

Stained-Glass Windows in Postbellum America: the Rhetorical Situation

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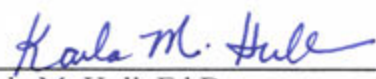


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ABSTRACT

For centuries, stained-glass windows have figured prominently in the public sphere as a powerful means of visual persuasion. Even with the growing interest in visual rhetoric, no researcher has examined thoroughly the use of stained-glass windows to change beliefs, attitudes, opinions, and behavior in postbellum America, despite their use in almost every significant ecclesiastical building in our nation, as well as in many esteemed public and academic institutions. Recognizing the sway of non-discursive meaning and visual culture and using all of the available means of persuasion at their disposal, ecclesiastics and lay members created interior spaces that would perform cultural work beyond their lifetimes. The purpose of this study, therefore, is to demonstrate the rhetorical situation of Gothic and postbellum stained-glass windows applying the model theorized by rhetorical scholar, Lloyd Bitzer. I provide photographic evidence of these great works of art which “batter against the boundaries of their own culture” and serve to reinforce cultural stereotypes in their figural representations (Greenblatt 440). In examining the windows of two *Gothic* churches, at St.-Denis and Chartres, France, as well as those of St. Paul’s Episcopal Church in Richmond, Virginia, I consider the constituents of Bitzer’s model – exigence, audience, and constraints – to explore the rhetorical situation of postbellum stained-glass windows. For the church of late nineteenth-century America, stained-glass windows are a site of contestation, visual reminders of the troubled relationship between races, gender, and post-Reconstruction North and South.

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Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

For centuries, stained-glass windows have figured prominently in the public sphere as a powerful means of visual persuasion.¹ Even with the growing interest in visual rhetoric, no researcher has examined thoroughly the use of stained-glass windows to change beliefs, attitudes, opinions, and behavior in postbellum America, despite their use in almost every significant ecclesiastical building in our nation, as well as in many esteemed public and academic institutions. Recognizing the sway of non-discursive meaning and visual culture and using all of the available means of persuasion at their disposal, ecclesiastics and lay members created interior spaces that would perform cultural work beyond their lifetimes.

As contemporary theorist Lloyd Bitzer explains of rhetoric, “some situations persist,” that is recur, such as religious services, war, or courtroom trials, which produce a “body” of “*rhetorical literature*,” or in the case of visual rhetoric I would argue, a body of rhetorical images, “in some measure universal,” that “comes to have a power of its own” (author’s emphasis 13). Applying Bitzer’s model to postbellum American ecclesiastical stained-glass windows in the late 1800s and early 1900s, I argue that visual rhetoric originates as a response to a situation (5). My purpose is to demonstrate

¹ For discussion of images and persuasion, see Charles Hill’s recent chapter, “The Psychology of Rhetorical Images” in *Defining Visual Rhetoric*. Among the concepts he discusses related to visual rhetoric are association, “affect transfer,” indexing, presence, vivacity, and the instantiation of cultural values (25-40). While he does not specifically discuss stained-glass windows, he provides an overview of the cognitive processes identified by Dillard and Peck in the “decision-making process” which includes visual or heuristic processes (32).

that visually rhetorical situations are present during the postbellum period and still exist in at least one American ecclesiastical site, St. Paul's Episcopal Church, Richmond, Virginia, and two of its Louis Comfort Tiffany stained-glass windows. I examine these windows and related discourse in considering the constituents of Bitzer's model – exigence, audience, and constraints – to explore the rhetorical situation. When people, events, objects, and relationships present a problem or "exigence" that can be alleviated, improved, or "modified" through the use of discourse to influence one's "thought or actions," it follows that a "rhetorical situation" has come into "existence" (Bitzer 1-6). Because of its historical significance and exemplary Tiffany windows, and because these great works of art both "batter against the boundaries of their own culture" and serve to reinforce cultural stereotypes in their figural representations, this Richmond site offers fertile ground to consider visually rhetorical situations (Greenblatt 440).

While postbellum ecclesiastical settings are the focus of my thesis, I examine two Gothic ecclesiastical settings, the abbey at St. Denis and Chartres Cathedral, to determine their relevancy to the development of stained glass and their rhetorical dimensions in American culture: Tiffany, moved by the vivid color, "uneven thickness," and beauty inherent in Gothic stained-glass windows, patented his opalescent glass formula based on the early use of pot metals (Duncan 140). Historian Neil Harris states of Tiffany innovations, "Reviving an ancient art through modern technology brought the best of two worlds together" (39).

Early churches, scenes of complex rituals and social exchange, offer both a transcendent and didactic experience to congregants who rely on the stained-glass windows' pictorial cycles for "every kind of narrative: [l]ives of the saints, biblical

scenes, parables, aspects of dogma, worldly themes ... for some of them ... the first time they have been narrated in such detail” (Kemp 6).² Art historian Hans Belting explains of Gothic visuality before 1300:

It concentrates on the significant and essential and invites reading or understanding more than feeling. Its recording of bare events is echoed by the images that repeat the essential facts of the texts in visual form. The intention of the picture is the same as that of the texts; they also served for instruction. In addition, they proved the reality of the text by giving it visual confirmation. Therefore, the message of the Bible is also the message of biblical images. (qtd. in Kemp 221)

Positing that “the message of the Bible is a persuasive message,” James Kinneavy argues the Bible “largely is rhetorical”; it follows that the message of biblical images is likewise rhetorical (51). Testifying to the *veritas* of stories and events, Gothic stained-glass windows, “a hypertrophy of narrative” (Kemp 6), consequently, employ *logos*, or the passing on of “information and some knowledge about the subject matter involved” (Kinneavy 51). If stained-glass windows enable cathedrals to be viewed “as a compendium of the Christian faith,” they also preserve teaching and preaching as the church’s domain (Chapius; Kemp 97).³ Thomas Aquinas states, “Whenever people – especially common people – are presented with a clear explanation of the facts of salvation in analogies, they can understand and remember them far better” (qtd. in Kemp

² See Julian Chapius’s “Gothic Art” in which he explains the correlation between the “transcendent experience of [Gothic] architecture” and stained-glass windows.

³ Artistic devices such as *division* or subdivisions assisted in retention, storing visual and oral text in the audience’s memory (Kemp 158). Parables and *exempla* are didactic aids which show the intention of the windows. Kemp also notices the use of antithesis as part of the “argumentative structure of the story” in such examples of doubling, either “good and evil, [or] this world and the world to come” (33-37; 88).

96). The windows become the most popular medium of religious instruction as “carrier(s) of associations that all pointed upward” (Kemp 97).

In addition to *logos*, a second appeal of the rhetorical situation involves *pathos*, or use of the audience as a resource for persuasion, as defined by Aristotle in *Rhetoric*. Moreover, Roman rhetoricians such as Quintilian provide that hands and eyes, attitudes of the body and face, the use of glance, all contribute to audience or viewer identification. Spectators of Gothic stained-glass windows are persuaded by the intentional “directional links between frames and people ... [implying] ‘I here’ and ‘you there’ and ‘coming here’ and ‘going there’” (Kemp 152). Through their address-like aspect, via mobile body stance and gesture, Gothic stained-glass windows illustrate *technés* of classical rhetors and lend credence to the diachronic approach of my thesis.⁴

Stemming from Gothic influences, the purpose or exigence of postbellum stained glass with respect to the non-mediated audience ostensibly involves the following traditional uses: (1) spiritual; (2) instructional or didactic; (3) epideictic or ceremonial; (4) aesthetic; and, (5) economic or fundraising.⁵ Also, modern texts suggest, for both Gothic and postbellum periods, socio-political purposes of stained-glass ecclesiastical windows extend to community building, as well as identity construction.⁶ Possibly, the

⁴ For Quintilian, gestures act rhetorically on the audience’s emotions by providing windows into the mind of the speaker: persuasion fails if it appeals merely to hearing and isn’t “displayed” in [its] living truth to the eyes of the mind” (qtd. in Eck7).

⁵ In *The Narratives of Gothic Stained Glass*, Kemp notices not only the didactic but also the fundraising potential of Gothic windows: the cost of windows almost equaled the cost of their architectural frame (164). Financial gifts by guilds composed of tavern-keepers, furriers, bakers, butchers, ropers, and possibly, even prostitutes, insured advertising space in the windows themselves (177-213). Kemp terms the donors “coauthors,” especially of the St. Lubin window of Chartres (213).

⁶ Kemp, again, is useful here for the Gothic period: “[G]iving can be a loaded and demonstrative act ... [expressing] many things: forced or willing payment of damages, a sign of reconciliation, but just as easily a sign of devotion that puts pressure on the beneficiary to reciprocate. Whoever gives aid is also

most powerful circle of influence, the medieval church hierarchy, had been penetrated by the working class in an economic exchange. Self-portrayal of their occupations, goods and services, of their business selves in the windows, presents an opportunity much like “open-air rhetoric” (billboards) does today – to fashion public literacy and to inform and influence decisions in public places (Royster 144).

During the Gothic era, “financial participation was the handle on the door of opportunity, decision making, and representation for a whole social group (of civic fraternities, guilds, societies, and military associations)” previously excluded by the church hierarchy (Kemp 165-66). Since windows become a vehicle for social mobility, the Gothic church itself becomes a “Church of the people” (164). For the church of postbellum America, stained-glass windows are a site of contestation: an exigence with visual reminders of the troubled relationship between races, gender, and post-Reconstruction North and South.⁷

responsible: he is able to penetrate areas that hitherto have remained closed to him ... [and] expects his contribution to be recognized ... wants to influence the form and content of the gift itself” (171).

⁷ This researcher appreciates that the “troika” of race, class, and gender are fundamentally interwoven as Boris and Kleinberg have noted in their critical review of literature surrounding labor issues (90). Labor historians have elided “women of color,” “caregiving,” and “domestic production,” from the traditional accounts of labor and social welfare history, the authors state (90). In addressing this omission, particularly of women who have worked in “the home and the field” (95), they notice how the “construction of ‘work’ as paid wage labor ignored many of women’s productive activities” which I discuss in Chapter 3 (66-75). In a survey of the St. Paul’s Episcopal postbellum audience, I did examine correspondence of church members. One such letter written in 1888 to Edmund Randolph Williams, who would later donate a window in memory of his son, demonstrates the need for further class analysis. Edmund’s father advises the University of Virginia student: “A young gentleman should never forget his good manners, nor the character & reputation of his family. If he once allows the spirit of frolic ... to take the place of principles and propriety, his character & self-respect & manhood are gone” (Williams personal letter). Tellingly, in a follow-up letter, he admonishes his son in the postbellum rhetoric representative of the period, “Don’t bother yourself about the darkies. As long as Lizzie’s bread is good and they don’t steal too many silver spoons, what does it concern you? God made them for menials—the lower strata of society. And as soon as we have a little political peace, down they’ll go to the bottom. This ‘Solid South’ business makes the Republicans cultivate the Negro, and make too much of him” (Williams personal letter). A full treatment of class-based attitudes as part of the visually rhetorical postbellum situation offers further opportunities to expand this topic.

Bitzer defines exigence as “an imperfection marked by urgency ... a defect, an obstacle, something waiting to be done, a thing which is other than it should be” (6). For example, examining institutional symbols, metonymy, iconography, displays, and exhibitions provides a critique as Irit Rogoff suggests of “whose fantasies of what are fed by which visual images” (382). Through an examination of Tiffany’s ecclesiastical stained-glass windows in Richmond, I also argue that the visual representations offer incontrovertible proof that postbellum America, in its holiest and most sacred spaces, privileges a view of racial inequality while telling a story that argues for white supremacy and a separate sphere for women.⁸ The windows portray a belief that those who deserved to be memorialized and valorized were white – and when female – demure, modest, and virtuous (See Figs. 1-2). Jesus and His disciples, Mary and Joseph, angels on high,



Fig. 1. Tiffany, Louis C. *Jefferson Davis Window (Upper): The Angels of Goodness and Mercy*, 1898. Source: St. Paul’s Episcopal Church, Richmond, Virginia. Stained-glass window. Photograph. 10 June 2010.

Fig. 2. Tiffany, Louis C. *The Newton-Davenport Window: The Annunciation*, 1901. Source: St. Paul’s Episcopal Church, Richmond, Virginia. Stained-glass window. Photograph. 10 June 2010.

witnesses to events, cherubs, children, and legendary heroes are all just as post-

Reconstruction, American author Charles W. Chestnutt describes, “white people ... divinely endowed” (169).

This is an especially timely project for four reasons: (1) major national and international exhibitions and popular culture are focusing on Louis Comfort Tiffany’s American art glass and oeuvre, with even a “Tiffany Driving Tour” zigzagging the state

⁸ See Nancy A. Hewitt for complexities in the discussion of the “true woman/separate spheres/woman’s culture triad” (2).

of Virginia; (2) major American cities whose inner-city churches house these national treasures are facing dwindling congregations and renovation needs as the windows age; (3) an interest in “visual thinking” is surging throughout the academy with the addition of digital technologies and scholarship related to digital and visual rhetoric, visual culture, and the interplay of text and image⁹; and, (4) political branches of government such as the presidency, now open to racial groups previously excluded, are shining a backlight on other historical, social, cultural, political, and religious institutions that have elided marginalized groups in their practices and customs.

⁹ Mitchell describes this new field of study as an “indiscipline,” crossing lines that “mingle” visual and verbal inquiry including art theory, rhetoric, cultural studies, psychology and media studies – the “pictorial turn” of the last decade (Mitchell 541). That images and words work together for persuasive purposes might seem a *fait accompli* to present-day rhetorical scholars – Andrea Lunsford includes a new chapter entitled “Visual Thinking” in her ubiquitous *St. Martin’s Handbook*, a staple in many freshman composition classes. And the focus of the most recent 2010 SAML A conference, “The Interplay of Word and Image,” invited scholarship in the area of “visual rhetorics” (Schattelman). Also, presenting at the 2010 Thomas R. Watson conference, keynote speaker Jacqueline Royster explored South African “open-air rhetoric” – billboards, poster art, outdoor advertisements— following in the tradition of Ferdinand de Saussure, as witnesses to a “convergence of medium and message ... a semiotic example of the rhetorical potency of words and images – as deeply vested symbols of meanings” (144). Because ecclesiastical stained-glass windows, like billboards, can be considered “public literacy,” the windows, too, can be said to possess “specific hermeneutic value,” engendering multi-layered opportunities “for diverse spectators to act from interpretive perspectives that are personal, social, and/or institutional” (Royster 145).

Chapter II

THE GOTHIC RHETORICAL SITUATION

“... directly opposite the fireplace, an extra window, lighted from the adjoining conservatory, threw a wonderful, rich light into the apartment. It was a Gothic window of stained glass, very large, the centre figures being armed warriors, Parsifal and Lohengrain; the one with a banner, the other with a swan. The effect was exquisite, the window a veritable masterpiece, glowing, flaming, and burning with a hundred tints and colours – opalescent, purple, wine-red, clouded pinks, royal blues, saffrons, violets so dark as to be almost black.”

Frank Norris, *The Octopus*, 1901.

Art historians may argue whether ecclesiastical stained-glass windows achieve their apogee in either French Gothic or American postbellum periods; yet, I submit, to understand the rhetorical situations brought about by postbellum stained glass, the windows of the Gothic era function as a resourceful beginning.¹⁰ First, Gothic stained-glass in France is ubiquitous: for example, of over 185 figurative windows in Chartres Cathedral alone, 152 still exist (Kemp 3). Besides being prevalent and having survived for nearly 800 years, Gothic pictorial and abstract stained-glass windows have served the church for what may appear to be obvious purposes: to improve the appearance of an interior space, to make it inviting. But it is the not-so-obvious exigencies that comprise the mosaic of the rhetorical situation, as Bitzer outlines it. If a rhetorical situation “come(s) into existence for the sake of something beyond itself ... [and] function(s) to

¹⁰ The term Gothic as it is used in this paper might best be clarified as that period of historical life from the 1130's to the latter part of the thirteenth century, when French Gothic architecture dominates the cultural milieu (Bony 2).

produce action or change in the world ... [to] perform some task,” as he suggests, it will be my aim to discuss how stained-glass windows accomplish this directive. For Bitzer’s model to perform successfully for the visual rhetoric of stained-glass windows, this examination must not only define the exigencies or purposes, but must also qualify the audience and the “change to be effected,” as well as name the “*constraints*” (author’s emphasis 8-9). Constraints are those “beliefs, attitudes, documents, facts, traditions, images, interests, [and] motives” which serve to “modify the exigence” (8).

The French obsession with thinness occurs during this period, with a reduction of solid wall surfaces replaced by increasingly large and colorful windows: other prevalent Gothic features such as soaring spires and flying buttresses are initiated during this period as well (Bony 5-7; 43; Bork 26; see Fig.1). Two Gothic exemplars, the monastery church at St.-Denis and the cathedral at Chartres, demonstrate the rhetorical dimensions offered by stained-glass windows in France as part of the revolutionary structural design for cathedrals and churches during the Gothic period. Stained glass possesses spiritual and didactic significance for congregants and for clerics; but, for the latter group, the stained-glass window programs also offer the prospect of increasing their audience and, thus, their coffers. Moreover, the windows promote community and identity construction, occurring as a result of the expanding use of this art form. In addition, Gothic theories about light and images, their power to “live, move, and



Fig. 1. Stained-glass windows and rib vaulting. 12th century. St-Denis, France. Source: *Google Images*. Web. 10 Feb. 2011.

breathe,” are also purported (Camille 223). As art historian Michael Camille offers his perspective, “New iconographies are linked to new institutions, laws, and prohibitions. They do not merely describe or reflect a new situation but are products of social processes and often instruments for social action” (9).

Functioning as visual rhetoric, Gothic stained-glass window programs, along with other iconographical programs, contribute to the transcendent experience of the congregant and to the narrative of the Christian church. Thus, one exigence for Gothic clerics initiating stained-glass programs is characterized as a desire to hold sway over the medium and the message. One sees the situation change as clerics loosen their control over images in later Gothic stained-glass programs to permit others in their community, often guilds and tradespeople, to act as coauthors and narrators. Art historian and stained-glass expert Wolfgang Kemp explains of the early Gothic church: “Many of these windows – probably the most ambitious and comprehensive cycles – adorned monastery churches; and we can assume that their donors and programmatic designers were clerics who, like their most famous representative Abbot Suger [of St.-Denis monastery], did not necessarily use the windows as a medium of communication” (Kemp 155).¹¹ Contrasting the later thirteenth-century iconographic stained-glass programs of French cathedrals such as Chartres, Kemp concludes:

All this changed around 1200, when noble materials and great ideas were invested in the cathedral churches in the city centers – when this medium, encouraged by the new style of architecture, went through an unimagined expansion, and a new class of donors ‘appeared on the scene,’ which acted

¹¹ Suger is largely credited with originating the Gothic style and the prolific use of stained-glass windows in the iconographic programming of French cathedrals.

as a collective force to challenge heresy and promote reform, and in so doing helped the Church to adopt a new concept and new forms of preaching. (Kemp 156)

Kemp suggests that prior to 1200 stained-glass windows had a different function altogether from their later narrative counterpart, the guilds' windows: if not to tell a Bible story, sermonize or proclaim a moral message, to challenge heretics or "promote reform," what rhetorical purpose do the early Gothic stained-glass windows of Abbot Suger and his St.-Denis monastery serve? And, if the windows do not "communicate," as Kemp states, how can they function rhetorically? It is my aim to prove that the windows do communicate and also operate within a rhetorical situation, one fraught with political and financial aims.

St.-Denis Monastery: Exigence, Audience and Constraints

To answer, then, the query about the exigence of St.-Denis monastery, one must also pay attention to audience and constraints, while considering the life of one of the most outstanding figures in French history. Abbot Suger (1081-1151), both a secular diplomat and friend of the Holy See, is credited unequivocally as the inaugurator of the Gothic style, the innovator of the rose motif in stained-glass windows persisting into modernity, and the "father of the French monarchy" culminating in the "state of Louis XIV" (Panofsky 144; 109; see Fig. 2).

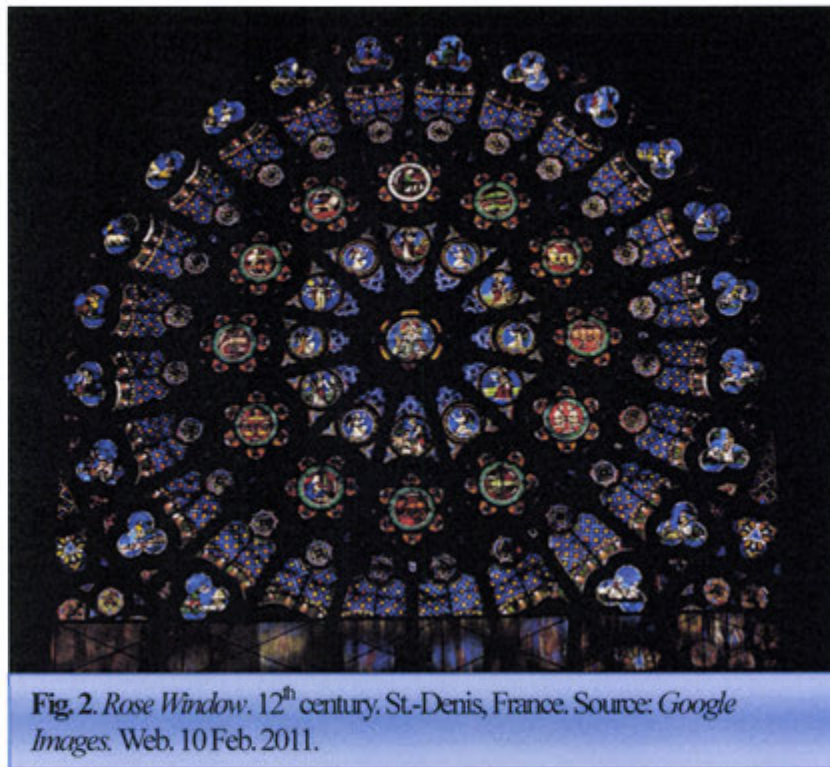


Fig. 2. *Rose Window*. 12th century. St.-Denis, France. Source: *Google Images*. Web. 10 Feb. 2011.

Writings by a retrospective and prolific Suger show two primary purposes or exigencies in his reorganization and reconstruction of the monastery at St.-Denis – “to strengthen the power of the Crown of France ... and to aggrandize the Abbey of St.-Denis” (Panofsky 109).¹² Given Suger’s political, financial, and religious aims, one might assume correctly that he is a skillful negotiator with powerful connections. Of humble origins himself, Suger acquires as his schoolyard chum the future king, Prince Louis, and son of King Philip I of France, which only serves his ambitions further (Frankl 4).

Situated north of the gates of Paris, St.-Denis’ traditions and legends make it the “most distinguished of all the cathedrals in France” (Frankl 3). Two legends add to its *gravitas*: one holds that St. Dionysius, an Athens native and missionary sent to Gaul

¹² Suger took over a “disrupted monastery” in a state of disrepair and financially unstable which will be rectified through able management but also calculated annexing of surrounding property (Frankl 3).

around 250 A.D., was beheaded but somehow still managed to pick up his head and carry it five miles to his burial place (the site of the current church) (3). A second claims the monastery at St.-Denis possesses the crown of thorns and a nail from Christ's cross, a legend perpetuated by the ever-convincing Abbot Suger, who offers each relic to the "faithful on certain holy days to kiss" during his tenure of 1122-1151 (5). This is the same Suger who relates in *De Consecratione* and also in *De Administratione* of witnessing highly dangerous crowding at the west entrance of St.-Denis nearly resulting in fatalities (8).

Making an argument for a larger church to accommodate secular crowds safely and for the display of splendid objects to be moved to a "more elevated place" – "conspicuously" and "nobly" positioned – for better audience viewing, Suger is keenly aware of the nationalistic and civic benefits of housing such "prestigious relics" (Frankl 8; Panofsky 121). For, his sacred liturgical vessels of gold and precious stones, golden candelabras, tapestries, mosaics, sculptures, and lustrous vestments now have to compete with a rival Cologne archbishop and imperial chancellor who had only recently scored a coup by securing the "relics of the three Magi" (Bork 38).¹³ Thus, pilgrimages to St.-Denis diverted from Cologne are a primary exigence: the stained-glass program helps Suger accomplish this as the "whole [church] would shine with the wonderful and uninterrupted light of most sacred windows, pervading the interior beauty," even on the "Patron Saints" crypts, "adorned with gold and precious gems," for "visitors' glances" (Frankl 8-9).

¹³ Possessing these relics, art historian Robert Bork states, "buttressed the authority of Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, since possession of the relics of these prototypical Christian kings was seen as conferring kingly legitimacy" (38). Additionally, the famous relics confer the sought-after status for Cologne as one of the "largest pilgrimage centers north of the Alps" (38).

Suger's emphasis on audience is best explained by Aristotle who provides in his *Rhetoric* for techniques of persuasion (or “*pisteis*”) which are “pathetic” (*pathos*) or “audience-interested” (Kinneavy 46; Aristotle qtd. in Kinneavy 46). Rhetoric's function, he explains, “is not simply to succeed in persuading, but rather to discover the means of coming as near such success as the circumstances” allow. In short, there are “systematic principles” allowing one to observe “in any given case the available means of persuasion.” Three modes of persuasion according to Aristotle are: *ethos* (associated with the “personal character of the speaker”), *logos* (“proof,” or “apparent proof”), and *pathos* (“putting the audience in to a certain frame of mind”). To Aristotle, “persuasion may come through the hearers,” in this instance “viewers,” when their emotions are stirred: produce a “pleased and friendly” audience and your efforts will be rewarded. How does one produce pleasure and incline an audience to be friendly toward your argument? Demonstrate, he says, to the audience how your argument is both useful and good, how it is both expedient and advantageous. He further conflates goodness with “beautiful things,” since they “are productive of pleasure.” Suger is aware of the influence of beauty; and, on the other hand, understands that a “pained and hostile” audience will not be easily influenced (*Rhetoric*). Perhaps his audience-awareness is a learned experience, overheard in the routine day-to-day affairs of managing a monastery:

A Prum chronicle describes a woman's disappointment that a saint's tomb she was visiting ‘did not glitter with gold and silver’ – ‘she looked down upon the place and ridiculed it, as dull and irreligious minds are accustomed to do. Immediately turning around to meet her party, she

ordered those who had come with her to return, saying that there was nothing holy contained there.’ (Camille 261)

Since Aristotle defines producing not only goodness as desirable in an audience but also a “friendly feeling,” he describes this emotion as “wishing for him what you believe to be good things, not for your own sake but for his, and being inclined, so far as you can, to bring these things about.” A friend “shares your pleasure in what is good and your pain in what is unpleasant” (*Rhetoric*). By producing for the weary traveler – the maimed, those who “groan under [their] burden” and seek “rest for [their] souls” – all that he believes they desire to see and experience, Suger induces in the audience a feeling that he is their friend (*New Oxford Annotated Bible* 2 Corin. 5:4, Matt. 11:29). He also unburdens them in a material way. After all, pilgrims during the Gothic period bring gifts of money, gold, and jewels, which are seen to possess, “as part of God’s nature,” curative and magical properties (Camille 262). Gold certainly has the “magical” power to pay for things including extensive building projects.

Consequently, the Abbot of St.-Denis raises showmanship to yet another level, urging congregants to transcend from the “material to the immaterial” (qtd. in Panofsky 128). Early Gothic architecture in its use of stained-glass windows expresses a concept “of spiritual ascension toward the understanding of God through the physical medium of the contemplation of light” (Bony 117). Suger expresses the “Dionysian metaphysics of light” in an inscription on the door of the famous church:

Whoever thou art, if thou seekest to extol the glory of these doors,
Marvel not at the gold and the expense, but at the craftsmanship of the
work, Bright is the noble work; but being nobly bright, the work

Should brighten the minds, so that they may travel, through the true lights,
To the True Light where Christ is the true door ...

The dull mind rises to truth through that which is material. (Bony 118; qtd.
in Panofsky 131)

The belief that “man-made objects” can shape people’s attitude, cause them to think differently, or encourage them to “take a new course of action” does not originate with the “rise of technology in the twentieth century,” as Richard Buchanan states (6). Indeed, Gothic audiences experience the persuasive properties of craft by design. Amalia Gonzales recently argues in “The Visual Rhetoric of Craftmanship” certain handmade products communicate rhetorically by exhibiting “*phronesis* (sound sense), *arête* (moral character or excellence), and *eunoia* (benevolence or goodwill)” – the “three qualities ... [of] which *ethos* is crafted” (11). Exhibiting “sound sense” by performing the task for which they were designed as channels of celestial light, the windows have also survived many centuries of utility, as their current condition and imperfections reveal. Along with providing viewers, as Gonzales suggests of handmade products, with a sense of “resilience,” the windows’ *arête* and *eunoia*, evidenced by their continual care and restoration, also speak to Suger’s notion of the nobility and good will of works that are capable of healing the sick and transporting one’s mind (11).

In addition to the *ethos* created by the windows’ exceptional craftsmanship, colored and radiant light streaming through the stained-glass windows accompanies the spiritual and cathartic experience, sharpening the imagination. Gothic Christians believe, since the “sacred



Fig. 3. Colored light reflection. St-Denis Cathedral, France. Source: Google images. Web. 10 Feb. 2011.

writings of the fourth and fifth centuries,” that God is symbolized by light—merely light penetrating into a building is viewed as “the visible action of God” (Grodecki and Brisac 22; see Fig. 3). Even a “trancelike state” can be induced by shining objects or light (Panofsky 129). Aristotle, here, is also instructive in his discussion of “calm” emotions, as when audiences are “enjoying freedom from pain, or inoffensive pleasure, or justifiable hope,” a “settling down or quieting of anger.” It is this effect on their “frames of mind” upon which Suger draws (*Rhetoric*).

With this classical appreciation for audience and visual texts, Suger prototypes at St.-Denis a “lantern of glass,” with its stone walls replaced everywhere with a “luminous membrane” of color (Bruzelius 4). Jewel-like colors with “rich tones” for stained-glass artist Louis Comfort Tiffany in the nineteenth century only add to the Gothic windows’ brilliance:

When first I had a chance to travel ... and to paint where the people and the buildings are clad in beautiful hues, the preeminence of color was brought forcibly to my attention. I returned to New York wondering why we made so little use of our eyes, why we refrained so obstinately from taking advantage of color in our architecture and our clothing when Nature indicates its mastership. (Tiffany qtd. in Duncan 22-23)

Even with the powerful Suger’s advocacy of gold, gems, and stained glass as sacral signifiers, a contingent of the church decries through other equally powerful Cistercians during the Gothic period that “while the stones are clothed in gold the poor go naked” (Bernard qtd. in Camille 260).¹⁴ Suger has to consider attitudes not only of

¹⁴ As Camille reports, “The dialectic between the opulent associations of gold and its use in the enshrinement of cult objects like relics becomes problematic in the [later] Gothic period with the increasing

visitors and the church hierarchy, “Cistercian Puritanism” (mainly St. Bernard’s), but also those of his fellow monks who do not necessarily desire such a “flamboyant” change in their beloved abbey (Panofsky 133; 117). Maintaining stringent views about the monastery’s traditions, a contingent of locals and pilgrims likewise believe the abbey and its ancient stones have been consecrated or blessed by the hand of Christ himself, in person (134). Thus, one constraint is the reluctance for any of the stones to be disturbed at all, much less replaced by reconstruction. (Panofsky notes that Suger had the habit of asking forgiveness rather than permission) (135).

Attitudes also about the ability of images to distract congregants from meditating on the “Law Divine” make it clear that clerics are conflicted about images in the church (Panofsky 133).¹⁵ Saint Bernard is not alone in these beliefs: images are viewed during early medieval times as potentially threatening – a belief revealed in accounts of perception describing “the mechanism of sight as the actual impress of objects upon the soul through rays that both emanated from the eye and returned to it” (Camille 23-24). Pregnant women, for instance, are warned not to look at “any of the very disgusting animals in the face – like the dog-headed apes or monkeys, lest they should give birth to children of similar appearance” (Gerald of Wales qtd. in Camille 24). Furthermore, the gaze, hailing from imperial portraiture, is thought to possess *spiritus*, emanating “from

sensitivity of the audience to money as a symbol of wealth and power” (261). Sins of usury, like idolatry, are later “codified in the penitential manuals as one of the worst sins, and the usurer’s most common locus in medieval art is hell, where he still clutches his money bags” (263).

¹⁵ Of course, the Bible is used for both theoretical attacks and justifications for the production of images during this period, Camille states (28-29). A “rewriting” of the Old Testament commandments, including the second commandment, elides the emphasis on the making of “graven images” – it is amended to read in late vernacular French and English paraphrases as “Thou shalt not have strange gods before me” (Camille 31). Other biblical passages warn of an image-jealous Creator; thus, a hierarchy evolves restricting representation to a “second-order status,” as imitator not originator, “lacking the power of its living model” (35-36). Camille likens the thinking to the present-day status assigned to artificial flowers (36).

the eye like a ray, illuminating the world around so that the beholders could literally be trapped” in its path (Camille 223).

Summary of the Rhetorical Situation at St.-Denis

Despite his love of display and grandeur, Abbot Suger’s aim to accommodate as great an audience as possible coincides with his love for the “common man,” Panofsky relates (142). In many of Suger’s writings, he sketches the laborers working on the renovation: the ox-drivers, glaziers, carpenters, and woodsmen with whom he once treks through the forest to find just the right “twelve timbers” for the monastery’s new interior (Panofsky 142-43).¹⁶ There is no doubt that he “devised the iconography of his windows” with the same oversight that he “selected and invited the individual craftsmen ... [all] masters from different regions,” but, his windows are less about iconographic messages than about nationalistic leanings and the windows’ effects on surfaces and objects. Suger insures a royal burial place for Frankish kings and invites his many visitors to experience a display of wealth “fitting for the relics of the King of Kings” (144; Suger qtd. in Panofsky 132; Camille 261). His visual rhetoric works: “The site was so besieged by pilgrims that monks of the abbey had been forced to hire guards,” armed to protect the reliquary and the kings’ remains (208). Like St.-Denis, the Cathedral at Chartres possesses its own exigence, audience, and constraints.

Chartres Cathedral: Exigence, Audience and Constraints

For a complete understanding of the exigence of the rhetorical situation for Chartres Cathedral, a brief explanation of its physical structure provides relevant background information. First, a fire in 1193 in the cathedral of Chartres both paves the

¹⁶ Suger performs his “democratic responsibility to his chapter and order” but also demonstrates his active participation with the work itself (143-44). One senses the deliberateness and purpose of Suger’s building program.

way for a “new esthetic for stained glass” during its reconstruction and creates a financial hardship for clerics (Grodecki and Brisac 16). The financial need in raising the immense funds essential for the reconstruction, in particular for glazing the windows, created significant opportunities for donor influence and for authentication through identity construction. By selecting subjects, donors become teachers and advertisers, choosing secular themes and the ways in which they are self-portrayed. Art historian Henry Kraus states, “Agreeing to this dictation by ‘outsiders’ must have constituted a major concession by churchmen. It represents an early and exceedingly important development in the secularization of church art” (qtd. in Kemp 175). There can be no question a major compromise had been negotiated.

According to Kemp, no one contributes more to Chartres Cathedral’s re-creation than the people (164). During the Gothic era, “financial participation was the handle on the door of opportunity, decision making, and representation for a whole social group (of civic fraternities, guilds, societies, and military associations)” previously excluded by the church hierarchy (Kemp 165-66). Since windows become a vehicle for social mobility, the Gothic church itself becomes the people’s church (164). Self-portrayal of their occupations, goods and services, of their business selves in the windows presents an opportunity much like “open-air rhetoric” (billboards) does today – to fashion public literacy and to inform and influence decisions in public places (Royster 144).

Both as advice and advertisement, potentially even the first public billboards, the stained-glass windows of Chartres, especially those at eye-level, are in the “hands of the guilds” and “played havoc with the rigid control of the iconography by the clergy” (Kemp 175). Furriers and drapers, taverners and bakers, ropers and butchers,

glassblowers and tanners, all “sought to better their positions against those of rival corporations or aristocratic individuals by donating several windows” (177). Tradesmen primarily seek to advertise their wares, hence, bakers are shown “carrying out their bread and offering it for sale”; and, furriers are depicted “showing coats or cloths to their clients” (214). A telling example in Chartres Cathedral is the expansive Prodigal Son window that Kemp theorizes could have been donated anonymously by the prostitutes of the area (180).

Kemp’s is an attribution impossible to document, but is, nevertheless, intriguing. The prostitutes are depicted in a fairly favorable light, he suggests, because of their guild status: the “prostitute’s name ... was not vice but money” (financial exigency seemingly, just as politics, creates “strange bedfellows”)

(186). As he elaborates: “[T]he visual narrators do not resort to the media of caricature or allegory when they depict the temptress, but keep to their stylistic norm and show the women as noble and altogether respectable representatives of their profession, hardly distinguishable from the



Fig. 4. *The Prodigal Son.* Stained-glass window frame. Chartres Cathedral, France. Source: Google images. Photograph Web. 20 Feb. 2011.

aristocratic patrons in the clerestory” (181). It is typical for medieval artists to “contemporize” and portray forms that are considered “dangerous and depraved” in a “veil of normalcy,” Michael Camille informs, as they did with classical pagan gods and goddesses: “By making them into Gothic lords and ladies they were no longer ‘Other’” (102).

Kemp also suggests that the bishop of Chartres very well could have taken the “casuist’s way out with ... [his] acceptance of the donation –public refusal, private assent” (181). Thus, the anonymous window’s scope finds a balance between “self-advertisement and a sermon of morals” and realistically depicts in its “narrative thread” the “sinful life in the brothel” – without the prostitutes sporting a “tarted-up appearance” or “lewd posture(s)” (181). Still, one woman’s yellow robe signifies for contemporaries the “shameful color of ... [her] profession” (181) (See Figs. 4-5).¹⁷ Interestingly, Kemp also points to the train of the women’s skirts, which like the prodigal’s fur-lined cloak, is “anathema” to the medieval viewer: “man is distinguished from the animals by his lack of a tail, so this fashion was tantamount to a regression to the bestial” (182; see Fig. 5).



Fig. 5. *The Prodigal Son. Skirt train.* Stained-glass window frame. Chartres Cathedral, France. Source: Google images. Photograph. Web. 20 Feb. 2011.

On the one hand the narrators (clerics) allow a tempered depiction of the profession; on the other, the window clearly signifies danger to viewers who venture into a life of debauchery, perhaps satisfying both the donor and the church legalist. Kemp offers a plausible explanation: “[T]hey [the prostitutes] probably paid their dues to the chapter and in exchange received permission to offer their services in a place that gave them the best

¹⁷ Universally censured during the medieval period, the color yellow signifies “feminine pride, vanity, and depravity,” with one writer, Etienne de Bourbon, declaring that “men recognize loose women by their yellow veils” (qtd. in Kemp 181). Many municipal laws in later periods mandate that women of ill-repute should publicly identify themselves by wearing the symbolic color of their trade –yellow (181; see Fig. 4). Another “Other,” Jews, beginning in the Middle Ages, are also required to wear a yellow star (or a white *tablula* shape in England) by similar sumptuary laws (Camille 181-82).

possible conditions: it was dry, it was continuously animated, and it was the destination of many visitors” (184).

Perhaps the Chartrain clerics believe as Thomas Aquinas and St. Augustine who see prostitutes as a “safety valve” to stave off a “buildup of passions” – a lesser evil notion as expressed by Thomas of Chobham, a canon in Salisbury Cathedral who states:

not a few women of this sort reside not only at the courts of princes but also in those of the bishops ... because the fleshly weakness of our age has so succumbed to lust, and because hardly anyone ... choose (s) abstinence these days, it is accepted that harlots and their clients be admitted into the church, in order to prevent any worse excesses. (qtd. in Kemp 183)

If the women keep the laity and the priests from committing worse sins, as Kemp suggests, it follows that a reciprocal relationship trumps whatever canon laws forbid the women’s presence and keeps them from participation in certain church practices, from their legitimate earnings, and from the disbursement of their earnings as they see fit (183-84).¹⁸

The prostitute’s signature is one of allusion only; but, the church can accomplish the goal of glazing and rebuilding a church by expanding the donor base and granting to the donor the “most massive interventions found in this period” as “coauthors” (200). Prostitutes, as coauthors and businesswomen, may have given themselves an opportunity

¹⁸ In Paris, for instance, “whores and actors” were not actually “banned from setting foot in church” but certainly could not approach the altar (Thomas of Chobham qtd. in Kemp 180). Gradually, “whores” could, along with other women, “bless candles on the altar” at Saturday vespers, as long as they didn’t place an offering on the altar (Thomas of Chobham qtd. in Kemp 180-181). Nor could the “whores” bring gifts to the altar during mass, less “the stench of the brothel” mingled with the “incense of the offering” (Thomas of Chobham qtd. in Kemp 181). Nevertheless, a rumor persisted that the “whores” had offered to “donate a noble glass window to the Cathedral; but the bishop forbade it ... [*officially, Kemp surmises*], in order not to appear to sanction the way of life of those whose money he accepted” (emphasis added; Thomas of Chobham qtd. in Kemp 181).

to create a new identity, of legitimization by representation, as women of action versus ones being acted upon – while garnering the interest of the viewer and perhaps multiplying their client base (just as vernacular literature in the form of profane and secular genres found an audience through “*fabliaux* [vulgar plays in verse form]), *dits* [moralizing and often satirical didactic poems], and *exempla* [folk tales used for homilies]”) which “blossom” during the same period as the windows at Chartres (Kemp 115). By secularizing the visual text, the church of the medieval period hopes to undercut the “spread of vernacular ‘literature’ and, above all, to quash “its interpreters ...the troubadours and traveling storytellers” – i.e. the jongleurs (134-135).

If stained-glass windows enable cathedrals to be viewed “as a compendium of the Christian faith,” they also preserve teaching and preaching as the church’s domain (Chapius; Kemp 97). Thomas Aquinas states: “Whenever people –especially common people – are presented with a clear explanation of the facts of salvation in analogies, they can understand and remember them far better” (qtd. in Kemp 96). Positing that “the message of the Bible is a persuasive message,” Kinneavy argues the Bible “largely is rhetorical”; it follows, then, that the message of biblical images is likewise rhetorical (51). Testifying to the *veritas* of stories and events, Gothic stained-glass windows are “a hypertrophy of narrative” (Kemp 6) and employ *logos*, or the passing on of “information and some knowledge about the subject matter involved” (Kinneavy 51). The windows become the most popular medium of religious instruction as “carrier(s) of associations that all pointed upward” (Kemp 97). With a clear vernacular accent, in essence, the ecclesiastics wage a battle to gain the attention of the laity through preaching morals versus dogma in the windows (134). What the glass painters also learn from the jongleurs

(skilled mimes) is an attention to the gesticular, to the necessary postures, to the “urge forward to the next image or scene” – to frames that handle directions intentionally, demonstratively, and with consistent body rhetoric (152).

In addition to *logos*, therefore, a second appeal of the rhetorical situation, as previously discussed in reference to St.-Denis and Suger’s intentionality regarding *pathos*, is the use of the audience as a resource for persuasion, again, as defined by Aristotle in *Rhetoric*. Emotions such as anger and calm, friendship and enmity, fear, pity, indignation, and shame are discussed (*Rhetoric*). Other classical rhetors will extend this conversation to include the powerful visual language of the body and of evidence (*evidentia*) and its audience impact (Eck 2-4).¹⁹

Thus, Roman rhetoricians such as Quintilian provide that hands and eyes, attitudes of the body and face, the use of glance, all contribute to audience or viewer identification. Spectators of Gothic stained-glass windows are persuaded by the intentional “directional links between frames and people ... [implying] ‘I here’ and ‘you there’



Fig. 6. *The Prodigal Son*. Stained-glass window, Chartres Cathedral, France. Source: Google images. Photograph. Web. 20 Feb. 2011.

¹⁹ Physical evidence would include “swords encrusted w/blood, bits of blood taken from wounds, and the bloodstained clothing of the victim” (Eck 4). Aristotle would have termed these inartistic proofs/*pisteis*.

and ‘coming here’ and ‘going there’” (Kemp 152). Through their address-like aspect, via mobile body stance and gesture, Gothic stained-glass windows illustrate technai of classical rhetors (See Fig. 6).²⁰

Moreover, to sway the emotions of the audience, Quintilian also argues that along with gestures, visualization through vivid descriptions (*ecphrasis*) and physical evidence such as clothing can be presented: gesture + word-images + physical rhetoric = conviction (Hobbs 56-58; Eck 7). This frames the visual emphasis of the Prodigal losing his clothes, early in the window’s narrative, during a game of draughts: for a person in the medieval period, the dress or coat was a “sensitive matter ... a real and symbolic skin that was often closer than one’s own soul, and not infrequently more vital than one’s own purse” (Kemp 189; see Fig. 7). A viewer cannot miss the point that there are “men ... whose misfortunes, distresses, or failures we ought to feel pleased [about]”; indeed, the Prodigal’s near-naked depiction will



Fig. 7. *The Prodigal Son*. Stained-glass window frame. Chartres Cathedral, France. Source: Google images. Photograph. Web. 20 Feb. 2011.

please an audience, as their “indignation” at his situation is merited (Aristotle *Rhetoric*). Indignation can be caused by “undeserved good fortune” which the medieval audience

²⁰ For Quintilian, gestures act rhetorically on the audience’s emotions by providing windows into the mind of the speaker: persuasion fails if it appeals merely to hearing and isn’t “displayed” in [its] living truth to the eyes of the mind” (qtd. in Eck 7).

would have recognized in the Prodigal's request for his inheritance before his father's death (*Rhetoric*). In Henri J. M. Nouwen's *The Return of the Prodigal Son*, one learns that "the son's manner of leaving is tantamount to wishing his father dead" (35).²¹

Not only a comment about the "heartless rejection of home" and the son's infamous betrayal of the "treasured values of family and community,"²² the prodigal's clothing signifies "more clearly ... the deceitful and criminal nature of the taverner and prostitutes" than any other window frame (Nouwen 36; Kemp 188). In the expanded version of the story in the stained-glass window at Chartres, the son undresses, is undressed, "dons the clothes of a poor man," and returns home to be "clothed anew"; thus, the "whole story is about changes of clothes" (Kemp 189). In all, the Chartrain depiction shows the Prodigal in eight different states of dress and undress versus the Biblical narrative that only mentions the final enrobing scene by a welcoming father. As we learn, the "son regains his status as a person and is once more recognizable as son and brother" only when he is appropriately clothed in the final scene (Kemp 189).

In this discussion oriented toward *pathos* and audience identification of visual arguments, the language and rhetoric of clothing is taken "seriously in every detail," referring not only to the moral lesson for the laity but also to the ordinances and church interdictions and synods outlining colors to be worn by clergy, forbidding coats with sleeves, furs, ermines, gloves or pointed shoes, as well as dictating clerics' hunting gear (190). Clothes, as the windows exemplify, tell stories and act persuasively on viewers,

²¹ Nouwen's source for this explanation of Luke 15: 11-32 derives from Kenneth Bailey's interviews of "people from all walks of life from Morocco to India ... from Turkey to the Sudan about the implications" of the Prodigal's request (qtd. in Nouwen 35). According to Bailey, "The answer has always been emphatically the same... [T]he request means – he wants his father to die" (qtd. in Nouwen 35).

²² Nouwen states also that son's "'leaving' is ... much more offensive than it seems at first reading" because the father, even after agreeing to make the distribution, still had the right to "live off the proceeds ... as long as he is alive" (36; Bailey qtd. in Nouwen 36).

while allowing the stained-glass painter to face the problems of narrative and narrator, by expanding or contracting the text: “when in doubt they weave another episode – showing the gain or loss of a coat, nakedness or covering – into the brightly colored paths of the glass” (Kemp 196).

Besides the financial exigency, audience involvement, and the use of classical modes of rhetoric, the stained-glass windows present further constraints that serve as the final constituent to Bitzer’s model: the image and how it is reckoned with during the medieval period. Around the middle of the thirteenth century, a more fundamental change takes place in attitudes about images, vehicularized by the ceremonial mass which for the medieval beholder becomes a “thrilling new experience” (Camille 215). Through the mass, the priest offers the Host, “a material substance that ... was capable of transforming into God’s flesh” (215). Once the Fourth Lateran Council mandates the sacrament of the Eucharist as a requirement annually for Christians, the raising of the Host over the priest’s head, first in Paris, makes it possible for congregants not only to see but also to adore the ““body of Christ,”” as a ““real presence”” (William of Auxerre qtd. in Camille 217). Camille theorizes that this notion of “viewing and enjoying God” deeply influences “people’s perception of images, for here a visible thing was itself capable of becoming and not just signifying its prototype” (217).

Visual rhetoric through the emphasis of the sacraments and through the stained-glass windows, thus, is seen as a tool to counter-effect the heresies surviving in parts of France. While some in France are becoming more involved in Christian worship, others are rejecting the traditional faith. This final constraint Kemp makes reference to in discussing the narrative cycles of stained-glass windows in France after 1200, “These

decades, in which the sculptors and glaziers of the cathedrals and their spiritual advisors opened a new chapter in pictorial narrative, also mark the period in which the Church, and above all, the Church in France, was engaged in campaigns against heretics,” both within France and in the Muslim world (130-31). Camille explains: “Catharism and other heretical movements were at their peak in Western Europe” during the thirteenth century (Cathars are “idolaters who worshiped the devil in the form of a black cat”) (12-13). The Albigensian Crusade (1209-1229) and the prescriptions of the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 are examples of church efforts to obliterate heresy and institute change through sacraments of penance and confession, instruments of individual conscience and “social control” (12-13). As a result, one sees in the hierarchy’s reaction this simultaneous constriction of acceptable values and beliefs and, yet, a border crossing – a stepping over of closely monitored boundaries, in which new participants and new methods of visual rhetoric are engaged.

Barriers between representation and reality, image and audience, therefore, break down, and, this confluence of conditions create an “image explosion” (219). Latin, the language of the Church and the authorized form of communication with God, is maintained, but images become “centers of power” (219). Kemp notes also the existence of a much “broader movement” afoot “which sought to gain for itself ... the right to participate in religious life, and above all, its own access to the Scriptures” (131). This later Gothic audience becomes, as Bitzer’s model requires, true “mediators of change,” as they are not only purchasers of religious devotional products – “ivory statuettes, Books of Hours, and small panel-paintings” – but, also donors of many forms of religious imagery (8; Camille 214). From chapels to paintings to windows, the laity is bound to the “Church

establishment,” wherein “the community displayed itself to itself, as well as to God” (214-15).

Summary of the Rhetorical Situation at Chartres Cathedral

With the donor base’s expansion and development, the church has a new kind of audience with whom to reckon—the laity—mainly because of the economic expansion of cities and the high cost of reconstruction (Camille 214). The new audience makes demands on the church that stretch the fabric of religious communication which before has been “incomprehensible to the believers” and often “inaudible” – the religious, historical, and financial crises demand that clerics find a language to match the situation, which R. Fossier describes, as being supplied by “profane themes or stories” (qtd. in Kemp 133). These themes and stories, “narratives issuing from bodies and their language,” demonstrate the church’s struggle to aim appeals, seize attention, and stir listeners through “substance” and “by using familiar-sounding exempla, [and] sententious parables”(Kemp xi-xii).

While it is true that the laity and the guilds exercise tremendous influence over the artists’ decisions, cathedrals, scenes of complex rituals and social exchange, still offer both a transcendent and didactic experience to congregants who rely on the stained-glass windows’ pictorial cycles for “every kind of narrative: [l]ives of the saints, biblical scenes, parables, aspects of dogma, worldly themes ... for some of them ... the first time they have been narrated in such detail” (Kemp 6). Art historian Hans Belting explains of Gothic visuality before 1300:

It concentrates on the significant and essential and invites reading or understanding more than feeling. Its recording of bare events is echoed by

the images that repeat the essential facts of the texts in visual form. The intention of the picture is the same as that of the texts; they also served for instruction. In addition, they proved the reality of the text by giving it visual confirmation. Therefore, the message of the Bible is also the message of biblical images (qtd. in Kemp 221).

Stained-glass windows during the later Gothic period become more than conduits of colored or divine light and even more than divine healers, as they open avenues for advertisement, for identity construction and legitimization for women and tradesmen, for vernacular stories that hold the interest of the audience, and for moral lessons even for clerics. As congregants and communities become more engaged in the Church, they participate in the creation of its interior spaces, determining it as a place in which they not only learn but also teach by telling the story of who they are and what they do, positing for lay audiences who to trust, how to manipulate images, and how to interpret the sacred and everyday situations that surround them. The donors refuse censorship and arbitrate in order to communicate visual narratives that are “contemporary with respect to costume, habit, accessories, and the reading of thematic material” (Kemp 222). But, the later windows also offer commentary about the political and financial situation, how the church hierarchy reacts to the changing conditions to achieve their glazing and didactic goals in a new cathedral setting.

This is also the first time in which one sees “visible *causality*” – narrative sequencing in stained-glass windows with attention to “mobility,” “transitions,” “generating actions,” and “signs of intentionality, [and] direction” which establish “momentum” (Kemp terms this the “curious innate logic of narrative” which “no

opposing current since that time has ever been able to replace ...)" (224). As one might agree after considering the rhetorical situation of the Gothic period, the "first thing we do with images is imagine a story," according to Susan Lange, philosopher (qtd. in Fleckinstein 925). And, as we all know, stories, like rhetoric, have the capacity to shape society, change the course of "individuals and communities," and set "patterns for new action" (Buchanan 6).

How images perform rhetorically is the subject of the next chapter, as I examine the rhetorical situation of postbellum stained-glass windows in America. Will the rhetorical situation follow the model set forth by the late Gothic church, with its "sure, rhythmic tread of the narrator?" (Kemp 226). Or create its own? Lloyd Bitzer, again, will offer a sturdy framework to consider the postbellum situation at Richmond's St. Paul's Episcopal Church and its implications for further study.

Chapter III

THE POSTBELLUM RHETORICAL SITUATION

“To the women of the confederacy whose pious ministrations to our wounded soldiers soothed the last hours of those who died far from the objects of their tenderest love whose domestic labors contributed much to supply the wants of our defenders in the field whose zealous faith in our cause shone a guiding star undimmed by the darkest clouds of war whose fortitude sustained them under all the privations to which they were subjected whose annual tribute express their enduring grief, love, and reverence for our sacred dead and whose patriotism will teach their children to emulate the deeds of our revolutionary sires these pages are dedicated by their countryman.” Jefferson Davis, “Prologue,” *The Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government*, 1881.

In this chapter, I will examine the rhetorical dimensions of two Tiffany stained-glass windows in St. Paul’s Episcopal Church, Richmond, Virginia. In postbellum America, roughly 1866-1913, the windows derive as a response to a situation similar to the Gothic church, as the purpose or exigence of this period’s stained glass with respect to the non-mediated audience involves the following traditional uses: (1) spiritual; (2) instructional or didactic; (3) epideictic or ceremonial; (4) aesthetic; and, (5) economic or fundraising. Non-traditional uses of visual rhetoric presented through the windows are also present during this period, including the socio-political and communitarian function (identity construction). A discussion of the constituents with respect to the stained-glass windows of the postbellum rhetorical situation including exigence, audience, and constraints is included in this section.

For the church of late nineteenth-century America, stained-glass windows are a site of contestation, visual reminders of the troubled relationship between races, gender,

and post-Reconstruction North and South. The churches' stained-glass windows function as "symbolic landscapes," representations of a socially and politically bifurcated America (Leib 241). Consequently, they serve as reminders through the use of epideictic visual rhetoric that "the ability to shape a region's historical memory and how it is portrayed ... both reflects and shapes a society's power relations" (Leib 237). For the ability to determine what visuals are displayed in public places does not "arise as if by natural law to celebrate the deserving," but, instead these memorials "are built by people with sufficient power to marshal (or impose) public consent for their erection" (Savage 135). Hence, the ecclesiastical stained-glass memorials following the Civil War, as other memorials, "tell us a least as much, and perhaps far more, about the people who build them than about the individuals they are intended to honor" (Neff 3).

As Foote argues, "America's white majority has had two centuries to develop and mark its myth of origins on the landscape" which is certainly true of Richmond, Virginia, and its religious and cultural landscape (qtd. in Leib 238).²³ What I substantiate in this chapter is the stained-glass windows of postbellum America present the same opportunity as other commemorative acts to reflect the rhetorical situation, in this case, illustrating, as purports historian John Neff, the "'present-mindedness' ... of those involved" (3). Also, I will cite specific examples and provide photographic evidence of the windows' epideictic use to construct symbolic landscapes – "white racialized landscapes" to

²³ In a recent text, *Honoring the Civil War Dead: Commemoration and the Problem of Reconciliation*, John R. Neff examines the use of monuments in "town squares, battlefields, and cemeteries, North and South ...to interpret and express meaning ... in the commemoration of the war's dead"; but, he also illustrates the notion that epideictic acts are "an explicit statement of connection" (1-2). Not only signaling a "relationship between the living and the dead" of "indebtedness" and possibly "obligation," epideictic articulation, whether in stone or stained-glass, speaks of "social, political, or cultural context" (2).

venerate their heroes and heroines (Leib 238).²⁴ At least within the academy, “race” in the United States has been recognized as a “social construction” formed in part by these purposively, racialized cultural landscapes (Leib 238).

In addition to the issues of racialized constructs, I will demonstrate how a “true - woman” is composed in postbellum America’s stained-glass windows with a pictorial definition and narrative including not only “piety, purity, submissiveness, and domesticity” but also “maternalism” (Welter 152; Boris and Kleinberg 90-96).²⁵ Ultimately, the windows serve as indexes of nineteenth century traditional constructions of gender despite the hundreds of thousands of women working for pay and heading households.²⁶ By valorizing an ideal woman, the windows illustrate for generations a visual pattern for acceptable behavior and work places. To some degree, though, Richmond’s St. Paul’s Episcopal Church and one of its later stained-glass windows potentially challenge these gender notions in at least one focal window by referencing alternate avenues of economic advancement and civic engagement. As Mary Buford Bocock Hitz states of postbellum Richmond and her grandmother’s formative years

²⁴ Epideictic stained-glass form racialized constructs also at a naval station at Mare Island, California, honoring Union leaders in stained-glass windows; thus, this practice is not limited to only North and South. For a discussion of segregationist practices in national cemeteries following the Civil War, see Neff 191-200.

²⁵ Eileen Boris and S.J. Kleinberg give a thorough review of women’s labor history in “Mothers and Other Workers: (Re)Conceiving Labor, Maternalism, and the State” while interrogating the “gendering of labor” (90).

²⁶ Because of massive Southern casualties, 60,000 war widows in the former Confederacy seek employment and support themselves in a myriad of ways (Woloch 221). Widows farm, teach, labor in factories, work in retail, offices, and hospitals (220-221). Others take in boarders as is the case of Mary Cameron Ross Buford, honoree of the *Strother-Buford Window*, also known as *The Kiss of Charity* window of St. Paul’s Episcopal discussed in this thesis (*Windows of Grace: A Tribute of Love*; Hitz 3). Also, regarding postbellum black households as Woloch tells, “[T]he proportion of black families headed by women was always higher in urban areas than in the rural South, and higher in southern cities than in northern ones” (225). Black women working outside the home were more likely to be accepted and supported by the black community (225).

during Reconstruction, “[H]er memories of poverty were vivid and immediate. She [Elise Scott] could remember her mother, a young widow after the Civil War, struggling to make ends meet by running a boarding house in Petersburg. It may have been genteel poverty but it was poverty just the same, and Grandmother Scott *never forgot the feel of it – or the cause of it*” (author’s emphasis 3). The Scotts’ window, in memorializing a Civil War widow and mother who dealt with poverty, also argues the ways in which subsequent generations of women embrace reform across many societal planes in Richmond including economic, political, and social justice.²⁷

This section first will discuss the ways in which American ecclesiastical stained-glass programs intersect with the classical rhetorical ends of epideictic discourse (in this case visual discourse). A definition of epideictic discourse in the classical period enables one to recognize its relationship to the rhetorical dimensions of postbellum ecclesiastical stained-glass windows.

The Memorial Windows of St. Paul’s Episcopal Church, Richmond, Virginia: Exigence, Audience, and Constraints.

As defined by Aristotle, the epideictic form of rhetoric has as its aim or purpose (exigence) to induce in the audience some belief about the present and to create a sense of honor or dishonor (praise or blame) (*Rhetoric*). Aristotle provides “epideictic with a serious purpose by assigning nobility and baseness as its fundamental subject matter”

²⁷ Other St. Paul women including Mary-Cooke Branch Munford adopt activism and the “Social Gospel” turn-of-the-century; Munford creates and leads many of the following: “the Woman’s Club of Richmond, the Richmond Education Association, the Cooperative Education Association of Virginia, the Co-Ordinate College League (fight against a males-only University of Virginia), and the Virginia Inter-Racial League” (*St. Paul’s Episcopal Church: 150 Years, 1845-1995* 26). Serving on the boards of “the College of William and Mary, the University of Virginia, the Virginia Industrial School for Colored Girls, Fisk University, and the National Urban League,” Mrs. Munford is also the aunt of a later St. Paul’s minister, Dr. Walter Russell Bowie, who after his father’s death, falls under her tutelage (26). Bowie is referenced later in this thesis for his link to the Scottish Common Sense Realism School.

(Hauser 14). Noble qualities, Aristotle argues, are those that benefit society: “If virtue is a faculty of beneficence, the highest kinds of it must be those which are most useful to others” (Aristotle qtd. in Hauser 14). Accordingly, Aristotle points to the “just” and the “courageous” as those who embody virtues of the highest communal benefit, whether in wartime or peace (*Rhetoric*). Characteristics that Americans highly esteem even today, justice and courage are communal values in our culture.²⁸ Modern rhetorician Gerald Hauser further offers of epideictic discourse, “[T]he occasion for praising or blaming significant public acts and actors ... [affords] the opportunity to address fundamental values and beliefs ... [making] collective political action within the democracy more than a theoretical possibility” (5). Both its educative and mimetic quality, its ability to construct “accounts of nobility” and concretize virtues through display give epideictic its particular strength: “Encomium refers to what he has actually done” or should not do “at the level of praxis” (Aristotle qtd. in Hauser 15; Hauser 15). One witnesses the censuring mechanism of stained-glass windows during the Gothic period in the use of visual and physical rhetoric at Chartres Cathedral, through the clothing colors and dress of prostitutes depicted in the *Prodigal Son* windows. Too, by turning from his sinful ways, the prodigal is exhibiting the path homeward, through the use of body or visual rhetoric in gesturing directionally.

Similarly, honoring Civil War leaders and military heroes in stained glass ecclesiastical settings, particularly in Richmond, becomes a chief exigence for

²⁸ In a recent commemoration at Ground Zero President Obama said of pursuing and killing Osama Bin Laden, al Qaeda architect of the September 11 attacks on America, that “[his death] sent a message around the world but also sent a message here back home that when we say we will never forget, we mean what we say, that our commitment to making sure that justice is done is something that transcended politics, transcended party” (*NPR*). Justice is also a Judeo-Christian ideal discussed in Biblical scripture (*New Oxford Annotated Bible*, Ezek. 34:11-16.)

congregants who can exercise control and dictate strong visual messages inside their churches, if nowhere else in the community.²⁹ This is one area of resistance in which the North is unable to “colonize the South” after the Civil War (LaFeber, Polenberg and Woloch 9-11).³⁰ Jefferson Davis and Robert E. Lee, both depicted in the windows of St. Paul’s Episcopal Church, become figures around whom the South coalesces in its struggle to retain some semblance of honor or nobility. Hauser argues that epideictic discourse plays an “important role in the public realm beyond simple commemoration” by tracing its classical didactic and community-building functions:

[E]pideictic occupies a unique place in celebrating the deeds of exemplars who set the tone for civic community, and the encomiast serves an equally unique role as a teacher of civic virtue. The encomiast's gaze, like the storyteller's, is backward to the lives of important public individuals and to consequential events that provide building blocks for the community's story. Just as Lincoln at Gettysburg or presidents at their inaugurations or Isocrates in his Evagoras, Aristotle recognizes the ceremonial occasion as a time for celebrating deeds that transcend partisan factions and selfish interests. By valorizing heroes who are emblematic of a society's best qualities, encomia provide concrete guidance on how to live in harmony

²⁹ According to Michael Cheeson in *Richmond after the War*, Richmond’s Episcopalian ministers refuse to comply with the orders that require them to pray for the president of the United States “rather than for the president of the Confederate States” prompting the military to close churches for a “brief period” (90). Congregants also defied these orders by not following acceptable practices during prayer for the president of the United States: instead of remaining in a kneeling position “facing away from the chancel,” they “respond by standing up ... facing the chancel, until the end of the prayer” (*St. Paul’s Episcopal Church: 150 Years*).

³⁰ In *The American Century*, they discuss the way in which “Southern resistance [to corporations] halted after the Civil War as Northern capitalists followed Union soldiers into the defeated South, making the area a virtual colony of the North” (9-11). Other areas “colonized” included higher education (10).

with noble ideals. For this reason, Aristotle holds that ‘to praise a man is in one respect akin to urging a course of action.’ (Hauser 5 -15; Aristotle qtd. in Hauser 15)

In order to fit this paradigm, the stained-glass windows of Richmond necessarily need to depict notable patterns or illustrious values, archetypes of desirable or undesirable behavior, or in this instance, to re-configure legacy explicitly through recognizable symbols, characters, or stories, which they do in their classical use of *logos*. Aristotle designates *logos* as an “appeal to the reason of the audience” and may be accomplished “inductively or deductively” (qtd. in Golden and Corbett 2; Golden and Corbett 2). One of its chief inductive tools is the example, “a single instance of an analogous event or situation” (Golden and Corbett 2). Kinneavy also states that *logos* refers to “subject matter,” by arguing with “information and evidence about the issue at stake” (47). By associating Jefferson Davis’s “unlawful imprisonment” at the end of the Civil War with Saint Paul’s unjust imprisonment at the hands of Herod Agrippa, the church continues a visual process of mythologizing the Confederate cause and its leadership, one that begins before war’s end (*Windows of Grace*).³¹ Therefore, the window both provides an example – Paul’s (and Davis’s) arrest and imprisonment – and introduces the subject matter – vice (Northern injustice) – thereby forming an argument that “seems” logical (author’s emphasis, Kinneavy 46) (see Fig.1). To add strength to the argument through audience identification, Tiffany’s artist paints a likeness of Jefferson Davis’s face as Paul’s which is easily recognizable to the audience (*Windows of Grace*).

³¹ The “Stonewall” Jackson memorial statue, dedicated in 1875, is conceived in 1863; I discuss the ceremony in a subsequent section in this paper. See also Graber (144-154).

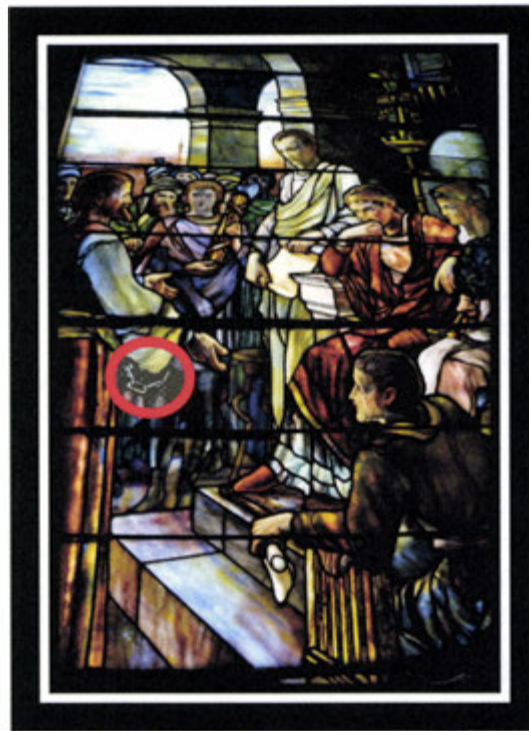


Fig. 1. Tiffany Studios. *Jefferson Davis Window (Lower)*. Chains indicate imprisonment of Paul (and Jefferson Davis). 1898. Source: St. Paul's Episcopal Church, Richmond, Virginia. Stained-glass window. Photograph. 12 June 2010.

In this choice of subject matter for their windows, congregants and clerics subvert the loss of their “holy war” by displaying their own version of the battle between the “Old South civilization and the forces of evil as symbolized by the Yankees” (Wilson 223). Portraying instead a “southern civil religion ... rich in images” of wartime heroes (the new patron saints), the church downplays what northern industrialists win in the market place after the war, through their associations with other Southerners (“redeemers”) willing to cooperate with the entrepreneurs “from above the Mason-Dixon

line” (Wilson 223; LeFeber, Polenberg, and Woloch 10).³² A wartime refuge for many Confederate leaders, including Lee and Davis, St. Paul’s, Richmond, instantiates through its stained-glass program the “best of Christian and Southern values,” while celebrating a creation myth that tells the “story of the attempt to create a Southern nation” (Wilson 223).³³ Mircea Eliade explains, “[I]t is not enough to *know* the origin myth, one must *recite* it” (author’s emphasis qtd. in Wilson 223).³⁴ This effort was part of the “white South’s shaping of its historical memory following the Civil War, when Southern whites scripted the ‘Lost Cause’ vision of their Civil War experience as an honorable, noble and righteous struggle to defend home, honor and their romanticized vision of antebellum Southern society from Northern aggression rather than as a struggle to preserve the ... slave system” (Leib 237).³⁵

As Neff further argues persuasively, epideictic forms such as Memorial Day observances (its Southern initiation is attributed to St. Paul’s rector Charles

³² Reverend William M. Dame’s saintly portrayal of Davis is discussed later in this paper. Caroline Janney also discusses the “Lost Cause”; Ladies’ Memorial Associations (LMA’s) composed of Southern whites began immediately after the war to memorialize the ex-Confederates and fallen dead (Janney). Women, viewed in the mid-nineteenth century as “non-political,” organize in efforts to form cemeteries “for the more than 200,000 soldiers that remained in unidentified graves on the battlefields,” establishing “the annual tradition of Memorial Days” (Janney). The cemetery at Old Blandford Church in Petersburg, Virginia, is an example of this reclamation activity led by women.

³³ In a March 12, 1864 entry in Mary Boykin Chestnut’s diary, she comments of a St. Paul’s Episcopal service: “Somebody counted fourteen generals in church and suggested that less piety and more drilling of commands would suit the times better. There were Lee, Longstreet, Morgan, Hoke, Clingman, Whiting, Pegram, Elzey, Gordon, Bragg” (qtd. in *St. Paul’s Episcopal Church: 150 Years, 1845-1995* 17).

³⁴ Postbellum southern schools, according to Wilson, are also blanketed with portraits of General Lee and President Davis to further indoctrinate children into the new religion of the “Lost Cause” (with help from the local chapters of the United Daughters of the Confederacy) (223-224).

³⁵ Neff discusses the ways in which both the North and South process and narrate their losses, the 620,000 dead as a result of the war (19). He argues that the way both sections grieved, buried, commemorated, and honored their dead soldiers and leaders created stumbling blocks to the reconciliation of differences and notably perpetuated hostilities, “Although both sides commemorated only their own dead, Northerners did so within a memorial rhetoric that invoked a broad, inclusive nationalism, while Southerners followed the dictates of a separate mythos predicated on difference and distinctiveness” (143).

Minnigerode), commemorations of the “soldier dead,” and, later, of Robert E. Lee and Jefferson Davis, “preserve sectional animosity” and divisiveness – but, Davis’s memory, in particular, is a touchstone through which Southerners express a “newfound assertiveness” (Neff 12; 153). Southerners through their windows employ the classical epideictic definition to promote harmony among themselves, as Aristotle urges and Hauser reiterates; yet, as a result, re-create and preserve sectional differences. Southerners are also authorizing a particular brand of leadership.³⁶ The windows serve to reinforce an identity for the Lost Cause that encompasses the 260,000 Confederate “soldier dead” and their leadership, both of whom have been “overwhelmed by numbers” not by a more righteous cause or more effective leadership (Neff 7; 144).

Jefferson Davis, not only baptized by St. Paul’s Reverend Charles Minnigerode and advised by him at the start of the Civil War, is sitting in a pew at St. Paul’s Episcopal when he learns of Lee’s surrender at Appomattox (Woodworth). It is Minnigerode who visits Davis at Ft. Monroe prison and accompanies the ex-Confederate president to his Richmond hotel upon Davis’s release from prison; and, it is Minnigerode and St. Paul’s who are chosen for Davis’s memorial service in Richmond.³⁷ Lloyd Bitzer, in his model

³⁶ Leadership after the Civil War including the immediate aftermath is addressed in a recent book by Annette Gordon Reed entitled *Andrew Johnson*. In a presentation aired on C-Span2 about the book, Reed states: “The way he [President Johnson] exercised his leadership” in his policies regarding blacks set “them back for generations” and “made it much more difficult for the right thing to be done” in the aftermath of emancipation (Reed). She states further in the text, “All of his talk about states’ rights, limited government, and low taxes were sideshows compared to his real concern, which was to ensure that ‘the people of the South, poor, quiet, unoffending, harmless,’ would not be ‘trodden under foot to protect niggers’” (Reed 12; Johnson qtd. in Reed 12). Neff agrees with and extends her analysis of Johnson, noting the “social control of black Americans that had been unquestioned under slavery” re-emerges in November 1865 in Mississippi (and other Southern states soon after) through “black codes” (105). To Neff, the “clearest evidence of a persistent divergence in American society – of a lack of reconciliation – is found in the commemoration of the war’s soldier dead” and its political leaders during the postbellum period (5; 7).

³⁷ Minnigerode, German by birth, has his own stories of imprisonment and political exile to share with Davis (*Encyclopedia Virginia*). It is believed that Minnigerode “became a trusted friend and

of the rhetorical situation, states that “every rhetorical situation contains a set of *constraints* made up of persons, events, objects, and relations which ... have the power to constrain decision and action needed to modify the exigence” (author’s emphasis 8). Listed among Bitzer’s “[S]tandard sources of constraint” are “beliefs, attitudes, documents, facts, traditions, images, interests, motives and the like” (8). On January 1, 1865, Minnigerode, just a few months before Appomattox, delivers at St. Paul’s “He That Believeth Shall Not Make Haste ” referencing negative attitudes (constraints) about Davis and his administration, held by fellow congregants:

Reverses have followed us in many parts of our country, and the year opens with dark and threatening clouds, which have cast their shadow over every brow ... under God's blessing the right means will be used ... conscientiously, zealously and quickly ... people are sufficiently determined to endure and to persevere; ... both our administrative and our legislative authorities will so act as to restore and increase confidence. Errors have been committed, failures have been made--where in the history of the world has this not been the case?

Errors, grave errors have been committed, no doubt. Only let us acknowledge the hand of God even there, even in our failures; and let us remember that the great error, the great difficulty is *in us*, in ourselves, in our own faithless hearts, and sinful lives, and selfish fears, and hasty judgments; and oh! I do pray and hope that God will have mercy upon us,

confidante to Davis, advising the new president to invoke publicly a divine blessing on the Confederacy at his February 1862 inaugural ceremonies” (*Encyclopedia Virginia*).

and give us better minds and stout hearts and unfailing faith, that shall not make haste, that shall win the prize. But if we fall, let us fall with our faces upward, our hearts turned to God, our hands in the work, our wounds in the breast, with blessing—not curses—upon our lips; and all is not lost! We have retained our honor, we have done our duty to the last. (author's emphasis *Documenting the American South*)

While Minnigerode alludes to “hasty judgments” by congregants and “errors” by leaders, he also makes a case for courage and honor in the last stages of the Civil War. Yet, Davis's actions, subsequent to receiving the news of Lee's surrender at Appomattox, also constitute constraints to his legacy, producing attitudes in Richmond for which a second window in St. Paul's serves as a corrective. These war-time decisions by Davis and the ways in which his death is largely ignored by a federal government seeking reunification with the South form the exigency of the second window memorial window to Davis in St. Paul's.

Not always a revered figure in Richmond circles, Jefferson Davis, in fact, is a “Southern Barabbas” to some, especially as he and his government leave Richmonders “to the mercy of the Yankees without putting up a fight” before the capture of the Confederate capital on April 3, 1865 (Vandiver 6; Chesson 54).³⁸ Many “[l]ower class women jeered at the retreating Confederates as they passed through Rocketts” – though the decision to burn the city behind them to keep the Union army from its stores and

³⁸ When Jefferson Davis first arrived in Richmond in May 1861, the price of his mansion was controversial among city council members (\$35,000), as was the hotel bill the Davis family incurred until it was ready for occupancy (\$3,289 for room and board at the brand new Spotswood) (Chesson 31). But, it was Edward Alfred Pollard, editor of the *Richmond Examiner* whose vitriolic attack of Davis held sway with his publication of several post-Civil War volumes. Frank Vandiver revisits Davis's legacy through a review of literature, “Jefferson Davis – Leader Without Legend.”

munitions affects every class of citizens (Chesson 54; 59).³⁹ Experiencing cultural humiliation, economic destruction, and defeat on the battlefield and facing huge obstacles to reconstruct their city, Richmonders are angry with Davis; and, their attitudes change only “when he was brought back to Richmond by the Federal government and indicted for treason in 1867”(54). A two-year military imprisonment at Fort Monroe wins “Davis the sympathy of Confederate Richmonders” (54). Again, attitudes are one of the constraints of the rhetorical situation which the windows attempt to modify.

Thus, a second window argues for mercy for Davis and also indicates the reversal and strongly felt contemporary position about his character. His death in December 1889 presents an occasion for the Lost Cause movement to gain strength in Richmond, to not only save the Davis mansion from being razed but to also memorialize Davis in stained-glass at St. Paul’s Episcopal Church in 1898. Also, a public statue is dedicated in 1907, after a “week-long Confederate reunion attended by 18,000 veterans” and an estimated 200,000 others, performing both cultural and symbolic landscape work on the city-center street of Monument Avenue (205-206; Wilson 228). As Foote argues of the postbellum white majority, “Its point of view has been etched into almost all historical memorials and markers at the local, state, regional and national levels” (qtd. in Leib 238). Moreover, I would argue this etching occurs at the ecclesiastical level as well because St. Paul’s Episcopal Church is certainly a religious byway, situated in the same block of the capital

³⁹ Consuming an area of more than twenty blocks, the fire’s estimated damages total as high as \$30 million for the “Burnt District” (59). Magnates, small shop owners, and society matrons watch as their factories, stores, and mansions burn to the ground (59-60). Every bank is torched, along with restaurants, bridges, and ironworks (59-60). Only the Tredegar Iron Works, whose owner Joseph R. Anderson is also honored in the stained-glass windows of St. Paul’s, survives because Anderson has possessed the forethought to arm workers who “repel attempts to ignite the plant” (60). His business has been the “mainstay of the Confederate arsenal” and one of the important foundries of the region (9). Most businesses never recover with “[O]nly about 35 percent of the merchants burned out or looted in April 1865 ... back in business by 1871” (60).

of Virginia, well-attended and well-traveled by the influential white power brokers of postbellum Richmond.⁴⁰ Concretizing the legacy of heroes and heroines has occurred throughout history in the epideictic use of rhetoric, beginning with classical rhetoricians, but with a decidedly political twist with both Jefferson Davis memorial windows in Richmond's St. Paul's Episcopal Church.

In "pronouncing eulogies or censures," Aristotle details the "materials to be used" including examples or reasons (*logos*) for the audience to adopt a particular attitude toward the subject or person (or to change their beliefs accordingly). He explicitly considers the forms of "Virtue and Vice" (or of the "Noble" and the "Base,") as objects of "praise and blame," stating that "proofs" are just one of the "available means of persuasion." Virtues include "justice, courage, temperance, magnificence, magnanimity, liberality, gentleness, prudence, [and] wisdom," while vices are their polar opposites – "injustice," "cowardice," "incontinence," "illiberality," "meanness of spirit," for instance (*Rhetoric*). Both virtues and vices are addressed in the second window; but, vices, those perceived by St. Paulian donors, will be discussed first.

Upon Davis's death, no lowering of the flag at the War Department in Washington occurs, nor adorning of his portrait by "badges of mourning" in the hall lined with portraits of past department secretaries, as is customary (Neff 172). Instead, as Neff reports, when Redfield Procter, the current Secretary of the War Department, receives official notice of Davis's death he responds "that Jeff Davis, secretary of war, had been dead to the United States government since 1861" (qtd. in Neff 172). Jefferson Davis,

⁴⁰ Other than Davis and Lee, other dignitaries and entrepreneurs attending St. Paul's include John Marshall and the pivotal Southern armaments provider Joseph Reid Anderson (*Windows of Grace*). Buried in Metairie Cemetery in New Orleans, Davis's remains are later reinterred in Hollywood Cemetery in Richmond in 1893 to further identify the capitol of the Confederacy with its heroes (Neff 169; 172).

alone, carries the distinction “among the men who had served as secretary of war” to die unacknowledged by the national government he served (Neff 173). This smacks of “meanness of spirit” and “illiberality” (vices) to Southerners, as comments by the “noted Lost Cause champion Charles C. Jones, Jr.” illustrate in his funeral oration in Augusta, Georgia:

Although no Federal Flag be displayed at half-mast, or Union guns deliver the funeral salute customary upon the demise of an ex-Secretary of War, we may regard with composure the littleness of the attempted slight, and pity the timidity, the narrow-mindedness, and the malevolence of the powers that be. The great soul of the dead chief has passed into a higher, a purer sphere uncontaminated by sectional hatred, wholly purged of all the dross engendered by contemptible human animosity. (173; qtd in Neff 173)

In spite of and, perhaps, because of Northern indifference and enmity, the second Jefferson Davis window, in the balcony of St. Paul’s directly above the “St. Peter” window, is entitled, “Angels of Goodness and Mercy.” Even if Northerners cannot recognize Davis’s “virtues” and extend “liberality” or mercy, parishioners and other Southerners generously subscribe to pay for the Davis windows. Thus, Davis’s death brought “a particularly aggressive resurgence in Southern rhetoric and commemorative activities” (Neff 174).⁴¹ This window, illustrative of this revival, also presents a second means of persuasion – *pathos* – appealing to the audience’s emotions, its particular indignation at the lack of federally-sanctioned respect shown to one of its leaders upon

⁴¹ Neff states that the process of continued sectionalism began immediately after the war with the efforts by both North and South to relocate, bury, and commemorate their “soldier-dead”; he notes of the creation of “national” cemeteries at Gettysburg and Antietam that the “example to be taken from the dead was continued sectionalism” despite the rhetoric of reconciliation at the national level (115-120).

his death (Neff 174; Kinneavy 47). The Southern audience, “[I]n mourning Davis ... mourned itself” (Neff 167).⁴²

Fig. 2. Tiffany Studios. *Jefferson Davis Window (Upper)*. 1898. Source: St. Paul’s Episcopal Church, Richmond, Virginia. Stained-glass windows. Photograph. 7 June 2010.



Just as the lower window argues with *logos* about the specific historical event, the upper window also employs *pathos* or audience identification through its vivid, mystical imagery which “lends spiritual sanction to the scene below” (Kinneavy 47; *Windows of Grace*) (See Fig.2). Extolling Davis’s nobility by leading “his people in a virtuous cause against invaders,” Southern loyalists, including members of Davis’s own parish of St. Paul’s, “hold that Davis had been cruelly and unjustly treated with this arrest and imprisonment” (*Windows of Grace*). The inscription underneath the window, borrowing from a Charles Minnigerode sermon and a Biblical text, further re-situates Jefferson’s legacy – “Let Me Be Weighed In An Even Balance that God May Know Mine Integrity” (Job 31:6)” (*Sermons by the Rev. Charles Minnigerode; New Oxford Annotated Bible; Windows of Grace*).⁴³ The angels’ downcast eyes also “subliminally convey a message

⁴² Aristotle’s treatment of pathetic or emotional arguments is lengthy in which he considers “anger, calmness, friendship, fear and confidence, shame and shamelessness, kindness and unkindness, pity, indignation, envy, and emulation” in Book II of “his treatise of ethics” (Kinneavy 47).

⁴³ A title of one of Minnigerode’s published sermons, “Weighed in the Balances,” establishes an intertextual link between the visual rhetoric of the stained-glass and the sermon’s text (*Sermons by the Rev. Charles Minnigerode*). This suggests that Minnigerode may have been involved in the decision to honor Jefferson Davis through stained glass even though he has retired from St. Paul’s by the time of the windows’ installation.

that Davis merits their attributes of goodness and mercy" (*Windows of Grace*). While the torches symbolize truth, the lilies cradled in the angels' arms signify purity (*Windows of Grace*). "Praise," says Aristotle, "is the expression ... of the eminence of a man's good qualities, and therefore we must display his actions as the product of such qualities" (qtd. in Hauser 15). Aristotle emphasizes an appreciation for audience and its ability to make judgments and engage in the process of decision-making through the work of *logos* and *pathos*, and as Hauser earlier indicates, from the use of epideictic didacticism. Moreover, postbellum audiences are persuaded, in this instance, by epideictic's handmaiden – visual rhetoric. Not only schooled in the classics, nineteenth century audiences and clerics have additional resources at their disposal, as "rhetorics" entered the academy in new methodologies.⁴⁴ One such perspective, objective rhetoric (with links to "current-traditional" rhetoric in the twentieth century) asserts that "reality is located in the material world" (Berlin 7-8). A glimpse at this theory helps to center the discussion of visual rhetoric for the postbellum period.

Berlin views this direction in rhetorical theories as a paradigm shift: "Based on Scottish Common Sense Realism, the most influential philosophy in America during the nineteenth century," insists "the mind is equipped with faculties that enable it to perceive the external object directly through the medium of sense impression" (8). Collecting sense data and arriving at generalizations, Berlin adds, is supplemented by "energy and vivacity" in the rhetoric and language used to relay an original experience (9). Thus, vivacity is an important component in the academic study of persuasion or rhetoric as its

⁴⁴ James Berlin presents authoritative surveys of "rhetorics" in both the nineteenth and twentieth century in *Writing Instruction in Nineteenth-Century American Colleges* and *Rhetoric and Reality: Writing Instruction in American Colleges, 1900-1985*.

proponent George Campbell declares: “So far, therefore, is it from being an unfair method of persuasion to move the passions, that there is no persuasion without moving them” (qtd. in Golden and Corbett 77). The key to not only gaining an audience’s attention but also to unlocking or arousing emotions, vivacity is communicated through “lively, distinct, and strong ideas” (119). In certain ways following the ancients in the use of *enargeia* or illustration, Campbell, in teaching Cicero and Quintilian, advocated language so vivid that the audience thinks they are seeing something lifelike (Smith 223; Eck 7). Stemming from “*argēs*,” the connotation is of a “shining light [which] meant clearness...distinctness or vividness” (Eck 7). Schooled in the precepts of psychological rhetoric and Scottish Common Sense realism, antebellum authors such as Harriet Beecher Stowe well understood the power of visual rhetoric: “There is no arguing with *pictures*, and everybody is impressed by them, whether they mean to be or not” (Belasco 12-13; O’Brien 260). Academies and theological schools in Virginia, as in other parts of the country, benefit from the new psychological ideas about rhetoric and emphasize rhetorical theories that include the visual.

A New Rhetorical Climate in Virginia

Striking evidence in the student newspapers and course descriptions of a prominent protestant post-secondary seminary and high school, as well as an examination of sermons and clerical publications, indicates that postbellum Virginia’s rhetorical climate is receptive to the visual rhetoric of stained-glass windows. First, I offer a post-secondary example as confirmation: established in 1823, the Theological Seminary of Virginia (later termed the Virginia Theological Seminary and henceforth in this paper termed “VTS”), located in Alexandria, replaces the College of William and Mary as the

training ground for many of the protestant Episcopal churches' Southern ministers (*Virginia Theological Seminary*). In a survey of VTS's student newspaper, founded in 1879, *The Seminarian*, a Foreign Mission passage describing "Our Work in Africa" provides concrete evidence of postbellum rhetorical links to the Scottish Common Sense Realism's Campbell and Hugh Blair, another proponent:

He [the missionary] read specimens of composition, that had been executed in the schools of the Orphan Asylum at Cape Palmas, which showed an advance towards civilization among the Gribbo youth Richness of imagination characterizes these productions. A vein of Oriental poetry runs through them, that would lend a Laureate new thoughts of the beautiful, drawn from the store of Nature's God, and vivid as the flashes of an Eastern sky. (1+)

In mentioning vivacity and drawing direct lines to the faculties of imagination, the indication is that Campbell's and Blair's tenets are espoused among the theology students. Theorizing that the will is influenced by the preliminary steps of awakening memory, exciting imagination, and stirring passions, Campbell offers a type of chain reaction that ultimately leads to the audience's conviction – the entire persuasive process is a psychological event in which the faculties of the mind are engaged (Smith 225).⁴⁵ Nature, Blair offers, is a commonplace for the sublime and sources for writers and artists: "The burst of thunder or of cannon, the roaring of winds . . . are all incontestably grand objects . . . the grandeur of earthquakes and burning mountains . . . of thunder and

⁴⁵ Enlightening the understanding or arguing to the understanding is also involved as Smith explains in detail which first occurs in the speaker's awareness of the "capacity, education, and attainments of the hearers" (Campbell qtd. in Smith 225). This link is accomplished by "explaining the unknown, removing doubt, creating belief, dispelling ignorance, and vanquishing error" (Smith 225).

lightning” (Blair qtd. in Golden and Corbett 53).⁴⁶ Indeed, Blair’s *Rhetoric* is one of the texts being used as early as 1849 in the Episcopal High School, a preparatory school incorporated in the same charter with VTS and contiguous to its campus (*Episcopal High School of Virginia: the Diocesan School*). Blair and Campbell, both ministers and professors of divinity themselves, along with Richard Whately, are thought to be the “first rhetoricians of modern rhetoric” and are highly influential in the postbellum study of rhetoric (Golden and Corbett 17).

While Blair’s *Rhetoric* is being used at the nearby Episcopal High School, Whately’s *Rhetoric* is required reading at VTS beginning in 1866 in the study of “composition and delivery of sermons” (*Catalogue of the Officers, Students and Alumni of the Theological Seminary of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the Diocese of Virginia 1866-67*).⁴⁷ Additionally, eulogies of postbellum VTS faculty members also document Whately’s influence on the teaching philosophy of VTS.⁴⁸ Thus, both the

⁴⁶ Blair further recognizes the grandeur of human art, including architecture, noting Gothic cathedrals in particular (55). Tiffany scholar Hugh McKean draws parallels to this thinking in characterizing the nineteenth-century Art Nouveau glassmaker Louis C. Tiffany and his use of Nature in the pictorial and naturalistic windows in postbellum settings: “Tiffany presents all living things in their most fortunate circumstance. His flowers are radiant. His people are young and healthy. His colors and shapes, whether representational or abstract, are like a flower garden. The blessed state suggested in his work is a reflection of his conviction that life is good, that man is fortunate to have eyes to see and a mind to comprehend, and that he should be thankful to be a part of creation”(6).

⁴⁷ Subsequent catalogues list Whately’s *Rhetoric* until 1871-72; however, Whately is referenced again beginning in the 1892-93 catalogue in the “Ecclesiastical History” section, as a reference text, and continues as a text until 1898-99 (*Catalogue of the Officers, Students and Alumni of the Theological Seminary of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the Diocese of Virginia 1867-’68; 1868-’69; 1869-’70; 1870-’71; 1892-’93; 1893-’94; 1894-’95; 1896-’97; 1897-’98; 1898-’99*).

⁴⁸ One example is “A Memorial Address in Honor of the Late Rev. Cornelius Walker.” The Rev. C. E. Grammer in 1907 states that to truly understand Walker, a VTS faculty member, one must also trace the origins of the late Dr. William Sparrow’s “theology,” a noted professor of VTS, who is “a great admirer of Whately” (8). Grammer initially sounds this note in an “Address of Presentation” of the Phillips Brooks’ Memorial Tablet at VTS in May 1905 when he states of Sparrow’s tutelage of Brooks, “in his [Sparrow’s] doctrine of the will ... [Sparrow was] an admirer of Whately ... and it was one of his cardinal precepts that a sound psychology lay at the bottom of any sound theology” (Grammer).

ministers and students of VTS are familiar with these “faculty psychology” notions and also seem to be versed in the need for “Clerical Elocution,” not a subject here, but which also provides a link to Campbell (*The Seminarian* 1.8. 1).⁴⁹ Other options to determine the influence of Scottish Common Sense Realism include exploring further use of epideictic forms which are linked to the stained-glass window installations at St. Paul’s Episcopal in Richmond, as well as clerical publications during the postbellum period, both illustrating the importance of vivacity.⁵⁰ As mentioned, Virginia students and ministers such as those trained at the Episcopal High School and VTS are clearly gaining an introduction to modern rhetorical theories; but, congregants and Richmonders are as well.

A Stained-Glass Window Dedication as Identity Construction: Use of Modern Rhetoric

Undoubtedly employing both vivacity and Nature as espoused by the Scottish rhetors, Dr. William Dame dedicates the Jefferson Davis windows to a notable crowd including Davis’s widow, Varina Davis and General Fitzhugh Lee, former governor of Virginia, on Easter morning, April 17, 1898. Arguing to the gathered why it is

⁴⁹“Clerical Elocution” states lecturers should possess “[t]he determination to make the message felt by those who are addressed ...to touch their conscience, to move their affections, to energize their weak and dormant will” (1). Likewise, Campbell’s beliefs coincide with the above VTS admonition, “All of the ends of speaking are reducible to four: every speech ...to enlighten the understanding, to please the imagination, to move the passions, or to influence the will” (qtd. in Berlin 524). See Berlin also for a discussion of “faculty psychology” (524).

⁵⁰St. Paul’s congregants are immersed in the Scottish Common Sense Realism notions during the postbellum period in their readings by favored ministers. Prolific authors such as Walter Russell Bowie, rector of St. Paul’s Episcopal from 1911-1923, writes of his style and purpose in *The Story of the Bible*, “This book is not a paraphrase of the Bible ... [rather] it is an effort to present in its *high vividness* the mighty pageant of the life which moves through the Bible from its earliest to its latest days, the pageant of the soul of man in its ascending quest for God” (*St. Paul’s Episcopal Church: 150 Years 1845-1995* 25; emphasis added 12). Other examples occur in *Preaching* and *The Story of the Church*.

appropriate to inscribe “the name of a man ... in a house consecrated to Him [God] ... [and in a] conspicuous place,” Dame, the encomiast, uses vivid illustrations and references to the natural world, just as the modern rhetoricians prescribe (qtd. in Weddell 382). “God’s own sunlight will make it [Davis’s name] shine out to the eyes of your children,” he promises of the window; for, Davis is the “chosen representative” of the Confederate “nation,” whose “sun was not seen to rise nor seen to set” (qtd. in Weddell 382; 384). Instead, Dame offers of the Confederacy and of Davis:

In mid-heavens of the firmament of political system it [the Southern Confederacy] suddenly burst upon the eyes of the nation shining already in the fullness of its strength. Their wondering gaze marked the flashing splendor of its short course. Then it vanished behind a cloud which dripped tears and was tinged with blood. And the short day lighted by this strange sun! It was filled from first to last with the most fierce and tremendous struggle that the world has ever seen, and for the most sacred and momentous cause known to man on earth – the struggle of a lion-hearted people for the most priceless human interest God has taught man to seek and claim on earth – the right in the fear of God, to rule themselves – constitutional liberty – the service of no master but God.

Of that heroic nation this man was the chosen chief, the elected ruler. With a faithful and true heart, with a superb courage and devotion, with iron nerve, he kept his firm hand on the helm of the ship of state, as it plowed its marvelous way through storm and tempest, until it went down

fighting cheerily to the bitter end, beneath the crushing weight of
overwhelming numbers and resources. (qtd. in Weddell 384)

Invoking the sentimental rhetoric of the Lost Cause, Dames' most compelling and imaginative oratory is reserved for use as descriptors of Davis's imprisonment where "[r]uffian hands touched the sacred person of the Lord's anointed" (qtd. in Weddell 385). Davis is pictured as a "princely man, of loftiest worth and deeds and station" who was thrown "into a dungeon ... [and] subjected to strange and unusual tortures" (qtd. in Weddell 385). Then, Dames strongly associates Davis with Christ-like allusions of "crowning ignominy," "guarded by soldiers" who hang him with "felon chains – fetters on his hands that had held a sceptre and done only knightly deeds" and place "irons on his feet that had trod only in the paths of honor and duty" (qtd. in Weddell 385). Like Christ, Davis wore the "thorn crown of that shame and anguish which wicked hands forced down on his noble brow," succeeding as a "king to the hearts of his people as he had never been crowned before ... a diadem of beauty and a crown of glory. It glitters with a sacred light ... and will shine in their hearts forevermore" (qtd. in Weddell 386).

While his epideictic is sentimental and visually rhetorical, Dames' elocution also creates the notion of an acceptable pattern of behavior to be assumed by the audience. Dames states that Davis has been encouraging others through the postbellum years, behaving dignified, exhibiting "patience and courage and heroic resolution ... never embittered by provocations of circumstances" (qtd. in Weddell 387). To the contrary, Davis shows "restraint" in "doing his duty" and "nobly" helps them "greatly by his example to preserve their manhood and maintain their integrity and triumph over their difficulties," particularly in the "South's fight from '66 to '72" (qtd. in Weddell 387).

During this “awful” aftermath of war, dealing with “want, poverty, temptation, the moral influence of bitter defeat and disaster,” Southerners hear “no tap of drum, no note of bugle, no ringing yell of charging battalions, no roar of cannon and rattle of musketry to help inspire ... the high spirit of their race” (qtd. in Weddell 387). These men look to Davis as they are struggling “on lonely farms, in offices and stores and in unwonted occupations” (qtd. in Weddell 387). Dames’ veneration of Davis certainly reiterates the first windows’ inscription which reads: “THIS MAN DOETH NOTHING WORTHY OF DEATH OR OF BONDS. ACTS, 26-31” (qtd. in Weddell 374). Thus, the windows’ visual rhetoric and the dedicatory address work in tandem not only to create an honorable legacy for Davis but also to create an identity for “an illustrious race” (qtd. in Weddell 395). In future years, “the children of the South” will “stand in this holy temple to worship God and to think on things unseen,” all the while “the sunlight shall outline to their eyes the letters of that name [Davis]” (qtd. in Weddell 395).

Association: Scottish Common Sense Realism’s Postbellum Rhetorical Influence

In addition to vivacity and the use of Nature, a final tool of the Scottish Common Sense Realism School is association. Campbell, in particular, addresses how association becomes part of the subconscious, which he terms “sight aided by experience” (qtd. in Golden and Corbett 186-187). He states that “this judgment is so truly instantaneous and so perfectly the result of feeling and association, that the forming of it totally escapes our notice” (186). The mind “acquires an early perception of the most obvious and necessary truths ... which we honour her operation with the name of reasoning” (187). As previously discussed, the pictorials and representations presented in St. Paul’s stained-glass windows also employ the use of association by aligning Davis’s character with the

divine nature of angels, much like modern reporters appropriate credibility and power using the backdrop of the White House, as a powerful symbol of authority (Anthony Blair 58). Visual symbols, whether using the White House or angels in stained-glass windows, are “rhetorical devices that render the message conveyed more believable and persuasive” and “do their work precisely by making contact with our unconsciously-held, symbol-interpreting apparatus” (58).⁵¹ Philosopher Anthony Blair explains that this visceral mechanism is an involuntary response that modern advertisers recognize in using children playing with puppies in a Pepsi commercial or the American flag in an insurance company’s ad (57). Just as national and/or epideictic symbols evoke responses today for specific audiences (Joe Rosenthal’s Iwo Jima photo or the naked detainee at Abu Gharaib tethered to his prison guard), visual rhetoric in the postbellum period is socially constructed, a powerful cultural force which helps to define our “complex emotional responses such as guilt, love, or envy or even those more complex [responses] such as nationalism or prejudice (cultural concepts that can be exploited for the emotional weight they carry)” (Hill 35).⁵²

In these orchestrated epideictic moments and displays, nineteenth-century Southerners find a way to re-engineer their massive Civil War losses and create a new identity. Thus, *even though* in 1890, “the thousands of Confederate flags in the dedication ceremony of Robert E. Lee’s equestrian statue had been made by a Massachusetts company,” their use symbolizes the readiness of Richmonders to sentimentalize the past

⁵¹ See also Donald G. Mathews and Beth Barton Schweiger.

⁵² The discussion in early May, 2011, after Osama bin Laden’s death centers around whether graphic photos of his demise should be released to the public. President Obama currently is arguing against their release because of their potential inflammatory and graphic nature. Thus, he gives credence to the notion that photos are visual rhetoric and can be used to incite and influence behavior, including extremists and terrorists.

(emphasis added Chesson 205). The “Confederate flag, the central symbol of the southern identity,” known as the Stars and Bars, pays homage in a ritualistic fashion to one of their own, just as the federal government refuses to lower the American flag to half-staff upon Davis’s death (Wilson 227). Famed landscape designer Frederick Law Olmstead captures this tendency of Richmond and its people before the Civil War; yet, its accurate description rings true for the capital of Virginia, turn-of-the-century, and for its white inhabitants, as “a people who have been dragged along in the grand march of the rest of the world, but who have had, for a long time and yet have, a disposition within themselves only to step backward” (qtd. in Chesson 23).

St. Paul’s windows follow the tradition of the ceremonial conjuring of those “reputational entrepreneurs,” former “Confederate notables” skilled at making the past “politically relevant to a present public” (Schwartz qtd. in Graber 145).⁵³ With key religious and governmental figures participating in the many commemorations, the memorializing of prominent Confederates acquires a “religious authority” and presents an “opportunity to galvanize the public and add a measure of stability to the confused postbellum situation” (Graber 149). The stability that epideictic ceremonies in Richmond offer postbellum audiences is short-lived and offered to whites only, as Graber notes,

⁵³ With a white population “given more and more to ancestor worship,” Richmond, before and after the war, presents itself as a guardian of the “Old Dominion’s” character through epideictic moments such as the unveiling of the Tiffany windows, and, earlier, of the Stonewall Jackson Memorial Statue, commissioned in Britain in 1863, and unveiled with much fanfare in the former Confederate capital in 1875 (Graber 144). Governor Kemper, an ex-wounded soldier at Gettysburg and Conservative, wasted no occasion to “awaken the memory” of Richmond and recognize Jackson’s “knightly and incorruptible fidelity to duty” and to “conflate this chivalric past” with the Conservative party’s “knightliest fidelity to our obligations of the present and future,” as “chief protector(s) of Virginia’s noble heritage” (qtd. in Graber 154; 154).

because those in charge of the dedications, which are to represent all of Richmond's citizens, fail to ensure that Richmond's black community is included (159).⁵⁴

The Postbellum Othering of the Other

By the time the Tiffany windows are installed in the late 1890's, the church's windows at St. Paul's Episcopal offer incontrovertible proof that in the postbellum South, in its holiest and most sacred spaces, a view of racial inequality is privileged, with a narrative that argues for white supremacy and a separate sphere for women. The windows portray a belief that those who deserve to be memorialized and valorized are white – and when female – demure, modest, charitable, pious, and virtuous (See Figs. 3-6).



Fig. 3. Tiffany Studios. *Newton-Davenport Window: The Annunciation*. 1901. Source: St. Paul's Episcopal Church, Richmond, Virginia. Stained-glass window. Photograph. 10 June 2010.

⁵⁴ Even though black leaders approach the planning committee for inclusion in the momentous statue's unveiling, when they are relegated to the back of the parade, they withdraw from the event completely (Graber 159). Thus, Kemper and his Conservative party's postbellum policies still "marginalized its dark-skinned members," and are in fact racist, as its public notice of the event in Richmond's largest newspaper reveals:

The procession will be headed by the white soldiers; then come invited guests and other distinguished persons, including public officials; then come the white associations; then other white societies, such as Odd-Fellows, Red Men, Rechabites, Knights of Pythias, English, Irish, and German societies, and many other organizations; all white, including some thousands of Grangers in full regalia; then come all other white people. This completes the procession of the white people, and it will be some miles in length. Then, in rear of the whole, distinct from the white procession, separately organized and under separate control, come the colored volunteers and other colored people, making up the colored procession. The white troops and the colored troops will be independent organizations, under entirely separate control, and miles apart. (qtd. in Graber 159)

As Graber argues, the Conservatives' later demise and failure to "bridge racial and local divides" is foreshadowed in the "unveiling ceremonies," while their "image of moderate conservatism ... soon fell victim to the coalition they had feared all along: blacks and poor whites, drawn together by 'radicalism'" (159).

Virginius Newton, a Confederate naval officer, a member of St. Paul's Episcopal, and a delegate to the 1901 Virginia Constitutional Convention that disenfranchises black males, donates two memorial windows honoring his family, illustrative of these traditional postbellum racial and gender constructs (*Windows of Grace: A Tribute of Love; Virginia Constitutional Convention* 67; see Figs.3-6). Jesus, at all ages; His disciples, Mary and Joseph, angels on high, witnesses to events, cherubs, children, and legendary heroes are all just as postbellum American author Charles W. Chestnutt describes , “white people ... divinely endowed” (169; see Figs. 3-6).



Fig. 4. Tiffany Studios. *Newton-Davenport: The Annunciation*. 1901. Source: St. Paul's Episcopal Church, Richmond, Va. Stained-glass window. Photograph. 10 June 2010.



Fig. 5. Tiffany Studios. *Blair Window: The Vision of Christ to Believers*. 1896. Source: St. Paul's Episcopal Church, Richmond, Va. Stained-glass window. Photograph. 10 June 2010.

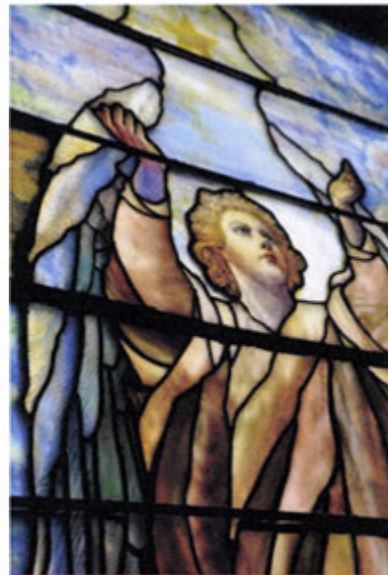


Fig.6. Tiffany Studios. “Ella de Treville Window: The Angel of Hope.” 1906. Source: St. Paul's Episcopal Church, Richmond, Va. Stained-glass window. Photograph. 6 June 2010.

Of the many Tiffany windows at St. Paul's, none of its epideictic dimensions, the virtues or conceptions of beauty or heroic behavior, its depictions of Jesus or other biblical characters, involve black Richmonders, despite their composing over one-third of

the city's population in 1900 (32,230 blacks of 85,050 total) (Chesson 118). For this church, erasure of an entire race's religious, political, or societal contributions is evident in its postbellum stained-glass window program. The windows are clearly designed with a white audience in mind, in perpetuity. There is no evidence that the congregants or clerics envision a mixed audience post-Civil War. And they should have, given their earlier history.

The current church's website states of the early St. Paul's Episcopal after its inception in 1845, pre-Civil War, "Contrary to the conventions of the day, baptisms, marriages, and funerals were performed at St. Paul's for both free and enslaved blacks" (*St. Paul's Episcopal Church.org*). Within the church itself, indeed, the west gallery is, in 1845, "'apportioned to persons of color, to be used by them free of charge, except that, if colored persons shall desire to pay rent for the privilege of having a seat or seats, the Vestry may be authorized to contract with them on terms which may appear to them as fit'" (*St. Paul's Episcopal Church: 150 Years* 15). After the Civil War, separatism holds sway as the Vestry Book (1870-1888) indicates: "The Register was directed to give the Sexton written instructions that part of the Western Gallery is set apart for the use of colored person attending St. Paul's Church, and that they are not permitted to seats in the body of the Church on any occasion" (15). Indeed, before the Civil War, according to one historical account, "The Episcopal Church in Virginia, 1607-2007," only a few freedman are "confirmed members ... [while] at least 8,500 [are] baptized and attending Episcopal churches in Virginia in 1860" (Bond and Gundersen 283). Postbellum conduct, though, is anything if not segregationist as a "mass migration from the Episcopal Church" of

black members occurs (283). By 1870, 144 confirmed black members of 124 parishes reveal “embarrassingly small” numbers (283).

For a short time during Reconstruction, interracial political solidarity seems an option. But, then most Progressives at the turn of the century will agree with Theodore Roosevelt, “who, although he opposed the disfranchisement of blacks, held that ‘as a race and in the mass they are altogether inferior to the whites’” (LaFeber, Polenberg, and Woloch 43; qtd. in LaFeber, Polenberg, and Woloch 43).⁵⁵ White supremacist attitudes in the South do not just include inferiority as a premise but also support the “myth that every black man was potentially a racial threat” (Bentley and Gunning 13).⁵⁶ With Reconstruction coming to an official end in 1877 and white supremacists fueling myths of black predators, lynching and Jim Crow laws confirm that social separation even in churches becomes the norm.⁵⁷ It is hardly surprising, then, as Leib suggests, “These

⁵⁵ The Populist Party in the 1890’s, represented by Thomas E. Watson in “The Negro Question in the South,” argues for the unity of economic interests among blacks and poor whites: “Cannot these two men act together in peace when the ballot of the one is a vital benefit to the other? Will not political friendship be born of the necessity and the hope which is common to both?” (qtd. in Bentley and Gunning 267). He does a complete “about face” later and denounces his openness on race.

⁵⁶ These beliefs have already come to the front in the bordering state of North Carolina in the port town of Wilmington in November of 1898 in an act of “racial terrorism and political usurpation” – two days before the riot, a white-owned newspaper, *The Wilmington Messenger*, prints the lyrics to a song, capping unsubstantiated allegations of black men’s sexual assaults on white women:

Rise, ye sons of Carolina!
Proud Caucasians, one and all;
Be not deaf to Love’s appealing—
Hear your wives and daughters call,
See their blanched and anxious faces,
Note their frail, but lovely forms;
Rise, defend their spotless virtue
With your strong and manly arms. (qtd. in Bentley and Gunning 398)

⁵⁷ Lynching reports from 1882 through 1951 indicate that 4,730 people were lynched in the United States: 3,437 Negro and 1,293 white (Gibson). In Virginia, postbellum lynching results in the murder of one hundred people: eighty-three blacks and seventeen whites between the years 1882-1968, according to Tuskegee Institutes figures (Gibson). Though blacks achieve emancipation and the right of U.S. male citizens to vote with the passage of the Thirteenth (1865), Fourteenth (1868), and Fifteenth (1870) Amendments, black males are disfranchised by the Virginia Constitutional Convention in 1901-02,

tributes [statues, windows, and public commemorations] to the Confederacy were also erected at a time when Jim Crow laws were going into effect throughout the South and white Southerners were by law spatializing their dominance over the region's newly freed black citizens" (237).⁵⁸

Spacial segregation, thus, becomes a way to reinforce social distinctions and political power throughout the South.⁵⁹ Most of the Tiffany stained-glass windows of St. Paul are installed during this period of racial segregation and subordination, turn-of-the-century.⁶⁰ Despite their magnificent opalescence and intensity of color, in the robes, in the sky, in the flowers and trees, in angel's wings and clouds, the stained-glass windows

presided over by John Goode. He calls black suffrage "a great crime against civilization and Christianity" (qtd. in Buckley 333).

⁵⁸ Episcopalians' missionary work attempts outreach to blacks recently emancipated, through Sunday School programs and vocational training primarily run by women (Bond and Gundersen 285). But, despite what they term their "Colored Work," black membership is at a standstill, perhaps because of the "paternalism that offended many blacks" (286). When separate black Episcopal churches, such as St. Stephen's Church in nearby Petersburg, petition the hierarchy to be admitted to the diocesan council as a voting member, they are refused (286). Nor are black seminary students allowed to attend white seminaries such as that located in Alexandria, Virginia; instead, Diocesan officials set up auxiliary campuses for white ministers to train candidates (287). Further marginalization occurs in the Episcopal church when in the 1880's blacks are organized into a "Colored Missionary Jurisdiction" in Virginia, composed of all black congregations and clergy, despite their protests: two clerical and two lay people can serve on the Diocesan council but are allowed to vote only "on matters directly related to race" (288). In 1892, after these measures, so few blacks of the 18,073 total Virginia communicants choose the Episcopal Church that the black seminary has problems with recruitment; and, almost twenty years pass before the church focuses on the "African American field" again in its missionary work (303).

⁵⁹ Gerrymandering in Richmond in 1871 forces black political power to be confined to Jackson Ward, "where the electorate was 77 percent black and where half the city's black population lived" (Chesson 192). Jackson Ward's creation insures white control of the five other wards, and, thus, of the city council (157). For a further discussion of spatial segregation including ecclesiastical, see Leslie 11; 116-117; 150; 310). Incidentally, one of the few spots blacks and whites continue to commingle in Richmond are as patrons of "brothels, gambling halls, and groggeries in such areas as Screamer'sville" (Chesson 102). Even Northern-purchased establishments such as the Monumental Hotel remain firmly segregated during postbellum years (102).

⁶⁰ One of the most succinct of the Episcopalian views about segregation and the Christian postbellum response is contained in the "Eighteenth Annual Report: Church Students' Missionary Association": the Rev. B. D. Tucker in "The Negro Problem in the United States" delivers an address in which he sees the role of white Christians as an "obligation ... [to] enable them to have a clearer vision of Christ and of their duty as His disciples" since "their only spiritual guides" after having been "left, to themselves" [after Reconstruction] were "ignorant and often debased ministers of their own race" (19-20).

do not represent people of color. One has to wonder, as Toni Morrison argues in *Playing in the Dark: Whiteness and the Literary Imagination*, if somewhere in the contemplative process of choosing subjects and texts for the windows, clerics, donors, and vestry are guided by this same “Africanistic presence” so “crucial to writers’ sense of their Americanness ... [shown] through significant and underscored omissions” (qtd. in Richter 1792). *Episcopalian* near the turn-of-the-century clearly means *white* just as Morrison states “*American* means *white*” in the twentieth century (emphasis added; author’s emphasis qtd. in Richter 1797). In the act of disavowing the Other, St. Paul’s Episcopal offers through its window displays proof that race can be a point of demarcation, a dividing line that “tends to subsume other sets of social relations” (Higginbotham qtd. in Boris and Kleinberg 98). Though Christ himself illustrates His inclusionary doctrines for “tax collectors and sinners,” there is no place at the “table,” especially at the head table, for blacks in Richmond’s ecclesiastical community (*New Oxford Annotated Bible*, Luke 5:29-32). It is also in these religious spaces that acts of apartheid are displayed with impunity.

W. Rosenfield, in tracing the etymology of the term “epideictic,” offers an Aristotelian rendering, focusing on the nuances of display:

The term epideictic comes from *epidexis* (“to shine or show forth”). Hence our translation of the word as “display” (in the sense of show *off*) is only literally correct. More precisely the word suggests an exhibiting or making apparent (in the sense of showing or highlighting) what might otherwise remain unnoticed or invisible. Its root is *epedexa*, ‘to exhibit as one would a specimen or paradigm.’ Epideictic, therefore, acts to unshroud men’s

notable deeds in order to let us gaze at the aura glowing from within.

(author's emphasis, qtd. in Rollins 10)

Are there not notable deeds of blacks in Richmond, free or otherwise, before, during, and following the Civil War that might have been lauded in the windows? Do not blacks also serve in the Confederate Army, build fortifications for Richmond during the Civil War, own prominent businesses, nurse the soldier-wounded, educate themselves, preach the Gospel, hold office, form union leadership, organize charities and industrial schools, establish colleges, and work to rebuild a razed Richmond following the War? (Chesson 29; 194-195).⁶¹ Following Reconstruction, Richmond's native black sons attend such institutions as the University of Michigan medical school and the law schools of Howard and Yale universities, returning to form a cadre of "five black doctors, four lawyers, and a dentist" by 1889; yet, none of these professionals are considered as candidates for stained-glass in St. Paul's Episcopal or any other white church in Richmond (195). "What might otherwise remain invisible" – significant contributions by black Richmonders whose families may have attended white churches pre-Civil War – remains invisible to the thousands of visitors and congregants who enter St. Paul's revered interior.

And, certainly a black female's accomplishments, such as those of Maggie L. Walker, the daughter of a former slave who becomes the first woman to charter and serve as president of a bank in the United States, go unnoticed by the prominent white St. Paulians. When Lewis Harvie Blair, "an aristocratic Richmond reformer and critic of the

⁶¹ Frank J. Ferrell, one of the most prominent black leaders in the Knights of Labor movement and a former Virginian, was not allowed to introduce then Governor Fitzhugh Lee to the grand session of its convention in 1886; a compromise allowed him to introduce Knights' president Terence V. Powderly who "in turn presented Lee to the delegates" (Chesson 188-189). Although the Knights' assemblies were integrated, the convention's being held in Richmond presented racial challenges, as delegates weren't allowed to stay in hotels unless they were white nor were they allowed to attend the Richmond Theater, as were other white delegates (188).

prevailing social order in the South,” argues postbellum in *The Prosperity of the South Dependent Upon the Elevation of the Negro* that “racial discrimination” prevents “black southerners from making more significant contributions to the progress of their region,” his admonition falls on deaf ears (qtd. in Chesson 197). Instead, as Chesson finds, “White Richmonders esteemed neither the black independent businessman nor the black militia leader ... [praising instead] blacks such as John Dabney, who had become famous before the war for his juleps and catering, and the younger Miles C. Debrass, a noted barber” (159).

The Woman Question and Stained-glass Windows in Richmond

While Southerners laud Jefferson Davis’s perceived heroism in ecclesiastical windows in Richmond, in statues, and in celebratory tours in the South prior to his death (one from Atlanta to Savannah is termed a “continuous ovation” by a Georgia Historical Commission Marker), the Fifteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution is passed in 1870 to enfranchise black males only (Freedman 4).⁶² Complicating the suffrage movement, Freedman states that a “supposed moral divide” between white women and black women exists based on perceived sexual stereotypes casting black women as

⁶² Women, black and white, were split over its passage, as was the movement for women’s suffrage: Lucy Stone and others through the American Woman Suffrage Association (AWSA) peel away from those reformers following Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony who push for universal suffrage through their National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA) (Freedman 4). Earlier, former female slaves such as Sojourner Truth contest the idea that clergy put forth “that women needed to be supported and protected by men”: “I have as much muscle as any man, and can do as much work as any man. I have plowed and reaped and husked and chopped and mowed, and can any man do more than that?” (Freedman 4; qtd. in Freedman 4). Therefore, Truth predicts rightly that “if colored men get their rights, and not colored women theirs, you see the colored men will be masters over the women, and it will be just as bad as it was before” (qtd. in Freedman 4). Additionally, she recognizes that “race and gender were inseparable” issues and is unafraid to “remind feminists that middle class white women’s experiences do not encompass the full range of women’s subordination” – one of her supposed legendary rhetorical statements reflecting the breach between white women’s rights activists and black women’s activists is revealing: “Nobody ever helps me into carriages, or over mud puddles, or gives me any best place! And ain’t I a woman?” (Freedman 4; qtd. in Freedman 4). See also Marjorie Spruill Wheeler on Southern woman’s suffrage movement.

“sexually immoral and available to men,” a remnant of “women’s vulnerability to assault during slavery” (5). Many Americans of the 1890’s according to Anna Julia Cooper, “cynically assume ‘A Negro woman cannot be a lady’” (qtd. in Freedman 5).⁶³ Again, attitudes serve as one of the constraints of the rhetorical situation, according to Bitzer, and certainly may account for the omission of black women as *topoi* for the “Windows of Grace” of St. Paul’s Episcopal Church.

Black southern women, though elided in St. Paul’s windows, and white southern women, contrary to the manner in which they are depicted to St. Paulians, are in fact, important contributors outside the domestic sphere – to the economy and to the creation of the city’s civic institutions in postbellum Richmond.⁶⁴ As Chesson notes of Richmond, postbellum restrictions on female labor relax because of their significant involvement in “war industries and government offices” (133). Still, while over five thousand white Richmond women work in the production of clothing for the Confederate army, many find themselves unemployed at war’s end (72). Throughout the Confederate states, the number of Southern war widows totals more than 60,000 – all who need income (Woloch

⁶³ Nancy Woloch discusses the emerging theme of what constitutes a “true woman” in tracts and pamphlets aimed at postbellum black women and men (222). Based primarily on white ideals, “female domesticity drew support from blacks as well. Black newspapers urged “development of a womanly nature’ as a means of ‘elevating and refining’ the race” (222). In terms of visual rhetoric, Michelle Wallace also discusses the ways in which theatrical performances and silent films of *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* in post-Civil War America serve to stereotype blacks, particularly young black women as Topsy-esque, overly-comedic tricksters (150-152).

⁶⁴ Much scholarship has been dedicated in recent years to the recovery of women’s nineteenth century literary, rhetorical, and cultural work by feminist authors such as Nina Baym, Lisa Ede, Cheryl Glynn, Andrea Lunsford, and Jane Tompkins (See Richter). Further, Elna C. Green discusses in “Gendering the City, Gendering the Welfare State” the development of the Nurses’ Settlement as a form of “southern progressivism” that ensures “municipal institutions” reflect the values of female reformers (278).

221).⁶⁵ A subject of this paper, a stained-glass window honoring a war widow, Mary Cameron Ross, speaks to her “faith, hope, and charity”; but, she opens a boarding house out of economic necessity.

Complicating the situation, as historian Nancy Woloch states, “An irony of defeat was that southern black women entered the labor force at the same time. The war had freed 1.9 million slave women, and as many as half their number soon became wage earners” (221). Because manufacturers in postbellum Richmond find women and children willing to work for less than their male counterparts, the numbers markedly rise from 158 white women in the labor market in 1860 to 687 by 1870 (Chesson 133). Chesson is less helpful in determining the number of black women in the Richmond labor force as the censuses of 1860 and 1870 do not differentiate proportions by race. However, according to Woloch, “By the end of Reconstruction, half of black women over sixteen were in the paid labor force” (223). And, in the first census (1900) in America that “distinguished workers by race, almost a million black women were employed – 37.8 percent in agriculture, 30.83 percent as domestic workers, 15.5 percent as laundresses, and a miniscule 2.76 percent in manufacturing” (223). Sizable numbers of Richmond women find employment in tobacco factories and in cigarette manufacturing such as the Allen and Ginter company, but as “social worker Mary Ovington observed in 1911, the black woman got ‘the job that the white girl does not want’” (Chesson 163; qtd. in Woloch 223). In urban settings, black women primarily labor in domestic work or in rare cases, in industrial settings as menial “cleaning” women (Woloch 223).

⁶⁵ Woloch states that the southern states “suffered disproportionate casualties – almost one out of five white men under forty-four had died in the war” (221).

Yet, one area elided by most feminist recovery work and connected to the stained-glass windows of St. Paul's Episcopal is the human service arena. In "A Missing Tradition: Women Managing Charitable Organizations in Richmond, Virginia, 1805-1900," historians Netting, O'Connor, and Fauri focus on the benevolent efforts by women which has been "dismissed and trivialized as the activities of preprofessional, uninformed 'ladies bountiful'" (557). Pioneering organizational traditions of women traditionally are recognized in discussions of reform ("to abolish slavery, close brothels, provide sex education, and criminalize seduction") and women's rights, beginning in the early to mid-1800's (558). Omitted are the alternate avenues black and white women take in establishing and managing charitable organizations such as orphan asylums and old-age homes in Richmond (558). As "lady boards of managers," benevolent women and their volunteers achieve "civic participation ... long before they won the right to vote" (559). Not only overlooked, "this historical dismissal of benevolent women" also "obscures and distorts their substantial contributions to charity, social reform, and the development of feminism" (559). Discussed and depicted as "ladies bountiful," the "enduring caricature ... has served to stigmatize women's philanthropy, often trivializing its presence on the American scene" (559). Perhaps in their suppression and even erasure from historical accounts, benevolent women are confined to certain spaces including the domestic sphere which has also been discussed critically.⁶⁶ One of the windows of St. Paul's Episcopal, however, depicts a white, motherly figure resting her hands on two children who are, apparently, about to exchange a "Kiss of Charity," according to its title (See Fig. 7).

⁶⁶ See Barbara Welter.

Again, the adult female is demurely looking down, clothed in virtuous white and performing work related to a traditional sphere of influence, but with a new twist – maternalism – which references childcare, charity, and possibly a new civic path for women. Lilies held by the young girl symbolize purity, a staple of the “cult of true womanhood” (*Windows of Grace*) (See Fig. 7). Elaborating themselves politically first through “their benevolent activities,” Southern white women, as the windows support, are viewed through their “municipal housekeeping efforts” as “moral guardians of the home and family” (Netting, O’Connor, and Fauri 560).

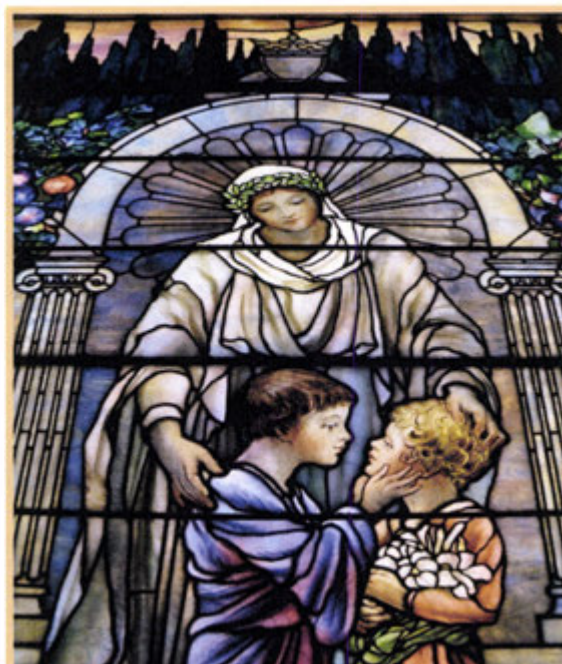


Fig.7. Tiffany Studios. *The Strother- Buford Window: the Kiss of Charity*: 1916. Source: St. Paul’s Episcopal Church, Richmond, Va. Stained-glass window. Photograph. 7 June 2010.

But, it may be also making a case, however subtly, for a new brand of charity/work that places women as its driving force, its public “movers and shakers” – women, who like Mary Cameron Ross Buford, have navigated a single-parent household and earned a living utilizing their domestic skills.

Can the window then be referencing an expanding avenue of identity construction for women, one that includes work outside the home in postbellum Richmond? In reality, stretching their roles, serving as “founders, managers, fund-raisers, program developers, supervisors, and administrators,” both black and white women form organizations to “address pressing needs” of their communities (577). Certainly this is true of the “progeny” of the Civil War generation, especially for Elisabeth Strother Scott, donor of

the window honoring her impoverished mother, and a person of influence in St. Paul's burgeoning social activism, turn-of-the-century, via involvement with Sheltering Arms Hospital (Hitz 3). Likewise, Lucy Goode Brooks, a former slave, and the previously-mentioned Maggie Walker, both are concerned about self-help, orphans, the sick, and aged (566; *Maggie L. Walker*). Brooks works to establish the Friends Asylum for Colored Orphans in 1871 which is one of the twenty-four surviving charitable organizations in Richmond founded before 1900 (563). Walker is also the founder in 1903 of the St. Luke Penny Savings Bank, reasoning to the public: "Let us put our money together; let us use our money; Let us put our money out at usury among ourselves, and reap the benefit ourselves" (*Maggie L. Walker*). Walker's activities and rhetoric is reflective of the "mite society," a "religiously based group" taking small contributions and leveraging funds "into a charitable venture nurtured and sustained by women" (Netting, O'Connor, and Fauri 559).

Domestic and ecclesiastical spaces, such as the parlors which held these mite societies and earlier sewing circles, figure prominently by housing a "socially acceptable activity": it was important to base these activities in these traditional spaces because of attitudes about women expressed by those such as influential male charitable organizer, William W. Parker, who was also a Confederate war officer. In "The Woman's Place: Her Position in the Christian World," Parker's treatise states that "allowing women to practice professions 'aims at the complete destruction of society, subversion of religion and reign of chaos'" (qtd. in Netting, O'Connor, and Fauri 570). A physician himself

Parker crusades “against the election of a female physician into membership in the Richmond Academy of Medicine” until his death (570).⁶⁷

Yet, white and black women ultimately do form a Nurses’ Settlement in Richmond in 1900 that “nurtured the rise of public health nursing and social work in the city, helping to carve out new professional opportunities for women” (Green 277). Green sees this as the “gendering of the city” of Richmond through women’s “progressive activism” and the “gendering of the welfare state” in its nascence (278). By also linking southern and northern female reformers, settlement houses provided a neutral space transcending sectional or racial differences for those women who “sought a far-reaching power of usefulness to the community at large” (Minor qtd. in Green 277).

This new “[m]aternalism,” Green explains, is the “turn-of-the-century update of the ‘doctrine of the separate spheres,’” purporting the notion that “women, as mothers and potential mothers, had a special and innate sensitivity to and understanding of the needs of women and children” (281). Black and white professional nurses operate in a public space alongside the volunteers from the women’s network of Richmond’s benevolent associations to create “residential enclaves for women ... offering instruction in hygiene, cooking, child care, and family budgeting ... [thus accommodating] the demands of maternalism” (282). Obstetrics, gynecology, and pediatrics are its [the Nurses’ Settlement’s] “special domain” (278). Women in Richmond, through both their volunteer and working lives, are beginning, to pursue a “wide array of very public

⁶⁷ As Netting, O’Connor, and Fauri further state, Parker “presided over an all-male board” for the Richmond Male Orphan Asylum for thirty years and was cofounder of the Magdalen Society which would be later called Spring Street Home (570). Spring Street Home’s “all-female board was totally separate and ancillary to its male board” (570). While women served in administrative and “values-oriented” positions in charitable organizations in Richmond, their role was “dismissed and eventually erased from social work’s historical narrative” (573).

activities” that includes “legislation and the lobbying required to get it passed” on behalf of children and fair labor practices (281-282). St. Paul’s Episcopal maternalistic window may indeed be referencing this “more muscular, remodeling of the separate spheres” tradition of settlement workers and community advocates who have taken a public role while conforming to certain traditional ideals of female volunteerism (282). The picture below of the Nurses’ Settlement employees portrays whites and blacks, with the four black nurses relegated to the back row of the photo (see Fig.8).



Fig.8. Nurses’ Settlement Employees.
Richmond, Virginia. Source: *Google images*. 14
April 2011.

As Netting, O’Connor and Fauri note in their reclaiming efforts for Richmond’s postbellum female social service landscape:

Benevolent women were highly visible in Richmond society during the period (1805-1900) ... [spurring] an evolving human service system by creating enduring organizations in intentional and organized ways before there were books on management, a social work profession, or a nonprofit

literature. They planted seeds that lasted, but their efforts have been erased from institutional memory. (578)

While several windows support the notion that women in Richmond are primarily white, pious, pure, submissive, virtuous, and domestic, the *Kiss of Charity* window also reveals a sphere that possibly encapsulates a widening avenue of women's professional lives.

Summary of the Rhetorical Situation at St. Paul's Episcopal, Richmond.

Whether the Tiffany windows of St. Paul's Episcopal may be viewed as "Windows of Grace: A Tribute of Love" as the modern publication purports depends highly on the rhetorical situation in which they are rendered. One must consider the exigence, audience, and the constraints of the postbellum church. A church racially "cleansed" by early 1900, St. Paul's ecclesiastical interior also has been gendered male, particularly as the only faces allowed to look directly upon the audience are white and male. Women look up and down but never frontally. Nevertheless, there are indications that women are assuming new roles in postbellum society that involve spheres outside the domestic. Less hopeful are the signs of change for racial equality: abounding in rich colors, a palette that is breathtakingly varied, the windows provide monochromatic faces of the hundreds depicted. Eighteen depictions of Christ are all white. Employing visual rhetoric in the one place in which all are to be accepted as members of the body of Christ, the windows construct race to fit a particular epideictic moment. As Kristie Fleckinstein modern compositionist states, "[H]ow we articulate our realities and identities is inseparable from how we see and what we see ... the rhetoric by which we invent, validate, and disseminate our understanding ... is inextricably interwoven with images and shared ways of seeing" (6).

In *Lives on the Boundary*, Mike Rose, another modern compositionist, embodies this truth in speaking of his impoverished childhood environment: “It is an unfortunate fact of our psychic lives that the images that surround us as we grow up – no matter how much we may scorn them later – give shape to our deepest needs and longings” (44). I would argue that the images we grow up without also shape our concepts of self and community. In examining institutional symbols, metonymy, iconography, displays, and exhibitions, visual rhetoric provides a critique as Irit Rogoff suggests of “whose fantasies of what are fed by which visual images” (382).

Chapter IV

CONCLUSION

Recently, during a viewing of the National Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C.'s exhibit of the "magnificent bequest" of the Chester Dale Collection, "From Impressionism to Modernism," I witnessed a visually rhetorical situation in the making (*National Gallery of Art*). As photographs were allowed, I meandered through the exhibit, noticing a black, primary-school-aged girl, holding her father's hand as they stopped to whisper about the iconic Renoir, *A Girl with a Watering Can* (1876). It was hard not to notice that of the fifty plus paintings in the exhibit not a single "masterpiece" reflected this young girl's image.⁶⁸ She was nowhere to be found – not in the brushing of hair, the dressing up as a ballerina, the playing with a "hoop" or on the beach, nor in white muslin perusing a letter or watering flowers. Instead, this youth while reading a narrative of one of the finest collections of fine art in the nineteenth and early twentieth century was gazing in the pool of America's past and seeing another's representation.

⁶⁸ Neither did I see her parents' image on display (*National Gallery of Art*). Other ethnic groups were represented including Asians and Hispanics, however.



Fig. 1. Mary Cassatt.
Mother and Child. 1905.
Source: National Gallery
of Art, Washington,
D.C.Nga.gov.

Fig. 2. Auguste Renoir.
*A Girl with a Watering
Can.* 1876. Source:
National Gallery of
Art, Washington, D. C.
[Nga. Gov.](http://Nga.Gov)

As Bitzer has explained of rhetoric, some situations “persist” or recur, as in courtroom trials and war, which produce a “body of *rhetorical* literature,” and, as I have argued of visual rhetoric, a body of rhetorical images, “in some measure universal,” that “comes to have a power of its own” (author’s emphasis 13). While I marvel at the *über*-wealthy Dales’ artistic legacy, the exhibit is reminiscent of the ecclesiastical visual rhetoric of postbellum America. In Richmond, the visual rhetoric of postbellum stained-glass windows at St. Paul’s Episcopal, as demonstrated, privilege a view of conservative, white patriarchy. Moreover, the windows serve the definitive epideictic purpose of creating a sense of honor for those Confederate families and leaders who had served the “Lost Cause.” St. Paulians construct these positive images of their heroes despite negative perceptions that follow the Civil War about Jefferson Davis, the president of the

Confederacy. I also discuss the white supremacists' attitudes prevalent in Virginia and the paternalistic notions of the ministry and about women during the postbellum period, both of which serve conservative aims.⁶⁹ "Maternalism," reflected in one of the Richmond windows, offers new avenues for employment and identity construction for women in the postbellum period.

Through this unambiguous structuring of identity via epideictic discourse, visual rhetoric functions in individual but also communitarian ways. Fleckinstein reminds, "Community is constituted as much by the images we see and the visual conventions we share as it is by the words we speak and the discourse conventions we share" (5). Stained-glass windows in St. Paul's Episcopal Church and the postbellum visually rhetorical situation persist today to create "symbolic landscapes" (Leib 241) and to honor particular traditional, and, sometimes, progressive ideals.

New directions for applications of the visual rhetorical situation include the analysis of stained-glass uses in digital modalities. In examining the church's current profile presented on the World Wide Web, one sees the ways in which St. Paul's Episcopal Church is re-branding its image. Located across from one of the most historically significant capitals in America, St. Paul's is listed as "one of Richmond's premier historic sites," concurrently listed also in the "Virginia Landmarks Register and the National Register of Historic Places" (*St. Pauls- Episcopal.org*). Along with nearly five thousand other churches in America, St. Paul's Episcopal Church also participated in

⁶⁹ For a discussion of the conservative elements who "came to power" during the Johnson administration post-Civil War, see Reed 105-121. See also Tucker.

progressive art forms, in the Americanizing of art glass in late 1800's.⁷⁰ Thus, the church highlights itself digitally as a cultural repository for these extremely valuable Tiffany glass windows and mosaics, with the stained-glass windows headlining a section of the Homepage (*St.Pauls-Episcopal.org*). More than twenty links to this art glass are contained within the digital site, creating a sense of the windows' *ethos*. They are rare, large, permanent, vivid, and, fine examples of American Nouveau glass. Foregrounding by using bold type in the body of the text, the St. Paulian website argues again using classical *ethos* by highlighting the skill of the "celebrated Louis Comfort Tiffany whose studio provided ... ten windows ... with glowing hues and moving compositions" (*St. Pauls-Episcopal.org*). With its prominent display on the site, the text and images also argue with *pathos* – windows are "familiar and much-loved fixtures" of the congregation, "old friends who greet" them at "every worship service" (*St. Pauls-Episcopal.org*). The digital rhetorical situation creates an identity that is both conservative and progressive, interestingly.⁷¹ Opportunities, therefore, to expand the study of visual rhetoric include the uses of stained-glass windows in digital modalities.

Adding to the complexities of the rhetorical situation for postbellum stained-glass windows, a study of the use of stained-glass windows in other cultures and faiths (than white Protestantism) in America could substantiate my findings related to identity

⁷⁰ See Alice Cooney Frelinghuysen for Tiffany's influence in "ushering in a new era for stained glass" (74).

⁷¹ While touting the church's progressivism in performing "baptisms, marriages, and funerals ... for both free and enslaved blacks" prior to the Civil War, there's no mention of the separatist postbellum stance. However, the church's website does mention that in 1990, the church held a "pre-inaugural prayer service for L. Douglas Wilder, America's first elected African-American governor," which was followed by the singing of the "Battle Hymn of the Republic" (*St. Pauls- Episcopal.org*).

construction and the classical/modern uses of visual rhetoric.⁷² Touring the First African Baptist Church in Savannah, Georgia, I noticed the guide’s historical narrative centered on the stained-glass windows, as he praised the accomplishments of individual ministers (See Figs. 3-4). It was as if each window were an icon on a digital screen to access the church’s story.

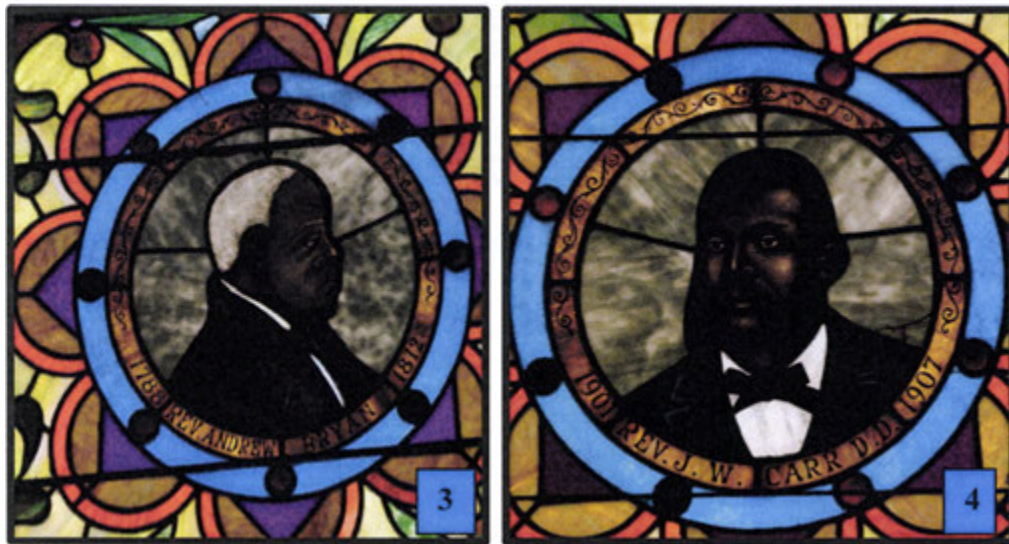


Fig. 3. Reverend Andrew Bryan. Stained-glass Window. Source: First African Baptist Church, Savannah, Ga. Photograph. 10 Aug. 2010.

Fig. 4. Reverend J. W. Carr. Stained-glass Window. Source: First African Baptist Church, Savannah, Ga. Photograph. 10 Aug. 2010.

Additionally, recent studies also by Welhausen, Wysocki, and Hocks offer new findings in the pedagogical use of visual rhetoric in digital environments. Further studies in the digital use of modern and classical rhetorical theories and situations offer a “rich framework ... to inform a visual *paideia*” (Welhausen vii). Moreover, constructing criteria and teaching students how to produce multimodal texts can be both challenging

⁷² See First African Baptist Church’s website firstafricanbc.com.

and rewarding. Ferstle's *Assessing Visual Rhetoric*, based on a dissertation studying how teaching assistants in a freshman composition course assess a visual rhetoric assignment, reflects the limitations facing instructors of multimodal compositions. Traditional criteria such as clarity or coherence were ineffective; instructors found themselves resorting to judgments based on emotional impact or aesthetic qualities, "holistic" evaluations: Ferstle found that criteria, in the end, was "used only in a marginal way" (138). Brummett also concludes that considering culture in the field of rhetoric complicates the study of rhetoric, especially in determining whether we study "Rachmaninoff" or "rap," "frescoes on the ceiling" or "Elvis on velvet," an issue "fraught with troubling and theoretical consequences" (xiv).

Indeed, our rhetorical field needs case studies in visual rhetoric than can provide application, a "frame of analysis for looking and interpreting" (Helmets 65). Not exclusionary, the web serves as a method of democratization, perhaps as Richard Lanham envisioned in his seminal work, *The Electronic Word*, by inviting marginalized groups previously excluded, to be fully integrated into America's spaces, virtual or otherwise (10). Thus, a discipline or indiscipline for the study of visual rhetoric, albeit worthwhile, remains "in progress" or in digital language, "site under construction."

Implying that the visual rhetoric of stained-glass windows participates in the development of the American identity as it is expressed in public spaces, I extend "symbolic landscapes" and "open-air rhetoric" to include not only monuments and public highways and byways but also ecclesiastical settings, things, and people, the postbellum bodies that are praised or blamed (through omission), and the expressions those bodies yield (Leib 238; Royster 144). Lefebvre argues that space should attend to "human

agency” because it is socially produced, “a set of relations between things (objects and products),” and “a tool of thought and action,” but “also a means of control, and hence of domination” (83; 26). Because race, gender, and political power or the lack of power inform how one looks at spaces and even whether one chooses or is allowed to enter these spaces, one’s spiritual self, if a member of the body of Christ in this example, can be misinformed and misshapened (if one is unaware of the rhetorical situation in which images derive).⁷³ For an authentic and collective American visual and spatial narrative to be told, the “we” must include the “they,” despite the pain in the story.⁷⁴

In practice, “rhetorical strategies” are “hidden in the texts of everyday experience,” as Barry Brummett and Detin Bowers contend; therefore, it is not only speeches or other persuasive texts that invite readers to join them in making meaning (qtd. in Helmers 117). Communicating through rhetorical display allows for a “paradigmatic *bridging* activity” that recognizes our need to make meaning out of both the visual and the verbal (Stafford 94; author’s emphasis 205). Today, visitors after viewing the postbellum stained-glass windows and mosaics in St. Paul’s Episcopal Church exclaim, “Your church makes me proud to be an Episcopalian!” (*St. Paul’s Episcopal Guestbook*). But can they also claim, “Your church makes me proud to be a

⁷³ See Sue Hum for a discussion of “the racialized gaze [which] serves to construct a racial identity that replicates the cultural value systems of the status quo; as a result of the racialized gaze, spectators accept this racial configuration as ‘real’ and ‘natural’” (114).

⁷⁴ Attending a recent St. Paul’s Episcopal Church service, I noted that Reverend Gene Mortiz, a “Priest-in-Residence” in his sermon stated, “We came across to Jamestown and to Plymouth Rock ... to farm and supposedly to make money ...,” not really recognizing the other cultures represented in the audience (emphasis added *Sermon*, 5/22/2011).

Christian!”⁷⁵ Or if a citizen, “Your church makes me proud to be an American!”⁷⁶ The St. Paulian ecclesiastical stained-glass windows will continue to raise these questions because they contribute to the persistence of the rhetorical situation.

⁷⁵ In the May 22, 2011 St. Paul’s Episcopal Church bulletin describing the service is a list including “A Reading from the First Letter of Peter” in which “*Peter cites the scriptures to encourage those who have recently converted to following Christ. He contrasts their old way of life to their new life, built on the solid foundation of Jesus*” (St. Paul’s Episcopal Church Bulletin 5/22/2011). If one considers this scripture in light of the postbellum situation, of those recently emancipated slaves who returned to Richmond and surrounding areas hoping to participate freely in society, one sees the irony (St. Paul’s Episcopal Church Bulletin 5/22/2011). The scriptural passage reads:

Like newborn infants, long for the pure, spiritual milk, so that by it you may grow into salvation – if indeed tasted that the Lord is good. Come to him, a living stone, though rejected by mortals yet chosen and precious in God’s sight, and like living stones, let yourselves be built into a spiritual house, to be a holy priesthood, to offer spiritual sacrifices acceptable to God through Jesus Christ. For it stands in scripture, ‘See, I am laying in Zion a stone, a cornerstone chosen and precious; and whoever believes in him will not be put to shame.’ To you who believe, he is precious, but for those who do not believe, ‘The stone that the builders rejected has become the very head of the corner,’ and ‘A stone that makes them stumble, and a rock that makes them fall.’ They stumble because they disobey the word, as they were destined to do. But you are a chosen race, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, God’s own people, in order that you may proclaim the mighty acts of him who called you out of darkness into his marvelous light. Once you were not a people, but now you are God’s people; once you had not received mercy, but now you have received mercy (Oxford Version I Peter: 2: 2-10).

⁷⁶ Reed discusses “presentism” as it relates to racial attitudes as “applying today’s standards to the past and making a negative judgment about a historical figure” such as Andrew Johnson (11). But, I agree with Reed that there are certain “statement(s) of incontrovertible fact” that are not “merely a judgment” (11). No matter how “discomfiting” it is to us, the facts remain that there are no representations of diverse cultures in the stained-glass windows of St. Paul’s Episcopal Church in Richmond, despite their membership consisting of those who were not white before and after the Civil War.

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