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**The Bryn Athyn cathedral project: The art and craft of the  
ecclesiastical path**

**Kaplan, Shelley Fay, M.A.**

**University of Delaware, 1990**

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**THE BRYN ATHYN CATHEDRAL PROJECT:  
THE ART AND CRAFT OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL PATH**

by  
**Shelley F. Kaplan**

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of the University  
of Delaware in partial fulfillment of the requirements for  
the degree of Master of Arts in Early American Culture

**May 1990**

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**THE BRYN ATHYN CATHEDRAL PROJECT:**  
**THE ART AND CRAFT OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL PATH**

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## ABSTRACT

The Gothic styling, handcraftsmanship, and guild-like labor practices employed in the Bryn Athyn cathedral building program (begun 1913) by patron Raymond Pitcairn (1885-1966) have prompted scholars to label the project a manifestation of the American Arts and Crafts movement; this thesis re-examines that evaluation. By outlining the "ecclesiastical path" taken by spiritually-inspired craft advocates such as Ralph Adams Cram, the architect initially commissioned for the Bryn Athyn cathedral, and contrasting the ideology and practice of Cram with Pitcairn, this thesis places Bryn Athyn craft in context. Specifically, I examine the Bryn Athyn stained-glass window production as a case study.

The Bryn Athyn project in practice embodied many Arts and Crafts ideas more completely than did self-styled movement adherents. However, Pitcairn's ideals--which derived from his medievalist aesthetic interests, community values, and Swedenborgian beliefs--resembled the English High Church origins of the movement rather than mainstream American manifestations wherein craft was elevated to secularized salvation.

## INTRODUCTION

Located a few miles north of Philadelphia, the Bryn Athyn cathedral (begun 1913), stands as a monument to the spiritual values of a unique Swedenborgian community comprised of General Church of the New Jerusalem members. The cathedral embodies the particular vision of Raymond Pitcairn, supervisor of the project and son of the community benefactor. The Gothic styling, handcraftsmanship, and guild-like labor practices associated with the cathedral building program have earned it a place in current surveys of the American Arts and Crafts movement. An examination of the personal and communal motivations of project participants, however, indicates that this Bryn Athyn monument is more closely allied with the English High Church origins of the movement than with the largely secular American manifestations of Arts and Crafts ideology and practice.

Using Pitcairn's correspondence and documents housed in Glencairn,<sup>1</sup> his former residence now a community museum,

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<sup>1</sup> The name derives from the two family names of "Glenn" and "Pitcairn." For further information on Glencairn, see the "Afterword."

as well as Pitcairn's published articles, Bryn Athyn publications and oral histories, this study attempts to place the cathedral in cultural context. My study focuses on philosophy, style, construction, and work organization, because these are the categories generally treated in Arts and Crafts scholarship. I have concentrated my discussion specifically on the stained glass workers and workshops as a case study of the whole endeavor.

Many of Pitcairn's personal papers (besides those stored at Glencairn) still belong to the family and are not yet accessible. They would provide additional insights about influences on Pitcairn's craft philosophy as well as factual material relating to the stained-glass project and the craftsmen involved; they may be made public in the future, for the papers of Raymond's father, John, have been organized recently in an archives available to scholars. As the biographies and chronology included as appendices in this thesis as appendices reveal, gaps still exist in re-creating a complete picture of intent and implementation of craft at Bryn Athyn. When possible, I have drawn on the personal memories of community workmen and their relatives to substantiate the incomplete documentary and material evidence. The material record, in fact, needs more detailed analysis of specific drawings and objects to verify tentative attributions.

Working from visual and verbal data--as well as reminiscences--this study tries to fuse all aspects of craft endeavors at Bryn Athyn (especially stained glass) since both rhetoric and artifacts are essential to a substantive "reading" of the Bryn Athyn cathedral. It is hoped that by discussing the Bryn Athyn effort within the larger context of craft issues, this essay will promote a greater understanding of both the Bryn Athyn project and the revival of Arts and Crafts within an ecclesiastical framework in early twentieth-century America.

## CHAPTER I

### THE BRYN ATHYN CATHEDRAL PROJECT: CRAFTING HIGH-CHURCH SWEDENBORGIANISM

The Bryn Athyn community, located twenty miles north of Philadelphia, was founded by a group of "New Church" members in the 1890s.<sup>1</sup> The New Church, officially called The Church of the New Jerusalem and commonly called "Swedenborgian," is distinguished from other Christian faiths by the belief that the vision-inspired writings of the Swedish scientist and theologian Emmanuel Swedenborg (1688-1772) illuminate the true spiritual meaning of the old and new testaments.<sup>2</sup> Small groups in England and

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<sup>1</sup> The name "Bryn Athyn" was given to the area by the New Church community. It means "hill of cohesion," reflecting the homogenous community of Swedenborgian followers, although no particular significance is given by the community to the term's Welsh derivation. Martin Pryke, interview by author, Bryn Athyn, Pennsylvania, 13 February 1990; Cynthia Hyatt Walker, interview by author, Bryn Athyn, Pennsylvania, 28 March 1990. Indeed, Welsh names appear in various locales in the greater Philadelphia area.

<sup>2</sup> Swedenborg's major works include: The Arcana Coelestia, Divine Love and Wisdom, Divine Providence, Heaven and Hell, Apocalypse Explained, The Last Judgment, Conjugal Love, and The True Christian Religion. Two integral elements of Swedenborg doctrine, the idea of

Europe formed a sect based on Swedenborgian doctrine after his death, and the first Swedenborgian group in America dates from the late eighteenth century. Conflicts over the implementation of Swedenborgian doctrine in New Church practice in the mid-nineteenth century led to a splintering of the Church of the New Jerusalem into three factions, namely orthodox, conservative, and liberal groups.<sup>3</sup> Among other differences, orthodox members believed that Swedenborg's visions constituted the Lord's Second Coming as promised in Revelations; therefore, in addition to the old and new testaments his writings were the "Word of God" as opposed to "just helpful commentaries on the Scriptures."<sup>4</sup>

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correspondence and that of use, will be discussed later in this essay as they relate to the cathedral project. For a biography of Swedenborg, and an explanation and interpretation of his works, see Sig Synnestvedt, The Essential Swedenborg, (New York: The Swedenborg Foundation, Inc., 1977).

<sup>3</sup> For an early history of the New Church in America, see Scott Trego Swank, "The Unfettered Conscious: A Study of Sectarianism, Spiritualism, and Social Reform in the New Jerusalem Church, 1840-70," (Ph.d. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1970). An excellent history of the New Church, including a specific description of development of the Bryn Athyn community, may be found in Marguerite Beck Block, The New Church in the New World: A Study of Swedenborgianism in America, (New York: Octagon Books, Inc., 1960).

<sup>4</sup> Hugo Lj. Odhner, What is the General Church of the New Jerusalem?, rev. Lorentz R. Soneson (Bryn Athyn: Secretary of the General Church, 1989), p. 11. For a brief summary of New Church application of Swedenborgian thought,



The orthodox High Church group became the "General Church" of the New Jerusalem, and the nucleus of that organization was situated in the Philadelphia area.<sup>5</sup> This branch adopted an episcopal form of church government and a highly ritualized liturgy, which, though original, may be compared to the Anglican church.<sup>6</sup> These followers adhered to a strict observance of Swedenborgian doctrine expressed in their concern for incorporating Swedenborgian beliefs into all elements of life, including separate schooling -- hence their designation as the "Academy movement." The view that they should completely separate from the old church "both internally and externally"<sup>7</sup> led to the resettlement, in 1897, of General Church members from Philadelphia to the suburb of Huntington Valley, Pennsylvania, where a few New Church families already

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see Odhner, or Janet Doering, The New Church, A Summary of Beliefs (Bryn Athyn: The General Church Evangelization Committee, revised 1986).

<sup>5</sup> As defined in Webster's Ninth New Collegiate Dictionary (1988), "High Church" as an adjective is: "tending especially in Anglican worship to stress the sacerdotal, liturgical, ceremonial, traditional, and Catholic elements in worship."

<sup>6</sup> Block, pp. 289-90. Also E. Bruce Glenn, author of the official monograph on the Bryn Athyn cathedral, acknowledged the "High Church" Anglican analogy. Interview by author, Bryn Athyn, Pennsylvania, 13 February 1990.

<sup>7</sup> R.B. Caldwell, Sr., "Distinctive Social Life," New Church Life vol. 36 (March 1916), p. 137.

lived.

This exodus was made possible by General Church philanthropist John Pitcairn (1841-1916), who purchased land in the area later renamed Bryn Athyn, including a plot for a New Church school and acreage subdivided into parcels for purchase by individual members of the congregation.<sup>8</sup> In 1899, Pitcairn, a co-founder of the Pittsburgh Plate Glass Company, provided funds for the construction of an elementary and secondary school.<sup>9</sup> The community worshipped in various facilities, including the school chapel after 1902. In 1908 Pitcairn initiated the building of a new house of worship by a substantial contribution to the building fund and, along with the Bishop and other New Church leaders, he began planning the form of that building.<sup>10</sup>

Pitcairn's son Raymond (1885-1966), an attorney in Philadelphia, became involved in the project at an early

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<sup>8</sup> Martin Pryke, "A Quest for Perfection: The Story of the Making of the Stained Glass Windows in the Bryn Athyn Cathedral and Glencairn." July 1989, Glencairn Museum, Bryn Athyn, Pennsylvania, pp. 1-2.

<sup>9</sup> Pryke, "A Quest for Perfection," p. 2. This included a small theological department, which became a post-graduate facility in the 1960s, and a normal school. A college was added in the early twentieth century as well. Walker, interview.

<sup>10</sup> E. Bruce Glenn, Bryn Athyn Cathedral: The Building of a Church (Bryn Athyn: The Bryn Athyn Church of the New Jerusalem 1971) p. 20.

stage. It was Raymond who, dissatisfied with the first plans for an edifice in the English parish-church style proposed by the Philadelphia architectural firm of Lawrence Visscher Boyd, suggested the hiring of Cram and Ferguson of Boston in 1912.<sup>11</sup> America's leading neo-Gothicist architect, Ralph Adams Cram, envisioned the cathedral as a variation of an English church in the fifteenth-century Perpendicular style, with the plan modified to accommodate General Church ritual.

John Pitcairn welcomed Raymond's interest and allowed him to assume the burden of responsibility regarding supervision of the project.<sup>12</sup> Continuing misunderstandings between Raymond Pitcairn and Ralph Adams Cram about the architect's supervisory role, and debates over the design of the building frequently altered at Pitcairn's request, eventually led to the firm's withdrawal from the project in the spring of 1917. Pitcairn<sup>13</sup> then replaced Cram as sole supervisor of the project although he continued to employ draftsmen, many of whom were still

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<sup>11</sup> Pryke, "A Quest for Perfection," p. 3.

<sup>12</sup> While Cram commended John Pitcairn as a client, the architect seemed to appreciate him for his lack of involvement, as opposed to Raymond's "hands-on" approach. Ralph Adams Cram, My Life in Architecture (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1936; repr., New York: Kraus Reprint Co., 1969), pp. 247-49.

<sup>13</sup> Hereafter "Pitcairn" stands for Raymond Pitcairn.

associated with Cram but worked at the site. To compensate for his lack of architectural training, Pitcairn utilized full-scale models, a practice that had been advocated by the contemporary medievalist Arthur Kingsley Porter.<sup>14</sup> The resulting cathedral, dedicated on October 5, 1919, differed from Cram's scheme in height and in many specific elements, including the designs of the tower, the west portal, the south porch, and transepts.<sup>15</sup> The church developed organically, with the later additions reflecting Pitcairn's growing interest in the Romanesque (figure 1).<sup>16</sup> As Cram himself later admitted, the deviations from the original Cram and Ferguson designs resulted in

a sort of epitome of English church-building from the earliest Norman to the latest Perpendicular; learned, scholarly, poetic; a real masterpiece of reminiscent yet creative art."<sup>17</sup>

Correspondence and statements by both Cram and Pitcairn

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<sup>14</sup> See A. Kingsley Porter, Beyond Architecture (Boston: Marshall Jones Company, 1918), p. 162. In this book, he praises Bryn Athyn's use of three-dimensional models. He had advocated recreating medieval building practices in this manner in his Medieval Architecture of 1909. Jane Hayward and Walter Cahn, Radiance and Reflection: Medieval Art from the Raymond Pitcairn Collection (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1982), p. 33.

<sup>15</sup> Glenn, Bryn Athyn Cathedral, pp. 49-53.

<sup>16</sup> The council hall was completed in 1926, the choir hall in 1929.

<sup>17</sup> Cram, My Life, pp. 249-50.

regarding their goals illuminate the similarities and differences in both men's philosophical and practical approaches to the building of the cathedral. Despite Cram's early withdrawal from the project, he influenced the work organization as well as the essential neo-Gothic design of the Cathedral. Cram had suggested to Pitcairn that the construction work for aspects of the building and its ornament be undertaken on the site, in accord with the craft practices of medieval guilds. The guild idea was fashionable among certain Arts and Crafts proponents, with whom Cram was associated by virtue of his membership in the Boston Society of Arts and Crafts.<sup>18</sup> Pitcairn adopted Cram's suggestions and expanded upon them. Over 110 workers were employed on the site to complete the building; the financial expenditure was immense, although the total cost of the cathedral is not known.<sup>19</sup> The result of this

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<sup>18</sup> Gustav Stickley's magazine The Craftsman, probably the most well-known American Arts and Crafts publication, devoted an entire issue to "The Gilds [sic] of the Middle Ages." vol. 1, no. 3 (December 1901). The guild idea was an important element of the Arts and Crafts movement in England: Augustus W.N. Pugin, John Ruskin, and William Morris advocated the guild system. Certain self-styled Arts and Crafts organizations on both sides of the Atlantic adopted the term. Note C.R. Ashbee's "Guild of Handicraft," A.H. Mackmurdo's "Century Guild," and Oscar Lovell Triggs's "Bohemia Guild of the Industrial Art League."

<sup>19</sup> Apparently, the expenditure on the church was a matter of speculation at the time. In 1923, Andrew Mellon, who was Secretary of the Interior and friendly with

communal labor is a tribute to handcraftsmanship revealed in all aspects of the building, from the teak doors to the metal hinges (figure 2).

As the cathedral took shape, Pitcairn devoted much of his time to the stained-glass workshops. While innovators such as Louis Comfort Tiffany were experimenting with artistic glassmaking in factory settings, Bryn Athyn looked backward to medieval exemplars. It seems to be a rare, perhaps unique, example in the twentieth century of glass manufacture and stained-glass window designing and fabrication on the actual building site.<sup>20</sup> The stained-glass studio continued operation into the 1950s. Even today the cathedral project is ongoing, for some decoration is unfinished, awaiting funds for completion. This essay, however, focuses on the period prior to 1929, the years of significant decision-making and dynamic action on the cathedral project.

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Pitcairn, requested information regarding the total funds spent on the Bryn Athyn cathedral building. Pitcairn responded that he did not keep records but would not reveal the information even if he had the knowledge. Glenn interview, 13 February 1990.

<sup>20</sup> I know of no other examples which incorporated the designing of windows and making of glass for a building on the site.

## CHAPTER II

### BRYN ATHYN CRAFT IN CONTEXT: THE ARTS AND CRAFTS MOVEMENT IN ECCLESIASTICAL PERSPECTIVE

Most of the literature on Bryn Athyn has come from within the New Church community and, not surprisingly, has focused on the religious inspiration for the cathedral. The only major publication devoted to the project, Bryn Athyn Cathedral: The Building of A Church, is a tribute to the building and the community, but it offers little context.<sup>1</sup> Marguerite Beck Block, in her religious history of the New Church, includes a useful discussion of the cathedral in the context of the Bryn Athyn community, but she does not detail or interpret the craft methods utilized in the building. The history of the cathedral construction was briefly recounted in the Metropolitan Museum of Art's catalogue Radiance and Reflection: Medieval Art from the Raymond Pitcairn Collection to document Pitcairn's collection of medieval sculpture, architectural elements, and stained-glass fragments purchased as study tools for

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<sup>1</sup> Mr. E. Bruce Glenn, author of the book, has written a companion history of the building of Glencairn, due to be published in 1990.

Bryn Athyn cathedral workmen.

The craft dimension of the Bryn Athyn project received greater attention from contemporaneous observers.<sup>2</sup> Bryn Athyn is discussed at length in a 1916 publication, The New Interior. The author of the book, Hazel Adler, promoted architects, artists, and craftsmen who embodied her version of Arts and Crafts principles, that is, individuals whose attitudes toward craft made them representatives of "the new movement."<sup>3</sup> She upheld Bryn Athyn as a successful example of the "modern church interior"; it elevated the quality of religious buildings in America by its attention to aesthetics and craftsmanship. Besides receiving attention from Ralph Adams Cram, Bryn Athyn was praised by certain medievalists of the period including Arthur Kingsley Porter and William Goodyear,<sup>4</sup> and by Agnes Addison in her 1938 history of the

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<sup>2</sup> The texts of numerous newspaper articles published during construction of the cathedral and just after its completion reflect publicist Ralph Adams Cram's interpretation of the project more than Pitcairn's.

<sup>3</sup> Hazel H. Adler, The New Interior: Modern Decoration for the Modern Home (New York: The Century Co., 1916), p. 7. For Bryn Athyn see pp. 279-86.

<sup>4</sup> Pitcairn had attended a lecture in 1915 along with members of Cram's office assigned to work at Bryn Athyn, in which William Goodyear, then a curator at the Brooklyn Museum, argued that the curves in plan and bends in elevation in medieval churches were intentional and carefully executed. Pitcairn began corresponding with Goodyear and enthusiastically employed such architectural



Gothic Revival, Romanticism and the Gothic Revival.

Due to fine craftsmanship and the "guild" labor system, the project has been mentioned in recent secondary literature regarding the Arts and Crafts movement. The Bryn Athyn craft organization and methods of construction are described as "Arts and Crafts" in Roger Kennedy's survey of American churches.<sup>5</sup> Tod Volpe and Beth Cathers include the Bryn Athyn stained-glass project under the heading "American Arts and Crafts glass" in their volume Treasures of the American Arts and Crafts Movement, 1890-1920.<sup>6</sup> However, neither publication offers a justification for Bryn Athyn's inclusion in the Movement.

The most extensive treatment has been offered in the

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variations in the Bryn Athyn cathedral. Prior to working at the Brooklyn Museum, Goodyear had been a curator at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. Glenn, Bryn Athyn Cathedral, pp. 60-61.

<sup>5</sup> Roger G. Kennedy, American Churches (New York: Stewart, Tabori & Chang, 1982), p. 103.

<sup>6</sup> Tod M. Volpe and Beth Cathers. Treasures of the American Arts and Crafts Movement 1890--1920 (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1988), p.187. In extracting their information directly from Robert Edwards' treatment of the Bryn Athyn project in his article "The Art of Work" in "The Art that is Life": The Arts and Crafts Movement in America, 1875-1920, ed. Wendy Kaplan (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1987), pp. 225-27, the authors mistake Bryn Athyn metal-designer Parke Edwards as belonging to the guild "which produced glass for the Swedenborgian Church at Bryn Athyn, Pennsylvania." From all Bryn Athyn materials, it is apparent that Edwards was only involved in the metalwork aspect of the project.

1987 exhibition catalogue "The Art that is Life:" The Arts and Crafts Movement in America, 1875-1920, compiled by Wendy Kaplan for the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. Essayist Robert Edwards mentions Bryn Athyn and Arts and Crafts metalwork-designer Parke Edwards, who worked for Pitcairn, in the section "The Art of Work." A catalogue entry for a crib made at Bryn Athyn for the Pitcairn home "Glencairn," is used to summarize Bryn Athyn's craft.<sup>7</sup> The placement of the entry in the "communities" section of the catalogue captures the essential spirit of Bryn Athyn creations. Without discussing the specific ideology behind Bryn Athyn material culture, however, the inclusion of the crib among products of other self-styled Arts and Crafts communities like Byrdcliffe and Roycroft is misleading. The implication is that craft per se was central to the establishment and purpose of the community.

Raymond Pitcairn never consciously identified himself with a "movement" to improve the state of craftsmanship or the plight of the worker. Nor was he concerned with the dissemination of a handicraft revival. While the guild-type craftsmanship practiced at Bryn Athyn appears to be in harmony with American Arts and Crafts ideals, other aspects of the Bryn Athyn philosophy and

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<sup>7</sup> Kaplan, p. 315.

style seem more clearly aligned with the English neo-Gothic "High Church" movement, a precursor of the Arts and Crafts trend in Britain. Before Bryn Athyn's place within a larger social context can be evaluated, a survey of the distinguishing characteristics of the English Arts and Crafts movement and various American interpretations is necessary.

Current students of the American movement have agreed upon certain aspects: English forerunners (John Ruskin and William Morris), general dates (c.1870 to c.1920) and major personalities (Gustav Stickley, Elbert Hubbard, Frank Lloyd Wright). Dichotomies have been offered to encompass divergent perspectives on ideology and practice, style and craft process: social reformers vs. design reformers, progressives vs. antimodernists, idealists vs. pragmatists.<sup>8</sup> Despite the different classifications, it is generally understood that the Arts and Crafts movement was transformed in its journey across the Atlantic. The English movement emerged from the High Church movement, and the craft philosophy put forth in the early years was charged with religious associations.

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<sup>8</sup> See Eileen Boris, Art and Labor: Ruskin, Morris, and the Craftsman Ideal in America (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986), p. 28; T. J. Jackson Lears, No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880-1920 (New York: Pantheon Books, 1981), chap. 2 passim; Edwards, in Kaplan, p. 223.

William Morris's development as a socialist illustrates the later, but rapid, politicizing of the English movement. By contrast, the American movement was neither religious nor political from the start. Central issues revolved around the role of the machine, the adaptation of materials and styles to reflect a uniquely American heritage, and the need to elevate taste and encourage qualitative, rational consumption.<sup>9</sup> After several years of lively debate, the Boston Society of Arts and Crafts, under the leadership of H. Langford Warren in 1903, became a "conservative, apolitical organization, devoted almost exclusively to design education and reform."<sup>10</sup> This reflected the evolution of the American movement as a whole; it was democratic, individualistic, educational, and non-partisan.

The American movement was not only non-denominational, but thoroughly secular as well. While a certain missionary ardor colors the rhetoric of many devotees in the crafts movement, religious imagery occurs only in the transmutation of craft to personal religion.

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<sup>9</sup> The Craftsman, published from 1901 to 1916 by Gustav Stickley, contained articles on a wide variety of subjects. It is the most prominent example of middle-class magazines which publicized Arts and Crafts ideas, designers, interiors, and regional variations.

<sup>10</sup> Beverly K. Brandt, "Mutually Helpful Relations: Architects, Craftsmen, and the Society of Arts and Crafts, 1897-1917" (Ph.D. diss., Boston University, 1985), p. viii.

The intellectual historian T.J. Jackson Lears asserts that for such zealous people, craft, or art, became a basis for faith--a replacement for religion in the irreligious culture to which they belonged.<sup>11</sup> Lears claims that in America, "a faint, unconscious protest against an emergent secular civilization based on material consumption" guided the words and actions of the reformers, but, unlike their English counterparts, "American craft leaders quickly lost sight of religious or communal frameworks of meaning outside the self."<sup>12</sup> While the Arts and Crafts movement in the United States overlapped with other reform agendas stressing Christian morality, it was ecumenical in its viewpoint and chose as its prophets the native transcendentalists Henry David Thoreau and Ralph Waldo Emerson.

Craft "religion" at the Rose Valley community in suburban Philadelphia resulted in the "Rose Valley Scriptures," praising handcraftsmanship and "ethical humanism."<sup>13</sup> The founder of the New Clairvaux community,

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<sup>11</sup> This essay does not embrace Lears's thesis as a whole. Nonetheless, his identification of many members of the movement as secularized missionaries is convincing.

<sup>12</sup> Lears, pp. 96, 65.

<sup>13</sup> Lears, p. 73. See also William Smallwood Ayres, "The Rose Valley Arts and Crafts Experiment (1901-1910)" (M.A. thesis, University of Delaware, 1982), pp. 53-54.

Unitarian minister Edward Pressey, emphasized work as salvation. Of his communal experiment, he wrote: "And this . . . is the holy land and I knew it not."<sup>14</sup> Gustav Stickley confessed that his Craftsman enterprises became a "religion" to him.<sup>15</sup> Disseminating ideas through lectures and in print, Stickley and others adopted a sermonizing stance. While he differed with craft enthusiasts on the role of the machine, Frank Lloyd Wright praised anti-modernist William Morris for preaching the "gospel of simplicity."<sup>16</sup>

Just as Wright was atypical of mainstream Arts and Craftsmen when he admitted to C.R. Ashbee, "My God . . . is machinery,"<sup>17</sup> so too Ralph Adams Cram was unusual in his commitment to renewing the role of the church in American life. Cram's vision of art and craftsmanship seemed to

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<sup>14</sup> Edward Pearson Pressey, Country Time and Tide, vol. 1 (February 1902), quoted in Lears, p. 72.

<sup>15</sup> Stickley reprinted in Barry Sanders, ed., The Craftsman: An Anthology, (Santa Barbara and Salt Lake City: Peregrine Smith, Inc., 1978), p. 293.

<sup>16</sup> Frank Lloyd Wright in Edgar Kaufman and Ben Raeburn, eds., Frank Lloyd Wright: Writings and Buildings (New York, 1960), pp. 56, 64, quoted in H. Allen Brooks, The Prairie School: Frank Lloyd Wright and His Midwest Contemporaries (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972), p. 19.

<sup>17</sup> Quoted in Lionel Lambourne, Utopian Craftsmen: The Arts and Crafts Movement from the Cotswolds to Chicago (Salt Lake City: Peregrine Smith, 1980), p. 160.

develop from his Episcopalian faith rather than as a substitute for organized religion. While Cram has been included in the American Arts and Crafts movement on the basis of his attitude toward craftsmanship and his desire to unify all aspects of interior and exterior architecture, his religious motivations are atypical for movement practitioners. They are congruent, however, with Raymond Pitcairn's aspirations at Bryn Athyn. Because of his connection with both the Arts and Crafts movement and the Bryn Athyn cathedral, Cram's philosophy toward craft can illuminate a contextual understanding of Raymond Pitcairn's ambitious project. Unfortunately, Arts and Crafts scholarship has not examined the subject of Cram and other ecclesiastical reformers in a holistic way. Individual biographies or stylistic surveys of churches described as "Arts and Crafts" have avoided an analysis of the role of ecclesiastical reformers in relation to the American Arts and Crafts movement, or as a potentially separate ideological force in architecture and craft during the period.<sup>18</sup> Lears treats Cram's "Anglo-Catholicism" and

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<sup>18</sup> Richard Guy Wilson, in his article "Ralph Adams Cram: Dreamer of the Medieval," in Medievalism in American Culture, eds. Bernard Rosenthal and Paul Szarmach (Binghamton, New York: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1989), p. 204, makes the connection between Cram and the English ecclesiologists, but then downplays Cram's Anglo-Catholicism and implies that the ecclesiastical strain only accounted for a stylistic choice in the

medievalism in a chapter separate from his commentary on the Arts and Crafts movement. Hence, he indirectly addresses the need for religiously-motivated individuals to be assessed in relation to the Arts and Crafts movement. Since Lears is an intellectual historian, he does not develop the crucial connection between Cram's religious philosophy and his architectural practice.

More to the point is Englishman Lionel Lambourne's tripartite model of the Arts and Crafts movement as composed of craft reformers influenced by a religious outlook, design reformers, and social reformers. Lambourne's assessment identifies the medievalist High Church proponents as exemplars of the first of three "paths" taken by the English Arts and Crafts movement. He singles out Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin as the model for this ecclesiastical path.<sup>19</sup> Similarly, Sir Henry Cole is portrayed as the leader of the design reformers who pursued a practical path. Lambourne also contrasts the "idealist" ecclesiastical and social reformers with the "practical" design reformers, claiming that

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movement. In an article "An Ecclesiastical Masterpiece of the Arts and Crafts Era," for *Tiller*, vol. 2, no. 3, (January - February 1984) p. 26, Elenita C. Chickering summarized the scarcity of discussion of the ecclesiastical in Arts and Crafts scholarship.

<sup>19</sup> For an explanation of the "three paths," see Lambourne, pp. 4-16.



the spiritual and aesthetic values of the Arts and Crafts movement -- as compared to the secular and practical ones of Owen and his followers -- owe their most distinctive debt to the influence of . . . Pugin.<sup>20</sup>

William Morris, with inspiration from John Ruskin, pioneered the third path leading to a "socialist Utopia." Lambourne acknowledges that these paths were often intertwined, since all three groups shared certain ideas and traits; he credits Morris with combining the practical and idealistic goals of his predecessors.

Regrettably, Lambourne does not consistently apply the tripartite structure throughout his study, and he does not articulate the elements of Pugin's thought which define the "ecclesiastical path." Therefore I have extrapolated the major ideals promulgated by Pugin which Lambourne implies are the fundamental creed for the ecclesiastical group. The significant attributes of the "ecclesiastical ideal" are: a belief that art should serve religion, an interest in honest craftsmanship and use of local materials, an attempt to unite art and craft in the medieval manner, and replication of the Gothic style.<sup>21</sup> As

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<sup>20</sup> Lambourne, p. 7.

<sup>21</sup> The "ecclesiastical ideal" as defined here was developed by Pugin, but modified in various ways, and infused with political concerns, by later English Arts and Crafts exponents, such as William Morris. My interpretation tries to outline generally the ecclesiastical mind-set, without addressing in detail the

the locus of High-Church worship, the cathedral was the ecclesiastical ideal made manifest.

A Roman Catholic convert, Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin (1812-52) was by definition a High Churchman; he was also an architect, whose religious beliefs informed his work. He maintained that architectural styles and building practices reflected the morals of a society: "The belief and manners of all people are embodied in the edifices they raised."<sup>22</sup> Therefore, by adopting the classical style, his contemporaries were advocating the ideals of a pagan society. Christian architecture, conversely, reflected a faith in God and "noble conceptions,"<sup>23</sup> as opposed to the "imperfect systems" of pagan architecture.<sup>24</sup> Pugin appealed to his countrymen to adopt the Gothic style not so much for aesthetic reasons, since taste varied, but because it was the "true" Christian architecture representing the middle ages, which was the pinnacle of pious Christianity

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modifications to the ideal not pertinent to this essay. The "ecclesiastical ideal" is a catch-all term used as a conceptual tool to understand the movement; Pugin never encapsulated all his ideas into one "ideal" which was consciously adopted by later followers.

<sup>22</sup> A.W.N. Pugin, An Apology for the Revival of Christian Architecture (London: John Weale, 1843); reprint, Oxford: St. Barnabas Press, pp. 3-4.

<sup>23</sup> Pugin, An Apology, p. 6.

<sup>24</sup> Pugin, An Apology, p. 5.

in England. The architectural historian Nikolaus Pevsner noted that while others had advocated the use of the Gothic style, Pugin was the first to view the Gothic as "a Christian duty."<sup>25</sup> Pugin argued that architecture should be suited to the heritage and underlying beliefs of a society. He proclaimed England a Christian nation, stressed its Catholic roots, and advocated widespread usage of the Gothic for not only churches but civic buildings and private dwellings.<sup>26</sup>

As Pevsner observed, Pugin never fully justified his contention that the Gothic style represented true Christian architecture;<sup>27</sup> later followers of the "ideal" applied the same rhetoric to earlier "Christian" styles, including the Romanesque. Pugin himself changed his allegiance, around 1840, from the Perpendicular style (mid-fourteenth to mid-fifteenth century) to the late thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century "Middle Pointed" style.<sup>28</sup> Still, the ideal remained unaltered, for Pugin insisted on reviving "not a style but a principle." He claimed it was "the

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<sup>25</sup> Nikolaus Pevsner, Some Architectural Writers in the Nineteenth Century (London: Oxford University Press, 1972), p. 103.

<sup>26</sup> Pugin, Apology, p. 38.

<sup>27</sup> Pevsner, p. 110.

<sup>28</sup> Pevsner, p. 113.

devotion, majesty, and repose of Christian art, for which we are contending."<sup>29</sup> For Pugin, the Gothic cathedral epitomized the sense of community and religious devotion of medieval ancestors. Underlying Pugin's writings was the precept that architecture and art should serve God and Christian doctrine, not the artist's own interests.<sup>30</sup>

Pugin emphasized honesty in construction as a determinant of a building's worth: "Every building that is treated without disguise or concealment, cannot fail to look well."<sup>31</sup> His two rules of design, as articulated in True Principles (1841), postulated that all features of the building should derive from "convenience, construction, or propriety," and ornament should enhance but not obscure the construction.<sup>32</sup> The modern builder should use local materials in emulation of the ancient buildings, which adapted particular structures to specific locales so that "they seemed as if they formed a portion of nature itself, grappling and growing from the sites in which they are placed."<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> Pugin, Apology, p. 44.

<sup>30</sup> Pugin, Apology, p. 44.

<sup>31</sup> Pugin, Apology, p. 39.

<sup>32</sup> A.W.N. Pugin, True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1853), p. 1.

<sup>33</sup> Pugin, Apology, p. 21.

Pugin's assertion that design was a way to reform society was integrated into the principles of the ensuing Arts and Crafts movement.<sup>34</sup> Likewise, Arts and Craftsmen advocated the unity of the decorative and fine arts practiced by Pugin in his churches and houses, the commissions for which included stained glass, textiles, metalwork, and wallpapers.<sup>35</sup>

The greatest evil for Pugin was the secularization of society rather than the dehumanizing effect of industrialization. The latter was the foremost concern of John Ruskin (1819-1900): he imbued the ecclesiastical ideal with a social conscience.<sup>36</sup> While Ruskin denied Pugin's influence, his writings reveal the debt. He reiterated the belief in art ennobled by religious purpose and in honest use of materials and straightforward construction.<sup>37</sup> Ruskin's concern for the worker and for the dehumanization

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<sup>34</sup> Richard Guy Wilson, "American Arts and Crafts Architecture: Radical Thought Dedicated to the Cause Conservative," in Kaplan, p. 105.

<sup>35</sup> Gillian Naylor, The Arts and Crafts Movement: A Study of its Sources, Ideals, and Influence on Design Theory (London: Studio Vista Publications, 1971), p. 13.

<sup>36</sup> Pevsner, p. 141.

<sup>37</sup> Pevsner, p. 141. Ruskin didn't agree with Pugin's advocacy of English fourteenth-century style, preferring continental architecture; however, since Pugin argued for ideals of Gothic over style, this is not a negation of the ideal.

resulting from industrial society interjected anti-machine and humanitarian dictates into the ecclesiastical ideal, thereby complicating it. Whereas Pugin had advanced the notion that his medieval ancestors no doubt would have appreciated modern improvements to facilitate their work, Ruskin abhorred labor without thought as evidenced in the factory system.<sup>38</sup> Ruskin popularized the idea that mental and physical labor must be united.

We want one man to be always thinking, and another to be always working, and we call one man a gentleman, and the other an operative; whereas the workman ought often to be thinking, and the thinker often to be working, and both should be gentlemen in the best sense.<sup>39</sup>

To this end, Ruskin initiated the Guild of St. George (1871), a forerunner of many utopian experiments in craft and community.

As with Pugin, William Morris (1834-96) came to the craft arena with strong High Church roots; like his eventual partner Edward Burne-Jones, Morris had entered Oxford University intending to become an Anglican clergyman. Morris espoused the tenets of the

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<sup>38</sup> Pugin, Apology, p. 40. Later adherents of the ecclesiastical ideal had varying, and often conflicting, attitudes toward the machine, as did the Arts and Crafts movement in general. Most followers of the ideal did believe that the machine should not replace the human hand in creating art.

<sup>39</sup> Quoted in Lambourne, p. 13.

ecclesiastical ideal, even after he separated himself from the High Church movement and "converted" to socialism. Although he sought a modern artistic expression, he was heavily influenced by the Gothic style. Like Ruskin, Morris honored the medieval craftsman not just for the religious devotion that informed his craft, but for the joy he supposedly derived from the combination of creative and manual labor.

The basic tenets of the ecclesiastical ideal as formulated by Pugin and modified by Ruskin and Morris were enthusiastically accepted by Ralph Adams Cram (1863-1942), the foremost medievalist and church architect in turn-of-the-century America. His influence was enormous, virtually revolutionizing the "visual image of American Christianity in his time."<sup>40</sup> In partnership with Goodhue and Ferguson, his principal ecclesiastical buildings included the Princeton chapel (1925-28), All Saints' Church in Ashmont (Boston, 1891-95), and St. Thomas's Church (New York, 1905-13). He was probably as well known for his numerous books, articles, and lectures as for his executed commissions. Cram was a High-Church Episcopalian who had an abiding attachment to Catholic liturgy. Cram's writings, such as The Gothic Quest (1907), bear a striking resemblance to

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<sup>40</sup> Douglas Shand Tucci, Ralph Adams Cram: American Medievalist, (Boston: Boston Public Library, 1975), p. 4.

Pugin's.<sup>41</sup> Like his British predecessor, Cram argued that architects needed to understand the Christian beliefs underlying the churches they built and that, ideally, they should be of the faith.<sup>42</sup> He designed a great many Episcopal churches, but also received commissions from several other denominations.

Cram's Episcopalian All Saints' Church in Ashmont (figure 3) illustrates his application of the basic tenets of the ecclesiastical ideal: Gothic styling, honest construction, use of local materials, the unity of art and craft, and art in the service of religion.<sup>43</sup> In All Saints', his first major church commission, Cram was able to put his thesis regarding the Gothic style into practice.

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<sup>41</sup> There were differences between Pugin and Cram, but these do not seem to affect the ecclesiastical ideal. For example, Douglas Shand Tucci notes in Ralph Adams Cram: American Medievalist, p. 17, that Cram thought the development of the Gothic had been artificially halted by the Reformation; whereas Pugin thought the Gothic had reached the end of its development by that time. As Boris points out in "'Dreams of Brotherhood and Beauty': The Social Ideas of the Arts and Crafts Movement," in "The Art that is Life" (p. 210), Cram saw the Gothic as progressive -- if applied to modern conditions, it would result in a new form of architecture, still similar in spirit to the Gothic.

<sup>42</sup> For Pugin, see Apology, p. 21; Ralph Adams Cram, The Gothic Quest, 2d ed. (New York: Doubleday, Page and Co., 1915), pp. 190-91.

<sup>43</sup> The design of All Saints' is commonly considered by scholars of Cram to have influenced church architecture for the next fifty years.



Cram believed the Gothic had been prevented from reaching its maturity by the intervention of the Renaissance; therefore, he wanted to revive the Gothic in its fifteenth-century manifestation and progress forward. Thus Cram modified and simplified the fifteenth-century Perpendicular style in All Saints' and subsequent commissions.

In All Saints' Cram was able to use local Quincy granite an affirmation of the ecclesiastical ideal's concern with materials. The extent to which he employed local materials in other aspects of the building and in other commissions is not known. Cram recognized that the design and plan of a church should reflect the denomination and its ritual. The unusual seating plan in All Saints', arranged so as to narrow the nave and aisles and thereby underscoring their length, resulted from Cram's interest in creating a dramatic interior.<sup>44</sup> Cram believed that High-Church architecture provided the best opportunity for the integral use of the decorative arts.<sup>45</sup> In executing All Saints', Cram drew upon a Boston-based craft community, whose resources he continued to utilize in later commissions. Craftsmen he employed for interior finish work at All Saints' included Charles Connick (stained

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<sup>44</sup> Richard Guy Wilson, "Ralph Adams Cram," pp. 207-8.

<sup>45</sup> Ralph Adams Cram, The Gothic Quest, 2d ed. (New York: Doubleday, Page and Co., 1915), p. 177; pp. 184-85.

glass), John Evans (stone carving), and Johannes Kirchmayer (woodcarving).

Although Cram preferred the English Gothic vocabulary and usually did not combine stylistic periods in a specific commission, his designs were often eclectic.<sup>46</sup> In keeping with the rhetoric of the English ecclesiastical ideal, Cram emphasized that stylistic purity was not his foremost concern: "We have simply tried to preserve the spirit of the past, not its forms."<sup>47</sup> While America could not claim a rich medieval heritage, Cram stressed the essential Christianity of the culture and the Catholic roots of Anglicanism. He maintained that art was "not a form of amusement" but a language for expressing religious devotion and spiritual truths.<sup>48</sup> The proper place to view art was in situ, in churches rather than museums.<sup>49</sup> Recalling Pugin, he urged: "We must realize that art is the servant of God."<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> Richard Guy Wilson, "Ralph Adams Cram," p. 193. Although the stages of the Gothic revival are not a concern of this essay, Cram is associated with the later English Gothic Revival architects, such as G.F. Bodley and J.D. Sedding.

<sup>47</sup> Wilson in Kaplan, p. 138.

<sup>48</sup> Cram, The Gothic Quest, p. 49.

<sup>49</sup> Cram, The Gothic Quest, pp. 100-1.

<sup>50</sup> Cram, The Gothic Quest, pp. 100-1.

Cram also argued for the architect's elevated status; contemporary architects took on the role of medieval abbots, who had organized "the great guilds of masons and craftsmen" and had orchestrated "the perfect unity of impulse."<sup>51</sup> Cram advocated the workshop system for building a church, in opposition to the modern practice of contracting with trade unions. At Bryn Athyn, he saw an opportunity to realize fully his ecclesiastical ideal, wherein the modern architect reigned supreme.

All the conditions were phenomenally promising. There was a site of singular beauty, sympathetic cooperation, and apparently no limit set on expenditures. For basic inspiration, we had the spiritual and pictorial mysticism of Emanuel [sic] Swedenborg. I seemed to see here a chance to put into practice some of my theories of a Medieval guild system, and the idea was cordially received.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> Cram, The Gothic Quest, p. 124.

<sup>52</sup> Cram, My Life, p. 248.

### **CHAPTER III**

#### **ECCLESIASTICAL THEORY AND PRACTICE: RAYMOND PITCAIRN RESPONDS TO RALPH ADAMS CRAM**

Ralph Adams Cram's optimism regarding the Bryn Athyn project sprang from the knowledge that he and his Bryn Athyn patron shared a commitment to spiritual values in an irreligious age. Raymond Pitcairn, neither a professional architect nor a leader in the Arts and Crafts movement, nonetheless held beliefs in harmony with those defined here as the "ecclesiastical ideal," but he was determined to put the ideal into practice in his own way. Pitcairn implemented at Bryn Athyn a modified version of Cram's craft suggestions that reinforced principles which the patron himself had brought to the project: a concern for natural materials and honest construction, a belief in art in the service of religion and in the moral attributes of the Gothic style, and a profound respect for the accomplishments of medieval artist-craftsmen. Yet Pitcairn's ideals derived from different motivations and influences than did Cram's, as evidenced in an examination of the deteriorating relations between the architect and client between 1913 and 1917.

Raymond Pitcairn was a fervent medievalist. He kept abreast of contemporary medievalists' work, particularly that of Emile Male, William Goodyear, and Arthur Kingsley Porter. On at least one occasion, Pitcairn noted his agreement with views on the late Gothic style put forth by Arts and Crafts proponent Charles Eliot Norton.<sup>1</sup> While Pitcairn voiced ideas similar to those expressed in Ruskin's writings, which he read, Pitcairn did not view Ruskin as a mentor. In fact, he pointed out their ideological differences as well as divergent stylistic preferences.<sup>2</sup> Rather than being influenced by particular theorists or artistic schools of thought, Pitcairn's views were shaped by his upbringing, the religious community to which he belonged, his reverence for nature, and his experience of building a studio two years before his first meeting with Cram in 1913.

The specifics of Pitcairn's childhood and education contributed to his proclivity for things medieval. His

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<sup>1</sup> Raymond Pitcairn, "Christian Art and Architecture for the New Church," New Church Life, vol. XL, no. 10 (October 1920), p. 618.

<sup>2</sup> For example, Ruskin's emphasis on the "truth" of art and the association of art and morality, tended to downplay religion. Raymond Pitcairn claimed that Ruskin confused art and religion by equating them. Raymond Pitcairn, "The Realm of Art and Its Relation to Religion," n.d., p. 1, Raymond Pitcairn/New Church Art file, Glencairn Museum, Bryn Athyn, Pennsylvania. Also, Pitcairn disagreed with Ruskin's preference for a spire.

mother was interested in medieval architecture, and he was taken to Europe almost every year of his youth. She encouraged him to collect pictures of architecture and gardens, and she assisted him in compiling scrapbooks.<sup>3</sup> Raymond's developing library weighed heavily in favor of books on the subject of medieval architecture.<sup>4</sup> He acquired additional volumes, such as works by Eugene-Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc, after the building of the cathedral had begun. A boyhood spent in picturesque Bryn Athyn nurtured in Pitcairn a love of nature, which continued throughout his life and seemed to inform his attitudes toward building.<sup>5</sup>

Many of the principles employed in the cathedral building, such as the use of local materials and the idea

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<sup>3</sup> Glenn, interview, 13 February 1990. Pitcairn's father assembled a collection of Egyptian statuary and artifacts, which may have provided the groundwork for Raymond's later interest in collecting. John Pitcairn did not seem to be particularly interested in architecture or the medieval. However, he was described by a friend and fellow New Churchman as the "Maecenas of the Academy," referring to the wealthy ancient Roman patron of the arts and literature. Richard R. Gladish and E. Bruce Glenn, Pitcairn Patriarchs (Bryn Athyn: General Church Press, 1987), p. 13.

<sup>4</sup> Much of the library is intact in Glencairn although additions have been made by the Academy and perhaps the family, and some books originally in Pitcairn's library may have been removed. Several of the books, however, are inscribed with Pitcairn's signature.

<sup>5</sup> Glenn, interview, 13 February 1990. Also Gladish and Glenn, Pitcairn Patriarchs, p. 19.

of organic development, had been put into practice in the construction of Pitcairn's studio in 1911. He reported:

The studio was completed without either architect or contractor. . . . The intention was for the studio to grow both in design and in manner of execution. . . . I gathered stones for the great fireplace from the fields, from old stone walls, and from a local quarry. . . . the hearth was made of flat stones from the creek. . . . Trees for the timber work and roof had been secured a few miles north of Bryn Athyn.<sup>6</sup>

Also, Pitcairn had relied on tri-dimensional models to compensate for his lack of architectural training, a technique which he repeated in the planning of the cathedral.

While the impact of the New Church doctrine and community of believers is difficult to determine, religious impulses certainly influenced the form and construction of the cathedral. Bryn Athyn's spiritual leader, Bishop William F. Pendleton, also the author of the General Church liturgy, made suggestions regarding the building of the cathedral. He advocated native materials and construction that was "thoroughly honest"; everything should "appear just what it is."<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Quoted in Glenn, Bryn Athyn Cathedral, p. 31.

<sup>7</sup> Quoted in Pitcairn, "Bryn Athyn Church: The Manner of its Building and A Defense Thereof Written in Reply to Ralph Adams Cram," [c.1918], p. 9, Glencairn Museum. See also assorted documents, Willard Pendleton file, Glencairn

Two elements of Swedenborgian doctrine were often cited by Pitcairn in justifying aspects of the church building. Swedenborg's doctrine of "correspondence" showed that "everything in the world of nature is derived from a cause and correspondent in the spiritual world"; hence design had potent symbolic associations for New Church adherents.<sup>8</sup> Symbolism is prevalent throughout the cathedral, informing motifs for carving and metalwork, as well as for stained glass and statuary. A Symbolism Committee chaired by Raymond Pitcairn discussed the iconographic program for the cathedral.<sup>9</sup> Quotations were compiled from the Apocalypse which mentioned specific objects, such as "seven candlesticks," "trumpet," "seven stars," and "horse."<sup>10</sup>

Swedenborg's idea of "use" is central to the New

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Museum. Interestingly, the Bishop advocated using modern materials such as cement and iron.

<sup>8</sup> Doering, p. 7.

<sup>9</sup> Symbolism file, Glencairn Museum, includes letters from 1914 to a few members of the symbolism committee asking for suggestions regarding church decoration. The Bryn Athyn cathedral files, Swedenborg Library Archives, house additional documents relating to the symbolism committee's input for the project. Apparently this committee was formed especially for the cathedral building. Pryke, interview.

<sup>10</sup> "Quotations from the Apocalypse for the Use of the Symbolism Committee, Collected by Bishop W.F. Pendleton," n.d., Symbolism file, Glencairn Museum.



Church faith and to conduct in everyday life. The doctrine of "use," described by Janet Doering as the "whole emphasis" of Swedenborg's philosophy, consists of "service to his neighbor and thus to God, for it is in use and use alone that man can find his greatest happiness. Pleasures are proper and useful insofar as they look to a re-creation of one's usefulness."<sup>11</sup> Swedenborgian "use" is congruent with the Arts and Crafts idea of beauty in use. A statement by Raymond Pitcairn illustrates the fusion of the two.

Designers and craftsmen who work side by side, see eye to eye, and strive ever to build better and produce work more beautiful, are needed for real building. . . . The art of such building abhors the impress of triangle and t-square; it loves hard work, respects always the limitations of the materials, the crafts employed, regarding those limitations not as fetters but as moulds for delineating the very forms through which it should convey its message truly and with the greatest power. The soul of such an art should be the love of use, in the doing of which is found its joy and true reward.<sup>12</sup>

Thus, Pitcairn reaffirmed Pugin's belief that joy in labor sprang from religious devotion as well as artistic self-expression.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Doering, p. 3.

<sup>12</sup> Quoted in Glenn, Bryn Athyn Cathedral, p. 32.

<sup>13</sup> According to Bruce Glenn, Pitcairn never mentioned Pugin, and no documentary discussion of Pugin has been found. Glenn, interview.

New Church influences notwithstanding, Pitcairn was the primary force in the decision to adopt a Gothic cathedral style as opposed to any other mode of architecture.<sup>14</sup> He believed the Gothic cathedral was the appropriate plan for the episcopal seat of the New Church. To his fellow congregation members who questioned the use of an old style for the New Church, Pitcairn offered a lengthy justification for his choice in New Church Life.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> A note from Bishop Pendleton indicates his belief that the type of architecture chosen (e.g., Renaissance, Gothic, Romanesque, etc.) was "spiritually a matter of profound indifference because it imitates the expression of a different spiritual state than the one we look to," and he also articulated the possibility of "experimenting with something new." Although he did not list a particular preference, he advocated hiring an architect who would carry out Bryn Athyn preferences rather than an "avowed Gothicist." Untitled document, [April 1911], Bishop Pendleton file, Glencairn Museum.

<sup>15</sup> This debate has been acknowledged by Pitcairn, Winfred Hyatt and Glenn. The San Francisco New Jerusalem church, designed by Arts and Crafts architects A.C. Schweinforth and Bernard Maybeck in 1894-95, provides an interesting contrast to the Bryn Athyn cathedral. Built in the meeting house style with "mission" style furnishings, it represented the intermingling of Arts and Crafts and New Church ideals for a "low" church congregation. While these two churches would be placed in separate stylistic categories, the craft ideals of their patrons argue for a "similar" reading based on congregation ritual and history. For more information on the California church see Leslie Mandelson Freudenheim and Elizabeth Sussman, Building With Nature: Roots of the San Francisco Bay Region Tradition (Santa Barbara and Salt Lake City: Peregrine Smith, Inc., 1974), pp. 20-30; Richard Longstreth, On the Edge of the World: Four Architects in San Francisco at the Turn of the Century (New York: The Architectural History Foundation, 1983), pp. 273-75; "A Departure in Church Building -- The Second New Jerusalem Church in San Francisco, By a

The New Church should not demolish the "old," but should maintain its positive attributes. The Gothic represented the glorious and pure aspects of the old church before it was corrupted.<sup>16</sup>

Clearly Pitcairn was aware of Ralph Adams Cram's churches since he himself proposed Cram as supervising architect for the cathedral.<sup>17</sup> Pitcairn noted that, while he later became interested in the earlier style of the fourteenth century, as opposed to the fifteenth-century Perpendicular preferred by Cram, they shared a generic penchant for the medieval. In addition, both saw process --building according to the medieval guild system--as integral to a revival of the Gothic.

In Cram's Walled Towns (1919), the anti-modern idealist invented a utopian society which revived the guild system. Cram's visionary society was based on individual communal "congregations," but not communistic groups, organized around a unifying religion or philosophy. Initially, Cram postulated, isolation of these individual

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Stranger" The Craftsman, vol. X, no. 3 (June 1906), p. 330-34.

<sup>16</sup> Pitcairn, "Christian Art," pp. 611-24.

<sup>17</sup> Glenn, interview, 13 February 1990. Cynthia Hyatt Walker has discovered a reference suggesting that Bishop Pendleton's daughter was perhaps the first to introduce Pitcairn to Cram's work. Walker, interview.

units from the larger society might be necessary.<sup>18</sup> Each separate community would have its own schools and regulations regarding the mode of life of its members.<sup>19</sup> As in medieval times, the social structure would be hierarchical and aristocratic, for, according to Cram, societal regeneration required such orderly organization.

Many of the qualities and virtues championed in Cram's "walled towns" already had been realized in the Bryn Athyn community,<sup>20</sup> although it was not organized in reaction against modern capitalist society. Rather, Bryn Athyn was a community for devout New Church members. As in Walled Towns, however, the members of the Bryn Athyn enclave believed that physical separation from the world was needed in order to grow and to defend themselves against the polluting influence of the "old church." The community developed in keeping with a preordained educational and social system; members not only worshipped together, but shared learning and leisure as well.

Cram's patriarchal orientation was realized in Bryn

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<sup>18</sup> Ralph Adams Cram, Walled Towns (Boston: Marshall Jones Co., 1919), p. 32.

<sup>19</sup> Cram, Walled Towns, p. 44.

<sup>20</sup> The similarities between Bryn Athyn and Cram's "walled towns" are offered to create a common framework for juxtaposing their ideas. I am not suggesting that the Bryn Athyn religious community was modeled after, or viewed itself as, the re-creation of a medieval society.

Athyn's Pitcairn family, who were leaders in the community and its benefactors. Indeed, the scholar Marguerite Beck Block described Bryn Athyn as maintaining an "atmosphere of patriarchal simplicity."<sup>21</sup> Cram's dictum that the leaders of the "walled towns" should eventually give up their outside businesses to devote themselves to the community reflected the choice made by Raymond Pitcairn; he gave up his law practice in 1914 to devote himself to the building of the cathedral.<sup>22</sup>

Cram's imagined "walled towns" operated within a guild framework similar to the organization which the architect suggested to Pitcairn for the Bryn Athyn project.<sup>23</sup> According to Pitcairn, Cram first mentioned guilds to him in August of 1913. Cram gave him a report previously submitted to the Trustees of St. John the Divine. According to Cram, those churchmen lacked imagination enough apparently to see what

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<sup>21</sup> Block, p. 294.

<sup>22</sup> Cram, Walled Towns, p. 63.

<sup>23</sup> Although it is not known what role Bryn Athyn played in inspiring Cram to write Walled Towns, or if he consciously drew any parallels between the two, Cram did make a connection between medieval-type societies and Bryn Athyn. In 1915, when Cram was still associated with the project, and after the guild organization had been conceived and was underway, he signed Raymond Pitcairn's copy of his book The Gothic Quest: "Ralph Adams Cram who, at Bryn Athyn, has achieved his Gothic Quest [dated] March 1915." Library, Glencairn Museum.

great possibilities were inherent in this report, but I am persuaded the case is different with you. . . . I think the possibilities are greater than in the case of the [St. John the Divine] Cathedral for various reasons which I will communicate with you (in person). . . . Really, you know, what we are about is simply the re-creation in time and space of the great old medieval conception of church building.<sup>24</sup>

Pitcairn explained that this report

was in the nature of a suggestion to the Cathedral Trustees that all stained glass windows, hardware, and furniture be made at the Cathedral by a guild to be formed for the purpose."<sup>25</sup>

As noted earlier, Pitcairn's own philosophy toward art and craft predisposed him to an enthusiastic acceptance of this proposal, and he immediately began implementing and embellishing Cram's suggestion.

Soon differences between Cram and Pitcairn emerged as a result of their idiosyncratic interpretations of guild labor and organization. In addition, Pitcairn felt that Cram did not fulfill his supervisory duties. For his part, Cram charged that the architect's "patriarchal" role had been usurped by Pitcairn. Two documents illustrate the differing views of Cram and Pitcairn and the reasons for their disagreements, which led to the official withdrawal of Cram's firm from the project in the spring of 1917. In

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<sup>24</sup> Quoted in Raymond Pitcairn, "A Defense," p. 37.

<sup>25</sup> Pitcairn, "A Defense," p. 37.

"A Note on Bryn Athyn Church" published in The American Architect (May 29, 1918), Cram praised the commitment to craftsmanship manifested at Bryn Athyn, but he argued that the experiment degenerated, not reaching the potential greatness inherent in the concept because the architect was denied his rightful control of the endeavor. He lauded cooperation but stressed democracy as inappropriate for architecture, wherein "there must be a final and an unquestionable authority, and that authority is the architect himself."<sup>26</sup> Cram judged the Bryn Athyn project a "tragedy."<sup>27</sup>

Pitcairn's unpublished "Bryn Athyn Church: The Manner of its Building and A Defense Thereof Written in Reply to Ralph Adams Cram" acknowledged Cram's suggestion regarding a guild system, with workshops located on the site.<sup>28</sup> Pitcairn then launched his complaint. Cram had unrealistic ideas concerning the workshop system; he

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<sup>26</sup> Ralph Adams Cram, "A Note on the Bryn Athyn Church," The American Architect, vol. CXIII, no. 2214 (May 29, 1918), p. 712.

<sup>27</sup> Cram, "A Note," p. 711. He lessened the harshness of that opinion later in his life in My Life, pp. 247-50.

<sup>28</sup> This document is undated, but the tone of it indicates that at least a draft of the document was written shortly after Cram's article appeared. Pitcairn attempted to submit it for publication in The American Architect but was rejected because he was not a professional architect. Glenn, interview.

insisted that the purpose was to recreate a "medieval" model. Furthermore, Pitcairn charged, Cram did not want to implement fully his own prescriptions, preferring instead the "modern" system of general contracts for erecting the edifice. Pitcairn objected to Cram's romanticism and insisted that the guilds were merely practical.

As for medieval guilds, what we required was an organization not of the past but of the present day. We had to deal with men of our own century, with labor unions as they are, and as they occasionally sought to bar our way.<sup>29</sup>

While stating that the work at Bryn Athyn was "not a matter of essays or statement of principles," his language often was strikingly similar to Cram's rhetoric. For example, Pitcairn contended the project was "an attempted regeneration of architectural practice in the actual building of a church. No [sic] otherwise than through a quickened consciousness of error, where error or defect exist can regeneration be attained either in the realms of morals or in the things of art."<sup>30</sup> Pitcairn believed his methods were rational rather than visionary; in order to build a church worthy of its purpose, one had to employ handcraftsmanship and quality materials, as had the medieval builders.

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<sup>29</sup> Pitcairn, "A Defense," p. 70.

<sup>30</sup> Pitcairn, "A Defense," p. 70.



Pitcairn admitted that his complaint was not so much that Cram mythologized the guilds; the fundamental problem was that the architect did not follow through on his promise of a holistic medieval work enterprise.<sup>31</sup> Apparently, Cram only wanted the guilds to fabricate ornament and furnishings, such as stained glass and furniture. For the actual timber-and-masonry fabric of the building, Cram opted for the usual general or split contracts. He also discouraged Pitcairn's suggestion that the stone be hand-cut by masons--Pitcairn was dismayed.

We had visions of eliminating every vestige of contractor methods and machines, so characteristic of nearly all contemporary architecture -- a consummation worthy of our undertaking and well-worth paying for.<sup>32</sup>

Pitcairn continued:

In spite of many protestations of immense enthusiasm and interest in the unusual opportunity at Bryn Athyn, the firm of Cram and Ferguson, in point of fact, opposed some of the very departures from customary building methods, which were necessary before we were able to gather together and establish a local building organization of men capable of what we had intended.<sup>33</sup>

Besides critiquing Cram's hypocrisy, Pitcairn defended his craftsmen against what he perceived as

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<sup>31</sup> Pitcairn, "A Defense," p. 40.

<sup>32</sup> Pitcairn, "A Defense," p. 17.

<sup>33</sup> Pitcairn, "A Defense," p. 39.

disparaging remarks in Cram's article in The American Architect. He complained that Cram did not want the sculpture to be designed in collaboration with the laborers, since Cram considered sculpture integral to the building and therefore, the proprietary domain of the architect. Pitcairn, in fact, far surpassed Cram in giving substance to the Ruskinian ideal of the designer-craftsman.

Many of those whose work has proven most distinguished have come to us without name or reputation . . . but who possess, none the less, genuine ability coupled with a real love and large capacity for work. If we could find them, there are doubtless other artists -- whose talents have been cramped by commercialism that so largely governs the products of their chosen callings -- who could find congenial work in Bryn Athyn connected with the building of the church.<sup>34</sup>

Indeed, Pitcairn's assertion applied to the young, talented designers and craftsmen who formed the stained-glass guild at Bryn Athyn. While these men brought varying degrees and types of experience, their windows for the cathedral bore the unique "stamp" of Pitcairn's vision.

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<sup>34</sup> Pitcairn, "A Defense," p. 85.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE STAINED-GLASS WORKSHOPS AT BRYN ATHYN: THE ART AND CRAFT OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL PATH

#### The Craft of Stained Glass: Historical Background and Contemporary Context

Stained glass has traditional associations with the ecclesiastical and, specifically, with the medieval cathedral.<sup>1</sup> In the medieval period, the primary function of stained glass was symbolic. It conveyed the messages of the scriptures to illiterate worshippers, utilizing techniques that maximized the unique properties of glass. Medieval stained-glass artisans used "pot metal" glass, meaning that the metallic-oxide pigment was mixed in the batch, so that the color ran throughout the thickness of the glass.<sup>2</sup> The glass was formed by blowing the mixture into a bubble, manipulating it into an elongated shape, and

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<sup>1</sup> The term "stained" refers to a yellow stain that appeared on the glass as a result of silver nitrate being applied to seal in the enamels used for detail painting.

<sup>2</sup> Other techniques were used during medieval times, as well. For instance "flashing" was often used with reds: two layers, usually one white and one red, were blown together, then the top layer could be ground away to reveal the under-layer.

cutting off the ends. This cylinder was then slit along its length and reheated to flatten it into a rectangle, which could later be cut. The unequal thickness of the glass and impurities in the mixture enhanced the reflections and refractions of the light admitted by the windows fabricated in this manner. The decorative style employed was two-dimensional, showing little attention to proportions and modeling. The small pieces of glass separated by wide lead lines and support bars to reinforce the window gave it a mosaic effect (figure 4). The subjects were mostly old and new testament figures; non-representational, geometrically patterned glass, and "grisaille," also were popular.

The art of stained glass became more painterly during the Renaissance, and the technique was altered significantly so that the medieval method was generally considered a lost art. Post-medieval stained glass reached its apogee in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It was typified by large panes of glass covered with stain and enamel, which rendered the glass almost opaque. A renaissance window was more like a canvas--the details were painted--and the minimal use of lead lines reinforced the pictorial effect.

The High Church movement, in conjunction with antiquarian and handicraft interests in England, fueled

attempts to revive the art of stained-glass design and fabrication in the nineteenth century. Because of its strong association with ecclesiastical, and primarily Catholic, art, the revival had a limited audience at first. Not surprisingly, Pugin advocated stained glass in his architecture, and he employed the prominent stained-glass firm of John Hardman & Company, as well as others, to execute his designs.<sup>3</sup> Pugin also supervised the design and execution of windows by artists such as William Warrington; the results reflected faithful compliance with Pugin's visions (figure 5).<sup>4</sup>

Charles Winston (1814-64) had sought to recreate the medieval "pot metal" glass through various chemical experiments, and his 1847 book, An Inquiry into the Difference of Style Observable in Ancient Glass Painting was an important source for Gothic revivalists. Major glassmaking firms such as Powell and Chance began producing an "antique glass" based on Winston's findings. In 1889,

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<sup>3</sup> Martin Harrison claims that Pugin not only laid the foundations for a revival of medieval principles in stained-glass design, but "continued to set the highest standards in English stained glass" throughout his life. Even prior to Pugin, however, Thomas Willement (1786-1871) and others attempted to break away from pictorialism. They utilized lead lines to emphasize two-dimensional designs. Martin Harrison, Victorian Stained Glass (London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1980), pp. 15-16.

<sup>4</sup> Harrison, pp. 17-18.

E.S. Prior introduced a technique in which molten glass was blown against the sides of a box-mold, and then cut.<sup>5</sup>

"Cathedral" was the name given to an inexpensive, machine-rolled glass also used during this period.

William Morris's firm of Morris, Marshall, Faulkner and Co., begun in 1861, worked in several media, but during the first ten years the company concentrated on stained-glass production. While the designers, namely Edward Burne-Jones and Philip Webb, had different approaches, color was a significant concern in all of the firm's output. Morris and his colleagues distinguished themselves by their innovative interpretation of medieval sources, combining naturalistic forms and a creative use of lead lines. The figures designed by the Morris firm were often more life-like than their medieval prototypes (figure 6).<sup>6</sup> However, due to the general ignorance in the mid-nineteenth century about decorative arts of the middle ages, Morris & Company's imaginative designs were mistaken for medieval imitations by the jurors of an 1862 exhibition.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Elizabeth Morris, Stained and Decorative Glass, (New York: Exeter Books, 1988), p. 12.

<sup>6</sup> A. Charles Sewter, The Stained Glass of William Morris and His Circle, vol. 1 (London: Yale University Press, 1974), p. 87.

<sup>7</sup> Sewter, vol. 1, p. 16.

As the century progressed, American designers became involved in experimentations with glass. John La Farge and Louis Comfort Tiffany (figure 7) both developed--independently--an "opalescent" glass, known as "favrile."<sup>8</sup> Opalescent glass, as opposed to "antique," was milky and iridescent, not fully transparent. Favrile was the most widely-used type of glass in the United States at the turn of the century, when the decorative art of stained glass reached its height of popularity. Meanwhile, the "antique" remained more popular in England.

Opalescent glass utilized the special properties of glass, but in a different way than pot-metal; variations in color, shading, and detailing were achieved through juxtaposition of separate pieces of glass. Unlike pot-metal glass, the opalescent variety did not maximize the play of light. The layering of glass to create modeled effects in rich colors made it susceptible to cracks, and windows were virtually impossible to repair. Such technical flaws were, in part, responsible for an anti-opalescent reaction after the turn-of-the-century.

Gothic revival architects in America, particularly Ralph Adams Cram, had remained committed to "antique"

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<sup>8</sup> Tiffany did use antique glass in some ecclesiastical medallions. Alastair Duncan, Tiffany Windows: The Indispensable Book on Louis C. Tiffany's Masterworks (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1980), p. 183.

glass. Initially, Cram and other architects of neo-Gothic churches had patronized the big English firms. Cram was one of the first to begin commissioning American stained-glass manufacturers like Otto Heinigke, Charles Connick, William Willet, Harry Goodhue and Henry Wynd Young, who were conversant in medieval styles.<sup>9</sup> As a result of increased demand, more American stained-glass designers began to work in the Gothic vocabulary in the early twentieth century. Some of the most prominent Gothic revival designers, specifically Charles Connick, had learned their trade in the opalescent mode. Connick became the most influential of the stained glass artists who worked in the antique manner (figure 8); he was often employed by Ralph Adams Cram. His book Adventures in Light and Color: An Introduction to the Stained Glass Craft, (1937), did much to publicize his firm, in particular, as well as the general craft and design traditions linked with antique glassmaking.

The aforementioned stained-glass designers--Pugin, Morris, Tiffany, Connick--have all been described in various secondary sources as "Arts and Crafts"

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<sup>9</sup> According to John Gilbert Lloyd, Stained Glass in America (Jenkintown, Pennsylvania: Foundation Books, 1963), p. 64.



practitioners.<sup>10</sup> An examination of craft process is necessary to clarify the use of this label for widely divergent stained-glass products. Furthermore, a review of standard trade procedures in glassmaking and window production among these "Arts and Crafts" firms is essential to an understanding of both the unique and typical attributes of the Bryn Athyn stained-glass project, which will be treated in the second part of this chapter.

The craft of glassmaking actually involved two separate processes: the making of the glass and the fabrication of the window from the glass.<sup>11</sup> The one was completely separate from the other. An exception in England was the Powell firm, which produced glass and executed windows as well. The Morris studios bought Powell glass, manufactured according to Winston's formulas. Most "antique" glass for windows designed and assembled in

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<sup>10</sup> This could be a result of the tendency to perceive stained glass as a newly revived art incorporating the precepts of a craft oriented group. Gillian Naylor, p. 159, has suggested that "in both the glass and wallpaper industries, individual manufacturers were sympathetic to the Arts and Crafts cause."

<sup>11</sup> Perhaps due to the fact that writers on stained glass tend to be art historians, little emphasis is placed on the fabrication of the glass -- what firms were involved, differentiation in glass quality, what studios used specific firms.

America was purchased from England.<sup>12</sup> Tiffany was a special case: he originally bought his glass from commercial firms, but by 1893 he had established his own glasshouse in Corona, New York. Still, Tiffany's glassmaking operation remained physically separate from the design studio and window-production facility in New York City. Tiffany claimed it took him thirty years to learn the art of making glass that achieved the results he wanted.<sup>13</sup>

The standard division of labor in stained-glass enterprises comprised, on the one hand, the artists who designed and made the cartoon and chose the colors, and on the other, the craftsmen who painted on the glass, cut, and assembled the windows. The tasks could be very specialized within these broad categories. The technique used at Tiffany's for assembling a window was similar to that practiced in the workshops of contemporary competitors.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> The Blenko Glass Company in West Virginia appears to be the first to make pot-metal glass from ancient formulas for commercial sale, beginning in 1922. Lloyd, p. 70.

<sup>13</sup> Duncan, Tiffany Windows, p. 14.

<sup>14</sup> Tiffany never claimed to combine the designer and craftsman in one individual; his main concern was for efficiency and quality control by subdividing tasks and maintaining close supervision. Eileen Boris, Art and Labor: Ruskin, Morris, and the Craftsman Ideal in America (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986), pp. 143-44. Some of Tiffany's artists did design other liturgical

After the size and shape of the window had been determined, the designer prepared a color sketch of the subject for presentation to the client. Afterward, a full-size cartoon<sup>15</sup> was produced and two paper transfers made from it. One was used as a guide by the glazier; the other was divided with a double-bladed knife, and the separate pieces placed on an easel set against a light source. The cutter, supervised by the artist, chose glass to match each of the colors indicated on the paper pieces; then he placed each paper segment on the proper colored glass, scoring the outlines with a diamond cutter. When a piece of glass corresponded exactly to a piece of paper, it was fixed on the easel with wax as a substitute for the paper. The rest of the window was assembled in the same painstaking way. During this process, the artist continued to monitor the color scheme and make modifications as necessary. When all the pieces were assembled, those to be painted were sent to the artist. Finally, the window proceeded to the glazier to be leaded.<sup>16</sup>

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objects, however, revealing that there was lateral flexibility among the designers, if not vertical mobility.

<sup>15</sup> "Cartoon" was the term for a full size drawing showing lead lines, painted details, and distinguishing colors, often done in watercolors.

<sup>16</sup> This description for assembling a window is paraphrased from Duncan, Tiffany Windows, pp. 77-78.

In the Morris firm, the translation of cartoons into glass was generally left to the craftsmen. The lead lines were omitted from the cartoons, which distanced the designer from the medium but gave the craftsman a larger role. Still, designers supervised the progress of the window, so they did gain an understanding of the stained glass craft.<sup>17</sup> In the early years, Morris himself chose the colors for Morris & Co. products; a foreman then distributed the various parts of the project to painters. Once the designs for all the components were submitted, a small composite sketch was made for approval by the client.<sup>18</sup> As early as 1922, Herbert Read noted, in his book on English stained glass, that Morris's production methods did not meet the standard endorsed in Arts and Crafts rhetoric regarding the essential unity of design and execution.<sup>19</sup> Morris maintained that craftsmen "must be all artists, and good artists, too"; yet he dichotomized the functions of designer and artisan, who "must work side by side" to achieve artistic ends.<sup>20</sup> One observer objected to

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<sup>17</sup> Sewter, vol. 1, p. 18.

<sup>18</sup> Sewter, vol. 1, p. 20.

<sup>19</sup> Herbert Read, English Stained Glass (London, 1926), p. 222, cited in Sewter, vol. 1, p. 22.

<sup>20</sup> Cited in Briggs, ed., William Morris: Selected Writings and Designs, pp. 93-94, quoted in Sewter, vol. 1, p. 89.

the fact that Morris bought glass rather than making his own. This critic asserted that Morris's windows

never could be right good craftsmen's glass, because there were no draughtsmen who could translate the beautiful pictures into effective painting for glass.<sup>21</sup>

Charles Connick's Boston workshop has been described as "in many respects the Arts and Crafts ideal."<sup>22</sup> The training of the artists, the cooperation among them, and Connick's rhetoric seem to justify the characterization. Every artist apprenticed in all aspects of the craft, including cutting and glazing. After training, however, all apprentices chose a specialized area in which to work.<sup>23</sup> Connick did not subscribe to the idea that one man should complete both the design and the manufacture of a window. He wrote:

It had been said that the ideal way to make a window is to have the artist himself develop it through all the processes involved. The assumption has been that the great masterpieces in glass were

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<sup>21</sup> Lethaby, Philip Webb and his Work, pp. 61-62, quoted in Sewter, vol. 1, p. 89. Harrison's and Boe's discussions of Pugin suggest that the architect was more concerned with perfection of the product than the artistic expression of the craftsman. Harrison, pp. 18-19; Alf Boe, From Gothic Revival to Functional Form: A Study in Victorian Theories in Design (Oslo: Oslo University Press, 1957), pp. 32-33.

<sup>22</sup> Kaplan, p. 144.

<sup>23</sup> Kaplan, p. 144.

made that way.

Connick denied this claim and explained that medieval windows were made by a master and his assistants in concert. While he conceded that a small window could be executed by one person, a great window needed the talents of several individuals.<sup>24</sup> Costs were lower when tasks were differentiated. Connick asserted, as spokesman for the stained-glass industry in the 1920s,

If we are to undertake big commissions, we must have help, and we must have large shops and studios, and so -- whether we like it or not -- we must enter the world of business . . . we cannot do our work in ivory towers. We have to pay rent, wages, and that arrogant and rapacious monster known as Overhead.<sup>25</sup>

The Bryn Athyn Guild Model:  
Labor in the Service of Religion

The "Bryn Athyn Studios," the name given on the letterhead Pitcairn used for the cathedral project, encompassed many types of decorative art, all contributing to the building and decoration of the church; the name gave no indication, however, of the enterprise's innovations in glass manufacture and labor methods. Surviving documents indicate that stained glass was of particular interest to

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<sup>24</sup> Charles Connick, Adventures in Light and Color (New York: Random House, 1937), pp. 172-73.

<sup>25</sup> Charles Connick (no publication information given), quoted in Lloyd, Stained Glass in America, p. 106.

Pitcairn.<sup>26</sup> The documentary and artifactual evidence, along with information contributed from oral histories, provide an opportunity to compare the motivations and intentions expressed by Pitcairn with the actual workings of the stained-glass studio itself. While each workshop on the Bryn Athyn site employed different people and produced various types of decorative or architectural embellishments, the stained-glass project was representative of the whole endeavor, for Pitcairn structured all his guilds along similar lines.<sup>27</sup>

Entailed in the selection of the medieval style for the cathedral was the choice of stained glass for the windows. Still, Pitcairn had many options regarding the design and fabrication of the stained glass, which could emphasize or dilute the ecclesiastical ideal set forth by Pugin, Ruskin, and their various followers. The ideal mandated no stylistic particulars other than a generic

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<sup>26</sup> The files on stained glass represent an overwhelming majority of the Bryn Athyn decorative arts files kept at the Glencairn Museum.

<sup>27</sup> Glenn, interview, 13 February 1990. Glenn estimated that, proportionately, the stained-glass project had more New Church workers. While Glenn believes that Pitcairn did spend equal time with all the departments, I feel that the preponderance of material and documentary evidence from the stained-glass group, as well as Pitcairn's interest in collecting stained glass, argue for his possessing a special affinity for glass as craft and fine art.

Gothic aesthetic; more important was adherence to medieval precepts of "honest" construction, use of appropriate local materials, and guild-type labor arrangements distinguished by close cooperation between craftsmen and artists. My examination of the ideal as manifested in the Bryn Athyn stained-glass project encompasses style, materials and techniques, division of labor, and practical compromises Pitcairn made to uphold his ideology.

The stained-glass operation was conceived in concert with the grand cathedral scheme, and plans were refined from 1913 to 1922, when a glassmaking shop was constructed on the site.<sup>28</sup> The most dynamic years were 1913-28, although the stained-glass project continued on a limited scale, with a temporary halt during World War II, until 1952, when all remaining shops around the cathedral were razed.<sup>29</sup>

The cathedral contains approximately one hundred stained-glass windows (figure 9).<sup>30</sup> Three types of designs

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<sup>28</sup> For a chronology of the stained glass operation, see Appendix A.

<sup>29</sup> Ariel C. Gunther, Opportunity, Challenge and Privilege (n.p., 1973), p. 130. In 1928, designer Lawrence Saint left Bryn Athyn to work on the National Cathedral project in Washington, D.C., and workers who remained at Bryn Athyn turned their attention to the building and furnishing of Glencairn with stained glass and mosaics.

<sup>30</sup> Ariel Gunther, interview by author, Bryn Athyn, Pennsylvania, 13 February 1990.



exist in the main portion of the church: 1) representational images of old and new testament figures; 2) compositions featuring medallions which depict biblical events, or, in one instance, the Word as given through Swedenborg; and 3) abstract motifs rendered in grisaille. The East window combines medallions and representational figures. The council hall, completed in 1926 in the Romanesque style, incorporates a window with a figure of Swedenborg surrounded by different Swedenborgian emblems. Ezekiel tower, adjacent to the council hall, contains wheel-shaped windows symbolic of Ezekiel's prophecy. Michael tower, finished in 1929, has windows based upon the Book of Revelation. While the Swedenborgian and Biblical subject windows are usually installed in different sections of the church buildings, both groups exhibit archaic styling. Furthermore, many of the Biblical windows depict old and new testament vignettes as specifically interpreted by Swedenborg.

The use of the medieval style for New Church stained glass was justified by Winfred Hyatt (1891-1959), who emerged as the leading designer for cathedral windows in the late 1920s.<sup>31</sup> He claimed the thirteenth-century style

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<sup>31</sup> According to Glencairn Director Stephen Morley, many of the attributions are tenuous, although the Hyatt attributions are probably the strongest. Stephen Morley, interview by author, Bryn Athyn, Pennsylvania, 11 July

was the most desirable since the New Church was concerned "not so much with pictorial expression as with the spiritual representation involved."<sup>32</sup> Pitcairn succinctly articulated the credo:

I have looked at a great deal of modern glass and none of it has the dignified architectural effect of the thirteenth century painting which always frankly realizes the medium, makes no effort at realism, and is very wonderful in its ability to express by a few strong and simple lines its figures and other painted motifs, and always is chiefly concerned with a color composition in glass.<sup>33</sup>

The Symbolism Committee suggested general subject matter for the cathedral windows, but artists independently

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1989. Also, many of the cathedral windows were re-glazed in the 1940s and 1950s; during that process some designs may have been altered. Walker, interview; Pryke, interview. For brief biographies of the different personalities contributing to the stained-glass project, see Appendix B.

<sup>32</sup> Hyatt was one of a group in the New Church that favored a modern style of architecture as more appropriate for the New Church; in fact, he labeled the cathedral an "archeological construction, not creative architecture" since it relied on historicism. Winfred S. Hyatt, Thoughts on the Arts, Culture, and the New Church: Papers by Winfred S. Hyatt Written in the 1920s and '30s (Bryn Athyn: The Academy of the New Church Museum, 1978), p. 31. Still, he agreed that the stained glass had to be conceived in terms of the architecture: "It is possible that something similar could be carried out along lines more distinctly modern, but if so the architecture would also have to be more modern in concept." Cynthia Hyatt Walker, "Winfred Sumner Hyatt -- In Retrospection," n.d., Winfred Hyatt file, Glencairn Museum, p. 14.

<sup>33</sup> Raymond Pitcairn to Lawrence Saint, 7 July 1917, Lawrence Saint file, Glencairn Museum.

initiated some concepts.<sup>34</sup> Pitcairn accepted or rejected all design proposals, which were reviewed also by the Bishop.<sup>35</sup> Pitcairn preferred archaic designs, and he evaluated his artists' work, in part, on the basis of how closely they were able to approximate medieval models. For example, Lawrence Saint's work was not as "simple and uncluttered" as medieval exemplars while Hyatt's work was more like the "old work"; yet Saint excelled in "texture and patina treatment."<sup>36</sup> The style favored by Pitcairn is evident in an early window by Hyatt (figure 10). As noted earlier, he became the primary designer for cathedral stained glass, although extant windows indicate Saint's ability to respond to Pitcairn's sensibilities (figure 11).

Pitcairn obtained permission for his artists to study medieval glass in the Metropolitan Museum of Art and in the private collection of Henry Lawrence. He later acquired a significant portion of Lawrence's collection, which, along with other purchases, enabled his artists and

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<sup>34</sup> For one example see Lawrence Saint to Raymond Pitcairn, 30 July 1917, Lawrence Saint file, Glencairn Museum.

<sup>35</sup> Raymond Pitcairn to Lawrence Saint, 13 October 1922, Lawrence Saint file, Glencairn Museum.

<sup>36</sup> Raymond Pitcairn to Theodore Pitcairn, 25 March 1919, Lawrence Saint file, Glencairn Museum.

glassmakers to study the actual artifacts of the middle ages on site at Bryn Athyn. Pitcairn also sent his artists to Europe to copy designs and record the old colors. In addition, he instructed his artists in Europe to complete a questionnaire for all windows. For instance, he asked Hyatt to note: 1) near and distant impressions, 2) the relation of the background to the figures and of the borders to the rest of the window, and 3) the key to colors in border, background, and figures on photographs, and 4) the quality and distinguishing features of the glass.<sup>37</sup> In 1913 Pitcairn had suggested to Conrad Howard, an English stained-glass artist-craftsman, that he visit Chartres cathedral before coming to work at Bryn Athyn, perhaps because it was Cram's favorite European monument;<sup>38</sup> other Bryn Athyn artists carefully recorded their impressions of Chartres as well. Pitcairn's interest in reproducing Gothic windows was known to independent stained glass artists of the period, such as William Willet of Philadelphia, who once offered to show Pitcairn a window he

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<sup>37</sup> Raymond Pitcairn to Winfred Hyatt, 17 November 1920, Winfred Hyatt file, Glencairn Museum.

<sup>38</sup> In a letter from Pitcairn to Conrad Howard, the patron asserted that the windows of Chartres "appeal to our architect more than any others in Europe." Raymond Pitcairn to Conrad Howard, 19 October 1913, Conrad Howard file, Glencairn Museum.

had completed "in the manner of the medieval workers."<sup>39</sup>

Initially, Pitcairn bought glass for his windows from different suppliers, including prominent English firms. As early as 1915, however, Pitcairn assigned his artisans the task of experimenting with commercially available glass to achieve different effects. In August 1915, Hyatt wrote that the

first experiments with giving the [commercial] glass for the church some quality of service by melting it in a kiln have turned out successfully and been approved by Cram.<sup>40</sup>

Pitcairn took a major step in distinguishing his studios from others of the period when he hired John Larson to experiment with glassmaking at his factories in Brooklyn and Long Island.<sup>41</sup> Pitcairn's goal was to fabricate pot-metal glass in order to achieve the extraordinary colors and tones of medieval glass, which he believed were

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<sup>39</sup> William Willet to Raymond Pitcairn, 7 July 1918, General Stained Glass file, Glencairn Museum.

<sup>40</sup> Quoted in Walker, "Winfred Sumner Hyatt," p. 9.

<sup>41</sup> Pitcairn agreed to underwrite the cost of experiments and pay for glass used. Gunther, Opportunity, p. 49. Cram spearheaded the initiative to experiment with medieval glass formulas. In response to Cram's general suggestion, glassmaker George MacBeth suggested trying to reproduce pot-metal glass within the colors more integral to the material. Raymond Pitcairn to George MacBeth, 11 March 1914, George MacBeth file, Glencairn Museum; George MacBeth to Raymond Pitcairn, 13 March 1914, George MacBeth file, Glencairn Museum.

unrivalled.<sup>42</sup> Indeed, Conrad Howard, after his tenure at Bryn Athyn, claimed that no other firms he had been associated with "displayed as much patience and sympathy" with respect to glass technology as did the Bryn Athyn enterprise. Howard hoped that if he returned to visit Bryn Athyn, he would have difficulty discriminating between the old and new glass--"then all the volumes and romances that have been written about the 'Lost Art' will have to cease."<sup>43</sup> At the time of the cathedral dedication, however, the plain green-white glass used to insulate the windows until stained-glass substitutes could be installed was still in place.

In 1922, Pitcairn set up a fully-equipped glassmaking shop on the premises. By that date, the Bryn Athyn craftsmen already had begun to reglaze windows with the better quality glass they had produced on site.<sup>44</sup> Pitcairn hired Ariel Gunther, who had just graduated from the Bryn Athyn Academy secondary school, to work in the glass factory, as of June 20, 1922. After Larson resigned from the project, Gunther ran the glassmaking operation

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<sup>42</sup> Glenn, Bryn Athyn Cathedral, p. 134.

<sup>43</sup> Conrad Howard to Raymond Pitcairn, 26 August 1918, Conrad Howard/New Church Art file, Glencairn Museum.

<sup>44</sup> Raymond Pitcairn to Rowley Murphy, 2 October 1922, Rowley Murphy file, Glencairn Museum.

along with David Smith, a glass-blower brought in by Larson.<sup>45</sup> On at least one occasion, Pitcairn had examples of medieval glass analyzed by the Pittsburgh Plate Glass Company research labs, and he gave the results to Gunther.<sup>46</sup> Through such scientific experimentation, perusal of manuscripts on medieval glassmaking, especially those of Theophilus, and a study of Viollet-le-duc and Charles Winston, formulas for replicating "pot-metal" glass were developed.<sup>47</sup> Before his departure in 1925, Larson had developed several colors approved by Pitcairn. Gunther continued the glass chemistry experiments, and Pitcairn requested that he concentrate on making the elusive ruby color.<sup>48</sup> In late 1925, a successful formula was achieved which, according to Hyatt, had "not been approximated elsewhere since the original process was discontinued."<sup>49</sup> Thereafter, Pitcairn directed Gunther to turn his attention

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<sup>45</sup> Glenn, Bryn Athyn Cathedral, p. 136. Smith blew most of the glass now in the cathedral.

<sup>46</sup> Pittsburgh Plate Glass labs to Raymond Pitcairn, 31 January 1927, Stained Glass/Raymond Pitcairn Correspondence file, Glencairn Museum.

<sup>47</sup> Raymond Pitcairn to John Larson, 2 November 1920, John Larson file, Glencairn Museum.

<sup>48</sup> Gunther, Opportunity, pp. 58-60.

<sup>49</sup> Hyatt, Thoughts on the Arts, p. 30. The specific date of 1925 has been given by Gunther. Gunther, interview, 13 February 1990.

to imitations of Byzantine mosaics.<sup>50</sup>

Unlike commercial glass factories, there were few deadlines at Bryn Athyn; quality was far more important than quantity. Pitcairn did realize the cost of his perfectionism. When Lawrence Saint left to head the Washington Cathedral stained-glass project, Pitcairn charged that the architects who hired Saint knew

full well they are getting the benefits of a very large amount of research and study entailing the expenditure of a large amount of money, for which they will pay nothing.<sup>51</sup>

Nevertheless he remained adamant that the Bryn Athyn glassmaking factory operated for the community, not for commerce. Other studios were aware of the quality of Bryn Athyn glass, since, on at least one occasion, a "rival" firm wished to place an order.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> Gunther, Opportunity, p. 100. Although planned for the council hall, the mosaics never were installed in the cathedral.

<sup>51</sup> Raymond Pitcairn to Lawrence Saint, 28 February 1928, Miscellaneous Stained Glass file, Glencairn Museum. Pitcairn appeared to have no harsh feelings toward Saint regarding his departure.

<sup>52</sup> Joseph Reynolds to Lawrence Saint, 10 March 1921, Stained Glass/Raymond Pitcairn Correspondence file, Glencairn Museum. Reynolds was a member of the firm of "Reynolds, Francis, and Rohnstock, Designers and Workers in Stained and Leaded Glass" in Boston; all three in the firm had previously worked under Connick. Since this letter dated prior to the relocation of the glassmaking operation to Bryn Athyn, it appears that Larson already was making high quality glass for Bryn Athyn in his Long Island factory.



Pitcairn achieved success in his efforts to "come as close to the old technique, also color and texture of the 'real thing' as is possible."<sup>53</sup> The Bryn Athyn glass was described as a "fine imitation" of the medieval by a prominent antique dealer.<sup>54</sup> When Pitcairn realized that a panel of grisaille offered at the Sotheby's sale of Henry Lawrence's collection of medieval glass was a Bryn Athyn piece, he informed the auction house, which withdrew it. Nevertheless, Pitcairn was interested that some of the glass fragments inadvertently sold as medieval French examples were "all our own glass painted by Saint."<sup>55</sup>

Although he did not intellectualize his goals to the extent that Pugin and Cram did, Pitcairn's attitudes toward glassmaking flowed from a sincere commitment to using materials honestly. The medieval style was frankly expressive of its materials and leaded construction, which became an integral part of the aesthetic composition. Still, Pitcairn was willing to adopt the latest technology, a practice approved by Pugin and Cram. To the end of recapturing the colors and other attributes of antique

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<sup>53</sup> Raymond Pitcairn to Henry Lawrence, 23 August 1915, Henry Lawrence file, Glencairn Museum.

<sup>54</sup> Lucien Demotte to Winfred Hyatt, 7 May 1921, Winfred Hyatt file, Glencairn Museum.

<sup>55</sup> Raymond Pitcairn to Winfred Hyatt, 21 February 1921, Winfred Hyatt file, Glencairn Museum.

glass, Pitcairn embraced the electric heating apparatus utilized for kilns at the Pittsburgh Plate Glass Company in order to insure uniform results.<sup>56</sup>

At first, the organization of work in the Bryn Athyn stained-glass workshops was minimally differentiated; however, specialization increased with time. While different artists possessed varying expertise, Winfred Hyatt illustrates the flexibility in roles characteristic of the Bryn Athyn enterprise. Although primarily an artist, Hyatt contributed in numerous ways to the stained-glass and the cathedral project as a whole, especially in the early years of development. Hyatt's suggestion for including a three-arch porch in the design of the cathedral was accepted;<sup>57</sup> he offered more suggestions regarding the style of the interior furnishings.<sup>58</sup> Hyatt's view of the artist-craftsman as a multi-talented individual is evident in a recommendation he addressed to Pitcairn in 1915. He proposed hiring his friend Rowley Murphy for the job of leading glass since Murphy was familiar with all aspects of

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<sup>56</sup> Raymond Pitcairn to Lawrence Saint, 30 September 1925, Lawrence Saint file, Glencairn Museum.

<sup>57</sup> Glenn, Bryn Athyn Cathedral, pp. 51-52.

<sup>58</sup> Winfred Hyatt to Raymond Pitcairn, 17 October 1914, Winfred Hyatt file, Glencairn Museum.

glassmaking and could design as well.<sup>59</sup> Pitcairn did employ Murphy to discharge the various tasks of cutting, leading, painting and designing.<sup>60</sup>

During 1917, Hyatt not only supervised the glass experiments being conducted by John Larson on Long Island; he and the other artists assisted in certain technical details of the windowmaking process, in addition to their designing function. According to his record books, Hyatt selected glass, did sketches, cartoons, painting, and cementing.<sup>61</sup> Hyatt, Murphy, and Paul Froelich, an artist and glass painter about whom little is known, worked together in one studio. Lawrence Saint was in a separate location with Louis Ewald. The latter had been a graphic designer and model-painter for the earlier stages of the cathedral project; by 1918, he was assisting with glass painting and some technical work. For his part, Pitcairn described all five men as "artists."<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> Winfred Hyatt to Raymond Pitcairn, 14 October 1915, Rowley Murphy file, Glencairn Museum.

<sup>60</sup> Copy of Winfred Hyatt record books, Winfred Hyatt file, Glencairn Museum.

<sup>61</sup> There was at least one person in the studio, Gustav Gunkel, who was a craft-specialist; his assignment involved dividing patterns, cutting and glazing. Copy of record book, 1917-18, Winfred Hyatt file, Glencairn Museum.

<sup>62</sup> Raymond Pitcairn to Conrad Howard, 22 May 1918, Conrad Howard/New Church Art file, Glencairn Museum. The material evidence tentatively suggests that Pitcairn

Pitcairn's assignments for the stained-glass artists he sent to Europe in the 1920s, further diversified the artisans' roles. Hyatt and other artists were asked to consult with dealers and to scout medieval objects for possible purchase by Pitcairn.<sup>63</sup> In his recording of medieval monuments, Lawrence Saint was asked to take note of certain things of interest to the Bryn Athyn stonecutters and metalworking departments as well.<sup>64</sup>

The establishment of the glassmaking factory on site in 1922 allowed artists to learn technical details inaccessible to them in stained-glass firms utilizing commercially manufactured glass. Lawrence Saint actively pursued knowledge about glassmaking; this information aided

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differentiated tasks as the project progressed, giving more design assignments to those artists whose work he preferred, since artists such as Ewald have no designs attributed to them. Also, in 1920 Pitcairn informed Conrad Howard that if the stained-glass artisan came back to work at Bryn Athyn, his role would be limited to the "Craftsman's Department" treating "matters of execution and painting," as opposed to the design and technical tasks which he had performed for Pitcairn from 1913 to 1916. Raymond Pitcairn to Conrad Howard, 17 February 1920, Conrad Howard/New Church Art file, Glencairn Museum.

<sup>63</sup> Pitcairn's correspondence with Paul Froelich when the artist was in France in 1921 offers evidence of this, as does testimony by Hyatt. For example, see Martha Gyllenhaal, et al, New Light: Ten Artists Inspired by Emanuel Swedenborg (Bryn Athyn: Academy of the New Church, 1988), p. 23.

<sup>64</sup> Raymond Pitcairn to Lawrence Saint, 6 June 1922, Lawrence Saint file, Glencairn Museum.

his subsequent efforts as head of the Washington National Cathedral's stained glass project. Although he never became involved in chemical experiments at Bryn Athyn, he did research how impurities affected glass.<sup>65</sup> Research undertaken by both artists and craftsmen to develop a reliable formula for reproducing pot-metal glass was enthusiastically encouraged by Pitcairn, although only the glassmakers actually were involved in the implementation of technical aspects of the formulas.<sup>66</sup>

Pitcairn always believed that the success of his project depended upon a community of labor; therefore, all workers had to be present at the site. This principle may have been the determining factor in his choice of artists and craftsmen. Two well-established stained glass artists were offered employment at Bryn Athyn but declined, presumably because they did not want to relocate. According to Pitcairn, he had contacted Herman J. Butler to supervise the stained-glass work in its initial phase. Evidently, Butler did not wish to leave Rochester, New York, where he taught art and designed for the Pike Stained

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<sup>65</sup> Lawrence Saint to Raymond Pitcairn, 27 February 1958, Stained Glass Story file, Glencairn Museum.

<sup>66</sup> This flexibility also appears to hold true for the mosaic research done later.

Glass Company.<sup>67</sup> Charles Connick of Boston was a candidate for the supervisory post in 1914.

It is possible that we shall endeavor to have the windows made on the church site. If this scheme proves feasible, would you be interested in the work; and if so, how far could we expect to secure your personal services in the matter?<sup>68</sup>

Connick refused the offer. At least two other firms, Young and Bonawit, as well as George MacBeth, were approached between 1914 and 1917; no written documentation about their responses has been located.

Some of the disagreements which arose between Pitcairn and his employees were the result of the residency requirement. It was not absolute, since some employees commuted from Philadelphia and neighboring areas.<sup>69</sup> Pitcairn wrote to Kingsley Porter that the latter's statement about art not flourishing in a metropolis would "be very handy to quote to some of our Bryn Athyn artists

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<sup>67</sup> Raymond Pitcairn to John Windrim, 11 November 1917, General Stained Glass file, Glencairn Museum.

<sup>68</sup> Raymond Pitcairn to Charles Connick, 19 March 1914, Charles Connick file, Glencairn Museum.

<sup>69</sup> Commuting was not uncommon among the stonecutters and laborers who carried out structural work for the cathedral. In fact, so many people commuted from Philadelphia that the train schedules were altered to accommodate Bryn Athyn workers. Glenn, interview, 13 February 1990. Realistically Bryn Athyn could not have housed all these people and their families. Pitcairn did insist that all the work would be done on the site, however.

at times."<sup>70</sup> While no specific artists were cited as offenders, Pitcairn had experienced such difficulties in the stained-glass department. He showed a particular concern for unity with this guild, attempting to keep the stained-glass workers together as much as possible.<sup>71</sup>

Artists were not allowed to accept outside commissions while working at Bryn Athyn, nor were they permitted to exhibit their current work. Pitcairn realized that

a desire for a studio and for private business . . . is the most legitimate thing in the world and that these regulations will deprive our work of many good men . . . but I do not feel able to cope with the situation which is complicated in the case of those who have such a desire.<sup>72</sup>

Pitcairn agreed to rehire Rowley Murphy in 1922 with the proviso that he keep regular hours, live at or near Bryn Athyn, and not conduct other business on the side.

Earlier, Pitcairn had declined a request by Murphy for his Bryn Athyn glass to be shown by the Philadelphia Alliance,

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<sup>70</sup> Raymond Pitcairn to A. Kingsley Porter, 23 April 1918, A. Kingsley Porter file, Glencairn Museum.

<sup>71</sup> Raymond Pitcairn to Rowley Murphy, 15 April 1919, Rowley Murphy file, Glencairn. The documentary and oral history evidence suggest Pitcairn did respond to personality conflicts by separating some artists. For instance, Saint and Hyatt were located in different studios.

<sup>72</sup> Raymond Pitcairn to Rowley Murphy, 22 June 1922, Rowley Murphy file, Glencairn Museum.

adding that he had refused a similar appeal by his metalworkers. Pitcairn claimed that "the place to see Bryn Athyn work is in Bryn Athyn."<sup>73</sup> Pitcairn later turned down a request by Saint to have Bryn Athyn examples included in an exhibit of his work at the Carnegie Institute.<sup>74</sup>

Pitcairn's disagreements with John Larson revolved around the latter's non-residency and his commercial work. He tried for several years to induce Larson to give up his commercial production; Larson finally agreed to sell his equipment to Pitcairn and to set up a glassmaking factory at Bryn Athyn. Pitcairn did concede that Larson could continue a limited commercial trade. "If the glass can be used by others and the stained glass art thereby furthered," Pitcairn rationalized, he "should hesitate to withhold it from others."<sup>75</sup> The year of Larson's move to Bryn Athyn, Pitcairn indicated that he had no intention of providing glass in a commercial way, only selling any small surpluses that might accumulate.<sup>76</sup>

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<sup>73</sup> Raymond Pitcairn to Rowley Murphy, 15 April 1920, Rowley Murphy file, Glencairn Museum.

<sup>74</sup> Raymond Pitcairn to Lawrence Saint, 15 August 1922, Lawrence Saint file, Glencairn Museum.

<sup>75</sup> Raymond Pitcairn to John Larson, 16 June 1920, John Larson file, Glencairn Museum.

<sup>76</sup> Raymond Pitcairn to John Larson, 23 February 1922, John Larson file, Glencairn Museum. There is no evidence that any Bryn Athyn glass was sold. According to Stephen



Pitcairn preferred to employ New Church artists and craftsmen, perhaps because they were more receptive to his fervent belief in the interrelationship of community, religion, and art.<sup>77</sup> He offered Ariel Gunther a job as a glassmaker on the condition that he expect to make it his life's work.<sup>78</sup> Indeed, Gunther saw his position at Bryn Athyn as similar to the medieval worker's "calling." He believed that medieval art was

created by artists for the Glory of God, and not for their own selfish benefit. The greatest works of all the arts have been produced by men having a deep religious motivation in their work, and these works will endure. Any man is greatly blessed if he may have but a small part in such great works.<sup>79</sup>

Another member of the New Church, Conrad Howard, commented that some participants in the Bryn Athyn project found progress too slow because they did not understand they were building for posterity, as opposed to "our own use and

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Morley, some was later given to the Cloisters for restoration of their medieval glass collection. Stephen Morley, interview, 13 February 1990.

<sup>77</sup> Pitcairn was disappointed that more community members were not interested in joining the cathedral building and furnishing project. Glenn, interview, 13 February 1990. Although Lawrence Saint was Presbyterian, he was devout, and described his work in terms of religious expression.

<sup>78</sup> Gunther, Opportunity, p. 45.

<sup>79</sup> Gunther, Opportunity, pp. 150-51.

pleasure."<sup>80</sup> The artist who stayed the longest and contributed the greatest number of windows to the cathedral was Winfred Hyatt, a fellow New Churchman and Bryn Athyn community member.

Three of the stained-glass artists had direct English or American Arts and Crafts connections. Conrad Howard (figure 12) had trained in the William Morris studio in England, where he had served as a glass painter, and Clement Heaton (figure 13) was one of the founding members of A.H. Mackmurdo's Century Guild; both the Morris and Mackmurdo firms were influential English Arts and Crafts workshops. Pitcairn criticized the designs of both Howard and Heaton; he requested that Lawrence Saint, who had trained with American craft promoters Charles Connick and Nicola D'Ascenzo, make his work more archaic. The issue was not simply New Church religious expression versus Arts and Crafts aesthetic precepts, however. Conrad Howard is a case in point since he fits both the aforementioned categories. The artists who drew indirect or direct inspiration from Morrisian ideals were well established prior to their tenure at Bryn Athyn; their earlier training and outlook made them less malleable. Pitcairn admitted his strategy of patronizing young artists, for he might

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<sup>80</sup> Conrad Howard to Raymond Pitcairn, 1 March 1918, Conrad Howard/New Church Art file, Glencairn Museum.

inculcate in them a community vision that superceded the individualistic impulses of the more mature artists.

Hyatt, young and susceptible to further "molding" by Pitcairn when he arrived at Bryn Athyn from art school, frequently cited Swedenborg and New Church doctrine in his writings; yet his reflections contain ideas also voiced by Arts and Crafts contemporaries wedded to the ecclesiastical ideal. He claimed to disagree with those who elevated art to a religion, but he emphasized the power of art in the service of religion:

Creative art elevates the mind above what is purely material, above the pursuit of wealth for its own sake and above more purely sensual pleasures. . . . Those, however, who though equally without religion see an end in art and in aesthetic enjoyment . . . see that the power of art penetrates the surface of existence and brings forth a sensation of hidden realities. They feel the power of art but have no knowledge of the source of that power.<sup>81</sup>

Since his youth, Hyatt had greatly admired Ruskin.<sup>82</sup> In addition, he reached conclusions congruent to those of Pugin and Cram, but he stressed the Swedenborgian foundation of his philosophy:

The aesthetic faculty . . . is in the perception of beauty based upon natural laws according to . . . [a] correspondence with the spiritual state of the mind. . . . Thence we have the

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<sup>81</sup> Hyatt, Thoughts on the Arts, p. 3.

<sup>82</sup> Walker, interview.

distinctions of style in art, thus the Egyptian style, the Greek style, the Gothic style, actually corresponding, even in the slightest objects created, to the spiritual state of the civilization to which they belong.<sup>83</sup>

Unlike Ralph Adams Cram, Hyatt did not endorse a separatist utopia in response to modern society -- ironic in light of his rewarding but insular experience in the Bryn Athyn community of believers, where he lived and labored until his death in 1959.

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<sup>83</sup> Hyatt, Thoughts on the Arts, pp. 7-8.

## **CONCLUSION**

### **BRYN ATHYN AND THE ARTS AND CRAFTS MOVEMENT**

While Pitcairn in no way defined himself as part of the Arts and Crafts movement, the project as directed by him showed a sympathetic receptivity to the values associated with contemporary craft advocates. Pitcairn preferred handwork and "honest" construction; he affirmed the superiority of

the texture of our Bryn Athyn stone walls, so expressive of the character of the stone and of real craftsmanship simply because it is obtained in a natural way, through working the rough stones down by hand, rather than by producing a superficial texture by adding to a machined-flat surface a hand-tooled finish.<sup>1</sup>

The cathedral construction revealed Pitcairn's concern with utilizing local materials in the building fabric; nearby trees were felled and a local quarry opened. The peaceful surroundings of Bryn Athyn were keeping in synch with Arts and Crafts ideals of harmony and natural beauty. Donald

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<sup>1</sup> Pitcairn, "A Defense," pp. 19-20. Pitcairn goes beyond the ideal as developed by Pugin in his concern for eliminating the machine wherever possible, as Ruskin had urged. Cram and Pugin did place the craftsman above the product, indicating that machine methods might be used to eliminate dull work but not for artistic elements.

Robb, one of Cram's draftsman assigned to the Cathedral project, confessed:

The work on the church is getting a tighter grip on my enthusiasm every day, and Boston doesn't seem quite the same to me after having lived in Arcadia.<sup>2</sup>

The lack of commercial restraints, the insular and spiritual qualities -- as opposed to marketing and advertising impulses -- which distinguished Bryn Athyn production came closer to realizing Ruskinian and Morrisian pre-industrial principles than did the communitarian, but secular, experiments of Gustav Stickley, Elbert Hubbard, Will Price, and others. While Cram shared Pitcairn's concern with craft as a manifestation of spiritual beliefs, the Swedenborgian patron surpassed Cram in the practice of those ideals.

The responses of two Arts and Crafts artists at Bryn Athyn, Conrad Howard and Clement Heaton, suggest that the atmosphere there was more conducive to the unity of art and craft, at least initially, than was customary in the mainstream Arts and Crafts organizations for which they had worked. As shown in Chapter IV, Bryn Athyn labor arrangements were more fluid than prevailing practices in the stained-glass trade. Conrad Howard valued the openness; he appreciated the chance to help set up a kiln, for

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<sup>2</sup> Quoted in Glenn, p. 49.

"hitherto I have never had a free hand with this particular branch of the craft."<sup>3</sup> Clement Heaton, on the other hand, complained about assisting in glass experiments in addition to his design responsibilities:

the one set of ideas conflicts with the other so much that the two cannot exist together at once -- I cannot design as an artist when I am thinking about tools and fire rods[?] and chemicals!<sup>4</sup>

Ironically, it is the unique qualities of Bryn Athyn and Raymond Pitcairn, whose craft philosophy stemmed from a personal and sectarian outlook, which made the cathedral project an exemplar of "Arts and Crafts" theory at work. Besides the philanthropy of the Pitcairn family, the factor which made the project successful--its religious grounding --was pre-existing, not orchestrated by a "true believer" in salvation through the Arts and Crafts. The self-sufficient, inward-looking environment Pitcairn cultivated at Bryn Athyn was actually antithetical to the movement's missionary zeal for disseminating the gospel of design reform and handicraft. At Bryn Athyn, craft was not the goal, only the means to a religious end. While the idea of community was vital to the Arts and Crafts movement, Bryn

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<sup>3</sup> Conrad Howard to Raymond Pitcairn, 15 July 1915, Conrad Howard/New Church Art file, Glencairn Museum.

<sup>4</sup> Clement Heaton to Raymond Pitcairn, 27 July 1914, Clement Heaton file, Glencairn Museum.

Athyn was foremost a religious community, which for a great part of its "life" was actively involved in craft. Craft did not create communal cohesion; rather it was a by-product of those bonds.

Anomalously, Bryn Athyn seems to embody movement precepts without being part of it. Yet, when one focuses on the English High Church origins of the movement, Bryn Athyn does appear to merit a place within the Movement. Pitcairn's adoption of pre-industrial models for style, technique, and work organization at the cathedral reveals a firmly established commitment to anti-modernist beliefs professed by Ralph Adams Cram and Charles Connick. Bryn Athyn should be distinguished, however, from the anti-modern but secular manifestations of the movement in America.

William Ayres's investigations have shown that even a self-styled "Arts and Crafts" community like Rose Valley contained irreconcilable contradictions. Therefore, analyses of non-self-avowed "Arts and Crafts" communities such as Bryn Athyn cannot dispel ambiguity. The complexities and intertwined influences revealed in the Bryn Athyn cathedral project, through scrutiny of its stained-glass department, illuminates the need for a more sophisticated "reading" of Cram and other Arts and Crafts movement spokesmen. More studies on specific individuals



and communities need to be undertaken, for they will reveal not only individual idiosyncracies, but complex patterns which will correct simplistic interpretations of Arts and Crafts goals and manifestations.

Lambourne's ecclesiastical "first path" pursued by Arts and Craftsmen such as Cram is the least explored, especially in American scholarship where the movement has been perceived as overwhelmingly secular. This secular emphasis pervades the work of historians, who focus on the spiritual apathy characteristic of America at the turn-of-the-century. Much remains to be discovered about individuals and communities who viewed art and craft as manifestations of the soul. Monographs on specific artists such as Bryn Athyn's Lawrence Saint, whose craft orientation resulted from his faith, would expand our knowledge of the ecclesiastical "path."<sup>5</sup> Even in this larger context of design, workmanship, and religious expression, Bryn Athyn will no doubt remain unique, for its craft expression was controlled by an exceptional

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<sup>5</sup> Saint's religious attitude permeated his work. See Lawrence Saint, "The Romance of Stained Glass: A Story of his Experiences and Experiments" (n.p.: by the author, 1959); and Robin Hathaway Keisman, "Working with Lawrence Saint: An Interview with John Hathaway," Stained Glass, vol. 78, no. 3 (Fall 1983), pp. 239-40. Also, an in-depth study of Charles Connick concentrating on the ecclesiastical and medievalizing strains in his work has not been completed to my knowledge.

patriarch. Labelled the "De Medici of America,"<sup>6</sup> Pitcairn himself, in a final analysis of the project, reaffirmed religious intent over his, or others', individual contributions to a legacy of art and craft.

If the church when finished may be a house worthy of the worship of Jesus Christ, the one only true and living God, the personality and worldly thoughts of those who have aided in its building are better forgotten.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Henry Wynd Young (no citation information given), quoted in Lawrence Saint, p. 8.

<sup>7</sup> Pitcairn, "A Defense," p. 85.

## **AFTERWORD**

### **LEGACIES OF THE BRYN ATHYN CATHEDRAL PROJECT**

In the late 1920s, Pitcairn utilized the architectural arts departments for the completion and decoration of his residence, Glencairn (figure 14), located on the hill overlooking the cathedral. In the building of Glencairn, designed in the Romanesque style, Pitcairn employed the same principles developed in the construction of the cathedral. Indeed, Pitcairn wished he had been able to build Glencairn first, since he had learned so many lessons in the construction of the cathedral.<sup>1</sup>

The influence of the cathedral building spread beyond the confines of Bryn Athyn, however. The National Cathedral project in Washington, D.C., has received attention for its stained-glass "guild," where designers and glassmakers worked together at a glass studio and factory set up at Huntington Valley, Pennsylvania. Numerous experimentations were encouraged by the director of the stained glass project, Lawrence Saint, to imitate the colors of medieval glass. One commentator judged that

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<sup>1</sup> Glenn, interview, 13 February 1990.

"as commendable as this project might have been, it proved to be impractical in our modern age when time is so much of the essence."<sup>2</sup> Saint drew on his inspiration from Bryn Athyn, where he had been involved in such experimentation and in guild collaborations.<sup>3</sup> In fact, the architects who hired Saint admitted their indebtedness to the Bryn Athyn project.<sup>4</sup>

It is difficult to assess which skills various artists and craftsmen may have developed at Bryn Athyn and carried with them elsewhere. While dissemination of craft ideals was an integral part of the Arts and Crafts movement, Bryn Athyn was interested only in disseminating its religious ideals. Pugin and Cram, through their writings and architecture, had spread the religious message to craftsmen and architectural groups. Cram "converted"

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<sup>2</sup> Lloyd, p. 64.

<sup>3</sup> Stained-glass expert Virginia Raguin, in her article "Lawrence Saint and the North Rose of Washington Cathedral" in Stained Glass (Fall 1983), p. 236, credits Bryn Athyn with influencing Saint's attitudes towards "aesthetic integrity." Raguin continued, "the experience of working so closely with the producers of glass itself, [was] carried over into his own studio practices." "Working with Lawrence Saint: An Interview with John Hathaway," in the same issue of Stained Glass, p. 240, illustrates how Saint carried over the flexibility in work organization from Bryn Athyn to the National Cathedral.

<sup>4</sup> Robert Tappan as quoted by Raymond Pitcairn to William Goodyear, 2 April 1919, William Goodyear file, Glencairn Museum.

religious communities to his architectural beliefs.<sup>5</sup> As for the New Church community, it received publicity not so much from Bryn Athyn communicants, but from architects, design reformers, and medievalists.<sup>6</sup> By praising the architecture and guild organization of the cathedral project, the authors indirectly communicated favorable assessments of the New Church and the Bryn Athyn community.

New Church craft was missionary, not necessarily intentionally, in the sense that some workers who were brought in converted to Swedenborgianism, including two members of the stained-glass studio, Oliver Smith and Albert Cullen.<sup>7</sup> Certainly all were exposed to theology as a result of the insular nature of Bryn Athyn. Today, tours of the cathedral focus on the religious ritual and the construction and craft involved in the cathedral.

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<sup>5</sup> For example, he delivered a lecture "On the Religious Aspect of Architecture" to St. John's Theological School, Cambridge, reprinted in The Architectural Record, vol. 2, no. 3 (January - March 1893), pp. 351-56.

<sup>6</sup> Cram publicized the project, but it was mentioned also by Kingsley Porter in his book Beyond Architecture, and in Hazel Adler's The New Interior; also Agnes Addison, Romanticism and the Gothic Revival (New York: Richard R. Smith, 1938), pp. 141-43.

<sup>7</sup> Gunther, interview, 13 February 1990. See also Glenn, Bryn Athyn Cathedral, p. 104. Although Smith attended the Bryn Athyn church, he never officially joined the New Church, although his family did. O. Minard Smith, interview by author, Bryn Athyn, Pennsylvania, 28 March 1990.

Pamphlets are available on the religion, the construction of the cathedral, the stained glass, and the Pitcairn family.

In the principal study of the New Church and Bryn Athyn, The New Church in the New World, Marguerite Beck Block asserted that "the center of all the worship, and the real heart of the community life is the Cathedral itself."<sup>8</sup> Within the Bryn Athyn community, many people have received an education in the architectural arts by being employed as craftsmen or by lectures and visual exploration on the site. Craft continues to be an important part of the community, reflected in Pitcairn's collection (open to the public by appointment), in continuing worship in the cathedral, and in educational outreach. Studio classes in stained glass are still taught by Minard Smith, the son of Oliver Smith.<sup>9</sup> The Academy utilizes Glencairn and the cathedral for elementary, secondary, and college classes in fine arts as well as church history. Every summer, a "medieval festival" for children focuses on Bryn Athyn stained glass. Glencairn itself serves as a museum, housing not only medieval arts, but John Pitcairn's collection of Egyptian artifacts and other Academy-owned

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<sup>8</sup> Block, p. 283.

<sup>9</sup> See Appendix A.

art works.

The building of the cathedral and the practice of religious beliefs were inextricably linked at Bryn Athyn. As one carver who worked on the church for twenty years stated:

Others worked to meet a deadline for the profit of the contractor. . . . Here with Mr. Pitcairn excellence in the work was everything. He demanded truth and honesty, for these were what the church stood for.<sup>10</sup>

Today, the Bryn Athyn cathedral stands as a monument to the united ideals of Raymond Pitcairn, the New Church, and the Bryn Athyn community.

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<sup>10</sup> Benjamin Tweedale (no citation information given), quoted in Glenn, Bryn Athyn Cathedral, p. 94. The use of word "church" as opposed to "Church" leaves some ambiguity to this statement: does he mean honesty in the building of the church or honesty in the doctrines of the Church?

## **FIGURES**





**Figure 1: Bryn Athyn cathedral, East view. The scaffolding surrounding the tower is an indication of ongoing restoration efforts. The cathedral was dedicated in 1919; this present view shows later additions, as well.**



**Figure 2: Door, north entrance, Bryn Athyn cathedral. The teak doors and metalwork hinges with carved bird handles exemplify the handwork employed in the cathedral.**



**Figure 3: All Saints' Church, Ashmont, 1891-95,  
Cram, Goodhue, and Ferguson, architects.  
Maginnis, The Work of Cram and Ferguson, Architects,  
plate 1.**



**Figure 4: "King" from the "Tree of Jesse" window, Soissons Cathedral, France, c. 1210-15, Raymond Pitcairn collection. Purchased from the Henry Lawrence collection sale in 1921. Courtesy of Glencairn Museum, Academy of the New Church, Bryn Athyn, Pennsylvania.**

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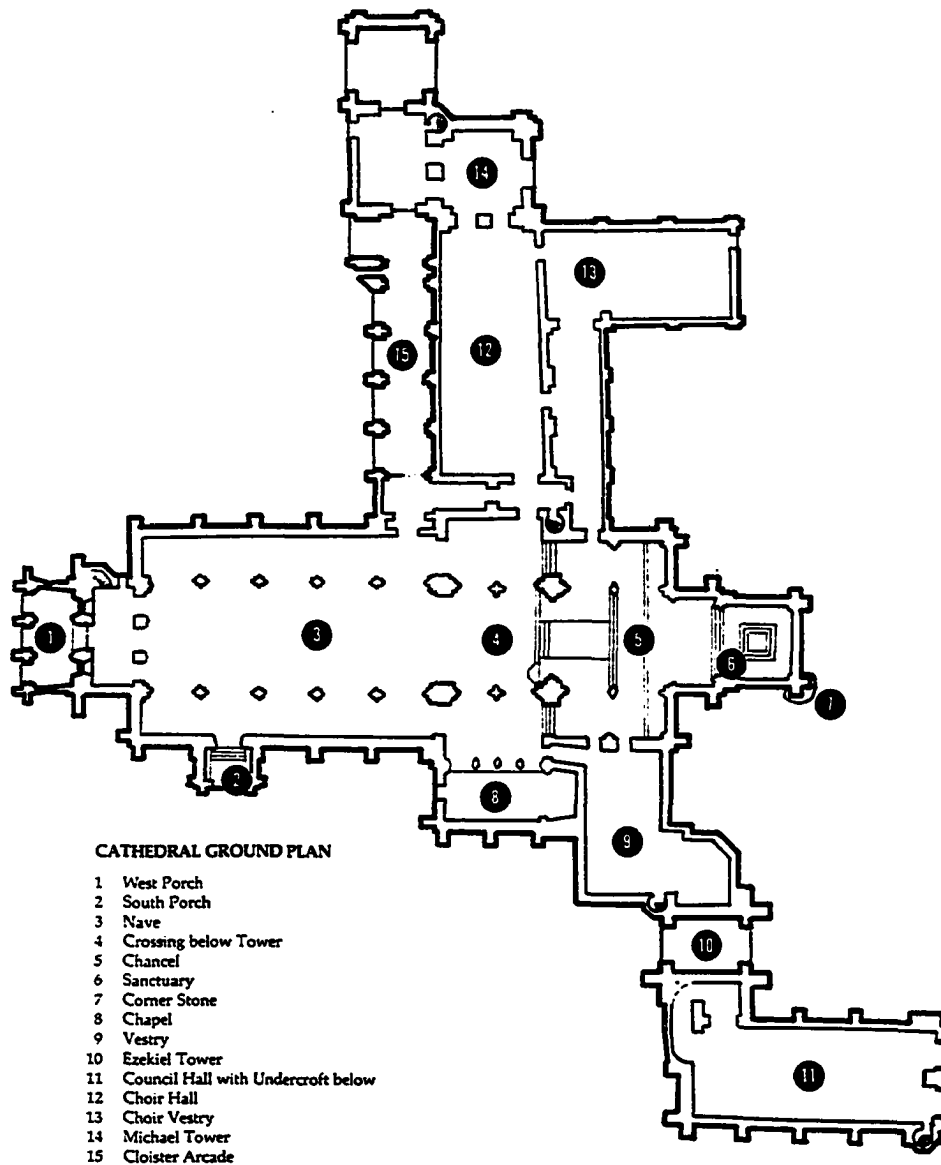
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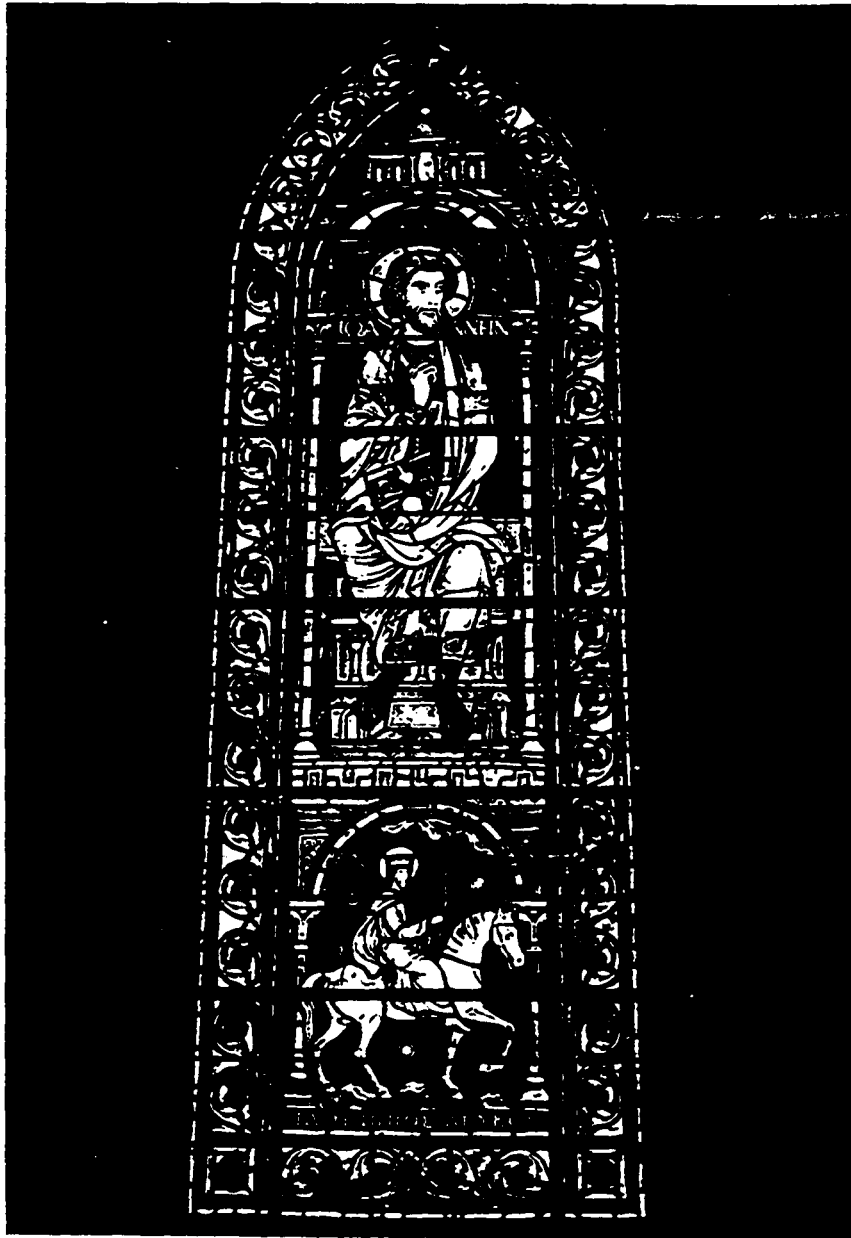
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**Figure 8: Detail of chancel window, Charles J. Connick, c. 1900-13. Cram, Goodhue, and Ferguson were the architects of this church, All Souls, in Bangor, Maine. Cram, et al, American Churches, p. 78.**



**Figure 9: Ground plan, Bryn Athyn cathedral.**  
 Reproduced courtesy of the Bryn Athyn Church of the New Jerusalem.

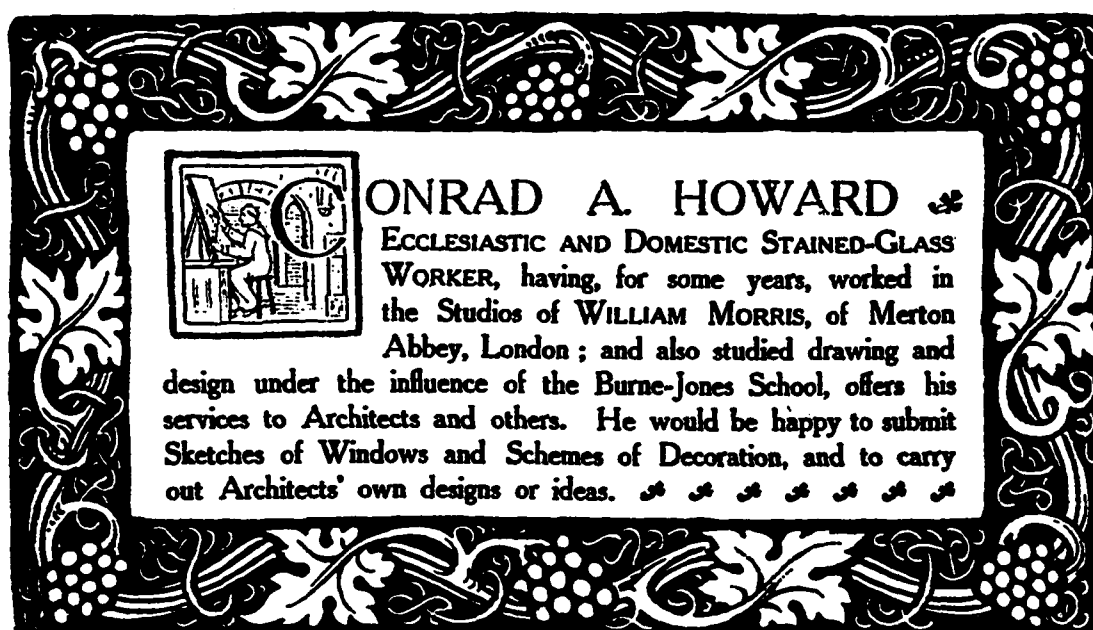


**Figure 10: "John Representing the New Testament" window, Winfred Hyatt, c. 1932. East side, Bryn Athyn cathedral.**

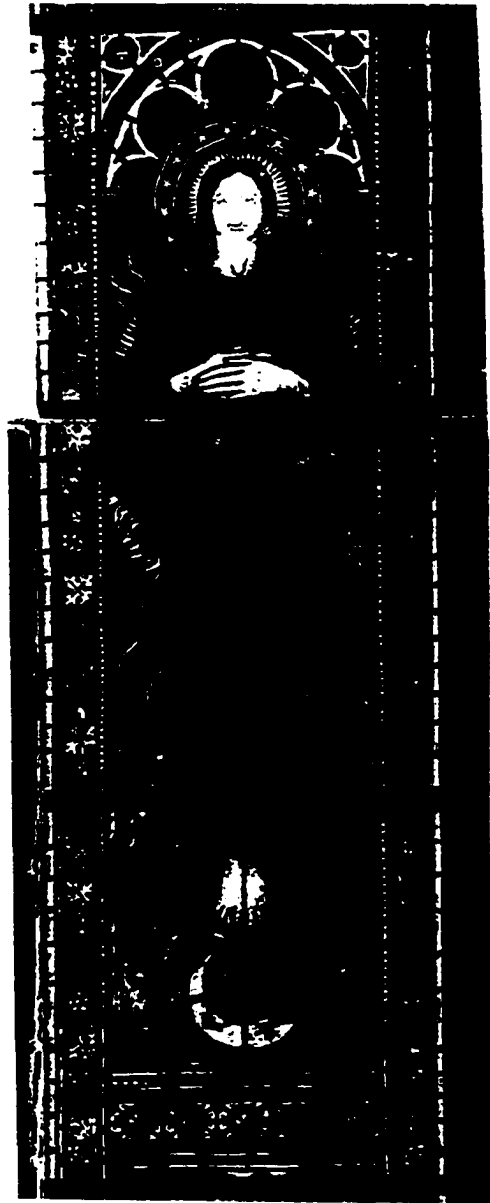




**Figure 11: "Fall of Jericho window," Lawrence Saint, c. 1927-28. Nave clerestory, Bryn Athyn cathedral. Reproduced courtesy of the Bryn Athyn Church of the New Jerusalem.**



**Figure 12: Card of introduction, Conrad Howard, c. 1913. Conrad Howard/New Church Art file, Glencairn Museum. Reproduced courtesy of Glencairn Museum, Academy of the New Church, Bryn Athyn, Pennsylvania.**



**Figure 13: Design for "Woman Clothed with the Sun,"**  
**Clement Heaton, 1913-14. This watercolor was an early**  
**design submitted for the west window of the Bryn Athyn**  
**cathedral. Courtesy of Glencairn Museum, Academy of the**  
**New Church, Bryn Athyn, Pennsylvania.**



**Figure 14: Glencairn Museum, Bryn Athyn, Pennsylvania, completed 1939. Currently owned by the Academy of the New Church, "Glencairn" previously was the home of Raymond Pitcairn, built by craftsmen in situ in the manner employed for Bryn Athyn cathedral.**

## **APPENDIX A**

### **CHRONOLOGY: SELECTIONS RELEVANT TO THE BRYN ATHYN STAINED-GLASS PROJECT**

- 1897    Members of the General Church of the New Jerusalem establish "Bryn Athyn," a community in Huntington Valley, PA.
- 1911    Raymond Pitcairn builds his studio.
- 1912    (Nov.) - Cram & Ferguson are hired as architects of cathedral.
- 1913    (Fall) - Ground is broken for the cathedral.
- 1913    Stained glass worker Clement Heaton begins working at Bryn Athyn.
- 1913    (Oct.) - Conrad Howard comes to America; he begins buying commercial glass and designing samples for Pitcairn, first in Philadelphia, then New York.
- 1913    (Aug.) - Ralph Adams Cram suggests the idea of reviving medieval guilds for Bryn Athyn cathedral decorations.
- 1914    Winfred Hyatt studies art in Europe on a Cresson scholarship. John Pitcairn (through Raymond Pitcairn) commissions him to study glass.
- 1914    Hyatt returns to Bryn Athyn to assist with stained glass project.
- 1914    Raymond Pitcairn gives up his law practice to devote himself full-time to the cathedral project.
- 1914    (March 11) - Pitcairn contacts glassmaker George MacBeth regarding experimentation with medieval formulas for glassmaking.
- 1914    (March 19) - Pitcairn offers Charles Connick the

position of head of stained-glass operations at Bryn Athyn.

- 1914 (Fall) - Heaton is taken off project due to conflicts with Pitcairn over Heaton's responsibilities and designs.
- 1915 (July) - Howard moves to Bryn Athyn to set up kiln for altering commercially available glass; Hyatt assists in the experiments.
- 1915 (October) - Rowley Murphy is hired to assist Hyatt in cutting, leading, and painting, as well as designing.
- 1915 (December 27) - Pitcairn first meets with John Larson. Larson begins experiments, making glass for Bryn Athyn.
- 1916 Howard returns to England to join the war effort, but as late as 1920, still is sending glass samples to Pitcairn.
- 1916 (October) - Cram's final visit to Bryn Athyn.
- 1917 (circa) - Paul Froelich joins stained-glass project as designer and assistant.
- 1917 (Spring) - Pitcairn terminates the services of Cram & Ferguson. Pitcairn takes over the role of architect; draughtsmen are retained.
- 1917 (April) - Hyatt begins supervising Larson's glass experiments.
- 1917 Lawrence Saint joins stained glass effort as designer and painter.
- 1918 (May 29) - Cram's "A Note on Bryn Athyn Church" is published in The American Architect.
- 1918 (circa) - Raymond Pitcairn begins writing his "defense" in response to Cram's article about the church building.
- 1919 Dedication of main building of Cathedral takes place.

- 1920 (November - 1921 February) - Hyatt is sent to Europe to study stained glass and purchase antique glass for Pitcairn.
- 1920 (Fall - 1921 October) - Paul Froelich sent to France by Pitcairn.
- 1921 Pitcairn acquires Henry Lawrence collection of glass.
- 1922 (Spring to Fall) -- Saint is sent to Europe for Pitcairn. Saint employs Albert Cullen as his assistant in England & France. After Saint leaves Europe, Cullen continues to be employed by Pitcairn copying windows and studying mosaics.
- 1922 (June) - A fully-equipped glassmaking shop, headed by Larson, is set up on the Bryn Athyn premises.
- 1922 (June 20) - Ariel Gunther begins working in glassmaking shop under John Larson.
- 1922 (July 5) - Larson brings in David Smith to blow glass.
- 1922 Reglazing begins on some windows which were already installed in the cathedral.
- 1922 (October) - Pitcairn travels to France and England to purchase medieval glass and sculpture, and to visit medieval churches.
- 1921 (January 27-29) - American Art Association, now Sotheby's, holds sale of the Henry Lawrence collection of medieval art; Raymond Pitcairn purchases several important panels of stained glass.
- 1922 (circa) - Murphy leaves and returns to his home country of Canada.
- 1924 (spring) - John Larson leaves the project.
- 1926 Council Hall wing of the cathedral is finished.
- 1928 Work begins on Glencairn, Raymond Pitcairn's residence.
- 1928 Lawrence Saint leaves to head National Cathedral stained-glass project; he continues to consult at

Bryn Athyn. Albert Cullen is brought over from Europe to take his place.

- 1929 Choir Hall is finished.
- 1939 Glencairn is completed.
- 1942 (- 1945) - Stained glass project is halted due to war.
- 1942 Cullen leaves.
- 1942 David Smith retires from glassblowing at Bryn Athyn.
- 1945 John Light is brought in for cutting and glazing.
- 1945 (-1959 circa) - Most of the windows in the cathedral are reglazed. Some design and color changes may have been made.
- 1950 (circa) - Michael Tower is completed.
- 1952 All remaining shops around the cathedral are razed, including the glass factory. Nonetheless, some stained-glass windows continue to be produced.
- 1957 John Light dies. Donald Schoser is hired to do cutting and glazing.
- 1959 Winfred Hyatt dies.
- 1966 Cullen returns to complete some work left unfinished at Hyatt's death.
- 1966 (July 12) - Raymond Pitcairn dies.



## **APPENDIX B**

### **BIOGRAPHIES OF STAINED-GLASS WORKERS AT BRYN ATHYN**

This appendix attempts to expand upon the material compiled by Martin Pryke in his unpublished manuscript, "A Quest for Perfection: The Story of the Making of the Stained Glass Windows in the Bryn Athyn Cathedral and Glencairn," concentrating on those involved with the project through 1928. In addition to Rev. Pryke's manuscript, I have drawn heavily upon the other Bryn Athyn sources listed in my bibliography, including interviews.

The relative quantity of material given on each artisan reflects the available information rather than a statement on their work at Bryn Athyn. I have included bibliographies for some artisans; complete citations may be found in the Bibliography. All attributions of works in Bryn Athyn cathedral, unless otherwise noted, are those made by Ariel Gunther.

#### **ALBERT (Bert) CULLEN (1899-1973)**

An Englishman born and raised in Canterbury, Cullen first became involved in the Bryn Athyn project when Lawrence Saint enlisted his assistance in copying medieval windows on his European trip in 1922, continuing his work after Saint returned to Bryn Athyn. He then began studying the mosaics in Italy in preparation for mosaic work at Bryn Athyn. Cullen replaced Saint at Bryn Athyn in 1928, assisting in designing and painting the stained glass, but also working on designing mosaics. He was in the United States until the beginning of WWII, and after the war he worked for a time as a designer of gas ranges for Quality Ranges in Hatsboro, Pennsylvania.

Although not reared in the New Church faith, eventually Cullen and his wife Jessie joined the church after working at Bryn Athyn. Bert Cullen came out of retirement to help finish the windows in the chapel after Winfred Hyatt died

in 1959 due to his warm feelings of friendship and personal respect for Hyatt. Cullen, however, became too sick to finish the task.

Commentary: Cullen's attitude toward the project was summed up in a letter he sent to Raymond Pitcairn praising his efforts "to achieve something that some day the American will appreciate and be proud [of]," even though America was then "being filled up with stuff that is common and unartistic."

Works in Bryn Athyn cathedral: Cullen's work is represented in windows in the little chapel and west porch. Additionally, Cullen completed Saint's "presentation in the temple" window placed in the chancel clerestory.

#### CLARENCE DIXON (? - ?)

Dixon may have worked at Bryn Athyn for several years, since Ariel Gunther recalled that he did some glazing for Lawrence Saint, and he is listed as having been a cutter and glazier in the 1940s.

#### LOUIS EWALD (? - ?)

Ewald served in several capacities at Bryn Athyn, initially doing lettering and painting models for Bryn Athyn, later painting glass for Saint in 1918. It does not appear that he designed. Ewald also did at least one sketch of Bryn Athyn cathedral that appeared in The New Interior by Hazel Adler (1916). Although he was not a member of the Church, Ewald lived for several years near Bryn Athyn station.

#### PAUL FROELICH (? - ?)

Froelich, described as a "young artist" by Pitcairn in 1918, came to Bryn Athyn in 1917 or earlier, working with Rowley Murphy and Winfred Hyatt. Little is known about his life before coming to Bryn Athyn, but he was Winfred Hyatt's classmate at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts. At Bryn Athyn, Froelich served as glass painter, and although nothing is attributed to him in the files stored in Glencairn, Pitcairn mentioned him designing "two small

figures" in 1919. Pitcairn sent him to France in 1920-21 with Hyatt. His duties included not only copying windows, but purchasing drawings, photographs and books, as well as scouting antique glass for Pitcairn's acquisition.

Works in Bryn Athyn cathedral: Only one window in the cathedral is positively attributed to him (the "promise of Isaac" window in the north nave clerestory).

ROBERT GLENN (born 1914)

A member of the Bryn Athyn community and nephew of Raymond Pitcairn, beginning in 1937 Glenn worked primarily on designs for mosaics which were installed in Glencairn. He created designs for mosaics proposed for the cathedral council hall, but mosaics were never installed.

GUSTAV GUNKEL (? - ?)

Gunkel did patterns, cutting and glazing, and was employed in 1918 or earlier. He did most of the cutting and glazing for Hyatt and remained with Bryn Athyn until at least 1945. Gunkel was not a member of the New Church.

ARIEL GUNTHER (born 1903)

Ariel Gunther is a member of New Church, born in Baltimore, graduating from the Bryn Athyn Academy secondary school. On the recommendation of Gunther's teachers at the Academy, Pitcairn hired him to work in the glass factory under John Larson beginning June 20, 1922. Gunther's duties grew and eventually (before spring 1924) David Smith taught Gunther glassblowing. Gunther learned to run the shop, while Larson was often absent. After Larson left in 1924, Gunther continued experiments, developing a satisfactory ruby color a year later. Gunther eventually worked out a formula for mosaics, as well. When Pitcairn closed the shops in 1942, he went to work in the sheet metal shop of the Bendix Aviation Corporation. Gunther went back to work for Pitcairn on Dec. 19, 1945 assisting in general maintenance, occasionally firing some glass for Hyatt.

Gunther continues to assist with cathedral operations, and

his son Carl is currently Curator of the Bryn Athyn Cathedral. Ariel Gunther lectures around the world on his work at Bryn Athyn in stained glass and aviation, an interest of Raymond Pitcairn's brother, Harold.

Commentary: Gunther's reflections on his trip to Europe in 1964 illuminate his attitude toward the Bryn Athyn project: "One of the great benefits of this trip was to give us a greater appreciation of the fine work which has been done right here in Bryn Athyn. One thing I will never understand is the so-called 'school of modern art.' The real artistry of the many fine paintings, sculptures, tapestries, s.g. windows and mosaics which we saw, had all been created to call to the minds of many illiterate folks the sacred stories of the Scriptures."

Bibliography: For a full biography, see Gunther's autobiography Opportunity, Challenge and Privilege, 1973.

CLEMENT J. HEATON (1861-1940) [See figure 13]

Englishman Clement Heaton represents a family tradition in the stained-glass business, as well as a personal involvement in the Arts and Crafts movement. His grandfather had been a minister in the Wesleyan Church and his own father, also Clement Heaton, was a founder of the firm Heaton, Butler & Bayne in England. After Clement Sr. died in 1882, Clement J. Heaton took his place, but he resigned in 1884 after a serious dispute with the other partners, possibly over issues of commerce or hierarchy.

During this period he also worked at Arthur Heygate Mackmurdo's Century Guild, one of the leading groups in the English Arts and Crafts movement. At the age of twenty-one he was the youngest member of the founding group in 1882, which included William De Morgan and Heywood Sumner.

While the Guild was noted for their art nouveau decorative motifs, the Mackmurdo firm's stained glass and metalwork followed the precedent set by Morris and his firm. Although he had been trained as a glass painter by Burlison and Grylls, Heaton did metalwork and enamels for the Guild. By the 1880s, he had begun his own firm, Cloisonne Mosaics, Ltd. In 1890s he left England for Neuchatel, where he worked in stained glass and cloisonne. He patented a process for the manufacture of embossed wallpaper in Switzerland and came to America in 1912.

It is believed that Heaton began working for Pitcairn in 1913, but the first documentation found is dated May 1914. Heaton was recommended by Ralph Adams Cram, who urged Pitcairn to give Heaton the contract for all the windows of the church. Heaton's relationship with Pitcairn was fraught with disagreements. Pitcairn criticized Heaton's designs and the delays in completing samples. Heaton complained about having to do technical work; he claimed the pay was too low for the standards set.

After Pitcairn severed his relations with Heaton in the autumn of 1914, Durr Friedley announced his intention to enter into partnership with Heaton in which Friedley would be the designer and Heaton the technician. Heaton was making glass of his own at this time. Among other commissions, Heaton designed a window for Blessed Sacrament Church in New York.

Commentary: Like others in the Arts and Crafts movement who romanticized the medieval model, Heaton claimed that the nature of work and craft must be transformed in order to elevate art: "A large part of my leisure time has been devoted to the examination of how the ancient artists did their work, and it is so evident the conditions under which they lived were different from ours today, that if we would equal ancient art, we must give closer attention than has yet been given to the conditions of work."

Works in Bryn Athyn Cathedral: While none of Heaton's designs are in the cathedral and the extent of his influence at Bryn Athyn cannot be determined, his expertise must have contributed to the nascent project. Although none of his windows are in the cathedral, some of his grisaille watercolor designs in Glencairn are signed and they also have one figural sketch by him. Also, Conrad Howard made up some of Heaton's designs.

#### Bibliography:

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Naylor, p. 117-19.

Sturm, James L. Stained Glass from Medieval Times to the Present: Treasures to Be Seen in New York. New York: E.P. Dutton, Inc., 1982, p. 128-29.

Connick, pp. 354, 357, 359, 375.

HARRY HOOVER (? - ?)

Although The John Pitcairn Archives pamphlet refers to Harry Hoover's employment as a cutter and glazier in 1945, documentary evidence and recollections have not corroborated this. Lachlan Pitcairn remembers Hoover as a local policeman.

CONRAD HOWARD (1888-1940) [see figure 12]

Conrad Howard was an Englishman and a member of the New Church. His brother Wilfred had worked at Bryn Athyn before Conrad. Prior to Bryn Athyn, Howard had worked in the William Morris studios, as well as other firms; he described the style in which he worked at the Morris firm, now often referred to as "Arts and Crafts" or simply "Morris" style, as an adaptation of the medieval but with modern freedom and individuality."

In October 1913 Howard came to the United States, began buying commercial glass and designing samples for Pitcairn from his home in Philadelphia, later in New York. Howard took a temporary job in 1913 with D'Ascenzo Studios but gave it up to concentrate on the Bryn Athyn work. He also worked at Kimberly and Company (formerly with Tiffany) in 1914 and at the Gorham Company in 1915. In the summer of 1915 he moved to Bryn Athyn to set up and run a kiln which he and Hyatt used in making several experiments to raise the quality of commercially produced glass. In 1916, Howard returned to England to join the war, but he continued to correspond with Pitcairn. As late as 1920, Howard was still sending glass samples to Pitcairn from England.

In 1920, Howard indicated his interest in going back to work for Bryn Athyn, which Pitcairn agreed to, under condition that Howard not design. It is not clear what Pitcairn did not like about Howard's designs, but it appears that his style may have remained more Morrisian in style and feeling than the more archaic model employed at Bryn Athyn. Howard never returned to Bryn Athyn to work; he remained in England to be near his aging father. In 1925 he wrote Pitcairn of his contentment working for the stained glass artist Christopher Webb, who he felt was as talented as Edward Burne-Jones of the Morris firm. He also

felt that Webb, like Pitcairn, had enabled him to escape "wretched commercialism."

Mr. Howard's grandson, Stephen Morley, is currently Director of the Glencairn Museum.

Commentary: Howard obviously remained devoted to the Bryn Athyn project which was being conducted for posterity as opposed to "our own use and pleasure."

Works in Bryn Athyn Cathedral: No designs stored in Glencairn are definitely attributed to Howard, but Stephen Morley has tentatively attributed a few to him on the basis of their Morrisian style and the opinion of Howard's daughter, Rachel Howard Morley. Only one known Howard window remains in the cathedral, the foremost window on the south side of the chapel. This window is made with commercial glass.

Bibliography: Sewter, vol. 2.

EDWARD DWAYNE HYATT (born 1918)

Edward is a son of Winfred Hyatt and attended the Academy. He completed some designing of Glencairn mosaics and did a minimal amount of work on the cathedral.

WINFRED HYATT (1891-1959) [see figure 10]

Hyatt was a member of the New Church, born and raised in Toronto, Canada. After attending Bryn Athyn Academy, he was sent to the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts in Philadelphia by John Pitcairn where he trained as a painter. In 1914, he went to Europe on a Cresson scholarship, but also was commissioned by John Pitcairn through Raymond Pitcairn to study glass there. During this time, Pitcairn began consulting with him regarding the nature of the stained glass project. Back at Bryn Athyn, Hyatt gave other suggestions, such as the three arch porch under the west window which was adopted in the final design.

At Bryn Athyn, Hyatt did sketches, selected glass, did cartoons, painting, and cementing, as well as restoring pieces of medieval glass from Pitcairn's growing

collection. His primary role, however, was designing. Pitcairn sent Hyatt to France to study glass and scout glass for his collection from November 1920 to February 1921. In the 1930s, Hyatt also worked on designing mosaics.

In fact, throughout the years, Hyatt continued to perform artistic functions for the community, such as designing banners, outside of the stained-glass realm. His first love appears to have been portraiture; many individuals of the community, including members of the Pitcairn family, commissioned his work. Although he was frustrated to a degree by the limitations of his full-time and life-long commitment to stained glass at Bryn Athyn, he remained loyal to the project. Just prior to Hyatt's death in 1959, he was busy designing windows for the chapel.

Works in Bryn Athyn Cathedral: A large percentage of work in cathedral is attributed to Hyatt, including the West window and the John representing the New Testament window.

Commentary: Hyatt wrote a series of essays relating the New Church to ideals in art. Like Cram and certain devout contemporaries of other Christian faiths, however, he espoused the general concern that art serve religion. In terms of stained glass, Hyatt condemned opalescent glass. He did acknowledge the possibility, however, that the architecture and the glass of the Bryn Athyn church could have been conceived in more modern terms for the New Church.

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JOHN LARSON (? - ?)

Larson was born in Sweden, but as a child moved to England, then America. His father was a glass-blower, instructing all five boys in the trade. Both Louis Comfort Tiffany and a New York employee of Pittsburgh Plate Glass, Irving Lampert, are credited with introducing Pitcairn to Larson.



The first meeting of December 27, 1915, between John Larson and Raymond Pitcairn eventually resulted in Larson's experiments and production of glass for Bryn Athyn in his factory in Brooklyn and Long Island. After problems and misunderstandings arose due to distance, Larson finally agreed to come to Bryn Athyn to set up a factory in 1922.

While at Bryn Athyn, Larson developed and patented a burner and fuel system for glass making. Larson left in the spring of 1924. While some of the glass made during his tenure at Bryn Athyn may be in the cathedral (if so, probably grisaille), most was replaced in the 1940s and 1950s with better glass.

#### JOHN LIGHT (? -1957)

Light was an English glazier who started working at Bryn Athyn in 1945. Previously, he had been involved in a part-time stained glass studio with artist John Hathaway, who had worked with Lawrence Saint on the National Cathedral project. According to Hyatt, Light gave up a successful practice to come to Bryn Athyn to be able to do "the best work that was possible without the strain of commercial competition."

Bibliography:  
Keisman, p. 242.

#### ROWLEY MURPHY (1891-1975)

Murphy was born in Toronto, Canada, to a family of artists who owned a stained-glass studio. He attended the Ontario College of Art and the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, where he became friends with Winfred Hyatt. Because of his previous experience in all the departments of stained-glass (cartooning, cutting, painting and leading), Pitcairn hired him for these tasks as well as designing in 1915. Murphy spent about seven years at Bryn Athyn and completed several windows. Disagreements arose with Pitcairn over Murphy's poor attendance and with the latter's complaints about "other artists," specifically Lawrence Saint. While Pitcairn did offer to conditionally rehire Murphy in 1922, it appears that Murphy never returned, but he continued to correspond with Hyatt for several years.

After Bryn Athyn, Murphy returned to Canada where he eventually became a member of the Ontario College of Art faculty from 1931 to his retirement in 1962. His lifelong interest in sailing manifested itself in his marine art.

Works in Bryn Athyn Cathedral: The Moses window has been attributed to Murphy, although Hyatt may have altered it somewhat in later years.

Bibliography:

Shield, Nancy E. "Rowley W. Murphy: Artist -- Sailor Extraordinaire." Kwasind. Royal Canadian Yacht Club, Dec. 1987. p. 204.

VINCENT ODHNER (1904-53)

Odhner, a New Church member and brother-in-law of Winfred Hyatt, attended Bryn Athyn Academy. Conflicting references exist regarding his work on the cathedral; he may have worked on the cathedral beginning in 1917 or earlier and later assisted with the mosaics at Glencairn. Edward Hyatt, however, remembers Odhner working less than one year on the project, painting stained-glass. Odhner became a minister in the Church.

Works at Bryn Athyn: The two small windows over the bishop's vestry entry are tentatively attributed to him by Ariel Gunther.

LAWRENCE SAINT (1885-1961) [see figure 11]

Saint was born in Sharpsburg, Pennsylvania in 1885, and had a strong religious upbringing as a Presbyterian. He worked in the Rudy Brothers stained-glass studio in Pittsburgh, known for their commissions in the opalescent style; there he was apprenticed, however, under George Sotter and Charles Connick, who became foremost figures in the "medieval stained glass movement." While studying at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, Saint worked with Philadelphia stained-glass artist Nicola D'Ascenzo. After school, he worked first at the Decorative Stained Glass Company of Philadelphia and later at the H.F. Petgen Company of Pittsburgh, also in the opalescent style. In 1911 while in Europe, he made water color drawings of cathedral windows, fifty of which were reproduced in

Stained Glass of the Middle Ages in England and France by Hugh Arnold (1915).

In 1917, Saint joined the Bryn Athyn stained-glass project as designer and painter. Later he also did restoring of 13th century glass and catalogued some drawings of Chartres windows for Pitcairn. Pitcairn sent him to France to study glass in 1922. Saint was interested in the technical side of stained glass; he researched and experimented with glass painting recipes, as well as elements of the glassmaking process.

In 1928, Saint left to direct the National Cathedral stained glass project (operated out of Huntington, Pennsylvania) until 1935. For the Washington church he designed the great rose window in the north transept (1931), and others. As late as 1930, however, Saint was still advising Pitcairn and Cullen. Pitcairn commended Saint on his book The Romance of Stained Glass, privately printed in 1957. Saint gave his collection of formulas, including formulas for over 1300 stained-glass colors, pieces of medieval glass, etc. to the Corning Museum. After retiring from stained-glass work, he painted murals of religious themes.

Commentary: Saint's piety seems to have shaped his outlook on art, much as it did for those New Churchmen involved in the project.

Works in Bryn Athyn Cathedral: Although Saint completed six windows during his tenure at Bryn Athyn, only five windows now in the cathedral are attributed to Saint by Ariel Gunther: the nativity window in choir clerestory (westernmost on the north side) but Cullen was brought over to finish the work on it and Hyatt replaced some of the glass so all three had a part in the window, the Joshua window (westernmost window in the south nave clerestory), the grisaille window on the nave aisle, south side, easternmost window and the two "wheel" windows in Ezekiel tower.

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#### CHARLES SCHMALTZ (? - ?)

Schmaltz was brought in to help with glazing and setting of windows after 1945. Previously he had worked for the Sotter stained glass firm as a glazier.

#### DONALD SCHOSER (? - ?)

After John Light died in 1957, Schoser was hired to do cutting and glazing for Hyatt until Hyatt died (1959), then Schoser reglazed and reset some windows.

#### DAVID SMITH (? - ?)

Before coming to Bryn Athyn, Smith had worked as a glassblower for the MacBeth Glass factory in Pittsburgh, the Greenpoint Glass Company, then the Dorflinger Company in Brooklyn. Larson recommended Smith, who started working at Bryn Athyn on July 5, 1922. Smith continued to commute home to Brooklyn on weekends. Smith blew most of the glass in the cathedral and produced his last batch in 1942 at age of 78.

OLIVER SMITH (1896-1980)

Smith graduated from the Rhode Island School of Design (RISD) and studied the stained-glass windows of Europe for two years while traveling on a scholarship there. In 1922 he applied for work at Bryn Athyn but only worked for about three years as a designer. Smith achieved independent success, setting up a studio in Bryn Athyn where he both manufactured glass and fabricated windows for a variety of clients, including several windows for Ralph Adams Cram's commissions. Smith's wife, also an artist and a RISD classmate, collaborated on many of his windows, specifically painting the details. His family joined the New Church as a result of his work on the cathedral, although Smith himself never officially joined the Church.

Smith's son Oliver Minard, who learned the trade from his father, teaches stained-glass studio classes at the Academy and restores glass from the medieval collection and Bryn Athyn cathedral windows.

Commentary: As a result of losing his right arm in his youth, Smith learned to design and execute stained-glass windows at all stages utilizing only his left hand.

Works in Bryn Athyn Cathedral: One window in the cathedral is attributed to him (north side nave clerestory, window second from east).

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