# Coloured Window Glass in Cheshire, 1550—1850

by MAURICE H. RIDGWAY, B.A., F.S.A.

IN three previous papers (now published) the author has brought the story of Cheshire Glass down to the year 1550.[1] It now remains to continue that story and to trace it to the XIX century.

There was a time when some in this country were under the impression that all 'good' architecture and art mysteriously died with the Reformation and Sadducee-like refused to believe in the possibility of a resurrection to better things. That everything medieval was bound to be good and that everything 'post Ref' was bound to be debased. This was to condemn four centuries of our history which are amongst the most interesting of all, for they witnessed the emergence of new techniques and the application and blend of new ideas. Many of these were to surplant some of the old traditional ones, but this had happened before and must happen always if art is to remain fresh and interesting. After all there is nothing more depressing than the simply frightful late medieval Virgin in the glass at Higher Peover. It illustrates perfectly the dictum that to hang on to other mens ideas and conceptions is the best a rotten artist can do and the results are terrible. By some curious coincidence in the releading of these interesting fragments the word 'mortuus' has slipped in alongside. It was indeed dead, and something had to happen to redeem the times. Mass production appeared to be catering for a market that often failed to discriminate between good and bad design and craftsmanship. The century that gave Cheshire the Shotwick Annunciation in the two quatrefoils of the north aisle east window, the rich XIV century glass at Grappenhall and the fragments at Marton and Nantwich, was also the century of the Black Death. And although the speed of medieval transport often and fortunately placed a convenient time lag between cause and possible effect we do know that factors like the impressment of labour consequent upon the plague in the mid XIV century did much to bring together builders, painters and glaziers to scenes which they would not otherwise have witnessed. Here they came under the sway of new influences. Such for example was the case at Windsor where the Chapel of St. George was being completed and at Westminster where similar work for the Crown was being undertaken at St. Stephens. Thither went John the Glazier from Chester, a Master Glazier, together with his assistants in 1352. Whatever the cause, something gave England in the XIV century a tremendous urge to make her churches great lanterns

[1] *An introduction to the making of Coloured Window Glass with special reference to the early glass destroyed and extant in Cheshire, C.A.J.* xxxvii. pt. 1, pp. 107-132, plates I-VII.

*Coloured Window Glass in Cheshire, XIV Century*, L. & C. Ant. Soc. [1947] lix.

*Coloured Window Glass in Cheshire*, 1400-1550, *Ibid.* [1948], lx.

Additional Cheshire Papers:

*Grappenhall Cheshire, XIV cent. glass*, Jnl. of the British Society of Master Glass Painters [1950-1], x, no.4.

*Further notes on the Glasshouse Site at Kingswood, Delamere* (with G. B. Leach), *C.A.J.*, xxxvii. pt. 1, pp. 133-140.

of colour and light rising upwards. Walls of glass replacing the earlier darker structures.

So was born (a by-product almost of a love and appreciation of good glass and the ability to obtain it in quantity) English perpendicular architecture. A rare flower which was to be almost completely indiginous to this island, and incomparably lovely. So came the XIV and XV century windows . . . whole walls of glass towering upwards, capped with the gloriously painted and gilded hammer beam roof of East Anglia or with the flat crow footed panels of the camber beam roofs of which Cheshire can be so justly proud. It was the age of light and scintillating loveliness. Its flower bloomed for a hundred years and then as a new century dawned and the 1520's rolled on into the 1530's a marked change was noticeable. It was the first hint of a darkness which was to descend with such unfortunate consequences.

Building programmes in the XV century which had given England most of her finest buildings, began to slow down. Funds were sometimes lacking, as the numerous unfinished churches in Cheshire and the north west frequently illustrate . . . Bebington in Wirral, Bunbury, Tarvin, Audlem, in mid and south Cheshire, Mold in Denbighshire are amongst them. This slowing down and the causes for it, were just signs of the times, straws showing how the wind of unrest, spiritual as well as political were blowing. New ideas, from sources far removed from England and the things England stood for were beginning to take root here and did little to appreciate of foster English tradition. These misletoe growths, dropped by passing German, French or Italian artists, are nevertheless interesting though alien, and in the years preceding the so called Reformation in matters of art at any rate, there is ample evidence to show that the English artist could still infuse much of his active genius into a foreign design to leave upon the finished product a mark which its originator would hardly claim as his own. Perhaps amongst this late glass the figures and composition of the North Wales Jesse tree windows are our best local examples of this kind of transition influence. They stand apart from anything else — compare for instance Cilcain and Gresford with them. The subject, that of the tree of Jesse, was an old one. York claims to have the fragments of one dating from the XII century. The frames into which these windows in Wales were erected were typical XVI century Clwydian windows, but the feel, composition and costumes are essentially alien. For the underlying composition of the Llanrhaiadr Jesse, at any rate, we have to go to the wood blocks of Germany which in turn find parallels in certain Flemish work and appear to have supplied the design of a tapestry of French workmanship loaned to the Arts Club in Chicago in 1926. The figure of Jesse at Llanrhaiadr recumbent beneath the Tree is similar in its whole conception. Not only does the composition bear a distinct likeness but the analogies of details are also manifold. The posture of Jesse, the demi figures of the Kings, the Virgin and Child rising from lilies and crowned hats are all instances of this. These German woodcuts are dated about 1525 . . . the Llanrhaiadr Jesse is dated 1533.

The Disserth window (the bottom of which is a jumble of fragments unfortu-

nately destroying what might have shown an interesting figure of Jesse for comparison), is slightly different in treatment and especially in costume, the tubular robes with diagonal decoration showing the marked Renaissance touch, the foreign influence. It is questionable whether it was a healthy one, but it came because there was a vacuum to be filled. Vacuums ask to be filled and usually get their own way, be it with a good or bad ingredient.

Increase of demand for glass resulted inevitably in mass production. Crazes and popularity for awhile provide easy markets for even inferior work, inferior work inevitably crucifies the art it is imitating, lacking progressive ideas, leaving a people hardly immune from alien influences. Such is the vicious circle. We have an excellent example of the inferior work being done in Cheshire, at Higher Peover, a slavish much inferior copying of worn out ideas by men apprentised to a mass producing machine, without imagination and inspiration. This cross-eyed Virgin from the Higher Peover Assumption is a pathetic illustration gleaned from the inglorious watery sunset of Medieval glass. The same can be said of the Bramhall Hall Crucifixion group. Leading, drawing, everything, . . . shoddy and unworthy of the faith it tries to depict.

Then what happened, for King's Cambridge, Fairford and the rest were not merely flashes in the pan, but rather hints that had better times prevailed a new era of glass painting might have dawned and flourished. Under Henry VIII and Edward VI the Church of England, chief patron with kings and nobility, of the arts of England . . . including glass, was plundered and impoverished, and many tended to neglect and deride what appeared to be a sinking ship. An age of controversy followed in things religious, and those who under Edward had grown rich from the plundered treasures of the Church, were the last to think of being her patrons as the older and more gentile aristocracy had been for so long. There appears a strange sudden absence in wills of all reference to bequests to the Church. The Dutton who not fifty years before had proudly left a window to Daresbury Church, was a better man than the Dutton who proudly robbed Norton Priory nearby and decorated the front door of his new country house with the emblems of the Passion, . . . Sic transit gloria ecclesiae.

In an age when human life was cheap and a wrong opinion too loudly expressed might find one headless on Tower Green, it was unwise to increase the evidence which might be brought against one by erecting saints and virgins, crucifixes and invocatory inscriptions in Church windows and other public places. And since these alone and for so long had supplied the bulk of subjects, as traditional Church of England catholicism had the reason for their use, they quickly ceased to appear. The glazier was left with only the 'safe' subjects upon which to exercise his art and genius. Heraldry and purely secular subjects were deemed safe enough. Besides the new nobility were only too glad to see their names in print . . . it flattered their dignity . . . and heraldry, often providing a bogus ancestry, was one of the fine things that was harnessed to serve baser ends.

It seems evident therefore that the glass shops continued to receive a sufficient number of orders to justify their existence. The place of the Church as customer was now taken by the civic and trade leaders. Glass was a popular, convenient and attractive way, not merely of keeping out the wind and rain, but also leaving behind a memorial to oneself and of ones family even though in the new age it no longer asked for the prayers of the faithful with the familiar *Orate pro bono statu* for the still living, or the *Orate pro animabus* for the dear departed, and chose rather to appear in some Common Hall or private dwelling in preference to the Parish Church or the family Chantry.

The energies of the glazier once concentrated upon the adornment of saints, dooms and canopies were now principally directed towards the increasingly more complicated quaterings of elaborate coats of arms, crests and mantlings which blazed forth the sometimes questionable virtues and family alliances of the house depicted. At the same time due partly to the cutting off and later destruction of important sources of supply for coloured glass on the continent, namely the glass houses of Lorraine in 1636 by Louis XIII, enamel was further forced on the market. It was not accepted with reluctance by the glaziers toiling over the involved coats of arms, for it came to their aid, it was much easier to work and more easily adapted to the growing demands of a complicated heraldry and an ambitious patron. The placing in the east window of Cheadle Church of a coat of arms of twenty two quaterings to commemorate the marriage of Sir Richard Bulkeley about 1577 is a good example of this from Cheshire. The discovery and the later indiscriminate use of enamels was the death knell of all forms of pot metal art, leading eventually to the belief that glass was merely the canvas upon which the glazier could paint his picture. The true craft of the glazier died, for there was now no longer the careful blend of glass, colour, light, lead, iron and stone required in the earlier windows. The lead cawmes in particular became unfortunate necessities whose presence was tolerated simply because the glazier could find no alternative.

Whilst England was slowly getting used to Queen Elizabeth the Swiss glass painters were reaching the zenith of their trade. Their work was almost entirely of a domestic character, and it was from Switzerland that many of the enamel roundels and panels have come which now decorate some of our churches. They show the undoubted skill of the glass painter, and it is for this reason that the amazing gallery of Swiss glass at Birtles near Gawsworth is here mentioned (pl. I). Originally many of them were painted as presents. They found their way to this country however quite late in their history, being brought here as souvenirs to add some little bit of colour to our drab XVIII and XIX century churches from which most of the coloured glass had been allowed to decay and be replaced. The same can be said of much glass from the Low Countries — as at Disley and Malpas, and the few sepia panels at Bunbury from Marple Hall.

The blend between pot metal and enamel work was maintained for some considerable time, especially pot metal red, for the glazier could not find a satisfactory red enamel. When it is fired it tends to turn a dull orange. This is particularly

noticeable in the Mainwaring Chapel at Higher Peover, built in 1648, where the arms and crests are painted on small panels and shields in the windows above the tomb of Philip and Ellen Mainwaring. The same thing is noticeable at Farndon in the Gamul window of the latter part of the XVII century, about which more will be said later. Both pot and flashed red were therefore retained whenever they could be procured, and the glazier still occasionally set himself the difficult task of grinding away the thin red coating of flashed glass as his predecessors had done in order to embellish a field with a silver or gold charge.

Amongst the most interesting survivals of Elizabethan glass are the figures of the Earls of Chester, now at Stoneleigh Abbey, Warwickshire, which once filled the windows of Brereton Hall, Cheshire (pl. II). They appear to have been made at the time of the rebuilding and alteration of the Hall by Sir William Brereton about 1577. With the exception of very slight differences on one or two, notably in the postures adopted, the nine figures are dressed alike wearing crowns, coat of arms over armour and each carries a long drawn sword. Each of the nine figures stands in an architectural setting, a rounded arch resting upon columns, having a decorated key stone from which hang fruity and leafy swags. The background to knee height is of square tiles, the rest being plain. The figures are $23\frac{1}{4}$ inches in height. They are all bearded except one . . . namely Richard son of Hugh Lupus who died at 25. Stoneleigh Abbey also houses a number of coats of arms as well as Garter arms, and only few remain now at Brereton, having escaped the Sale of 1817. Davidson writing in 1854 however could state that there had been no fewer than 330 coats of arms in the Hall. Some of the few remaining carry the date 1577, which goes to show the great loss Cheshire has sustained in this wholesale destruction and scattering of her Elizabethan glass. A similar collection of Elizabethan glass has now become the property of Stockport, being at Lyme Hall. These also include Garter arms. William Brereton appears to have been extremely interested in coloured glass, not merely for the adornment of his own house but interestingly enough from an antiquarian point of view, and the family tradition was kept alive in the person of Owen Salusbury Brereton, vice president of the Society of Antiquaries in 1788. Sir William in 1608 . . . to quote "had made a drawing of a window in Brereton Church depicting Thomas à Beckett and the knights who murdered him, lest it should be destroyed." He was a true prophet. Nothing now remains but the drawing re-drawn for Salusbury Brereton for an exhibition of the Society in 1788. Presumably the window was destroyed in the Civil War.

Randle Holme draws in Harley 2151 an interesting group of Cheshire Earls in very similar costume but having long capes. These were reported to have been in the Cathedral windows and they are difficult to date, no further information being at present available about them apart from this drawing. The disappearance of this glass seems to add considerable weight to the evidence that the wholesale destruction of early glass did not, as is commonly thought, take place in the reign of Edward VI or the first years of Elizabeth. Could there be anything more provocative than the tale of Thomas à Beckett yet this was still here in 1608? Orders for

such destruction were frequently ignored in places far removed from the streams of political or religious upheaval. For this reason, rood lofts and stone altars survive in many places in Wales, whilst either sentiment or the more mercenary lack of desire to replace for comforts sake what was broken in the way of glass at any rate provided a practical reason for many such Saints and invocationary inscriptions to remain until even less enlightened days. Literally hundreds of such inscriptions survived in Cheshire until the XVII century, and it is sad news that John Bruen the Stapleford Puritan could show his strange perverted zeal for the Lord by smashing (to quote his biographer, Hinde of Bunbury), "the many superstitious images in the windows which by their painted coats darkened the light of the church and obscured the brightness of the gospel." which he found in the former chantry chapel at Tarvin, his parish church. Most of this destruction was done in 1613 and 1614. Fortunately he died in 1625.

Similar acts of destruction for religious motives are recorded in the 1640's from Bidston in Wirral, but on the whole the loss of glass cannot be attributed to the earlier Reformation period. It is to the acts of violence, due to war, or hooliganism, and to the XVIII century and early XIX, . . . that age of neglect, and to later ill-advised restoration that we can level the accusing finger. We are amazed reading Harley 2151 for instance to see how many so called and indeed wrongly called 'popish' inscriptions and pictures survived the age of Elizabeth.

Amongst the few fragments of Elizabethan glass that have survived in the county we cannot overlook the interesting windows at High Legh. These too were drawn by Randle Holme. They now occupy the south wall of the chancel. The window is divided into four compartments by a mullion and transom. Originally, until the rebuilding of the chancel, the glass was in the four light east window. The centre two compartments contained elaborate arms and the two outer lights the kneeling figures of Thomas Legh and Isabella his wife, both kneeling in Medieval fashion before prayer desks. Tradition dies hard. In their removal they have not gone unscathed, the heads of both figures being lost and the rest battered. The inscription which appears to have been restored and has not deserted the medieval formula, prays for the good estate of Thomas and his wife who built the chapel. It is also in Latin (though the open book on the desk is written in English), the date 1581 dating the glass. The background is executed in enamels, careful though fading work, shows a rural scene through an open window (pl. III).

Prestbury also contains a little glass belonging to the closing years of Elizabeth's reign. It is merely a coat of arms with an inscription in Roman capitals recording in Latin the marriage of Thomas Legh and Sibil Brereton. The date 1601. The inscription is fragmentary but can be restored from Holme. Brown, orange, blue black and red enamels are used in the execution and the inscription has been bordered by a rather charming, period cartouche of rectangular form.

The early XVII century saw a determined attempt, perhaps a little premature and hasty, on the part of Anglican clergy to free themselves from many of the shackles with which some would strangle the Church of England. The Laudian

revival marked a spirited attempt to retain what was good in English catholic tradition, and this flicker of new life left its mark before the suspicious presbyterian mind stamped it out again. Unfortunately we have no glass of this period, as far as I am aware, in Cheshire though the interesting windows at Christ Church, Oxford, Lydiard Trygose, Wilts., and again at Yarnton, near Oxford, show what might have been, had it been rightly fostered. The window at Christ Church, Oxford, was not English work however, but by Abraham van Linge (*c.* 1630-40), a dutchman. The blend of heraldry and the two Johns . . . the Evangelist and the Baptist in the Trygose window illustrate the best period of XVII century work.

In Cheshire one of the champions for reform along Laudian lines was Bishop Bridgeman. Unfortunately little of his work has survived and none of his glass, unless it is a fragment of a head placed now amongst other fragments in the cloister window of the Cathedral. He too did his best to encourage the glaziers, for he glazed the east window above the high altar with the story of the Annunciation, Nativity, Circumscision and presentation of our Lord. Perhaps if they survived the Civil war the lights were destroyed when the Duke of Monmouth visited Chester in 1682. It was the occasion for a great anti-popery rally and demonstration on 11th September. The crowds, we are told, broke into the Cathedral doing great damage and smashing the windows. The Cathedral accounts confirm this for there is a large bill for the re-glazing of windows. "Nov. 9. pd. Jo. Dunbabin for church and school windows £7/7/-". This does not seem to have been general however. The Commonwealth had done little for the adornment of the churches and with the Restoration as the accounts again show, Wilmslow was busy spending large sums of money on glazing, a reflection on the neglect shown by the Commonwealth divines to their old parish churches.

After the Civil War Farndon became the possessor of one of the most interesting windows in the county commonly called the Gamul window (pl. IV).[2] It can be described as a war memorial window to the Royalist Cause erected when the memory of their struggle was still clear. Twenty small rectangular panes were leaded together to form a rectangular panel 1′ 9½″ deep and 1′ 5½″ wide. The four compartments in the centre show Sir Francis Gamul identified by his small coat of arms standing near an army tent with military weapons strewn around upon the grass. In the remaining compartments are figures of pikemen, musicians and musketeers in the equipments of the time. Four of the figures of officer class are shown with their coats of arms attached and refer to Richard Grosvenor, who raised the *posse comitatus* of Cheshire in 1644, Sir William Mainwaring, Sir William Barnston of Churton and the fourth, probably a Berrington. The figures are well drawn and painted with enamels, yellow, red, blue and green. The source of these drawings is extremely interesting. In "Historie du Costume en France" by Quicherat published in the last century (1877) there are drawings taken form the pen of Abraham Bosse a XVII century draughtsman. His drawings were done in 1635 and in 1643 and several

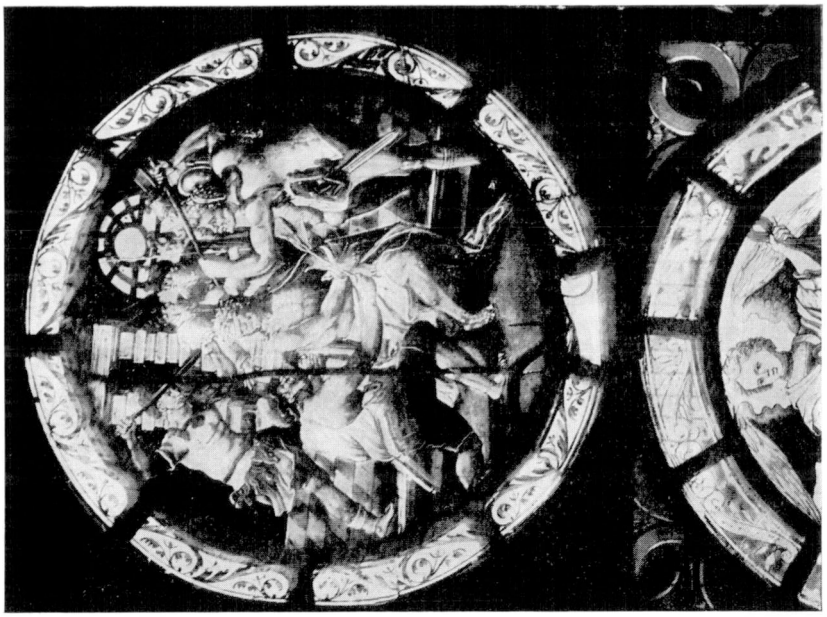
[2]Illustrated in *Siege of Chester*, *C.A.J.* XXV, 12, pl.

of them are quite plainly the originals from which the Farndon artist made his window, adding local colour by way of the coats of arms.

Tranmere Old Hall in Wirral was built in 1614. It was demolished in the last century and its treasures scattered. A record made in the last century informs us however that the Hall contained a series of lozenges depicting soldiers carrying out the commands at drill. These appear to have been slightly of later date than the Hall but nevertheless still in the XVII century. They passed into the possession of the Bebington Urban district council, when the Hall was demolished.

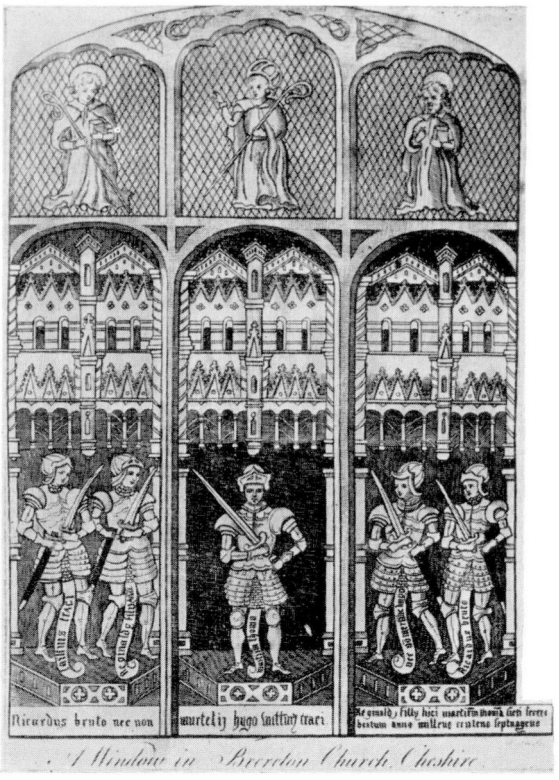
Enamel work was drawing to its logical conclusion as the 18th century approached. Glass was to be a canvas. The work of the canvas painter and the glass artist came very close in the Swiss glasspainters at quite an early period. On numerous occasions men like Hans Baldung or Holbein were commissioned by the glass painters for important work. Usually however the glass painter would be content to copy and build up his painting from a number of sources. Plagiarism of this kind continued throughout the century, and of course England was not immune from the custom. Gyles of York was at work by the end of the XVII century and heralds the age of Anne and the 18th century way, leaning towards Italy for ideas. We have already seen that our Farndon artist copied without apology apparently the work of Abraham Bosse. The age of Anne witnessed a development of this, though unfortunately Cheshire possesses very little glass of this interesting period. The impetus given to church building by the fire of London and the undoubted influence of the Wren School provided the glazier with interesting wide frames to fill. In them the small panels would have been lost. He was therefore able to spread himself as upon a large canvas. When the Duke of Chandos lost very heavily as the result of the financial crash called the 'South Sea Bubble' his estates were broken up and sold. The windows and ceilings of his private chapel at Canons, Edgeware, were bought by the 2nd Lord Foley then struggling to complete his large country house at Whitley, Worcestershire. All but the chapel was destroyed in a disastrous fire some years ago and the chapel for long lay rotting in the country, forlorn and deserted. It houses some of the best glass of this period, *c.* 1720. Almost every window is signed and dated, Joshua Price of London, being the glass painter. Italy however provided the design for the whole chapel. The ceilings by Verrio, the plaster work, Pergotti, the windows by Ricci. They illustrated scenes from the old and new testaments. Most of the windows measure 13 feet by 5 feet. These are very large lights, and the artist is to be congratulated upon the way in which he has filled them. The colours are all vivid. In one of the Emmaus meal, Christ has a red undergarment and blue cloak, the servant a blue robe with gray apron, the sky is blue the bannister rails are pale steel blue, and the pavement is marbled. The panels of glass . . . are rectangles measuring 10″ by 8″. If you would see 18th century glass at its best (and worst) you must go to Oxford however. York produced Peckitt, Birmingham the interesting man Eginton and London produced Pearson. It should be noted that enamel was not the only medium used. Pot metals of a very vivid hue came back and rubbed shoulders with pale pasty enamels. The

PLATE I.

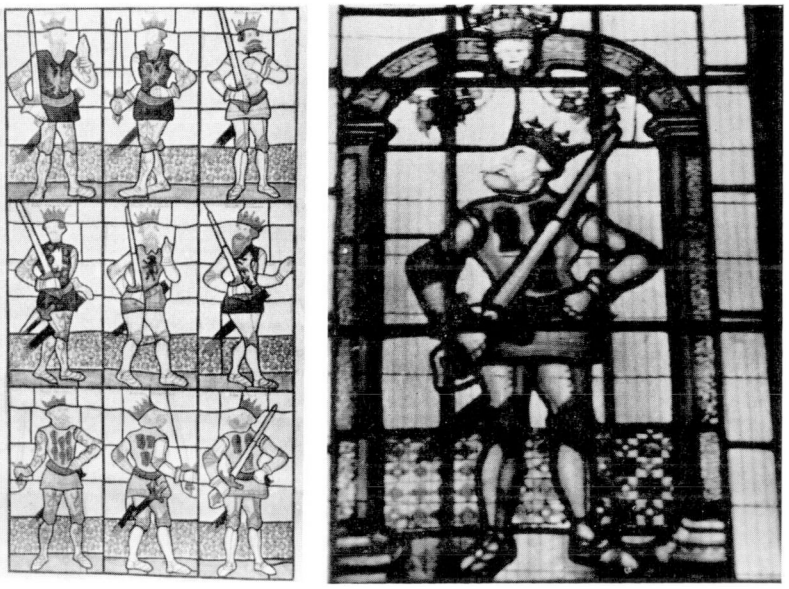


Swiss glass at Birtles.

PLATE II.

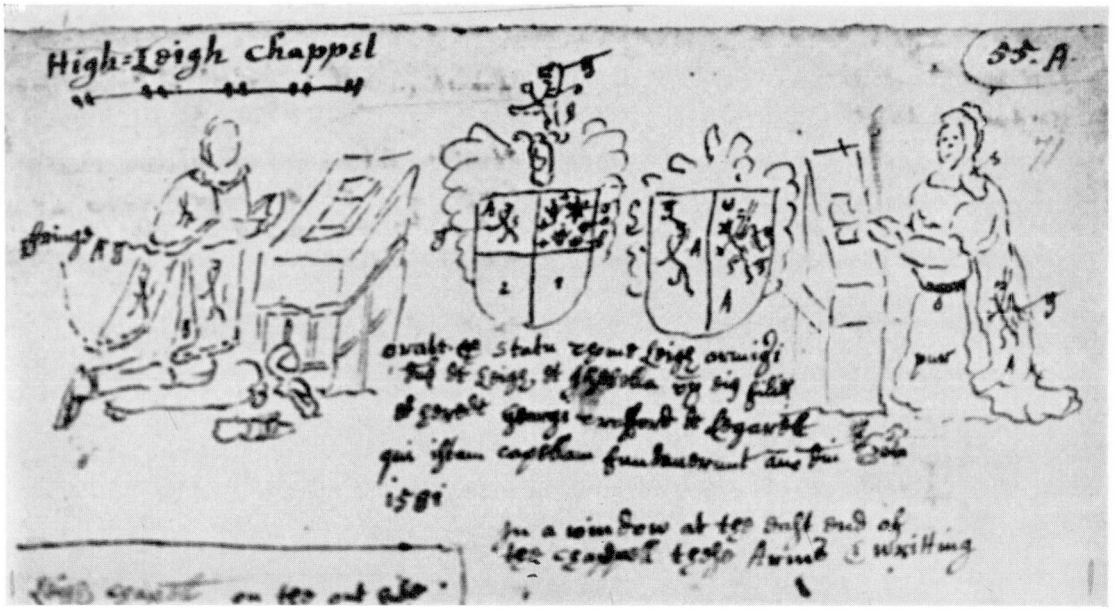



A Window in Brereton Church, Cheshire

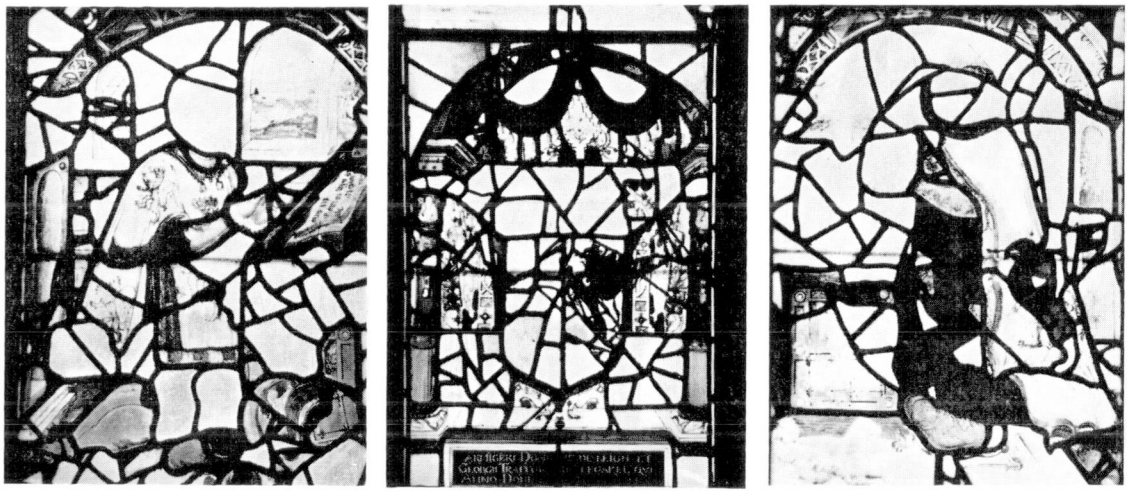


Earls of Chester, formerly in Brereton Hall.

PLATE III.

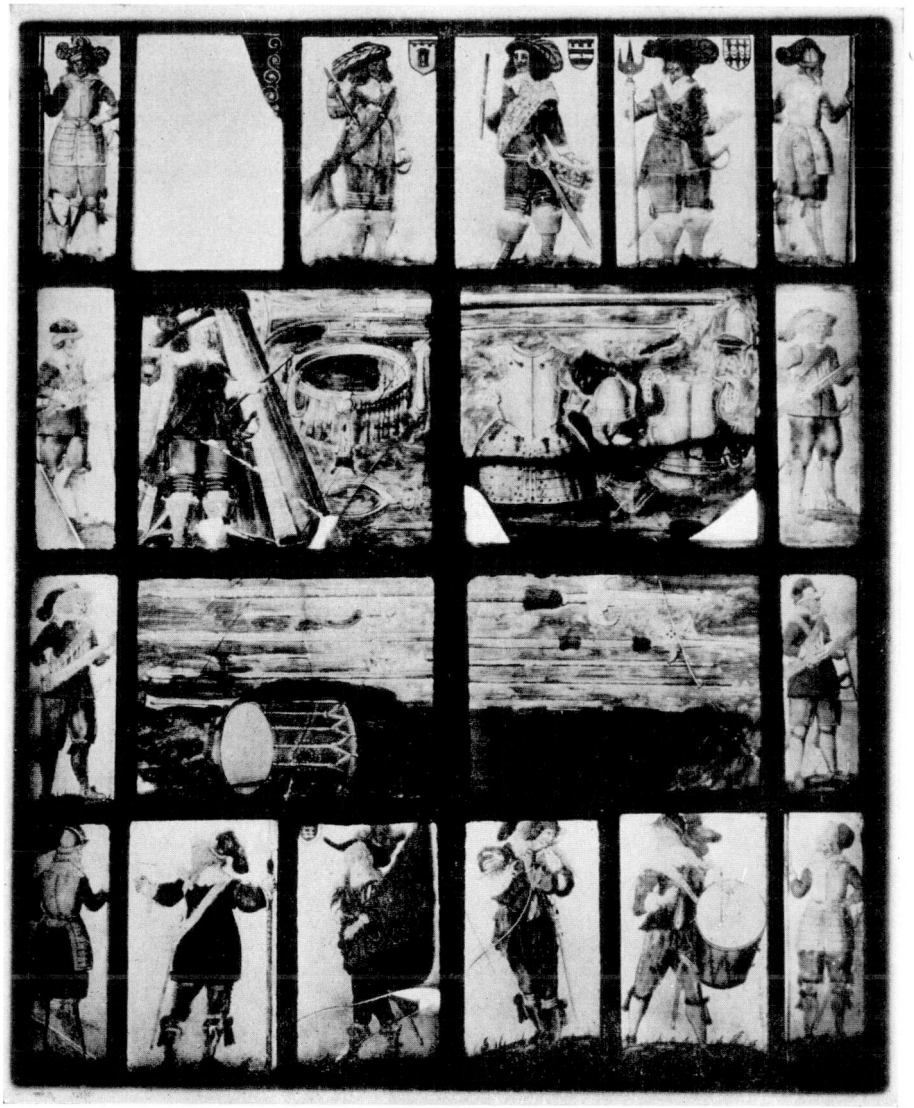



Holme drawing of windows at High Legh.



The re-leaded fragments of Elizabethan glass.

PLATE IV.



The Gamul Window
depicting prominent local Royalists, Men-at-Arms and Military Trophies.

west window of Westminster Abbey is in sheer contrast to the washed out virtues which Thomas Jervais did for New College Oxford, in 1777, from paintings by Reynolds, the former in pot metals the latter entirely in enamels.

The glass painters in Birmingham flourished from about 1737 to 1805, the best known being Eginton. The nearest example of his work as far as I am aware is now in the small isolated church at Llandegla. It was at one time the east window of St. Asaph Cathedral, and an amazing composition. Francis Eginton also did a window for St. Alkmund's, Shrewsbury, in 1795. It is still there. This was undoubtedly copied from Guido Reni's Assumption and it is interesting to note how Eginton has adapted it to suit his own ends.

But Cheshire can produce little to bridge this 18th century gap in the history of glass. There is an interesting semi circle at St. Peter's, Congleton, forming a tympanum-like capping to the East window of Georgian style now filled with modern glass. A print of the early part of the last century shows the east end with this glass above plain panels and flanked then as now with the two murals of Peter and Paul. This may have been the original composition of the window. If funds did not extend to the glazing in colour of the whole window the subject chosen and the place chosen for it was quite suitable. It shows the Holy Spirit as a dove surrounded with light rays hovering in the midst of dark brown sepia clouds. There is a small, but similar piece of work at Disley. The east window at Llangollen was at one time treated in a similar way though the subject here was of a large bust of Christ surrounded with rays holding the chalice of the Last Supper — this was by Eginton. The Birmingham glasspainters came to an end at the commencement of the 19th century, and the lead was taken by men like Willement, and Evans of Shrewsbury. Before the middle of the century they were joined by Wailes of Newcastle.

All this glass is interesting, and only goes to show what might have been achieved if the right kind of patrons had been forthcoming creating in part the right kind of artist. If one is content with bad stuff, it is usually supplied.

The only Evans glass in the county is at Davenham, near Northwich. There were once five figures of apostles here in the east window, now however only four evangelists remain cramped into narrow lights at the west and partly damaged by bomb blast. The Ecclesiologist could call them "very miserable," writing in 1847, but they are better than anything else produced for the next fifty years, and it is a pity they have received such rough treatment.

Wailes produced glass in almost unlimited supply. One may see his stuff to inglorious perfection at Chester Cathedral, St. Mary's, Chester, Doddington, Lymm; and at one time Bunbury west window before bombing destroyed it in 1940.

Not all glass in this latter half of the XIX century is to be sneered at however. Witness the bomb shattered Crimean War memorial window at St. Mary's, Chester.

Upton provides an example of stamped glass made by Powell to which attention is drawn in the *Builder* of 1854. Many experiments were tried out in this area by numerous firms, research into whose activities brings little reward or comfort and most are perhaps best forgotten.

Our next stage is with the coming of the pre-Raphaelites. They have left behind in Cheshire some interesting examples of their work. William Morris is to to be thanked for his determined and spirited attempt to drag English art to a new high level from the inky depths into which it had sunk. There was to be a happy leap forward from the Runcorn window depicting in vulgar reds and blues a Victorian business man drowned in the river Plata, rising at the trumpet blast of a Resurrection angel, in an unbelievably blue heaven, to the Burne-Jones and Maddox Brown windows which now began to emerge from new studios. This is to stretch beyond the 1850 limit of the present paper. In our own century two world wars have had a far greater influence than the Black Death. From them has emerged a whole host of new ideas, techniques and media and we may again expect to have placed before us creations which as time passes may rank with the best we have known in other centuries and like them reflect their age.