Burne-Jones as a Decorative Artist

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One day in April 1895, Edward Burne-Jones was at work in his studio, grumbling to his assistant, Thomas Rooke. "People don't know anything about our work and don't really care. . . . There was that design of Christ ... no one even looked at it when it was shewn in the New Gallery. They only saw that it wasn't oil-painted; and yet it said as much as anything I have ever done." 1 The design of Christ was not one of his famous paintings, not Le Chant d' Amour, or The Golden S 'fairs , or King Cophetua and the Beggar Maid (cat. nos. 84, 109, 112). It was a design for mosaic decoration in a church. It was a work of decorative art. And yet he thought it said as much as anything he had ever done, and the remark reflects the importance that decorative art had in his own perception of his oeuvre.

Burne-Jones designed many things, including jewelry, grand pianos, and the costumes and scenery for a stage play. There is even a delicate watercolor design for a pair of shoes. But he was preeminently a maker of pictures, and most of his work as a decorative artist was in media that lent themselves to picture-making. He drew illustrations for books. He designed embroideries and tapestries. And he made designs for stained-glass windows. 2

Photographs of Burne-Jones s studios show paintings and cartoons for decorative art jumbled up together (fig. 1). He knew where everything was and moved easily between the two kinds of work, both in the pattern of his daily life and in the less predictable workings of his imagination. One kind of work fed the other. In the late 1860s he drew more than a hundred illustrations

for a proposed edition of William Morris's The Earthly Paradise, and out of these developed many of his paintings in the 1870s and 18 80s. This happened easily, for nearly all his paintings were decorative, and nearly all his decorative art was pictorial. We are familiar with the phrase "merely decorative. "To do justice to Burne-Jones s work, we should perhaps invent its opposite — something like "profoundly decorative."

Gothic Revival

Burne-Jones took up decorative art for two reasons. One was that he needed to earn his living. This was always an important consideration, except perhaps around 1880, when his paintings were selling particularly well. The other was that it was common practice among the progressive artists who shaped his early career to work across the boundaries of fine and decorative art. On the summer evening in 1855 when he and his friend William Morris decided that they would dedicate their lives not to the Church, as they had planned, but to art, neither at that time chose to be a decorative artist. But somehow that was the start of it all. Morris tried to be an architect, and then he tried to be a painter, both efforts meeting with little success; indeed, it was some years before he found his true metier. Burne-Jones, fragile but single-minded, was from the outset determined to be a painter. Learning to paint in London under the guidance of Dante Gabriel Rossetti, he found himself among Gothic Revival architects and Pre-Raphaelite painters who looked back to the medieval period as a golden age, when art was simply the enrichment of everyday things. The distinction between fine and decorative art, which evolved in the Renaissance, seemed to them stale and academic, and they proceeded to design furniture and decorate ceilings with the same enthusiasm as they painted pictures or carved statues.

Figure 1. The garden studio at The Grange, 1887. Photograph by Frederick Hollyer (1837— 1933)
Figure 3. Edward Burne-Jones. Upright piano, 1860

Sharing this enthusiasm Burne-Jones turned his hand in these early years to painted furniture, stained glass, embroidery, tile painting, and book illustration. In stained glass he quickly found his way. But other kinds of work, such as book illustration, were taken up, struggled with, abandoned, and then taken up again. The story of his early career as a decorative artist is a story of several beginnings. And each beginning requires its own explanation of medium and technique.

Late in 1856 Burne-Jones and Morris moved into unfurnished rooms at 17 Red Lion Square in London. Morris designed a massive table and some chairs for them to use, and, with Rossetti, they painted designs on the furniture. No furniture of this date that is known to have been painted by Burne-Jones survives, though we do have several pieces dating from 1858-60. On these Burne-Jones painted with amateurish vigor, treating the furniture more as a surface to be painted on than as a structure to be enhanced. He was very much an artist who painted on "found" furniture, unlike William

Figure 2. Edward Burne-Jones. Painting on an upright piano, i860. Painted and gilt gesso on wood, with a layer of shellac over gilded areas, approx. 13 x 49 V2 in. (33 x 125.7 cm)- Victoria and Albert Museum, London

Burges (1827-1881), the Gothic Revival architect who designed the earliest neo- medieval painted furniture in 1856, where painted decoration and three-dimensional design com-

plement each other. 3 On several of these early pieces Burne-Jones s imagery is rather strange, even macabre. 4 On the front of an upright piano given to him and Georgie as a wedding present in i860, for example, low down by the pedals, he painted a design of seated women, some playing musical instruments, others perhaps asleep, and all unaware of the figure of Death at the gate (figs. 2,3). The design was based on the depiction of lovers in the fourteenth- century Triumph of Death in the Campo Santo at Pisa. On the humble piano of a newly married couple, it surely created a troubling aura. The imagery on Burgess furniture expressed clear and conventional associations: Bacchus on a sideboard stood for wine, Dante on a desk for literature. Burne-Jones's imagery of sleep, music, and death suggests that the furniture of daily life may have been connected with stranger thoughts and feelings.

In 1856 Burne-Jones was invited to design stained-glass windows for the firm of James Powell and Sons. From the outset he showed an extraordinary affinity for the medium. Over the next five years he designed at least six windows for Powells and one for the firm of Lavers and Barraud. 5 These form a distinct group in his work; the colors are particularly glowing, the lines vigorous and touching. The three-light window in the former chapel, now the dining hall, of Saint Andrews College, Bradfield (fig. 4), illustrates the theme of Christian learning. On the left Adam and Eve stand for the necessity of labor. In the middle is the destruction of the Tower of Babel, for the futility of merely human learning. On the right are Solomon and the Queen of Sheba, for wisdom. The crowding of figures and the shifts of scale between each opening could be seen as signs of Burne-Jones s inexperience

Figure 4. James Powell and Sons. Stained-glass window in the dining hall, Saint Andrew's College, Brad field, Berkshire, 1857

Figure 6. Clayton and Bell. Stained-glass window, apse, All Saints Church, Denstone, Staffordshire, 1861

in stained glass. 6 But crowding is typical of all his work at this date. And he used shifts of scale between neighboring stained-glass compositions confidently six years later, as we shall see. What appears to be inexperience is in fact a particular sense of the relationship between the stained-glass window and the wall. It is common in stained glass to have a margin around each light, usually a narrow band of white glass between two strips of lead. At Bradfield there is no margin. The colored glass of Burne-Jones s design goes straight into the wall.

Medieval stained-glass windows were made of small pieces of glass, rather like mosaic, held together with strips of lead. Designs were confined to single lights, and pictorial elements were contained within decorative borders. The fourteenth century saw the introduction of larger pieces of glass and of silver stain, a yellow stain which could be used for painting on glass. Though still made in the same way, windows became less mosaiclike, more ambitious pictorially, and in the sixteenth century some were composed as single pictures spreading over several lights. By the eighteenth century the mosaic approach had almost disappeared and windows were made by painting in colored enamels on large sheets of clear glass, of which the most famous is the west window in the chapel of New College, Oxford, designed by Sir Joshua Reynolds (fig. 5). As a matter of fact, little stained glass was made in eighteenth-century Britain. But the Victorian period saw a great revival of the medium, inspired by the renewed vitality of the Anglican Church, and particularly by the High Church

movement within Anglicanism. 7 This movement turned away from the more recent, Protestant traditions of the Anglican Church and toward the medieval church, with its public sacramental worship. And Victorian churches furnished in the High Church spirit naturally included stained-glass windows.

Thus the world of Victorian stained glass into which Burne-Jones was invited in 1856, and in which he spent the rest of his career as a decorative artist, had a quite distinct character. Here, more than in any other medium in which he worked, Burne-Jones was asked to accept other people's imagery. The medieval saints and angels, Nativities, and Crucifixions which the High Church movement had re-created in response to Protestant iconoclasm were given to him as subjects, and it was fortunate that, though he was not an Anglican, he was at home with High Church imagery. He had been caught up in the movement as a young man; it stirred his imagination. And when he abandoned the Church as a career in 1855, he did not abandon its visual language. Annunciations spoke to him about feminine awakening, Crucifixions about the wonder of redemption. He felt their collective, historical force. When Thomas Rooke remarked on the number of Adorations and Nativities he had designed, he said, "I love Christmas Carol Christianity, I couldn't do without Medieval Christianity." 8

The style of Victorian stained glass was shaped by the Gothic Revival, in which the High Church movement naturally clothed itself. In the 1830s and 1840s the Gothic Revival architect A. W. N. Pugin designed windows inspired by the colors and mosaic construction of medieval glass, and in the 1840s and 1850s the antiquarian Charles Winston investigated the chemistry of medieval glass. The 1850s saw a flowering

of glass in Britain that was convincingly medieval in style and, at the same time, original in design (fig. 6). Burne-Jones s designs are a part of that story, their vibrant colors and sometimes dense leading exploiting mosaic construction to the full. But they were not distinctly Gothic in style; rather, they were translations of his pictorial work into stained glass.

At this point we should take note of a common misunderstanding of Burne-Jones's glass. It is often described as "pictorial" rather than "architectural," as if he had been more concerned with how a window worked as a picture than with how it worked in its architectural setting. 9 But in fact he always understood the architectural nature of stained glass. "It is a very limited art," he wrote in 1880, "and its limitations are its strength, and compel simplicity — but one needs to forget that there are such things as pictures in considering a coloured window — whose excellence is more of architecture, to which it must be faithfully subservient." 10 What he did not do was to assume that the decorative character of medieval glass represented the only, or even the best, kind of relationship between a stained-glass window and its architectural setting.

In the spring of 1861 Morris and Burne-Jones, together with the architect Philip Webb, the painters Rossetti, Ford Madox Brown, and Peter Paul Marshall, and Charles Faulkner, a university lecturer, set themselves up as a firm of decorators, under the name of Morris, Marshall, Faulkner 8c Co. They announced themselves as "Fine Art Workmen," a phrase that effectively straddles the gap between painting and decorative art. 11 With the establishment of "the Firm," as they called it, Morris found his metier. His talents in the visual arts, he discovered, lay in designing patterns and in running a business, and the company became a highly effective channel for

his prodigious energies. It also became the source of nearly all Burne-Jones s employment as a decorative artist.

Burne-Jones the painter was an isolated and sometimes lonely figure. But Burne-Jones the decorative artist always had William Morris. They were an odd pair, the one lanky and often ill, the other stout and explosively energetic. But they shared the same romantic imagination. They had their differences of taste — Morris looked to Iceland for inspiration, Burne-Jones to Italy. And they had one profound difference of belief: Morris looked to politics and revolution to redeem the world, while Burne-Jones looked — and all he saw was — in his heart and his imagination. But as decorative artists their differences were complementary. Burne-Jones was skilled in composition and figure drawing, Morris in patterns and materials. Burne-Jones perfected one skill, Morris was always exploring new ones. They could not help but work together, and the rest of this essay is, in large part, the story of their collaboration.

Soon after the firm was set up a stained-glass workshop was opened, and from that date Burne-Jones designed stained glass solely for Morris, Marshall, Faulkner &c Co. This meant a different way of working, for early Morris glass was designed collaboratively. Philip Webb was responsible for the overall arrangements of many windows. Morris dealt with the crucial matter of color and oversaw production. Figure and pictorial designs came from most of the partners and from other artists. So whereas at Powell's Burne-Jones had been the sole designer of his windows, at the firm his identity as a stained-glass designer was merged with that of his colleagues, at least for a

time. Morris's combinations of colors — deep blues, ruby, green, and yellow — were more subtle and limited than Powells. And Webb liked the decorative qualities of medieval windows, especially those in which pictorial panels form a band across the middle, the top and bottom filled with the clear, lightly decorated glass known as grisaille.

It was some time before Burne-Jones's distinctive qualities as a stained-glass artist reemerged. His most striking early design was for the main lights in the south transept window of the parish church at Lyndhurst in Hampshire, designed in 1863 (fig. 7). He designed four narrow upright panels illustrating the power of prayer, which were set in a general arrangement by Philip Webb. Like those at Bradfield illustrating Christian learning (fig. 4), they are vertical compositions, powerful and crowded with figures, and the scale and method of composition change from light to light. But whereas the designs at Bradfield derive much of their compressed power from their relationship to the masonry surrounding them, those at Lyndhurst hang in a vacancy, with Webb's grisaille above and below.

John Ruskin held a special place among the friends and mentors of the young Burne-Jones. In 1863 he was thinking of moving abroad, but Burne-Jones urged him to find a house in England instead and, as an inducement, designed a set of embroidered hangings for it. The set was based on Chaucer's stories of faithful and self-sacrificing wives and lovers, "The Legend of Goode Wimmen," with Dido, Cleopatra, Ariadne, and the others embroidered among daisies and roses round the room (fig. 8). It would be, he told Ruskin, "the sweetest and costliest room in all the world." 12 About i860 William

Morris had designed similar embroidered hangings for the walls of his drawing room at Red House, with heroines from history and legend; Jane Morris, Georgiana Burne-Jones, and others embroidered some of the figures, but the scheme was never completed. And while working for Ruskin, Burne-Jones designed a less ambitious scheme of figures from Sir Thomas Malory's Morte d' Arthur for his own home, of which Georgie embroidered four. There was a romantic sense here, which Morris and Burne-Jones shared, of a room hung round with stories, stories that, taken from their favorite medieval authors, traced for them the ways of the heart and soul.

It is notable that the men designed and the women executed. Unlike other products of the firm, Victorian embroideries were normally made by middle-class women for their own amusement, in the home. In Morris's slightly bohemian circle of the early 1860s, embroidery production can be seen as inspired amateurism, young families at Red House on the weekends, arguing, stitching, painting, fooling about. Later, without ceasing to be women's work, it became part of the normal production of the firm.

The year 1865 saw Morris and Burne-Jones at work on what might have been their greatest collaboration in storytelling, an illustrated edition of Morris's suite of new poems, The Earthly Paradise. They dreamed of a massive folio with several hundred black-and-white illustrations, as definite and vigorous as the woodcuts of Diirer and Holbein. The illustrations would be done in wood engraving, the usual method for printing images alongside text from about 1830 onward. The close-grained blocks of the wood engraver produced fine detail and a range of tone. In the 1850s and 1860s they made possible a flowering of illustration by artists centered around the Pre-

Raphaelites and the engraving workshops of the Dalziel brothers and Joseph Swain, whose craftsmen prided themselves on producing facsimiles of artists' work. The wood engraving The Maids of Elf en- Mere (1854), by Rossetti, which had first inspired Burne-Jones to seek him out and thus to become an artist, was engraved by the Dalziels. And in 1862 Burne-Jones himself was asked by the Dalziels to provide two illustrations for the religious weekly magazine Good Words, as well as several more for a proposed illustrated Bible.

Fine detail and a range of tone were all very well, but Burne-Jones believed that drawings to be engraved should be simple, neat, and unequivocal. As he put it while working for the Dalziels, there should be no "scribbly work . . . stupid, senseless rot that takes an artist half a minute to sketch and an engraver half a week to engrave." 13 Diirer and Holbein

Figure 7. Morris, Marshall, Faulkner &, Co. Stained-glass window, south transept, Saint Michael and All Angels Church, Lyndhurst, Hampshire, 1863

Figure 8. Edward Burne-Jones. Sketch design for embroidered hangings on the theme of "The Legend of Goode Wimmen," ca. 1863. Pencil, 10V2 x 14 in. (26.7 x 35.6 cm). Birmingham Museums and Art Gallery

had influenced his drawings and paintings in the 1850s and 1860s, and he saw in their work a certainty of line and a sense of cutting. 14 It is important that these early northern works were woodcuts and not wood engravings; that is, they were cut from blocks taken from the length of the tree like planks, not engraved on the denser blocks taken from the width of the tree. The lines of a woodcut need to be simple and thick if the weaker block is not to break under the pressure of printing. Thus, Burne-Jones's taste was paradoxical: he was using a new technology to express the qualities of an old one.

Burne-Jones produced more than a hundred illustrations over the next two years, seventy of which were illustrations for Morris's idealized retelling of Apuleius's tale of love-testing and life journeys, The Story of Cupid and Psyche (cat. nos. 4oa-l). Psyche, a vulnerable figure in simple flowing drapery, moves among rocks and deserts and through strange places where the divine and the human intersect. Some of these settings Burne-Jones took from the woodcuts in Francesco Colonna's Hypnerotomachia Poliphili (Venice, 1499), a story of more arcane wandering and more erotic love than Cupid and Psyche. Its bizarre symbolic landscapes and processions of long-robed figures in the spare, outline style of Venetian woodcuts stayed with him for many years.

He drew in a simple, linear style in pencil on tracing paper, using woodcut conventions such as close parallel lines, in a kind of shorthand made possible by the taste that he and Morris shared. The firm of Joseph Swain was employed to engrave the blocks, but the engraver seems not to have understood Burne-Jones s purpose and rendered his drawing in the

usual style of contemporary book illustration, with a certain amount of "scribbly work." 15 Morris then took over himself, with friends and employees, though admittedly they did not as a group have much experience. Nearly all the blocks for Cupid and Psyche were engraved by Morris, who created the thick, vigorous lines and the close texture of black and white which spreads across the whole of the block. 16 Though employing the tools and blocks of the wood engraver, he worked as if he were making woodcuts, using the more sophisticated means to achieve the less sophisticated (but in this case more expressive) result. 17

In the event, the project of a fully illustrated Earthly Paradise was abandoned, and the text of the first volume was published in 1868 with only a single wood-engraved tailpiece. Perhaps it had begun to seem too ambitious. These were difficult years for Burne-Jones, his troubled love affair with Maria Zambaco always in the background. His account book records no work at all for the firm in the second half of 1867. And in the list he made of his pictures, the entry for 1868 is simply, "This year did little work through illness." 18

Aesthetic Movement

Burne-Jones reached his maturity as a decorative artist in the 1870s. He now drew with extraordinary skill, and had large conceptions. New kinds of work were taken up, established ones pushed to new limits. These were the years of the Aesthetic movement, when paintings were valued for their decorative qualities and certain kinds of decorative art were treated as seriously as paintings. Burne-Jones had always worked across these boundaries, and in the late 1860s a lighter, more purely decorative mood replaced the Gothic intensity of

his early work. He influenced the Aesthetic movement and was influenced by it in his turn. Indeed, after his success at the opening exhibition of the Grosvenor Gallery in 1877, he was one of its heroes. But if the Aesthetic movement had an idea, it was to undo the links that Victorian culture had made between art and morality, to promote "art for art s sake." 19 No one knew better than Burrie-Jones that painting is its own mysterious language. When people asked him what The Golden Stairs (cat. no. 109) meant, he could not tell them. 20 But he could not accept that art is concerned only with itself. And indeed, nearly all his work denies that conception. 21

He came into his own as a stained-glass designer in the 1870s. Within the firm no new designs now came from Rossetti, and few from Philip Webb or Morris. Ford Madox Brown withdrew in 1875, angered at the reorganization of the firm as Morris 8c Company under Morris's sole control. That left Morris in his usual role and Burne-Jones as the only source of new figure designs, which he remained for the rest of his life. 22 Their collaboration was close. In many windows of these years white-robed figures stand against backgrounds of deep color. The radiance of the windows and the chalky substance of the figures is due not only to Burne-Jones s virtuoso drawing of drapery but also to the skill of the glass painters who created its equivalent on clear glass, and to Morris's deep reds, browns, and range of blues, and the green of his foliage, which set off the figures, giving them their off-white glow. You can see the separate contributions, but you cannot isolate them.

Two kinds of window are typical of Burne-Jones's glass in this middle period. One is the single figure in a single light. Here we see Burne-Jones bringing his study of the Italian

Renaissance masters to bear on the simplest way of filling a narrow Gothic opening. Between 1872 and 1876 he designed eleven windows for the nave and transepts of the chapel at Jesus College, Cambridge, all using single figures. In four of them an Evangelist stands in the central light, with a Sibyl on either side (fig. 9). (The Sibyls were figures from classical literature who, like the Old Testament prophets, were thought to foretell the Christian gospel.) Two skillful studies for Saint

Figure 9. Morris, Marshall, Faulkner &c Co. Stained-glass window, south transept, Jesus College Chapel, Cambridge, 1873-74

Matthew survive, one showing the saint naked, the other draped (figs. 10, 11). The imagery of these windows reminds us that Burne-Jones, on his Italian journey of 1871, spent many hours lying on his back in the Sistine Chapel peering through an opera glass. The bulk and mannered posture of the Evangelists is particularly Michelangelesque: "Such is their strength," wrote Martin Harrison and Bill Waters, "that they appear to bulge out of the frame." 23 Their drapery expresses monumentality. That of the Sibyls, as well as the agitated folds of many figures at this time, expresses movement, echoes of Botticelli and Mantegna. It is not a quality that one expects in stained glass, but there are times in Burne-Jones s windows of this date when the figures seem to dance.

The second kind of window is a single composition spread over several lights, regardless of the intervening mullions. In 1874-75 Burne-Jones designed two east windows of this kind. At Allerton in Liverpool, his design was based on Jan van Eyck's altarpiece The Adoration of the Holy Lamb (1432; Cathedral of Saint Bavon, Ghent), with the Rivers of Paradise flowing through five separate lights. At Easthampstead in

Berkshire his theme was the Last Judgment (fig. 12; cat. no. 71). The Easthampstead window is more powerful, thanks to Morris s economy of color (so much cream) and Burne-Jones s complex handling of the architectural setting, the surrounding darkness. He accepts it, crowding Saint Michael and the recording angels down into the center light. He denies it, spreading a single image over three lights and tracery. And, most remarkably, he exploits it, burying the theological focus of the whole window in the sexfoil at the top, where Christ points to his wounds, redeeming the drama in the lights below.

Allover compositions suited the east window of a church, single-figure compositions the less important windows in the nave and aisles. But in 1880 Burne-Jones designed the east window of Saint Martins Church, Brampton, as a mixture of the two (fig. 13). There were fifteen subjects, each newly designed, in five separate lights. The rich, continuous background of flowers and foliage, designed by Morris, and the inward-facing figures unify the design. The window sums up much of what is best in Burne-Jones s windows of the 1870s — the figures either dancing or statuesque, the bold compositions, and above all the radiant color that fills the openings (though the radiance is lost in reproduction),

Burne-Jones kept a record of his charges to the firm in an account book. Sometimes he would add a stagy, comic note, recording the triumphs and failures of his "genius" and the "meanness" of his employer, Mr. Morris. The entry for the east window at Brampton reads:

To Brampton window — a colossal work of fifteen subjects — a masterpiece of style, a chef d'oeuvre of invention, a capo d'opera of conception — fifteen compartments — a Herculean labour — hastily estimated in a moment of generous friendship for £200, if the firm regards as binding a contract made from a noble impulse, and in a mercenary spirit declines to re-open the question, it must remain — but it will remain equally a monument of art and ingratitude — £200. 24

Morris would have heard, in Burne-Jones's exultation and equally in his tongue-in-cheek reproach, his happiness at work well done.

Between 1872 and 1878 Burne-Jones produced more than 270 cartoons for stained glass, or about one every eight and a half days. 25 Such extraordinary productivity implied an efficient system of working for the firm. It varied according to the type of project. For stained glass he generally drew full-size cartoons freehand; he liked to do this after dinner while Georgie read to him. "The soft scraping sound of the charcoal in the long smooth lines comes back to me," she wrote. 26 He drew designs for tapestries, on the other hand, to a small scale,

Figure 10. Edward Burne-Jones. Nude study for Saint Matthew, south Figure n. Edward Burne-Jones. D raped study for Saint Matthew,

transept, Jesus College Chapel, Cambridge, 1873. Pencil, 9% x 6 7 A in. 1873. Pencil, g 5 A x 67s in. (24. 6 x 17.4 cm). Birmingham Museums and

(24.6 x 17.4 cm). Birmingham Museums and Art Gallery Art Gallery

and then had them enlarged photographically. 27 He drew book illustrations with an eye to the engraving process, as we

have seen, but we have also seen how large a part the wood engraver played. All the time he worked at one remove from the workshop and the product, not because he did not know or care about the processes involved, but because he was working with Morris. This studio-based system can be compared with that of a modern designer, or of a Renaissance artist. But in many ways it was unique, shaped by his relationship with Morris.

In the 1870s Burne-Jones returned to embroidery, stimulated as so often by Morris s enthusiasms and experiments. In the early and mid-Victorian periods, the most popular embroidery was Berlin woolwork, pictorial designs precisely reproduced in tightly packed cross-stitch. (In the United States these were known as "zephyrs.") The Gothic Revival architects Pugin and G. E. Street were the first to challenge its dominance, reviving medieval embroidery styles for church work; the earliest embroideries of the firm were of this kind.

But from the 1870s Morris designed a greater number of secular embroideries, hangings, cushion covers, fire screens, and so on, which were either made up by women working for the firm or bought as designs to be embroidered at home. This shift toward the feminine and the domestic was typical of the Aesthetic movement, and Morris may have been encouraged in it by the Royal School of Art Needlework, founded in 1872 to promote "Ornamental Needlework for secular purposes" and to provide employment for "poor gentlewomen." 28

Burne-Jones and Morris collaborated on several embroidery designs for the Royal School, and on the embroidered hangings for Rounton Grange, which present scenes from the Romaunt of the Rose y a medieval dream-debate over love then

attributed to Chaucer (fig. 14; cat. nos. 72-81). The techniques and materials of the Rounton hangings belong to embroidery — shimmering silks, wools, and gold thread worked in the long stitches and subtle gradations of color typical of English medieval embroidery and late-seventeenth-century crewelwork. But their size — they are about three feet high

Figure 12. Morris 6c Company. Stained-glass window, east end, Church of Saint Michael and Saint Mary Magdalene, Easthampstead, Berkshire, 1874-75

and about sixty feet long — is more like tapestry. They look back to the embroidered hangings of the 1860s and forward to the Morris /Burne-Jones tapestries of the 1880s. On a quite different scale were some of the designs Burne-Jones made to be embroidered by Frances, the daughter of his friend and client William Graham, one of a number of clever, and usually beautiful, young women with whom he was at various times platonically, and perhaps deeply, in love (fig. 15). These were so small that the details of faces, hands, and feet were too fine for silks and wools, and he painted them in himself, as in some embroidered pictures he had seen in her father's collection. It was typical of Burne-Jones that he should see the possibilities for love in the domestic production of embroidery.

In 1878 Burne-Jones designed a grand piano for himself and Georgie (present whereabouts unknown) to replace their little upright, which was by then worn out. The episode that followed was unusual in Burne-Jones s decorative work for three reasons. Morris and the firm were not much involved. The design was for a three-dimensional object. And the inspiration came not from an imagined Middle Ages or a closely studied Renaissance but from the eighteenth century.

From about 1800 grand pianos in France and England grew

Figure 13. Morris &c Company. Stained-glass window, east end, Saint Martin's Church, Brampton, Cum bria, 18

larger and more elaborately curved, mainly in response to technical developments, reaching roughly their present shape about i860. Burne-Jones was sensitive to the importance of pianos in women's lives and thought they were a bulbous offense in the feminine domain of the drawing room. He wrote, "I have been wanting for years to reform pianos, since they are as it were the very altar of homes, and a second hearth to people, and so hideous to behold mostly that with a fiery rosewood piece of ugliness it is hardly worth while to mend things." 29

For the case of his instrument Burne-Jones returned to the angular lines of eighteenth-century harpsichords and early pianos, with only a shallow curve, a sharp angle at the end, and a trestle to rest on instead of massive turned legs. It was made of oak, stained green, by John Broadwood and Sons of London.

He knew of course that the glory of some early keyboard instruments was their painted decoration, the fantasy or panorama that greets you as you lift the lid. In 1879 William Graham ordered a similar piano from Burne-Jones as a pres- ent for Frances, and this one was to be painted (cat. no. 125). In its sumptuousness the Graham piano was a far cry from the

Figure 14. Edward Burne-Jones and William Morris (1834-1896). The dining room of Rounton Grange, near Northallerton, North Yorkshire, with embroidered hangings on the theme of the Romaunt of the Rose (cat. nos. 72-81), ca. 1915

Figure 15. Edward Burne-Jones, Ruth,
ca. 1878. Embroidery with painted
details, 10 x 4V4 in. (25.4 x 12. 1 cm).
Private collection, England

little upright that Burne-Jones had painted in i860. And yet it struck the same strange note. The story of Orpheus and Eurydice which decorates the sides is about music, but it is also about death (fig. 16).

Burne-Jones was always a little uneasy with the fact that easel paintings could be bought and tucked away in private collections. 'T want big things to do and vast spaces," he said, "and for common people to see them and say Oh! — only Oh!" 3 ° His chance came in 1881, when G. E. Street asked him to design mosaic decorations for the American Episcopal church in Rome, Saint Pauls Within-the-Walls (fig. 17). The designs were settled in sketch form between about 1881 and 1886, but the project moved slowly, awaiting donors. The Heavenly Jerusalem in the apse at the far end of the church, with a very Byzantine Christ in Glory, was installed in 1885. Then came an Annunciation in an eerie, empty landscape over the arch at the front of the chancel in 1893, and the Tree of Life between these two in 1894. 31 A frieze of figures below the Heavenly Jerusalem, sometimes known as the Church Militant, was completed by Rooke from Burne-Jones's sketches in 1906-7.

The Tree of Life is an instance where Burne-Jones actual-ly developed Christian imagery. 32 The arms of Christ in front of the tree are spread out, as in Byzantine images where Christ

does not hang in suffering but triumphs over death. Only here the arms are spread more in blessing than in triumph. The tree

flourishes. Medieval Christianity had an image of the cross as the tree of life, but Burne-Jones's image is all tree, all life, and no cross. To either side, where we would normally see the Virgin Mary and Saint John, are Adam and Eve and their children, an arrangement that moves the focus of the scene from the event itself to the significance of the event. This is a most benign redemption, an image about growth and the possibility of blessing in life. The Tree of Life is the design with which this essay began.

Figure 16. Edward Burne-Jones, Orpheus Leading Eurydice Out of Hell and Orpheus Looking Back. Painted roundels on the Graham piano, 1879-80. Private collection, England (see also cat. no. 125)

Arts and Crafts

Burne-Jones pretended to feel old in the 1880s and 1890s, and he railed against Impressionism. But he was encouraged by the Arts and Crafts movement, which took shape in London in the 1880s, with its enthusiasm for old ways of working, its little workshops, its crossing and recrossing of the line between fine and decorative art. It might have been tiresome listening to people talk about the unity of art when he had been practicing it for years without talking about it, but after seeing the first exhibition put on by the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society in London in 1888, he wrote, "Amongst some stuff and nonsense are some beautiful things, delightful to look at, and here for the first time one can measure a bit the change that has happened in the last twenty years. I felt little short of despair when I heard of the project, and now I am a

bit elated." 33

In the 1880s Morris (almost alone among progressive decorative artists in England) was full of enthusiasm for the revival of tapestry weaving. In a lecture at the first Arts and Crafts exhibition, he called it "the noblest of the weaving arts." 34 He loved the crisp detail and rich colors of late-medieval tapestries, the hangings with scrolling foliage known as verdures, and the romantic quality of a room hung round with tapestries — stories told on the walls, foliage like an enchanted forest. In a sense, the earlier embroidered hangings had been leading up to this point. Burne-Jones shared his enthusiasm, and was crucial to this development, the history of tapestry being so closely allied to painting. 35 Morris taught himself tapestry weaving in 1879, and serious production began after the firm moved to workshops at Merton Abbey in Surrey in 1881. Burne-Jones, Morris, and the firms workmen collaborated along the usual lines. Of the tapestries made from Burne-Jones's designs, seven were adapted from stained-glass cartoons and twelve were from new designs.

The tapestries woven for Stanmore Hall, in Middlesex, were the realization in a noble medium of one of the high themes of Morris's and Burne-Jones's imagination, the quest for the Holy Grail (fig. 18; cat. nos. 145, 147-51). In the 1850s and early 1860s this and other stories from Malory s Morte d* Arthur had inspired them to produce mainly small, intense

Figure 17. Edward Burne-Jones. Mosaic decorations in the apse and over the chancel, Saint Paul's With in-the-Walls, Rome, 1883-94 (see also fig. 98)

Figure 18. Morris & Company.
The dining room at Stanmore
Hall, Stanmore, Middlesex,
showing the first panel of the
Quest of the Holy Grail
tapestries, The Knights of the
Round Table Summoned to the
Quest by a Strange Damsel, and
two verdures, 1890-94

works — drawings by Burne-Jones, poems by Morris. Then other themes had intervened. Now, entering their sixties, they returned to the tale and set out one of the stories in six tapestry panels. But it was a story of a peculiar kind. When Edwin Austin Abbey painted the Grail legend for the Boston (Massachusetts) Public Library in the 1890s, he designed sixteen panels with battles and blessings, miracles and adventures. He told the story of a quest. Burne-Jones and Morris, by contrast, treated the story as a kind of tableau: two panels for the setting out, followed by The Failure of Sir Lancelot (sex), The Failure of Sir Gawaine (power), the Ship of Solomon (which carries the story over to S arras, the spiritual world), and The Attainment (of the Grail by Sir Galahad, who personified innocence or purity of soul). Malory's wanderings and adventures have nearly all gone. The story is spare and moral, a tale from the end of life. 36

Late stained glass by Burne-Jones can be most easily surveyed in the fourteen windows at All Hallows Church, Allerton, in Liverpool, whose east window of 1875 we have already noted as a landmark in his middle-period glass. The transepts and west end received windows a few years later in

the other middle-period manner, single figures with a narrative panel below. The chancel received two small windows in 1881, angels ascending and descending in pure blues, pinks, and reds, colors typical of his late glass. Then, between 1882 and 1887, came eight windows in the aisles, all of three lights and all on NewTestament themes. The Baptism window of 1886-87 (fig. 19) demonstrates the features of the late style. The strong, linear composition spreads across the lights, challenging the mullions in a way that the 1875 Adoration of the Lamb had not.

Figure 19. Morris & Company. Stained-glass window, north aisle, All Hallows Church, Allerton, Liverpool, 1886-87

The leading is arranged in decorative patterns, creating abstract effects in the sky and rhythmic billows in the; River Jordan. These nave windows at Allerton are not necessarily the finest examples of Burne-Jones's late glass. But in them the counterpoint of stained glass against masonry, light against dark, which had been developing throughout his work, is made explicit. What is more, it no longer makes sense to think of Burne-Jones contributing the figures and Morris the backgrounds. With the possible exception of the Ascension of 1882, which has three figures against a background of foliage, figures and background are all by Burne-Jones.

In 1884 Burne-Jones designed an Ascension window for the chancel of Saint Philip's Church in Birmingham, not far from where he grew up. Designed by Thomas Archer, the church, now the Anglican cathedral, is a fine example of early-eighteenth-century Baroque, and it has tall, arched windows, without the mullions, lancets, and tracery of Gothic windows. The Ascension was followed by a Nativity

and a Crucifixion in 1887, also for the chancel, and by a Last Judgment at the west end in 1896-97 (fig. 20). The Last Judgment is magnificent, though it is more epiphany than judgment. The city of this world collapses; Christ holds out his wounded hands; the messengers of the spirit hang in the air. Morris and Burne-Jones thought these windows their finest, and it is hard to disagree. 37 They are extraordinary. And because they come at the end of Burne-Jones's career, it is only too easy to suggest that they are the culmination of his stained-glass work, as if everything had led up to them. But they are not a culmination. They are a new departure. Burne-Jones had not treated large undivided windows in this way before. 38 And to argue, as some have done, that the success of the windows derives from the absence of mullions and tracery, which enabled the pictorial tendency in Burne-Jones's work at last to be given free play, is to place all his earlier work in a problematic light, for it implies that he had been working with Gothic windows all these years against the grain, as if the mullions had been prison bars. 39

But this was not so. From the start Burne-Jones liked to place his work in creative tension with the surrounding masonry: the darkness around the image was like night embracing the day. This was true at Bradfield. At Lyndhurst the scheme was frustrated by Philip Webb s taste for grisaille. It returned, however, triumphantly, at Easthampstead and Allerton in 1875. And in the late work at Allerton it was customary The story of Burne-Jones s glass ends not with his second-to-last window, the Judgment at Birmingham, but with his last, the west window in the parish church at Hawarden in north Wales, erected in memory of W. E. Gladstone by his family in 1898 (fig. 21). Here, as at Bradfield

Figure 20. Morris &c Company. Stained-glass window, west end. Saint Philip's Cathedral, Birmingham, 1896-97

so many years before, there is no margin around the individual lights. The manger fills the window. The Virgin lies in a stiff, Byzantine pose, her body cut in two by a mullion. Angels float across the tracery as if they were outside. The composition and the architectural frame clash more fiercely than ever. And out of the clash, out of the dark, comes the sense of Burne-Jones's imagery being suspended in light, as it had

Figure 21. Morris 8c Company. Stained-glass window, west end, Saint Deiniol's Church, Hawarden, Clwyd, 1897-98

Figure 22. Edward Burne-Jones. Illustration for "The House of Fame," in The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer. The Kelmscott Press, 1896

been in all his windows of this kind. Medieval stained-glass makers believed that light comes from God; Burne-Jones's windows were perhaps designed in the shadow of that belief.

The last great enthusiasm of William Morris's life was the Kelmscott Press, the culmination of a lifelong interest in the arts of the book that included the Earthly Paradise project, his illuminated manuscripts of the 1870s, and his collecting of medieval manuscripts and early printed books. 40 In the late 1880s he designed the first of his own typefaces, and in 1891 he set up the Kelmscott Press to print and publish books of his choice. His first concerns were typographical — the layout of the page, a type that would print strong and black like the German books of the early sixteenth century. Most of the fifty- three titles he printed did not have illustrations. But Morris could not think of printing books without thinking of

Burne-Jones, and there was the failure of The Earthly Paradise to be undone. W. H. Hooper, one of the last and most skilled of the mid-Victorian wood engravers, was brought out of retirement, and Burne-Jones s pencil drawings were carefully translated into bolder black and white before they were engraved.

In all, Burne-Jones drew about a hundred illustrations for the press, of which eighty- seven were for The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer, Compared with the illustrations Morris engraved for The Story of Cupid and Psyche, they are crisp, clean, and perhaps less touching. Here, as elsewhere in Burne-Jones's late work, one feels the slight loss involved in a design process that was working smoothly and thus provided no technical challenge.

The Chaucer was like the Holy Grail tapestries: an intimate collaboration between Morris and Burne-Jones, their masterpiece in that particular medium, and their tribute to an early master of their imagination. As in the tapestries, Burne-Jones's contribution was an edited version of the original. He did not like Chaucer's bawdy, humorous stories. Morris wanted him to illustrate The Millers Tale, but he would not. He liked the sophisticated, melancholy poems of courtly love, and his illustrations concentrate on works like Troilus and Criseyde, The Romaunt of the Rose, and similar texts in The Canterbury Tales.

While working on the Chaucer illustrations, Burne-Jones wrote, "In the book I am putting myself wholly aside, and trying to see things as he saw them; not once have I invaded his kingdom with one hostile thought." 41 That was impossible, of course. Illustrators always provide their own version of a story, and Chaucer often did not "see things" at all, particularly in the poems Burne-Jones chose to illustrate. But it is clear what

he meant. He used his favorite imagery of knights in woods and maidens dancing in enclosed gardens. But when Chaucer gave him something both tangible and strange, like the horse of brass in "The Squire's Tale," he fixed on it and drew it as literally as he could. In "The House of Fame," Chaucer describes the house as perpetually gyrating and "made of twigges." It bumps into Burne-Jones s illustration like a wicker spaceship (fig. 22). This is the physically exact rendered deep in the regions of the imagination.

We should not think of the Kelmscott Press as an ordinary publishing venture. Morris, in fact, deplored the flood of books released in his time by the new printing technology and the growth in literacy. He wanted fewer books, but those the best and printed in a manner that befitted them. That was the idea behind the limited editions of the press, with their heavy paper, dense black type, and elaborate scrolling ornaments. Indeed, at times his efforts seem more like embalming than publishing. As for Burne-Jones, the poignant, semimagical world of Chaucer and Malory had always fed his imagination, just because it was so different from Victorian England. He had neither the habit nor the inclination to make Chaucer accessible. It made more sense to him to underscore the poet's strangeness. In December 1895 he wrote to a friend:

I have just finished my Chaucer work and in May I hope the book will see the light. I hope sincerely it will be all the age does not want — I have omitted nothing I could think of to obstruct the onward march of the world. The designs are carved in wood . . . the lines as thick as I could get them. I have done all I can to impede progress — you will always bear me witness that I have not faltered — and that having put my hand to the plough

I invariably look back. 42

His tongue was not entirely in his cheek.

"I LOVE TO WORK IN THAT FETTERED WAY"

The Chaucer was indeed finished in May 1896 (and published in June). In October William Morris died. "There is never any looking forward again," Burne-Jones wrote. "Morris really closed the chapter of my life." 43 It is difficult to imagine what Burne-Jones's life would have been like without Morris. His career as a decorative artist would probably have developed more slowly and more steadily, for it was often Morris's enthusiasm and energy that created new projects, and it was Morris's feeling for techniques and materials that showed how Burne-Jones's designs could be translated into stained glass, or wood engraving, or embroideries. He would certainly not have been so prolific, for it was Morris the businessman who kept him in almost permanent employment as a designer of stained glass. By the end of his life Burne-Jones had made more than 650 designs for stained glass, many of which were used more than once. When the Gladstone family asked him to design angels for the tracery of the west window at Hawarden, he protested, "I must by now have designed enough to fill Europe." 44 But with or without Morris, he would certainly have been a decorative artist. Decorative art was too important in Gothic Revival and Pre-Raphaelite circles for him to have escaped it. And he loved it. Of his design for the Tree of Life mosaic, he wrote, "It's one of those things I do outside painting, far away from it. It has more to do with architecture, and isn't a picture a bit. ... I love to work in that fettered way, and am better in a prison than in the open air always." 45

I began this essay with another quotation about the Tree of Life design, chosen in a slightly combative spirit to show that Burne-Jones's decorative art could be as important as his painting. I was thinking of the difference in status today

Figure 23. Edward Burne-Jones. Drawing, ca. 1890. Pencil, 4Y2 x 3-Vs in. (11.4 x 8.6 cm). British Museum, London

between fine and decorative art, and of readers who might see Burne-Jones as a painter who also produced decorative art. I wanted to make them take note. But I can see now, having surveyed the decorative work, that this difference of status was not a part of his world. For Burne-Jones decorative art was part of the same project as painting, though "far away from it." It was an enlargement of his work, offering imaginative possibilities not available to him as a painter. This enlargement was not just a matter of the medium, of designing for glass, textiles, or wood engraving in addition to working in oil and watercolor. It was not just a matter of applied art, of bringing his imagination to bear on furniture and books and windows as well as on pictures. It was not a movement outward from his imaginative world at all, but a welcoming in. The peculiarity of his decorative art was not that it brought his imagination to bear upon everyday things, but that it brought everyday things to bear upon his imagination. That was the enlargement.

Burne-Jones created images that hung in colored light inside a church, or were wrapped around a room, or were engraved on wood and printed in a book in thick black ink so that they seemed (and were) as much a part of the story as the text. The rich and public character of ordinary life and the

limitations of the medium gave his imagination reach. The ordinariness of things suggested thoughts to him that were large and sometimes strange. The troubling aura of the little piano he painted in i860, the public statement of faith he made in the Tree of Life mosaic, the great Chaucer printed "to obstruct the onward march of the world" — these were meanings not available to him in painting.

The British Museum has a book of designs made by Burne-Jones between 1885 and 1898 which includes some very simple and finished drawings of objects. In one there is a tree growing out of a ship (fig. 23). The strange conjunction and the framed design recall the emblems popular in the Renaissance and the seventeenth century The image is in one way ordinary and in another strange. It stands as an emblem of what is distinctive in Burne-Jones s decorative art.

1. Lago 1981, p. 34.
2. Stained-glass windows designed by Burne-Jones can be seen in churches in many parts of the British Isles and elsewhere. For their locations, see Sewter 1974-75, vol. 2, and the Buildings of England architectural guides.
3. J. Mordaunt Crook, William Burges and the High Victorian Dream (London, 1981), pp. 294-300,
4. The principal surviving examples of early painted furniture by Burne-Jones are (1) A wardrobe designed by Philip Webb and painted by Burne-Jones in about 1858, probably as a wedding present for William and Jane Morris (Ashmolean Museum, Oxford). It shows the story of Saint Hugh, a child who went on singing in praise of the Virgin Mary long after his throat was cut. (2) A sideboard belonging to Burne-Jones and painted in the week before his wedding (June 9, i860), with scenes of women feeding, tormenting, and being tormented by various animals (Victoria and Albert Museum, London). (3) The upright

piano discussed here, and painted in i860 (Victoria and Albert Museum, London). (4) A settle in the hall at William Morris's Red House, with doors painted about i860 with scenes from the Niebelungenlied, one by Morris and the other by Burne-Jones (in situ). The Backgammon Players cabinet (cat. no. 18) stands a little apart from these more personal pieces, as it was made for the firm, presumably for exhibition and sale.

5. See Sewter 1974-75, vol. 1, pp. 13-15, vol. 2, pp. 1-4.

6. See, for example, ibid., vol. 1, p. 14.

7. The standard work is Martin Harrison, Victorian Stained Glass (London, 1980).

8. Lago 1981, p. 27.

9. See, for example, Sewter 1974—75, especially vol. 1, pp. 23-25, 38, 42—43, 49-55-

10. Memorials, vol. 2, p. 109.

11. Prospectus for Morris, Marshall, Faulkner 6c Co., quoted in MacCarthy 1994, p. 172.

12. Memorials, vol. 1, p. 267.

13. Ibid., pp. 254-56.

14. Burne-Jones had also studied Mantegna's engravings in the British Museum, but the technique of the engravings is generally finer than the effect Morris and Burne-Jones were looking for.

15. Only one proof seems to have survived from this stage of the project, in the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York. See Pierpont Morgan Library 1976, pp. 116 -17, pi. 58.

16. Exceptionally, the paired illustrations of Psyche's entry among the gods, at the end of Cupid and Psyche, were drawn by Burne-Jones and cut by Morris in an outline style close to that of the Hypnerotomachia. An edition of William Morris, The Story of Cupid and Psyche, was printed by Will and Sebastian Carter at the Rampant Lions Press, using Morris's Troy types and the original blocks cut by Morris and others, now in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries of London, and published by Clover Hill Editions of London and Cambridge in

1974-

17. Dunlap 1971 and A. R. Duffy's introduction to Morris 1974 are detailed studies of the Earthly Paradise project.

18. Quoted in Memorials, vol. 2, p. 3,

19. The phrase Part pour Fart was current in France in the first half of the nineteenth century Walter Pater used the phrase "the love of art for art's sake" in the last sentence of Studies in the History of the Renaissance (London, 1873), p. 313.

20. Memorials, vol. 1, p. 297, where Burne-Jones describes himself as sometimes bewildered by his own pictures: "I feel inclined to write to Mr. Burne-Jones and apologize for troubling him, but should be so grateful if he would tell me the hidden meaning of these pictures."

21. Burne-Jones said that artists had "the power of bringing God into the world — making God manifest." Memorials, vol. 2, p. 257.

22. Apart from two figure designs supplied by John Henry Dearie for windows at Glasgow University in 1893.

23. Harrison and Waters 1973, p. 116.

24. Quoted in Sewter 1974-75, vol. 2, p. 30.

25. Ibid., vol. 1, p. 46.

26. Memorials, vol. 2, p. 6. From the mid-i87os, Burne-Jones appears to have used photography, at least on occasion, in the production of full-size cartoons. See Sewter 1974-75, vol. 2, pp. 44, 176-77, 228.

27. Parry 1983, p. 104.

28. Quoted in Barbara Morris, Victorian Embroidery (London, 1962), p. 113.

29. Memorials, vol. 2, p. 111. For a discussion of Burne-Jones and pianos, see Wilson 1972 and Wilson 1975.

30. Memorials, vol. 2, p, 13.

31. See Dorment 1978. •

32. Another is the use of angels holding spheres as an image of the Days of Creation, used first in 1870 in the tracery lights of the west window at All Saints' Church, Middleton Cheney, Northamptonshire. See Sewter 1974-75, vol. 1, p. 88.

33. Memorials, vol. 2, p. 190.

34. Quoted in Parry 1983, p. 100. .

35. Georgiana Burne-Jones told R G. Stephens that "those little Courts of Tapestry [at the South Kensington Museum] were almost like chapels to him — he often looked in just to see them and rejoice in their beauty" (letter of January 11, 1905, quoted in Lago 1981, p. 35).

36. The four stained-glass windows which Burne-Jones designed for his own house at Rottingdean in 1886 are an earlier, and even more extreme, example of this simplification of the Grail story (cat. nos. 145, 147-151).

37. In A Note on the Morris Stained Glass Work (London, n.d.), pp. 13-14, H. C. Marillier wrote that the chancel windows at Saint Philip's "were reckoned by Morris and Burne-Jones as their greatest achievement in this field." (Morris did not live to see the Last Judgment window.) For other high estimates of the windows, see De Lisle 1904, p. 157, and MacCarthy 1994, pp. 646-67.

38. The only comparably large windows are those in the north transept of H. H. Richardson's Holy Trinity Church in Boston, which consist of small pictorial panels and angels set in scrolling foliage. The windows in Saint Peter's, Vere Street, London, a church close in date to Saint Philip's, are much smaller.

39. See, for example, Harrison and Waters 1973, the caption to colorplate 47: "Significantly, his greatest design is not encumbered by the mullions and traceries of a Gothic window. It allowed the picture-making tendency, implicit in his later designs, full expression."

40. These topics are well covered in Pierpont Morgan Library 1976.

41. Memorials, vol. 2, p. 217.

42. Quoted in Peterson 1991, p. 252.

43. Memorials, vol. 2, pp. 305-6.

44. Quoted in Sewter 1974-75, vol. 2, p. 91.

45. Memorials, vol. 2, p. 159.