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# The Influence of German Religious Stained Glass in Canada 1880-1941

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#### Article abstract

A partir de 1880, les églises canadiennes sont de plus en plus décorées de vitraux figuratifs. Les vitraux importés d'Allemagne et d'Autriche ont une profonde influence sur le goût des Canadiens en matière d'art religieux dans les édifices publics. Inspirés à la fois par l'art de la Renaissance et par celui des Nazaréens, les verriers allemands combinent un style narratif et pictorialiste avec les techniques centenaires de peinture sur verre « antique » de grande qualité. Ces vitraux obtiennent une popularité immédiate principalement auprès des congrégations catholiques et anglicanes, non seulement par leur valeur artistique, mais parce qu'ils invitent à la méditation et à la piété.

A la fin des années 1870, de nombreuses entreprises germaniques et autrichiennes pénètrent le marché américain et canadien, en établissant des agences aux États-Unis. Les réactions des artisans locaux forcent les instances gouvernementales à imposer des tarifs élevés, afin de limiter la concurrence. Cependant le public continue à favoriser le vitrail européen, malgré l'augmentation des prix. La compagnie Franz Mayer (Munich et New York) exporte des centaines de verrières dans plusieurs localités canadiennes. Les compagnies Tyrolese Art Glass (Innsbruck et New York), Franz Zettler (Munich et Chicago) et Alexandre Linnemann (Francfort) étaient aussi de grands exportateurs. Pendant le renouveau du vitrail des années 1920, la compagnie Gustav van Treeck (Munich et Milwaukee) installe des vitraux dans la région de Windsor.

A la suite du succès des vitraux germaniques et autrichiennes, nous assistons à l'émergence de nouvelles entreprises canadiennes qui, au départ, réproduisent les motifs véhiculés jusqu'alors. Ce n'est qu'à la fin des années 1920 que les artistes canadiens, pour la plupart formés dans les écoles d'art et de dessin du Canada et d'Angleterre, développeront un style qui leur soit propre et qui corresponde à une esthétique moderne.

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# The Influence of German Religious Stained Glass in Canada 1880–1941

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#### Résumé

partir de 1880, les églises canadiennes sont de plus en plus décorées de vitraux figuratifs. Les vitraux importés d'Allemagne et d'Autriche ont une profonde influence sur le goût des Canadiens en matière d'art religieux dans les édifices publics. Inspirés à la fois par l'art de la Renaissance et par celui des Nazaréens, les verriers allemands combinent un style narratif et pictorialiste avec les techniques centenaires de peinture sur verre «antique» de grande qualité. Ces vitraux obtiennent une popularité immédiate principalement auprès des congrégations catholiques et anglicanes, non seulement par leur valeur artistique, mais parce qu'ils invitent à la méditation et à la piété.

A la fin des années 1870, de nombreuses entreprises germaniques et autrichiennes pénètrent le marché américain et canadien, en établissant des agences aux Etats-Unis. Les réactions des artisans locaux forcent les instances gouvernementales à imposer des tarifs élevés, afin

de limiter la concurrence. Cependant le public continue à favoriser le vitrail européen, malgré l'augmentation des prix. La compagnie Franz Mayer (Munich et New York) exporte des centaines de verrières dans plusieurs localités canadiennes. Les compagnies Tyrolese Art Glass (Innsbruck et New York), Franz Zettler (Munich et Chicago) et Alexandre Linnemann (Francfort) étaient aussi de grands exportateurs. Pendant le renouveau du vitrail des années 1920, la compagnie Gustav van Treeck (Munich et Milwaukee) installe des vitraux dans la région de Windsor.

A la suite du succès des vitraux germaniques et autrichiennes, nous assistons à l'émergence de nouvelles entreprises canadiennes qui, au départ, réproduisent les motifs véhiculés jusqu'alors. Ce n'est qu'à la fin des années 1920 que les artistes canadiens, pour la plupart formés dans les écoles d'art et de dessin du Canada et d'Angleterre, développeront un style qui leur soit propre et qui corresponde à une esthétique moderne.

t was during the first half of the nineteenth century that stained glass, after a hiatus of about one hundred and fifty years, once more became an essential element in European ecclesiastical architecture. The effect of light passing through pot metal glass and flooding the interior with shafts of colour created a sense of peaceful sanctuary separated from the rapidly changing, newly-industrialized city and landscape outside. Ornamental windows added to the splendour of the painted decoration and figurative windows carried messages for the religious and moral edification of the congregation. Deceased family members could be commemorated by loving inscriptions which also attested to the generosity of the living donor. Equally important, stained glass was seen as one of the important links between the rejuvenated Church in an increasingly secularized society and the Church in the medieval Age of Faith.

It is felt by many that the revival of stained glass was spearheaded by the English in conjunction with the Ecclesiological Movement and that not only did they revive the "true nature" of stained glass, but that all the major technical advances took place in Britain. This perception is bolstered by the plethora of contemporary information which is available in English and the fact that the study of Victorian stained glass became popular more quickly than the study of contemporary stained glass on the continent. Nineteenth-century French stained glass was accepted by British writers provided that it corresponded to the historicist view of the ecclesiologists that the best designs and techniques must imitate early Gothic precedent. The windows

of Henri and Alfred Gerente from the 1850s which grace Ely Cathedral, for instance, are considered noteworthy.

On the other hand there was, and is, much criticism of "that awful Munich glass" which by mid-century had won significant commissions in England.<sup>2</sup> The first window from the stained glass studios of the Royal Bavarian Manufactory (Königliche Glasmalereianstalt; GMA) to reach England had been installed in 1841 in Christ Church in Kilndown, Kent.<sup>3</sup> Ten years later, a set of windows from the same Munich establishment was placed in the Chapel of Peterhouse College in Cambridge.<sup>4</sup> This acquisition was followed shortly afterwards in 1859 by the immense order for sixty-four windows for St. Mungo's Cathedral in Glasgow. 5 The superiority of German glass had been suggested by none other than Charles Winston himself, one of the driving forces behind the production of new and better types of coloured glass. 6 The ensuing howl of protest by English stained glass firms and artists focused both on the exhibited preference for foreign glass and on the unacceptably pictorial nature of German narrative glass. The protest seemed to be justified when the German pigments failed in the damp Scottish climate. Antipathy to German glass on the part of the British trade had little effect upon the subsequent success of the German firms, which by the 1870s had set up marketing agents in various countries, including England and the United States.

When figurative stained glass became a desired aspect of Canadian churches in the mid-nineteenth century, most of the first windows had to be imported from Europe. In

Figure 1. The Ascension of Christ/Last Supper; St. James' Cathedral, Toronto, 1885; Franz Mayer Co., Munich (Photo: The Registry of Stained Glass Windows in Canada, RSGC).

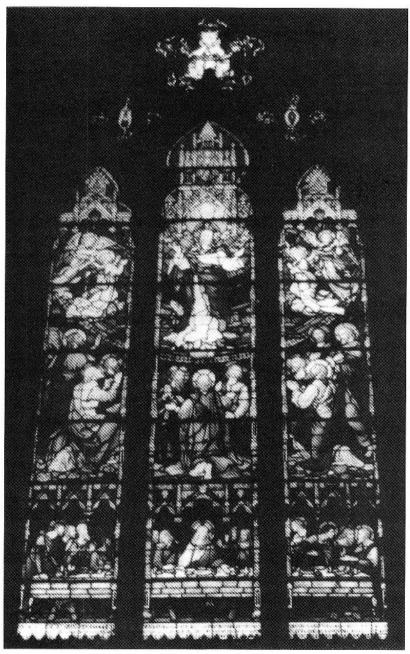
1845, windows by William Warrington were sent from England to St. John's, Newfoundland, to be installed in the Catholic basilica and adjoining convent. Over the next few years, additional Warrington windows were installed in Christ Church Cathedral in Fredericton, New Brunswick. In 1858, the large chancel window depicting the Crucifixion of Christ, produced by Etienne Thévenot of Clermont-Ferrand, was put in place in St. Michael's Catholic Cathedral in Toronto. That same year, the Ballantyne firm of Edinburgh produced the Evangelist windows for the chancel of the Church of the Holy Trinity, then on the outskirts of Toronto.<sup>8</sup>

By the 1880s, there were a number of Canadian commercial establishments, primarily in Montreal and Toronto, which could produce figurative windows in-house. This was made possible by the importation of trained stained glass painters, mostly from England, as in the case of the McCausland firm of Toronto,9 or by securing an English training for Canadian stained glass artists. But it was still felt in many quarters that the only way to be assured of "real quality" and to reflect the link with an age-old tradition was to have stained glass windows brought in from Europe, primarily from England, France and Germany. Contrary to natural preconceptions, it was German glass, rather than British glass, which was ultimately to have the greatest influence in English Canada.

The Canadian commissions for German glass were directed through the American offices set up by various firms, since these locations served as the closest ports of entry. Although there were numerous German stained glass establishments operative by the 1870s, most German glass imported into Canada came

from Bavaria or from Austria. During the 1880s, favourable economic conditions in Canada allowed the demand for figurative stained glass, always an expensive proposition, to take hold. Some of the earliest German glass filled the five chancel windows in St. James' Anglican Cathedral in Toronto. These had been commissioned through the New York office of Franz Mayer & Co. which, since the mid-1870s, had been the North American outlet for the stained glass branch of the Mayer'sche Hofkunstanstalt in Munich.<sup>10</sup>

The few references to the Mayer windows that are available in the St. James' Cathedral archives indicate that the



central window was in place by 1885 and that it cost \$2779.48, a considerable sum. The window exhibits perfectly all the characteristics of style which the English ecclesiologists abhorred (fig. 1). The only concession to medieval precedent can be seen in the pseudo-Gothic architectural framework which is based upon early fourteenth-century English glass as reworked by the Revivalists. Very rectilinear, this canopywork is much more restrained than the usually florid Mayer Germanic type and may reflect the makers' respect for the fact that Toronto was, after all, part of English Canada.



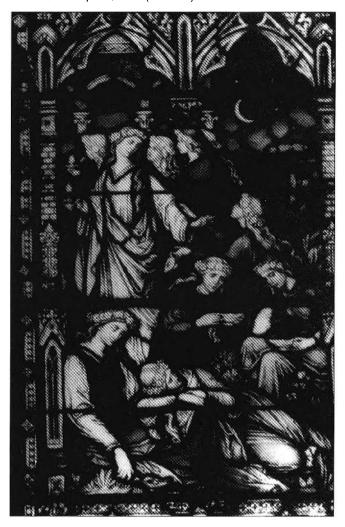
Figure 2. Old Testament Prophets, detail; St. James' Cathedral, Toronto, c.1885-92; Franz Mayer Co., Munich (Photo: RSGC).

For the most part, German nineteenth-century stained glass artists were unhampered by the strictures of ecclesiology and preferred to take their figure models from the Italian Renaissance which had had such a resurgence in the art of the Nazarenes.<sup>11</sup> There would thus have been no cringing at the decision to duplicate Leonardo's famous Last Supper fresco from Sta. Maria della Grazie in Milan, in St. James' Cathedral. In fact, this window contains a very close copy of the original image, although without the background. The Ascension of Christ in the upper register reflects Raphaelesque compositional devices and Italianate High Renaissance figures swathed in copious draperies which amplify their forms and define their movements. Here the painter was freer to incorporate the sharp drapery folds which were inherited from the German Renaissance painting tradition. Colours are vibrant and rich, and the window glows with a deep resonance because the amount of white glass was kept to a minimium.

One pair of side windows in the chancel of St. James' Cathedral contains figures of the Old Testament prophets and the evangelists which reflect a lyrical interpretation of Michelangelo's Sistine Ceiling framing figures (fig. 2). The commission for the Cathedral was large enough to accommodate the efforts of several different artists, including one who produced figures more akin to the slender English ideal for human figures, as seen in the *Parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins* (fig. 3a).<sup>12</sup>

The German emphasis on narrative can easily be seen in the Parable windows which utilize elements of architectural and landscape settings (fig. 3b). The pictorialism established by the Mayer firm was to prove popular with Canadian patrons and was to remain characteristic of German glass. Although different hands can be distinguished, Mayer glass created for the North American export market was to remain essentially unchanged until the Second World War. This can be seen in the consistently beautiful windows installed in St. Mary's Catholic Cathedral in Halifax in 1921-24 (fig. 4).<sup>13</sup> Windows from Munich were created invariably with very high-quality antique glass in a wide range of colours; the painting techniques were based on ageold methods and included stippling and smear painting as well as line drawing. It was easy for a congregation to relate

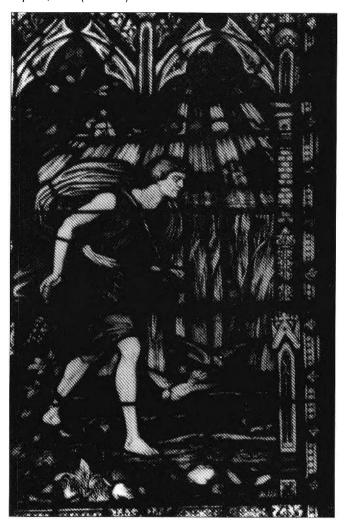
Figure 3a. Parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins, detail; St. James' Cathedral, Toronto, c.1885-92; Franz Mayer Co., Munich (Photo: RSGC).



to the pictorialism and to recognize the narratives, so that the windows were regarded not only as aesthetic objects but as an effective catalyst to meditation and piety. Pictorialism spoke more directly to the Canadian public than did the more correct visual medievalism of the stricter British ecclesiologists. It was a successful formula; Mayer glass became very popular, particularly with Anglican and Catholic congregations, and is to be found throughout Canada. The sheer number of Mayer's commissions far outweighs that of all their European rivals combined.

Franz Zettler, Josef Gabriel Mayer's son-in-law, had been art director at Mayer's from 1863 until he founded his own stained glass firm, the Royal Bavarian Stained Glass Institute (Bayerische Hofglasmalerei), in 1870. The firm's three windows in St. John's Church in Gananoque, Ontario, probably installed shortly after the building was completed in 1908, provide an example of the type of problems researchers face when working with imported European glass. After 1907, Zettler's selling agent in North America

Figure 3b. Parable of the Sower, detail; St. James' Cathedral, Toronto, c.1885-92; Franz Mayer Co., Munich (Photo: RSGC).

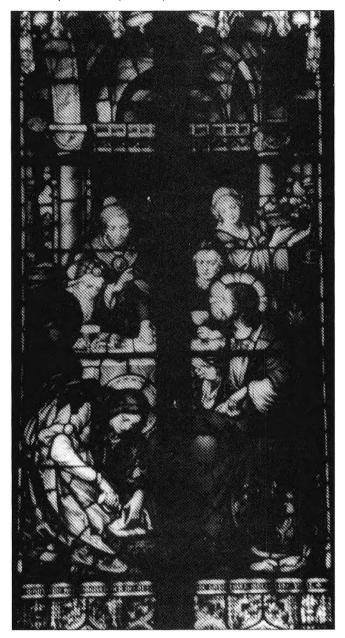


was the Daprato Statuary Company, which operated out of New York and Chicago. It was not uncommon for the selling company to replace the original signature panels with its own, as was the case here. Only this information makes it possible to add these windows to the few examples of Zettler's work in Canada. So far, only two references to other Zettler windows have surfaced: the Crucifixion and Purgatory Window of 1895 in the Église de Gesù in Montréal, and the Altar Window of 1914 in St. Patrick's Church in Sherbrooke, Québec.

A third company was sending windows to grace Catholic churches in central and eastern Canada. The Tiroler Glasmalereianstalt (TGM) had been established in Innsbruck in 1861<sup>14</sup> and after 1874 was represented in North America by Pustet & Co. in New York. In 1891, the TGM established a separate New York branch and advertised directly as the Tyrolese Art Glass Company.

Thomas Denton was the manager of this office during the period when the Canadian commissions were handled.

Figure 4. Jesus in the House of Mary & Martha, detail; St. Mary's Cathedral, Halifax, 1921—24; Franz Mayer Co., Munich (Photo: RSGC).



In 1888 the Catholic Bishop of London, Ontario, John Walsh, ordered a set of seventeen windows from Innsbruck via the New York Office. They were to be placed in the transepts and chancel of St. Peter's Cathedral, recently designed by Joseph Connelly. The installation was completed in 1894, after some disagreements between the architect and the stained glass designers over modifications to the tracery and mullion structure of the chancel windows. <sup>16</sup>

It was common for the studios to suggest subjects and to supply sketches for large commissions, and the German companies were adept at iconography suitable for Catholic churches. But the choice of Bishop Walsh can clearly be seen in the transept lancets which depict the Fathers and Doctors of the Eastern and Western Churches in the company of the Irish saints. Patrick, Bridget, Columba and Lawrence O'Toole are placed against a background suitably composed of Irish harps and shamrocks (fig. 5). The Bishop must have had input into the depiction of the *Mission of the Apostles* which takes place in a landscape which incongruously includes St. Peter's Cathedral (fig. 6); the predella shows Bishop Walsh holding a model of his cathedral, which was dedicated in 1885 (fig. 7).

The director of the Innsbruck Studio was Dr. Albert Jele, an art historian who prided himself on his knowledge of things Gothic. He wrote to Bishop Walsh that the glass must harmonize with the architecture, an idea shared with the ecclesiologists. <sup>17</sup> Since this was a neo-Gothic church, the use of neo-Gothic canopies to frame individuals or small groups of figures is a standard solution. But in true pictorial fashion, no attempt has been made to medievalize the figures, which are drawn in the expected Italianate style, although perhaps not quite as forcefully as tended to be the case in contemporary Mayer glass.

The characteristic by which Innsbruck glass can be recognized, at least in the few Canadian commissions, is the treatment of the background. Where the space is restricted, the area between the figures and the canopies is filled with fairly large-scale renderings of heavily fruited grapevines or bowers of flowers (fig. 8). The larger narrative windows exhibit an interesting interaction between the architectural frameworks and foliate arrangements. The canopy work has been changed to form a delicate framework upon which small-scale flowers sprout. The space thus filled takes on the character of folk art and is reminiscent of embroidery or painted wooden panels and shutters.

John Walsh was appointed Archbishop of Toronto in 1889 and when, in 1892, he had the opportunity to erect a window to the memory of his predecessor, Joseph Lynch, first Archbishop of that diocese, he turned to what was familiar. The Tyrolese Art Glass Company received the order for the window, which cost \$800 (fig. 9). In the predella, Lynch, complete with eyeglasses, is shown in prayer, in a portrait obviously painted from a photograph. The pictorial narrative is combined with the same kind of foliate background as had been used in London. The upper scene of the Last Supper/Holy Eucharist is a combination of apostle figures from Leonardo's fresco with others determined by the designer.

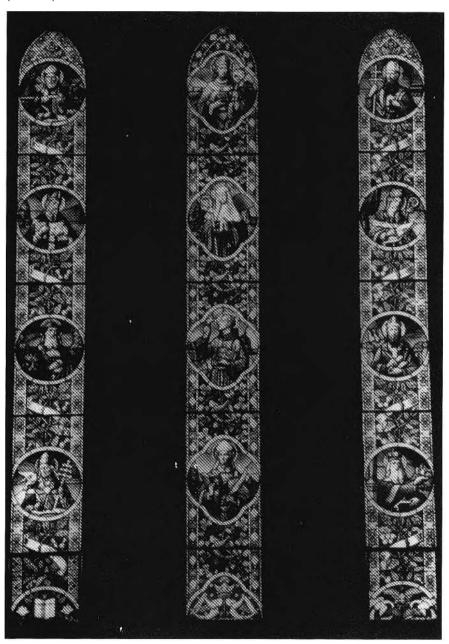
Innsbruck glass appears to have been a personal choice of Bishop Walsh for it did not gain great popularity in Canada, and commissions remained few. In 1894, the New York agent for the Tyrolese Glass Company complained that

Figure 5. Fathers of the Western Church, St. Peter's Cathedral, London, 1888-94; Tyrolese Art Glass Co., Innsbruck (Photo: RSGC).

he had had very few sales in North America that year. One reason for this downward trend may have been that in reaction to the competition, the American firms had successfully lobbied their government. A 45% tariff was imposed on stained glass windows imported into the United States for churches; these had previously been specifically exempted from tariffs. This tax added to the cost of Canadian commissions since all the windows had to enter through the United States. In spite of the expense, European glass generally remained popular, as it was felt that importation ensured high-quality glass, good workmanship and superior design. As a result, German glass was to have a profound influence on the establishment of what the Canadian public came to expect in its religious art.

However, in spite of their success, German firms took a rather haughty view of the taste of the colonial patron. In 1894, the anniversary publication of the TGM described North American taste as follows: "The American (Canadian) is eclectic in the truest sense of the word; he takes what he likes from every style, he unites Romanesque ornament with late Gothic arches and perspective painting, in the windows he wants trueness to life and realistic pictures with widely spread landscape backgrounds, figures to be in exact historical costume - and these groups he prefers to see surrounded and crowned by more or less naturalistic, free climbing floral ornament."18

In order to gauge popular taste and to perpetuate the pictorial style, German designers and painters looked to books of reproductions of religious paintings and prints, a source which was increasingly available due to advances in photography and printing processes. Pattern books and books of ornamental designs were also valuable sources, and each firm developed extensive libraries to serve as inspirational aids. Medieval windows served little purpose since actual medieval style in design or painting was not what was called for in the popular export market before the First World War.<sup>19</sup> With effective business practise and an eye



for public taste, by the end of the century, export sales accounted for the bulk of the work produced by the large German firms.

At the end of the nineteenth century, when the emerging Canadian companies saw how whole-heartedly the Canadian public had embraced German stained glass, they set out to produce windows of a similar nature. Thus we see the Toronto-based firm of Joseph McCausland hiring English-trained artists to produce figural windows imitating German style (fig. 10). Windows by N.T. Lyon fall into that same category.<sup>20</sup>

Figure 6. Mission of the Apostles, St. Peter's Cathedral, London, 1888–94; Tyrolese Art Glass Co., Innsbruck (Photo: RSGC).

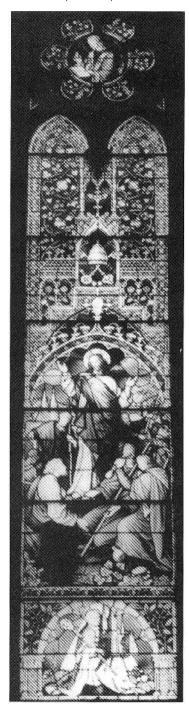


Figure 7. Bishop Walsh, Detail of Figure 6 (Photo: RSGC).



In spite of the high import tariffs, German glass could remain competitive in the North American market because of the lower material and labour costs in Europe. Stained glass windows were generally designed and painted in Europe, then leaded into panels which could be easily shipped, for assembly by local artisans. The American tariff was reduced considerably in 1913, but shortly thereafter a trade embargo was imposed at the outbreak of the First World

War. The War proved to be merely a hiatus in the production of stained glass in Bavaria, and during the 1920s there was a resurgence of imported German glass into Canada. With the reopening of its New York office, Mayer glass continued to be the most popular, making few concessions to the avant-garde attitudes expressed in some quarters in Europe. The Mayer style for North American customers remained essentially as predictable as it had been earlier.

Figure 8. Saint Anne and the Virgin, St. Peter's Cathedral, London, 1888-94; Tyrolese Art

Figure 9. Last Supper with Archbishop Lynch predella, St. Michael's Cathedral, Toronto. Glass Co., Innsbruck (Photo: RSGC). 1892; Tyrolese Art Glass Co., Innsbruck (Photo: RSGC).

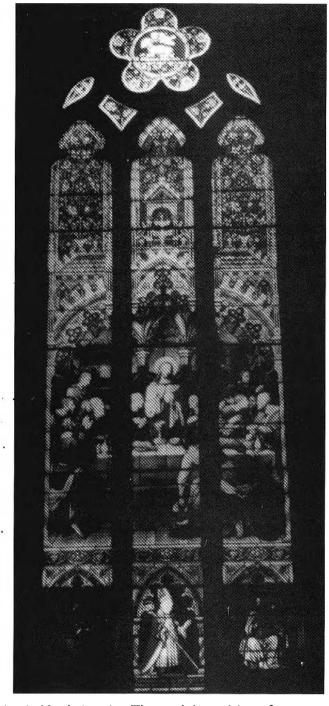
The newcomer on the Canadian scene was the Bayerische Hofglasmalerei Gustav Van Treeck, also based in Munich.21 Although this firm had been in existence since 1887, it was not until 1921 that it set up a contract with the Wagner-Larscheid Company in Milwaukee in order to break into the North American market. When this company went bankrupt in 1925, Van Treeck teamed up with the Conrad Schmitt Studios, also in Milwaukee. One of the Van Treeck brothers, Carl, moved to the United States to keep an eye on the business. In the period between 1926 and 1929, the Schmitt firm ordered windows from Van Treeck for four Catholic churches in the Windsor area.<sup>22</sup> None of these bears the Van Treeck signature since the Conrad Schmitt firm replaced the original signature panels with its own.

These windows exhibit a resurgence of medievalizing tendencies, in which flat quarried backgrounds house medallions with either narrative groupings or single figures (fig. 11). The colours are rich and based upon the Chartrain combinations of deep blues, greens and reds. The painting technique is consistent throughout all these windows. The stipple technique appears somewhat intrusive when

viewed closely, but from a distance the effect is more that of the dirt and patina of the ages (fig. 12). This apparently was desired in order to create the idea of a venerable tradition. The leading patterns became smaller and busier, to such a degree that Konrad Van Treeck referred to them as "Fliegengitter" - flyscreens.

The Stock Market crash of 1929 and the ensuing Depression meant the effective end of the Van Treeck opera-





tion in North America. The much larger Mayer firm managed to stay afloat in New York throughout the 1930s, in spite of the diminishing number of commissions. The 1939 declaration of war between Britain and Germany brought new commissions for German stained glass in Canada to a halt. However, the windows which had already been ordered and presumably at least partially paid for continued to be sent from Munich through the United States into Canada.

This was the case with the Mayer windows for the Catholic basilica in Quebec City and St. Andrew's Church in what was then Port Arthur. When the Americans entered the War in December 1941, the ensuing trade embargo abruptly curtailed the sup-

ply route.

For the non-European market the German and Austrian stained glass firms sustained a style which they themselves had created, perpetuating it long after it exhibited any originality or freshness. What had once been a vital and relevant style in the nineteenth century became a reactionary force. For the export market the German firms ignored the changing tastes and demands that were sweeping through European glass in the 1920s. The innovations of artists like Thorn Prikker, Max Pechstein, Anton Campendonk and others were being discussed in the European trade journals and papers and found their way into the European market. At the same time, the German firms railed against the continuing bad taste of the North American customer. The Zettler/Mayer firm even set up its export production in a building separate from that which accommodated the European customers who wanted more up-to-date imagery and design. Complaining about North American taste all the way to the bank, the German firms did little or nothing to suggest better and more modern forms, and the majority of the Canadian commercial firms followed suit. The preferences and taste of the Canadian patrons and congregations remained firmly rooted in the past. When changes were to come to the Canadian stained glass scene in the late 1920s and into the 1930s, it would be through the efforts of artists who had been trained in the English art schools and who emigrated after the First World War - people like Peter Haworth and Frank Hollister, and of Canadian-trained artists like Yvonne Williams and her co-workers.

### NOTES

\* An earlier version of this study was read as a paper at the 1994 UAAC Conference in Halifax. This expanded article would not have been possible without the generous contribution of Dr. Elgin Vaassen of Munich. She kindly made her research into German nineteenth-century stained glass available to me and has treated me with great hospitality. Her valuable work on the exhibition of this glass held in Erfurt in 1993 and its catalogue is in the vanguard of German scholarship for this material.

Figure 10. The Three Marys at the Tomb, St. James' Cathedral, Toronto, 1905; Joseph McCausland Co., Toronto (Photo: RSGC).



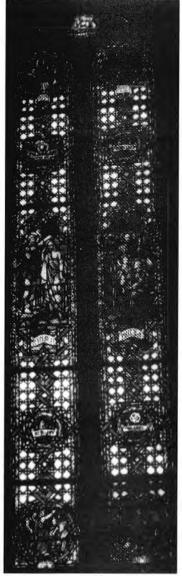
- I would also like to thank Ariane Isler-de Jongh for translating the résumé into French far superior to my own.
- 1 The English were the first to turn serious attention to Victorian stained glass in the 1970's and their ideas have come to dominate current studies. The first book to treat English nineteenth-century glass in detail was Martin Harrison, Victorian Stained Glass (London, 1980). French and German scholars are now following suit with their own investigations. See Glasmalerei des

- 19. Jahrhunderts in Deutschland. (Erfurt, 1993). Contributions by Monika Böning, Elgin Van Treeck-Vaassen, Peter Van Treeck, Ulf-Dietrich Korn and Erhard Drachenberg.
- 2 Harrison, Victorian Stained Glass, 42, describes Munich glass as "ignoring the architectural setting completely" and as being "theatrically conceived and over-realistic."
- 3 The stained glass workshop had been set up in 1827 in Munich, first under the directorship of Michael Sigmund Frank and in 1832 under Max Ainmiller. The first windows were for Regensburg Cathedral. (Information from Elgin Vaassen.)
- 4 These windows were the work of Max Ainmiller, the head of the Bavarian Stained Glass Works, and were created in 1855-58. They fill all the nave openings with the exception of the East Window, which was the work of Bernard van Linge and which was put in place c.1632.
- 5 The commmission was undertaken by the GMA under the direction of Max Ainmiller. It consisted of 123 biblical scenes distributed over sixty-four windows and occupied ten artists for about ten years. Most of the German windows in St. Mungo's have been replaced. For an overview of what is there now, see Painton Cowen, A Guide to Stained Glass in Britain (London, 1985), 236-37. There were more commissions for the UK including: seven windows for St. Paul's Cathedral in London after the designs of Julius Schnorr von Carolsfeld, of which only four were made; a window for Parliament Hall in Edinburgh designed by Wilhelm von Kaulbach, still in situ; others which have since been destroyed were installed in Dalry and Irvine in Scotland and in St. Michael Star Street in London-Paddington. (Information from E. Vaassen.)
- 6 Harrison, Victorian Stained Glass, 47-48.
- 7 No comparison was made with the analogous failure of many English-produced windows of the 1870s, including a number by William Morris and James Powell, which used water-soluble borax in the pigments. This caused the paint to peel off when exposed to the damp, so that the line drawing and the flesh tones disappeared. See Harrison, Victorian Stained Glass, 51-52.
- 8 The west windows depicting the Works of Mercy in Holy Trinity Church in Toronto, also from 1858, are among the earliest figurative stained glass produced in Canada. They are reputed to be the work of William Bullock, a Toronto artist working in conjunction with the Joseph McCausland firm of church decorators. Bullock was obviously English-trained for the figure style is very close to that of William Warrington.
- 9 For a thumbnail early history of the stained glass section of the Joseph McCausland firm, founded in Toronto in 1856, see Andrew McCausland and Alice Hamilton, "Robert McCausland Ltd. of Toronto," *Stained Glass*, LXXX, 2 (Summer 1985), 136-39.
- 10 Established in 1848 by Josef Gabriel Mayer, the Mayer'sche Hofkunstanstalt originally produced ecclesiastical furnishings. Stained glass designing was added ca.1865 with actual window manufacturing carried out in their own workshop after 1868.

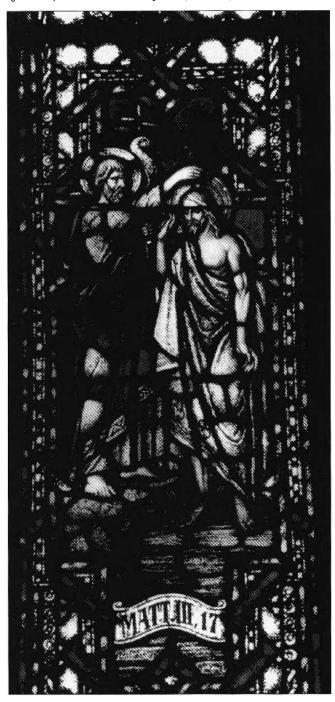
Figure 11. Nave Window, St. Alphonsius Church, Windsor, 1927; Gustav Van Treeck Studios, Munich (Photo: RSGC).

(Information from E. Vaassen.) This firm is still in operation today at 2 Seidlstrasse in Munich. Although all the early records in the building were destroyed during the bombing of Munich in 1944, several volumes of the Orderbooks from 1888 to 1933 in the New York office are extant because they were held in the United States. These were returned to the Munich headquarters in 1988. The Canadian orders were entered as interpolations to the American commissions. I would like to thank the manager of the firm for access to these books and for permission to transcribe the entries.

- 11 On the Nazarene movement, see Keith Andrews, The Nazarenes, A Brotherhood of German Painters in Rome (Oxford, 1964; New York, 1988).
- 12 German designers and artists had been visiting England regularly since the 1870s to study windows which could be
  - dows which could be used as samples for style and painting techniques when a customer requested something in the "süssen Stil." The English artist, William Francis Dixon, moved to Munich and worked as a painter/designer in the "sweet Style" for both Mayer and Zettler. Perhaps his hand is to be seen in the Virgins window.
- 13 These windows were installed in one campaign to replace the windows which were destroyed by the Halifax Explosion in December 1917.
- 14 The TGM/Innsbruck was founded in 1861 by Albert Neuhausen, a glazier's son, Georg Mader, a painter, and von Stadl, an architect. In 1880 a branch was established in Vienna. (Information from Elgin Vaassen.)
- 15 Pustet & Co., whose home base was actually in Regensburg, Germany, advertised itself from the New York Office as "Publishers and Booksellers; Importers and Manufacturers of Church







Ornaments, Vestments, Etc., Etc.; Sole Agents for The Renowned Statues of Mayr's (sic) Artistic Institute, Munich; and the celebrated Art Stained Glass Works, Innsbruck, Austria." An interesting aside is that the firm's letterhead indicates the rival Mayer firm separated its stained glass from its other exports, such as the statuary mentioned.

- 16 Carl Stromper, ed, *Die Tiroler Glasmalerei* (Innsbruck, 1894), 49-50, lists the windows and their iconography. There is also ample correspondence concerning these windows in the Archives of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Toronto (ARCAT).
- 17 This matter was contained in a letter dated 28 December 1888 which is in ARCAT.
- 18 Stromper, Die Tiroler Glasmalerei, 62: "Der Amerikaner is Eklektiker im wahrsten Sinne des Wortes; er nimmt von jedem Stil, was ihm gefällt, er vereinigt romanische Ornamentik mit spätgothischen Bogen und perspektivischer Malerei, in den Glasfenstern will er naturwahre realistische Bilder mit weit ausgebildetem landschaftlichem Hintergrund, die Figuren in genau historischen Costümen und solche Gruppen sieht er am liebsten umgeben und gekrönt von einem mehr oder weniger naturalistischen, frei aufsteigenden Ranken- und Blumen-ornament."
- 19 The one Canadian example of the stained glass of the Alexander Linnemann firm in Frankfurt is in St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church in Victoria and dates from 1890. It exhibits a more medievalizing style which did not catch on in Canada at that time. A great deal of enamel was used on these windows, a technique which does not age well in the Canadian climate and flakes off, erasing details.
- 20 Trained in London, England, N. Theodore Lyon came to Canada about 1861 to join the McCausland firm as a designer and painter. In 1881 he set up his own studio in direct competition with the McCauslands, soon becoming the second largest stained glass establishment in Toronto. The firm carried on after his death until it was bought out and reabsorbed into Robert McCausland Co. in 1942.
- 21 Gustav van Treeck (1854-1931) went to Munich in 1873, worked for Zettler as a "Madonna painter," founded his own studio in 1887 and was granted the title "Hofglasmaler" in 1903. The Werkstätten Gustav van Treeck currently operates from Schwindstrasse 3 in Munich. (Information from Elgin Vaassen.)
- 22 St. Rose Church, Riverside, 1926; Holy Name of Mary Church, Windsor, 1927; Our Lady of the Holy Rosary Church, Ford City, 1927; St. Alphonsius Church, Windsor, 1927-29. Timeconsuming problems were encountered when searching for these churches. Riverside and Ford City no longer exist, having been incorporated into the city of Windsor many years ago. The Church of the Holy Name of Mary was formerly known as Our Lady of Bon Secours and appears as such in the Van Treeck records. The church was found by chance and the windows identified by style and iconography since the church booklet indicates that they were the work of the Conrad Schmitt Studios. For the Our Lady of the Holy Rosary commission, no church name was given and this necessitated a visit to many Catholic churches in the area before the windows were located. They had to be identified on the basis of style and iconography since they were not signed.