churches in Sydney have simple
Art Nouveau leadlights. An example is the Welsh Presbyterian Church in Chalmers Street, Sydney (Cat. OA - the 1900's?).

The character of the east window at St Nektarios has a somewhat Oriental flavour. As in Japanese or Islamic decorative arts, geometry and naturalism are combined. Although the design is optically symmetrical, there is an element of asymmetry not only in the floral motifs, but also in their geometrical surrounds. Tedious regularity is avoided by overlapping the inner strips in the medallions. An Islamic scholar would associate this whole design with the idea of the Paradise garden - "a combination of rational and organic". The naturalism could be attributed to Lucien Henry's influence which was characterised by "an absence of fictitious details with which he appears to have had no dealings in his botanical elaborations", even if his designs always had a certain hard artificiality of arrangement, which the plants in the east window at St Nektarios" have not.

Oriental influences were easy enough to pick up in Australia, even by designers who had never set foot outside this continent. Beside the actual international exhibitions in Sydney or Melbourne, Oriental decorative arts could be studied in well illustrated catalogues published by the organisers of the great exhibitions overseas. Although the most widely used sections in such illustrated references were
of European origin, as untraditional designs and originality was not what was expected of ecclesiastical art, unusual sources of inspiration found their way into church windows, provided they were incorporated in a more traditional framework and were in agreement with the style of the building.

The overall character of the east window at St Nektarios, Burwood, with its medallions, borders, curly golden tendrils in the background and the abundance of yellow stain, is in agreement with the Decorated Gothic openings. The angel in the tracery quatrefoil may be an apology for the unusual, very secular style of the window, although it really is the only part not in keeping with the main lights.

The Church of St Paul. Cobbitty, N.S.W., 37½ miles from Sydney, consecrated in 1842, is filled with windows dating from 1856 (William Warrington's chancel window, plate 13) to the decades after World War II.

The largest is the east transept window of three lights, 'The Sermon on the Mount', described in an anonymous pamphlet on Cobbitty as having been "wrought by John Ashwin of Sydney"... However, in 1894, when the window was installed, John Ashwin & Co. did not yet exist: this still was Fredrick Ashwin's time.
In the Church of St Anne, Ryde, all the windows were made by the firm of Ashwin and Falconer, between 1876 and 1880 (Cat. FA - windows between 1876 and 1880). Although all but the chancel window were reportedly installed in 1880, at the end of restorations to the church, only seven windows in the body of the church are more highly developed figural compositions. They represent themes from the New Testament, mostly involving many figures. As such, they are interesting examples of composition, colouring and styles of painting from before Radecki's arrival at the workshop - all seven in the one location. Several styles of painting and of glass cutting are also evident in the slightly later east window for the Leichhardt church (plate 63, 1882-84). It could be assumed that Ashwin took most of the responsibility for the cartoons.

The cartoon for 'The Sermon on the Mount' of 1879-80 at Ryde (plate 67 a) has probably served as a starting point for two much larger windows. A two-light transept window at St Jude's, Randwick (Cat. FA - c. 1892), is so different in its figural style, colouring and the way it is painted, that it must have been chiefly the work of somebody new to the firm. The lettering style, the Gothic canopies and the decorative plant in the foreground and the background are a continuation of Frederick Ashwin's practice. A clump of lily-of-the-valley appears for the first time in the left hand side corner - a motif which did not occur in Frederick Ashwin's windows, but which can often be seen in those designed by Radecki. It is there again, in the Cobbitty window.
The three-light 'Sermon on the Mount' at Cobbitty (plate 67 b) is perhaps twice removed from the Ryde prototype. The composition, redesigned for larger two-lights at Randwick, was reorganised, using largely the same figures, slightly changing positions and gestures and adding some new figures. As the lights in the Cobbitty transept are taller than at Randwick, the figures had to be placed in two tiers. Half-figures at the back, on the left hand side of the Ryde and Randwick windows, have been extended to full figures in both outer lights at Cobbitty, on the upper level, where they overlap haloed heads of others. Although these full figures in the upper tier stand on some ground with plants, this kind of placing makes the space visionary rather than real; the picture does not recede into depth but remains related to the plane of the wall. The distribution of tones and colours and their contrasts flatten the effect of modelling of the figures.

In compositions involving many figures, such as at Randwick or Cobbitty, there is no sensation of crowding. The figures are freely designed in natural poses, in unconstrained groups. They are not contained within the framework inside each light, but are allowed to overflow the borders and spill out in front of them, together with the ground details. This also helps the continuity between separate lights, while their separateness is emphasised by the Gothic architectural ornament continuing all the way down from the canopies.\textsuperscript{412} In the Cobbitty window,
the Apostles' figures in the upper tier also overlap the framework of each light, although, logically, they could not be on the same plane with the figures below. An illusion of recession has been avoided, also, because all the figures are of the same size.

While emphasis on pure colours could be attributed to the influence of Impressionism which was strongly felt in Australia in the 1890's, new, exciting colour juxtapositions in F. Ashwin & Co. windows of that time were more likely owing to a direct influence of Oriental arts and crafts than to an indirect influence through Art Nouveau. In the Cobbitty window, the kneeling female figure on the extreme right wears a brown cloak with flame-coloured spots; next to this large area there is a smaller area of mauve; the sleeve is a green-blue. Higher up in the same light there are other kinds of blue, green, violet and brown; none of them are as bright in themselves, or in opposition to other colours, as other related colours are in the lower zone. It is interesting to note that in the Ryde window (plate 67 a) the same greens, blues, browns, the amber yellow, the mauve and the same flame-red were used, but their potential was played down. They were arranged in harmonious relationships, and only with occasional brighter accents. In the draperies, some colours were neutralised by brocaded patterns painted in black enamel. With the same colours, the artist of the Cobbitty window purposely created brilliant contrasts and exciting discords, different from all other Sydney windows.
The reds (the repoussoir figure on the left, the cloak of Christ draped across the knees and the reds in the outer right light) mark out a triangle in this composition. Everything else is subordinated to this Classical order. The most lively arrangement of the listeners' groups is in the widest central light. (The most stable, almost iconic figures are the Apostles in the upper zone of the side lights, their overlapping haloes being very decorative and reminiscent of heavenly crowd scenes in Italian Proto-Renaissance paintings.) The eyes of most figures are turned towards the central figure of Christ, and their gestures are individual reactions to the sermon. These are powerful means of compositional as well as psychological unity. The figures at the ground level face into the picture and act as repoussoirs. One obvious weakness is the repetition of a very similar figure, only in a slightly different pose, with a practically identical white head veil, in the centre light and on the right hand side. This, no doubt, came about in the course of transforming the subject from a two-light composition at Randwick, to a three-light one at Cobbitty: the third light was added in which this particular figure was repeated with very little change.

The lively style of the figures, the use of views from the back and the way the picture starts on the spectator's side of the framework, involves the spectator in a way Baroque art was planned to do, where the onlooker becomes a participant.
Radecki could not have done this accidentally, or used other compositional means to control large numbers of figures, without being familiar with European painting styles through the ages, in a very visual way, so that he was able to borrow ideas ecclectically.\textsuperscript{414}

While in the Ryde 'Sermon' the same facial types are repeated many times over the composition, and only two are more different (the face of Christ and that of a young boy), the faces in the Cobbitty window are more individualised. Where the same model has been used twice, the head has been drawn from a different angle each time. Individuality of faces, does not, of course, make a better stained glass window, but it is one of the most striking differences in style between Radecki's time and the period before him. Radecki was an excellent draughtsman and he liked to draw in pencil the members of his family. A portrait of himself at the age of 19, drawn from a photograph, still hangs on the wall of his son's home. The beautiful hands in the windows have also been drawn from the members of his family.\textsuperscript{415}

Among stylistic features which are apparent in the Cobbitty window and which continue until at least the year of Frederick Ashwin's death in 1909, are:

The head veils of the female figures, modelled in sculptural folds, revealing the shape of the head, neck and shoulders beneath. As they are usually white, and as the female
faces are then painted on very pale glass, in delicate neutral tones, such veiled heads resemble marble sculpture, such as Michelangelo's,

Realistic rendering of the figures, drapery folds, faces and hands suggests that they were usually drawn from life.

The Cobbitty window contains perhaps the earliest idealised face of Christ, beautiful without being effeminate, quite different from that in the 'Sermon' window at Randwick (which also has its successors) — a face, graceful hands and an idealised figure which occur in some of the windows of this firm, which Radecki must have painted himself. The face is distinct and never used for any other personage.

In this window a preference is already evident, for fully saturated colours and darkish tones, contrasted with white areas and with well selected bright colour accents. This kind of organisation of tonal and colour relationships is used in constructing the composition.

The use of a graded variety of cool colours in parts of the Cobbitty window, is more clearly developed into a preference for dominating cool colours in dark tones, contrasted with areas of white and with a restricted range of warm colours, particularly in small windows. In some compositions, a greater proportion of warm colours was used. The yellows are always well chosen — this must be a lesson which
Radecki has learned from Frederick Ashwin. (Any window, particularly from Radecki's partnership with J. Ashwin, which appears to have been done from Radecki's own cartoon, but lacks colour discrimination, must have been made by somebody else in the workshop.)

In compositions involving many figures, there often is at least one female figure in a prominent position, with long and wavy blond hair and in an especially well designed, opulent costume.

The son of the artist, Rupert Radecki, explained that this particular ever-present figure is the representation of an ideal Polish girl. In the Cobbitty window, she is right in the front, in the centre light, wrapped in a gracefully draped Prussian Blue mantle with golden motifs and gilded borders, her long, fair hair cascading down the back. She almost steals the limelight from the central figure of Christ. There are other, much less elaborate reflections of her in this window.

'The Sermon on the Mount' at Cobbitty is quite a Polish occasion: there are lilies-of-the-valley; the ideal Polish girl; among faces and hands drawn from real life, there must be some from the artist's own family; and, finally, there is a Polish Christ, in a tunic decorated with golden leaves of the oak, a tree sacred to the ancient and all-powerful God of Thunder.
While the firm of Lyon, Cottier & Co declined in the 1890's, and while very little or no important work at all can be traced in Sydney, originating from the minor glass painting firms, Frederick Ashwin together with John Radecki have made a number of very impressive windows. While the style of the workshop changed gradually, as Radecki's own style developed, the standards were maintained and even rose, regardless of the economic crisis in the country. Judging by the number of glass merchants in Sydney at about 1890, which rose to thirteen business establishments (even if some of them sold other materials as well), there was no shortage of demand, even if ecclesiastical commissions became fewer. Windows for private and public buildings were made by F. Ashwin & Co. and by others. Windows continued to be imported from England and France, although at a lesser rate than in the 1880's.

About 1900, F. Ashwin & Co. made some very pale windows, mainly in white and pale-tinted glass, decorated with acanthus leaf motif arranged in quatrefoils. Some of the quatrefoils were filled with busts or symbols of the Evangelists (Cat. FA – 1899, St. Clement's, Marrickville); busts of angels holding crowns (Cat. FA – 1901-02, St George's, Paddington); or with portraits of prominent churchmen and with coats of arms (Cat. FA – c.1899, Strathfield Congregational Church). Such windows generally are interpretations of medieval motifs, usually without any other borders than strips of white or pale-tinted glass, with either
ruby or deep blue backgrounds inside the ornamental quatrefoils. Only at St George's, Paddington, do some of the windows feature very simple Art Nouveau, rather than Gothic ornament, which could be expected to be seen in domestic buildings rather than in a church; the ornament in some other windows is stylised, simple and effective, but is neither Art Nouveau nor Gothic in derivation. The utter simplicity and lack of experimentation in colour and design suggest reasons of economy rather than a genuine interest in possibilities offered by the new style of the period.

The style of painting, the workmanship and the characteristic canopy of the 1902 'Nativity' window at St Jude's, Randwick (Cat. FA - 1902), leave no doubt about its origin. It is a harmonious, rhythmical arrangement in which the figures unfold from centre, like the petals of a flower. Dark tones of cool colours are relieved by olive-greens and are in a sharp contrast with a significant amount of white. Yellow is the next important colour; it occurs as glass coloured in the body as well as painting with yellow stain, and is distributed all over the window. Twelfth and thirteenth century artists in glass used white and yellow to pick out and to define the principal forms in stained glass windows, as well as to separate the coloured glass fabric from the masonry, as it has been done in this 'Nativity' window by Ashwin and Radecki. This method, especially
pertaining to the medium of stained and painted glass windows, has not been fully exploited by John Falconer, and it was completely cast aside every time he made windows prepared by a painter (e.g., plate 46 a and b). It could be expected that Fredrick Ashwin was familiar with theories and treatises on glass available in 19th century England, and that he shared his theoretical and practical experience with John Radecki.

Ruby is a colour which looks particularly good as a background to the canopies, at the summit of the lights, under the Sydney sun, and Ashwin has used it extensively. In the 'Nativity' window, ruby is otherwise sparingly used: a cascade of it emphasises Mary and the Infant.

The figures remain inside the decorative framework; an onlooker does not become a participant, as he would, when standing in front of 'The Sermon on the Mount' at Cobbitty. The artists may have wanted to stress the more secret nature of the event. The design remains on, or parallel to, the plane of the glass, because of the arrangement of contrasting tones, and in spite of some diminishing sizes in the picture.

Gentle, smooth and transparent modelling of the faces and hands suggest the shallowest of reliefs, like a cameo. The faces and hands are individualised and drawn from life. On pale-toned glass, modelling is light and the really dark tone amounts to not more than thickened lines, such as between the fingers of the hands, or to emphasise a deep fold in the drapery. There is a much
more generous application of black enamel in the modelling of the draperies on blue glass. This method is consistent with Viollet-le-Duc's theories which summed up medieval methods based on practice and observation, and it can be clearly observed in every window done in Radecki's time, together with Frederick Ashwin, more clearly than in Ashwin's own windows, because Radecki liked cool colours, particularly blue, much more than Ashwin, although he always further modified them by tone. He used them for black draperies, such as clerical habits, where unobscured blues have the effect of highlights. Lighter tones were acid-etched in coated blue or ruby glass alike, as is the highlight on the cuff of the shepherd, in the front of the 'Nativity' scene (plate 68), or in 'Mary Magdalen' (plate 72, the highlight on the right knee of Christ). Although the glass made in the 19th century substantially differed from glass manufactured in the Middle Ages, to which Viollet-le-Duc's observations apply, the adaptation of these methods to available glass allowed each artist to create his own style, within a broader 19th century style. There is no question that either Frederick Ashwin or John Radecki tried to imitate medieval or any other historical style.

From Ashwin, Radecki learned to place the headlines without apology. The skeleton of the picture which visually holds up the composition was drawn with prominent headlines. Their placing and well judged, deliberate cuts across larger pieces, in the 'Nativity' window, look like the work of a sure hand.
As the workshop was not very busy in 1902, Ashwin and Radecki probably cut the glass themselves, particularly because this window was an important commission - one of four large windows in the transepts, in prominent positions. All four were made by F. Ashwin & Co., as their canopies, lettering and chronological changes in style suggest, from one window to another, no doubt, reflecting Radecki's increasing role. (Cat. FA 1-1889?, 'The Raising of Lazarus'; FA - c.1892, 'The Sermon on the Mount'; FA - 1902, 'The Nativity'; FA - 1905, 'Christ among the Doctors').

The drawing style of 'Nativity' is not Ashwin's; it is unlike his crisp cross-hatching, his linear, wiry hair; his almost medieval strength of facial drawing. Ashwin owes a debt to European tradition in woodcuts and engraving, while Radecki's work is Classically oriented; his modelling on glass is more like drawing on paper with a soft medium - which he liked to do.

The two later windows in the southern transepts, including the 'Nativity' (dating from 1902 and 1905), are much cooler in colouring and contain sharper tonal differences than the earlier two windows. This difference in colouring reflects Radecki's taste, but has nothing to do with the direction of light. The earlier two windows are brightly lit up all day, as they face north; their warmer colouring is not a disadvantage. The later pair is contemporary with a number of windows, mostly small, which Radecki made in predominantly cool and sombre colours.
Some of them (at St Anne’s, Strathfield, Cat. FA - 1902-09; St John’s, Glebe, Cat. FA - 1902) are predominantly blue and very dark. The best light in the northern transept at Randwick falls in the morning, but during other times of the day, one could be forgiven for wishing that the two pairs of windows were interchanged, as the south transept windows lose their glow in the afternoon.

Radecki's elongated figures, elegant hands, pale faces and the dominance of cool colours suggest that he was familiar with the work of some Italian Mannerists, such as Bronzino, but without the artifice, inner disquiet or ambiguity of Mannerist art. Radecki's compositions breathe the serenity of Renaissance art. Pale forms emerging from shadows are the legacy of Caravaggio and his followers. Research still remains to be done on picture sources available to Radecki.

The east window at St Clement's, Mosman (plate 69; Cat. FA - 1903) was reported as having been "designed and made by Mr. F. Ashwin". As the figural style and some important painted parts, such as the face of Christ and the hands, are completely unlike anything done by Ashwin himself before Radecki's time, the statement should be understood, that Ashwin accepted the final responsibility, but the style points to close collaboration between both artists.
The church is comparatively new (1903); it replaces a church built in 1888. Described as "late Gothic" in style, its rather squat east window has Perpendicular traceries. 'The Supper at Emmaus' extends horizontally across, with ample space for each figure. Gothic character is stressed: there are small Perpendicular canopies; tiled floor which Ashwin liked to use, in his one-figure windows in particular; small angels neatly filling the tracery lights. Below a conventional Gothic ornament across the base, the inscription is in black Gothic script over white ground. In the background, there are pulled-aside curtains and colonnettes in neutralised colours. Suggestions of interior architecture abounded in French windows in Sydney; they came mainly in the later 1880's and the 1890's, which coincided with Australian Impressionism, itself a result of French influence, although there is little in these windows which is related to Impressionism. There is not doubt that Radecki has seen these windows from France, in various Sydney churches. He also used similar architectural backgrounds, but in a variety of neutralised colourings, each cut in a separate piece of glass (unlike in the French windows, where leadlines were avoided as much as possible). 

The Mosman window features another one of the beautiful and serene faces of Christ, not used for any other character. The faces of the two Apostles could have originated from Ashwin's cartoons, but they appear to have been painted by Radecki.
Elegant and expressive hands are very important in this composition. The surprise at the moment of recognition is expressed not only in the gestures of the Apostles, but also in the draperies: the fly-away serpentine border of the Apostle on the left, another running serpentine part of the border on the floor, as well as the pulled-aside curtains. A completely calm figure of Christ is the focus of attention and a stabilising centre - completely Renaissance in feeling. \(^{425}\)

A very low triangle is the basis of the composition. The bread is in the very centre of the main lights, if diagonals are drawn from corner to corner, over all three lights. The arrangement is optically symmetrical on the left and on the right. There are repeated triangles and segments of the circle throughout the picture. The plane of the floor is tilted up - the perspective is not correct, but this device is used to save the area under the table from receding into depth. Contrasts of white with dark-toned colours have the same effect, as in the Cobbitty window (plate 67 b) and at Randwick (plate 68).

The colouring looks very much like Ashwin's initial idea - blues, important and carefully controlled yellows, and rubies for important areas, all balanced. The darkening of the ground and the use of related cool colours is characteristic of Radecki's work, in many of his windows, through the years.

The idea of the design, with the long strip of white tablecloth extending almost the whole length of the picture, is related
just as much to 'The Last Supper' of the Renaissance period, such as that by Andrea del Castagno or by Leonardo da Vinci, as it is to more compact compositions of 'The Supper at Emmaus', involving less figures in a more psychologically united group. The figures and their gestures emerge from the darker ground with more emphasis, although with less mystery, than in Caravaggio's painting of the same theme. The tonal scheme certainly owes a debt to Caravaggio and his followers. The style of the window is wholly within the nineteenth century, with its Classical leanings and a desire to match the ornamental detail and the backgrounds to the style of the building and the trace-
ries.

   X X X X X X X X X X X X
2. John Radecki's work from 1906 onwards

The present window at Christ Church St Laurence, Sydney (plate 70), is the third window in this position (Cat. FA - 1906). Two previous windows were from William Wailes of Newcastle-on-Tyne (plate 2, 1851, and Cat. B - 1863). Although the fire which badly damaged the second east window occurred in August, 1905,\textsuperscript{426} there was still no firm decision about its restoration or replacement, although it was proposed to raise the sill, to make more room for a larger new reredos.\textsuperscript{427} In April 1906, the new window was already in the making.\textsuperscript{428} The Dedication ceremony was planned to take place early in July.\textsuperscript{429} The window took about five months to make and it was dedicated on the 20th July, 1906.\textsuperscript{430} It was the largest window made for a Sydney church, since the 1894 transept window at Cobbitty, outside Sydney (plate 67), and reputedly the first major independent work by John Radecki.\textsuperscript{431} Frederick Ashwin died three years later.

Light and space are two words which best describe the first impression, when viewing this east window in morning light. The composition is unified throughout and the group exists behind the millions. This visionary conception of 'Te Deum' is related to themes of adoration, coronation of the saints, assumption, apocalyptic visions, etc., painted by 15th and 16th century masters, such as Raphael or El Greco, who, in turn, were inspired by earlier fresco and panel painters. The event
takes place only in the mind, therefore its rendering is visionary rather than pertaining to a particular place or real space.

The most important means of composition used was light and its gradations, followed by an orderly disposition of the main masses, then colour - although this does not in any way diminish its role as an element of glass painting. Gradation of tones goes hand in hand with the changes in colouring, from whites, pale tints and yellows which are naturally light in tone, to fully saturated rubies, blues and greens in the middle concentric zone, reaching the other extremity of colour neutralisation by shadow rather than light, in the lower peripheries. This darkest part is separated from the wall below, by a very conventional Gothic border ornament and inscription containing a large proportion of yellow and white, as well as ruby which picks up the warmest colours throughout the composition. The canopies are unobstructive; they have been used to balance the colouring. Still, even in this first independent work, Radecki did not give them up, although he could have easily done without any additional ornament at all, without loss of decorative quality, because the many repeated elements in this window are decorative in themselves.

Although Burne-Jones emphasised, right from the start in the 1860's, the cutting of glass in horizontal strips, for the larger areas of plain or ornamented background and for the sky, the idea soon fell out of use at William Morris, but
was widely practised by Lyon, Cottier & Co. in Sydney, from at least 1875, when the earliest completed figural windows were installed. An isolated case of this method of filling the backgrounds by the workshop of Falconer & Ashwin dates from 1878: it is the 'Crucifixion' panel in the central east window at St James', Forest Lodge (plate 55). Frederick Ashwin's backgrounds to figures were in a very Gothic taste: in plain or diapered ruby or blue glass, with or without stylised trees derived from the 'Gothic tree'. Falconer was against gothicisms and used plain, usually deep blue glass, cut in large areas, avoiding the leadlines as much as possible. When he worked with a painter-cartoon artist, Falconer used pictorial effects involving distant views (e.g., 'Epiphany', 1869, plate 46 b, designed by W. Macleod); in other less ambitious but very colourful backgrounds he used palm trees and other exotic vegetation, which continued during his partnership with Frederick Ashwin. The figures emerged as the main interest in John Radecki's windows; all else was kept subordinated, and distant views or diapered grounds were never used, although Gothic architectural detail, and later (during his partnership with John Ashwin) Renaissance and 16th century ornament, were introduced.

The east window at Christ Church St Laurence may be the first window by Radecki in which the background consists only of glass cut in horizontal strips, however, with superimposed canopies.
That the William Morris workshop effectively used strongly
directional abstract patterns of glass and leadlines, in
very large areas of the total window space, in the 1880's
and the 1890's, Radecki may or may not have known. The
method was easy enough to pick up in Sydney, from Lyon,
Cottier & Co. windows.

The work of Louis Comfort Tiffany in America was at its
height, in the first decade of the 20th century. Radecki's
'Te Deum' bears some resemblance to Tiffany's 'Te Deum' of
c.1900 in New York, in its concentric organisation of tones
and masses. Although King David playing the harp, on the
right, in the upper part of Radecki's window, is curiously
similar to King David in an undated, unrecorded photograph
of a window by Tiffany, it would be unwise to draw
conclusions about the influence of Tiffany's iconography.
Concentric compositions have been used for centuries in both
European and non-European art, because a certain kind of a
subject calls for the placing of figures around the central
focal area. While Tiffany's designers may have been aware
of 'The Last Judgment' window at Fairford, Gloucestershire,
England, with its concentric circles, but with an asymmetrical
sweep of darker tones in fully saturated colours, Radecki's "Te Deum" has no such visible geometric zoning
of the masses. 19th and early 20th century stained glass
workshops throughout the world drew on many common sources
of reference.
Radecki's 'Te Deum' window is smaller than the 1888 east window of the same subject at All Saints', Hunters Hill, made by Lyon, Wells, Cottier & Co. (plate 99). It is so much more monumental and unified, while the Hunters Hill window is divided into two separate subject zones with different colour schemes, as well as the zone of fill-in figures of angels in the heads of the lights. While tone is the most powerful unifying force in Radecki's 'Te Deum', tone has the effect of fragmenting the Lyon, Wells, Cottier & Co. window.

The drawing of about seventy faces in Radecki's window does not concentrate on a portrait likeness of each participant, but each face is well drawn and the racial characteristics of the Pacific islanders on the right hand side are vividly shown. The style is not as linear and strong as Frederick Ashwin's; all the same, the general tonal qualities are well controlled by a proper tint of glass, and then by the necessary amount of modelling, so that the faces avoid the fate of so many 19th century windows where they become washed out by light.

The already familiar blonde girl, in a dark cloak and with a diadem, kneels in the front, on the left. She represents the Hungarian Queen, St Elizabeth. Another very prominent blonde figure is that of St Agnes, on the extreme right, holding a lamb; her pose and costume could have been inspired by a Renaissance portrait.
The colouring and the power of the chiaroscuro in the main part, are similar to those of Caravaggio, Velazquez and the seventeenth century painters in the Low Countries, but the traceries are filled with angels in mild colouring and pale tones. Although the same colours can be found in the main lights, this is not at all obvious at once, and one begins to wonder whether the traceries are not a remainder of a previous window. This is not so, because the first window was purely a pattern window and it still exists complete, at the Church of St Barnabas (plate 2). The traceries of the second window by William Wailes were filled with "small delineations of leading subjects in our Lord's earthly life." 438

Tightly packed Gothic characters were used for the inscription on glass at the base. Another alphabet, very decorative and of Roman derivation, was used more frequently by both F. Ashwin & Co. and J. Ashwin & Co., with Radecki as the main artist.

After the 1906 'Te Deum' window at Christ Church St Laurence, Sydney, nothing of a comparable size or importance from Radecki’s hand has been found in the churches of Sydney, until after World War I. John Ashwin & Co. continued taking commissions from churches for which Radecki, in partnership with Frederick Ashwin had already made some windows (e.g., St James', Forest Lodge; St Jude's, Randwick; St John's, Campbelltown), as well as accepting other ecclesiastical and secular orders, public and private. Most of them were for small windows in side walls;
as church building had greatly diminished since the 1890's. Other glass painters did not fare any better until after the war, when the vogue of war memorials of every kind started. John Ashwin & Co. did the most advertising and had the highest reputation, owing mainly to the person of John Radecki, who remained active until one year before his death in 1955.\textsuperscript{439}

Windows from John Ashwin & Co. varied greatly in the style of painting and the choice of colour, because many persons were employed there, with a more thorough training but less talent, than Radecki himself. The quality of cartoon drawing remained high, because most of it was done by Radecki himself. However, many favourite themes were repeated again and again, with some change in colouring and with taller or lower Gothic canopies to suit the proportions of the openings.

Some confusion exists in relation to windows made in the 1890's and in the first two decades of the 20th century. Writers sometimes made mistakes when attributing a work to either F. Ashwin & Co. or J. Ashwin & Co., because John Radecki had been or still was the responsible artist in both firms, in succession in the living memory of the writers of this period. After Frederick Ashwin died in 1909, F. Ashwin & Co. continued under the same business name, while John Radecki formed a partnership with John Ashwin.\textsuperscript{440} Establishing the true date for each window is therefore of vital importance. Signatures, if they exist at all, are of a limited usefulness. While not a single
window signed by Frederick Ashwin has been discovered by the author of this thesis, the workshop which continued under his name, after his death, did not hesitate to sign "F. Ashwin & Co.".
Summing up the work of Frederick Ashwin, c.1874 - 1909

As the head of a workshop, Frederick Ashwin was alone a serious rival to Lyon, Cottier & Co. After F. Ashwin joined forces with John Radecki, whose artistic personality quickly developed towards 1890, F. Ashwin & Co. unquestionably gained supremacy in Sydney. The rival firm declined in the early 1890's.

As an individual artist, Frederick Ashwin represented the true revival of glass painting as an architectural art. His true understanding of the medium and his immaculate craftsmanship comes from his British training (about which detailed research still remains to be done). He was able to amalgamate the virtues of Gothic glass, such as its restricted and strong colouring, with white glass playing an important part; the mosaic method and strong drawing; with the influence of 15th century Italian art and Raphael, combined with the graphic art techniques of 16th century Northern Europe, with its underlying tradition in painting and sculptural modelling of the draperies. These appear to have been the formative influences on Frederick Ashwin's own distinctive style. The realism of his figure work was acceptable to 19th century taste, but it never became picture painting on a translucent medium: it was not painterly and it retained the medieval strength of linear elements appropriate to the medium which was treated as a complement to architecture. In these ways, Frederick Ashwin realised Winston's
theories and avoided the weaknesses of a century dominated by oil painting on canvas.

There was room within Frederick Ashwin's own aesthetic, for other artistic personalities to develop, according to each one's abilities and inclinations. John Radecki's knowledge of the medium, and to a large extent, style, developed on these foundations.

Frederick Ashwin's weakness was his over-use of Gothic canopies and other Gothic decorative detail. The lack of direct overseas contacts and the preference of patrons for a more traditional style, filled with the memories of English village churches and cathedrals, could have been the causes. Besides, in the period Frederick Ashwin worked in Sydney, most English workshops had succumbed to the same stagnation in ornamental invention.

Frederick Ashwin's association with John Falconer must have been difficult for both. There was unquestionable difference in taste, but instead of combining the best each had to offer there appears to have been no common meeting ground between the partners. The workshop by Lyon, Cottier & Co. seemed to be able to make use of a diversity of talents. In the case of Falconer and Ashwin, the better figural artist gained supremacy. His wider experience would have enabled Frederick Ashwin to discuss commissions with the clients with
confidence, and to assume the responsibility of carrying them out. Differences in personality between the two partners could not be discounted, although we know nothing of these. Falconer could not have been very happy at becoming the second-best in the pioneer firm he had founded. He did have something important to contribute: first of all, his determination to search for a contemporary style, even if the majority of windows he designed were for Gothic Revival churches. It would have been so easy to succumb to gothicisms. He appreciated the decorative quality of coloured pattern windows, which Frederick Ashwin did not, even with brilliant examples of this kind of work by the rival firm of Lyon, Cottier & Co., in Sydney and the country centres. Falconer was more adventurous with colour, even if it was a little wild at times, while Frederick Ashwin adhered to predictable and "safe" colour schemes. One wonders what could have been done with Ashwin's ability to achieve an overall harmony of all elements, combined with Falconer's taste for vivid and unusual colours and his ornamental invention.

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3. **John Radecki in partnership with John Ashwin, 1911—**

St Mark with the ox in the background (plate 71) is one of five small, single-light windows in the transept area of St Jude's Church, Randwick, representing Apostles and Evangelists (Cat. FA - c.1911). They must have been some of the earliest windows made after the inception of J. Ashwin & Co.

The cartoon drawing, the placing of the cutlines, harmonious colouring, the thoughtful face of a man writing down things remembered, fine hands, and the drapery which falls in folds reminiscent of Classical statues and fluted columns, are in Radecki's own style. Artists less skilled in figure work but efficient in the painting of canopies and background detail, could have helped him to complete the window. The lettering style continues the same as it was during Frederick Ashwin's time. The modelling of the face, hands and draperies are by translucent tone; line is used for emphasis, in a typical Radecki way, drawn with a very, fine pointed brush. The highlights are lifted out from the matt, and the tone further lightened by diagonal hatching, by removing the matt. The canopies, the sky, the leaves of the trees and the curved, diapered panel in the background are modelled by stippling or dabbing, rather than by the former methods of more careful shaping, drawing and especially silver-staining to obtain a rich variety of golden tones. Quicker methods of working tended to be adopted from this time onwards, giving a similar overall impression,
but saving on laborious work and repeated firings.

Niche-like depth is suggested by the curve of the shoulder-high wall in the background, but horizontal cutlines of the sky, the decorative treatment applied all through the window, as well as controlled tonal areas keep the design flat. To the artist, tone was more important than colour, in the sense that this window could have been equally effectively planned, with different colours. This cannot be said of many windows made by this firm between the two wars and after World War II, where, especially in the larger windows, the control of tone is completely lost in favour of a patchwork of vivid colours. This lack of judgment is less perceptible in very small windows. Windows apparently personally made or closely supervised by John Radecki continued, in harmonious colours, although time-saving methods became obvious in some.

Plate 72 is of a pair of lights in the Church of St John, Campbelltown, representing 'Mary Magdalen' and 'The Prodigal Son'. They are situated in their original place, "Immediately upon right as we enter". This and two more pairs of lights on the same side, towards the chancel, were made not earlier than in 1916, as the inscribed dates of death suggest, but it is more likely that they were made immediately after rather than during World War I (Cat. 1918-1919). All windows in the body of this church were described in the local paper of July
1920. Of these five windows made after the war, one window in the western wall and next to 'Mary Magdalen' and 'The Prodigal Son', is in a broader, less meticulous figural style, dominated by verticality and straight cutlines, to which the figures of St Dominic and St Francis Xavier have lent themselves very well. This simplified style has been often used in later years. The variation in cartoon drawing, cutting and painting styles in these five windows suggest that several artists in the workshop were given a large measure of responsibility. In some of these windows, the faces and the figures appear to have been painted by Radecki himself, while less difficult parts, such as backgrounds consisting of lush greenery and sky, were painted by others.

Although it does not resemble any other window in Sydney, made either by Fred Ashwin or by John Radecki himself, the treatment of the 'Mary Magdalen' and the 'Prodigal Son' themes (plate 72) is typically Radecki's. The figures are most important; their realism suggests that they were drawn from life. The female figure has been given a very prominent position.

Each subject is a very emotional occasion, and nobody else was more capable in communicating these emotions to the onlooker, than Radecki, which he did in a restrained but silently eloquent way, without extrovert drama. As the figures are about half life size, the onlooker finds it easier to identify himself with
them than he would with a small picture. Every attitude and
gesture serves to communicate the meaning and the mood, to
the same extent as the 'Supper at Emmaus' of 1903 (plate 69),
in which the hands are equally if not more expressive. The
glaziers have marred the mood of the 'Mary Magdalen' light by
placing a thick metal bar across the eyes of Christ, practically
obliterating the face.447

The figures emerge from darker backgrounds and remain within
the plane of the glass.

This two-light window is remarkable for the variety of studies
in drapery. The most prominent drapery is the ruby mantle
falling over the knees of Christ, followed by the white and
yellow draperies of the prodigal son which resemble intricately
carved marble sculpture, such as Michelangelo's, forming a
relief over the contours of the form beneath. The blue gown
of Mary Magdalen, and especially her looped sleeve, are, again,
differently arranged draperies. Even the tablecloth was made
to hang in conical folds. Radecki apparently enjoyed painting
drapery, while many glass painters found it a very difficult
task. Right throughout his creative life, Radecki drew cartoons,
allowing prominent places for drapery, but only Radecki himself
could impart each piece of drapery with monumentality. As his
style developed, he gradually abandoned elaborate patterning
of draperies in favour of tonal modelling, to achieve more
sculptural effects. The ruby drapery over the knees of Christ
in plate 72 is only faintly brocaded, to relieve the largest
area of ruby glass. Radecki's use of tonal and colour contrast never permit illusions of deep and real space, but limit these studies of drapery to the depth of a relief. Radecki's draperies, particularly those modelled in tone as well as in positive and negative line, are perhaps his most interesting abstractions which can be enjoyed for their own sake.

Strong but sensitive drawing by the headlines meanders around islands of shapes as it outlines areas of colour and tone and constructs the window of glass and metal. There are no awkward angles to offend the eye, nor shapes which could easily break from any kind of stress. The outlines simplify the shapes to be cut; even the cuts across areas of the same colour help to emphasise form and gesture.
Summing up the art of John Radecki

The particular strengths of John Radecki were:
  his natural aptitude for figure drawing;
  the ease with which he handled compositions involving many figures;
  his ability to vary colour schemes, to control the tones of colours and to use them as a compositional device;
  his knowledge of the medium and the facility of techniques.

Radecki learned all about the medium from Frederick Ashwin. Their abilities and taste complemented one another, unlike those of Frederick Ashwin and John Falconer. The years of Ashwin-Radecki collaboration resulted in some of the best windows produced by the firm of F. Ashwin & Co., and then by J. Ashwin & Co., under the guidance of John Radecki. At the height of Lyon, Cottier, (Wells) & Co. style, Frederick Ashwin together with John Radecki were their true rivals; they took over the leadership in glass painting in the 1890's.

John Radecki's methods of working were substantially the same as Frederick Ashwin's, from whom Radecki learned everything the older man had to offer, but Radecki like to draw faces, hands and entire figures from life. Fred Ashwin's style suggests that he used sketches he made of the great masters (such as Raphael), while still in England, and other pictorial references.
Like Frederick Ashwin, John Radecki absorbed and made his own, various stylistic influences. While Ashwin's art was based on both Gothic and Renaissance periods, Radecki's preferences lay in the post-medieval styles, except for Gothic architectural ornament which he automatically applied to almost every window, as Ashwin had done.

Radecki was an excellent draughtsman of cartoons, of which the firm of John Ashwin & Co. must have accumulated great numbers. After World War I, when none of the artists employed at the company were either as highly trained, truly talented or original, Radecki's cartoons remained the foundation of the firm's work.

Like Frederick Ashwin, John Radecki was preoccupied with figure work and attached no importance to the necessity of finding more original decorative means to fill the space beside the figures, or inventing a more individual style of ornament. Gothic canopies remained with him to the end, although early in the 20th century, within the Art Nouveau era, he introduced Renaissance and 16th century ornament in pale colours, in churches which were not Gothic in character. 448

As Radecki had no rivals in figure work, in Sydney, he perhaps felt no necessity to experiment with style and with the medium. The public liked his realistic figural style, and so he extended his nineteenth-century art into the middle of the next century, with only slight modifications, as if no changes in pictorial
and decorative architectural arts had taken place anywhere in the world. He never travelled out of Australia. The lack of stimulus on this continent, isolated from the art centres overseas, was stifling to the artists. Isolation from the original sources of revival of glass painting and from contemporary developments was at least partly responsible for the stagnation of this art in Australia. The demand for ecclesiastical glass in the 20th century was certainly less than it had been in the previous century when the majority of churches and cathedrals were built. Public buildings and larger private residences seldom offered opportunities for monumental figure work, such as Radecki liked and was capable of doing.

John Ashwin died in 1920 (App. Item 18), but the firm in his name remained the largest glass painting establishment in Sydney, as long as Radecki was in charge of it. No stylistic revolution took place. The more experimental work of other artists met a limited acceptance. Radical new departures began only after World War II, when lively cultural contacts with other countries were established.
CHAPTER III

1. Smith & Worrall, North Sydney, c.1914-16 251

2. Ferguson, Urie & Lyon, Melbourne 253
1. Smith & Worrall, North Sydney, c.1914-16

A small 'St Peter' window in the entrance porch of St Peter's Presbyterian Church, North Sydney (plate 73; Cat. OA - 1914-16), was made by Worrall & Smith, of 32 Junction Street, North Sydney.

A.R. Worrall had trained at Frederick Ashwin's workshop and is said to have transferred to John Ashwin.\(^{450}\) The 'St Peter' window is an example of Frederick Ashwin's influence which manifests itself in a hard style of drawing, resembling etching, the importance of Gothic canopies and generally a decorative style, although it is much more detailed than anything Frederick Ashwin ever did. Almost every part and quality could be shown to have derived from Frederick Ashwin's influence: restricted colour scheme in which a few basic colours are used, although they lack the medieval intensity which Frederick Ashwin liked; the importance of white; abundant well placed and controlled yellows; the statuesque figure; decorated borders of the garments (compare with plates 57 and 69), and the golden fringes which help to identify unsigned work by Worrall and Smith; a very long tunic, lying in folds over the feet.

While this window of 'St Peter' has a superficial resemblance to Radecki's 'St Mark' at Randwick (plate 71) of 1911, it is closer to Frederick Ashwin's own style. Both Worrall and John Radecki have been deeply influenced by Ashwin, each in his own way. When at John Ashwin's workshop, Worrall would have had
opportunities to observe John Radecki at all the stages of his work, however, Radecki's style has not touched him.
2. Ferguson, Urie & Lyon, Melbourne.

The foundation stone for the Anglican church of St Peter, East Sydney (then Woolloomooloo), to be built from the designs of Oswald H. Lewis, architect, was laid 1.5.1866.\textsuperscript{451} The building closely resembles a redundant medieval church of St Saviour in York, England, rebuilt 1844-45.\textsuperscript{452} The nave and the aisles of both churches are covered with three separate roofs forming steep gables at each end. The East Sydney church has no tower.

When St Peter's Church, East Sydney, opened for services on the 25th July, 1867,\textsuperscript{453} it already contained two figural windows, both Australian-made.\textsuperscript{454} The east window of three lights (plate 74) was made by Ferguson & Urie in Melbourne (Cat. OA - 1867),\textsuperscript{455} and the two-light Charles Kemp memorial window in the north wall (plate 44 a) was made in John Falconer's workshop in Sydney. The east window may be the only Ferguson & Urie window in the Sydney area.

The firm of James Ferguson and James Urie is listed in "Sands & Kenny's Commercial and General Melbourne Directory" for 1859, under "Painters, Plumbers, Glaziers, and Paper Hangers".\textsuperscript{456} It appears that it was not possible for a glass painting firm to survive in the Melbourne of the 1850's, without practising a variety of other trades. After the discovery of large quantities of gold in Victoria in 1851, the population began to increase rapidly by immigration, the building activity in Melbourne grew and began to catch up with that of Sydney. By
the time John Lamb Lyon joined the firm of Ferguson & Urie in 1861, it could be expected that the firm had plans to expand its glass painting business. It continued to provide other strictly utilitarian services into the mid-1860's.

It is not clear when Lyon became a partner, as the "National Directory of Victoria" for 1866-67, no doubt compiled the year before or early in 1866, lists the firm only under the names of Ferguson and Urie. "The Australian Churchman", which appeared in 1867, advertised for the firm under three names: "Ferguson, Urie & Lyon". It was also under all three names that the firm appeared at the 1866-67 Intercolonial Exhibition of Australasia in Melbourne.

At that exhibition, Ferguson, Urie & Lyon had very successfully decorated the medieval court (App. Item 7). The idea and the kind of items on display were too similar to the medieval court and its contents at the 1851 exhibition at the Crystal Palace, London, to have happened by chance. While the comments in the catalogue on the medieval style objects displayed were more favourable than brief notes on many objects in other sections, Ralph Nicholson Wornum, in his prize-winning essay at the end of the catalogue, saw these exhibits simply as copies of an old idea; old things in an old taste. The medieval court at the Crystal Palace Exhibition was the idea of Augustus Welby Pugin; he designed many articles on display, executed by J. Hardman & Co. of Birmingham (church brasses) and by a
Mr. Crace. Pugin was totally absorbed in the spirit of the Middle Ages, although his designs for the exhibition were interpretations of the Gothic style, rather than copies of medieval articles.

In Melbourne, undeterred by Wornum's lack of enthusiasm for the Middle Ages, the expatriates from Britain appear to have received a similar medieval exhibit very warmly.

The chancel window for St Peter's Church, East Sydney (plate 74), would have been made immediately after the completion of work for the exhibition. The idea is the same—a window in a deep Early English chancel. (The five lights made for the exhibition were intended for the Episcopalian Church, Casterton, Vic.: see Cat. OA—1866-67.) The three lights at East Sydney accommodate eight subjects in medallions, as well as a larger figure of Christ. The exhibition window consisted of five subjects from the life of Christ, in five lights.

Designed to complement the Early Gothic architecture of the church, the style of the east window for St Peter's, East Sydney, was chosen by the Rev. G.H. Moreton, the first incumbent.465 It is one of the most conventional Early Gothic windows in the Sydney area. The painterly rendering of faces and draperies by modelling, with much opacity in the deepest shadows, belongs to the earlier part of the revival of glass painting and is reminiscent of Clutterbuck's style, as is the
predominance of ruby and blue colours, although many other colours are used in smaller quantities.

The deep chancel and the high gable of the East Sydney church are a perfect setting for this highly coloured, darkish window. The colours are allowed to glow without interference from other light sources. The window has been made in the true mosaic-enamel method, from very small pieces of glass, particularly in the ruby-and-blue grounds between the medallions. There is a little more ruby than blue, in the right proportion to produce the domination of one or the other, depending on light conditions. White and yellow remain in a smaller quantity, in order not to interfere with the glow of the deeper colours.

The background mosaic has been treated in a true Early Gothic manner, in every detail of colour juxtaposition and light control. (It could be assumed that the artist was familiar with the theories of Viollet-le-Duc on this matter, except that the very dark and opaque parts of shadows obscure the true colour of the glass in some parts, where it ceases to participate, from a distance, in the glow of that colour which it covers.)

Narrow, beaded strips of white glass separate the circular rosettes of ruby from the four-petal motifs left uncovered by black enamel on blue glass. A tiny four-petal yellow flower shines at intersections. Black enamel painted next to the headlines prevents unwanted intermixing of coloured light. Each colour is allowed to admit light through radiating or
concentric shapes of controlled sizes, left unobscured by black. The colours in this background mosaic are proportioned according to their properties of radiation, as explained by Viollet-le-Duc: there is less blue than ruby, because the blue tends to spread over the surrounding opaque area, which ruby does not do, although it is more brilliant. Yellow radiation is almost as strong as white light. 467

The inner outline of each light, inside the Gothic border, contains a strip of green painted with a fine pattern in black enamel. Green is a colour very seldom used for this purpose; it occurs more liberally in Continental European, than it does in medieval English windows.

The focal point, in the centre light, is the figure of Christ in a ruby mantle, which is the largest uninterrupted area of any colour. It is the most Classical figure in this window, idealised and in a statuesque stance. The cutlines are concealed in the folds, as well as by modelling in black enamel. The colourful pointed canopy above the figure is purely decorative: it has no architectural substance. This kind of treatment of canopies later became typical of the work of Lyon, Cottier & Co.; in this window, it may or may not have been the idea of John Lamb Lyon who worked at this studio during these years.

Yellow stain, painted on the outside of blue glass, produces dazzling colour effects surrounding the central figure. It
in the blue and green, chain-like ornament, is a vivid contrast with the ruby mantle of the Christ figure. The brilliance of colours makes this border appear to be in front of the ruby; in turn, the larger area of ruby appears to win because it is modelled in relief.

This tall window begins immediately above the altar surface. Colour mixing is quite extraordinary, producing a glow that hangs in space, in front of the window, almost tangibly. Strange mixtures occur, such as a golden-purple light. These effects could never be reproduced in any other opaque medium, including glass painted with enamels, or using oil, as Lyon, Cottier & Co. used to do. The winow is a screen of coloured light.

Painterly application of enamel in the figure work and a wider range of colour in all parts except the mosaic background, distinguish most clearly this medallion window of Ferguson & Urie from others of the same type, such as the east window at Ashfield (plate 60, Ashwin & Falconer style) or the Lavers, Barraud & Westlake window at Petersham (plate 33).