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COVER

St Cecilia (BJ 160) by Sir Edward Burne-Jones, made by Morris & Co, c1900.
Stained and painted glass, 213.5 x 75.5 cm.
Princeton University Art Museum, museum purchase,
Surdna Fund (y1974-84).
Photo Princeton University Art Museum
Featured on p.78



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Dearman Birchall's House Beautiful

The St Cecilia windows for Bowden Hall, a collaboration between Morris & Co and Aldam Heaton

Anne Anderson



A rather cryptic clue found in the diary of John Dearman Birchall (1828–97) goes some way to explaining how three panels illustrating the 'Life of St Cecilia' were commissioned for Bowden Hall, Upton St Leonards, near Gloucester (Pl 1)

1883 16 January Tuesday

Ordered of Morris & Co. through Heaton 3 pictures illustrative of St Cecilia.

Panels

1 ft 7 in by 2 ft 3 in each cost £56.10. Aldam has left the subject treatment and everything simply to Morris & Co.

Acting as intermediary, John Aldam Heaton (1828–97) was supervising the renovations of Birchall's residence. Fortuitously, Birchall was an avid diarist who left a detailed account of his life as a country squire.¹ Letters relating to the renovation of Bowden Hall also survive in the estate records.² These resources, alongside Birchall's own watercolours, allow us to reconstruct the opulent interiors created during the height of the Aesthetic Movement (c1860–90). These are sadly no more and when the Birchall family left Bowden in 1926 the *St Cecilia* window was broken up.

The fate of the window, which was originally on the staircase at Bowden Hall, remains something of a mystery. The three 'story' or 'legend' panels were retained by the family and moved to a new location, while the main figure of St Cecilia was returned to Morris & Co for resale. Its fate is still undetermined, although the evidence points to its being identical with the *St Cecilia* panel now in the Princeton University Art Museum. Only the figural panels were supplied by Morris & Co: the quarries were provided by Heaton and this collaboration, involving William Morris (1834–96) and Heaton, appears to be unique. Bowden currently functions as

a hotel, its interiors completely modernised and, apart from the lunette at the top, the window is now filled with plain leaded glass panels (Pl 2).

The following evaluation of the Bowden Hall interiors places the *St Cecilia* window in context. Surviving records show the respective roles played by architect Richard Norman Shaw (1831–1912) and self-styled 'artist decorator' John Aldam Heaton, and the latter's contribution demonstrates the emergence of the role of professional interior decorator.³ Heaton had already worked on several projects, including his own home Woodbank, near Bingley, Yorkshire. Birchall relied on Heaton's guidance, in terms of recommending suppliers and flagging up the latest trends in décor.

As soon as he acquired his Gloucestershire estate, Birchall began the process of transforming Bowden into a House Beautiful, a construct which lies at the heart of the Aesthetic movement. The expression comes from Clarence Cook's influential domestic manual *The House Beautiful, Essays on Beds and Tables, Stools and Candlesticks* (1878). With interior décor repositioned as a 'work of art', homeowners wished to express their personality and individual tastes as well as their creative flair. Birchall had the financial resources to turn to Heaton and Morris & Co. to realise his artistic ambitions.

Having established Birchall's background and interests, the transformation of Bowden's interior is chronicled. The roles played by Shaw and Heaton are assessed, including establishing their credentials for the project. Demonstrating how the *St Cecilia* window was commissioned and installed, reveals the part played by stained glass within the Aesthetic House Beautiful. Finally, conjecturing how the panels were arranged leads to a tentative reconstruction of the window.

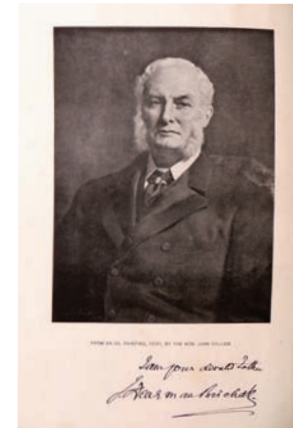
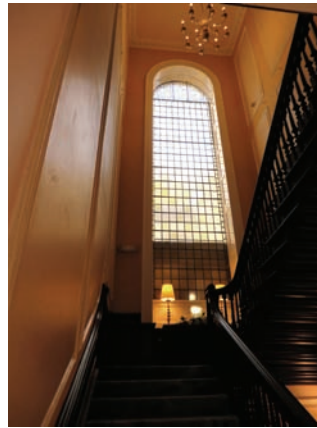
Note that BJ numbers refer to Morris & Co, *Catalogue of Designs*

1 *St Cecilia* legend or story panels designed by Sir Edward Burne-Jones (1833–8) and fabricated by Morris & Co, c1883. Stained and leaded glass. Each panel 70.1 x 51.8 cm. For Bowden Hall, Upton St Leonards, near Gloucester. Private collection. Photo Anne Anderson

2 Staircase at Bowden Hall, Upton St Leonards, near Gloucester. Window 609 x 152.4 cm. Photo Anne Anderson

3 John Dearman Birchall, frontispiece to Clara Stewart Sinclair, *A Brief Memoir of John Dearman Birchall 1828–1897*, Gloucester, privately printed, 1899. Photo Anne Anderson

4 Garden front, Bowden Hall, Upton St Leonards, near Gloucester. Photo Anne Anderson



Dearman Birchall: country squire with cosmopolitan tastes

Bowden Hall, a stuccoed Georgian house in exceptionally beautiful surroundings on the edge of the Cotswolds, was acquired by Dearman Birchall, as he was known to his friends, in 1868.⁴ From a Leeds mercantile family, his father and grandfather being respected woolstaplers and cloth manufacturers, Birchall aspired to the status of Gloucestershire squire. Financial success in the cloth trade allowed him to achieve this goal by the age of forty. Over the next 20 years Bowden Hall was transformed into a fashionable House Beautiful with the assistance of Shaw and Heaton. Birchall's predilection for Oriental blue and white porcelain, Japanese lacquer, Persian carpets and works by Walter Crane (1854–1915), Simeon Solomon (1840–1905), and Dante Gabriel Rossetti (1828–82) might seem at odds with his Quaker background but his artistic temperament apparently outweighed any puritan restraint (Pl 3).

Apparently, his business acumen and artistic proclivities went hand-in-hand. His eldest daughter Clara Sinclair, who wrote a useful biography of her father, maintained that his understanding of colour combinations gave him the upper hand in the cloth trade: JD Birchall & Co, the firm that he founded, won prizes at the International Exhibitions held in London in 1862, Paris 1867, Vienna 1873, Philadelphia 1876, Paris 1878 and Sydney 1879.⁵ But life as a country squire eventually proved more appealing and in 1891, he sold his share as sleeping partner. Upon purchasing Bowden Hall, Birchall immediately set about redecorating, these renovations being documented in his diary: 'Tuesday 27th April 1869... Bought J A Heaton and Edward down to Bowden. Marsh [Marsh and Jones] met us there this morning. We carefully went into all the house arrangements.' For architectural modifications he called on the services of his brother Edward Birchall (1839–1903), who was initially articulated to Sir George Gilbert Scott. Edward Birchall was based in Leeds and most of his architectural achievements can be found locally, although it is Tylney Hall, Rotherwick, Hook, in Hampshire (1879) that shows that he mastered the fashionable neo-Elizabethan/Jacobean idiom. At Bowden, the architectural changes were internal, with the mansion retaining its classical bowed garden façade and stuccoed surfaces (Pl 4).

Marsh & Jones of Leeds, renowned cabinet makers and decorators, were entrusted with the project: '22nd April 1869... they were not so busy, but they would be glad to take a very modest job for me and would not advise expensive things. In price for painting, papering, removing they would not be beaten.' This firm expanded its enterprise, taking showrooms in Cavendish Square, London, and later became Marsh, Jones & Cribb.



On 7 July 1871 Birchall 'came up to town and spent the day inspecting Utrecht velvets and other productions for covering chairs and eventually chose a stupid satin which Marsh and Mr Walters, the maker, pronounced not much more expensive and far more durable than the blue-dyed velvet which was the only kind I fancied'. Birchall's letters to Shaw and Heaton reveal he was conversant with the latest trends in interior decor; Bowden was to be to be a paragon of aesthetic sensibility thanks to their collaboration.

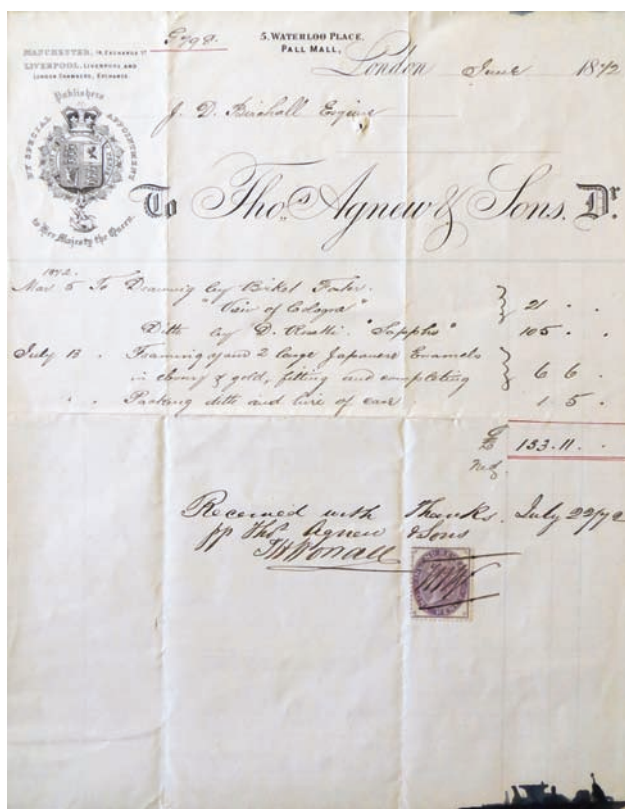
Aldam Heaton, 'artist decorator'

A fellow-Yorkshireman, Heaton also began his career in the textile industry being listed as a worsted manufacturer at Beehive Mills, Bradford in 1872.⁶

Given the tight knit circles of bourgeois Leeds society, Birchall and Heaton's paths were bound to cross, but this 'merchant-gentleman of taste' was breaking new ground in offering his expertise as a professional 'artist decorator'.⁷

Heaton would eventually provide a full service, supplying wallpapers, stained glass windows and furniture. In the late 1880s he published a gazetteer of his work: *A Record of Work. Being Illustrations of Printing, Stencilling and Painting, Stained Glass, Cabinet-Work and Marquetry, Embroidery, Woven fabrics and Other Decorative Works Designed and Executed by Aldam Heaton, With Notes by the Designer*.⁸

Following in the footsteps of Morris, Heaton's career appears to have been kindled by the challenge of decorating his own home Woodbank, a 17th-century farmhouse in the Harden valley, near Bingley, which he leased in 1860. His 'yearning for domestic beautification' was also inspired by his father, a 'stuff merchant by inheritance, but by choice a dilettante who



dissipated his fortune on artistic improvements to his home, St John's Cottage Leeds'.⁹

Heaton's first direct contact with Morris, Marshall, Faulkner & Co may have been at the 1862 International Exhibition, where both parties exhibited,¹⁰ but Heaton had already invited Rossetti to stay at Woodbank to paint a portrait of his wife Ellen.¹¹ This sitter, Mrs Ellen Aldam Heaton, should not be confused with Ellen Heaton (1816–94), the art collector and philanthropist, who was Aldam Heaton's sister-in-law. Aldam's sister Fanny married the eminent doctor, John Deakin Heaton (1817–80), Ellen Heaton's younger brother.¹² According to Julia Smith, 'the doctor took on the role of head of the family while his sister Ellen took John Aldam, fourteen years her junior, under her wing'.¹³

Ellen Heaton was a so-called 'lion hunter' who pursued celebrities with a vengeance: she corresponded with John Ruskin, Elizabeth Barrett Browning and Rossetti. Ruskin set about her education and on his advice Ellen Heaton purchased eight paintings by Turner and commissioned eight works from Rossetti.¹⁴

Andrew Saint, Shaw's biographer, concludes that Ellen Heaton provided her brother-in-law with useful contacts: 'To fulfil his ambitions, he fell in with his sister-in-law... and in about 1860 one must presume an extensive visit on his part to London, and introductions to Ruskin, Rossetti, Burges and Norman Shaw'.¹⁵ Apparently this helped him to 'develop a head for business, as well as sympathy for Ruskin's paternalistic socialism, a loyalty to the High Church Movement, and a passion for Advanced Gothic'.¹⁶ Simon Morgan claims that it was through 'Ellen's connections with Ruskin and those of her brother-in-law John Aldam Heaton... that national tastes and fashions could find their way to provincial towns like Leeds... or Bradford'.¹⁷

According to Malcolm Hardman, 'They were both enabled, with help from Ruskin, to form a bridge between local sense and metropolitan sensibility'.¹⁸ This milieu also shaped Birchall's tastes and aspirations and when he acquired

Bowden he naturally turned for advice to Heaton, who was already known to him through Leeds/Bradford circles.

Heaton acted as ambassador for Morris, Marshall, Faulkner & Co in the North, recommending the firm to the successful textile entrepreneur Walter Dunlop who lived at Harden Grange, near Bingley.¹⁹ Dunlop commissioned from the firm 13 stained glass panels, telling the story of Tristram and Iseult, for the entrance hall and staircase of Harden Grange (1862–63).²⁰ Through Heaton's recommendation, in 1863 the firm secured a commission for a series of windows for Bradford Cathedral and Rossetti, Edward Burne-Jones and Ford Madox Brown worked on the project.²¹

Perhaps inspired by Morris, Heaton had established himself as an artistic decorator by the mid-1860s, when he put his contacts to good use. Rossetti suggested that Heaton should 'make this house [16 Cheyne Walk] your inn while in London' as 'there was room for all – Mr Shaw included if he's travelling with you'.²² By the 1870s Heaton was becoming more involved with Shaw's architectural commissions and he executed a complete scheme of hangings and embroideries for St James', Hebden, Bridge (1874–6). As Julia Smith observes, 'As Shaw was now looking round for a regular decorator, it seemed the time had come to make that move to London... his friendship with Shaw bought him a ready-made clientele and immediate success'.²³ Heaton gave up the lease of Woodbank in 1876²⁴ and 'there followed a decade of informal but close partnership with R. Norman Shaw'.²⁵

Birchall's artistic circles

Birchall was a talented artist in his own right and a familiar figure in the art world, attending private views and exhibitions at the Royal Academy, the Dudley Gallery, and the Grosvenor Gallery. Friendships with Heaton and Shaw must have facilitated his entrée into London's artistic circles. On Monday 10 May, for example, 1869 he dined with Lord Leighton's architect George Aitcheson in the company of Rossetti:

Very pleasant evening all so nicely arranged Misses Alice and Florence Hardy chief attraction. DGR's taste is superb and to some extent makes up for his short supply of the needful, his china with some exceptions is very made up.

On being invited to dine on 6 June 1869 at 5 Aubry Road, Holland Park, Bayswater, with solicitor Henry Virtue Tebbs (c1848–1900), Rossetti's patron, Dearman was duly impressed by his collection:

Most amusing evening...Tebbs has a lovely collection of china and pictures by his favourites Dante Rossetti, H. Hunt [William Holman Hunt], Leighton, Millias, Madox Brown. He says... that though he has obtained most of his paintings from artists he much prefers Christy [sic] & Manson... at dinner... we had a great deal of talk about art. They evidently endorse and approve [Ernest] Gambart's [a well-known picture dealer] action in getting Rossetti's picture for 200 and selling for 12 hundred. Tebbs is evidently great in this school he possesses two watercolours sketches by him and many photos of his drawings. He gave £60 lately as a great friend and he had offered him lately *St George and the Dragon* same as Aldam wrote to me about at 75. I think his note to Heaton said £100. Tebbs thinks they should be worth about £15 but he worships him as the greatest living artist. Though a 'divine poet' and filled with high serious and sentimental thoughts on marriage and kindred ideas he yet keeps a great fat coarse woman [presumably Fanny Cornforth]. They said much of a C.A. Howell, secretary to Ruskin [and art dealer], who has such a wonderful house and who has the knack of selling things for about 20 times what he gives. He has just made an excursion into Holland and won't he just make his other [?] admirers pay for the pots he brings home. Tebbs thinks one of Miss Heaton's Rossetti's for which she gave £50 would sell for £1000. He would go to the [?] for 9 months or solitary confinement for a year to possess such an adorable work. H. Hunt who owed Tebbs some acknowledgment for negotiating between himself and Gambart about *The Saviour in the Temple* said he would do him a little picture and charge

5 Thomas Agnew's bill of sale dated June 1872. Inscribed '1872 March 5 Drawing by Birket Foster, 'View of Cologne', £21 and Ditto by D. Rossetti 'Sappho', £105'. Birchall archive. Photo Anne Anderson

6 *La Mandolinata* by Dante Gabriel Rossetti (1828–82), 1869. Red and black chalks heightened with white on buff paper, 90 x 70 cm. Private collection. Photo Sotheby's London

sum commensurate with his moderate means. A nice little water-colour drawing of Devonshire cliffs and sea was selected looking like £5, price £60 & he could not get possession of it until 3 years after he had paid for it.²⁶

Dearman's account offers rather humorous insight into the machinations of the art world, including the cut and thrust of striking deals. Artists thought nothing of going behind their patrons' backs, playing one against the other to secure a better fee. The dealer Charles Augustus Howell (1840–90) was notorious for his double dealing, eventually falling out with Rossetti. He also fuelled the competitive market for 'Old Blue', as blue and white Oriental porcelains were known. Like his rival Joseph Joel Duveen (1843–1908), Howell combed the Low Countries for Old Blue which was eagerly purchased by Rossetti and James McNeill Whistler, as well as industrialists such as Frederick Leyland and William Hesketh Lever. Seeing how his peers lived, surrounded by a 'lovely collection of china and pictures', clearly inspired Birchall and he went on to form one of the most significant collections of Old Blue.

When Birchall was accepted into the Burlington Fine Arts Club he entered an elite circle of artists and patrons. At a Burlington Club *conversazione* he met 'the Gambier Parrys²⁷, Millais, Tom Taylor [editor of *Punch*], Chaffers [William Chaffers, 1811–1892, antiquarian and ceramics expert]... the Tebbs... Wornum [Ralph Wornum, 1812–1877, Keeper at the National Gallery]'. Birchall's connoisseurial skills were developed through handling and discussing works of art that would have been beyond his means: 'Collection of fayence [*sic*] Urbino ware, Wedgewood [*sic*], bronzes, Marquis of Westminster's collection of paintings including Turner's sketch and Constable's greatest picture' (19 April 1871). He could not resist attending auctions. After witnessing the Charles Dickens sale, he noted on 11 July 1870:

Dolly Varden by Frith costing £20 fetched 1000 from Agnew... trifles of Dresden costing 12/6 sold for 18gns all wished a memento of the great man.

The prices fetched were truly ridiculous – a small poor portrait panel by [Daniel] Maclise sold for 660gns.²⁸

Birchall was granted entrée into several notable houses and such experiences would have fuelled his desire to transform Bowden, his tastes now leaning towards artists associated with the Aesthetic movement. With his brother Edward he went to visit the home of the noted 'chinamaniac' Louis Huth (1821–1905), a merchant banker and prominent patron of the arts who also aspired to the life of a country squire: Possingworth Park, Cross in Hand, Waldron, East Sussex, his country seat designed by Matthew Digby Wyatt, had just been completed. Birchall noted in his diary entry for 28 December 1868 that it cost £60,000: 'very fine house extravagant carving both in stone and oak. Some good Turners, [George] Morlands and [Francis] Danbys amongst others. Beautiful collection of Nankin [Chinese] Chelsea Worcester and oriental porcelain'.

Seeing Huth's palatial mansion clearly spurred Birchall into action. The following day, 29 December 1868, he went on a spree: 'spent £70 at Durlachers, £9 with Enthoven. £4 10 at W.



Browns, 3½ at Marks in addition to a scene £22.10 for the Brooks and £15 for a Rossetti drawing'.²⁹ He cryptically noted in his diary, 'I gave way to buying with more facility than is prudent,' yet on 8 February 1871, while visiting the Dudley Gallery, his acquisitiveness again got the better of him:

Bought No. 237 *Thun* by Charles Earle £21.
448 *Market Place Siena*, £15 15/-
131 *Peep Bo* Miss Bouvier £15 5/-
Paid £5 5 /- on the last and £ 8 on the other two.
Replica of *Bluebeard Floriana* by Crane £20

Despite its misleading title, Crane's painting depicted a stunning peacock that acquired a reputation for killing its wives.³⁰

Birchall's most daring purchase occurred on 5 March 1872 when he acquired 'Drawing by D. Rossetti 'Sappho' 105', red and black chalks heightened with white on buff paper, from Thomas Agnew & Sons (Pl 5). Agnew's had purchased the drawing directly from the artist on 17 March 1870 for 80 guineas. It was acquired as stock and was listed as *La Mandolinata*.³¹ In his letters Rossetti never refers to this work by name although in 1869 he mentions chalk drawings that he was in the process of selling to Agnew.³² Agnew's may have changed the title to attract Birchall, as he was not musically inclined. Renamed 'Sappho', alluding to the Archaic Greek poet, the work was appropriately hung in the Library, which housed his books and collection of Old Blue. Birchall commemorated Bowdon's finest Aesthetic interior in a water-colour, by his own hand, which shows 'Sappho' hanging beside an ebonised and gilded cabinet designed by Shaw to display his choicest porcelains: having acquired pieces previously owned by Rossetti, this juxtaposition was most appropriate.³³ When, however, Birchall lent the drawing to the 1883 Rossetti memorial exhibition it was again entitled *La Mandolinata* in the catalogue (Pl 6),³⁴ although when it was consigned in the 1926 Bowden Sale it had reverted to being 'Sappho' and clearly the family always knew Rossetti's drawing by this title.³⁵



St Cecilia legend lights

With Shaw as his guide, Birchall was directed to MMF & Co. His diary records a visit to Morris's premises on 5 July 1869:

Went with Shaw to see Morris & Co. 26 Queen St. Bloomsbury.

We selected the yellow paper for the morning room ceiling and looked at designs for 1 pane (17 in by 13 7/8) in each of the three windows. We selected the cuts and they have sent in estimate which is startlingly £32.³⁶

Given the dimension of this 'pane' these were not spaces later filled by the *St Cecilia* panels commissioned in 1883: it was the staircase at Bowden that was 'adorned with a fine window by Burne-Jones and Morris'.³⁷ By the 1880s Morris & Co, so named since 1875, had established a reputation for domestic windows. At Craggside, Northumberland, enlarged for Lord Armstrong, Shaw was presumably the agent when stained glass panels were installed in the dining room inglenook (1873, Morris) and the bay window of the Library (1873, Burne-Jones, Rossetti, and Ford Madox Brown). The choice of subjects was appropriate: Rossetti's Legend of St George alongside Dante and Chaucer, Spencer and Milton, Virgil and Horace and Homer and Aeschylus in the Library and the Four Seasons for the Dining Room inglenook.

If Birchall was not musically inclined, what prompted the selection of St Cecilia, the patron saint of music, for the staircase at Bowden?

The Bowden St Cecilia design was initially devised for the organist of Christ Church Cathedral, Oxford, Dr Charles William Corfe (1814-83), whose commission is recorded in Burne-Jones's account book dated August 1874.³⁸ The model for St Cecilia is said to have been Mary Dahlgren Astor, wife of the American financier William Waldorf Astor. Below the three figures of St Cecilia flanked by two angels, there are

three predella lights illustrating St Cecilia's life and martyrdom. The first depicts *Hic Santa Cecilia Virum Suum Docet* (Here Cecilia teaches her Man) (BJ 164); the second *Hic Angelus Domini Sanctam Ceciliam Docet* (Here the Angel of the Lord teaches St Cecilia) (BJ 162) and the third *Hic Sancta Cecilia Coronam Coelicam Meretur* (This puts a Crown worthy of St Cecilia) or the *Martyrdom of St Cecilia* (BJ 163).³⁹ Burne-Jones's biographer Malcolm Bell, was the first to suggest these panels illustrate a text, offering this passage:

Valirian goth boom and fint Cecilie
[Valerian goes home and finds Cecilia]
Withinne his chaumbre with an aungel stonde.
[In his room standing with an angel.]
This aungel bad of roses and of lillie
[This angel had roses and lilies]
Corounes tuo, the which he bar in honde;
[made as two crowns, which he carried in his hands.]⁴⁰

Paul Crowther has identified these lines as coming from 'The Second Nun's Tale' in Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, which centres on the legend of St Cecilia.⁴¹ In the window the second panel shows Valerian returning to his chamber following his baptism. Pushing back the curtain, he finds St Cecilia and the angel, holding two crowns, waiting for him: the crowns of lilies and roses signify their eventual martyrdom.

These panels were reprised for Bowden but with changes to the colours. In the Christ Church *Conversion of Valerian* St Cecilia is robed in blue and Valerian in yellow, with the drapery behind white: at Bowden St Cecilia wears a white robe embellished with a floral motif in yellow and Valerian is draped in blue, the curtain behind being pale green (Pl 7). The halos also differ. At Bowden St Cecilia's is radiant white and Valerian's red.

Then, in the Christ Church *Valerian and the Angel* St Cecilia is draped in blue and white, while Valerian wears a



brown cloak over a white robe with yellow leaf embellishments, and the central angel is dressed in white: but at Bowden the angel has been transformed by glowing red drapery, Valerian is draped in shades of blue and St Cecilia is in white with yellow leaf embellishments (Pl 8). In the *Martyrdom of St Cecilia*, in the Christ Church version St Cecilia is in dark blue, while at Bowden she is in luminous white; her executioner has also been lightened, with his cuirass white rather than brown, while St Cecilia's halo is transformed into a glowing red (Pl 9). The notation in the Morris & Co. *Catalogue of Designs*, dated May 1883, is headed 'J.A. Heaton's window' and it ascribes the painting of the first two subjects to John Henry Dearle, Morris's 'right-hand man', with the 'Martyrdom' listed as by Thomas Bowman.⁴² A further entry, dated 20 November 1926, records a repair to a head in the 'Annunciation' panel for 'Birchall', painted by Chadwick, which was presumably a mis-identification. This repair was made at the time the window was removed from Bowden.⁴³

St Cecilia

Charles Sewter records a fourth panel for Bowden Hall citing Henry Currie Marillier (1865–1951), Managing Director of Morris & Co from 1905 to 1948, as his source. Marillier claimed a window consisting of a large rectangular panel of St Cecilia (BJ 160) and below it three small panels of scenes from her life was supplied to JD Birchall; it was 'broken up and the three small panels removed to Major Birchall's new house in the Cotswolds-the Cecilia is for sale 1926'.⁴⁴ Sewter, however, claimed he could find no mention of this St Cecilia panel in the Morris & Co. *Catalogue of Designs*. He even suggests that the *St Cecilia* window in the William Morris Gallery,



7 *Conversion of Valerian* (BJ 164) by Sir Edward Burne-Jones (1833–98). Stained and leaded glass panel, 70.1 x 51.8 cm. Private collection. Photo Anne Anderson

8 *Valerian and the Angel* (BJ 162) by Sir Edward Burne-Jones. Stained and leaded glass panel, 70.1 x 51.8 cm. Private collection. Photo Anne Anderson

9 *Martyrdom of St Cecilia* (BJ 163) by Sir Edward Burne-Jones. Stained and leaded glass panel, 70.1 x 51.8 cm. Private collection. Photo Anne Anderson

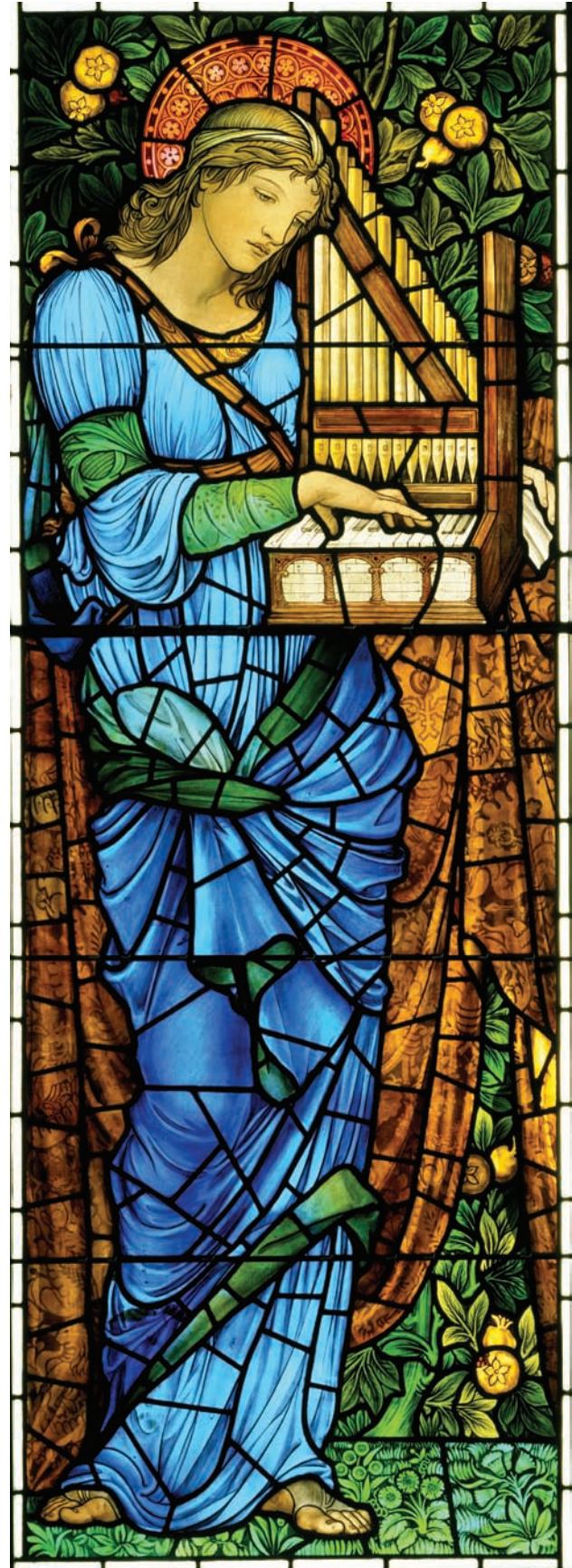
10 *St Cecilia* (BJ 50) by Sir Edward Burne-Jones, c1897. Stained and leaded glass panel, 124.4 x 77.5 cm. William Morris Gallery, Walthamstow (C76). Photo William Morris Gallery, Walthamstow

Walthamstow, 'is very likely the one from Bowden Hall' even though this window is listed in the *Catalogue of the William Morris Collection, Walthamstow* (1969) as formerly in Miles Birket Foster's house The Hill, Witley, Surrey (Pl 10).⁴⁵ This panel is very different in style from the Bowden story panels: a full-length standing figure with a hand-organ is set against quarries with a conventional flower pattern. St Cecilia is not based on the Christ Church figure but on one designed by Burne-Jones for Jesus College, Cambridge, in 1872 (BJ 50). Moreover, there is an entry in the Morris & Co. *Catalogue of Designs* for a St Cecilia (BJ 50) supplied to The Hill in January 1897, painted by Walters (1833–98), against quarries by Wren (1893–1907) with a scroll drawn and lettered by George Campfield (1861–98), and painted by Wren.⁴⁶

Birchall's *St Cecilia* likely followed Burne-Jones's Christ Church model (BJ 160). Under the heading 'St Cecilia' (BJ160), Sewter lists a window for 'Bowden Hall' (1880) and



11 *St Cecilia* (BJ 160), possibly by John Dearman Birchall (1828–97), c1883. Watercolour on paper, 30 by 10 cm. Private collection. Photo Anne Anderson



12 *St Cecilia* (BJ 160) by Sir Edward Burne-Jones, made by Morris & Co, c1900. Stained and painted glass, 213.5 x 75.5 cm. Princeton University Art Museum, museum purchase, Surdna Fund (y1974-84). Photo Princeton University Art Museum

'Mr Heaton' (1881), presumably the same window.⁴⁷ Under 'Heaton' there are two entries:

- 1881 St Cecilia
- Doc. The entry in the 'Catalogue of Designs', dated 1881, names the glass painter as Bowman, with treework.
- 1883 3 panels with the life of St Cecilia (BJ 162-64).⁴⁸

An entry in Birchall's diary gives the date of the commission as 11 July 1880: 'Wrote Aldam that we accepted Topsy's offer of a subject 2 ½ feet by 7 ft. £50'. (Using Morris's nickname 'Topsy' or 'Top' implies Birchall was on familiar terms.) The significant gap between the two commissions is intriguing given the assumption that all four panels were for the staircase window.

What did the Bowden St Cecilia figure look like, given it was last seen in 1926? Fortunately, a small watercolour study of St Cecilia, possibly by Birchall's hand, with lead-lines included, survives (Pl 11).⁴⁹ This indicates that the Bowden *St Cecilia* differed from the Christ Church version with a new background and different colours. The back of this drawing is inscribed 'Burne-Jones designed. Morris colours and made glass'. *St Cecilia* is dressed in a luminous blue gown bunched up at the hips. Her inner sleeve is green, with a band of green around her upper arm. Her red halo is patterned with gothic cinquefoils. She stands on a floral meadow, the background of pomegranates trees partially obscured by a delicately patterned yellow hanging.

A photograph of the Burne-Jones cartoon (BJ 160; Huntington Berger Collection, 2000.5.1543A) shows that he did not devise a background, giving Morris a free hand when adapting the design for further commissions. Morris frequently used pomegranates, most notably in his famous wallpaper *Fruit* (c1865). He would have appreciated its ancient symbolism, the broken or bursting open fruit signifying Christ's suffering and resurrection. More generally pomegranates, which contain many seeds, represented fruitfulness and fertility. Entering a garden of pomegranates was likened to a mystical experience although in the Jewish faith the pomegranate was also associated with the forbidden fruit in the Garden of Eden. Given that St Cecilia read the scriptures to her husband, the pomegranate could signify divine knowledge.

Burne-Jones' *St Cecilia* design was reused on numerous occasions, including a tapestry produced in 1887. Sewter lists 26 *St Cecilia* (BJ 160) windows with many variations. Dr Donald Green continued Sewter's quest to record every Morris & Co window and he itemises 29 versions of *St Cecilia*.⁵⁰ Despite this replication, by changing the colours and background details, each window is unique. At Christ Church, the original commission, the saint stands in a white robe before a deep blue curtain and dense foliage (1875), whereas when *St Cecilia* was used for a memorial window at St Helen's, Welton, Yorkshire (1877) she was robed in white against a blue curtain with a pomegranate tree behind. At St Mary's Tadcaster, *St Cecilia*, robed in white, stands against lettered scrolls and oak leaves with acorns (1879). The saint is placed against quarries at St Catherine, Baglan, Port Talbot (1880) and similarly, at All Saints, Preston Bagot, Warwickshire, she stands against plain quarries.⁵¹ At the Gordon Chapel, Fochabers, Morayshire, *St Cecilia* robed in white stands before a red curtain (1885) where, below, *Valerian and the Angel* (BJ 162) reprises the colours of the Bowden panel (1885). At All Saints, Wilden, Worcestershire, *St Cecilia* robed in blue stands against an entirely floriated background (1902). In a version for the Second Presbyterian Church, Chicago (1904) the saint is robed in blue against blue drapery with a lemon tree in the background, while at St



13 Detail of lunette attributed to John Aldam Heaton (1828–97) c1883. Stained and leaded glass panels, lunette, 152.4 cm wide. Staircase at Bowden Hall, Upton St Leonards, near Gloucester. Photo Anne Anderson

Mary's, Oxted, her dress is reddish-pink against a dense floral background of lilies and briar roses (1908).

The closest extant window to the Bowden watercolour study is a window in the Princeton University Art Museum, which features the same colours, as well as the pomegranate tree and yellow drapery background, while the lead lines recorded in the Bowden study also correspond exactly.⁵² The panel was purchased in 1974 from David Drey, in London although the only provenance Drey provided was that he had purchased it from the book dealer Ian Hodgkins & Co, Ltd. that year (Pl 12).⁵³ This panel measures 213.5 x 75.5 cm and Green rejected the Princeton panel as a contender for Bowden based on these measurements, as they did not correspond to those provided by the family.⁵⁴ The Princeton catalogue entry conjectures that this window originated as a private commission, perhaps for a dining room, an entertainment space for which the musical motif would have been well suited.

For the most part, *St Cecilia* windows were commissioned for ecclesiastical settings although Sewter records a *St Cecilia* (BJ 160) for Holmestead, Mossley Hill, Liverpool, the home of shipping magnate William Imrie (1837–1906). The library window, composed of three lights, featured *St Cecilia* against 'a curtain background and quarries' (1895).⁵⁵ Although the house still exists, it has been broken up into apartments. The Morris & Co. *Catalogue of Designs* records a *St Cecilia* window for Onslow Square, South Kensington (1883). Painted by Dearle with treework, quarries and border by Stokes, Sewter assumed this was for a private house.⁵⁶ Similarly, a *St Cecilia* panel (1881) may have been for The Abbey House, Old Malton, Yorkshire.⁵⁷ Sewter also records a single light window with *St Cecilia* (1895) for the drawing room, Sandhays (?).⁵⁸ In total five *St Cecilia* lights are associated with a domestic setting, which narrows the field for potentially assigning the Princeton panel.

Reconstructing the Bowden window

The staircase window at Bowden Hall is immense, extending through the full height of the building; a narrow rectangle ending in a lunette (see Pl 2). It is comparable in scale to an ecclesiastical commission, 610.3 x 152.5 cm. The legend panels measure 70.1 x 51.8 cm. Placed horizontally, with no quarries in between, it would be a tight fit at 4 ft 9ins (149.3 cm) but, as predella panels are traditionally placed in a horizontal band below the main figure, this configuration seems likely. The panels were surrounded by quarries, as indicated by those that remain in situ in the lunette (Pl 13). Stylistically these quarries do not correspond to any known Morris & Co



designs. Rather, they appear to have supplied by Heaton. The back of the Bowden *St Cecilia* watercolour study is inscribed 'Floried panes cost 15/- foot. Plain green 4/- 5/-'.

The lunette is filled with square silver-nitrate quarries featuring stylised plants arranged in panels surrounded by a border of circular wythen roundels sometimes referred to as 'bottle bottoms'.⁵⁹ These roundels were used in Heaton's panel *Roman* (no. 47), which could be supplied for 12/- per square foot, illustrated in a *Record of Work*.⁶⁰ A panel retained by the Birchall family is composed of five by three rectangular quarries, painted with strawberry plants, hops and other floral motifs, surrounded by a border of roundels (Pl 14). This section measures 84 x 48.2 cm and could have formed part of the *St Cecilia* window or, equally, it could have been reclaimed from another window opening at Bowden.

Other surviving quarries, repurposed by the family, bear the same floral motifs but lack the border roundels (Pl 15). In the 1926 Bowdon sale catalogue, Lot 340D lists 'seven panels of leaded glass', located in the dining room.⁶¹ These might be more MMF/Morris & Co panels, or lights supplied by Heaton's workshop. In what is now the entrance to the hotel, two figural panels attributed to Heaton survive in situ. They are also surrounded with square floral quarries (Pl 16). While using Heaton's quarries may have been a cost-cutting exercise on Birchall's part, his designs were equally attractive and well made. He initially established his own workshop at 26 & 27 Charlotte Street (now Bloomsbury Street), and subsequently commissioned purpose-built premises from Shaw in 1883–84.⁶²

Using the surviving elements, we can offer a reconstruction, created by Scott Anderson (Pl 17), showing how the window might have looked before it was broken up. (The figural panels may have been surrounded by floral quarries, as here, or plain green glass.) Which brings us to the final mystery: why did Birchall choose *St Cecilia* for Bowden Hall?

When Birchall married for the second time in 1873, his bride, Emily Jowitt (1852–1884), was only twenty. She had enjoyed a superior education, having just sat the Cambridge Examination for Women in which she achieved first-class hon-

14 Stained glass panel attributed to John Aldam Heaton. Roundels and silver-stained quarries with floral motifs, 84 x 48.2 cm. Private collection. Photo Anne Anderson

15 Stained glass quarries attributed to John Aldam Heaton. Silver-stained quarries with floral motifs: strawberry plant, cow parsley and hops. Private collection. Photo Anne Anderson

16 Stained glass panel attributed to John Aldam Heaton, c1870s. Silver-stained pictorial panel of dancing couple in Pre-Raphaelite style surrounded by floral quarries. Bowden Hall, Upton St Leonards, near Gloucester. Photo Anne Anderson

17 Reconstruction of the *St Cecilia* window Bowden Hall, based on surviving elements and documentary sources, with the figural panels surrounded by floral quarries. Scott Anderson

ours, distinguished in divinity, literature and French. Her stepdaughter Clara described her as:

... a striking personality, handsome in a dark and aquiline style, vivacious and brilliant in manner, of untiring energy and immense ability (the cleverest woman I ever met, said one M.P.)... In some ways she was the exact opposite to him. One great charm about him was his perfect openness; she, on the other hand, was extremely reserved and self-contained. She disliked anything approaching gush or emotionalism.

She was very fond of general society as was natural in one so fitted to shine in it. He, on the contrary, preferred a narrow circle of intimate friends. The marriage, however, was very happy, and their love and admiration for one another grew steadily year by year.⁶³

Given their own happy union was Birchall attracted to the legendary marriage of Cecilia and Valerian? Given her superior education, was the choice a tribute to Emily? Valerian respected Cecilia's chastity, but in contrast Emily gave birth to five children. Her last child, Edward Vivien, was born on 10 August 1884 and she sadly she died less than a month later. Birchall's diary records:

Sept 2. The groom galloped down to us to say Emily was taken very ill... We arrived at about 12.45, all to no avail.

My darling had been taken from us about 11.40 without a parting word. She said 'I feel faint' and shortly expired... It was the will of God and we must bow to his decree.⁶⁴

The *St Cecilia* window became a fitting memorial to their marriage.



Conclusion

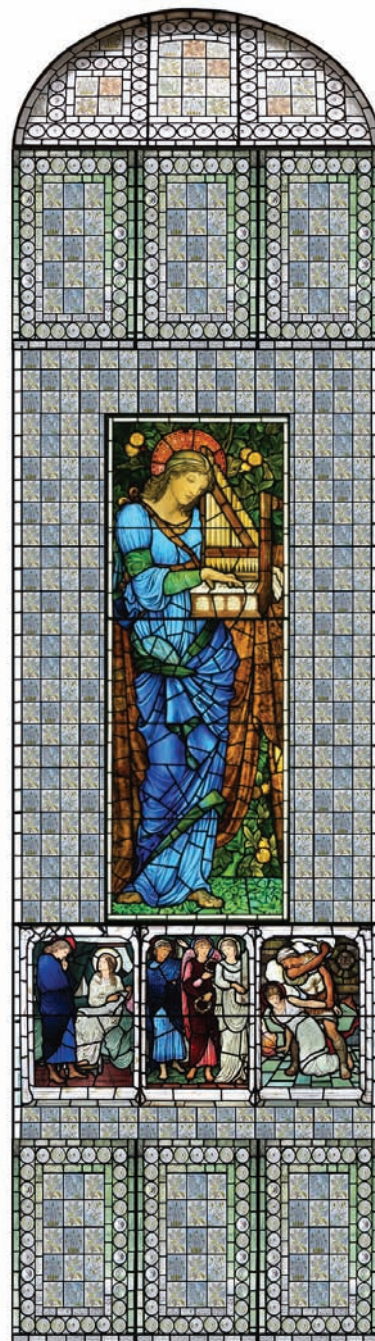
As we have seen, the transformation of Bowden Hall into a House Beautiful was clearly an ongoing project that began as soon as Birchall purchased the property. His diaries provide us with a wealth of detailed information, recording his day-to-day dealings with decorators and furnishers. Unlike the shipping magnate Frederick Leyland or the Glasgow MP William Graham, Birchall was not as 'Rich as Croesus'. His purse ran to watercolours and crayon drawings rather than oils, works by Myles Birket Foster and Water Crane rather than the giants of the Victorian art establishment. He was careful with his money: his daughter Clara 'considered his most prominent characteristic was acquisitiveness followed closely by caution'.⁶⁵ Consequently his story provides valuable insight into the aspirations of the upper-middle class, rather than the fabulously wealthy nouveau riche.

The St Cecilia window throws up several interesting questions. For instance, if the main panel was selected by Birchall on 11 July 1880, why were the three legend panels not commissioned until 16 January 1883? In the Morris & Co *Catalogue of Designs*, the commission is attributed to Heaton and it remains the only documented collaboration between Heaton and Morris & Co. As Heaton provided the quarries, we can presume that he assembled the window. With no surviving documentation, we can only speculate how the figural panels and quarries were arranged. Similarly, although the location of the legend panels is known, the fate of the main figure of *St Cecilia* remains a mystery. Despite discrepancies in the measurements, the best contender, based on colour, background details and leading, is the panel now at Princeton.

In attempting to unravel the story of Bowden Hall's *St Cecilia* windows I have only touched on his relations with Heaton, Shaw, Rossetti and Morris & Co; the diaries and letters warrant further investigation. In addition to telling us much about Birchall's personal tastes and artistic ambitions, they reveal Heaton's role as 'artist decorator'. Heaton was clearly at the forefront of this emerging profession and, working together, Birchall and Heaton created an outstanding Palace of Art.

This paper was made possible by access to the Birchall archives. I am forever in the debt of IB. I would also like to thank Betsy Rosasco, Research Curator of European Painting and Sculpture, Princeton University Art Museum. I would especially like to thank Scott Anderson, who spent many hours working on the digital reconstruction.

1 David Verey, *The Diary of a Victorian Squire Extracts from the Diaries*



and Letters of Dearman and Emily Birchall, chosen and introduced by David Verey, Gloucester 1983. Birchall's diaries and letters have passed to his descendants and they are referred to here with the family's permission. The dairies are not paginated, and so dates are given as reference. For the most part, Birchall started a new diary each year.

- 2 Accessed with the family's permission.
- 3 Mable Cox, 'Arts and Crafts Workers II-Aldam Heaton', *The Artist*, XIX (January-June 1897), pp121-7.
- 4 John Dearman Birchall's father was Samuel Jowitt Birchall (1788-1854) and his mother Sophia Jane Dearman.
- 5 Clara Stewart Sinclair, *A Brief Memoir of John Dearman Birchall 1828-1897*, privately printed Gloucester 1899. Born in 1862, Clara Sophia was the only child from his first marriage to Clara Jane Brook (1841-63).
- 6 Despite being described as a 'moderately High Anglican', John Aldam Heaton's middle name connects him with the Aldam dynasty, another Quaker family, alongside the Peases and the Birchalls, who were 'leading lights of the bourgeois hierarchy of Leeds'. See Malcolm Hardman, *Ruskin and Bradford: an experiment in Victorian cultural history*, Manchester 1986, pp198, 207).
- 7 Idem, p160.
- 8 *A Record of Work. Being Illustrations of Printing, Stencilling and Painting, Stained Glass, Cabinet-Work and Marquetry, Embroidery,*

- Woven fabrics and Other Decorative Works Designed and Executed by Aldam Heaton, With Notes by the Designer*, London: Messrs. Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent & Co. The Preface to the first edition is dated 1887.
- 9 Hardman, p198.
 - 10 Charles Harvey and Jon Press, *William Morris: Design and Enterprise in Victorian Britain*, Manchester 1991, p49.
 - 11 Mrs Ellen Aldam Heaton, née Morley, had been governess to the Fairbairn family. Although this was not seen as an impediment, the marriage was deemed 'undesirable' as the bride was 'several years older' than the groom and 'entirely without resources' (Hardman, p199). Heaton commissioned a portrait of his wife as 'Queen of Hearts' for 50 guineas. In effect this work was a replica of *Regina Cordium* with Ellen Morley's head replacing Elizabeth Siddal, the original model.
 - 12 He married Fanny Heaton in 1850. Despite bearing the same name, Frances (or Fanny) Heaton was only distantly related to John Deakin Heaton. See. Wemyss Reid, *A Memoir of John Deakin Heaton MD of Leeds*, London 1883. The bride's sister Marian acted as bridesmaid, while Aldam Heaton, aged twenty, was a groomsman, alongside Andrew Fairbairn, at the wedding (Reid, p112).
 - 13 Julia Smith, 'Merchants, Mansions and Morris: The Legacy of John Aldam Heaton', Bob Duckett, ed, *Bradford Chapters Episodes in the History of a City*, Leeds 2007, p116.
 - 14 Sara Atwood, *Ruskin's Educational Ideals*, London 2011, p44.
 - 15 Andrew Saint, *Richard Norman Shaw*, New Haven and London 1976, p54.
 - 16 Ibid.
 - 17 Simon Morgan, *A Victorian Woman's Place: Public Culture in the Nineteenth Century*, London and New York 2007, p64. Ruskin visited Woodbank on 22 April 1864, after giving a lecture in Bradford the previous day.
 - 18 Hardman, p47.
 - 19 Paul Lawson, 'The Tristram and Isoude Stained Glass Panels', first published in *The Bradford Antiquary, the journal of the Bradford Historical and Antiquarian Society* (3rd ser), vol I (1985), pp50–55. www.bradford-historical.org.uk/morris.html, accessed October 2019.
 - 20 They were acquired in 1917 by Cartwright Hall Art Gallery, which is now part of Bradford Museums & Galleries. They can be seen on display at Cliffe Castle, Keighley.
 - 21 Mary Lister, 'The Morris Windows in Bradford Cathedral', first published in *The Bradford Antiquary, the journal of the Bradford Historical and Antiquarian Society* (3rd ser), vol I (1985), pp56–61. www.bradfordhistorical.org.uk/morris.html, accessed Oct 2019.
 - 22 William E Fredeman, ed, *The Correspondence of Dante Gabriel Rossetti, 3, The Chelsea Years, 1863–72: Prelude to Crisis, 1863–67*, Woodbridge 2003, p324.
 - 23 Smith, p125.
 - 24 He was resident at 7 Oak Villas, Manningham, in September 1874, suggesting he was able to maintain a London residence prior to giving up the lease of Woodbank in 1876.
 - 25 According to Andrew Saint, within a few years Heaton had worked at Adcote, Little Ness, Shropshire (1876–81); Greenham Lodge, West Berkshire (1879–83); Flete House, South Hams, Devon (c1878); Dawpool, Cheshire (1882–86); Frogna Priory, Hampstead, London (c1882) and the Alliance Assurance Office, St James Street, London (c1882).
 - 26 Birchall Diary, 6 June 1869 and continued in Notes for June.
 - 27 Thomas Gambier Parry, 1816–1888, gentleman architect, was Birchall's neighbour on his estate at Highnam, near Gloucester.
 - 28 *Catalogue of the beautiful collection of modern pictures, water-colour drawings, and objects of art, of Charles Dickens, deceased: which... will be sold by auction, by Messrs. Christie, Manson & Woods... on Saturday, July 9, 1870.*
 - 29 Established by Henry Durlacher in 1843, Durlacher Brothers acted as agent and advisor to the V&A. Between 1850 and 1938 the company operated from 142 New Bond Street. Murray Marks (1840–1918) went into partnership with George Durlacher (1856?–1942) in the late 1870s. Marks's father emigrated from Holland, establishing his business as an importer of furniture, china and 'curiosities' at 395 Oxford Street. Marks was trading independently by the 1860s, initially from 21 Sloane Street before moving to 129 High Holborn where he is listed as a 'curiosity dealer' from 1865–69. Birchall notes this address in his diary for 1866. See Mark Westgarth, *A Biographical Dictionary of Nineteenth Century Antique and Curiosity Dealers*, Regional Furniture Society, XXIII (2009), p135. Chapman Israel Enthoven was a Hague antique dealer. William Brown is listed as 'antique furniture dealer' at 9 & 14 Wardour Street, London, in Kelly's London Directory, 1860 and at 14 Wardour Street in 1870. 'Brooks' is possibly Thomas Brooks (1818–92) who painted genre scenes in the manner of William Powell Frith. The Rossetti remains unidentified.
 - 30 The correspondence between Birchall and Crane survives in the estate records.
 - 31 Agnew's stock no. 9659 and entitled *La Mandolinata*. Sotheby's London, *Sotheby's Victorian and Edwardian Art*, 15 July 2009 (Lot 12). See Virginia Surtees, *The Paintings and Drawings of Dante Gabriel Rossetti (1828–1882): A Catalogue Raisonné*, 2 vols, Oxford 1971, I, no. 121.
 - 32 William E Fredeman, *The Correspondence of Dante Gabriel Rossetti*, Cambridge 2004, IV, p254 and p269.
 - 33 Anne Anderson, 'Rossetti's China: the origins of 'Blue Mania' in the 1860s', *The Review of the Pre-Raphaelite Society*, XVII, 2 (Summer 2009), pp10–38.
 - 34 HV (Henry Virtue) Tebbs, *Pictures, drawings, designs and studies by the late Dante Gabriel Rossetti*, cat no. 70, *La Mandolinata*, London, *Burlington Fine Arts Club*, 1883, p34. Last sold Sotheby's London, *Sotheby's Victorian and Edwardian Art*, 15 July 2009 (Lot 12), *La Mandolinata*, for £181,250.
 - 35 'Lot 363a A crayon drawing 'Sappho' by Rossetti £5.5/-.' *Bowden Hall, Catalogue of the Valuable Surplus Furniture and Effects...* Bruton, Knowles & Co. Wednesday and Thursday 26 and 27 May 1926. Purchased by Brooks of Birmingham for 5 guineas.
 - 36 Dearman could not resist noting, 'The manager [Warrington Taylor] at Morris & Co. being a morbid sort of medieval man, married Madeline Smith the poisoner, who had a sensational trial in Edinburgh.' Verey, *The Diary of a Victorian Squire*, p10.
 - 37 Sinclair, p16.
 - 38 A Charles Sewter, *The Stained Glass of William Morris and his Circle; a Catalogue*, vol II, New Haven and London 1975, p146.
 - 39 Ibid.
 - 40 Malcolm Bell, *Sir Edward Burne-Jones A Record and Review*, London 1910, p77; for the translation see Paul Crowther, *Hic Santa Cecilia Virum Suum Docet and Hic Angelus Domini Sanctam Ceciliam Docet*, Crowther-Oblak Collection of Victorian Art and the National Gallery of Slovenia and the Moore Institute, National University of Ireland, Galway. *Victorian Web* accessed February 2020.
 - 41 For the translation see Paul Crowther, n. 40 above.
 - 42 Sewter, vol II, listed under 'Duntisbourne Abbots', p65 and p228. Morris & Co *Catalogue of Designs used for Windows Executed from June 1876 to 30 June 1916*; a detailed list of the all the windows executed by the firm in order of date, giving the subjects, cartoon reference numbers and in later years the names of the glass-painters responsible for the various parts. The Sanford and Helen Berger Collection, Huntington Library and Art Collections. Hereafter abbreviated to *Catalogue of Designs*.
 - 43 *Morris & Co Windows executed from 1st July 1916*; a continuation of the earlier records. The Sanford and Helen Berger Collection.
 - 44 Sewter, vol II, 'Duntisbourne Abbots', p65. HC Marillier, *Record of Stained Glass Windows executed by Morris & Co.* MS volume of notes, arranged in alphabetical order by place, with dates, details of subjects, designers and cartoon reference numbers. Birmingham City Art Gallery. For the Bowden Hall sale see n35 above.
 - 45 *St Cecilia* window, *Catalogue of the William Morris Collection, Walthamstow*, London 1969, C76, p72.
 - 46 Sewter, vol II, p207. Sewter provides a list of glass-painters and glaziers working for the firm: A Charles Sewter, *The Stained Glass of William Morris and his Circle*, vol I, New Haven and London 1974, p101.
 - 47 Sewter, vol II, p284.
 - 48 Sewter, vol II, p228.
 - 49 In the family's possession. Sewter does not mention the Bowden study. A watercolour and bodycolour cartoon for *St Cecilia*, then in the Handley Read collection, was exhibited at the 1972 Royal Academy *Victorian and Edwardian Decorative Art* exhibition (D132). It was sold Christie's, New York, *19th Century European Paintings, Drawings, Watercolors, Sculpture*, 15 February 1995 (Lot 287).
 - 50 His archive is deposited at the National Records Office, Swindon.
 - 51 Not recorded in Sewter.
 - 52 Saint Cecilia (y1974-84 Surdna Fund) | Princeton University Art Museum artmuseum.princeton.edu/collections/objects/32015.
 - 53 Information kindly provided by Betsy Rosasco, Research Curator of European Painting and Sculpture, Princeton University Art Museum.
 - 54 Green compared the dimensions given by the family with the Princeton panel:

Bowden Hall	Princeton
Height 6 ft. 9 in.	7 ft. 0 in.
[205.7 cm]	[213.5 cm]
Width 2 ft. 4 in.	2 ft 5.75 in.
[71.1 cm]	[75.5 cm]
 - Green concluded 'As you can see, the difference is not large; but I reckon it is large enough to be significant'. Information kindly provided by Betsy Rosasco, Princeton University Art Museum.
 - 55 Sewter, vol II, p117.
 - 56 Sewter, vol II, p101. Untraced by Sewter. This could have been commissioned for St Pauls, Onslow Square (1859–60, architect James Edmeston).
 - 57 Sewter, vol II, p127. Untraced by Sewter.
 - 58 Sewter, vol II, p167.
 - 59 Bottle or Crown glass was made by spinning molten glass attached to an iron so that it is spread by centrifugal force into a sheet which is thickest in the centre. The resulting thick knob of glass is known as a bull's eye.
 - 60 Heaton, no. 49-61 F.
 - 61 *Bowden Hall, Catalogue of the Valuable Surplus Furniture and Effects*, Bruton, Knowles & Co, 27 May 1926, p17.
 - 62 Heaton's premises were demolished in about 1910.
 - 63 Sinclair, *A Brief Memoir*, p18
 - 64 Verey, *The Diary of a Victorian Squire*, p177.
 - 65 Idem, p x.