PART C

AUSTRALIAN GLASS (continued), 1873 - 1910
CHAPTER I

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1. The background to Lyon, Cottier & Co., Sydney

John Lamb Bowes-Lyon was born in Edinburgh, Scotland, in 1835 (App. Item 22). The Australasian Decorator and Painter of 1.7.1916 (App. Item 21) states that Lyon served an apprenticeship (together with Daniel Cottier) with Kearney & Co., in Glasgow. This must be a misprint because there was no such firm in Glasgow. Either Keir & Co. or Cairney & Co. could be the correct name, as these two firms were active in Glasgow in the 1850's and the 1860's.

After completing his apprenticeship in Glasgow, Lyon worked for Ward & Hughes, glass painters to Queen Victoria and Prince Albert, in London, for six years. Ward was highly esteemed by Charles Winston: he thought Nixon and "his co-adjutor, Mr. Ward" were about to start a new style in glass painting with their work in the south transept of Westminster Abbey.

In 1861, Lyon arrived in Melbourne and joined the firm of Ferguson and Urie (App. Item 20, page 511) in its earliest years of existence.

In the same year, Lyon is said to have "sent a drawing of a stained glass window to the exhibition held at Melbourne" for which he was awarded an "honorable mention." (App. Item 21.)
On his arrival in Australia, Lyon abandoned the 'Bowes' part of his surname and called himself John Lamb Lyon, but "at the top of the window of the studio facing Louisa Street", now Louisa Road, Balmain, there were three leaded lights, the centre one bearing what was said to be the Bowes-Lyon crest. The name of Bowes-Lyon points to connections with the Earls of Strathmore and with the Queen Mother.

In Lyon's death certificate, his father's name is given as James Lyon; profession - General Storekeeper (App. Item 22).

During Lyon's stay with Ferguson & Urie in Melbourne, the firm executed and installed the east window at St Peter's Anglican church, East Sydney, in 1867 (plate 74). It would be safe to assume that Lyon had no part in determining the style of the window, as it is unlike anything ever made by the workshop of Lyon and Cottier. The window is an attempt to recreate the Early English style in order to agree with the style of the building.

The earliest authentic design for a window by Lyon dates from 1871 or 1872, prepared while Lyon was still in Melbourne. It was intended as a memorial to a small girl, Edith Clare Paige, who died 31.8.1871, to be installed in the Church of St John Bishopthorpe, the Glebe. It is a small single-light medallion window with a background of actagonal quarries. It was apparently never made, as the above church contains no such window.
In 1873, Lyon moved from Melbourne to Sydney and established his own business "as a partner with Mr. Cottier, a noted British decorator (who had been a fellow apprentice)..." (Item 21, page 514). The firm's address was 333 Pitt Street (west side, on the corner of Bathurst Street). The rival firm of John Falconer & Co. was also located in the business centre of Sydney, at 360 Pitt Street, Cottier & Lyon's address being more central.

As Cottier's name is listed first, the establishment of the Sydney firm could have been his idea. Having international business interests, Cottier apparently did not intend to stay in Sydney permanently. It could have been advantageous to have a better known name before Lyon's, particularly because the new firm was set up in competition with the already existing Falconer's firm. Only ten years earlier, Falconer was described in glowing terms in the "Sydney Mail", an anonymous critic placing him above Hardman. Frederick Ashwin, an artist of great ability, by 1873 may have already been in Sydney, too.

As an opening gesture, Lyon and Cottier decorated two of their rooms at 333 Pitt Street "in the latest London style, and invited leading Sydney architects and others to inspect their work." (App. Item 20.) The "latest London style" was the Aesthetic Movement in Britain, promoted by artists, poets, architects and interior decorators,
including James McNeill Whistler, William Morris, Daniel Cottier, Oscar Wilde and others.

In the late eighteen-sixties and early 'seventies a new style of interior decoration arrived with the Aesthetic Movement and was given the name 'art' to indicate that its exponents were opposed to the crude commercial colours and vulgar display of High Victorian decoration. \(^{481}\)

The Mitchell Library collection of Lyon, Cottier & Co. designs for painted windows and other interior decoration (such as tiling and stencilled walls) \(^{482}\) contains a large proportion of projects for secular work, including leadlights with painted glass panels. They are simple designs in pale glass, with not a hint of gothicism, for large windows divided into smaller panes, very much in keeping with the current domestic architectural design in England and Scotland. \(^{483}\) The preoccupation with aestheticism extended into the 1880's, when the windows of Lyon, (Wells,) Cottier & Co. began to tend towards Art Nouveau. The firm remained in close contact with contemporary developments in the decorative arts until the death of Cottier in 1891 and the practical disintegration of the firm in the 1890's.

From 1876, Cottier's name was listed second, in "Sand's Sydney Directory", under "Glass stainers", \(^{484}\) but the alphabetical list entered the names in both ways:

Cottier and Lyon, artists in stained glass, 333 Pitt Street.
Lyon, Cottier, and Co. (Lyon, John L.; Cottier, Daniel), artists in glass, 333 Pitt Street.

Lyon, John L. (Lyon, Cottier & Co.) 232 Bourke Street.

By 1875, Cottier had become the leading Aesthetic Movement interior decorator in New York. It appears that he never had a residential address in Sydney.

In the same year, in 1876, F. Ashwin's name was entered in the Directory for the first time, in the alphabetical list: "Ashwin, Frederick (Falconer & Co.), Ashfield".\textsuperscript{485}

The following advertisement was printed in "The Australian Churchman" of 3.10.1874:

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LYON, COTTIER & Co.
333, Pitt Street
(Near School of Arts,)

LONDON HOUSE
S. PALL MALL \textsuperscript{486}

Artists in stained glass
Artists in church decoration

PRIZE AWARD
Exposition Universelle

COTTIER PARIS 1867

Memorial windows
Designs and estimates prepared
Quarry windows in antique, cathedral or plain glass,
Staircase, Figure & Heraldic Windows.
Mural Decorations.
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Daniel Cottier's life ran altogether differently from that of his friend and business partner John Lamb Lyon, after
their parting, when Lyon sailed to Australia. Cottier was born in Glasgow, January 12th, 1838, and died in Jacksonville, Florida, April 5th, 1891, aged 53 years. Cottier served his apprenticeship at the same time as Lyon, with the same Glasgow firm (i.e., either Keir & Co. or Cairney & Co.).

As mentioned earlier, Lyon gained further experience at Ward & Hughes, London, before migrating to Australia. As the articles in "The Australasian Decorator and Painter" concentrate on Lyon's activities rather than on Cottier's, it is not clear whether Cottier had also worked at Ward & Hughes at the same time. It is known that Cottier took art lessons about 1860 at the Working Men's College, London, under the guidance of Ruskin and Ford Madox Brown, where he did drawing and painting. It is possible that Lyon had also attended these classes for a short time, before departing for Australia.

Although the college was not known for its experimental spirit, the art classes led by Ruskin and Ford Madox Brown were a "Pre-Raphaelite experiment". Their principles and methods of teaching were in disagreement with the general tone of the school, but the principal and Ruskin never disagreed publicly and Ruskin was left to do as he pleased. Ford Madox Brown taught there sometime between 1858 and 1861-62, when he succeeded Dante Gabriel Rossetti. Madox Brown has sometime later remarked on Cottier's "great abilities as a colourist".
The art classes were attended by craftsmen of all kinds who needed some skill in drawing. The teaching offered no shortcuts, no formulae for success, as commercial art courses could have been expected to do. Instead, Ruskin's naturalist way of seeing and rendering the world around him was communicated to his students. There was only one way to draw, irrespective of what trade one was practising—"namely, Sight". Ruskin's teaching is summed up in his "The Elements of Drawing". The way Ruskin taught, Hilton calls "not only basic; it is almost primordial".  

This awareness by Rossetti, Ruskin and Ford Madox Brown of design standards in England, which left much to be desired, was a part of the aesthetic climate which gave rise to the Aesthetic Movement. Unlike his predecessor Rossetti, Ford Madox Brown insisted on a firm outline and demanded that students know what every line means—random scribbling, chance effects were not approved of. Brown's was the "hard-edge" style, as Rossetti's had been soft and rather vague. Brown also taught according to the specific needs of every student's trade. His attitude to drawing agreed with Ruskin's; in his 1870 lectures at Oxford, Ruskin had this to say:

Whenever you take a pen in your hand, if you cannot count every line you lay with it, and say why you make it so long and no longer, and why you drew it in that direction and no other, your work is bad.
This attitude to drawing was eminently suitable for future artists in stained glass, as well as for interior decorators. It reflected throughout the years in the work of Lyon, Cottier & Co. in Sydney, where it was combined with the same thinking attitude to colour and the use of tone. Good drawing remained the foundation of design; it proceeded from broad masses to details, as Ruskin had taught: a method indispensable to artists in the decorative arts field. This standard declined in the 1890's, when the circumstances adversely affected Lyon, Wells, Cottier & Co.

Colour was of topmost importance to Ruskin - an element immediately perceivable. He taught his students to look for variations in colour itself, rather than to see it in terms of light and shade: a dangerous advice to budding artists in coloured glass. In the windows of Lyon, Cottier & Co., colour is the impression the onlooker is most likely to perceive before the meaning, but this is so mainly because the artists were conscious of tone and colour as quantities of "energy of light", as Ruskin also taught:

Painters who have no eye for colour have greatly confused and falsified the practice of art by the theory that shadow is an absence of colour. Shadow is, on the contrary, necessary to the full presence of colour; for every colour is a diminished quantity or energy of light; ... every colour in painting must be a shadow to some brighter colour, and a light to some darker one - all the while being a positive colour itself. And the great splendour of the Venetian school arises from their having seen and held from the beginning this great fact - that shadow is as much colour as light, often much more.
Ruskin was particularly fascinated by light and luminous colour observable in nature, particularly the colour associated with water and vapour: "...Nature herself produces all her loveliest colours in some kind of solid or liquid glass or crystal." He mentions the rainbow, the opal, morning and evening clouds, water itself, the crystal-line "frost" on flower petals; the burnished lustre of birds' plumage or a butterfly's wing - "metallic rather than vitreous; and the vitreous always gives the purest hue."\textsuperscript{498} Ruskin's high sensitivity to colour and light was responsible for the extraordinary empathy he felt for the work of Turner, whom he included among the Pre-Raphaelites - "the first and the greatest".\textsuperscript{499}

While recognising the uses of both the "chiaroscurists" and the "colourists", Ruskin stated:

\begin{quote}
...as a matter of immediate importance, that painted windows have nothing to do with chiaroscuro. There is noble chiaroscuro in the variations of their colour, but not as representatives of solid form. The virtue of glass is to be transparent everywhere. If you care to build a palace of jewels, painted glass is richer than all the treasures of Aladdin's lamp; but if you like pictures better than jewels, you must come into broad daylight to paint them. A picture in coloured glass is one of the most vulgar of barbarisms ...\textsuperscript{500}
\end{quote}

Ford Madox Brown had an equally unacademic view of colour. He looked for the most vivid and unusual effects of colour in nature, such as those caused by light from an unusual angle, of colour affected by twilight, rain and other
atmospheric conditions. Vivid colour saturated with light became an outstanding quality of Pre-Raphaelite painting which was applied to glass by William Morris: it was not imitative of the Middle Ages, but equally suitable. In the 1860's, glass became available, made in a range of tones and intensities within the same family of a colour. Among the bright colours, there were also the "deep, mysterious and subdued" colours which William Morris liked so much, and which were somewhat differently used by Lyon and Cottier, while the "real virtues" of colour, as Ruskin expressed it, were exploited by both workshops.

From about 1862 to 1865 Cottier worked in Edinburgh. In 1864, Field & Allan of Edinburgh appeared at the South Kensington Museum 'Exhibition of Stained Glass, Mosaics etc.' with a window for which Cottier was responsible and for which the firm was severely criticised. In 1865, Cottier started his own firm in Glasgow where he produced stained glass and other objects of architectural decoration, of a very high quality. Cottier's Glasgow work was awarded an honourable mention at the Exposition Universelle of Paris, 1867.

Already in the 1860's, the artistic milieu in Glasgow was extremely open-minded, favourable to experimentation and free from academicism. The Glasgow Institute was open to anybody who wished to exhibit. "From the very beginning
there are exhibits from European centres such as Brussels, Antwerp and Dusseldorf as well as Paris, though there are few recognizable names among the Exhibitors." In this kind of stimulating artistic climate Cottier worked before his firm opened branches overseas. Public interest and acceptance of the new European painting in Scotland was encouraged by international exhibitions of art and promoted by dealers of which Cottier was one. In the 1870's, better known painters appeared in Glasgow exhibitions, such as the contemporary painters from the Hague school and the Barbizon painters. This is where Daniel Cottier got to know the work of the three painting Maris brothers, of whom Matthew Maris became "a painter on glass and a designer" from either 1872 or 1877.

As Pre-Raphaelite art had never excited much interest in Scotland, its influence on glass painting in Lyon and Cottier's Sydney studio should therefore be attributed to their own personal experience and taste, as well as to some of the artists and craftsmen they invited to work in Sydney.

While Lyon was still working with Ferguson & Urrie in Melbourne, Cottier opened his office in London - about 1867-69. In 1873, he opened establishments in both New York and Sydney, and appointed J. Van Wisselingh (the son of Hendrik Wisselingh, the principal dealer for the Hague school of painters in Amsterdam) as his manager in London.
By 1875, Cottier was the leading interior decorator in New York. A series of articles published in the "Scribner's Monthly" between June 1875 and May 1877 testify to the extent of influence which Cottier brought from Scotland and England in matters of interior decoration: it was a revolution in taste and style of living, running directly against the traditional style advocated in contemporary architectural magazines in America, which recommended heavy, elaborate furniture in which function was not an important concern, extensive panelling of the walls with dark-stained wood, and heavy, sombre draperies.

The new furniture and interior fittings were designed in Cottier's British studios and were at first imported; soon they were largely made up in America. A wide range of styles was offered, varying in inspiration from traditional English furniture to Japanese and Chinese art and artefacts. There were also genuine articles from the William Morris workshop. Designers included Cottier himself, F.A. Lathrop and others - they figure prominently in the "Scribner's Monthly" articles.

William Morris had taken a departure from the currently prevailing crude colour schemes in textiles and interior furnishings produced by chemical dyes, as a part of his opposition to industrialisation, commercialism and mass-production: he teamed up with Thomas Wardle, a dyer and
printer from Leek, Staffordshire, and revived the old methods of textile dyeing with organic matter, which he used in his workshop, for dyeing and printing fabrics and wallpapers. "They were first marketed about 1875..." The colours were subdued and blended extremely well. (They were not the colour schemes used in painted glass windows either by William Morris or by Lyon, Cottier & Co., although the same greens, olive-greens, blue-greens and a bright orange-red were available in glass and were used in much smaller quantities, while the yellows were warmer and stronger, and prominently used by Lyon, Cottier & Co. in Sydney.)

The qualities which raised the items of interior decoration designed or selected by Cottier above those offered by other interior decorators, were the emphasis on simplicity, on good proportions and practicality, instead of historicism and applied ornament. The forms themselves were both practical and decorative. The natural qualities of materials were creatively used; they were never contradicted or obscured by ornament. There was a new feeling of airiness, lightness, elegance. All these enormously varied items had one quality in common - unexpectedness: new uses were made of customary materials, or suggested for traditional items. Oriental furniture (such as the coffee table) was introduced as a necessity of life; practical furniture based on Chinese or Japanese style was offered - not as exotic but
useless collector pieces, but intended to blend with the new style of living. Many pieces of furniture were asymmetrical — another Oriental influence — but more practical for it.

Textiles were offered in colours unheard-of until then: they created a sensation. They were the colours in Pre-Raphaelite paintings, \(^{516}\) recreated from a close observation of objects in nature, rather than "straight" and harsh colours which had ruled the market since the introduction of chemical textile dyes in the 19th century, usually very darkened, as strong colours used to be interwoven with black. Cottier introduced unthinkable combinations of colours, as a part of the revolution in taste in America.\(^ {517}\) Clarence Cook, the author of the articles in the "Scribner's Monthly", wrote in the January, 1876 issue: "Next to making simplicity charming, the Cottiers have done us the great service, in showing us how to unite usefulness and beauty."

It is therefore not surprising that Mark Girouard credits Cottier rather than Oscar Wilde with having introduced the Aesthetic Movement in America, "for when Wilde toured America in 1881 he was only at the beginning of his career, and in England was still scarcely known to the general public. But Wilde's tour was successful partly because the aesthetic movement had been brought to America at least six years previously. ... If one is looking for a pioneer..."
of aestheticism in America, Wilde's claim can bear no
collection to those of a much less well-known but very
interesting figure, Daniel Cottier.\textsuperscript{518}

The sunflower motif which appeared in the earliest painted
glass windows by Lyon, Cottier & Co. in Sydney and in the
country centres of New South Wales, was not the only
identifying sign of the Aesthetic Movement. In windows,
colour is the most important element. Apart from simple
leadlights in pale colours, designed for residences, which
were similar in Britain, Australia and the United States
of America,\textsuperscript{519} Lyon, Cottier & Co. made windows which were
distinctively different in colouring, from all other windows
in Sydney, both locally made and imported. They were
figural windows for churches, public buildings and residences,
as well as ecclesiastical pattern windows which were
generally more elaborate than secular windows of any kind.
Many of these figural and coloured pattern windows happen
to be made in colours favoured by E.W. Godwin's interior
decoration\textsuperscript{520} - colours difficult to describe; tertiary
colours, combined in new ways; colours which are not the
three primary or the vivid secondary colours; colours in
glass which are very delicate tints used instead of harsh
white; in Lyon, Cottier & Co. windows, the basic colours
which were commercially used in the 19th century, appear
only in minute quantities.

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The height of Lyon and Cottier's achievement in their Sydney studio, contemporary with the high period in artistic activity in Glasgow, may have been no more coincidental, than was the manifestation of the still continuing Aesthetic Movement. The 1880's and the early 1890's were the years when Scottish painters emerged on the international scene (distinct from the 'Glasgow style' and the Mackintosh group somewhat later). Even the ideals which evolved in the Glasgow school, brought to notice in Girouard's article may well be describing the best of painted glass in Sydney, made or at least designed before the death of Cottier:

The ideal towards which the Glasgow School strived was to unite realistic truth with decorative beauty. To achieve this they adopted a technique which emphasized the valeurs, that is the tonal composition and the relationship of colour to mass, while stressing the decorative use of flat colour and unorthodox composition.

Some idea of what Cottier collected could be gained from the list of paintings he lent to the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1888 (App. Item 25). They were paintings in demand, rather than examples which could have influenced the design for glass painting.

The Sydney firm maintained constant contact with overseas developments, while Daniel Cottier was alive. Lyon made three trips to the "old country" to recruit artists and craftsmen (App. Item 21), although their identity and training still remain to be discovered. Andrew Wells joined
Lyon and Cottier's Sydney firm about 1887 and departed probably in 1895, judging by the entries in "Sands' Sydney Directory". The firm was then called Lyon, Wells, Cottier & Co. Wells remained in Sydney for about five years after Cottier's death in 1891. Wells' name was dropped from the firm's name in 1897, but Cottier's name was retained to the end of the firm's existence.

An undated catalogue of the Glasgow firm of J. & W. Guthrie & Andrew Wells lists a number of Melbourne and Sydney residences, banks and churches, among their work in other parts of the world, decorated by the firm (App. Item 23).

Daniel Cottier emerges as a versatile artist, an outstanding organiser and a leading art connoisseur of international standing. His creative talent was highly appreciated by Ford Madox Brown and by W.E. Henley, but it is difficult at the moment to single out windows in Sydney or New South Wales, which could have been made from his cartoons, based on his choice of colours, or perhaps even painted by his hand, during one of his sojourns in Sydney.

Among Lyon, Cottier & Co. windows in Sydney, there could also be some which were made from the cartoons or sketches by Mathy's (Matthew) Maris, whom Cottier engaged in 1877 "as a painter on glass and a designer". Haldane Macfall described the style of Matthew Maris as follows:
A poetic and imaginative man, inclined to be morbid, he paints dreams. His melancholy concept of life is uttered with distinction, and his remote fancy wears an elfish and weird apparel; he gives lyrical utterance to a dreamy romance that is without positive passion - a far-away unearthliness. Dowered with a tender sense of colour, he weaves his blue-and-golden magic web.\textsuperscript{526}

Such florid description does not help to identify the artist's style, either, particularly because he would have been only one of many artists who contributed to what remained at all times a recognisable workshop style.

After the death of Cottier, the firm produced little outstanding work. Commissions for new windows in churches, public and private buildings alike, almost ceased because of an economic depression.

When Cottier died, the art capitals of the world published a catalogue entitled "Collection Cottier" on the occasion of the auction sale of his private collection (App. Item 20, page 511).\textsuperscript{527}

Lyon had hoped that his son Bert would take the business over: "The Australasian Decorator and Painter" of 1.8.1909 reports that Bert Lyon was acting as the manager then. However, he lacked genuine interest\textsuperscript{528} and the firm was finally taken over by Alfred Handel. In this later period, the firm had to rely on young apprentices and local craftsmen of limited experience. The influx of trained artists
and craftsmen from overseas ceased, as there was little work to look forward to, at least, in the near future. Old cartoons and motifs tended to be repeated. The windows lacked that extra something which distinguishes competence from brilliance. Some work from this period is obviously technically inferior; colour schemes of earlier years are imitated, without an understanding of what made them successful. Yet there are occasional surprises, possibly the windows which Lyon himself had designed, painted and supervised, like the 'Woman of Samaria' window of 1909-10, at St Matthew's Church, Windsor, N.S.W (plate 110).

John Lamb Lyon died on the 12th June, 1916. The firm which had existed since 1873 was taken over by Alfred Handel in 1923. He had been apprenticed there from 1902, when he was twelve years of age; from this firm he received his tradesman's papers and was the chief designer when he bought the workshop. Alfred Handel's son Phillip inherited the establishment when his father died in 1948.529

Among others who had trained at Lyon, Cottier & Co. were W.C. Marshall and David McCall Little. Marshall left Lyon, Cottier & Co. and established his own workshop in 1897.530 David McCall Little established his business in 1905;531 he started working at Lyon, Cottier & Co. about 1880; at some stage he was the foreman on the installation of the Hardman windows at St Mary's Cathedral.532 While Marshall's workshop is no longer listed in "Sand's Sydney Directory"
after 1913 and while Lyon, Cottier & Co. had changed address while John Lamb Lyon was still alive, the third-generation member of the Little family, Kevin, still works at the original address at Arncliffe, which makes it the oldest still existing workshop in Sydney, on the original site.

Charles J. Connick has included two American churches containing windows from the studios of Cottier, in his "glasman's holiday", among 19th and early 20th century artists which he considered as being among the most important windows to be seen in America.
2. **Identification and style characteristics**

Some Lyon, Cottier & Co. windows are signed; receipts exist for some; most windows were identified from press reports. Where no such evidence is available, the following features and qualities should be a guide:

- **colouring:** harmonious, mostly warm; a liberal use of yellow stain casts a golden glow;

- **figure work based on the Classical ideal:** excellent draughtsmanship; smooth, translucent modelling;

- **characteristic lettering style, meticulous layout:** dedication panels mostly on amber-yellow glass covered with black enamel, letters appear in yellow on black;

- **the use of cathedral glass:** oil is the medium for painting; inside surface of windows rather matt;

- **when Gothic canopies are used, it is typical for them to be treated as flat, colourful ornament without three-dimensional substance:** from about 1886, they are often surmounted by a growing motif, tall and decorated with "jewels";

- **an excellent sense of proportion and balance in all aspects of design;**

- **screen-like effect - no real depth.**
The work generally is of a very high standard. While varieties of style occur, they are comprised within a recognisable workshop style.
3. Technique and glass used

Mosaic enamel technique was used, painting with several kinds of browns ranging in degree of warmth and neutrality; black enamel was also used. Yellow stain contributes much to the overall golden colouring; a variety of tones could be obtained by more than one application and by methods of firing. Yellow stain applied on the reverse side of coloured glass created a new colour.⁵³⁶

The firm used smear shadows which, Winston observed, are less transparent than stippled shadows of the same intended depth.⁵³⁷ However, in the modelling of skin tones, the matt was wiped off the largest areas of glass, and the shadows were never made deep. Additional tonal variations and suggestion of relief could be created by both positive and negative hatching in line (plate 90 shows such varied kinds of modelling in the one panel). The hatching method is essentially the same as in a Cinquecento example shown by Winston.⁵³⁸ The most translucent modelling, including that of the draperies, occurs after 1880.

"Cathedral" and coated glass was used, rather than "antique" glass which is slightly thicker, has more richness of colour and sparkle in itself, and which would therefore require a bolder style of painting. The firm is said to have imported much glass from Belgium. Other Sydney workshops regarded
both the use of Belgian glass and the method of painting on it with oil, with great reservation.\textsuperscript{539} American glass, of the varieties made by Tiffany, also occurs in the firm's windows from about 1886.

Quarries were painted on prominently rippled or even fluted glass, as it gave more body and sparkle. Variegated effects for borders or sky areas must have been produced by applications to coated glass, of hydrofluoric acid, widely used in the 19th century; highlights in the draperies were also worked in the same way.

As oil was used as the medium, the inside surface of windows is quite dull, in some windows more so than in others. The lack of sparkle which "antique" glass could have produced, has been more than compensated for, by the surrounding colourful ornament with a minimum of painting on it, and often by the insertion of sparkling "jewels", especially in the ornate double and triple canopies of the 1880's and the 1890's windows.

The cutting of glass generally follows simplified contours of forms and outlines of colour areas. The pieces are never unduly large and they are generally well planned so as to produce attractive shapes in themselves. Cuts across draperies, usually slightly curved, are made in the larger-size figures only. The network of leadlines usually forms a harmonious and rhythmical pattern, depending on the
experience of artists and craftsmen involved. Many people appear to have been employed at the workshop, so that the quality sometimes varies, as the pressure of work was very great at times. As the windows were seldom, if ever, of cathedral proportions, the style of both cutting and painting was in scale with the size, what Winston would have called "a sensible difference" - in agreement with the scale and character of the building, rather than an imitation of any period style or methods.  

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CHAPTER II

1. Quarry windows 

2. Coloured pattern windows
1. **Quarry windows**

Unlike other Sydney firms, Lyon, Cottier & Co. made an extensive use of quarries, particularly in the 1870's. In the later years, figural panels or medallions were combined with quarry grounds, but figures were never placed directly over them, as is often the case in English windows.

Yellow stain was abundantly used, beside black enamel, even in churches built in the Early Gothic Revival style, and in patterns deriving from this early period. Most motifs were traditional, others may have been invented. The style of drawing is usually very sharp and precise. Borders, and motifs which appear among quarries, were made from deeply coloured glass.

The style of the building was taken into account, but was never archaeologically matched with period glass. An interesting example of a highly eclectic architectural design ranging from Byzantine and Romanesque to Gothic, is the Great Synagogue, Hyde Park, Sydney. The decorative motifs in the windows have drawn from these varied sources of inspiration; their original interpretation does not only relate to architecture, but it also expresses something of the symbolism of the Jewish faith and history.
In the Church of St Peter, East Sydney, a quarry window inscribed "A Thank Offering A.D. MDCCCLXXIV." (plate 75) is the earliest quarry window found in the Sydney Metropolitan area, bearing the typical characteristics of Lyon, Cottier & Co. style and workmanship (Cat. LC - 1874; App. Item 24). The dedication panel is surrounded by a single line and a wavy pattern; the lettering is recognisable as a variant used by the firm. The calligraphic treatment is the work of the same hand which was responsible for inscriptions and a number of windows at St Andrew's Scots Presbyterian Church, Rose Bay (plates 83 and 88), some of which are signed. (The Rose Bay church was opened 8.10.1875 and was reported as having been glazed by Lyon, Cottier & Co.)

Panels of two different types of quarries were used in the East Sydney window. Some are slightly taller than square, others are diamond-shaped. There is a strong sense of growth and flow generated by alternating rhythms and asymmetry, stabilised by centralised motifs in stronger colours placed in each panel. The slightly rippled glass sparkles and the colouring is permeated by the gold of the yellow stain. The centralised floral motif in several variants most probably was meant to be the sunflower. It could be expected that it was introduced by Daniel Cottier, rather than John Lamb Lyon who had been in Australia for twelve years prior to the establishment of the Sydney firm, while Cottier travelled and introduced the Aesthetic Movement to America in the previous year.
It is the most competently designed quarry window in this church. The drawing is sharp and neat; the proportions are faultless in every smallest detail. In the same church, and apparently made at the same time, there are three almost identical diamond quarry windows, one of which survives only in its top portion. They do not share the same level of precision in drawing, freedom of invention, or the same sense of proportion in spacing. It is possible that they were made by trainee craftsmen. At the already mentioned Rose Bay church, there are several very tall diamond quarry windows combined with medallions, scrolls and other ornament in the style and workmanship of the firm. The diamond quarries in both churches are identical in the type of glass, the choice of the same traditional motifs and a heavier drawing style. Quarry work being repetitive and less demanding than complex pattern or figural windows, such windows could have been the responsibility of less experienced artists and craftsmen.542

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The Great Synagogue of Sydney, opposite Hyde Park, contains a great variety of quarry and pattern windows, dating from 1876-77 (Cat. LC – 1876-77). The windows are on several levels: ground, clerestory above the women's gallery, as well as some windows between these main levels. A large rose window in the gable faces eastwards. Some windows near the apse are later additions by unidentified artists.

The wall separating the interior space of the Synagogue from the half-open portico facing Hyde Park, is practically a glass screen: two groups of three round-arched leadlight windows are flanked by the doors with white glass. Elongated hexagonal quarries set in yellow glass strips create a honeycomb effect (plate 76). The clear glass is horizontally fluted and it effectively traps subdued light which enters through the porch. There are sunflowers in the roundels and in the borders. The motifs in the eight-pointed stars and in the quarries look beyond European traditional sources for inspiration: they may have been inspired by Egyptian decorative arts. The green-blue background is a more deeply saturated version of the main colour of the Peacock Room, designed for E.R. Leyland by Thomas Jeckyll and painted by Whistler; the red grounds of other eight-pointed stars are not primary reds, either, but wine-coloured; all colours are in tune with the amber-yellow of the honeycomb grid. These are the only windows on the ground level.
Quarries in other windows are octagonal or shaped like fish scales; some windows consist of motifs painted on round glass (plate 77).

The principle of radiation in smaller motifs is maintained throughout, culminating in the large-scale theme of the rose window.545

The origins of the decorative motifs used throughout the glass in the Synagogue appear to be extremely eclectic, ranging from Egyptian to European medieval and including ancient Middle Eastern ornament. Many elements are difficult to pinpoint because of their simplicity and basic nature. The tiny eight-petalled flowers which make up the inner narrow border in plate 77 a could be found in any culture or period. The scale pattern could be a variant of an unidentified early 13th century window, such as shown by Viollet-le-Duc.546 The entire design could be said to reflect the preoccupation of the Middle Eastern cultures with the mathematical sciences. The eight-pointed star and the circle are pure geometry. The mixing of the geometrical and the organic is also characteristic of Japanese decorative arts which exerted such a strong influence on the Aesthetic Movement, particularly after the 1862 International Exhibition in London.547

Eclecticism in ornament does not only agree with the architectural style of the synagogue, but it also expresses
the association of the Jewish people with many countries, throughout their long history.

The drawing of the patterns is crisp and precise, matching in style and workmanship the 1874 quarry window at St Peter's, East Sydney (plate 75).
2. Coloured pattern windows

Pattern windows are some of the most interesting windows Lyon, Cottier & Co. ever made. When used in relation to figural subjects, ornament was designed and coloured to complement the figural work, and was largely responsible for the overall decorative appearance of the window. In purely ornamental windows, the artists enjoyed a fuller freedom of colour composition for its own sake. Tonal control is excellent, intended for the bright light of this part of the world.

Two kinds of ornament are closely based on grisaille patterns:

(a) Those more directly inspired by English 14th century grisaille, with a flowing, all-permeating organic quality, with tendrils and leaves over cross-hatched grounds; mellow in colouring, with subtle gradations of tone and intensities of colour, (Examples: plates 78 and 87.)

(b) Ornament also originating in grisaille, but more geometrically organised; repeats joined chainwise; more contrasting in colour and tone than (a); usually employed in very tall lights containing small figural panels. (Examples: plates 80 a and b.)
Both kinds amalgamated as they developed into the purely ornamental windows of the 1880's, exceptionally successful from the point of view of colour and the control of light.

There are also, about 1875, a few

(c) Highly coloured and very complex pattern windows without any reference to the grisaille style, incorporating symbols, heads in roundels, scrolls with inscriptions, borders of Gothic derivation, original plant motifs which appear to have been based on Australian flora. No further developments of these have been discovered. (Example: plate 83.)

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(a)

Two windows at St Peter's, East Sydney (plates 78 and 87), are based largely on the English Decorated style (Cat. LC - 1874 and 1875- ), with their rectilinear grid and rambling plant motifs. Cross-hatching of the grounds neutralises the strength of the yellow colour and the glare of the white glass; its texture and tone bind the lighter parts of the windows with the darker-coloured parts. The colouring is not medieval, but an ingeniously devised scheme of reduced intensities, and a prominent use of a warm yellow. A bright blue punctuates the borders. (See plate 78.)

The two floral panels with scrolls are visually symmetrical,
yet differently arranged. A calligraphic quality pervades the entire design, from lettering itself, to plant motifs and curvilinear scrolls. The reverse of the scrolls is finely patterned in a simple design, different in each light, which helps to neutralise the colour. The cross-hatching in the pale grounds is done at small angles to all main directions, so as to avoid rigidity and to enhance the flow of pattern.

Such perfectionism and attention to minute details are typical of most windows by Lyon, Cottier & Co., but they are also a reflection of the high standards of design of the Aesthetic Movement.

Another window in the same church (plate 87; Cat. LC - 1875- ) is dominated by figural panels. Its pattern background is related to the more freely flowing kind of Decorated windows. The colours are particularly warm, mellow and in a close harmony, with some reduced contrasts. They have equivalents in nature: the yellow is like amber, honey or gold; the red is that of wine, blood or red amber; there is olive-green, peacock-blue, maroon and emerald. Unlike their English ancestors, both such windows in this church are darker in tone and more varied in colour. While a golden glow permeates everything, the wine-reds play the most active part in the composition and unity of design.
The dedication panel remains unobtrusive: its combined tone is that of the shaded reds in the picture panel; it is worked on amber-yellow glass, the inscription lifted out from a coat of black enamel. Vignettes and circlets are finely etched in the remaining spaces—a practice observable in medieval manuscripts. Here they admit light where there would be blackened glass. The calligraphic quality of the lettering and the ornament form a stylistic unity.

The church is of the Early English kind of revival style; the warm colouring of the window and its predominantly ornamental style of a related period complement the simple building of sandstone.

Exquisite colouring and the high standard of craftsmanship lavished on pattern windows point to a considerable previous experience of medieval models. As Lyon, before departing for Australia, had spent some time in London, with Ward & Hughes, he may have had the opportunity to assist in the restoration of medieval pattern windows with grisaille backgrounds, coloured medallions and borders, in which both glass and workmanship were scrupulously matched to the original. T. Ward was interested in historic glass and had a collection of medieval examples, to which Charles Winston referred when preparing his 1847 book. Ward also helped Winston with "practical hints", as Winston was, in a way, an outsider to the profession, writing a history and stylistic analysis.
of stained and painted glass.

Therefore there is an indirect connection between Lyon, Cottier & Co. and Winston, through Ward. The possibility of a meeting between Lyon and Winston, while Lyon was working at Ward & Hughes, cannot be ruled out. Lyon and the work of his firm show an awareness of Winston's principles, although they are not always followed.

The sixteen-rayed rose window dominates the interior of the Great Synagogue in Sydney (plate 79); it may be the largest purely ornamental window the firm ever made, rivalled only by the two rose windows at St Thomas', North Sydney (Cat. LC - 1880- and 1885- ).

An ornate and highly coloured lotus-like plant grows from grisaille motifs based on the entire plant of the sunflower, in each of the rays. In character, this window is similar to an unidentified 14th century German window shown by Lewis F. Day. Each main stem of the giant sunflower has three pairs of leaves which open like wings. This part of the ray is painted in the grisaille method of the Decorated period, using several tones of yellow stain. There is a row of four little sunflowers, painted on round glass. The growth bursts into sprays of tendrils, buds and flowers, filling the cusped extremities of the rays. In these, the pattern is picked
out in white against sombre colouring, so that it looks as though written in light. It is a simple colour scheme, although it avoids the primaries; it is reminiscent just as much of the colouring of Egyptian ornament, as of the European Middle Ages.

This dynamic design springs from a most awkward and static centre dominated by a square, devoid of any imagination in pattern as well as colouring.\textsuperscript{552}

Although ornamental invention was encouraged by Winston who was in favour of design which agrees with architecture in its character, rather than being an archaeologically correct imitation,\textsuperscript{553} original interpretation of eclectic sources could have been more likely spurred on by the living examples of design produced in Britain by the designers and decorators of the Aesthetic Movement. Ruskin had also taught his students: "I shall try to bring before you every form of ancient art, that you may read and profit by it, not imitate it."\textsuperscript{554} The influence of William Morris on the decorative arts was decisive and lasting. In his lecture "The Lesser Arts", 1878, he remarked that the decorative arts have separated from the "great arts" only very recently, to the detriment of every kind of art.\textsuperscript{555} The establishment of the firm of Morris, Marshall, Faulkner and Co. in 1861 was a decisive step towards a revision of the until then prevailing discriminating attitude towards the "pure" and the applied arts.
Freshness of invention, practicality and the social basis on which Morris built his theories, had an enormous influence on design in England. The Sydney firm of Lyon, Cottier & Co. was closer to the William Morris firm than was the workshop led by Frederick Ashwin, in many ways, among them, from the point of view of importance it attached to decoration and inventive design.

A more rigidly geometric ornament, also derived from the grisaille, was used to fill tall lancet windows, with figural panels placed at about the middle level. The designs are very basic. The main motif could be a circle (plate 80 a) or some other simple figure like a quatrefoil (plate 80 b). The motifs join up chainwise. Straight strips of coloured glass usually run cross-wise towards the corners of each repeat. Grisaille decoration is used, with yellow stain.

The boldness of style in two early windows (plate 80 a and b; Cat LC - 1875-76 and Cat. LC 1876), one at Rose Bay, another at St Mary's Church, Mudgee, N.S.W., is reminiscent of Webb's ornament which he used as a compositional and decorative device during the 1860's, in the William Morris workshop. It appeared in Sydney a decade later, with the establishment of the Lyon, Cottier & Co. firm; by that time, it had just been abandoned at the William Morris workshop. The similarity
suggests some kind of contact with the Morris firm, although the use of this kind of ornament is not quite the same in both firms.

Such compositions by Webb are not particularly in sympathy with the shapes of Gothic openings, their verticality and the unity between the main lights and traceries. Indeed, it seems at times that Webb did deliberately contradict the Gothic character, the vertical emphasis in particular, in tall and not-so-tall lights alike. Horizontality was stressed by the means of alternating rows of ornamental and figural panels, cutting across all lights, sometimes jamming the topmost figural zone right against the curves of the heads of the lights.\textsuperscript{557} Webb's severe, staggered arrangement of ornamental and figural panels, cutting straight across each light, proposed for Brasenose College Chapel, Oxford,\textsuperscript{558} is also out of sympathy with the openings. This attitude could be interpreted as a kind of protest, by an artist whose compositional freedom was curtailed by having to design new glass, practically exclusively for historic revival buildings, usually Gothic.

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Lyon, Cottier & Co. arrangements responded with more sympathy to the shapes of the openings and to their proportions. Transition between figural panels and ornament were usually made as continuous as possible by a variety of means, so
that an organic connection was preserved. The heads of the lights and the shapes of the traceries were considered.

By about 1880, ornament used in conjunction with figure work had developed to become very refined in tone and colour, choice of glass and detailing, although without completely breaking with their Gothic origins and a sense of geometric order.

At St Thomas' Church, North Sydney (plates 81 a and b), ornamental panels are rendered in original colouring. Square panels of ornament alternate with rectangular figural compositions, in very tall single lancets. The range of colours in pale tones has widened in both figural and ornamental work, while the fully saturated colours have remained the same. Several pale tones of warm and cool colours are used in ornamental panels. Painted with fine ornament derived from the grisaille, such tinted glass controls strong sunlight more effectently and achieves a more harmonious effect of colour and tone in the whole window, than white glass could. The arrangement and the dynamic, flowing quality of the design complement the verticality of these single lights. The ornament shares in the total harmony, not only through colour and tone, but also through a lively sense of rhythm and the repetition of arched and serpentine movement which continues throughout the ornament and the figural compositions.
There are three of these narrow and tall lights at St Thomas', North Sydney, in the transepts. The westwards-facing lights are shown in plates 81 a and b, while one eastward-facing light consists of a brighter-coloured pattern (Cat. LC - 1880- ).

An approximately contemporary four-light window by Clayton & Bell, in the northern transept (Cat. B - 1880-84) also consists of alternating figural and ornamental panels, but it lacks the flow of the Lyon, Cottier & Co. windows discussed above and it remains a sum of parts. Its colouring is mainly blue, ruby and white - no longer equal in adventure to the firm's early work at the University of Sydney (Cat. B - c.1857); quite retrogressive, when compared with the colouring and design of Lyon, Cottier & Co. single lights, one of which (plate 81 b) is next to the large Clayton & Bell window occupying a choice position.

It is strange that a window from the home of the Aesthetic Movement should bear no traces of the still strong tendencies in the contemporary decorative arts, or point to the future. The above mentioned windows by Lyon, Cottier & Co. already point to Art Nouveau with their subtle and original colouring, the ease with which figure drawing and ornament are combined into a continuous flow, a beautiful sense of proportion and a complete organic unity.
Summing up pattern windows (a) and (b)

The sources of ornament in the work of Lyon, Cottier & Co. are largely medieval, they are used in an eclectic way, with a view to decorative qualities, rather than in a historically correct sense.

The ornament is chosen to complement the architectural style of the building in its total effect rather than in its historic correctness.

The most immediate appeal of such reinterpreted ornament lies in its new colouring; its appropriateness to the building, position and subject; excellent craftsmanship; its freshness, as the original sources are transformed, mainly through colour.

When figural compositions are involved, the ornament always complements them; the ornament is a part of the entire design structure, not merely attached as an afterthought.

The ornament is largely responsible for the decorative quality of the window.

A better control of light was achieved progressively, through the lessening use of large areas of white glass and its substitution with pale tints, combined with black enamel detail and the use of yellow stain. Pale tints, combined with the non-primary strong colours favoured by the designers of the Aesthetic Movement and by Lyon, Cottier & Co., the use
of reduced contrasts and discordant colours, pointed to the characteristic colouring of Art Nouveau, a decade or so before its inception in Europe. This kind of colouring was combined with other qualities with which Art Nouveau is associated, particularly the organic, flowing quality of design.

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Highly coloured pattern windows, usually with symbols and inscriptions, and occasionally with heads in small roundels, continued from the 1870's into the 1880's.

A tentative work is a pair of windows at St Matthias', Paddington, installed late in 1875 (plate 82; Cat. LC 1875). Both windows are identical in plan and ornament, differing only in the symbols contained in the medallions. Without meaning to criticise religious content, Winston expressed his mistrust of symbols mainly because of their doubtful value as ornament:

With regard to symbols, there may be much difference of opinion. My own is decidedly hostile to them. .... Unless we could revive the modes of thinking which rendered them interesting and impressive, symbols cannot be better than frigid and idle ornament; and it may be questionable how far the employment of some symbols as mere ornaments, considering the peculiarity of their forms, can be justified on any principle of good taste.\textsuperscript{559}

These two windows illustrate Winston's point of view very well. Both are packed with every kind of detail, with different symbols in medallions, at the expense of visual clarity. The content was most probably suggested by the patrons.

Historic ornament has been reinterpreted in new colouring. It is a blend of Gothic motifs and interlace with a Celtic flavour which could have originated from either French or
English sources.\textsuperscript{560}

It is a very crowded composition and there is more yellow than is customary in the firm's windows, but otherwise the colours in glass are the same as in other pattern windows: wine-red, several dark and warm greens, a small amount of cobalt-blue and white, used in a calligraphic way, to pick out the meandering interlace and other structurally important parts of the design.

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Two similar windows were made about 1875, for the original St Andrew's Scots Presbyterian Church, Rose Bay, which stood in the City of Sydney.\textsuperscript{561}

The smaller two-light window is now in the organ recess, separated by the organ; it has been signed by Lyon, Cottier & Co. (plate 83). The matching pair of lights is nearly twice as tall and it is situated to the left of the main west end window of two-lights (plate 88). In both windows, the lights are divided into square panels; in some of the panels of the tall window, and in all of the small one, there are painted portrait-like heads of Prophets and Evangelists (Cat. LC - 1875?). Both windows contain panels with quite a strange selection of flowers, some or all of them could be Australian. The scrolls wrapped around the flowers are differently arranged in each light, stressing a subtle asymmetry.
The borders feature motifs which occur in historic Decorated and Perpendicular windows; in the smaller window (plate 83 b), some of the border motifs incorporate intertwined initials SDG (this being the Samuel D. Gordon jnr. memorial).

Among the heads, a portrait of the deceased has been presented as Prophet Daniel (plate 83 b, bottom panel). Winston was sceptical about portraits in memorial windows because of "the limited power possessed by the glass painter of imitating nature", as compared to sculpture or fresco. John Lamb Lyon was a portrait painter, and this task should not have been above his ability. The deceased young soldier-prophet is shown wearing a Renaissance cap and costume.

The composition and the decorative quality have been built up on one of the simplest shapes - the circle. They are repeated in graded sizes, from the roundels with heads and their haloes, the quatrefoils, the round glass separating the square panels, down to minute pearls on the crowns. Narrow bands of white-on-black circlets and dots is a medieval device used to control light (plate 83 b and c), applied effectively and in keeping with the vocabulary of ornament.

Wine-red is the dominant colour, but it is tone which holds the composition together. The distribution of the lightest parts against the red glow; the gradation of tones; warm and cool colours; the use of full chromas as well as of the
neutrals; all these work together, down to the last detail. The visual impression of this kind was summed up by Ruskin:

> Every colour used in painting, except pure white and black, is therefore a light and shade at the same time. It is a light with reference to all below it, and a shade with reference to all above it.⁵⁶⁶

Variegated (acid-etched) glass of several colours pulsates in the borders. Some exciting contrasts and discords happen there, and they owe nothing to the colouring of medieval borders. The amount of white in each light diminishes towards the edges. Even the strip next to the wall is not white; its varied palest tints are in syncopation with the more intensely coloured strips framing the borders.

The wine-red glass in the backgrounds to quatrefoils and to the floral panels has been cut horizontally in this pair of windows as well as in the middle field of the window at Paddington (plate 82). This method of cutting is unusual in pattern windows, but it has been extensively employed in Lyon, Cottier & Co. figural windows to form the sky (e.g., plates 87, 94, 102, 110).

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In the late 1870's and in the 1880's, a broader style of very decorative coloured pattern windows emerged from this workshop.

Charles Winston writes that he has not seen highly coloured
pattern windows in England (at least, not of the Early English or Decorated style) but that they are typical of continental Europe. 567

Lewis F. Day writes about German pattern windows of their second or Geometric period. Some were frankly geometric, elaborate in detail and used green rather than blue in their colour schemes, with much white glass. Other windows were filled with foliage, often growing from a scrolled or twisted stem, the foliage being in white, or in a pale tone against a coloured ground. While pattern was foremost in the French artist's mind, colour was more important than pattern in German pattern windows.568

The coloured pattern windows by Lyon, Cottier & Co. betray an awareness of both the English and the continental European medieval work, as well as the ideals of the Aesthetic Movement. The workshop style assimilated all influences and attained a new kind of synthesis. Colour is the most immediately appealing element in the firm's pattern windows of the late 1870's and the 1880's. The windows are not as pale-toned as English 14th century pattern windows, but they are also different from 14th century German pattern windows569 in their more subtle and more varied colouring. Fourteenth century English grisaille grounds are still in evidence, but they are usually reduced to small spaces between highly coloured parts and are not necessarily executed on white glass

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(plate 85). The coloured parts have grown large and elaborate and are in varying degrees of originality, ranging from reinterpreted Gothic motifs to designs based on Australian flora or other plant arrangements which could have been partly drawn from nature and partly invented (plate 83 a).

In one known case, at the Church of St Barnabas, Sydney (plate 85; Cat. LC - 1881), the grisaille has been translated into jade-green glass finely patterned with a leaf design in black. Most frequently, pale-tinted glass of several colours is used, related to the full colours. To this category belong pattern panels, backgrounds and coloured pattern windows shown in plates 81 and 90. While in historic grisaille the nacreous tints of "white" glass were obtained largely by chance, then combined in the one window, Lyon, Cottier & Co. deliberately chose a variety of tints related to the full colours, as an efficient way of controlling glare and at the same time avoiding the use of heavier black detail.

Lyon, Cottier & Co. ecclesiastical coloured pattern windows do not resemble any other pattern windows made for Sydney buildings either locally or overseas. The workshop of William Morris apparently made no coloured pattern windows, as none are mentioned or shown in A.C. Sewter's study of Morris' glass. Some similarity of design, although not of colouring, occurs between Lyon, Cottier & Co. coloured pattern windows made for the Church of St Barnabas, Sydney, about 1880.
and the William Wailes' chancel window which was already there. The Sydney firm chose bold, geometrically ordered motifs, mainly of medieval derivation, so that the visual unity was preserved. The colouring of the Wailes' window is mainly ruby, blue and white - something Lyon, Cottier & Co. never used. In their new windows, in the south wall of the church, various reds are significant; combined with pale tints and other colours, they successfully relate to the chancel window.

John Falconer's grisaille-based windows look very different from Lyon, Cottier & Co. windows of similar derivation because Falconer used white backgrounds, mostly primary and secondary colours and very few tints, if any. Falconer had left England too early to be affected either by William Morris or by the budding Aesthetic Movement. After Fred Ashwin joined the firm of Falconer, in the late 1870's, practically acres of one particular kind of pattern windows began to pour out (plate 54). Although well made windows with more varied designs existed, few of them were either very colourful or original.

The Church of St Matthias, Paddington, has four coloured pattern windows in the style of Lyon, Cottier & Co., in the longitudinal walls. They date from three or more years after the two already mentioned chancel windows (plate 82); they are less crowded and better organised.
A pattern window at the Paddington church (plate 84; Cat. LC 1878- ) is identifiable by its colouring and lettering style. The bold effect of the entire window depends largely on tonal contrasts and the arrangement of colour intensities.

The three medallions are balanced by a wide and ornate border, similar to one of Winston's Early English examples dating from the beginning of the thirteenth century. With its upward growth, the border emphasises the upward movement of all parts.

The grisaille design is flowing. It crosses over the white edges of each piece of glass and under the leaded strips of yellow (see also the East Sydney windows, plates 78 and 87). In the 1880's figural windows, such grisaille segments became parts of the canopy; sometimes they formed a kind of canopy of their own, as in the chancel windows of St Luke, Concord (plate 94). The leaves of the rambling pattern are coloured with yellow stain.

A quotation from the Scriptures extends across the main floral medallion. Extremely fine needle point technique, perfected by the Swiss in the sixteenth century, was used to reduce the intensity of yellow glass, so that it becomes shimmering "old gold". Hair-thin parallel diagonal lines cover the ground; rhythmically repeated fine leaf design is scratched out, producing a rippling effect. The margins are left free.
of hatching in order to reduce the tonal contrast of the surrounding narrow white strip, separated by a leadline. The letters are black, the three rows being separated by two leadlines. The tonal scheme of the dedication panel at the base is inverted: amber-yellow letters appear on black.

A quite natural but formally arranged passion flower, buds and leaves decorate the eight-pointed medallions, while the flowers in the main medallion are stylised and difficult to identify. The most dynamic parts of the design over coloured grounds are white.

Carefully designed and faultlessly spaced letters, with small vignettes and lines between rows of letters, characterise the best lettering style of this firm which extends to the early 1890's, therefore the lettering style is not only essential in the identification, but it also aids in determining the dates. Some letters, especially A, M and E, do not remain unchanged in this period, but an overall characteristic style remains immediately recognisable. Curves are emphasised, the thickness is varied, the letters may be reduced in size in carefully selected parts of inscriptions, but they are never crowded or compressed. The dedication panels are always unobtrusive but they are a part of the whole design.

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At the Church of St Barnabas, Sydney, three coloured pattern windows in the style of Lyon, Cottier & Co. were installed, among six new windows, during repairs and renovations to the church in the first six months of 1882. One of these windows is shown in plate 85 (Cat. LC - 1882). One more window, furthest away from the chancel, must have been made not long after June, 1882 (plate 86), as the stylistic similarity of all four windows indicates.

The boldness of the geometric plans of these windows is reminiscent of the armatures of Romanesque and Early Gothic cathedral windows. This bold geometry imparts a monumental quality on the small scale. A chain of eight-pointed stars and an elongated medallion is the plan of one of the windows (plate 85). The leafy grisaille background is jade-green - a heightened interpretation of early medieval "white" glass. The cold green is in contrast with ruby and is lit up by the white outlines of the star shapes. Curly leaves are the main pattern of the grisaille, together with clusters of yellow-stained berries so that they appear olive-green. A pale pink strip runs alongside ruby, outlining the jade-green ground, where white or any other pale tone would have marred the harmony of colours. Yellow does not come into contact with the jade-green, but it is used to separate the window from the wall. Ruby is a dynamic colour and it is rhythmically repeated in the borders. The flamelike, ascending
movement in the borders culminates in the radiating pattern of the tracery light.

The geometrically ordered character of this series of windows was undoubtedly planned to maintain a link with the William Wailes' 1851 chancel window (plate 2).

The main design of two of these windows at St Barnabas' is so strict and simple, it consists only of straight lines and circular curves (except for serpentine curves in the tracery lights). These windows are at either end of the north wall; they are slightly different in colouring and the latest one of the series (plate 86; Cat. LC - 1882-83) has the more colourful, exciting motif of three scarlet roses in slightly variegated glass, surrounded by a wreath of olive-green leaves and tendrils. Strict geometry is blended with organic motifs throughout - a characteristic of decorative designs of the Aesthetic Movement, as is the interrelationship of colours and tints, so finely ordered and graded that nothing could be altered without upsetting the balance. It could have only been the work of artists with a special gift for colour, artists who regarded pattern windows as being of equal importance with figural windows.

While the blue colour became dominant in some of the figural windows of the same period in the early 1880's, coloured
pattern windows always kept blue to the minimum. There are
two kinds of blue in this window: the very cold variety
surrounds the circle of olive-coloured leaves and scarlet
roses, and the warmer blue fills the ground of the central
motif inside the quatrefoil, where it is placed next to
yellow and white.

Although largely inspired by Gothic ornament, this series
of pattern windows belongs to the nineteenth century, with
its original colouring and painting style which is adapted
to smooth and fine glass. At the same time, the feeling for
organic nature and the subtlety of colouring hint at interes-
ting developments in the workshop style that could have taken
place in the Art Nouveau era, had this creative team of artists
not been broken up by adverse circumstances in the early
1890's.
Summary of (c) coloured pattern windows of the 1880's

The 1880's coloured pattern windows are a development from the 14th century English pattern windows, with very important borders borrowed from the Romanesque period. Small coloured medallions of the historic pattern windows have been much enlarged, the background area reduced.

The colouring of such pattern windows is not medieval. It avoids primary colour schemes; it introduces discords and many subtle pale tones of various colours as well as fully saturated darker-toned colours; these are often typical of the colourings of interior decoration designed by the artists of the Aesthetic Movement.

The windows are a synthesis of the organic and the geometric. The sources of ornament are eclectic, with a bias towards the medieval.

Being independent of figural subjects, these windows are particularly interesting as explorations in light and colour.

The windows are screen-like and a complement to architecture, although no particular historic styles are imitated.

The seriousness with which matters of design and craftsmanship have been treated is a reflection of Aesthetic attitudes.
CHAPTER III

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1. **Figural windows of Lyon, Cottier & Co.: an introduction**

Judging by the huge output of the firm of Lyon, Cottier & Co., comprising not only windows in Sydney metropolitan area, both ecclesiastical and secular, but also in the country centres of New South Wales, other Australian states, neighbouring islands and odd windows sent overseas, as well as interior decoration work, the workshop must have been large, employing qualified artists, many craftsmen and apprentices.

Lyon was a portrait painter in his spare time and an art collector. It could be expected that his figural style in glass would resemble his oil painting.

A composite self-portrait of Lyon, representing him at the ages of one, twenty-one, forty-one and sixty-one, still exists (App. Item 20). The dominant colour of this painting is brown, the modelling smooth and realistic. On glass, a similar painting method was used at the workshop of Lyon, Cottier & Co., using oil as the medium. The method was regarded with suspicion by the rival firms, as it was thought to be not the true method of glass painting. A painting style which continues through the years, while others vary, should be the style of John Lamb Lyon.

Cottier's contribution still remains to be fully explored. It is not known if he did any painting on glass, when staying in Sydney. He spent most of his time travelling between the branches of his firm and art centres of the world. However,
it would be difficult to believe that an artist about whom W.E. Henley wrote that he "could throw off enough designs in an hour to keep a factory going for weeks",\textsuperscript{577} had not personally contributed anything by his own hand, for the Sydney workshop.

There is a variety of styles in cartoon drawings and in their translation to painted glass. The style of one major cartoon artist, probably Lyon himself, is characterised by calm and stable compositions. Another style seems to specialise in smaller panels populated by many figures; in a confined space, they exist without overcrowding and move freely. Over the years, cartoons of one large figure, drawn to fill one single light, have been drawn and redrawn by several artists, and the painters were not necessarily the same as the cartoon draughtsmen.

Windows which are difficult to attribute to Sydney workshop style appeared occasionally. Cottier's world-wide connections could have been in some way responsible for them, while one window (plate 103 a) appears to be more typical of Cottier's own style in Britain.

The figural style of the workshop belongs to the nineteenth century. It never emulates the bold, linear style of the Middle Ages and it does not imitate medieval colouring. Owing to the particular painting technique, the figural panels may lack lustre, but not more so than the late nineteenth
century windows imported from France. The possibility of the direct or indirect influence of the Continental painting style on glass, on Lyon, (Wells,) Cottier & Co., particularly in the 1880's and about 1890, needs to be investigated. As Cottier had art dealings with European countries, there could have been a French or Belgian-trained artist at work in Sydney, for a period.

None of the painters trained at the workshop of Lyon, Cottier & Co., and who later established their own workshops, were able to match the ease of figure drawing, colour sense or accomplished painting style of the original members of the workshop active between 1873 and the early 1890's. Only the style of John Lamb Lyon continued until 1909-10.

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2. The eighteen-seventies

Even before 1880, several artists' styles were apparent in the rendering of faces. One artist liked to use a warm brown enamel for the hair; his faces are delicately modelled in a technique similar to oil painting on canvas. The faces are true to nature, alive but serene. This style continues through the years, among others; it should be the style of Lyon himself.

If Lyon also drew his own cartoons, then his figural style could be said to develop towards increasing naturalness and relaxation of poses. Neither the figures nor the draperies associated with this style are agitated or prominently stylised.

The Brandon memorial window at St Peter's, East Sydney (plate 87), dating probably from 1875, is clearly in the style of Lyon, Cottier & Co., although no written proof has been found that it is the work of these artists. It is one of the earliest windows in the above described figural style, which should be Lyon's own. The artist aimed at truth to nature, within the limits of the medium, maintaining at the same time a coloured screen effect. Both lights include the figure of Christ with a portrait-like face. The face of the woman is less convincingly modelled - a phenomenon which frequently occurs in the windows of this firm. All the hands are very well drawn and are softly modelled on skin-toned glass. The lightest areas are left clear; the modelling is filmy and translucent. The deepest shadows occur in the drapery folds.
The highlights in the draperies are acid-etched in coated ruby glass. The poses are as if arrested in motion. Fore-shortening and restricted space have caused a problem: the compositions have the appearance of having been trimmed to fit.

The figural medallions dominate the entire design by their broader masses of darker, very warm colours, strongly reminiscent of the paintings of Dante Gabriel Rossetti, W. Holman Hunt and John Everett Millais.

Blue colour has been particularly avoided: peacock-blue and olive-green were chosen — colours which contain a certain amount of yellow and which therefore easily relate to a variety of yellows throughout the entire window, while a primary blue would have resulted in a crude contrast — the kind of colouring the designers of the Aesthetic Movement avoided. Dark greens are important in the figural panels, beside olive-green, a range of yellows and a glowing red. Dark greens were very prominent in Aesthetic interior decoration, as they blended so well with other new colours, whether dull or bright.

The lettering in the dedication panel (plate 87 b) is worked with the greatest attention to a balanced and varied layout, and is decorated with fine linear ornament. The amber glass shares in the general warm glow of the window, without claiming
undue attention to itself. The way the inscription is presented is similar to another window of the same vintage, at St Andrew's Scots Presbyterian Church, Rose Bay (plate 88), one of a series of windows, some of which are signed by the makers. All of these windows share many common characteristics, the most obvious one being the range of colours used in glass, very different from those in the windows of other workshops in the same churches.

In this early window of Lyon, Cottier & Co., the influence of Burne-Jones and the William Morris workshop manifests itself in several ways. One of them is the method of cutting the sky in horizontal strips. It appeared in the windows designed by Burne-Jones, made by James Powell & Sons, before Burne-Jones joined the firm of William Morris. The same method of subdividing large areas of design was used by William Morris, for example, in a window from a cartoon by Burne-Jones, in 1863. The method was then abandoned until the mid-1880's, in favour of "abstract and space-denying backgrounds". N.H.J. Westlake, in a window which was made up for him by Lavers & Barraud for the 1864 exhibition, made a particular design feature out of the contrast of horizontal strips of glass, circular shapes and vertical directions. Although the Sydney firm has never ventured as far as this towards abstraction, horizontal cutlines constructing the sky remained in use through the years, including the last outstanding window of 'Rebecca at the Well' in Windsor, N.S.W. (plate 110), dating
from 1909-10. The method allows for variations in colour, usually warm, but occasionally cooler (plate 102).

It is possible that the Brandon memorial window in the East Sydney church (plate 87) shows the earliest use of a curtain background by Lyon, Cottier & Co. Curtain backgrounds occur frequently in medieval manuscript illuminations and in mosaics, but much less so in glass painting before the Renaissance. William Morris used a curtain on a rail, at shoulder height to the figures, in 1868-69. Other 19th century English glass painters also used this kind of background occasionally. In the East Sydney window, the curtain reaches a little above Christ's head. In two more known instances, Lyon, Cottier & Co. have used a curtain on a rail, extending above head level (plates 89 and 106).

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The western window at St Andrew's Scots Presbyterian Church, Rose Bay (plate 88; Cat. LC - 1875), is a curious one and significant in several ways. It may be strictly contemporary with the Brandon memorial window at St Peter's, East Sydney (plate 87), but it is obviously the work of different artists and craftsmen in the same workshop.

The colouring is unmistakably that of Lyon, Cottier & Co., and so is the lettering style in the entire presentation of the dedication panel, except that the text is longer and more
colour has been introduced. Similar lettering decorated with finely drawn lines and vignettes occurs in the same church, as well as at St Peter's, East Sydney.

The figures of King David and St Paul tightly fit between the borders and are even slightly trimmed. This suggests that they could have been adapted from a cartoon meant for wider lights, or that they have been drawn by a less experienced artist. The figures are strangely agitated, as if dancing to the same rhythm, without being aware of each other, although they are about to collide across the very narrow mullion. Their backs are aligned with the outer edges of the lights.

One light in the chancel of St Luke's Church, Concord (plate 94), is a strongly Neo-Classical variant of the same figure of King David. Both figures could have been drawn from the same reference, but by different artists.

In the late 1870's, many new churches were built, many of them extended and completed in the 1880's. Both rival glass painting workshops in Sydney had their hands full, and much glass was imported again from overseas, after diminished imports in the 1870's. The late 1870's show a variety of styles and standards of quality in the windows of Lyon, Cottier & Co.: it is possible that the workshop was divided into teams working on the completion of orders for several churches at the same time.

The heads of both figures in plate 88 are painted so as to emphasise bone and muscular structure, with a minimum of shading,
except for the hair. Each head is painted with different pigments. The outlines are chiefly formed by lead came and are very abrupt because there is practically no modelling next to the leads. What King David's headgear was meant to be, is shown in the Concord window (plate 94).

All three Gordon family windows in this church belong together colourwise. Warm colours and darker tones predominate over pale glass and are very suitable for the local light quality. The choice of colour and tonal schemes must have been the responsibility of an experienced master, possibly Lyon himself, or perhaps even Cottier, when he happened to be in Sydney. Light tones construct the main shapes by their paths of movement and create a flow against the darker masses.

In this 'King David' and 'St Paul' window, orchestration of colour and the tonal clarity redeems other shortcomings, such as the strange way of cutting the glass for the costume of King David, and the weaknesses in tonal modelling.

Of the English-made figural windows in Sydney, a similar compositional importance of white and of pale tones, against darker tones and saturated colours, can be observed in what is left of the 1859-60 Hardman window for Old St Mary's, Sydney (plate 20). William Morris also experimented with tonal values and their compositional effect, from the earliest years.  

In many Morris windows, entire figures are in pale tones against
a darker ground — a scheme he evolved from about 1865, in
order to differentiate the figures from darkish foliage
grounds.\textsuperscript{586}

White-robed figures constituted the boldest treatment,\textsuperscript{587}
although they were not the earliest in 19th century English
glass: the figure of St Gertrude, in the above mentioned
Hardman's window for Sydney's Old St Mary's Cathedral (plate
20), antedates Morris' pale figures. In Sydney-made windows
of the 19th century, practically all the costumes are at least
partly of coloured glass.

While all leading nineteenth century glass painters made no
apologies for the leadlines, but realised their vital function
in design and structure, their methods of dividing a cartoon
into cutting sections varied. In the Middle Ages, straight
and simple cuts were a necessity, when glass was made in com-
paratively small pieces, and when the cutting tools lacked the
modern precision of the diamond cutter. In the nineteenth
century, this limitation of the medium was re-established as
one of its chief virtues, creating a network of lines inde-
pendent, to a degree, of forms which the eye wanted to see
in three dimensions. A restricted range of colours was another
limitation in Romanesque and the Early Gothic periods; it
prevented figural subjects from attaining an everyday reality
and kept the art within the bounds of symbolism and decoration —
a perfect complement to architecture.
While in the work of a master, leadlines enhance the design and make the window structurally sound, a less experienced craftsman may miss the inner logic of this method, so that his cutlines may become an affectation, as in the figure of King David at Rose Bay. In the cutting of the cloak of St Paul, the large expanse of green is already broken up by yellow sunflowers; cutting the green glass into odd-shaped rectilinear pieces between the sunflowers, creates a pleasant mosaic effect and it becomes easy to arrange the variegated greens. The sunflowers are painted inside five-sided pieces.

Dense foliage and flowers form darker-toned canopies above the heads of King David and St Paul. From 1873, Morris had begun to use very rich, dense foliage backgrounds designed by Burne-Jones. In the workshop of Lyon, Cottier & Co. in Sydney, coloured backgrounds with leaves and flowers were used throughout the 1880's and later, as one kind of canopy treatment, often a part of double and triple canopies. The workshop was undoubtedly in touch with the current developments in glass painting in Britain. Morris' firm would have particularly interested Cottier, as he had personally experienced tuition by Ford Madox Brown. What particular links both Lyon and Cottier had with the workshop of William Morris from 1873 onwards, still remains to be discovered, but these links must have been close. Apart from methods and design principles, entire cartoons seem to have been borrowed from the Morris' workshop, from the 1870's right to the 1890's (plates 111 and
and 112). Lyon worked in Australia for twelve years before the establishment of the Sydney firm— from 1861, the year the firm of Morris, Marshall, Faulkner & Co. was founded, until 1873, when he moved to Sydney. It must have been, therefore, Cottier who brought the influence of William Morris, as well as the Aesthetic Movement, to Sydney, although Lyon also had opportunities to see the work of the Morris firm, as he subsequently made three trips to Britain.

The sunflower, the favourite motif of the 'Queen Anne' style in England, "had been set in circulation by Morris, Rossetti, and Burne-Jones". As early as 1856, a window designed by Burne-Jones and made up by Powell, showed sunflowers beside the figure of Eve, as did the 1859 St Frideswide window, also by Burne-Jones and Powell.

"In the mid-1860's, sunflowers spilled over into decoration" of houses in the form of reliefs on the exteriors. By 1874, the sunflower reached America, in the form of exterior architectural decoration, heralding the 'Queen Anne' style of architecture and interior decoration which maintained a strong English accent well into the 1880's, and which developed into a wider aesthetic movement, with the introduction of which Daniel Cottier was actively involved.

The sunflower and the Aesthetic interior decoration, including painted glass, were brought to Australia nearly twenty years ahead of the full flowering of the Australian version of
'Queen Anne' domestic architecture in the 1890's, in which abstract ornament in terracotta relief, and only seldom the motif of the sunflower, were used as exterior decoration. In the same year, 1873, Cottier introduced the Aesthetic Movement to America. While many examples, both ecclesiastical and secular, of the firm's interior decoration of the period have been destroyed in Sydney, the Church of St Mary's, Mudgee, N.S.W., decorated in 1876 with stencilled wall patterns, mural paintings and painted glass windows featuring saints whose cloaks are sunflower-patterned (Cat. LC - 1876, Mudgee), should be investigated.

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In the late 1870's, Lyon, Cottier & Co., made many medallion windows of one or more lights, with small-scale figural compositions in the main medallions, and with smaller medallions containing heads of saints or other symbols and ornament. There is a profusion of themes in such windows and only seldom is the same composition re-used; in this case, the previous cartoon would be redesigned, adjusted.

More than one cartoon designer was involved, as the figure drawing differs slightly in naturalness of pose, gesture and proportion. The aid of photography in cartoon drawing cannot be ruled out, as many artists since the invention of the camera are known to have made use of photographs in their compositions.
Ornament is always important in medallion windows, and meticulous colour planning and craftsmanship was practised at all times. Some variations in quality could have been due to pressure of work and to the influx of new staff from overseas.

The most important medallion window of the late 1870's was made for a cathedral out of Sydney: All Saints in Bathurst, N.S.W. (Cat. LC - 1877). It was of five lights, one of the largest windows the firm ever made, set in an elaborate Romanesque architectural-sculptural framework. The chancel was among the last extensions added to this building by E.T. Blacket, during 1874-75. The chancel was also decorated with tiling, painted figures and inscriptions, for which Lyon, Cottier & Co. are more than likely to have been responsible. Their design file at the Mitchell Library contains projects for such decorated chancels. The original watercolour project for the Bathurst window also exists in the same file. The cathedral has been demolished, the east window dismantled and re-installed in parts, in the glass walls of the new cathedral.

The central subject of this window was the 'Ascension' and it occupied the uppermost part of the centre light. The curious curved and tapered figure of Christ is rather closely modelled on Paolo Uccello's 'Resurrection' designed for a circular window in the north-east facet of the drum, at the Florence Cathedral. The colouring is bright in a similar way. Uccello's blue background has been replaced by the particular
red Lyon, Cottier & Co. liked to use. The long sleeves of the tunic are in a still deeper wine-red. The mantle is white, decorated with circular motifs of six petals. The tomb and the soldiers of Uccello's design have been replaced by broad-leaved tropical vegetation. All the other figures in the same Lyon, Cottier & Co. window are much more stable than the rising figure of Christ. This particular borrowing is significant in that it suggests that a member of the firm, probably Cottier who travelled extensively, has seen the glass in Florence Cathedral and has probably made some on-the-spot drawings. Historic Italian glass has a character of its own which distinguishes it from its other European counterparts. Not only was the figure style strongly influenced by the Classical tradition, as most prominent Italian artists contributed cartoons for stained and painted glass; it is also different in the choice of bright, luminous colours among which yellow and white play a prominent role. The decorative aspect is very strong, in the disposition of colours and in the attention given to decorative detail and pure ornament, like borders, etc.602

Historic Italian glass should be counted among the influences which have affected the style of Lyon, Cottier & Co. glass, especially in colouring, although the proportions of colours differ: Lyon, Cottier & Co. colouring is warmer all over, as a rule; Ultramarine blue and emerald green appear only in very
small quantities. While the warm colouring is often reminiscent of Italian 16th century painting in Venice, or of other European painting directly or indirectly influenced by Venetian colouring, the cool-coloured windows of Lyon, Wells, Cottier & Co., of the 1880's and the early 1890's, may owe something to Italian 16th century Mannerist colouring as well as composition.

The Bathurst Cathedral original east window is important in the research on the Sydney firm because it is the only window discovered so far, signed not only by Lyon, Cottier & Co. (in the manner similar to the example shown in plate 83 c), but also by W.C. Marshall, a local glass painter responsible for most of the window, with the possible exception of the face of the ascending Christ which should be attributed to Lyon himself. W.C. Marshall was trained at the firm; he later owned his own workshop in Ulster Street, Paddington, where he employed many deaf and dumb people. W.C. Marshall's style is delicate, with thin transparent modelling which does not attain a full tonal range. It relies on line for facial traits, with some fine stippling in a warm brown pigment, producing light and middle tones. Faces tend to be personalised and could have been modelled on the likenesses of real persons. In sharpness of detail, Marshall's style is akin to 16th century German engravings, but the style is weaker.

Marshall's style appears in some of the heads in the east window at St Peter's, Campbelltown (plate 89b; Cat. LC - 1877).
A more painterly style is also evident in the same window, in the medallions in the upper parts of the lights. The heads of St Peter and St Paul, in the small circular medallions, are painted in the Marshall style of the Bathurst window. A faint shadow was applied above the eyes, so that the iris of the eye stands out as a small dark dot attached to the line of the upper lid; the eyebrow is weak and incomplete. Marshall's faces can for these reasons appear as the weakest part in a window.

While the cartoon designers of the Campbelltown window display a leaning to the Classical tradition in orderly, balanced compositions, idealised features and perfect proportions, the painter on glass shows much less affinity with the Classical tradition.

Vertical emphasis in the composition of 'The Last Supper' is more typical of the Northern European painting than it is of the Italian Renaissance. The cartoon may owe its inspiration to Dieric Bouts' altarpiece in St Peter's, Louvain. The pose of Christ and the two apostles on the spectator's side of the table are very similar, but there are also many Italian Early Renaissance versions of the 'Last Supper' in which the figures sit on all sides of the table.

The overall colouring is dominated by a range of amber and rust tones, but in the side medallions appears a warmer than
usual blue in a considerable quantity. This is one of the earliest departures, however slight it may be, from a predo-
minantly warm colouring; it is shared with a single-light three-medallion window at St John's, Parramatta (Cat. LC 1877?),
which has many other stylistic and workmanship similarities with this Campbelltown window.

While the backgrounds suggest space beyond the figures, the cutting of the glass and the arrangement of colours and patterns are used to flatten it.

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3. Figural windows of the High period, c.1880-1891.

The years approximately between 1880 and 1893 were the most prolific and interesting. Commissions were accepted not only for Sydney and New South Wales, but also for other states and for the Pacific region. The firm has carried out some major commissions, took templates and installed Hardman windows at St Mary's Cathedral, Sydney,\(^{606}\) and decorated many public buildings and private residences, including the Government House in Sydney.

Although few names of local or overseas artists and craftsmen who worked for the firm are known, it would have been in this period in particular that they were invited from Britain, and possibly from Continental Europe, to join the Sydney firm. New styles of cartoon drawing and painting on glass appeared, some related to French windows of this period.

The east window made for St Andrew's Church, Seven Hills (plate 90), dates most probably from 1880 (Cat. LC - 1880). Created for a small, one-room interior, it is screen-like and decorative from any distance. A close inspection reveals subtleties of pale tints and exciting colour contrasts and a high skill in painting and modelling.

The faces and draperies are modelled to the effect of a shallow relief, as Winston recommended,\(^{607}\) while the amount and depth of tone applied to glass never leaves any doubt as to the true
colour of the glass.

The composition is a happier version of the cartoon used as the central theme at Campbelltown (plate 89). The awkward landscape background has been abandoned in favour of a diapered deep blue background. Against this broad darkness, lighter tones and brighter colours stand out. There is not even the slightest hint of a Gothic canopy, but in a year or two canopies appeared everywhere, although they were without architectural dimension.

The whole window has been conceived as a series of tonal relationships to which colour is subordinated, but not neglected.

The subtleties of colouring belong to the Aesthetic Movement, although the ornament is undeniably medieval in origin. The boldness of the pattern is Early English in character, while the variety of pale tints used where "white" glass would have been in the Middle Ages (coloured slightly by the impurities); the particular selection of colours; the Classical attitude to figure work, as well as the methods of applying tone, are nineteenth century characteristics. As Winston stated, "the modern imitations of the two earlier styles of glass painting, do themselves in effect constitute collectively, a new style of glass painting." The extraordinary colouring of the octafoil is dominated by a cold blue which reappears in the main lights. There is a
cool pink inside the ruby circle; the brilliant reds gleam against blue, and the white dove shines on coloured ground.

The modelling of the faces is translucent. The face of the apostle on the right (plate 90 a; St Peter?) is painted in graded tones of a warm brown, while the hair and beard are grey. Lines consistent with the sculptural relief of facial forms are lifted out, while others are drawn in a darker tone. Classical proportions, regular and idealised features suggest an artist with an academic training, but the face is not without character: it is the most lively individualisation of the three. Although in the monumental style of medieval glass there was no individual characterisation of the faces, Renaissance attitudes to figural art brought more lifelikeness into the rendering of faces in glass painting. While a fine style of drawing and individualisation would be lost in windows of cathedrals, far removed from the eye, in a small church this style can be appreciated.

The Seven Hills east window is an illustration of nineteenth century glass painters' skills. All painting has been done with black, grey and brown enamels and with yellow stain. The most extraordinary piece of painting is the head of the girl in the blue dress (plate 90 b). Now broken, the head and wreath are cut in one piece and painted in a restricted range of colours and their tones. Their mixtures produce an effect of a much wider range. Over a smooth application of tone, hair
texture and flower outlines are drawn in calligraphic line, with a fine brush. White flowers show the true colour of the glass; the yellow flowers have been painted with yellow stain. At least two firings would be needed for this kind of work.

The smallness of the scale justifies the cutting of the head and halo of Christ in one piece, on which they are painted with brown enamel and yellow stain. In all three heads, yellow stain outlines the necks of garments, cut in one piece with the heads.

The ground under the feet is cut of olive-green and blue glass and detailed with black and grey. Yellow stain and pale blue glass produce olive-green of another kind. The three flowers on the left are cut of one piece, in pink glass; yellow stain on the reverse side produced one salmon-coloured flower.

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The east window at the Church of St Francis Xavier, Lavender Bay (pl. 91 a), was made probably in 1880, in time for the opening of the church on the 23rd January, 1881 (Cat. LC - 1880). It is one of the few windows by Lyon, Cottier & Co. in which Gothic canopies were used in a traditional way, rather than as a point of departure for inventive, colourful ornament. In the 1880's, a lapse into undisguised gothicism, by a team of artists in their most creative period, could have happened only as a concession to the client's wishes. In the
years of decline, such perfunctory gothicism covered up for lack of invention and became a matter of habit.

Among many of the firm's windows featuring one main figure per light, this one appears most like a sum of parts, assembled from individual cartoons which every workshop accumulates and re-uses when necessary. Indeed, the figure of the Immaculate Conception is a part of the complete interior decoration of St Mary's, Mudgee, N.S.W. (plate 91b), which the firm had carried out in 1876. There it is very competently painted on canvas attached to the wall. On the extreme left of the Lavender Bay window, the figure of the patron saint does not belong visually to the rest. There is no interaction between the figures in their hieratic poses, and the lights are further separated by wide intervals of darkness.

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The figure in a small window in the chancel of the Church of St Thomas, North Sydney (plate 92; Cat. LC - 1880), could be the work of the same cartoon designer as the one responsible for the Immaculate Conception figure at Mudgee (plate 91b). This window is very close in its almost secular mood and style to contemporary windows in residences, especially those representing the four seasons. The mood is that of an eternal spring. The grace of the figure, emphasised by flowing draperies, goes beyond the natural grace of its classical
predecessors. The sunny garden setting, with its baked brick wall and lilies, more than hints at the Aesthetic Movement. The whole window glows with the warm yellow colouring of yellow stain, with other colours and tones chosen for an overall harmony. Rambling branches of oak with leaves and acorns, spread over square quarries, could equally occur in a secular window. The Gothic canopy itself is minimal - it separates the canopy of leafy branches with orange fruit, seen against a pale blue sky, from the third canopy which sprouts from the summit of the Gothic canopy rendered as a flat pattern. A direct descendant of this kind of triple canopy is one of the two 1886 windows at St John's, Parramatta (plate 97). The ornament, rather compressed in the North Sydney window, has been allowed to develop, especially in its upper part, inspired by ancient Roman or Renaissance scrolled ornament.

It may be a coincidence, but the mood and the colouring of this window are reminiscent of Haldane MacFall's description of the work of Matthew Maris: "...he paints dreams ... a far-away unearthliness. Dowered with a tender sense of colour, he weaves his blue-and-golden magic web." 612

By contrast, the corresponding window in the opposite wall of the chancel is static and lacks any poetry - clearly the work of a different cartoon designer and painter.
The window in the west end of the Church of St Paul, Wahroonga (plate 93; Cat. LC - 1881-82), is partly hidden by a gallery built over it. The benevolent face of Christ is painted as it would be on canvas, except that any lines are made strong enough to hold their own against decorative details and the sunlight. The directions of lines are used to model the form of the head in relief. The style of painting is very similar to that at St Peter's, East Sydney, c.1875 (plate 87), and it is most likely the style of John Lamb Lyon.

The richest colouring and the most subtle harmonies are reserved for the main panel. It is the work of a great colourist and an artist with a strong sense of decoration. The colouring is related to the 1860's windows made in the William Morris studio: it is cooler than most windows by Lyon, Cottier & Co. made in the 1870's and the very early 1880's. The choice of colours is far removed from direct primaries.

Sunflower is the motif in the quarries, placed diagonally, so that asymmetry and flow result. The painting style is very neat, as in the best windows of the 1870's.

The double canopy arrangement is similar to that in the small North Sydney window (plate 92). The green leaves are painted with yellow stain, on blue glass, and outlined in black. The network of leadlines and painted outlines help to maintain a flat screen effect.
There is much brown in this panel. A woven fence is drawn in black line, on a medium-toned cool brown. The mantle of Christ is in a darker, reddish-brown, with a brighter, warmer border. Brown appears to have been a colour favoured by Cottier (plates 103 a and b). There is a similarity between the woven fence background and flowers scattered on the ground in this window and in a design by William Morris dating from 1862. Yellow stain and dark enamels have been used in a particularly skilful way, to create new colours and decorative patterns. The dominant colours are browns and greens, in tones and juxtapositions not seen in 19th century windows from any other source.

The painting of the Evangelists' heads is less sensitive: they could have been painted by assistants. Dürer's patriarchs and apostles are the likely forerunners of these heads. The head of St Matthew on the left could have been drawn from Dürer's 'St Jerome in his Study', or from his two panels of the 'Four Apostles' featuring dome-like balding heads, generous beards and an air of deep concentration. The same heads in roundels were used two years earlier, in the east window of 'St Thomas', North Sydney (not illustrated).

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The window of King David (plate 94) is one of a set of five, one in each facet of a five-sided apse forming the chancel of
the Church of St Luke, Concord (Cat. LC - 1882). This figure and the figure of King David at St Andrew's Scots Presbyterian Church, Rose Bay, 1875 (plate 88), are obviously derived from the same source, but their interpretation is poles apart. The artist of the Concord window was more conscious of the Classical tradition and had some kind of academic training. Ingres was probably his ideal. Satin-smooth, relief-like modelling of flesh tones in particular, is similar to French work of 1872 at Villa Maria, Hunters Hill (plate 114). An interplay of all elements, particularly tone and colour, keeps the whole design within the plane of the glass.

The glass is cut in very simple shapes; most outlines are straight or very slightly curved. The more intricate outlines of the profile, the crown, the hands, etc., are painted in dark enamel, next to simple cutlines. The style of the inscription; the realistic modelling of the finely patterned white drapery; the use of ornament on white glass, derived from the grisaille; the sky of the middle three windows, cut in horizontal strips, are the qualities typical of the style of Lyon, Cottier & Co. (The church is also listed among the buildings decorated by the firm in "The Australasian Decorator and Painter", see App. Item 20.)

While the colouring of the 1875 window at Rose Bay is based on wine-red, a range of warm greens and amber-yellows, and while blue is used very little, in the five lights of the chancel
at Concord a lucid blue is very prominent; the range of reds has been extended by the addition of a mauve colour. In the 1880's, the blues become important in many windows of the firm, and beside the blue, a new range of cooler, subdued reds - purplish reds and pinks. White remains important, as well as yellow stain.

For the Church of St Paul in Burwood, and for several other churches designed by E.T. Blacket and by John Horbury Hunt, the firm of Lyon, Cottier & Co. have made a number of successful larger windows. An outstanding window of the 1880's is in the chancel of the Burwood church (plate 95). The transepts and the chancel were completed and officially opened on 1st July, 1882.\(^{615}\) The east window, the first one to be made for the church,\(^ {616}\) is more likely to have been installed on the completion of the chancel which faces east and where coloured glass is a necessity, than after the official appointment of the second incumbent, Canon Arthur Robert Bartlett, in 1887,\(^{617}\) during whose incumbency (until 1895) stained glass windows were reportedly made, and sanctuary and chancel were tiled.\(^ {618}\)

In all aspects, the window is unmistakably in the best style of Lyon, Cottier & Co. and it belongs to the earlier rather than to the later 1880's. It is lighter in tone than other windows in this church, made by the firm in the later 1880's.
The style is monumental and decorative. There is harmony of all elements, and a close relationship with "the Second Pointed or Decorated style of English Gothic architecture", in the general ornateness, the canopy style and in the use of horizontal emphasis (figural subjects arranged in horizontal zones; canopies contain horizontal features). The central canopy is enclosed within a border; the canopies contain other colours than yellow stain, as in some Continental European windows of the period; the canopy gables are high-pitched; there are flying buttresses. Similarity of style exists with the canopies in the Merton College Chapel windows, Oxford University, of which Webb made watercolour copies and later adapted to windows made in the William Morris workshop. Webb liked horizontal subdivisions more than Lyon, Cottier & Co. generally did, although the character of ornament and the composition of parts in windows were very similar in both workshops, at times.

In the canopies at St Paul's, Burwood, ornate gables, aedicular motifs, tiny, coloured traceried windows, buttresses and finials are interpreted playfully, without claims to three dimensions, with the emphasis on pattern and colour. It is an architectural fantasy, perhaps a reflection of the extraordinary open timber work in the high roof of the church.

Strongly Neo-Classical figures are in balanced poses and in gentle movement without agitation. Voluminous, almost Baroque
draperies are worn with a sense of display worthy of their opulence; much has been made of colour and the texture of generous hair and beards. One suspects the figures are aware of being watched, but they do not indulge in Baroque pathos. The faces are idealised without being anonymous. The theme is not a conversation of saints, but the figures of the Evangelists are united in a mood of inspiration, as if they were listening to something only they could hear. St Paul in the centre is the most dynamic and extrovert figure, looking at the external world.

The symbols of the Evangelists, in the outer lights in particular, act as repoussoirs. Their colouring contrasts with the mantles of the Evangelists. (In later years, such repoussoir figures further intensified in colouring, to the point of completely overstepping the illusion of ordinary reality and becoming surreal: plate 100.) Their placing creates spatial ambiguities, without destroying the screenlike character of the window: while the repoussoirs are modelled in relief and placed in front of the main figures, the tiled floor in the centre light is in recession. This suggests pictorial space on both sides of the glass plane. The tightly fitted figures of the Evangelists seem to burst forward into the interior; but then, the entire main figural zone has been conceived in terms of broad masses of colour and tone (as Ruskin and Madox Brown had taught): this, and the decorative
treatment of the whole composition, flattens the design. The importance of decoration, typical of both the Decorated style of Gothic and of the designers of the Aesthetic Movement, was never allowed by the artists of Lyon, Cottier & Co. to overwhelm figural subjects, but remained a complement to them, both parts forming an indivisible unity of style.

The teasing of the mind and eye which can be experienced at a closer inspection is quite Mannerist: the ambiguity of space; the reality of tonal modelling combined with heightened colour; the artists seem to have enjoyed experimenting with such elements.

Scenes from the New Testament in the lower part of the window are a subsidiary theme. They range from the Nativity to the Resurrection and have been worked from the cartoons already used in the signed east window at Lavender Bay (plate 91).

The whole window emits a golden glow. It is a colour which could easily mean disaster, in the hands of lesser artists. There is a reason to believe that this colouring was favoured by Daniel Cottier, as it illustrates so well a quotation reprinted from an unnamed art critic, in the Australian press:

  To contrast an average modern window with an average Cottier is to contrast pallor with bloom, a noon of March with a September afterglow.

  (App. Item 20.)

Colours in unexpected combinations are to a large part res-
ponsible for the aesthetic appeal of this window. They are the colours seen in 15th and 16th century Persian manuscript illuminations and Oriental textiles, rather than in the windows of any other workshop. Exactly to what extent are this and other windows of Lyon, Cottier & Co. typical of stained and painted glass of the Aesthetic Movement, could only be determined by making a comparative survey involving contemporary British and American windows. To date, studies of the Aesthetic Movement have analysed the style of every kind of decorative art, both complementary to architecture and independent of it, but have consistently avoided getting involved in judgments relating to coloured windows, although they form a very significant proportion of the decorative arts of the period when Aesthetic attitudes prevailed.

The 'Good Samaritan' window in the northern transept of St John's Church, Parramatta (plate 96), is one of a pair of windows supplied by Lyon Cottier & Co., in 1886 (Cat. LC - 1886). It is quite unlike anything else made by the Sydney firm, in its drawing, colouring, lettering and the canopy.

White and the three primary colours are important as a means of composition. The colours are grouped in zones: yellow, ruby and white predominate in the figures and canopy; between these, there are blues and greens with a little yellow; level
with the figures is a background zone of neutralised colours - tones of grey, olive-green and ochre; below the figures, green predominates. White acts as a compositional skeleton. The lightest part is the dedication panel at the base - white, with thin Gothic letters. This is most unusual, as Lyon, Cottier & Co. has, as a rule, kept this part quite dark (e.g., plate 87 b).

Less than one half of the total height of the window is occupied with figures - the greater part is sheer decoration. This is also unusual in other than medallion windows of the firm, or those with figures in a panel, over a pattern background (e.g., plate 90).

The canopy is well designed for a rounded opening: its diagonals are not steep and horizontal elements are balanced against the vertical ones. The canopy continues down and it frames the picture, in the 14th century manner. The pale framework of the window separates the colourful figural panel from dark masonry and highlights all the pale tones. The Gothic architectural fantasy in the head of the window forms the second canopy, over the canopy of foliage of "Gothic trees" and the vivid blue sky patterned with swirling cloudwaves. All the buttresses, battlements, pinnacles and finials are constructions in the minimum of colours and line, and remain flat.
Trees with their densely packed foliage, every leaf individually designed, and a similar decorative treatment of the foreground, are strongly reminiscent of 14th–15th century Gothic panel paintings, tapestries and murals in French castles, of Fra Angelico and Giotto. Translated into a mosaic technique in glass, this method leaves not a single square inch of the background undecorated. The brocaded costume of the Samaritan is reminiscent of Gentile da Fabriano's style, in the way such decorative patterns alternate with areas of brighter colour and darker tone.

The 'Good Samaritan' window remains a perfect complement to the Norman Revival style because of its bold decorative sense and the coloured screen effect. Deep modelling is avoided and the colours are translucent and sparkling. For these reasons, the glass appears to be more substantial than it really is. Among all this decoration, there is a rather real grey donkey, in a foreshortened, partial view: this kind of synthesis of decoration and realism also belongs to the 19th century style of glass painting. Neither the glass nor the architecture of this church pretends to be copies of archaeological examples.

All ground level windows in this church originally were of pressed glass diamond quarries and patterns (plates 6 and 7), intended to agree with the Norman Revival style. Not even
yellow stain was used, but small amounts of ruby, yellow and blue glass. All quarry windows in the side walls have by now been replaced with picture windows, some of them as recently as in the 1970's. On the subject of choosing between pattern windows and figural ones, Winston had this say:

A good pattern window is no doubt always preferable to a bad picture window, and in large buildings an intermixture of both pattern and picture windows is generally desirable, but I think as a general rule that patterns should not be used to the total exclusion of pictures, unless this is rendered expedient by economy, or such other circumstances as have already been adverted to. 623

Most modern replacements lack any relationship with both the architecture of the church and with the 19th century windows.

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Another window supplied in 1886 for the newly built transept of St John's Church, Parramatta (plate 97), is immediately recognisable as coming from Lyon, Cottier & Co. because of its typical high canopy and the overall golden glow. The canopy is a highly elaborate version of a small prototype crowning a pair of small windows at St Thomas', North Sydney (plate 92). From a steep Gothic gable treated as a flat ornament, grows a palmette-like scrolled plant, reminiscent of the ancient Roman relief on the Ara Pacis Augustae. The background to this design is the often used wine-red, deep enough to be left untouched by enamel. The panel at the base is very similar to those in many other contemporary windows
of the firm. An invented plant motif fills the spaces in the archways of a decoratively interpreted Gothic colonnade, rendered in lighter tones.

The unusually agitated composition of scattered, small figures is not typical of Lyon, Cottier & Co. It is practically a copy from the Doré Bible, first published in the 1860's. 'St Paul Shipwrecked' illustrates Acts 27:44 (inscribed on the window: "Acts XXVII 44"). 624

While originality of composition is not a virtue of this window, the colouring is somewhat different from the usual. The background to the figures is cool and nacreous; on overcast days, it seems to acquire an almost opalescent sheen. The most dazzling colours are in the canopy and in the archways underneath. In the picture, the brighter and warmer colours accentuate a sweeping movement which culminates in the figure of St Paul in a yellow robe, gesturing theatrically. The aim of this panel appears to have been to obtain the maximum effect of colour, texture and movement with the minimum application of dark enamel. Turbulent clouds, jagged rocks and surging water are sufficiently differentiated, while the greatest areas of glass remain fully translucent. The same attitude carried to technical extremes made the glass of Tiffany unique not only among American artists in stained glass, but everywhere else as well. Mid-1880's was a time of bitter competition between La Farge and Tiffany, which the latter won. 625 As in Australia, the 1870's and 1880's in
America experienced an upsurge in the production of both ecclesiastical and secular glass. American influence came directly through nobody else but Daniel Cottier who had his own studio in New York since 1873. "Soon after Cottier's arrival in New York Louis C. Tiffany made his earliest stained glass." New York was the capital of American stained glass: apart from Tiffany, there were five major companies. Unfortunately, by the 1890's, when Tiffany had "swept most, if not all, competition aside", Cottier died (in Florida; App. Item 20), and Australia missed out on exciting further developments of which Cottier had been aware from the beginning, as he was the Sydney firm's link with the world. One of the earliest traceable examples of Tiffany's "painting with glass", as opposed to painting on glass, is his "Flower, Fish, and Fruit" of 1885, contemporary with the Parramatta window under discussion. Glass individually coloured in the making as well as textured, was produced in Tiffany's own glass works. Some of such glass seems to have been used in the above-mentioned panel, without any painting at all. Another panel from an unidentified workshop, also from c.1885, shows a door panel in which textured and flashed glass has been used. The peach leaves are rendered with the minimum of black enamel, on several varieties of green glass. The fruit appears to have been made of flashed bright red glass, acid-etched and treated with yellow stain, to obtain the characteristic gradation of colour and tone. Opalescent glass had been patented by La
Farge in 1879, and other varieties of it by Tiffany, in 1880. The unusual borrowing of the subject from Doré's Bible illustrations for the Parramatta window (plate 97) also suggests a link with America, as Tiffany and his designers drew from many sources, including the paintings of Doré, some of which were reproduced and reinterpreted more than once. The Parramatta window on the subject by Doré could have been an experiment, produced possibly in American glass, in part, inspired by Cottier's experience in contemporary American stained glass. 

An 1888 window at St John's, Ashfield (plate 98; Cat. LC -1888), now disfigured by alterations, has one of the most elaborate canopies. To intensify the effect, wide borders exist only in the heads of the lights; but they could have continued down the sides of the panels at the base. It is impossible to know what the original design of these panels was like, as a great portion has been removed in order to install clumsy black metal frames for opening the lower panes. In Lyon, Cottier & Co. windows, inscriptions extend across the full width of each light; they have been replaced with the a different lettering style, carried out on pale blue glass with black enamel, a colouring which simply does not belong there.

While the canopy is excellent, one of the most elaborate and sparkling with jewels, the figure work is inferior. Heavy
colours are put together, without much thought for their tonal relationship. There is too much black in the shadows; transparence is greatly diminished. The painting technique is quite woolly in places, particularly in the whole head of St Jacob. The dull yellow drapery of St John is a shortcut - in better windows, it would have been done on white glass with yellow stain and fine brown line (see plate 101 b). It does not clothe the figure - it merely hangs limp, attached to little else but to the edges of the light, with the figure standing behind it. The stripes run straight across the looped folds. Such painting of patterns is a beginner's work rather than a search for new decorative measures.

The window is an example of good cartoons interpreted by lesser painters and inferior colourists. In the later 1890's and in the early 1900's, worse misinterpretations occurred, not because of too many orders to fulfil, but because of the lack of well trained craftsmen.

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The set of windows at the Church of All Saints, Hunters Hill, made in 1888-89, appears to have been done by many artists and craftsmen, in an enlarged workshop. Andrew Wells arrived and joined the firm as a partner probably in 1887, as 1888 is the first year in which his name is listed in Sands' Sydney Directory. He was yet another link of this firm with Scotland,
as he also came from Glasgow. The Sydney firm was engaged in interior decoration for churches and private residences, beside stained and painted glass work and domestic leadlights. The firm was entrusted with the measuring of the windows of St Mary's Cathedral for Hardman & Co. of Birmingham, and with their installation, when the windows arrived, during the 1880's and the 1890's. 637

For the Centennial International Exhibition of 1888, in Melbourne, the firm prepared a very large exhibit consisting of a varied selection of work. The east window for the Church of All Saints, Hunters Hill (plate 99), was the largest single item. Another entry, the figures of 'Hope' and 'Charity', also appear to have been intended for ecclesiastical glass. There were other secular and religious allegorical single figures and compositions intended for the decoration of residences, three of them based on the paintings by J.E. Millais; a classical landscape; six heads after Holbein; two figures from Tennyson; views of old Scottish towns; and two floral panels. 638 No prizes or commendations were awarded to any of these exhibits. In the same exhibition, the firm of F. Ashwin and J. Falconer, Sydney, received the 2nd Order of Merit, and the firm of Goodlet & Smith, also of Sydney, the 3rd Order of Merit. The windows were shown in "Jury Section 15: Crystal, Glass, Stained Glass, and Glass for Table use." 639 The introduction to the Fine Arts section of the Official Catalogue 640 mentioned the marked influence of the Pre-
Raphaelites, evident in both the paintings on canvas and painted glass, although the latter was not in the Fine Arts section. Among the exhibits of painting from the United Kingdom, there was the original of the "The Evil one Sowing Tares" by J.E. Millais, which was shown translated into painted glass, in the New South Wales court.

The east window entitled 'Te Deum', appears to have been installed at the Church of All Saints, Hunters Hill, (Cat. LC - 1888) sometime in the first half of the year 1889, that is, after the Melbourne exhibition. The window "was so highly thought of that replica was made for Grafton Cathedral." This is not quite true, because the main lights and the traceries are, in each case, differently arranged; the Grafton window is an adaptation. Both churches were designed by John Horbury Hunt. The sanctuary and four bays of the nave of Christ Church Cathedral, Grafton, N.S.W., were opened on the 15th July, 1884; the building continued. All Saints', Hunters Hill, was opened on the 22nd April, 1888.

In the main part of the window and in the traceries, blue colour dominates. Although the realism and feeling with which the figures are treated, are consistent with Pre-Raphaelite art, the preference for cooler colours could be interpreted as a weakening of the Pre-Raphaelite influence. New tendencies in the workshop style could be attributed to the expansion of the workshop after the arrival of Andrew Wells and his becoming a
partner. A short period of increased activity followed. Apart from windows dominated by cool colours, the firm continued to make typical windows in warm colour keys, right to the end. Sharp colour contrasts were avoided. Such windows were probably made under the direction of Lyon himself.

There is much emphasis on horizontality, in the east window at Hunters Hill (plate 99). It could be easily imagined that this kind of composition had been adapted from a project for a Perpendicular window in which the main lights were divided horizontally, by masonry. The architecture of this building is more a personal interpretation of medieval elements by John Horbury Hunt, rather than being a typical example of Gothic Revival. The walls are not very high; the window sills in the main part are at about the level of domestic window sills; the chancel is elevated. Horizontal division of the east window design continues the feeling of horizontality in the interior which is very much on a human scale, and it could have been chosen for that reason.

The use of two main subjects weaken the unity, as they are in two colour schemes and two kinds of pictorial depth. The mainly cool 'Crucifixion' theme, with its overlapping figures extending right across, produces only a relief-like depth. 'The Last Supper' exists in a deeper and a more real space, typical of 15th century paintings of the same theme; it is warm in colouring. The sizes of the figures are also on two
different scales. By comparison, John Radecki, of F. Ashwin & Co., proved to be a much more capable designer of large compositions involving many figures (plate 70).

Regarding ornamental invention, this window ranks very low, remembering that it is the work of the firm which excelled in ornament and decoration of a more interesting kind than by most 19th century glass painting establishments, except William Morris' own.

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The window of the Four Evangelists, in the chancel of All Saints', Hunters Hill (plate 100), probably followed three small memorial windows high up in the chancel, which were in the making in 1889 (Cat. LC - 1889 and 1889-90?). As the lights are not tall, a greater area is occupied by the figures than in the east window at Burwood (plate 95), and less has been left to ornament; still, it has been less carefully planned than the ornament-figure work relationship in most earlier windows. While in the 1875 west end window at Rose Bay (plate 88), thick foliage and flowers alone formed canopies, at Hunters Hill the designer first shortened the already not tall lights by a wide band of arcuated Gothic ornament across the base, then crowded in, above the foliage and flowers, pruned-down Gothic canopies. This was done probably because Gothic canopies are prominent in the east window. Even the floor tiles are in recession, in
the Four Evangelists' window, as they are in the 'Last Supper' zone, in the east window. The quatrefoil is practically undecorated, and it appears larger than it is, with the squarely placed 'Good Shepherd' figure, which is also large in scale.

The quality of figure drawing lacks the sophistication and the perfection of technique of the best work of this firm. About 1888-1890, several painters' styles are evident, uneven in quality. Various other shortcomings suggest a very busy period, when all hands were fully employed so that artistic resources could have been stretched at times.

Regardless of occasional lapses from the characteristic refinements in colouring, cartoon drawing and technique, in the few years about 1890 interesting changes of style occur which could be linked with strictly contemporary painting. Strongly coloured repousooir figures appear, a tendency already noticeable in the Evangelists' symbols in the Burwood window (plate 95), where they come forward mainly because of their placing and less because of their colouring, except for the eagle of St John. In the Hunters Hill Evangelists' window, the symbol of St Matthew, an angel in powerful scarlet, of coated and acid-etched glass, is the strongest and largest colour area; it is given to a subsidiary although symbolic figure, balanced by the eagle of St John on the extreme left.644

The large flowers surrounding the head of St Luke may be based on some Australian plant. In the 1880's, Australian flora
had been greatly popularised among designers, by Lucien Henry and Parnell W. Johnson, and it appeared in decorative work, in various media, more frequently than before. The use of foliage and flowers as canopies in the windows from the William Morris workshop has already been mentioned. Before they appeared in painted glass, such leafy bowers, or backgrounds of natural greenery dotted with brighter coloured flowers or fruit, were used in the paintings of the Pre-Raphaelites and their friends, who, in turn, observed them in the Early Renaissance and International Gothic art.

By the late 1880's in Europe, floral backgrounds to figures in painting could be seen in the work of Van Gogh whose paintings Daniel Cottier knew in the original, as he handled them as an art dealer. The flowers surrounding St Luke's head are larger and bolder than those in other floral canopies in Sydney; they claim as much attention as does the head of the apostle. The importance of yellow colouring particularly points to Van Gogh, whose favourite colour it was. Whether his "Sunflowers" of 1888, other flower pieces or portraits with decorative floral backgrounds have been seen by Daniel Cottier, remains to be found out. Emphasis on bold decoration is also a quality of much of the work of Van Gogh, Gauguin and other painters involved in the Symbolist Movement. As this bold, decorative quality of ornament occurs in the windows of Lyon, Wells, Cottier & Co., together with unexpectedly forceful colouring
in parts of figural compositions, there could be a direct link with the contemporary Symbolist painting.

A three-light window in the body of the church and nearest to the chancel, in the Hunters Hill church (plate 101; Cat. LC - 1890?), aims at a greater pictorialism, with a diminished role of the surrounding ornament. Similar distant views of landscapes with buildings are frequently seen in imported French windows of the 1880's and the 1890's (e.g., plate 116 b), mostly in Roman Catholic churches, and painted in a similar delicate style, in a minimum of colours. At Hunters Hill, each background also represents places relating to each apostle, with recognisable buildings in a range of yellows, and a very real sky, in flashed blue glass treated with acid. Gothic canopies, over Classical buildings in the background, are quite incongruous, but the decorative simplicity of the inscriptions and the white band with blue motifs are much more in agreement with the monumentality of the figures, than is the treatment of the base below the figures, in the four-light window (plate 100).

In both windows (plates 100 and 101), in the small spaces above the canopies, the "crazy paving" pattern appears for the first time in the windows of this firm. William Morris had already used this method from about 1865, to create flat, abstract grounds.647 Hardman filled small spaces between tall
pinnacles, in a window made in 1890, for St Mary's Cathedral, Sydney (plate 27).

The central figure of St Peter, in the three-light window, is one of the most accomplished single figures designed and painted by the firm. By comparison, the figures of St Paul and St Andrew, especially their draperies, appear quite awkward. The whole figure of St Peter is equal in quality to the figures in the east window at Burwood (plate 95). The figure of St Peter possesses Baroque fullness, without strong movement: it is dignified and relaxed. Most movement is contained in the serpentine scrolls which are gently modelled in relief. The face of St Peter is sensitively characterised. It is painted in warm and neutral colourings, on one piece of glass. The high standard of technique is comparable to the face of St Peter, in the small Seven Hills window of 1880 (plate 90 a), where it has also been carried out in warm and neutral enamels. The damask-like drapery, painted on white glass with brown enamel and with yellow stain (plate 101 b), the realistic modelling of the hand and the keys, even the calligraphic drawing of plants, where yellow stain, brown and greenish enamels have been used, is the work of an accomplished artist.

The other two apostles are the work of a lesser painter, probably the same one who painted the four Evangelists (plate 100) and the figures in the St Jacob and St John window at Ashfield, in 1888 (plate 98). It is a heavier, more opaque
style, lacking in every refinement evident in the figure of
St Peter (plate 101): the draperies have none of the flowing,
bellowing quality, but are both limp and rigid on the same
figure; there are problems with the drawing of hands. He was,
most likely, a local painter with less training and experience,
than the artists hand-picked overseas by both Lyon and Cottier.

The 'Centurion's Servant' at Christ Church, Lavender Bay (plate
102), is a larger than usual two-light window. It is one of
the most complex figural compositions by Lyon, (Wells,) Cottier
& Co. ever attempted. Unlike the very static east window at
Hunters Hill, it is asymmetrical and it incorporates a clock-
wise movement, as the figures change direction. Its colouring;
full of vivid contrasts as well as discords, is not merely
decorative: it is not true to nature, when the artist decides
that it shall not be. The hierarchy of sacred figures is not
observed: the figure of Christ commands much less attention
than does the Centurion's servant. The meaning revolves around
him. He is in the closest contact with the onlooker.

The ground on which the figures exist is sharply tilted. The
recession is quite sudden - in size, not in colour; the picture
is unreal, illogical. The compressed space resembles the
paintings of Rosso Fiorentino or Parmigianino; the vertical
arrangement, with very large figures in the front, is similar
to that in the 'Adoration of the Shepherds' by Pellegrino
Tibaldi;⁶⁴⁸ the effect is similar to a photograph of a crowd taken through a telescopic lens.

The centurion's servant draws immediate attention because of his size, pose and colouring. Mannerist painting abounds with figures in a similar relationship to the onlooker. There often is a larger figure in the front plane, which, at the same time, is and is not a part of the whole group; its pose may be artificial, or it may reflect some inner torture; the figure may appear to be within our reach, yet we do not know if it wants to communicate, as it remains preoccupied with its own thoughts and feelings. It claims attention by simply being there.

The particular preference for a vivid, cold blue-green as the key accent in the picture, could have been inspired by Parmigianino, or it could have been a relic from the Aesthetic Movement. In any case, it was the artist's personal choice used to evoke a particular mood or idea: although prominent as the leggings of the servant, the colour has no explanation in the Scriptures. The Centurion's servant is set apart from the crowd in size, direction, colouring and in the lack of psychological link with other figures. Everything in both lights seems to serve as a background to him. It is, as if the artist, like Gauguin in his 'La Vision après le Sermon' ('Jacob Wrestling with the Angel') of 1888, or in 'The Yellow Christ' of 1889, had intended us to become a part of the event,
by arranging all elements for this purpose. While the compo-
sition is meant to be continuous over both lights and represent-
tive of the same event, the left hand side is practically a
"normal" variation of the very popular 'Sermon on the Mount'
theme, but the right hand side has visionary colouring and
an emotionally laden picture space. The small figure of the
rider is drawn as a part of the crowd, but it is rendered in
totally unreal colours: the Centurion's helmet is blue-green
and his horse is yellow: they are strangers. The vivid,
crashing colouring of the servant may have been meant to reflect
inner tension. Other figures are studies of moods ranging from
incredulity to rapture; there are interesting costume details.
The figures, unlike the colouring and the space, do not venture
into abstraction but remain in the realist tradition.

The ornament remains related to its historic origins, in spite
of reinterpretation. The colouring is light, with bright
accents. It is the nearest to Art Nouveau, of all the firm's
windows in the Sydney area. The phenomenon of tall, double
and triple canopies studded with sparkling "jewels" was evident
from about 1886, as a highly decorative trend anticipating Art
Nouveau.

The lettering style and size are practically the same as at
the base of the three-light Apostles' window at Hunters Hill
(plate 101), which is probably contemporary with the 'Centurion's
Servant' window, but governed by a different taste.
A dark angel with a portable organ is the subject of a most unusual window at St Thomas', North Sydney (plate 103 a; Cat. LC - 1889?), which has a number of earlier important windows by Lyon, Cottier & Co. (Cat. LC - 1880, 1880 -).

A three-light window in a Cramlington church, Northumberland, England (plate 103 b), is by Daniel Cottier and it dates from 1872.\textsuperscript{649} It has stylistic similarities with some of the windows made by the Morris workshop: especially those from the 1860's and the 1870's in which dark figures were placed over quarries or over grisaille-like backgrounds. Although the painted patterns were usually regular, the glass was often cut in irregular shapes. Such windows were designed mostly by Burne-Jones and by Madox Brown. Possibly the latest of such dark-figure on light ground windows was the James Haliburton memorial, dated 1889.\textsuperscript{650}

The North Sydney window may have been designed much later than the 1872 Cramlington window, but the two share some common traits. The dark reddish-brown of the angel's gown is the most obvious feature. The face is round, as is the face on the extreme right in the Cramlington window, while most faces in the Sydney-made windows by Lyon, Cottier & Co. are oblong. Such roundish heads also appear to be proportionally larger than usual. The figures' heads are turned towards the onlooker, while the bodies face more or less sideways, with the body weight on one leg, one foot slightly forward, as in Classical
or Hellenistic sculpture.

The west window at St Andrew's Scots Presbyterian Church, Rose Bay (plate 88), also has large masses of deep reddish-brown colour. Inside the large areas of the same colour, the cut-lines do not follow the foldlines of the drapery, but are entirely arbitrary and straight, following the example of the William Morris studio. (The cutting of King David's costume in the Rose Bay window of 1875, has been done with much less understanding of the purpose of such cutting, than in the Cramlington or North Sydney windows, as it has not been done before, in the Sydney workshop, and it must have been an experiment.)

The cloak of Christ in the Cramlington window is painted with dark pigment, with motifs which may be sunflowers. In the Rose Bay window, the cloak of St Paul is decorated with large yellow sunflowers, as are the cloaks of the Apostle windows at St Mary's Church, Mudgee (Cat. LC - 1876). Cottier had carried the sunflower and the Aesthetic Movement to both Australia and America in the same year - 1873.

The Rose Bay window (plate 88) has just as little to remind us of the Gothic style as does the Angel window in North Sydney. In the three windows - the Cramlington window, and those at Rose Bay and North Sydney, there are no special canopies other than decorative details filling the heads of lights, which are a part of the picture and significant in
some way.

The gilded marble step in the centre light of the Cramlington window is of a practically identical design to that in the King David's light, Rose Bay; the step also occurs at Concord (plate 94), which is a window redesigned and painted by a different artist.

The square panel below the angel figure at North Sydney is a typical Lyon, Cottier & Co. design for this purpose and it can be seen in a number of windows in and out of Sydney. The white cross and the turquoise ground at North Sydney are cut of opaque glass, most likely American, as the turquoise glass has a surface of wavy ripples, not seen in anybody else's windows made in this period, in Sydney. It could be the same kind of glass as used by Tiffany in one of his 1885 decorative windows. Cottier was in a position to order some new American glass for the Sydney workshop.

The North Sydney window is in the northern transept and it faces east. Its dark tonal scheme was intended for a well-lit eastern position, but the window has since been almost totally obscured by a room built outside it, in the corner between the transept and the chancel. Only the top of the window gets enough light, revealing finely drawn facial features and hands, on very pale glass. Variegated wings and a dark blue night sky with golden stars act as a canopy. The rest is seen as reflections from the interior of the church.
Looking back at other windows made by the firm, more traits common with the Cramlington window and with the North Sydney window come to mind. One of them is the style of lettering: the genuine example by Daniel Cottier had a following by the Sydney firm, in a similar style of letters and the presentation of the dedication panels. Abundant use of yellow stain is another important characteristic shared by Daniel Cottier and the windows made in Sydney, particularly those in the 1870's. Warm colours in glass and warm tones in enamel are preferred.

Other seemingly minor details seen in many windows may point to Cottier's influence, or they may even reveal windows made from his cartoons, or from cartoons drawn under his guidance. One of such features is the presence of flowers cut in oval pieces of glass, usually pink, often stained with yellow to obtain a salmon colour; such flowers are strewn on the ground, below the figures' feet (plates 90, 102 and 103). There are also flowers in the hair of children and women (plate 90 and a window at St Mary's, Mudgee, N.S.W., as in another Cottier window from the Church of St Cuthbert in Darlington, Co. Durham, not illustrated). To distinguish the windows made in the style of Daniel Cottier, the country churches of New South Wales still have to be explored.

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4. The late years: 1891 - 1910

After the death of Daniel Cottier in 1891, much of the vitality and sense of adventure disappeared, but the decline of the Sydney firm should not be attributed to Cottier's death alone. Being an art dealer as well as an artist, he did not spend most of his time Sydney, because he travelled between his workshops and boutiques and the art centres of the world. The economic recession set in, and there were less commissions for windows in the 1890's because building activities diminished. John Lamb Lyon was getting older, and ultimately stopped working c.1910. An undated small card signed by the Vigilant Committee, and apparently printed for distribution among members of the public likely to commission windows and interior decoration, reveals that the firm was blacklisted by the workers for paying very low wages. As the name of Wells is still included in the firm's title, this incident must have taken place in the 1890's, before Wells left Australia in 1895 or 1896 (App. Item 26, text of the notice). Some of the clearly distinguishable styles of painting on glass disappeared from the windows made in the 1890's, and most of the exciting experimentation in colour came to an end, just when Art Nouveau really began overseas. It can therefore be assumed that several leading artists left the firm. Nobody from the older generation of glass painters and leadlighters in Sydney has suggested that the firm had employed artists from anywhere else but Britain,
but this does not necessarily need to be true. Cottier had world-wide connections, and similarities with French work exist. This point still needs to be investigated. The firm continued to train local craftsmen in the 1890's, but a vital link with the long-established British workshops, and the art world in general, was broken after this dispersion of forces.

On the 6th November, 1893, A. Wells, read a paper before the Sydney Architectural Association,\textsuperscript{653} outlining the technical points from his knowledge of the medium, and the aesthetic aspects which amount to a summary of Winston's 1847 text on style, with much emphasis given to the necessity to maintain the translucency of the glass. The lecture was concluded by saying that "the art of glass painting is only now regaining the point of excellence it had reached in the middle of the sixteenth century."\textsuperscript{654} It could be assumed, from this note of optimism, that the decision to practically disband the company must have been taken rather suddenly, after 1893.

When this happened, a period of repetitions and imitations began, with little original work. Many windows only demonstrate that the underlying ideas of earlier artists had completely escaped those who stayed behind. In some windows, the painting on glass became more dense and the colour schemes left much to be desired. Varied standards and personal styles were distinguishable, one of them is the style of Lyon himself. He could also be expected to have contributed cartoons and
and advised on the choice of colours: he was the only highly trained and experienced artist left.

The windows in the northern wall of St Mary's, Waverley (plate 104; Cat. LC - 1902), are based on previously used elements - quarries; canopies treated as flat decoration, although very simplified; strongly coloured medallions; patterned draperies; the typical style of lettering and a generous use of yellow stain. The colouring is harmonious and warm, the painting of the faces competent and it could have been done by Lyon himself. It stands up very well to direct sunlight, as does the rest of the colouring inside the figural panels. The painting on glass is of much better quality than is the drawing (or re-drawing?) of figures, and the cutting of glass, which further accentuates the shortcomings in cartoon drawing. Seated poses have not been observed in Sydney windows previously, and some of these poses are quite unorthodox, to say the least (e.g., the figure of St Jacob, plate 104, on the right). The seated pose shortens the figural panel and it could have been adopted purely for economic reasons, or in order to leave a greater portion of the windows to be made by members of staff who had little skill in figure painting. Such a large proportion of pale, patterned glass has not been used since the earliest years of the firm. The 1860's work of the William Morris firm, when Philip Webb was in charge of layout and ornament, could have been the example followed. In both cases, smallish figural panels are combined with areas of quarries, often decorated with small
colourful medallions; the borders, if any, are very simple, or each light could be outlined with a plain strip of colour.\textsuperscript{655}

The background to the saints' heads in plate 104 probably originates from a design of Cottier, as the idea is basically the same as in the Cramlington window (plate 103 b), the pattern between the bands of inscriptions. Freely designed plant motifs appear, on glass cut mostly in squares. Each pair of lights has a different background. In others, an overall regular repeat pattern may be cut in irregular pieces, similar to the background of the 'Tree of Jesse' window, St Stephen's, Guernsey, which Sewter attributes to William Morris, except for a few figures by Burne-Jones.\textsuperscript{656}

At this point of time Alfred Handel entered as an apprentice, at the age of twelve. He helped to install this series of windows at St Mary's, Waverley. He finally bought the establishment in 1923.\textsuperscript{657} Philip, the son of Alfred Handel, still continues in the trade, after several changes of address.

The familiar theme of 'Suffer Little Children' has been reinterpreted, in the first decade of the 1900's, at St Mark's Church, Granville (plate 105; Cat. LC - 1902- ). The dedication panels with the lettering are missing, but the arrangement of the figures in the left hand side light, the style of ornament at the base and the range of colours in glass point to the workshop of Lyon, Cottier & Co. Interesting connections appear, with the earlier window of the 'Good Samaritan' at St John's,
Parramatta (plate 96), which was completely different from the usual workshop style, when it was installed in 1886. The brocaded yellow dress of the kneeling girl in the Granville window is very similar to the patterned tunic and its colouring, in the 'Good Samaritan' window; plant details in the foreground and the foliage of the tree in the left hand side light are also similar, in their related muted colours and their stylised, decorative way of painting. The canopy itself differs from that in the Parramatta window, but is quite common in the windows of the early 1900's, by this firm. The emphasis is still on flat decoration and colour, rather than on three-dimensional form.

Although the range of colours may be the same as in the period between c.1880 and 1886, their proportions are arranged so as to emphasise the differences rather than close harmonies and subtle discords, characteristic of many windows of that period. In a way, it seems to be a return to the colouring preferred in some of the windows made during the early period in the William Morris workshop, a phenomenon that still remains to be explained. The beading pattern is very prominent in this small window; it has been used in the 'Centurion's Servant' window at Lavender Bay (plate 102). The monograms in the quatrefoil, in yellow on ruby, are very similar to the ones in the east window at Seven Hills (plate 90), but this kind of motif has been used practically by everybody else as
well, including French glass painters (tiny openings in the chancel of Villa Maria Church, Hunters Hill, the 1870's; not illustrated).

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In 1904, a window made by Lyon, Cottier & Co. was sent to England (plate 106; Cat. LC - 1904), for a church at Dinting. Its canopy work is closer to the 'Good Shepherd' window at Willoughby, of 1905 (plate 107), as the beaded pattern has not been used. The background colouring is probably ruby, as in the Granville window. The compositions are not well co-ordinated, and the crowdedness is emphasised by a very small interval between the two lights. For the first time, the pedestal suggests a real curvature in space, repeated in the 1905 window. Likewise, the canopy suggests projection into space, as a real canopy would be. The drawing of the figures and draperies lacks clear definition characteristic of the best style of the 1880's, but limp drawings had already existed from about 1888 (plates 98, 100, 101) beside highly accomplished ones.

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The figural panel of the 'Good Shepherd' window at the Church of St Stephen, Willoughby (plate 107; Cat. LC - 1905- ), should be the work of John Lamb Lyon himself. It stands out among other work produced by the workshop, at about that time.
The complete ease with which the cartoon has been drawn and the colours put together suggests long experience. The outlines run in easy and flowing curves and the leadlines are well placed, as well as forming a harmonious pattern. Plate 107 b shows the inner surface of the glass, with light coming from clerestory windows opposite, which spoils the appearance of the windows so affected, in the afternoon. The surface is dull and velvety, as oil was used as the medium.

The face of Christ is practically the same as in the west window at Wahroonga (plate 93), carried out in the same warm colouring. The general colouring is of subdued contrasts and discords. There is a landscape background, with a very Australian horizon, like a distant view of the Blue Mountains, but related cool and warm colour groupings retain the relationship of the painted panel with the surface plane. The woven fence appears again as in the 1881-82 window at Wahroonga, as well as pale-toned, bright blossoms which punctuate the darker areas (see also the Seven Hills windows, plate 90, and the Cramlington window, plate 103 b). These are the reminiscences of both William Morris and Daniel Cottier.

In the same church, two earlier windows dating from 1884 (Cat. LC - 1884, Willoughby), were made in brighter and warmer colours, both in the figural compositions and ornament rich in floral designs, with only a token reminder of Gothic
decorative elements. The attitude to colour and ornament has changed after twenty years, as shown in the 1905 window which happened to be made within the Art Nouveau period. Strangely enough, Gothic canopies of the most uninteresting kind became almost the rule. The flair for imaginative ornament, and games which used to be played with colour, were a thing of the past, which suggests that there was little or no contact with developments in glass painting overseas, and even more likely, nobody of sufficient training and conviction to introduce significant changes.

In the 1890's and the 1900's, single-figure lights are, as a rule, made up from the already existing cartoons. From the time of an 1888 window of a similar nature at Ashfield (plate 98), no progress was made when designing another two-light window for the same church, with a figure in each light, twenty years later (plate 108; Cat. LC - 1908). Ideas for windows simply fed on previous designs, not on world-wide developments in the pictorial and decorative arts.

In the St John the Baptist and St Paul window, there is too much painting with black enamel, to the point of opacity. Cool colours dominate, but the warm ones are ill-chosen: they either contrast harshly, or are muddy. The former mellowness and translucency no longer exist. The importance of white in the compositional structure of the whole window has been
missed: while the outlines of the medallions and the main parts of the ornament are white, the idea has not been applied in the same structural way to the figures. St John the Baptist is a mass of unrelieved gloom, while the cloak of St Paul is in a light-toned, raw green, which draws attention to its awkward shape. The glaring yellow haloes do not belong, as there is very little yellow anywhere else. Shortage of glass could not have been the cause, as white glass is always the most easily available; it has not been sufficiently exploited.

The ornament shows a change of style: each leaf is painted in shallow relief, similar to background ornament in the 1860's windows by Clutterbuck. The colouring is basic but quite decorative, although very different from earlier colour-tone-chroma subtleties inspired by the Aesthetic Movement. The same painter's hand is evident in ornament work of an important window at Windsor, N.S.W. (plate 110), where Classically-based motifs in well chosen colours and tones make it the most successful decoration of the decade.

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While architectural Gothic canopies became practically the rule in both imported and locally made windows by the late 1870's, Lyon, Cottier & Co. had only occasionally lapsed into this unthinking medieval mannerism. Canopies were present even in the William Morris windows, while Webb remained in
charge of ornament. Webb's canopies were far less a starting point for decorative invention than were the canopies of Lyon, Cottier & Co. at the height of their style. The Sydney firm was one of the few nineteenth century workshops to attempt to find more interesting alternatives to traditional Gothic canopies and bases. However, in the declining years, canopies became firmly entrenched in the firm's windows, and they were not even as well designed as those of the rival firm of F. Ashwin & Co.

A window at Christ Church, Lavender Bay, made not earlier than 1909, and possibly after Lyon's retirement (plate 109; Cat. LC - 1909- ), is a re-assemblage of already used motifs. The main figures, and most of all, the figure of Nathaniel on the right, have already been reproduced in various windows in Sydney. The composition is rather dull, with all heads placed at the same level. The landscape background suggests deep recession, without anything to keep this part of the composition on the plane of the glass. The foreground is uniformly dull. In an attempt to recapture the former golden glow, the areas of yellow are too large; the orange colour, in an acid contrast with blue-green, looks almost fluorescent, while in the opposite light a large, pale figure looms in the foreground, with the rest being dark.

This 'Nathaniel' window is opposite the 'Centurion's Servant' window of c.1890 (plate 102) and next to one of two 'Epiphany'
windows in the style of Lyon, Cottier & Co., discovered in the Sydney area.659

A large window at St Matthew's Church in Windsor, 36 miles from Sydney, installed early in 1910 (plate 110; Cat. LC 1909-10), is the latest window of high quality for which John L. Lyon must have been responsible. It is in one of the early and rare Georgian-style churches, built on a hill and exposed to sunlight all day. The chancel of this church faces west. 'The Woman of Samaria' window faces north, so that it receives fierce light during most of the day.

Its colouring is very deep, deeper than that of the earliest window on the same subject, made by Lyon, Cottier & Co. c.1875-76 (plate 87). The figures are freely accommodated, the composition is completely newly designed. Many features have remained the same: the colouring and the cutting of the sky; the painting of the faces; the prominence of dark ruby colour; even the palm tree. The halo surrounding the head of Christ is the most brilliant source of light in the window, achieved by tonal contrast of white against black.

The ornament is based on the Classical tradition. The colours are ingeniously combined and a range of tones in yellow stain on white glass is used to give an impression of a wider colour range than there really is.
Neither the Willoughby window, made a little earlier, nor this window at Windsor, N.S.W., was affected by Art Nouveau. It was designed to complement a Georgian interior and to harmonise with a set of strongly coloured 1860's windows from Newcastle-on-Tyne. It was John Lamb Lyon's swansong, as he went into retirement after its completion.
In still unexplained ways, cartoons from the William Morris workshop found their way to Lyon, Cottier & Co. in Sydney, where they were made up into windows, from at least as early as 1876.

The east window at St Mary's, Mudgee, N.S.W. (plate 111; Cat. LC 1876), certainly comes from Burne-Jones' many versions of designs for the 'Crucifixion'. The figure of Christ on the cross is practically the same as in the 1864 east window of St Editha's, Amington, Staffs., but for the loin cloth which at Mudgee hangs in a simple way. The emotional gesture of St John, with his hand covering the right side of his face, occurs for the first time in a window in 1865, and throughout the 1870's, although in none of these designs does his hand cover the right eye as well. The figure of Mary is reminiscent of a Michelangelo Sibyl; it is erect and superhuman, rather than crumbling with grief; its pose is similar to that in an 1874 window, though an exact equivalent cannot be found. The figure of Mary Magdalen at the foot of the cross appears to be a transcription of the many versions of angels in 'Crucifixion' windows, beginning with the window of St Stephen's, Guernesey, of 1864-65. Cloudwaves extending across three lights can be seen at St Andrew's Cathedral, Sydney, in the 'Transfiguration window by Hardman, already installed by 1866. A distant view of Jerusalem and a rocky ground are also a part of the Mudgee window. There they form a continuous background of a kind.
which does not appear until 1882, in examples of William Morris windows collected by A.C. Sewter. 664

The lettering style of the east window at St Mary's, Mudgee, is recognisable as one of the styles used by Lyon, Cottier & Co., but it is also rather similar to the lettering and its presentation used by Daniel Cottier in the Cramlington window, England, c.1872 (plate 103 b). The arcuated Gothic ornament at the base, with plant motifs over a ruby ground, has been commonly used by Lyon, Cottier & Co. through the years, while it is not found in the windows of the William Morris workshop.

The 'Noli me Tangere' panel in a window at All Saints', Hunters Hill (plate 112; Cat. LC - 1892- ), is made from a reversed cartoon for one of the two lights in a window at Easthampstead, Berks., England, designed by Burne-Jones and made in 1877. 665 Sewter described it as one of the "The most original windows, but not necessarily the best ..." to come from Burne-Jones at that period. 666 The golden glow is more typical of Lyon, Cottier & Co. windows of the 1880's, than it is of the 1890's; the painting style is of a very high standard; the lettering is identical with that in the three Apostles' window (plate 101) in the same church at Hunters Hill; the ornament across the base is of the same kind as in the 'Good Samaritan' window of 1886, in Parramatta (plate 96), and the attention given to patterns
of the draperies and the background may have come from the same hand. The 1877 Hampstead window seems to rely on broad masses of plain colour and tone; the background treatment is bolder; there is no Gothic ornament. The cutting of the glass in the Hunters Hill window is also different, as it mainly follows the contour lines, while in the Hampstead window, and especially in the 1890's windows from the William Morris firm, straight cuts across draperies and other forms were used, creating an overall pattern resembling paving and revealing a much less pictorial attitude to figural compositions, and more emphasis on the medium and technique.

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Lyon, (Wells,) Cottier & Co. was the most prolific glass painting and interior decoration establishment in Sydney, for a comparatively short period of about twenty years from its foundation in 1873.

It assimilated influences from a variety of sources, including Charles Winston, the Pre-Raphaelite painters, John Ruskin, the William Morris workshop and the artists associated with the Aesthetic Movement in which Daniel Cottier was deeply involved; an awareness of Symbolism is traceable in the late 1880's. The workshop style anticipated Art Nouveau, but the studio practically disintegrated in the early 1890's, before fully developing the style. The figure style remained true to the Classical tradition. The ornament was an integral part of design; it was based mainly on medieval sources, originally interpreted.

The most interesting aspect of the style was the original colouring which the firm developed, from the beginnings which were strongly influenced by Pre-Raphaelite painting and the glass from the studio of William Morris. It is colouring which most readily distinguishes the work of Lyon, (Wells,) Cottier & Co. from any other windows existing in the Sydney area.

The workshop was under a strong leadership of the two founders and major partners, John Lamb Lyon and Daniel Cottier. Allowing for variations expected in any larger workshop, characteristic
workshop style persisted for at least as long as both partners lived (Cottier died in 1891 and Lyon retired after 1909).

The Sydney studio maintained contacts with overseas developments in the pictorial and decorative arts mainly through Cottier, who brought the Aesthetic Movement to Australia in the same year as he brought it to America, in 1873. Highly trained artists and craftsmen, recruited from overseas, also played their role in the cosmopolitan aspect of the workshop style in Sydney. The workshop lost its creative drive, when these worldwide contacts ceased, soon after the death of Daniel Cottier.
The Achievements of the two major glass painting workshops in Sydney, c.1864 - c.1920: A Summary

19th century glass painting in the Sydney region and in New South Wales began as an extension of the revival of this branch of decorative art in Britain. Soon after the establishment of each professional workshop, the colouring of the ecclesiastical glass was adjusted to the local quality of light, by reducing the areas of white glass and using a greater proportion of deeper colours, than had been characteristic of glass in Britain. By the mid-1870's, most ecclesiastical glass was made in Sydney. The public and the periodical press supported the local glass painters. The 1880's was the height of building activity in Sydney; windows were made locally as well as imported.

The artists have absorbed various formative influences and created their own distinct styles. The differences between the two major workshop styles are readily recognisable, first of all, by colouring, then by preferred decorative elements and the figural style. Elegant or sentimental figures, such as in some French painted glass windows, are entirely absent from the work of the local glass painters in Sydney. While gentle tonal modelling was practised by both John Falconer and the firm of Lyon, Cottier & Co., the latter combined it with linear modelling. Frederick Ashwin's style is characterised by crisp line of an almost medieval strength and sculptural draperies. The most fluid style is that of Lyon, Cottier & Co. John Radecki
combined natural movement with clear modelling and with strong
drawing with the headlines which he had learned from Frederick
Ashwin.

The workshop of Lyon, (Wells,) Cottier & Co. maintained a greater
unity of style throughout the years because of the continuous
artistic direction by the two major partners, John Lamb Lyon
and Daniel Cottier.

While John Falconer's identity became submerged during his
partnership with Frederick Ashwin, as the two appeared to have
nothing in common, the years of the Frederick Ashwin - John
Radecki collaboration resulted in a happy blend of both artists'
styles. Both artists produced excellent figural work, but
remained satisfied to go on using Gothic canopies in a rather
traditional way, instead of attempting to find more original
alternatives in ornament.

The most important involvement of 19th century glass painting
and interior decoration in Sydney, in a wider contemporary art
movement, began in 1873, when Daniel Cottier introduced "the
latest London style" to both Sydney in Australia, and America.
In that year he founded the firm of Cottier, Lyon & Co. (later
Lyon, Cottier & Co.) in Sydney. This style actively anticipated
Art Nouveau, but the firm practically disintegrated soon after
the death of Daniel Cottier in 1891, without attaining full
development in this direction.
F. Ashwin & Co. responded to the Aesthetic movement with pale, simple pattern windows for churches and slightly more elaborate secular leadlights. The coloured pattern windows of Lyon, Cottier & Co. were significant as explorations in colour and decorative design, reflecting the preoccupation of the artists associated with the Aesthetic Movement, with high standards of design and taste.

Through the deaths and retirement of the original founders of the two major glass painting firms in Sydney, and the return home, during the economic depression of the 1890's, of the members of Lyon, Wells, Cottier & Co. staff which had been recruited from overseas centres, both workshops lost their living contacts with overseas art events and new developments in glass painting. The most vital figure who disseminated ideas in the art centres of the world was Daniel Cottier.

The search for a truly contemporary style of ecclesiastical glass painting in Sydney could be said to have ceased in the 1890's. Art Nouveau in ecclesiastical windows was limited to simple pale leadlights which were made from about 1900 onwards. Geographical isolation meant a lack of artistic stimulus, although from the early 1870's to the early 1890's the glass painters in Sydney were in a much closer contact with overseas developments in the fine and decorative arts, than the "pure" painters, with matters of particular interest to them.
Although windows of good quality continued to be made by both major workshops, the supremacy from the early 1890's onwards belonged to F. Ashwin & Co., with John Radecki as the partner of Frederick Ashwin who died in 1909. After the contacts with the art centres of the world and with glass painting overseas were lost, ecclesiastical glass painters who succeeded the pioneers prolonged nineteenth century glass painting style into the early years of the 20th century. Apart from these, a new generation of glass painters, independent of the pioneer workshops, appeared c.1900, under the same discouraging circumstances and carried their work on a much smaller scale into the period between the two World Wars. Their work is outside the aim of this study.