

**Visualising and Experiencing the British Imperial World:  
The British Empire Exhibition at Wembley (1924/25)**

Two Volumes

Volume I

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## **Abstract**

This thesis examines the British Empire Exhibition (1924/25), the first example of intra-empire exhibitions during the interwar period. The Exhibition encapsulated postwar anxieties as well as imperial pride and inspired numerous, under-researched interwar propaganda activities, involving the visual arts.

Following a substantial historiographical and methodological introduction, Chapter 1 examines the interrelationship between imperial knowledge and imagined (imperial) community. By rereading supplementary publications, I construe how a bird's eye view and imperial abstract minds, incorporated in the public materials, developed an informed audience of imperial-minded individuals and groups, especially children. In this chapter, I also suggest a new approach to connecting an urban core and its suburbs through imperial urban networks, moving beyond existing scholarship on dominant economic, political, cultural and ceremonial locations in the heart of the city. The ideas of suburban imperialism and circulation expanded the physical experience of the miniaturised empire at the Exhibition to a large number of homes, extending imperial citizenship from the public to the domestic.

Chapters 2 and 3 focus on the Palace of Arts section of the Exhibition, and provide a close analysis of the public art displays at Wembley, which challenge the conventional division between modernist and non-modernist, and the tension between art and craft/design within an imperial framework. Chapter 3, in particular, underlines the importance of the Queen's Dolls' House, designed by Edwin Lutyens, unveiled to the public in the Palace of Arts at Wembley, and now held in the Royal Collection. The House epitomises the characteristics of Britain as a nation and an empire through its English exterior and British objects within.

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## **Preface. Between, Between, Between**

During the time I have been writing this thesis, I have been an international student at a British institution. The British higher education system categorises students from non-European countries, required to hold a Tier 4 visa, as ‘international’. In this context, UK and EU students are not included in this concept. According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, meanwhile, the word ‘international’ means ‘existing, occurring, or carried on between nations’.

I have been inbetween nations, not only physically but intellectually. I have been educated in multiple locations: Seoul, London and York. While doing British art and empire studies, I, as an Asian woman with a Korean name, have frequently been questioned about my personal and academic backgrounds: whether I am from an immigrant family, or, whether I gained degrees from Britain or America (major native English-speaking countries).

When I encounter those questions and doubts, I usually recall Nikolaus Pevsner, the ‘German’ scholar of ‘English’ art and architecture, and his lecture/book *The Englishness of English Art* (1955; printed in 1956). I also wonder whether James Cahill and Craig Clunas were questioned: “Where are you (really) from?” “Did you study in China?” I am guessing that ‘American’ and ‘British’ scholars of ‘Chinese’ art never experienced THE moment.

Those moments seem to be trivial. But the questions covertly raise the issues of authority and authenticity.

Within a South Korean art history education system that triangulates ‘Western’, ‘Eastern’ and ‘Korean’ art history, I read Cahill and Clunas both in English and in



translation. However, I have been a student of ‘Western’, ‘European’ and ‘British’ art – my speciality in the field of art history, generally tethered to regional boundaries.

By contrast, I have observed that most white British/European students who study European art history – the majority in the field – have little knowledge of the rest of the world. The unevenness of ignorance derives from white dominant higher education, at both faculty and student levels, as well as in terms of the curriculum, particularly in the British context. I am used to being the one Asian/non-European person in the room: at seminars, public lectures and conferences on British art.

I have been working in the Department of History of Art, but at the same time, inbetween different disciplines, considering the nature of my research topic – between imperial and art history, and between art and design history. I seek to explore the intersecting points and to connect the dots.

This thesis is my invitation to more fruitful conversations about global art/design history, world art history, world art studies, transnational history, connected history, civilisations and diversity.

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I have been fortunate to have had virtual teachers, borrowing Partha Mitter's words, as a virtual cosmopolitan (who is a native of the peripheries, but who also engages intellectually with the knowledge system of the metropolis), while having trained as a researcher of British art and visual culture in three different locations. I have also been the beneficiary of tremendous hospitality from these scholars in the real world. My sincere thanks go to Tim Barringer, Antoinette Burton, Natasha Eaton, John M. MacKenzie, Christopher Pinney and Jonathan M. Woodham. I would like to express my gratitude, as well, to teachers in Seoul who had helped me get to this point: Youngna Kim, Hawon Ku and Soohyun Mok.

In particular, a series of symposia, *Connecting Dots: Art History and the British Empire* and *(Re)connecting Dots: Conversations Beyond Art History*, provided me with a platform to connect pioneering scholars who consider the issue of empire

beyond the discipline of art history. I am grateful to my virtual teachers, whom I have already mentioned above, as well as Joanna de Groot, Anandi Ramamurthy and Claire Westall for their participation and inspiring discussions. This kind of collective experiment was made possible by the generous financial support from the British Art Research School in the Art History Department and the Centre for Modern Studies at York.

This doctoral project has been generously funded by the University of York, the Korean Government and the Kim Hee-Kyung Foundation for European Humanities. I have had lots of help from many of the staff at the institutions where I have undertaken research: the British Library, Brent Archives, the National Archives at Kew, the National Art Library, the Royal Academy of Arts Archive, the Royal Commonwealth Society Library Collection at Cambridge and the Royal Collection Library at Windsor Castle (particularly Carly Collier).

Early versions of chapters were presented at various venues in the United Kingdom and the United States. I appreciate my fellow panellists and discussants at the 2017 College Art Association Annual Conference, University of Bristol, Modern British Studies 2017 at Birmingham and the Humanities Research Centre at York. The Travel Grant from Historians of British Art allowed me to travel across the Atlantic.

Finally, I should thank my family and friends across the continents for their love and confidence in my academic journey, conveyed from different parts of the globe. We are like satellites making our own orbits. Even though we have no Houston, I know that we are connected beyond time and space.

## **Author's Declaration**

I declare that this thesis entitled “Visualising and Experiencing the British Imperial World: The British Empire Exhibition at Wembley (1924/25)” is the result of my own work and has not been submitted for any other degree or qualification. With the exception of the quotations and paraphrased remarks from published or unpublished sources, which have been acknowledged in the text, the following thesis represents my original contribution.

## The Silent Zone:

### Empire Exhibitions during the Interwar Period

#### Turn, Turn, Turn...

In the autumn of 2015, the Victoria and Albert Museum (V&A) hosted the India Festival, which consisted of various exhibitions, displays and events to mark the twenty-fifth anniversary of the opening of the Nehru Gallery. The story of the transfer of the Indian art collection from the East India Company's Museum to the South Kensington Museum (renamed the V&A) in the nineteenth century, and the change in the name of the V&A collection to the Nehru Gallery in 1990, epitomise the postcolonial turn in the twentieth century, as well as in British imperial history.<sup>1</sup> After the phase of constitutional decolonisation when we confront problematic objects, such as the supposedly representative collections of the V&A, and 'difficult' subjects, such as representations of black people and slavery imagery inside museums and art galleries, how should we practice (postcolonial) art history today? If 'imperial history' and 'new imperial history' have been explored for decades, then does 'imperial art history' need to be written in a wider global context?

With increasingly planet-wide, although still radically uneven, globalisation, 'world history' and 'global history' appeared as fields of study in the 1980s, and subsequently 'world art studies' arrived in the 1990s. 'World art studies', 'world art

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<sup>1</sup> For the collection of the East India Company's Museum, see Partha Mitter, "The Imperial Collections: Indian Art," in *A Grand Design: The Art of the Victoria and Albert Museum*, eds. Malcolm Baker and Brenda Richardson (London: V&A, 1997), 222–229. With the opening of the Nehru Gallery at the V&A, the Nehru Trust for the Indian Collections was established in India, with the aim of encouraging the development of scholarship of Indian art and cultural heritage. The Trust is named after the Indian nationalist leader and the first Prime Minister of India, Jawaharlal Nehru.

history' and 'global art history' have become buzzwords in the academic community of art and visual culture following the publication of a number of studies that employed a worldwide scale and a multidisciplinary approach, and concerned interconnected relationships.<sup>2</sup> World art studies is similar to the German concept of *Bildwissenschaft* (image-ology) in that it applies a multidisciplinary approach embracing archaeology, cultural anthropology, evolutionary biology and neuroscience beyond the discipline of art history. World art history is the art of the whole of human history, whereas global art history concerns an interconnected world and interrelated artistic developments.<sup>3</sup> These emerging ideas are positioned within the contemporary debate on art, globalisation and multiculturalism. They not only attempt to examine the visual arts as a global phenomenon in time and space, but challenge the disciplinary limitations of art history; for example, Eurocentric narratives and Western- or Global North-centred methodologies. From the perspective of the global and long-duration (world-systems analysis), if British art history as 'a nodal point in a broader global history of art' is written,<sup>4</sup> can this 'new

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<sup>2</sup> David Carrier, *A World Art History and Its Objects* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2008); James Elkins, ed., *Is Art History Global?* (New York: Routledge, 2007); John Onians, "World Art Studies and the Need for a New Natural History of Art," *Art Bulletin* 78, no. 2 (1996), 206–209; Matthew Rampley, ed., *Art History and Visual Studies in Europe: Transnational Discourses and National Frameworks* (Leiden: Brill, 2012); David Summers, *Real Spaces: World Art History and the Rise of Western Modernism* (London: Phaidon, 2003). In addition, the *World Art* journal was launched in 2011, promoting "inter-cultural, inter-national, inter-practice and inter-disciplinary concerns". It seems to follow the direction of the University of East Anglia's Art History and World Art Studies, particularly considering the direction of the journal's editorial board: "Aims and Scope," *World Art*, accessed June 1, 2018, <https://www.tandfonline.com/action/journalInformation?show=aimsScope&journalCode=rwor20>.

<sup>3</sup> For more specific definitions, see Wilfried van Damme and Kitty Zijlmans, "Art History in a Global Frame: World Art Studies," in *Art History and Visual Studies in Europe: Transnational Discourses and National Frameworks* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 217–230.

<sup>4</sup> In February 2014, the University of Birmingham launched the Centre for Modern British Studies, with the aim of overcoming the problematic disciplinary, analytical and theoretical fragmentation of the field. Their first working paper addressed current situations of intellectual crisis and new ways of thinking for a modern Britain. One of these is to treat Britain's position in the world as "a nodal point in dynamic systems of transnational and global exchange", rather than a privileged imperial

British art history’ offer a model of a ‘connected history’, in particular when considering former colonial powers including Japan in Asia as well as European nations in the twenty-first century?<sup>5</sup>

The 2014 anthology on the intersection of visual culture and the history of European imperialism, *Empires of Vision*, questioned the place of the visual in colonial and postcolonial contexts by exploring the intertwined histories of empire and vision in modernity.<sup>6</sup> This collection, edited by two historians, Martin Jay and Sumathi Ramaswamy, derived from a 2009 specially designed workshop in which doctoral students formulated their dissertation proposals.<sup>7</sup> By examining art history textbooks, readers and anthologies on visual culture, including the famous Visual Culture Questionnaire published in *October*,<sup>8</sup> Ramaswamy, in her introduction, criticised silences surrounding the concept of ‘empire’ and erasures of the historical experiences of Europe’s imperial project in narratives of art history and visual culture studies.<sup>9</sup>

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metropolis. See “Modern British Studies at Birmingham Working Paper No. 1,” *MBS Working Papers* (February 2014), accessed March 1, 2014, <https://www.birmingham.ac.uk/Documents/college-artslaw/history/mbs/MBS-Birmingham-Working-Paper-1.pdf>. I sympathise with such a direction and think that, as a model, a connected history provides possibilities of radical art history far removed from the insularity bound in the notions of borders and nation-states.

<sup>5</sup> Sometimes, the Empire of Japan is forgotten about, even in the study on Orientalism. The Japanese Empire expanded its influence in the Western Pacific and East Asia region, and occupied Taiwan and Korea as colonies. Manchuria as a form of puppet state called Manchukuo was also under the Japanese imperial power. For more, see W.G. Beasley, *Japanese Imperialism: 1894–1945* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987); Ramon H. Myers and Mark R. Peattie, eds., *The Japanese Colonial Empire, 1895–1945* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984).

<sup>6</sup> Martin Jay and Sumathi Ramaswamy, eds., *Empires of Vision: A Reader* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2014).

<sup>7</sup> The workshop demonstrated its interdisciplinarity with twelve members from a variety of fields. Five of the twelve participants were art history majors.

<sup>8</sup> “Visual Culture Questionnaire,” *October* 77 (Summer, 1996): 25–70.

<sup>9</sup> Sumathi Ramaswamy, “Introduction: The Work of Vision in the Age of European Empires,” in *Empires of Vision*, 1–22.

While Ramaswamy, the cultural historian, lamented a lack of attention to the colonial and postcolonial in the academic field of art history during the period between the workshop's review of reading materials to academic publication, at the same time, on the other side of the Atlantic, Ashgate's *British Art: Global Contexts* series failed.<sup>10</sup> Issued between 2009 and 2014, this publication expanded the scope of British art studies by exploring the concepts of cosmopolitanism and transculturalism and touched upon the issue of empire.<sup>11</sup> Until 2015, Ashgate published 176 volumes in the *British Art and Visual Studies* series, most of which adopted a monographic approach focusing on single figures or art historical movements. Even though *Black Victorians* (2005) and *Representing Slavery* (2007) appeared in the series, they are museum catalogues published in conjunction with Lund Humphries,<sup>12</sup> and colonial and postcolonial themes are mostly invisible in Ashgate's *British Art and Visual Studies*.

The intersection of British art and imperial history has also been little covered in the representative academic journals such as *The British Art Journal*, *Visual Culture in Britain* and *British Art Studies*. In the research section of *The British Art Journal* published from 1999 to 2014, only two percent of research articles considered

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<sup>10</sup> In 2015, Ashgate, the leading research publisher in social sciences, arts and humanities, was sold to Informa (Taylor & Francis Group) and, in 2016, became part of the Routledge imprint.

<sup>11</sup> Chronologically: Lene Østermark-Johansen, *Walter Pater and the Language of Sculpture* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011); Mark A. Cheetham, *Artwriting, Nation, and Cosmopolitanism in Britain: The 'Englishness' of English Art Theory since the Eighteenth Century* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012); Julie F. Codell, ed., *Transculturation in British Art, 1770–1930* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012); Sarah Monks, John Barrell and Mark Hallett, eds., *Living with the Royal Academy: Artistic Ideals and Experiences in England, 1768–1848* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013). *World Art and the Legacies of Colonial Violence*, although not included in this series, also re-assessed migrant objects and colonial artworlds, drawing on 'world art' approaches. Daniel J. Rycroft, ed., *World Art and the Legacies of Colonial Violence* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013).

<sup>12</sup> Douglas Hamilton and Robert J. Blyth, eds., *Representing Slavery: Art, Artefacts and Archives in the Collections of the National Maritime Museum* (Aldershot: Lund Humphries, 2007); Jan Marsh, ed., *Black Victorians: Black People in British Art, 1800–1900* (Aldershot: Lund Humphries, 2005)



British art in the imperial framework.<sup>13</sup> In the case of *Visual Culture in Britain*, the editorial staff seems to be relatively more positive about the discussion of imperialism and colonialism in that they published special issues on Northern Ireland, British India, British sculpture in global contexts and transnationalism, reflecting the fruits of postcolonial studies and revisionist perspectives.<sup>14</sup> *British Art Studies* is an open access journal, launched in 2015, and published by the Paul Mellon Centre and the Yale Center for British Art. Despite its late arrival, the journal has been actively engaged in the field, exploring the notions of British art and Britishness in a wide range of materials including not only paintings, sculpture, prints, photography and ceramics but also television programmes.<sup>15</sup> *British Art Studies* has featured a few articles on British art and empire: photographs of British India, illustrations of James Cook's expeditions in eighteenth-century magazines and blackness in sculpture.<sup>16</sup>

Edward W. Said's *Orientalism* (1978) has been a significant starting point for historiographies of postcolonial studies.<sup>17</sup> We cannot deny the limitations of Said's

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<sup>13</sup> I examined the contents from vol. 1, no. 1 (1999) to vol. 15, no. 2 (2014/15) which were published online. Only ten of 481 articles dealt with the issue of art and the empire, whereas five exhibition reviews and four book reviews examined the imperial theme.

<sup>14</sup> The special issues included: "After the War: Visual Culture in Northern Ireland since the Ceasefires" (vol. 10, no. 2, 2009); "British Sculpture c. 1757–1947: Global Contexts" (vol. 11, no. 2, 2010); "Visual Culture of British India" (vol. 12, no. 3, 2011); and "Transnationalism and Visual Culture in Britain: Emigrés and Migrants, 1933 to 1956" (vol. 13, no. 2, 2012).

<sup>15</sup> Michael Clegg, "'The Art Game': Television, Monitor, and British Art at the Turn of the 1960s," *British Art Studies* 8, accessed May 31, 2018, <https://doi.org/10.17658/issn.2058-5462/issue-08/mclegg>.

<sup>16</sup> Jocelyn Anderson, "Elegant Engravings of the Pacific: Illustrations of James Cook's Expeditions in British Eighteenth-Century Magazines," *British Art Studies* 7, accessed May 31, 2018, <https://doi.org/10.17658/issn.2058-5462/issue-07/janderson>; Cyra Levenson, Chi-ming Yang and Ken Gonzales-Day, "Haptic Blackness: The Double Life of an 18th-Century Bust," *British Art Studies* 1, accessed May 31, 2018, <https://doi.org/10.17658/issn.2058-5462/issue-01/harwood>; Sean Robert Willcock, "Insurgent Citizenship: Dr John Nicholas Tresidder's Photographs of War and Peace in British India," *British Art Studies* 4, accessed May 31, 2018, <https://doi.org/10.17658/issn.2058-5462/issue-04/swilcock>.

<sup>17</sup> Edward W. Said, *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978).

Orientalism as a discourse on representation in terms of a lack of interest in the visual arts; if we acknowledge that his work is based in literary criticism, we need to ask what art historians have done and what they have not done as academic practitioners of the visual arts. In this sense, Partha Mitter's *Much Maligned Monsters* (1977) is a groundbreaking work.<sup>18</sup> Mitter analysed the formation process of the European stereotype of India, focusing on different responses to Hindu art in the West. In some ways, this work is the visual parallel to the verbal in Orientalism, though it was published in 1977 before Said's study and the authors' notions of the 'Orient' are different: Mitter's analysis focuses on South Asia whereas Said's Orient means the Middle East. After the advent of *Much Maligned Monsters* and *Orientalism*, and drawing on postcolonial critiques, a number of volumes have examined colonial and imperial cultures in an interdisciplinary frame. Significantly, display-based cultural forms such as exhibitions, museums, department stores, dioramas, photography and postcards have been discussed and considered to be key players in producing and reproducing the imagery of the 'Others' in terms of the "exhibitionary complex".<sup>19</sup> Meanwhile, art history, writing in the imperial context, still has very low visibility in standard synoptic accounts of the field.<sup>20</sup>

The 1980s witnessed an imperial turn within academia; that is, the emergence of a rethinking of empire and metropolitan culture in Britain. The themes of colonisation,

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<sup>18</sup> Partha Mitter, *Much Maligned Monsters: History of European Reactions to Indian Art* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977).

<sup>19</sup> Tony Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics* (London: Routledge, 1995).

<sup>20</sup> For a historiography, see Jeffrey Auerbach, "Art and Empire," in *The Oxford History of the British Empire 5: Historiography*, eds. Robin Winks and Alaine Low (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 571–583; the introduction of *Art and the British Empire* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007); and the introductory article "From the East India Company to the West Indies and Beyond: The World of British Sculpture, c. 1757–1947" from the special issue of *Visual Culture in Britain*. The article is focused on sculpture studies. Jason Edwards, "Introduction," *Visual Culture in Britain* 11, no. 2 (2010): 147–172.

decolonisation, national identities and patriotism were newly discussed among historians. Such an approach and the academic interest in ‘popular imperialism’ reflected the context of the Thatcher years during which the Falklands War was a critical moment.<sup>21</sup> When it comes to art history, a relatively new paradigm appeared in the 1970s. ‘New art history’, ‘social history of art’, ‘critical art history’ and ‘radical art history’ invoked a political turn in the discipline of art history by introducing issues of class, gender, sexuality, and, less often, race. Jonathan Harris underlines that radical art history should be understood in the social, cultural and political context of the 1970s and 1980s, and considers the political projects of the New Left, anti-imperialist political organisations and feminist movements.<sup>22</sup>

The theme of empire, however, has been left behind in mainstream academic discourses when compared with major issues of the political turn in art history. It seems to be a burden or taboo in ‘post-’ or ‘neo-imperial’ Britain in the late twentieth and twenty-first centuries, when British forces entered the Gulf War and the Afghanistan War, led by the United States. Amnesia towards empire in British art history is not simply an accident or a mistake, but embodies the politics of forgetting.<sup>23</sup> Paul Gilroy diagnosed postcolonial Britain as a society suffering from

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<sup>21</sup> Regarding a ‘new imperial history’ and revisionist paradigms, see the introduction of Stephen Howe, ed., *The New Imperial Histories Reader* (London: Routledge, 2010) and Andrew S. Thompson, ed., *Writing Imperial Histories* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013), published to mark the 100th publication of the *Studies in Imperialism* series.

<sup>22</sup> Jonathan Harris, *The New Art History: A Critical Introduction* (London: Routledge, 2001).

<sup>23</sup> The issue of race has been included relatively less in discourses of identity politics, and, in the British academic context, Black studies have been developed by so-called Birmingham School intellectuals, Stuart Hall and Paul Gilroy, who have a peripheral perspective; this provides a critical clue to comprehending the oblivion. The conference *Rethinking Modern British Studies* at Birmingham (1–3 July 2015) illustrated the problematic situation of a white-dominated field. It was hard to find non-white participants for both panels and audiences at the postgraduate/early career researcher workshop, and historian James Vernon, one of the panel members, pointed this out on the first day of the event.

melancholia, the idea inspired by Sigmund Freud.<sup>24</sup> Melancholic reactions originate in the absence of the proper mourning of a lost object and, thus, make a subject carry the loss internally and continuously. Pathological reactions, such as attempts to deny the aftereffects of empire or not squarely facing matters related to colonialism and imperialism, can be found not only in the contemporary political realm,<sup>25</sup> but in academic fields. After the postcolonial turn, imperial history was regarded as dead in Britain, and it did not undergo a self-reflexive reconstruction during the 1960s and 1970s. Even after the transitional moment of the field, art historians remained comparatively silent during the 1980s.

In her pioneering article “The Imaginary Orient” (1989), Linda Nochlin examined French Orientalist paintings in the nineteenth century, which reinforced Said’s literary analysis of the European mechanism of production and reproduction of colonial knowledge and stereotype of the Near East.<sup>26</sup> As feminist art historians have contributed to an expansion of the field, Nochlin urged re-examination of art historical canons and consideration of non-mainstream artists in order to discuss the long-ignored issue, here, Orientalism in visual forms. After this call for intervention into visual Orientalism, the work of some followers appeared in the forms of exhibitions and publications: *The Orientalists: Delacroix to Matisse* (Royal Academy of Arts in London, 1984), *Orientalism: Delacroix to Klee* (Art Gallery of New South Wales in Sydney, 1997), *Orientalism Transposed: The Impact of the Colonies on British Culture* (1998) and *Orientalism’s Interlocutors: Painting,*

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<sup>24</sup> Paul Gilroy, *Postcolonial Melancholia* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005).

<sup>25</sup> Gilroy pointed out the failure of a multicultural society as well as hostility and violence based on race and ethnicity.

<sup>26</sup> Linda Nochlin, “The Imagery Orient,” in *The Politics of Vision: Essays on Nineteenth-Century Art and Society*, ed. Linda Nochlin (New York: Harper & Row, 1989), 33–59.

*Architecture, Photography* (2002).<sup>27</sup> Most of the exhibition catalogues and edited volumes on Orientalist art tend to focus on French Orientalist painters, and particularly highlight Jean-Léon Gérôme as a major figure, whose works appeared on Said's book covers.<sup>28</sup> With regard to Orientalism in the British context, *Orientalism Transposed* (1998) underlined a dialectic of colonial discourses and demonstrated the intervention of colonised and reciprocal relations between the British Empire and its colonies.<sup>29</sup> Moreover, *Edge of Empire* (2005), which investigated Britain's imperial expansion on two eastern frontiers of India and Egypt, argued British imperial history was a history of Anglo-French rivalry beyond the two-way process of colonisers and colonised.<sup>30</sup> John M. MacKenzie's *Orientalism: History, Theory and the Arts* (1995) expanded the idea of Orientalism into popular culture, exploring art, architecture, music and theatre.<sup>31</sup> In addition, an architectural historian Mark Crinson examined the relationship between the built environment and Orientalism, looking at building projects in the Near East (mainly in Alexandria, Istanbul and Jerusalem) as well as Victorian debates about Near Eastern architecture.<sup>32</sup> Yet, the British response to Nochlin's article arrived in the field after nearly twenty years when *The Lure of the East*, the first major exhibition of British

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<sup>27</sup> Although the list of Orientalist exhibitions is much longer, I include these cases for particular consideration. For more examples, see Mary Anne Stevens, ed., *The Orientalists: Delacroix to Matisse* (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 1984), 252.

<sup>28</sup> The cover of the first edition features a part of *The Snake Charmer* (1880). Later, the cover of the Penguin Modern Classics version was changed, but it still features Jean-Léon Gérôme's Orientalist painting *Moorish Bath* (1870).

<sup>29</sup> Julie F. Codell and Dianne Sachko MacLeod, eds., *Orientalism Transposed: The Impact of the Colonies on British Culture* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998).

<sup>30</sup> Maya Jasanoff, *Edge of Empire: Conquest and Collecting in the East, 1750–1850* (London: Fourth Estate, 2005).

<sup>31</sup> John M. MacKenzie, *Orientalism: History, Theory and the Arts* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995).

<sup>32</sup> Mark Crinson, *Empire Building: Orientalism and Victorian Architecture* (London: Routledge, 1996).

Orientalist paintings, opened at Tate Britain and the Yale Center for British Art in 2008.<sup>33</sup>

It was not until the 1990s that representative works of critical museum studies, such as *Reinventing Africa* (1994) and *Colonialism and the Object* (1998), appeared.<sup>34</sup> MacKenzie's contribution to the visual turn is perhaps especially noteworthy in that his essay on art and empire was almost the first attempt to examine the relationship, across a long durée, between art and the British Empire.<sup>35</sup> In addition, Manchester University Press's *Studies in Imperialism* series founded by MacKenzie has diversified themes of British imperial history from exhibitions and museums to advertising, mass media, theatre, juvenile literature and hunting, as well as expanded Said's 'high art'-oriented analysis to the investigation of popular culture. Museum studies of the series tend to focus on natural and anthropological museums,<sup>36</sup> whereas art museums are relatively marginalised. Notwithstanding its remarkable contribution, the *Studies in Imperialism* series lacks the participation of art historians, as well as visual analysis and art historical approaches; however, the recent volume, *Exhibiting the Empire* (2015), is an exception.<sup>37</sup> Most case studies on visual imagery

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<sup>33</sup> Nicholas Tromans, ed., *The Lure of the East: British Orientalist Painting* (London: Tate, 2008). Recently an expanded study on John Frederick Lewis, the most frequently referenced British Orientalist painter, was published. Emily M. Weeks, *Cultures Crossed: John Frederick Lewis and the Art of Orientalism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014).

<sup>34</sup> Tim Barringer and Tom Flynn, eds., *Colonialism and the Object: Empire, Material Culture and the Museum* (London: Routledge, 1998); Annie E. Coombes, *Reinventing Africa: Museums, Material Culture and Popular Imagination in Late Victorian and Edwardian England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994).

<sup>35</sup> John M. MacKenzie, "Art and the Empire," in *The Cambridge Illustrated History of the British Empire*, ed. P.J. Marshall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 296–315.

<sup>36</sup> Sarah Longair and John McAleer, eds., *Curating Empire: Museums and the British Imperial Experience* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012); John M. MacKenzie, *Museums and Empire: Natural History, Human Cultures and Colonial Identities* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009).

<sup>37</sup> John McAleer and John M. Mackenzie, eds., *Exhibiting the Empire: Cultures of Display and the British Empire* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015).

in the series' shared context of popular imperialism have dealt with advertisements, including a range of posters and ephemera.<sup>38</sup> Advertising is a significant subject in colonial discourses as it is an intersecting point of visual stereotype, imperial trade and the capitalist world-system; in particular, Anne McClintock's analysis of commodity racism in Victorian soap companies' advertising has proven to be highly influential.<sup>39</sup> Such visual and material forms have been relatively neglected by conventional art historians struggling for their position in the tension between art and design, as well as in the conflict between high and low arts; this serves to remind us of the conservative and passive attitudes of traditional art history as a discipline.

Meanwhile, some scholars and curators attempted to insert 'difficult' subjects, such as black people and slavery, into the narrative of British art. This kind of scholarship analysed the representation of black people, examining the transatlantic slave trade and European interactions with the Caribbean, Africa and the Americas. In 2000, Marcus Wood pointed out that few attempts have been made to problematise visual representations of slavery within the relevant literature, and most of the imagery examined was considered to be 'low art' and, hence, overlooked by formal art historians.<sup>40</sup> In the context of Britain and North America, Wood analysed a variety of images including academic oil paintings, woodcuts and early photography, emphasising historical 'ignorance' of the subject as a central theme. Significantly,

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<sup>38</sup> John M. MacKenzie, ed., *Imperialism and Popular Culture* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986); John M. MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire: The Manipulation of British Public Opinion, 1880–1960* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984); Gordon Pirie, *Cultures and Caricatures of British Imperial Aviation: Passengers, Pilots, Publicity* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012); Anandi Ramamurthy, *Imperial Persuaders: Images of Africa and Asia in British Advertising* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003).

<sup>39</sup> Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (New York: Routledge, 1995).

<sup>40</sup> Marcus Wood, *Blind Memory: Visual Representations of Slavery in England and America 1780–1865* (New York: Routledge, 2000), 6.

his new light on the print culture regarding slavery imagery encouraged further studies on visual culture in the Atlantic world, and some studies, such as *An Economy of Colour* (2003) and *Slavery, Sugar and the Culture of Refinement* (2008), were published.<sup>41</sup> More recently, *Slavery, Geography and Empire in Nineteenth-Century Marine Landscapes of Montreal and Jamaica* (2016) has followed this kind of scholarship.<sup>42</sup>

In 2005, Manchester Art Gallery and Birmingham Museums and Art Gallery presented the exhibition *Black Victorians* which focused on black subjects in the history of British art between 1800 and 1900.<sup>43</sup> This exhibition and its catalogue, which covered a wide range of materials, are expected in that the locations themselves (Manchester and Birmingham) have a notorious history of slave-grown cotton (particularly in Manchester) and industrial involvements with slavery.<sup>44</sup> Questions of race and the history of slavery have rapidly expanded during the last decade. Agnes Lugo-Ortiz and Angela Rosenthal's edited volume provided a theoretical challenge by analysing the enslaved subject in portraiture and addressing the paradoxical relationship between portraiture as a genre founded in Western modernity and the subjectivity of black presence.<sup>45</sup> In addition, Charmaine A. Nelson

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<sup>41</sup> Kay Dian Kriz, *Slavery, Sugar and the Culture of Refinement: Picturing the West Indies, 1700–1840* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008); Geoff Quilley and Kay Dian Kriz, eds., *An Economy of Colour: Visual Culture and the Atlantic World, 1660–1830* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003).

<sup>42</sup> Charmaine A. Nelson, *Slavery, Geography and Empire in Nineteenth-Century Marine Landscapes of Montreal and Jamaica* (London: Routledge, 2016).

<sup>43</sup> Marsh, *Black Victorians*. The exhibition opened at Manchester Art Gallery (1 October 2005 to 6 January 2006) and then moved to Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery (28 January to 2 April 2006).

<sup>44</sup> “Birmingham’s Slavery Links Uncovered by *Inside Out*,” Press Office, BBC, March 2, 2007, [http://www.bbc.co.uk/pressoffice/pressreleases/stories/2007/03\\_march/02/birmingham.shtml](http://www.bbc.co.uk/pressoffice/pressreleases/stories/2007/03_march/02/birmingham.shtml).

For Birmingham’s connections to the transatlantic slave trade, see Connecting Histories, accessed June 1, 2018, <http://www.connectinghistories.org.uk>.

<sup>45</sup> Agnes Lugo-Ortiz and Angela Rosenthal, eds., *Slave Portraiture in the Atlantic World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).



shone a critical light on neoclassical sculpture, rereading black female subjects within multi-layered histories of race, sex and class.<sup>46</sup> Recent research achievements have come into the museum space and resulted in a pair of exhibitions, *Figures of Empire* (2014) and *Prospects of Empire* (2014), at Yale and the symposium *The Black Subject: Ancient to Modern* (2015) at Tate Britain.<sup>47</sup> With the development of Black Atlantic studies, more focused research such as *Art and Emancipation in Jamaica* (2007) appeared,<sup>48</sup> and furthermore, Leon Wainwright argues that a new consideration of the Caribbean as a methodology can serve as a new model of art historical study in the age of decolonisation.<sup>49</sup>

W.J.T. Mitchell's seminal work has made a significant contribution to landscape studies in the context of colonialism and imperialism.<sup>50</sup> With respect to circum-Atlantic culture, some scholars have explored Jamaican landscapes of pastoral plantations and townscapes, and practices of landscaping such as the picturesque landscape garden, the fantasised island garden and the ornamented farm.<sup>51</sup> In the visual culture of British India, the genre of landscape, and especially the picturesque, has received relatively more attention alongside a burgeoning scholarly interest in

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<sup>46</sup> Charmaine A. Nelson, *The Color of Stone: Sculpting the Black Female Subject in Nineteenth-Century America* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007).

<sup>47</sup> *Figures of Empire: Slavery and Portraiture in Eighteenth-Century Atlantic Britain* at the Yale Center for British Art (2 October to 14 December 2014); *Prospects of Empire: Slavery and Ecology in Eighteenth-Century Atlantic Britain* at the Lewis Walpole Library (20 October 2014 to 27 March 2015); *The Black Subject: Ancient to Modern* at Tate Britain (21 February 2015).

<sup>48</sup> Tim Barringer, Gillian Forrester and Barbaro Martinez-Ruiz, eds., *Art and Emancipation in Jamaica: Isaac Mendes Belisario and His Worlds* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007).

<sup>49</sup> Leon Wainwright, *Timed Out: Art and the Transnational Caribbean* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011).

<sup>50</sup> W.J.T. Mitchell, "Imperial Landscape," in *Landscape and Power*, ed. W.J.T. Mitchell (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 5–34.

<sup>51</sup> Quilley, "Pastoral Plantations: The Slave Trade and the Representation of British Colonial Landscape in the Late Eighteenth Century," in *An Economy of Colour*, 106–128; Kriz, *Slavery, Sugar and the Culture of Refinement*; Jill H. Casid, *Sowing Empire: Landscape and Colonization* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005).

William Hodges and his visual records of India,<sup>52</sup> alongside research on various other colonial territories of the British Empire.<sup>53</sup> What is noticeable is that many of the volumes on postcolonial art history focus on South Asia, which raises the question of Indo-centrality. In addition to the examples already mentioned, Natasha Eaton's works brought the notions of mimesis and colour as critical subjects to the field.<sup>54</sup> Saloni Mathur focused on cultural identity and displays of India.<sup>55</sup> Moreover, Robin D. Jones's study of interior design history and colonialism examined cases of India and Ceylon (Sri Lanka).<sup>56</sup>

Anglo-Indian sculpture and Indo-Saracenic architecture have occupied discourses of postcolonial art history.<sup>57</sup> British sculpture, including church monuments and public statues, has been surveyed across India: in Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, Bangalore, Lucknow, Lahore and Delhi. Joan Michèle Coutu widened the scope beyond South Asia by investigating commemorative monuments in the eighteenth-century British

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<sup>52</sup> Hermione de Almeida and George H. Gilpin, *Indian Renaissance: British Romantic Art and the Prospect of India* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005); Geoff Quilley and John Bonehill, eds., *William Hodges 1744–1797: The Art of Exploration* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004); Romita Ray, *Under the Banyan Tree: Relocating the Picturesque in British India* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013).

<sup>53</sup> John E. Crowley, *Imperial Landscapes: Britain's Global Visual Culture, 1745–1820* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011).

<sup>54</sup> Natasha Eaton, *Colour, Art and Empire: Visual Culture and the Nomadism of Representation* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2013); *Mimesis Across Empire: Artworks and Networks in India, 1765–1860* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2013).

<sup>55</sup> Saloni Mathur, *India by Design: Colonial History and Cultural Display* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007).

<sup>56</sup> Robin D. Jones, *Interiors of Empire: Objects, Space and Identity Within the Indian Subcontinent, c. 1800–1947* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007).

<sup>57</sup> Barbara Groseclose, *British Sculpture and the Company Raj: Church Monuments and Public Statuary in Madras, Calcutta and Bombay to 1858* (Newark: University of Delaware Press; London: Associated University Presses, 1995); Thomas R. Metcalf, *An Imperial Vision: Indian Architecture and Britain's Raj* (London: Faber and Faber, 1989); Mary Ann Steggles and Richard Barnes, *British Sculpture in India: New Views and Old Memories* (Kirkstead: Frontier, 2011)

Empire, including the American colonies, Canada, the West Indies and India.<sup>58</sup> Furthermore, Jason Edwards reread Thomas Woolner's Captain Cook Memorial (1878) and Harry Bates's Lord Roberts Memorial (1916) in the context of imperial aestheticism, looking at various imperial sites.<sup>59</sup> In particular, Delhi has attracted academic interest in colonial architecture and public monuments. In the early twentieth century, the new imperial city played a key role in colonial urban planning. In this regard, Edwin Lutyens, the architect of the New Delhi project, has been at the centre of discourses about colonial architecture in the company of Herbert Baker.<sup>60</sup> The concept of imperial Gothic also played an important role in architectural history.<sup>61</sup>

The question of Indo-centrality is also found in the scholarship of photography and empire.<sup>62</sup> The interrelationship between photography and imperial projects featured very prominently in imperial history and postcolonial studies. Physical measurement

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<sup>58</sup> Joan Michèle Coutu, *Persuasion and Propaganda: Monuments and the Eighteenth-Century British Empire* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2006).

<sup>59</sup> Jason Edwards, "Postcards from the Edge: Thomas Woolner's Captain Cook for Sydney," *The Sculpture Journal* 23, no. 2 (2014): 209–220; "War and Peace: Harry Bates's Lord Roberts Memorial in London, Calcutta, and Glasgow," in *Transculturation in British Art, 1770–1930*, ed. Julie F. Codell (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), 199–219.

<sup>60</sup> Andrew Hopkins and Gavin Stamp, eds., *Lutyens Abroad: The Work of Sir Edwin Lutyens Outside the British Isles* (London: British School at Rome, 2002); Robert Grant Irving, *Indian Summer: Lutyens, Baker and Imperial Delhi* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981).

<sup>61</sup> G.A. Bremner, *Imperial Gothic: Religious Architecture and High Anglican Culture in the British Empire, 1840–1870* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013).

<sup>62</sup> Zahid R. Chaudhary, *Afterimage of Empire: Photography in Nineteenth-Century India* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012); Vidya Dehejia, ed., *India through the Lens: Photography, 1840–1911* (Washington: Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, 2000); Maria Antonella Pelizzari, ed., *Traces of India: Photography, Architecture, and the Politics of Representation, 1850–1900* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003); Christopher Pinney, *Camera Indica: The Social Life of Indian Photographs* (London: Reaktion, 1997); *The Coming of Photography in India* (London: British Library, 2008); James R. Ryan, *Picturing Empire: Photography and the Visualization of the British Empire* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press; London: Reaktion, 1997).

played a pivotal role in the construction of colonial knowledge,<sup>63</sup> which was interrelated with photographic surveys. The desire for scientific documentation contributed to the development of photography. Along with photography, film and early cinema served as agents of governmental propaganda in the colonies as well as the metropole in terms of new media technologies and public relations, and there have been a number of recent studies of colonial films produced in Britain and its former colonies.<sup>64</sup>

In spite of all these developments, it was not until 2007 that *Art and the British Empire* declared the significance of empire in the narrative of British art history and traced a longer time span, seeking to break down the dichotomy between ‘British’ art and ‘imperial’ art.<sup>65</sup> The second half of the 2000s and 2010s have also seen the emergence of scholarly works on British art in a wider global context; for instance, considering various regions of former direct/indirect colonies and interactions

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<sup>63</sup> Bernard S. Cohn’s foregrounding works raised the issue of the relation between power and knowledge, and, in particular, his anthropological perspective to history examined the formation of modern visual and material understanding of non-Western others. Cohn introduced the term “investigative modalities”, which refers to constructed colonial knowledge through official projects, and also categorised the type of modalities into historiography, observation/travel, survey, enumeration, museology and surveillance. Bernard S. Cohn, *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996).

<sup>64</sup> Lee Grieveson and Colin MacCabe, eds., *Empire and Film* (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2011); *Film and the End of Empire* (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2011). *Empire and Film* and *Film and the End of Empire* derived from the research project *Colonial Film: Moving Images of the British Empire*, which examined the interwoven relationship between political and economic control of the Empire and developments of cinema. The original project explored films held in three different institutions: the British Film Institute, the Imperial War Museum, and the British Empire and Commonwealth Museum. The British Empire and Commonwealth Museum in Bristol announced that it would be moving its core operations to London in 2008 and was consequently closed to the public; however, this plan was cancelled in 2012. The Museum, which has now closed, caused a scandal because some of the loaned artefacts had been sold without the owners’ permission. This failure and the case of the ‘missing’ exhibits are symptoms of the ‘postcolonial melancholia’ in contemporary British society.

<sup>65</sup> Tim Barringer, Geoff Quilley and Douglas Fordham, eds., *Art and the British Empire* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007). The years 2007 and 2011 are noteworthy: the year 2007 marked the bicentenary of the Abolition of the Slave Trade Act (1807) and the year 2011 celebrated the centenary of the Great Exhibition (1851).

between metropolitan culture and colonial society. Most art historical literature on British art's engagement with the Empire tends to focus on particular eras; for example, the eighteenth century, and the Victorian and Edwardian eras.<sup>66</sup> Interactions between British imperial power and local culture in colonial territories, and James Cook's voyages and a variety of visual records derived from the exploration in the Pacific, hold an important post in the scholarship of eighteenth-century British art.<sup>67</sup> A most recent display of interest in Cook's expeditions can be found in the British Library's 2018 exhibition, *James Cook: The Voyages*, which marks the 250th anniversary of his first voyage. In September 2018, the Royal Academy will also stage a commemorative exhibition entitled *Oceania*. Looking at the nineteenth century, the V&A played a pivotal role in the discourse about Victorian culture from the stage of establishment to the legacy of the V&A, not only in metropolitan society but also in the British colony – mainly India – and other western institutions.<sup>68</sup>

Scholars have also looked ahead into the postwar period, when the Festival of Britain of 1951 marked a watershed in the discussion of the issue of decolonisation. *Visual Culture and Decolonisation in Britain* (2006), however, explored a wide range of visual materials in the postwar period beyond constitutional decolonisation,

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<sup>66</sup> Crinson, *Empire Building*; Beth Fowkes Tobin, *Picturing Imperial Power: Colonial Subjects in Eighteenth-Century British Painting* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999).

<sup>67</sup> Geoff Quilley, *From Empire to Nation: Art, History and the Visualization of Maritime Britain, 1768–1829* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010).

<sup>68</sup> For a general history of the V&A, see Baker and Richardson, *A Grand Design*; Anthony Burton, *Vision and Accident: The Story of the Victorian and Albert Museum* (London: V&A, 1999); and Julius Bryant, ed., *Art and Design for All: The Victoria and Albert Museum* (London: V&A, 2011), all of which are 'autobiographical' accounts published by the V&A. *The Bureaucracy of Beauty* and *Grand Designs* are useful to gain an understanding of the organisational levels of the Museum and its influence in the metropole and periphery. Arindam Dutta, *The Bureaucracy of Beauty: Design in the Age of Its Global Reproducibility* (New York: Routledge, 2007); Lala Kriegel, *Grand Designs: Labor, Empire and the Museum in Victorian Culture* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007).

considering the forgetting and disavowal of the imperial past as well as the re-evaluation of cultures of empire in the present.<sup>69</sup> In addition, *Modern Architecture and the End of Empire* (2003) situated modernism and modern architecture in a chain of events throughout the twentieth century (but not a synoptic narrative): imperial decline, decolonisation, independence and its aftermath.<sup>70</sup>

It was only in 2015 that Tate Britain's *Artist and Empire* finally opened, with a related conference.<sup>71</sup> The exhibition staged a wide variety of objects including oil paintings, sculpture, drawings, photography and maps. *Artist and Empire* explored a long time span from the sixteenth century to the contemporary in the context of Britain's imperial and post-imperial history, embracing works of postcolonial critique as well as immigrant artists from colonies. Even though it received high praise from the press (regardless of political stances), the exhibition, whose subtitle revealed its desire to face Britain's imperial past, left room for questions of the politics of locations behind. The banner image of Tate Britain featured a face of Bakshiram, the old Indian potter.<sup>72</sup> The original panel painting was one of eight portraits painted by Rudolf Swoboda for the Colonial and Indian Exhibition in 1886, and it is now held in the Royal Collection. Swoboda's paintings, as Mathur has pointed out, served to consolidate the idealised image of Indian craftsmen and the

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<sup>69</sup> Simon Faulkner and Anandi Ramamurthy, eds., *Visual Culture and Decolonisation in Britain* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006). The broadened scope of this study also included Ramamurthy's work on British advertising, which expanded the time span to the postcolonial era and investigated how the neo-colonial power remained in the ex-colonial regions – in this case, Africa – in the name of development and modernity after the World Wars. Ramamurthy, *Imperial Persuaders*.

<sup>70</sup> Mark Crinson, *Modern Architecture and the End of Empire* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003).

<sup>71</sup> Alison Smith, David Blayney Brown and Carol Jacobi, eds., *Artist and Empire: Facing Britain's Imperial Past* (London: Tate, 2015). The two-day conference consisted of *Artist and Empire: The Long Nineteenth Century* and *Artist and Empire: Curating in a Transnational Context* (24–26 November 2015). In March 2017, Tate's exhibition was on display at the National Gallery Singapore under the title of *Artist and Empire: (En)countering Colonial Legacies*.

<sup>72</sup> The banner image remains online. "Artist and Empire," Tate, accessed May 1, 2018, <http://www.tate.org.uk/whats-on/tate-britain/exhibition/artist-and-empire>.

myth of Indian villages, while concealing the parallel emergence of Indian artists who trained in European oil paintings.<sup>73</sup> In the twenty-first century, the face of a native Indian craftsman, as part of imperial collections of the royal family, might be Britain's imperial past, but at the same time, the re-presentation can play a role in reproducing the imperial myth of timelessness of peripheries (which often appear in today's advertising images of NGOs and fair trade companies).

### **Into No Man's Land, or, Between the Wars**

If we have traced turning points in British art and empire studies, and art historians have filled in the blanks, the interwar period is another gap in history writing which will be discussed in this section. The understanding of both Britain and the British Empire between the wars is paradoxical in that historians tend to demonstrate competing narratives: one of pessimism and the other of optimism. Such a contested tendency is well reflected in, for example, the book titles, *The Morbid Age* and *We Danced All Night*.<sup>74</sup> Within the relevant literature, British society was under the shadow of the war and seized with terror of the crisis of civilisation; at the same time, it was a modern and energetic place where 'bright young things' enjoyed hedonistic freedom. In terms of imperial history, the interwar period is a sort of "nomansland in the history of British decolonisation".<sup>75</sup> The period, however, is critical in that the age is a transition within both the domestic and imperial spheres, given the

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<sup>73</sup> Mathur, *India by Design*, 80–108.

<sup>74</sup> Richard Overby, *The Morbid Age: Britain Between the Wars* (London: Penguin, 2009); Martin Pugh, *We Danced All Night: A Social History of Britain Between the Wars* (London: Bodley Head, 2008).

<sup>75</sup> John Darwin, "Imperialism in Decline? Tendencies in British Imperial Policy Between the Wars," *The Historical Journal* 23, no. 3 (1980), 657–679.

emergence of the modern United Kingdom and Commonwealth.<sup>76</sup> During this time, there was an intensive reassessment of the imperial relationship. Notions of both British and imperial citizenship drew public attention,<sup>77</sup> and the concept of the ‘imperial family’ emphasised the complementary, if still hierarchical and uneven, relationship between Britain, the Dominions and the Colonies.

The 1920s and 1930s witnessed enthusiastic government and other organisational ‘propaganda’ after the First World War, prompting further developments in public relations.<sup>78</sup> The British Empire Exhibition at Wembley (1924/25) offers us a unique window onto the New Imperialism. The Wembley Exhibition was a trigger for active public relations between the wars, directly leading to other imperial propaganda activities and public relations projects, including the Empire Marketing Board (EMB), the General Post Office (GPO) Film Unit and the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) Overseas Service, each with the explicit approval of the state. Moreover, the Wembley Exhibition as a striking example of propagandistic success, encouraged later ‘official’ Empire Exhibitions.

The history of British art between the 1920s and 1930s is often focused on the emergence of the Modern movement; that is, English modernism. Art historians such as Charles Harrison, Frances Spalding and David Peters Corbett resist the hegemonic

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<sup>76</sup> Ronald Hyam, *Britain’s Declining Empire: The Road to Decolonisation, 1918–1968* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); Ritchie Ovendale, “The Empire–Commonwealth and the Two World Wars,” in *The Oxford History of the British Empire* 5, 354–365.

<sup>77</sup> Daniel Gorman, *Imperial Citizenship: Empire and the Question of Belonging* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006); Helen McCarthy, *The British People and the League of Nations: Democracy, Citizenship and Internationalism, c. 1918–45* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011).

<sup>78</sup> Scott Anthony, *Public Relations and the Making of Modern Britain: Stephen Tallents and the Birth of a Progressive Media Profession* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012); Philip M. Taylor, *The Projection of Britain: British Overseas Publicity and Propaganda 1919–1939* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981).



modernist lineage, and the polarisation of modernism and other practices, and suggest the heterogeneous traits of modernism and modernity in English art.<sup>79</sup> A recently edited volume on landscape and national identity, *The Geographies of Englishness* (2002), barely refers to the intersection of British art and empire, whereas the impact of the war on British art in the early twentieth century is marked.<sup>80</sup> One of its editors, Ysanne Holt, in her monograph, provided highly nuanced assessments of the significance of imperialism in modernity and English landscape paintings, and included the keyword ‘empire’ in her index.<sup>81</sup> Meanwhile, *Cultural Identities and the Aesthetics of Britishness* (2004) considers national, imperial and colonial aesthetic, and, in particular, Crinson’s contribution is an exceptional example because it examines architecture between the wars, focusing on national pavilions at international exhibitions.<sup>82</sup> More recently, there has been some research on British art of the interwar years, although these are mostly unpublished. The study of the engagement of the British government and artists with empire, for example, addresses the intervention of patronage and its imperial backdrop during this time.<sup>83</sup> In addition, *Transculturation in British Art, 1770–1930* (2012) demonstrates cross-cultural interactions between empire and diverse colonial

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<sup>79</sup> David Peters Corbett, *The Modernity of English Art, 1914–30* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997); Charles Harrison, *English Art and Modernism, 1900–1939* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994); Frances Spalding, *British Art Since 1900* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1986).

<sup>80</sup> David Peters Corbett, Ysanne Holt and Fiona Russell, eds., *The Geographies of Englishness: Landscape and the National Past, 1880–1940* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002).

<sup>81</sup> Ysanne Holt, *British Artists and the Modernist Landscape* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003).

<sup>82</sup> Mark Crinson, “Architecture and ‘National Projection’ Between the Wars,” in *Cultural Identities and the Aesthetics of Britishness*, ed. Dana Arnold (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), 182–199.

<sup>83</sup> Tim Buck, “Reconfiguring the Exotic and the Modern: A Study of Some British Artists’ Engagement with Empire in the 1920s” (PhD diss., University of East Anglia, 2011); Melanie Horton, “Propaganda, Pride and Prejudice: Revisiting the Empire Marketing Board Posters at Manchester City Galleries” (PhD diss., Manchester Metropolitan University, 2010).

locations by rejecting the classic model of core-periphery,<sup>84</sup> and attempts multi-layered interpretations of art by addressing various contexts of the concept ‘transculturation’;<sup>85</sup> however, case studies of art and visual culture during the interwar years are scant in this collection. The interwar period, by and large, is left out as a historical vacuum between the wars in postcolonial art history.

In the case of recent synoptic accounts such as *The History of British Art* series, in the second volume the narratives of British art by Tate Britain and the Yale Center for British Art follow a general tendency, that I have examined above, when looking at the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.<sup>86</sup> The third volume, focusing on the period from the late nineteenth century to the contemporary, provides nuanced narratives of imperial and postcolonial art with examples of immigrant artists and colonial traces in the visual arts. On the other hand, *A Companion to British Art, 1600 to the Present* (2013), the latest version of a general history of British art, only deals with international exhibitions in the imperial context.<sup>87</sup> Julie F. Codell’s article on exhibitions follows a synoptic narrative of the existing scholarship, starting from the

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<sup>84</sup> Codell, *Transculturation in British Art*.

<sup>85</sup> In particular, Mary Louise Pratt’s term, “the contact zone” has made comparably significant contributions to this kind of scholarship. Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992).

<sup>86</sup> David Bindman, ed., *The History of British Art, 1600–1870* (London: Tate, 2008); Chris Stephens, ed., *The History of British Art, 1870–Now* (London: Tate, 2008). Regarding the intersection of British art and empire in *The History of British Art* series, see an introductory article by Romita Ray and Angela Rosenthal and case studies by Geoff Quilley and Natasha Eaton in the second volume, and Robert Upstone’s small case study on British Empire Panels in the third volume. Meanwhile, the Yale Center for British Art houses the largest collection of British art outside the United Kingdom. Strikingly, in *Paul Mellon’s Legacy*, the catalogue of a commemorative exhibition of the founder, ‘empire’ is not to be found in the index, even if the exhibition covered a variety of genres and subjects for a long time span of British art history. John Baskett et al., *Paul Mellon’s Legacy: A Passion for British Art* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007).

<sup>87</sup> Dana Arnold and David Peters Corbett, eds., *Companion to British Art, 1600 to the Present* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013).

Great Exhibition and mentioning various examples chronologically in relation to industrialism, nationalism, imperialism and modernism.<sup>88</sup>

Studies of the world's fairs and expositions between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries have explored the political, economic, social and cultural roles of exhibitions. The Great Exhibition of 1851 has maintained its centrality in this kind of literature,<sup>89</sup> whereas *Ephemeral Vistas* (1988) and *An Empire on Display* (2001) examined a variety of great exhibitions during the age of exhibitions in the context of imperialism.<sup>90</sup> From the Great Exhibition – the world's first international exhibition onwards – international expositions promoted and popularised the meanings of empire and the sense of imagined community.<sup>91</sup> The Empire Exhibitions, however, have received relatively little attention. They have mostly become a footnote or a short passage in the *Historical Dictionary of World's Fairs and Expositions, 1851–1988*,<sup>92</sup> thereby going unnoticed. On the other hand, imperial exhibitions in the form of summaries or anecdotes of British imperial history lack an analytical approach or in-depth interpretation. Three 'official' Empire Exhibitions, including the British Empire Exhibitions of 1924 and 1925 in London (Wembley), the South African

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<sup>88</sup> Julie F. Codell, "International Exhibitions: Linking Culture, Commerce, and Nation," in *Companion to British Art*, 220–240.

<sup>89</sup> Jeffrey A. Auerbach, *The Great Exhibition of 1851: A Nation on Display* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999); Jeffrey A. Auerbach and Peter H. Hoffenberg, eds., *Britain, the Empire, and the World at the Great Exhibition of 1851* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008); Louise Purbrick, ed., *The Great Exhibition of 1851: New Interdisciplinary Essays* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001).

<sup>90</sup> Paul Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas: The Expositions Universelles, Great Exhibitions and World's Fairs, 1851–1939* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988); Peter H. Hoffenberg, *An Empire on Display: English, Indian and Australian Exhibitions from the Crystal Palace to the Great War* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001). As seen in the titles, Greenhalgh's study covers the years from 1851 to 1939 and Hoffenberg's account ends just before the First World War.

<sup>91</sup> Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 2006).

<sup>92</sup> John E. Findling, ed., *Historical Dictionary of World's Fairs and Expositions, 1851–1988* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1990), 235–238, 281–282, 291–292. The introduction to the Wembley and the Glasgow Empire Exhibitions were written by MacKenzie.

Empire Exhibition of 1936–37 in Johannesburg, and the Scottish Empire Exhibition of 1938 in Glasgow, were organised to represent imperial unity, rather than a national or continental competition. Existing synoptic narratives about great exhibitions peripherally deal with the Wembley and Glasgow Empire Exhibitions as striking examples of the propagandistic success of the later imperial era or as cases of international expositions in the early twentieth century.<sup>93</sup> Otherwise, they briefly touch upon the history of the Wembley Exhibition in the 1920s.<sup>94</sup>

When discussing imperial exhibitions, by contrast, the representative design historian Jonathan M. Woodham's 1989 article is particularly illuminating as he examines three cases of imperial exhibitions in the interwar period, though only focusing on the representation of Africans and issues of design.<sup>95</sup> Deborah Hughes's recent thesis is almost the only full-length study of the imperial exhibitions of the British Empire, which exceptionally investigates all cases of Empire Exhibitions including not only the official Exhibitions in London, Johannesburg and Glasgow, but also the All Jamaica and Empire Exhibition in Kingston (1934).<sup>96</sup> Hughes attempts to contextualise the Jamaican case, despite the fact it did not gain imperial sanction, in the discourse of anti-colonialism and the quest for national self-determination after the momentum of 1919, and attempts to restore the larger

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<sup>93</sup> Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas*; Hoffenberg, *An Empire on Display*; Robert W. Rydell, *World of Fairs: The Century-of-Progress Expositions* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993); Jonathan M. Woodham, "Design and Empire: British Design in the 1920s," *Art History* 3, no. 2 (1980): 229–240.

<sup>94</sup> Cathy Ross, *Twenties London: A City in the Jazz Age* (London: Philip Wilson Publishers, 2003); Kenneth Walthew, "The British Empire Exhibition of 1924," *History Today* 31, no. 8 (1981): 34–40.

<sup>95</sup> Jonathan M. Woodham, "Images of Africa and Design at the British Empire Exhibitions Between the Wars," *Journal of Design History* 2, no. 1 (1989): 15–33.

<sup>96</sup> Deborah Hughes, "Contesting Whiteness: Race, Nationalism and British Empire Exhibitions Between the Wars" (PhD diss., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 2008).

imperial context by thoroughly analysing the imperial events at the organisational level.

Even though the British Empire Exhibitions in 1924 and 1925 have been undervalued in mainstream academic discourses, a large number of exhibition materials, including catalogues, guidebooks, ephemera, photographs and souvenirs, have survived and are stored in the Brent archives in North London. *The Lion Roars at Wembley* was also published to commemorate the exhibition's sixtieth anniversary in 1984.<sup>97</sup> This volume, although it provides detailed information, is not an authorised history by professional historians but similar to a memoir. Such an account, which adopts an overly descriptive or anecdotal approach, can also be found in the case of Glasgow.<sup>98</sup> The Glasgow Exhibition, by contrast, has been scarcely examined, in spite of the fact that Glasgow, as the second city of the empire, hosted an imperial exhibition at home during the interwar period. Perilla and Juliet Kinchins' volume is the only book that concentrates on the great exhibitions held in Glasgow, and the Empire Exhibition of 1938 is presented in the typical descriptive style.<sup>99</sup>

Although still quite a small number, most studies on Empire Exhibitions have been principally conducted by historians, and focus on imperial race relations and the dynamics of race and nationalism, dealing with political and social issues and leaving blank the question of aesthetics. Such a tendency is found in all studies of Empire Exhibitions.<sup>100</sup> A few of the works cited here also address the question of

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<sup>97</sup> Donald R. Knight and Alan D. Sabey, *The Lion Roars at Wembley: British Empire Exhibition 60th Anniversary 1924–1925* (New Barnet: D.R. Knight, 1984).

<sup>98</sup> Bob Crampsey, *The Empire Exhibition of 1938: The Last Durbar* (Edinburgh: Mainstream, 1988).

<sup>99</sup> Perilla Kinchin and Juliet Kinchin, *Glasgow's Great Exhibitions: 1888, 1901, 1911, 1938, 1988* (Wendlebury: White Cockade, 1988).

<sup>100</sup> For the Wembley Exhibition, see David Simonelli, "[L]aughing nations of happy children who have never grown up': Race, the Concept of Commonwealth and the 1924–25 British Empire Exhibition," *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History* 10, no. 1 (2009): 23–46; Daniel Stephen,

gender;<sup>101</sup> especially Anne Clendinning's article regards the Wembley Exhibition as a venue for international feminist gatherings and documents women's intervention and participation in the Empire Exhibition of 1924.<sup>102</sup>

By contrast, the art sections of these exhibitions have been relatively marginalised, whereas the studies of the world's fairs and expositions are abundant and their powerful ideological functions have been seen as a critical issue. The existing scholarship tends to focus on the architectural characteristics of exhibition halls and to provide critical reviews on refracted images of the colonised and the slippage between colonial exhibits and reality. In particular, Timothy Mitchell's work is a representative analysis of the "world-as-exhibition".<sup>103</sup> The Palaces of Arts at great exhibitions have been understudied, even though they functioned to educate the public about the history of art, and even though printed materials at the exhibition produced and reproduced a particular narrative of public art history. Paul Greenhalgh's synoptic study of the fine arts in the exposition grounds is a pioneering

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*The Empire of Progress: West Africans, Indians, and Britons at the British Empire Exhibition, 1924–25* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013). For the Johannesburg Exhibition, see Dipti Bhagat, "The Poetics of Belonging: Exhibitions and the Performance of White South African Identity, 1886–1936" (PhD diss., University of London, 2002); Cati Coe, "Histories of Empire, Nation and City: Four Interpretations of the Empire Exhibition, Johannesburg, 1936," *Folklore Forum* 32, no. 1 (2001): 3–30; Robert J. Gordon, "'Bain's Bushmen': Scenes at the Empire Exhibition, 1936," in *Africans on Stage: Studies in Ethnological Show Business*, ed. Bernth Lindfors (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999), 266–289; Jennifer Robinson, "Johannesburg's 1936 Empire Exhibition: Interaction, Segregation and Modernity in a South African City," *Journal of Southern African Studies* 29, no. 3 (2003): 759–789; "(Post)colonial Geographies at Johannesburg Empire Exhibition, 1936," in *Postcolonial Geographies*, eds. Alison Blunt and Cheryl McEwan (New York: Continuum, 2002), 115–131. For the Glasgow Exhibition, Colin McArthur, "The Dialectic of National Identity: The Glasgow Empire Exhibition of 1938," in *Popular Culture and Social Relations*, eds. Tony Bennett, Colin Mercer and Janet Woollacott (Milton Keynes: Open University Press, 1986), 117–134.

<sup>101</sup> For a synoptic narrative, see Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas*, chapter 7 "Women: Exhibited and Exhibiting".

<sup>102</sup> Anne Clendinning, "International Peace Activism at the 1924 British Empire Exhibition," in *Gendering the Fair: Histories of Women and Gender at World's Fairs*, eds. T.J. Boisseau and Abigail M. Markwyn (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2010), 113–130.

<sup>103</sup> Timothy Mitchell, "Orientalism and the Exhibitionary Order," in *Colonialism and Culture*, ed. Nicholas B. Dirks (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992), 289–317.

attempt to investigate aesthetic issues of great exhibitions despite being rather descriptive.<sup>104</sup> Moreover, the recent research project *Displaying Victorian Sculpture* provides an invaluable analysis of the fine arts, specifically, Victorian sculptures but in the context of the Victorian international exhibitions.<sup>105</sup> A new study on stained glass in the context of the international exhibitions has been added.<sup>106</sup> It is noteworthy that the Sydenham Crystal Palace has recently appeared in the ever-expanding scholarship of exhibition studies. Unlike the 1851 Palace in Hyde Park, the Sydenham Crystal Palace was intended to be a permanent structure. Both Kate Nichols's monograph and the 2017 essay collection, *After 1851*, have returned understudied art exhibitions displayed at Sydenham to the discourses of British art history as well as interdisciplinary exhibition studies.<sup>107</sup>

The selection processes of artworks and their display methodologies at the Empire Exhibitions reveal the distinction between the core, semi-periphery and periphery in terms of art. The Palace of Arts at the Empire Exhibitions received only a summary treatment in Tom August's case study on the Wembley Exhibition,<sup>108</sup> though this provides a useful starting point. Christine Boyanoski's art historical research expands the scope of study on the art sections at the imperial exhibitions by investigating various imperial exhibitions during the interwar period, particularly the

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<sup>104</sup> Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas*, chapter 8 "The Fine Arts."

<sup>105</sup> This three-year project resulted in the exhibition *Sculpture Victorious* at the Yale Center for British Art (2014) and Tate Britain (2015), which was accompanied by publication of its catalogue. Martina Droth, Jason Edwards and Michael Hatt, eds., *Sculpture Victorious: Art in an Age of Invention, 1837–1901* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014).

<sup>106</sup> Jasmine Allen, *Windows for the World: Nineteenth-Century Stained Glass and the International Exhibitions, 1851–1900* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2018).

<sup>107</sup> Kate Nichols, *Greece and Rome at the Crystal Palace: Classical Sculpture and Modern Britain, 1854–1936* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015); Kate Nichols and Sarah Victoria Turner, eds., *After 1851: The Material and Visual Cultures of the Crystal Palace at Sydenham* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017).

<sup>108</sup> Tom August, "Art and Empire: Wembley, 1924," *History Today* 43, no. 10 (1992): 38–44.

Wembley and Johannesburg Empire Exhibitions.<sup>109</sup> Boyanoski attempts a comparative study that examines the interrelationship between modernism, colonial nationalism and the national school of art in the white settler colonies, that is, the Dominions including Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa, concentrating on modernist paintings displayed in the Empire Exhibitions held in London and Johannesburg. Her tracing of the formation process of so-called dominion art in the colonial context aims to go beyond traditional national (art) histories of the Dominions, which have overlooked the imperial framework. In this sense, it seems to follow Mitter's case study on India (colony) in *Art and Nationalism in Colonial India, 1850–1922* (1994) and *The Triumph of Modernism* (2007).<sup>110</sup> Mitter's works illustrate the tension between Indian art traditions and European modernism and the mutual interaction between India and Europe during the colonial age, while Boyanoski's study demonstrates the role of modernism in the formation of the Dominions' national art, the negotiation between the white settler colonies and metropole, and the differences and slippages between various dominions in terms of modernism.

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<sup>109</sup> Christine Boyanoski, "Decolonising Visual Culture: Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa and the Imperial Exhibitions, 1919–1939" (PhD diss., University of London, 2002).

<sup>110</sup> Partha Mitter, *Art and Nationalism in Colonial India, 1850–1922* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); *The Triumph of Modernism: India's Artists and the Avant-garde, 1922–47* (London: Reaktion, 2007). In the prologue of *The Triumph of Modernism*, Mitter states that his identity as native Indian played a critical role in the long-standing intellectual journey to trace Indian modernism. In the case of Boyanoski, her cultural origin also seems to be crucial to her understanding of dominion art in the British imperial context and writing pre-national art history.



## **Heart of Whiteness**

This thesis, “Visualising and Experiencing the British Imperial World: The British Empire Exhibition at Wembley (1924/25)”, explores the British Empire Exhibition, the first example of intra-empire exhibitions during the interwar period; this is a previously ignored, but highly important, exhibition in the fields of British art history, imperial history and interdisciplinary international exhibition studies. The exhibition encapsulated postwar anxieties as well as imperial pride, and inspired numerous, under-researched interwar propaganda activities, involving the visual arts. I will return a wide range of marginalised objects, including maps, infographics, games, models, and even a dolls’ house, to the discourses of British material and visual culture, and trace the construction of British art history and popular art canons in the context of early-twentieth-century imperialism.

With the development of postcolonial studies and subaltern studies, there have been art historical attempts to rediscover or restore forgotten stories and muted voices; this kind of scholarship tends to focus on colonies. For instance, scholars have investigated colonial styles of buildings and the representation of Africans and Asians in the imperial exhibitionary complex or examined colonial modernities and heterogeneous modernisms. Such a strategy of intervention into the mainstream, however, can fail to bring the imperial metropolis back into the new narrative of postcolonial art history. In recent years, the British Empire’s history ‘at home’ has been a highly controversial topic. After the imperial turn, the diverse ways in which imperialism influenced the ‘domestic’ history of modern Britain have been raised, and such perspectives are categorised into three groups: the minimalists, the maximalists and the elusivists. According to Andrew S. Thompson, the minimalists underestimate the influence of the British Empire on metropolitan society, whereas

the maximalists regard the empire as a fundamental factor in British history.<sup>111</sup> On the other hand, the elusivists are more concerned with the (hidden) history of imperial Britain. Developing the third way, in line with Thompson and the contributors to *At Home with the Empire* (2006), I have direct and indirect forms of ‘imperial impact’ in mind, whose significance and influence continue into the present, encouraging us to be suspicious of the ‘cultures of disappearance’ that have emerged in the postcolonial context.<sup>112</sup>

Accordingly, I aim to enter into the ‘heart of whiteness’ by analysing the British Empire Exhibition, and, in particular, focusing on the British art exhibits of the art sections. Art history contextualises, de-contextualises and re-contextualises materials considered to be ‘art’ within historical time. Both national art history and the nation-state are modern products, and national art history has been the field of aesthetic nationalism. The imperial exhibition was a locus of collective identity formation and its art exhibitions constructed narratives of public art history. Significantly, a national orientation of art history emerged in European nations during the age of Empire Exhibitions.<sup>113</sup>

Chapter 1 examines the interrelationship between imperial knowledge and imagined (imperial) community. By rereading supplementary publications, I construe how a bird’s eye view and imperial abstract minds, incorporated in the public materials, developed an informed audience of imperial-minded individuals and groups, especially children. In this chapter, I also suggest a new approach to connect an urban core and its suburbs through imperial urban networks, moving beyond existing

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<sup>111</sup> Andrew S. Thompson, *The Empire Strikes Back?: The Impact of Imperialism on Britain from the Mid-Nineteenth Century* (Harlow: Longman, 2005).

<sup>112</sup> Catherine Hall and Sonya O. Rose, eds., *At Home with the Empire: Metropolitan Culture and the Imperial World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

<sup>113</sup> Rampley, *Art History and Visual Studies in Europe*.

scholarship on dominant economic, political, cultural and ceremonial locations in the heart of the city. The ideas of suburban imperialism and circulation expanded the physical experience of the miniaturised empire at the Exhibition to a large number of homes, extending imperial citizenship from the public to the domestic.

Chapters 2 and 3 focus on the Palace of Arts of the Exhibition, which opens up a constellation of issues. A new consideration, in this thesis, of the Palace of Arts at the British Empire Exhibition provides a close analysis of the public art displays at Wembley. These usefully challenge the conventional division between modernist and non-modernist, and the tension between art and craft/design within an imperial, and not just a perhaps more acceptable international, framework.<sup>114</sup> Through an examination of the overlap of personnel and the shaping processes of British identity in the visual arts, I trace networks of not only members of the Arts Council and Committees of the Exhibition, but also little-known but influential arts organisations established in the interwar years.

The Palace of Arts at Wembley, in particular, emphasised the characteristics of ‘hybridity’ and ‘diversity’, reflecting the sense of ‘unity’ in postwar Britain. The Director, Lawrence Weaver, noted that it was the first time that artworks were

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<sup>114</sup> The dominant view of modern movements in twentieth-century Britain has been largely defined by Barbara Hepworth and Henry Moore as the internationalist, as seen in the special issue of *British Art Studies*. Penelope Curtis and Martina Droth, “British Sculpture Abroad: An Introduction,” *British Art Studies* 3, accessed September 31, 2016, <https://doi.org/10.17658/issn.2058-5462/issue-03/intro>. Particularly see Henry Meyric Hughes, “The Promotion and Reception of British Sculpture Abroad, 1948–1960: Herbert Read, Henry Moore, Barbara Hepworth, and the ‘Young British Sculptors’,” *British Art Studies* 3, accessed September 31, 2016, <https://doi.org/10.17658/issn.2058-5462/issue-03/hmhughes>. For more on Hepworth, see Sophie Bowness, *Barbara Hepworth: The Sculptor in the Studio* (London: Tate, 2017); Penelope Curtis and Chris Stephens, eds., *Barbara Hepworth: Sculpture for a Modern World* (London: Tate, 2015); Chris Stephens, ed., *Barbara Hepworth: Centenary* (London: Tate, 2003). For Moore, see David Mitchinson, *Celebrating Moore: Works from the Collection of The Henry Moore Foundation* (London: Lund Humphries, 1998); Chris Stephens, *Henry Moore* (London: Tate, 2010).

displayed under one roof, not only from the United Kingdom but from the Dominions as well. In addition to its broad geo-imperial range, the art sections also included a wide range of genres and materials. Significantly, the Applied Arts section encapsulated the character of design reform – the collaborative efforts to link between art, industry, commerce and the public. The British advertising art exhibition at Wembley demonstrates such a tendency. By adding a new kind of evidence for British modern poster design, I seek to complement the existing scholarship on London Underground posters and the Empire Marketing Board posters.

Chapter 3, in particular, underlines the importance of the Queen's Dolls' House, designed by Edwin Lutyens, unveiled to the public in the Palace of Arts at Wembley, and now held in the Royal Collection. The House epitomises the characteristics of Britain as a nation and an empire through its English exterior and British world objects within. Even though the dolls' house has not been seriously considered to be an art historical subject, I aim to bring it back into British art history by analysing the artworks inside the Dolls' House. The micro artworks can be divided into three categories – interior decoration, the hung collection and the Library cabinet collection – which reveal the hybridity of genres and materials, and the tendency to embrace everything from Victorian painters, through the English Impressionists to the Surrealists.

# I

## Mapping and Journeying

The first section of Chapter 1 examines the interrelationship between imperial knowledge and imagined (imperial) community by analysing a variety of publications related to the Exhibition. Not only *The British Empire Exhibition Official Guides* but also supplementary publications, such as *The British Empire: A Survey* series and *The Weekly Bulletin of Empire Study*, were published under the supervision of the Exhibition organisers. *The British Empire: A Survey* series and *The Weekly Bulletin of Empire Study*, in particular, have not been seriously considered in previous studies of the British Empire Exhibition. Existing studies have simply exploited and extracted facts related to the exhibition, treating these publications as reliable sources to support their writing of history. This study, however, makes use of such supplementary publications in terms of public education and the construction of imagined imperial community. By rereading publications aimed at the ordinary reader, I construe how *a bird's eye view* and *imperial abstract minds*, as incorporated in these public materials, developed learned and imperial-minded members of a society, particularly children, and how imperial knowledge was visualised through maps and infographics both on and off the exhibition grounds.

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On 23 April 1924 (St George's Day), the British Empire Exhibition opened with the King's speech, radiobroadcast for the first time. Even though the suggestion of a great exhibition on imperial themes had first appeared in 1913, the First World War defeated the original plan proposed by a private initiative.<sup>1</sup> Following the end of the war, the idea of an imperial exhibition was revived, and the Administration Committee in charge received official recognition from the government through the Board of Trade in 1919. Instead of the Crystal Palace,<sup>2</sup> which had been closed during the war and was in decline, Wembley Park was chosen as an exhibition site because of the need for large areas of land (216 acres). Wembley, then an undeveloped area in northwest London, was an adjacent expanding suburb, though connected by two railway lines to the central area of the city. The Exhibition was visited by 17.5 million people. After six months, it was decided to prolong the Exhibition and it reopened at Wembley on 9 May 1925.

The British Empire Exhibition was a striking example that explicitly mentioned the word 'Empire' in its title unlike its predecessor exhibitions in the late nineteenth century, including the Colonial and Indian Exhibition of 1886. According to *The British Empire Exhibition 1924 Official Guide*, the fundamental purpose of the Exhibition was "to stimulate trade, to strengthen the bonds that bind the Mother Country to her Sister States and Daughter Nations, to bring all into closer touch the one with the other, to enable all who owe allegiance to the British flag to meet on

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<sup>1</sup> The 1913 plan was suggested by a private impresario at the White City, Imare Kiralfy, who organised the Festival of Empire in 1911, and politicians such as Alfred Milner and Lord Sraithcon. For the construction process of the British Empire Exhibition and its relations to popular imperial societies, see Ross, *Twenties London*, 72–78; Stephen, *The Empire of Progress*. See particularly chapter 1 "Developing the Family Estate".

<sup>2</sup> Before the First World War, in 1911, the Crystal Palace staged the Festival of Empire and Imperial Exhibition. For more, see Deborah S. Ryan, "Staging the Imperial City: Pageant of London, 1911," in *Imperial Cities: Landscape, Display and Identity*, eds. Felix Driver and David Gilbert (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), 117–135.

common ground, and to learn to know each other”.<sup>3</sup> The languages of imperial family reveal the hierarchy and ideology of the project, the idea of the complementary economics of Empire, and Britain’s attitude towards the new postwar world.

## **1. Imperial Knowledge and Imagined (Imperial) Community**

### **Public Education**

The British Empire Exhibition aimed to instil a sense of stability in the economic and political environment and a sense of recovery after the First World War. To educate British citizens about the Empire was a primary task, since an imperial-minded public, particularly the younger generations, was necessary to keep the British Empire alive not only as a bulwark of domestic stability and prosperity but also to protect Britain’s dominant position in world markets. Accordingly, the history and geography of the Empire based on ‘scientific’ research and imperial archives became the main subjects of educational activities, playing a pivotal role in addressing the lack of British public knowledge about the Empire.

*The British Empire: A Survey*, a series published by Collins in 1924, epitomised the great interest in education of the exhibition organisers, and furthered a particular tendency of popularising imperial knowledge and disseminating more scientific information in the interwar years. This series of twelve volumes was designed as a supplement to the British Empire Exhibition, following the request of the exhibition management for intellectual advice from the Imperial Studies Committee of the

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<sup>3</sup> *The British Empire Exhibition 1924 Official Guide* (London: Fleetway, 1924), 13.

Royal Colonial Institute.<sup>4</sup> The Institute, a voluntary society founded in 1868, was enthusiastic about education, especially improving the younger generation's knowledge of the empire. The society's Imperial Studies Committee organised a variety of activities like essay competitions and illustrated lectures on the empire, published bibliographies and syllabi for students and teachers, and issued a series of monographs, along with a monthly journal entitled *United Empire*. The society cooperated with the Universities Bureau of the British Empire and had close connections with the historical and geographical associations. It explicitly recognised the importance of teaching imperial history and geography, which ran parallel with the growing role of imperial history in the formal curricula of the English educational system from the 1880s on.<sup>5</sup>

Imperial history as a discipline at the university level emerged with the establishment of professorships of colonial or imperial history at Oxford, London and Cambridge between 1905 and the 1930s.<sup>6</sup> *The British Empire: A Survey* both reflected and

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<sup>4</sup> The Colonial Society, founded in 1868, became the Colonial Institute under Royal Charter in 1882; it aimed at promoting colonial affairs. The Royal Colonial Institute became the Royal Empire Society in 1928 and was succeeded by the Royal Commonwealth Society (RCS) in 1958. The archive and library collections of the RCS, by then in financial trouble, moved to Cambridge University Library in 1993. "Our History," The Royal Commonwealth Society, accessed February 22, 2016, <https://www.thercs.org/about-us/our-history>. In 1968, the Society commissioned a detailed, book-length history of its founding and evolution to commemorate its centenary: Trevor R. Reese, *The History of the Royal Commonwealth Society 1868–1968* (London: Oxford University Press, 1968).

<sup>5</sup> John M. MacKenzie, "Imperialism and the School Textbook," in *Propaganda and Empire: The Manipulation of British Public Opinion, 1880–1960* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984); J.A. Mangan, ed., *Benefits Bestowed?: Education and British Imperialism* (London: Routledge, 1988), particularly its chapters on history teaching in Britain: Richard Aldrich, "Imperialism in the Study and Teaching of History" (pp. 23–38) and Pamela Horn, "English Elementary Education and the Growth of the Imperial Ideal: 1880–1914" (pp. 39–55). Recently, the issue of history writing and teaching has attracted more academic interest: Joanna de Groot, *Empire and History Writing in Britain, c. 1750–2012* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016); Peter Yeandle, *Citizenship, Nation, Empire: The Politics of History Teaching in England, 1870–1930* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015).

<sup>6</sup> The Beit Chair of Colonial History at Oxford was founded in 1905 and the Rhodes Chair of Imperial History at King's College London in 1919. For the development of imperial historical scholarship, see



constructed the rising practice of imperial history and a newly professional academic pursuit after the First World War. The major figures in this project – the general editor and advisory committee members – represent the interrelationship not only between the Royal Colonial Institute and other organisations in the interwar years, but also between Britain and its white settler colonies. The career of General Editor, Hugh Gunn, for example, instances geographical and imperial connections in a particularly vivid way.<sup>7</sup> He was Director of Education and served on the Legislative Council of the Orange River Colony.<sup>8</sup> He was also engaged in settler universities such as Grey University College in South Africa and the University of Western Australia. For the series, Gunn wrote his own accounts in addition to taking the position of editor.<sup>9</sup> The chairman of the committee, Charles Prestwood Lucas, who served as the Head of the Dominions Department in the Colonial Office, was a leading player in the development of imperial historical scholarship.<sup>10</sup> He contributed to the foundation of the Imperial Studies Committee of the Royal Colonial Institute and to the establishment of the Rhodes Chair of Imperial History at King's College London,<sup>11</sup> as well as participating in public education at the Working

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Amanda Behm, "Imperial History in Britain, 1880–1940: Pasts, Politics and the Making of a Field" (PhD diss., Yale University, 2012).

<sup>7</sup> Hugh Gunn's career can be understood in the context of diaspora intellectuals and imperial university system. For academic networks within the British Empire, see Tamson Pietsch, *Empire of Scholars: Universities, Networks and the British Academic World, 1850–1939* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013).

<sup>8</sup> The Orange River Colony (1902–1910) was absorbed into the Union of South Africa as the Orange Free State Province.

<sup>9</sup> He wrote two volumes in this series: *VIII. Makers of the Empire* and *IX. The Native Races of the Empire*.

<sup>10</sup> Lucas emphasised that education was the essence of the Royal Colonial Institute, as opposed to a new tendency for it to develop social amenities and activities. Reese, *The History of the Royal Commonwealth Society*, 142–143.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 138.

Men's College.<sup>12</sup> He had experiences in writing imperial history such as *An Historical Geography of the British Colonies* (1908) and *History of Canada* (1909); he also edited a six-volume history of imperial cooperation during the First World War.<sup>13</sup> The committee members, moreover, included a former prime minister of Newfoundland, the former Colonial Secretary and Acting Lieutenant Governor of the Orange River Colony, the former Secretary of the Rhodes Trust, and the Rhodes Professor of Imperial History at the University of London. This combination of civil servants and academics reveals the characteristic of the interwar period: bureaucratisation, rationalisation and professional organisation.

As the study of imperialism in the publishing industry has demonstrated, a print culture ranging from newspapers and magazines to travel guides, school textbooks, stories of historical heroes, popular novels, and juvenile literature all served as agents to internalise an imperial mind-set.<sup>14</sup> By the time the Wembley Exhibition opened, John Robert Seeley's *The Expansion of England* (1883) was still a bestseller, and during the interwar period in particular, its sales increased.<sup>15</sup> Seeley's book was based on two series of lectures he gave during the 1881–82 academic year at Cambridge, where he was the Regius Professor of Modern History. Likewise, *The Empire and the Future* (1916) originated from the 1915 lectures of the same title, organised by the Imperial Studies Committee of the University of London and the

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<sup>12</sup> John Fletcher Clews, *A History of the Working Men's College, 1854–1954* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1954).

<sup>13</sup> Charles P. Lucas, ed., *The War and the Empire: Some Facts and Deductions* (London: Oxford University Press, 1919).

<sup>14</sup> Chandrika Kaul, ed., *Media and the British Empire* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013); MacKenzie, *Imperialism and Popular Culture; Propaganda and Empire*.

<sup>15</sup> Berny Sèbe, "Exhibiting the Empire in Print: The Press, the Publishing World and the Promotion of 'Greater Britain'," in *Exhibiting the Empire: Cultures of Display and the British Empire*, eds. John McAleer and John M. Mackenzie (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015), 160–193. For print runs of *The Expansion of England* between 1883 and 1931, see 178.

Royal Colonial Institute.<sup>16</sup> In his prefatory note, Arthur Percival Newton stated that this course of lectures aimed at the “enlightenment of public opinion on imperial problems”.<sup>17</sup> In this respect, *The Expansion of England* and *The Empire and the Future*, works of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, share both a subject and a process of creation (from public lectures to publications).

The series called *The British Empire: A Survey*, however, was almost the first attempt to examine the wide variety of imperial activities and grand projects as a whole over a long time span, providing “the ordinary reader with a bird’s eye view”.<sup>18</sup> Each volume is self-contained and deals with a particular issue: *The Dominions and Dependencies of the Empire*, *The Story of the Empire*, *The Constitution, Administration and Laws of the Empire*, *The Resources of the Empire and Their Development*, *Health Problems of the Empire*, *The Press and Communications of the Empire*, *Makers of the Empire*, *The Native Races of the Empire*, *The Universities and Educational Systems of the Empire*, *Migration within the Empire*, and *The Literature and Art of the Empire*.

Readers see a map of the British Empire (Figure 1.1) on the inside covers, just after opening each volume in the series. On this map, the British Isles are located in the centre and British Empire territories are coloured red. More specifically, the British Isles are printed slightly to the left rather than in the actual centre of the two pages; a natural choice for preventing the red heart of the empire from being folded because

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<sup>16</sup> *The Empire and the Future* (London: Macmillan & Co., 1916). The contents included “Introduction”, “The Universities and the War”, “Empire and Democracy”, “The People and the Duties of Empire”, “Imperial Administration”, “Commonwealth and Empire” and “The Duty of the Empire to the World”.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, v. Newton was a lecturer of colonial history at King’s College London at the time and later became the Rhodes Professor of Imperial History (1920–38). He was a member of the advisory committee for *The British Empire: A Survey* series.

<sup>18</sup> Hugh Gunn, ed., *The British Empire: A Survey 11* (London: W. Collins Sons & Co. Ltd., 1924), iv.

of the limitation of printing techniques. Considering Anglophone reading habits, it is understandable that the Isles are on the left rather than the right side of the fold. The imperial hierarchy, in the map, was divided into three geopolitical categories by using different marks (plain and oblique lines): “British Territories and Protectorates”, “Regions under British mandate” and “Regions in which British influence is predominant”. This visual classification enables readers to view all the imperial territories and to immediately grasp the imperial hierarchy.

Imperial spaces are filled in red planes and lines; areas outside of the empire are in white. The filled space visually boosts a sense of belonging with the intense colour, which is the basis of imperial identity of the public, that is, the imagined imperial community.<sup>19</sup> On the other hand, the empty space in white suggests *terra nullius* (nobody’s land) and creates *horror vacui* (fear of empty space), thereby encouraging the filling in of the entire surface; the white space arouses a desire to colour the map with imperial red. The empty space can be regarded as a possibility for exploration and adventure; Jen Hill has underlined the importance of the Arctic as a pure, empty and literally white space in the construction of heroic British masculinity and imperial expansion.<sup>20</sup> Both whiteness and emptiness were motivations for imperial discovery beyond the borders of a small island, and these imperial projects were accompanied by a sense of the superiority of white skin and the myth of the “white man’s burden”. The colour combination of red and white also recalls the cross of St George, the flag of England, and the fact that the British Empire Exhibition opened on the St George’s Day.<sup>21</sup> England is now (and was then) a part of the United

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<sup>19</sup> Anderson, *Imagined Communities*.

<sup>20</sup> Jen Hill, *White Horizon: The Arctic in the Nineteenth-Century British Imagination* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2008).

<sup>21</sup> In addition, it recalls the Wars of the Roses between the Houses of York (white rose) and Lancaster (red rose).

Kingdom, but it has long been considered as the UK's administrative and political centre. England *within* Great Britain *within* the British Empire represents on this map the entire world in terms of redness and whiteness.<sup>22</sup> Three-dimensional space is transformed into two dimensions on the map,<sup>23</sup> and the physical and the material into the abstract. Furthermore, the underknown is replaced as the visible, the recognisable, and finally the knowable. British imperial space is constructed imaginatively as readers scan the map on the very first page of this extensive imperial history. The process is designed to arouse a feeling of possession.

### **A Bird's Eye View**

By employing the term "a bird's eye view" in his introduction, the General Editor, Gunn, authorised not just the quality of the series but the superiority of British imperial projects. The bird's eye view, in this context, symbolised the comprehensiveness of the series as representative imperial studies. Every single volume of *The British Empire: A Survey* series starts with a bird's eye view of British imperial territories on the world map. The structure and setting make readers constantly *zoom out and in* while they turn the following pages, moving from a distant view (the map of the British Empire) to detailed information on each subject.<sup>24</sup> Through the reading process, readers can accumulate imperial knowledge

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<sup>22</sup> A discussion of an empire within the world and the empire as the world follows in the last part of this section.

<sup>23</sup> In fact, the map of *The British Empire: A Survey* series represents two and one half dimensions; it does not correspond to the Mercator projection, whose linear scale is equal in all directions around any point.

<sup>24</sup> This kind of vision in motion reminds twenty-first-century readers of Google Earth, a virtual geospatial information programme. Google Earth displays a variety of geographical images, including satellite imagery, maps, terrain, and 3D buildings. Despite its name, it is not even limited to the earth. Google Earth enables users to navigate from canyons and the ocean to the moon, Mars and even other

on a wide range of themes, becoming desirable, learned subjects of the empire. Reading functions to visualise written texts imaginatively and thereby transform the two-dimensional paper world into the three-dimensional space of the actual Empire in the reader's mind. Reading is a bodily activity using visual and kinaesthetic senses in that the practice of reading printed pages accompanies the sequence of turning those pages with the fingers. Readers of the series, while reading and turning the pages, experience bodily processes that reverse the transformation from three dimensions (the physical world) into two dimensions (maps) and from the material world into the abstract world that mapmaking technologies have created. Abstract information thus becomes humanised through physical contact.

Along with this supplementary series, the Inter-Departmental Educational Subcommittee for the British Empire Exhibition published *The Weekly Bulletin of Empire Study* as part of the government's participation in the Exhibition.<sup>25</sup> *The British Empire: A Survey* series was targeted at the ordinary adult reader, whereas *The Weekly Bulletin of Empire Study* was more concerned with the young people who would become a future generation of the Empire. It was a book reissued for the use of teachers and advanced students, appealing to children between the ages of eleven and sixteen (of which there were some two million). *The Weekly Bulletin* had the purpose of creating a favourable atmosphere about the British Empire Exhibition in English schools. As a medium of publicity, *The Weekly Bulletin* intended to bring two out of every three children in England to Wembley. This goal was financially

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galaxies in outer space, thereby producing a new type of armchair astronauts. Google Earth, accessed August 26, 2016, <https://www.google.com/earth>.

<sup>25</sup> *The Weekly Bulletin* circulated 125,000 copies per week in July 1924. Of these, schools in England, Scotland, North Ireland and Wales took 124,000 copies, with the remaining 1,000 being orders from overseas, including all the dominions and colonies. A total of 24 numbers of *The Weekly Bulletin* were issued.

supported by the Board of Education in the form of grants to cover the transportation expenses of pupils visiting the exhibition. The importance of education can be found in the first page of *The Weekly Bulletin* in which a message from the President of the Board of Education appeared.<sup>26</sup> The Examining Board, furthermore, encouraged introducing the History and Geography of the British Empire as alternatives to English History in school certificate examinations. The universities of Oxford, Cambridge, Manchester, Liverpool, Leeds, Sheffield, Birmingham, Bristol and London participated in this scheme by setting alternative questions on the history and geography of the British Empire in matriculation examinations or by introducing a syllabus with special reference to colonial and imperial history. Such changes were faithfully reported in *The Bulletin*.

*The Weekly Bulletin* provided both students and teachers with an introductory survey of the history and geography of the British Empire.<sup>27</sup> The articles' writers came from both within and outside the government. The subcommittee encouraged students to be knowledgeable about the empire by proposing a well-rounded curriculum: "The Extent of the Empire", "The World Position of the Empire", "The Size and Population of the Empire", "The Surface Features of the Empire", "The Climate of the Empire", "The Flora and Fauna of the Empire" and "The Peoples of the Empire". The contents of *The Bulletin* covered a wide range of imperial subjects: the history of the world's ancient empires, the legacy of Rome, the chronological history of England, the growth of the British Empire, the history of British shipbuilding,

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<sup>26</sup> Inter-Departmental Committee for Government Participation in the British Empire Exhibition, Educational Subcommittee, *The Weekly Bulletin of Empire Study*, no. 1 (1 January 1924), 1.

<sup>27</sup> *The Bulletin* offered lesson notes for teachers and review questions for students, divided into two levels: junior and senior. In addition, the Royal Colonial Institute held an essay competition for teachers engaged in any school within the British Empire. The subject was "How best can Empire Teaching be promoted in the schools without the inclusion of additional subjects in the curriculum?"

geographical information on the overseas territories of the Empire, Empire supplies, traveller's tales, and poems such as Rudyard Kipling's "The White Man's Burden" (1899) and Alfred Tennyson's "Ulysses" (1833). Children were expected to "feel their membership of this great brotherhood as a solemn trust" while acquiring imperial knowledge.<sup>28</sup>

The comprehensiveness of subjects and the spatial and temporal coverage of *The Weekly Bulletin* resonates with the bird's eye view, referred to in Gunn's introduction to *The British Empire: A Survey* series. Significantly, *The British Empire Exhibition: Bird's Eye View* (Figure 1.2), drawn especially for *The Bulletin* by Major Wells Bladen, epitomises the principle of visualising the imperial world.<sup>29</sup> Using the bird's eye view gives the observer a viewpoint from above that permits an easy grasp of the whole and even a sense of possession and ownership of what is observed, which generates an imbalance of power and knowledge. In terms of the gaze of a superior, a bird's eye view is almost an "all-seeing" model that can be compared with Michel Foucault's analysis of the "panopticon" model.<sup>30</sup> The relationship between spectacle and power/knowledge, in the context of the British Empire Exhibition, the intersection of a great exhibition and imperial studies, suggests the concept of the exhibitionary complex.

Foucault raised the issue of vision and power and the question of surveillance, drawing heavily and thoughtfully on Jeremy Bentham's idea of the panopticon. In this model, a central observation point and a dominating, overseeing gaze are crucial. Panopticism has exerted an enormous influence on studies of visual modernity,

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<sup>28</sup> *The Weekly Bulletin*, no. 1 (1 January 1924), 2.

<sup>29</sup> *The Weekly Bulletin*, no. 9 (21 March 1924), 112.

<sup>30</sup> Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. Alan Sheridan (London: Allen Lane, 1977).



bringing with it key concepts of the gaze, discipline and interiorisation. Tony Bennett has expanded Foucault's analysis of institutional architecture like prisons, hospitals and schools into the "exhibitionary complex", which includes museums, exhibitions, arcades and department stores.<sup>31</sup> Bennett suggests that technologies of self-regulation voluntarily take place within the exhibitionary complex. In display-based spaces such as museums, art galleries, exhibitions and fairs, people not only see but are also constantly seen, thereby naturalising self-observation and self-monitoring. Chris Otter describes Bennett's exhibitionary complex as "oligoptic" in that a small group of people observe one another; mutual oversight takes place.<sup>32</sup> Otter critiques two dominant paradigms of the disciplinary (the panopticon) and the spectacular (the *flâneur*) in studies of visual modernity. Otter, drawing from Bruno Latour's idea of the oligopticon, attempts to overcome limitations of the panopticon, and proposes an alternative history of illumination, vision and power in nineteenth-century Britain. According to Latour, oligoptica is the inverse of panoptica.<sup>33</sup> While the absolutist gaze of the panopticon is total and architecturally enclosed, overseeing a single space, the oligoptic view is extremely narrow and lacks a single, dominant vantage point that enables total observation.

*The British Empire Exhibition: Bird's Eye View*, as its title suggests, represents a very large field of view looking down not only on the exhibition grounds at Wembley but also on the suburban London landscape near Wembley Park. The elevated viewpoint provides a sort of visual tour from north to south of the exhibition site. Starting from the North West Entrance and the Garden at the bottom

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<sup>31</sup> Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum*.

<sup>32</sup> Chris Otter, *The Victorian Eye: A Political History of Light and Vision in Britain, 1800–1910* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008).

<sup>33</sup> Bruno Latour, *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 181–183.

of the image, the viewer's eyes follow the King's Way on the diagonal until they reach the Empire Stadium in the upper right corner. It is notable that there was no central observation tower at Wembley. The British Empire Exhibition did not construct a symbolic high-rise structure like Paris's Eiffel Tower (Exposition Universelle, 1889) or the Chicago Wheel (World's Columbian Exposition, 1893). Even though the Twin Towers of the Empire Stadium (Figure 1.3) became an iconic symbol of not just the Wembley Exhibition but national football matches, and, ultimately, a synonym for English football and Englishness,<sup>34</sup> they were relatively low structures for an observation platform (126 feet high) and not even located at the centre of the exhibition grounds, of which the stadium occupied the southernmost part. The horizontal exhibition vista, without a central tower at Wembley, suggests both a model different from the top-down administration and the myth of a supposedly light-touch liberalism that can be distinguished from the panopticon model or Haussmann's famously centralised Paris.<sup>35</sup> The small and relatively marginalised Government Pavilion at Wembley, discussed later in this section, promotes this particular myth.

The perspective in *The British Empire Exhibition: Bird's Eye View* tends to be called "panoramic", which etymologically means "a complete view". Latour has pointed out the contrast between oligoptica and panoramas.<sup>36</sup> Oligoptica with their narrow views lack control, whereas panoramas appear to offer an opportunity of seeing and capturing everything. Panoramas indicate a comprehensive survey. At the same time, however, panoramas as images painted or projected on interior walls have their own

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<sup>34</sup> Jeff Hill and Francesco Varrasi, "Creating Wembley: The Construction of a National Monument," *The Sports Historian* 17, no. 2 (1997): 28–43.

<sup>35</sup> On the idea of liberal modernity, see Simon Gunn and James Vernon, eds., *The Peculiarities of Liberal Modernity in Imperial Britain* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011).

<sup>36</sup> Latour, *Reassembling the Social*, 187–188.

limitations. A bird's eye view goes beyond the gaze of the panopticon; a watchman in the panopticon as a designated structure can observe everything at once, but only within that structure's spatial constraints. Moreover, the observer with a bird's eye view can be moving in the open air and thus have speed and direction, whereas spectators of panoramas get the impression of control over what is being surveyed, even though they still remain in an enclosed space. On the other hand, a bird's eye view is partially blind. The practice of a bird's eye view overcomes the spatial limitation of panoramas by flying and moving in the open air with speed, thus gaining freedom for the eye and giving the eye much more extended power. Nevertheless, the airborne vision cannot help but miss details at ground level. The higher the viewpoint rises, the further one can see, but one cannot capture all the details or seize control of everything in all directions at once. The limit of partial blindness was a problem in aerial reconnaissance that arose during the First World War, when aeroplanes for military use were introduced. Aerial reconnaissance and aerial photography provided obvious advantages in modern military intelligence by providing information about the enemy, especially its artillery positions. Flying machines enabled surveying from a distance, a perspective that was completely different from any previously accessible views, all of which were tied in some way to and thus limited by the ground. The height, speed and velocity of the aerial perspective offered a wider field of view, but at the same time, led to missing details. For pilots or photographers on aeroplanes, it was hard to recognise dead bodies, which looked like dots, on the ground while flying swiftly over them.

*The British Empire Exhibition: Bird's Eye View* indicates the relationship between its aerial perspective and military origin through the image producer's identity by specifying his title of Major. Considering the expansion of imagination, the virtual

mobility of a perspective parallels the development of aviation and aerial photography.<sup>37</sup> In the genre of topography and landscape, the bird's eye view was popular during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and most of these depictions were based on imagined or idealised rather than genuinely raised vantage points. The advent of ballooning and the development of photographic equipment and techniques in the second half of the nineteenth century paved the way for aerial photography. Balloons were used in military and scientific research (mainly meteorology), but reconnaissance was regarded as the primary purpose of the military balloon. Even after advances in aeronautics led to airships and aeroplanes, British military aviation was comparatively less advanced, especially compared to France and Germany, and was open to question by 1914. As the awareness of air power sunk in, some experiments with aerial photography were conducted, though Royal Flying Corps photography was largely unofficial. Airborne observation and intelligence were key to the First World War at its outset. Throughout the war, the British military understanding of aerial photography developed as the performance of cameras improved, resulting in the growing importance of aerial photography.

These changes in attitudes towards aviation were clearly reflected in the British Empire Exhibition. The article "The Development of Aircraft: An Imperial Necessity" in *The Bulletin* emphasised air power's importance for the unity, prosperity and strength of the Empire. Drawing from history, the author argued that the strength of the "nation" depended on commerce, and thus the means of communication and transport were critical. The increased interest in air power could also be found in the Government Pavilion at Wembley. This building was a distinctive element of the

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<sup>37</sup> Martyn Barber, *A History of Aerial Photography and Archaeology: Mata Hari's Glass Eye and Other Stories* (Swindon: English Heritage, 2011); Terrence J. Finnegan, *Shooting the Front: Allied Aerial Reconnaissance in the First World War* (Stroud: Spellmount, 2014).

Empire Exhibition grounds in being dedicated solely to British *governmental* activities, unlike the typical halls, which were dedicated to a particular nation or colonial space in great exhibitions. The pavilion, a two-storey concrete building, was comprised of a wide range of exhibits and involved the participation of several departments.<sup>38</sup> the Royal Navy, the Army, the Air Ministry, Overseas Settlement, Overseas Trade, Pure Science, Royal Mint, Health, Tropical Health, Agriculture, Kew Gardens, Mines, Mineral Resources, Ordnance Survey, Geological Survey, Hydrography, National Physical Laboratory, Government Chemist, Public Records, Education, Food Investigation, Building Research, Fuel Research, Imperial Institute, Victoria and Albert Museum, and National Savings.<sup>39</sup> In particular, the Air Ministry displayed the Royal Air Force and Air Transport section and published its own guidebook, *The Conquest of the Air*.<sup>40</sup> The guide to the Air Ministry exhibits covered the history of the development of aviation, its mechanical principles, military uses and civil transportation. Significantly, it treated mapmaking from the air and aerial photography as a central subject.

After the First World War, the development of aerial photography extended into the private sector. The first commercial aerial photography company in the United

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<sup>38</sup> British governmental activities were practised in all spaces from the air to the ground and even underground. In terms of circulation and journeying, the Royal Mint, as the body of coin and medal production related to money and trade can be regarded in the related context of urban railways and imperial networks. The second section of this chapter examines Wembley *within* London and explores the issues of touring and miniaturising while keeping the idea of journeying in mind.

<sup>39</sup> *Guide to the Exhibits in the Pavilion of His Majesty's Government* (London, 1924); *Guide to the Pavilion of His Majesty's Government* (London, 1925). The contents of the 1925 guide are slightly different from the 1924 edition, including the Royal Navy, Army, Overseas Settlement, Overseas Trade, Post Office, H.M. Stationary Office, Science, Health, Agriculture, Ordnance Survey, Government Chemist, Public Records, Education, Forestry Commission, Fuel Research, Imperial Institute, Victorian and Albert Museum, Savings Committee, and Air Ministry.

<sup>40</sup> *The Conquest of the Air* (London, 1925).

Kingdom, Aerofilms Ltd., was founded in 1919 and played a pivotal role.<sup>41</sup> Aerofilms's imagery was used by commercial businesses for marketing and advertising, with clients ranging from the press, publishers and postcard manufacturers to hotels and the Underground Electric Railways Company (later the London Underground). The aerial views and oblique angles in Aerofilms's photography enabled the public to see historical sites in a new way and exposed them to urban landscapes across Britain. Moreover, both civil flying and military aviation advanced rapidly, and the British commercial air service company Imperial Airways was established in 1924.<sup>42</sup> In that same year, part of the Government Pavilion at the British Empire Exhibition highlighted the future development of aviation throughout the British Commonwealth of Nations. *The Conquest of the Air*, the Wembley guidebook, examined air transport and military use during the war and even included a message from the Chairman of Imperial Airways. While the passengers of early air journeys during the interwar period constituted only a privileged minority, the mere idea of flying the Empire air routes – virtual flying – widened the spatial imagination of the public.

The 1920s witnessed the early days of Imperial Airways; at the time of the British Empire Exhibition, civil aviation poster design lagged behind Frank Pick's Underground publicity.<sup>43</sup> The public, however, already had the potential to be air-minded through aerial photography, British imperial civil air routes on the map, and

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<sup>41</sup> The company became a national aerial photography company by 1929. James Crawford, Katy Whitaker and Allan Williams, *Aerofilms: A History of Britain from Above* (Swindon: English Heritage, 2014), 77.

<sup>42</sup> Gordon Pirie, *Air Empire: British Imperial Civil Aviation, 1919–39* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009); *Cultures and Caricatures of British Imperial Aviation*.

<sup>43</sup> The company produced more professional brochures and advertisements by engaging the Charles Higham advertising agency starting in the late 1920s. For a chronological history of Imperial Airways and its advertising campaigns, see Scott Anthony and Oliver Green, *British Aviation Posters: Art, Design and Flight* (Farnham: Lund Humphries, 2012).

media coverage of air pioneers and airborne adventures. Aeroplanes, as Gillian Beer has observed, functioned to expand the psychic size of the body politic, offering the possibility of access to almost limitless space.<sup>44</sup> The seaborne imperial networks of the British Empire extended into the air. Not only physical connections throughout the Empire but also visualised links stimulated a sense of networks. The imaginary perspective, moreover, was elevated from sea level to the atmosphere. This new and fascinating aerial perspective fostered imperial abstract minds by visualising the British imperial world and accustoming it to “imaginative geography”.<sup>45</sup>

### **Imperial Abstract Minds**

Maps have frequently been regarded as significant sources in imperial historical scholarship, not only in the fields of geography and history but also in art history.<sup>46</sup> The intertwined, interlinked and interdependent relationships between maps and identity have been crucial issues. Recently, both academics and museum experts have examined maps and cartography in the context of nationalism and imperialism. The British Library’s *Maps and the 20th Century: Drawing the Line* (2016) exhibition staged a wide variety of maps created during the twentieth century as tools for looking at social, political and technological changes across the world.<sup>47</sup> Tate Britain’s *Artist and Empire* (2015) also reflected this tendency; this exhibition

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<sup>44</sup> Gillian Beer, “The Island and the Aeroplane: The Case of Virginia Woolf,” in *Nation and Narration*, ed. Homi K. Bhabha (London: Routledge, 1990), 265–290.

<sup>45</sup> Said, *Orientalism*.

<sup>46</sup> For the historiography of imperial geography, see Andrew Crowhurst, “Empire Theatres and The Empire: The Popular Geographical Imagination in the Age of Empire,” *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 15 (1997): 155–173; Felix Driver, “Geography’s Empire: Histories of Geographical Knowledge,” *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 10 (1992): 23–40; Brian Hudson, “The New Geography and the New Imperialism: 1870–1918,” *Antipode* 9, no. 2 (1977): 12–19.

<sup>47</sup> Tom Harper, ed., *Maps and the 20th Century: Drawing the Line* (London: British Library, 2016).

began with a “Mapping and Marking” section. Walter Crane’s *Imperial Federation Map* (1886), which was featured on the cover of the V&A’s catalogue of *The Victorian Vision* (2001), reappeared in the Tate’s exhibition.<sup>48</sup>

In addition, as already examined in the Introduction to this thesis, recent postcolonial art history and British art and empire studies have spotlighted eighteenth-century British marine paintings by exploring James Cook’s voyages and a variety of visual records derived from the exploration of the Pacific and by re-examining William Hodges’s works.<sup>49</sup> The Yale Center for British Art’s exhibition *Spreading Canvas: Eighteenth-Century British Marine Painting* (2016), reveals the latest example of this kind of scholarship. The historical development and popularity of British marine art is understandable, considering the myth of Britain as an island nation and the long-standing seaborne power of Britain and its empire. The very existence of the National Maritime Museum illustrates the importance of sea power and the tradition of marine art in Britain. By the early twentieth century, the British Empire was at its zenith, holding a quarter of the globe, and at the time of the British Empire Exhibition, the Empire turned its attention to the air above the horizon. A new bird’s eye view, in particular, embodied the imaginary perspective, which was elevated from sea level to the atmosphere. I offer, as a complement to British naval art historiography, British aerial art historiography; in so doing, I make more contextually specific the meaning of viewing maps in the decade or so after the First World War. Along with maps, so called “infographics”, such as graphs and charts, played a pivotal role in the visualisation of numerical data and physical information about the empire and furthered the formation of imperial abstract minds. This kind of

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<sup>48</sup> John M. MacKenzie, ed., *The Victorian Vision: Inventing New Britain* (London: V&A, 2001); Smith, Brown and Jacobi, *Artist and Empire*.

<sup>49</sup> Quilley, *From Empire to Nation*; Quilley and Bonehill, *William Hodges*.



data has been almost entirely neglected in the field of art history and visual culture studies, and I seek to return infographics to centre stage.

*The Weekly Bulletin* provided education materials on the extensive history of empire, which was not restricted to England or the British Empire. They started with ancient near Eastern Empires (Assyrians and Persians)<sup>50</sup> and the Athenian Empire, with the intention of laying the groundwork for understanding imperial systems. It is a striking feature that all the history contents were accompanied by thematic maps. Maps in *The Weekly Bulletin* aimed at “giving a correct picture of the extent of the British Empire and of the relations of the Overseas Dominions with the Home Countries and with each other”.<sup>51</sup> The history lessons, moreover, contained many kinds of information on the territories of the British Empire – what was called Empire Geography – including population, race, religion, climate, natural environments and resources, and imperial networks of trade and communication. *The Bulletin*’s introductory survey of the modern British Empire on the world map, for example, encouraged schoolchildren to “make classified lists of countries within its circle, showing extent, range of climate and race, sea-communications, etc”.<sup>52</sup>

These thematic maps portray particular aspects or themes connected with specific geographical areas on the map. Thematic cartography had already been popularised before the early twentieth century. The great interest shown in *The Times Atlas* and *The Howard Vincent Map of the British Empire* and their success epitomised the

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<sup>50</sup> This great interest in ancient empires can also be found in the Great Exhibition of 1851. Trophies in the forms of pyramids and obelisks are striking examples. Droth, Edwards and Hatt, *Sculpture Victorious*, 300.

<sup>51</sup> *The Weekly Bulletin*, no. 1 (1 January 1924), 7.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, 2.

British public's enthusiasm for geographical thinking.<sup>53</sup> The first edition of *The Times Atlas*, appeared in 1895 and contained 173 maps (produced by the German firm Velhagen & Klasing) and an alphabetical index to 130,000 names. *The Times Atlas* enjoyed enormous popularity, leading to a regular renewal of its editions through the present day.<sup>54</sup> The second edition was published under the title of *The Times Survey Atlas of the World* (1922), digested from national surveys of the world and special surveys of travellers and explorers, with a general index of over 200,000 names. This version was headed by John George Bartholomew at his family firm, the Edinburgh Geographical Institute.<sup>55</sup> Bartholomew, from a Scottish family of geographers and mapmakers, was a founding member of the Royal Scottish Geographical Society and also an appointed cartographer to King George V.<sup>56</sup> *The Times Survey Atlas of the World* consisted of not only a geographical mapping of the world but also a wide range of scientific information and survey results: bathymography,<sup>57</sup> climate, vegetation, ocean currents, population, races, religions and languages, commercial development, occupations and means of traffic, and political information.<sup>58</sup>

The amalgamation of geographical elements and statistical data was also employed in *The Howard Vincent Map of the British Empire* (Figure 1.4). This map was first published in 1886, in reserve for Queen Victoria's Golden Jubilee in 1887, by

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<sup>53</sup> *The Times Atlas* (London: Office of The Times, 1895); *The Howard Vincent Map of the British Empire*, 21st ed. (Edinburgh: W. & A.K. Johnston, 1924).

<sup>54</sup> The latest (fourteenth) edition was published in 2014.

<sup>55</sup> John George Bartholomew (1869–1920) began the project under commission from The Times; John Ian Bartholomew (1890–1962) completed the effort after his father's death.

<sup>56</sup> The company was founded in the late nineteenth century with the name of John Bartholomew & Son Ltd. John George Bartholomew was the founder's grandson.

<sup>57</sup> Matters related to ocean depths and mountain heights.

<sup>58</sup> Times Publishing Company, *The Times Survey Atlas of the World* (London: The Times, 1922).

Thomas Brumby Johnston.<sup>59</sup> Editions continued to appear through the early twentieth century; the twenty-first edition was published in 1924, the year of the British Empire Exhibition. *The Howard Vincent Map*, as its name suggests, had more obviously imperial perspectives, quoting statements of imperial ideologues such as Joseph Chamberlain and Cecil Rhodes.<sup>60</sup> The map contained “General Imperial Facts” including the size of the Empire, its population, annual trade and revenue, and its combined merchant marine and naval strength. In addition, the map represented imperial networks, such as telegraphs, railways, steamboat routes and distances, along with statistics through the visual languages of tables, marks and colour-layering. It used the Mercator projection for the world map, showing the territories of the British Empire in red. Significantly, this map included a map of the world in the lower right portion, showing the foundation of the present British Empire in 1797.<sup>61</sup> Having the world map *within* the empire map encourages viewers to make a comparison between the past and the present by emphasising the expansion of red-coloured imperial territories.<sup>62</sup> *The Howard Vincent Map* enabled its viewers to recognise the place of the empire in the world and internalised Britain’s geopolitical

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<sup>59</sup> Thomas Brumby Johnston, the Scottish geographer and publisher, was a geographer to Queen Victoria. The map was designed by Colonel Sir Charles Edward Howard Vincent and dedicated to the Marquis of Salisbury.

<sup>60</sup> Both Chamberlain’s statement – “There is a universal desire for closer union, it is essential for the existence of Empire. It can be most hopefully approached from its commercial side.” – and Rhodes’s argument – “Your Politics should be to allow your Trade to grow. Your Trade is the World and your life is the World. Take the very best practical step – Commercial Unity – towards the closer Union of the Empire.” – revealed the characteristics of capitalist imperialism. *The Howard Vincent Map of the British Empire*, 11th ed. (Edinburgh: W. & A.K. Johnston, 1902).

<sup>61</sup> 1797 was important in that British power was established at the Cape of Good Hope, which it initially occupied in 1795. By this time, the Cape was regarded as a major strategic point by the British government. P.J. Marshall, ed., *The Oxford History of the British Empire 2: The Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 200–206; L.F.C. Turner, “The Cape of Good Hope and the Anglo-French Conflict, 1797–1806,” *Historical Studies Australia and New Zealand* 9 (1961), 368–378.

<sup>62</sup> It also compared the size of the British Empire to France, Germany and the United States, as well as the population to that of All the Russias.

position. It was the wall map in school classrooms;<sup>63</sup> furthermore, it was designed “to show the British people, in all public institutions, free libraries, and schools, what the British Empire is, and its great commercial value to the mother country”.<sup>64</sup> Maps, in imperial contexts, were the instrument of imaginative geography that naturalised imperial knowledge and the graphic portrayal of overseas territories at home. Maps are of course produced by humans, but they are at the same time “mediators” that change and further actively construct human ways of thinking and seeing.<sup>65</sup> The techniques and practices of cartography and the activities of seeing and interpreting are the basis of imperial abstract minds.

Significantly, the key methods of visualising cartographic information and numerical data seen in thematic maps were developed during the latter half of the nineteenth century. The term “graph”, for instance, was introduced in 1878, and new graphical forms and related techniques, such as the trichromatic process for making colour photographs, periodic tables, contour maps and pictograms, were invented and extended to new areas of inquiry.<sup>66</sup> This eye-opening progress coincided with the accumulation of data resulting from exploration and investigation both at home and overseas. This period witnessed the extraordinary expansion of the British Empire in an atmosphere of New Imperialism. James R. Ryan has explored the role of photography in the construction of imaginative geography and the intertwined

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<sup>63</sup> Horn, “English Elementary Education,” 46.

<sup>64</sup> This phrase comes from contemporary advertisements, quoted in Ryan, *Picturing Empire*, 21.

<sup>65</sup> Actor-network theory (ANT) regards objects as parts of social networks and the capacity of nonhumans to be similar to humans. ANT particularly distinguishes between intermediaries and mediators; for an introduction to ANT, see Latour, *Reassembling the Social*.

<sup>66</sup> Michael Friendly, “A Brief History of Data Visualization,” in *Handbook of Computational Statistics: Data Visualization 3*, eds. Chuh-houh Chen, Wolfgang Härdle and Antony Unwin (Berlin: Springer, 2008), 1–34; Michael Friendly and Daniel J. Denis, “Milestones Project,” *Milestones in the History of Thematic Cartography, Statistical Graphics, and Data Visualization*, accessed August, 20, 2016, <http://www.datavis.ca/milestones>.

relationship between photographic practices and the expansion of Britain's overseas territories.<sup>67</sup> Ryan paid particular attention to the period from Queen Victoria's accession to the throne (1837) to the eve of the First World War, when photography was developing rapidly. The latter half of nineteenth century, moreover, was a peak in the development of data graphics. Accordingly, data visualisation needs to be considered in the wider context of visual culture, along with optical instruments, even though it has scarcely been regarded as a central issue in studies of visual modernity.<sup>68</sup> Michael Friendly has pointed out that there are no accounts that span the entire development of visual thinking and the visual representation of data. To help fill in the gaps left by the scattered studies on the history of data visualisation conducted mainly in the fields of geography and statistics, Friendly attempts to provide a complete synoptic history of "data visualisation", which he calls "the science of visual representation of data, defined as information which has been abstracted in some schematic form, including attributes or variables for the units of information".<sup>69</sup> Friendly's *Milestones Project* traces the development of the graphic representation of quantitative information, such as thematic cartography, statistics and statistical graphics, from the medieval era to modern times. The period between 1850 and 1899, according to his periodisation, was the golden age in terms of both quantitative expansion and qualitative improvement: official state statistical offices were established throughout Europe, and the importance of numerical information was rapidly growing in society at large.

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<sup>67</sup> Ryan, *Picturing Empire*.

<sup>68</sup> Searching the internet for information on "data visualisation" tends to lead to a number of practical manuals and handbooks for contemporary designers rather than to historical scholarships.

<sup>69</sup> Friendly and Denis, "Milestones Project."

By contrast, the first half of the twentieth century is regarded as a modern dark age in that there were few graphical innovations. Graphical displays for understanding complex data and phenomena were, however, established and popularised as a mainstream approach. The British Empire Exhibition of 1924 and 1925 reflected this manner of statistical thinking, incorporated into technological innovation. Both the exhibits at Wembley and publications like official guidebooks and *The Weekly Bulletin* contained a variety of statistical graphics. They were not limited to two-dimensional drawings. The display techniques of the Exhibition employed more fascinating forms of showing three-dimensional statistics: a statistical pyramid of the world's rubber production at Malaya's exhibit hall (Figure 1.5) and the statistics on gold production at the South Africa Pavilion (Figure 1.6).<sup>70</sup> The Malayan pyramid was six tiers made of square blocks of rubber, with the upper five tiers representing the rubber output of Malaya and the bottom tier the combined output of the rest of the world.<sup>71</sup> Three-dimensional structures are intended to more easily capture audiences' attention. Beyond the limit of two-dimensional planes, they enable the audience to observe with a 360-degree view, like sculptures carved in the round. They require not just visual observations but also bodily movement from their audience. In addition, the sheer volume of such structures and their materiality provide physical experiences.

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<sup>70</sup> The Tasmanian trophy at the 1851 Great Exhibition was regarded as a "temporary museum of the products of the vast forest of Tasmania". The three-dimensional statistics of Malaya's rubber and South Africa's gold at the 1924/25 British Empire Exhibition are similar, representing their roles as producers of raw materials. However, the material losses incurred in creating could not be regained. Droth, Edwards and Hatt, *Sculpture Victorious*, 301. Such para-sculptural objects have found a place in the art historiography of empire at the expense of infographic material; this section of the thesis seeks to begin correcting that imbalance.

<sup>71</sup> Lawrence Weaver, *Exhibitions and the Arts of Display* (London: Country Life, 1925), 91.

The imperial archives were filled with statistics and processed data, in addition to raw materials and specimens. Likewise, the imperial exhibitions displayed data sets of both the empirical and the abstract. The Classification of Exhibits of the British Empire Exhibition, for example, used the following categories: Food of the Empire, Raw Materials of the Empire, Communications of the Empire, Machinery and Implements of the Empire, Manufactures of the Empire, Homes of the Empire, Education, Science and Art of the Empire, Recreations of the Empire, Defence of the Empire, and Colonisation and Social Economy of the Empire. The scientific information, empirical numbers and statistical data were transformed into visual languages through representation in the form of graphs, charts and histograms. The purpose of education and the dissemination of imperial knowledge to the public translated results of empirical research into abstract forms by applying data visualisation techniques. The collection of numbers, figures, lines and layer-coloured maps was an agent in co-constructing imperialism (Figure 1.7). Furthermore, these abstract representation methods were materialised in three dimensions at the imperial exhibition of the early twentieth century. The British Empire Exhibition was the locus of “giving life and reality to the teaching of history and geography” through “the most graphic, striking and attractive form”.<sup>72</sup>

Public libraries were another arena where laypeople encountered the processed data of imperial studies. In this respect, the library at the Royal Colonial Institute deserves notice. The formation of “a good public colonial library” was raised as an important issue at the initial meeting in 1868, which paved the way for the establishment of the Colonial Society (later the Royal Colonial Institute).<sup>73</sup> The

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<sup>72</sup> *The Weekly Bulletin*, no. 24 (11 July 1924), 345.

<sup>73</sup> For the Royal Colonial Institute library, see Reese, *The History of the Royal Commonwealth Society*, 25–26.

library of the Colonial Office was not open to the public and not especially accessible even for members of the Colonial Office. The Royal Colonial Institute, by contrast, intended to establish a public library and thus organised a library committee.<sup>74</sup> In the beginning, the responsibility for managing the library devolved onto the secretary and the voluntary fellows, though the society employed a full-time librarian in the 1880s. The Royal Colonial Institute library constantly expanded its collection and issued catalogues of the library. By 1886, the library contained 4,700 volumes and 1,600 pamphlets, along with a wide selection of colonial newspapers. A photograph taken in 1928 (Figure 1.8) shows the interior of the library, including typical library furniture in the reading room. Significantly, two large globes catch the viewer's eye. With them the library realised imperial abstract minds and served as an instrument of self-developed imperial citizens.

The Willesden Public Libraries provide another striking example. The Central Libraries Committee in northwest London near Wembley published *Select Catalogue of Books Dealing with the British Empire* in connection with the British Empire Exhibition.<sup>75</sup> The catalogue contained “fiction and poetry dealing with the history and description of the Empire, and lives of the great men [sic] who helped to build it” as well as five categories of books: General History of British Empire, Histories of Individual Colonies, Political and Sociological Aspects of Empire, General Geography and Description of Empire, and Geography of Individual

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<sup>74</sup> The case of the Colonial College (1887–1905) is revealing in terms of public education. The college was founded by Robert Johnson for technical education purpose, especially to train middle-class emigrants. The school focused on scientific agriculture, and its library collection included statistical reports and other imperialistic publications. Interestingly, Johnson regarded the college as a sister institution to the Royal Colonial Institute and the Imperial Institute in that they shared the objective of popularising imperial knowledge. Patrick Dunae, “Education, Emigration and Empire: The Colonial College, 1887–1905,” in *Benefits Bestowed*, 194–210.

<sup>75</sup> Willesden Public Libraries, *Select Catalogue of Books Dealing with the British Empire* (London, 1924).



Colonies. Even though it was targeted at teachers and scholars, not the general public or schoolchildren, the lists of books share a general tendency of the time, similar to the comprehensiveness in *The British Empire: A Survey* series and *The Weekly Bulletin of Empire Study*. It was a bird's eye view covering the whole empire that stimulated imperial abstract minds and inculcated British citizens into the imagined imperial community.

### **Bigger on the Inside**

In "Empire Study: An Epilogue for Teachers", the Subcommittee of *The Weekly Bulletin* clarifies that "it was neither History nor Geography, nor an amalgamation of the two. It was a chapter out of Politics".<sup>76</sup> It revealed the ideology behind the British Empire Exhibition as well as *The Bulletin*, which reflected a particular attitude towards the imperial system after the First World War.<sup>77</sup> Furthermore, the Epilogue stated that they had been pursuing "the whole of world history and world geography", even if the ambition was hindered by limits of time and space.<sup>78</sup> These kinds of statements demonstrate the dual identity of the British Empire: *an empire within the world* and *the empire as the world*. Maps and globes are crucial parts of the apparatus of geographical thinking, and they helped realise and materialise imperial abstract minds. An official souvenir of the Exhibition (Figure 1.9) understandably adopted the form of a globe; it was a replica of the gold casket presented to the King on the occasion of the official opening of the exhibition on 23

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<sup>76</sup> *The Weekly Bulletin*, no. 24 (11 July 1924), 345.

<sup>77</sup> For the domestic and foreign politics of Britain and its empire during the interwar period, see Hyam, *Britain's Declining Empire*; McCarthy, *The British People and the League of Nations*; Andrew S. Thompson, *Imperial Britain: The Empire in British Politics, c. 1880–1932* (Harlow: Longman, 2000).

<sup>78</sup> *The Weekly Bulletin*, no. 24 (11 July 1924), 345.

April 1924.<sup>79</sup> It consisted of a globe resting on four lions, with the sphere engraved with continent names. The casket was also featured in the cover image of *The Book of the Empire* (Figure 1.10). This book consisted of 24 sections ranging from the emerging issue of the Commonwealth of Nations to details of overseas territories. It conveys a sense of comprehensiveness in spite of its condensed format. In particular, a foreword by Victor Gordon, High Commissioner for Newfoundland, epitomised the ideology behind the history and geography of the Empire and political purposes of education, to construct the imagined imperial community:

Know the history of our Empire – know the geography of our Empire – and you will assimilate the [enthusiasm and perseverance] of the great Empire Builders who have been responsible for the pride we all feel today when we call ourselves British Citizens. (14 June 1924)

The combination of a globe and lions represents the relationship between the world and the British Empire. The empire was symbolised by lions at Wembley. There were different lion designs: the official emblem, commemorative stamps, the Lion of Industry and concrete lion statues at the entry of the Government Pavilion. The Wembley Lion, the exhibition crest in art deco style designed by Fredrick Charles Herrick, appeared on souvenirs produced by Ashtead Pottery, Paragon China, Savoy China and Wedgwood Jasperware, as well as in almost all official printed publicity

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<sup>79</sup> J.R. Ainsworth-Davis, *The Book of the Empire* (London: The Educational Publishing Co. Ltd., 1924).

including guidebooks, tickets and programmes (Figures 1.11–12).<sup>80</sup> The commemorative stamps that marked the British Empire Exhibition were issued by the Post Office during the exhibition seasons of both 1924 and 1925. The Post Office organised a committee to advise on the design process and help make a selection, and then invited eight artists to participate. Five submitted designs: John Dickson Batten, Eric Gill,<sup>81</sup> Harold Nelson, Noel Rooke and Ernest William Tristram. Nelson's design of a British lion with the rising sun was ultimately selected (Figures 1.13–14). The Lion of Industry (Figure 1.15) was designed by Percy Metcalfe, a representative artist of Ashted Potters Ltd. (1923–1935).<sup>82</sup> The company was founded by Weaver, the Director of the UK Exhibits for the British Empire Exhibition, in order to provide employment opportunities for ex-servicemen disabled during the First World War.<sup>83</sup> Weaver had encouraged Metcalfe to design a symbolic lion to represent the modern British Empire. Metcalfe's lion sculpture was located on

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<sup>80</sup> Herrick studied at the Leicester College of Art and Crafts and the Royal College of Art, and taught at Brighton and the RCA. Between 1922 and 1933, he designed posters for the Underground Group and London Transport.

<sup>81</sup> Gill was well known as a sculptor, one of the outstanding designers in the early twentieth century, perhaps most famous for his invention of the Gill Sans typeface. Gill was appointed as a member of the Royal Designer for Industry (RDI) in 1936, when the Royal Society of Arts established a distinct body to improve the standard of industrial design and elevate the status of designers. In the same year, Edward McKnight Kauffer, an American-born artist working largely in Britain, was awarded the first honorary membership in the RDI. Kauffer designed the cover image of Weaver's *Exhibitions and the Arts of Display* (1925). These issues are discussed in the following chapters, focusing more on the Palace of Arts at Wembley and networks within British art worlds. Judith Collins, *Eric Gill: Sculpture* (London: Herbert Press, 1998); Eric Gill, *An Essay on Typography* (London: J.M. Dent & Sons, Ltd., 1936); Malcolm Yorke, *Eric Gill: Man of Flesh and Spirit* (London: Tauris Parke Paperbacks, 2000). Through the present day, Gill has had a problematic status in art and design history: on the one hand, he was one of the period's key avant-garde players, but he was also a figure with a highly troubling personal life. Gill's relation to empire, and his complicity in it, demands more attention.

<sup>82</sup> Metcalfe, a sculptor, medallist and stamp designer, was educated at the Leeds School of Art and the RCA.

<sup>83</sup> The construction of the Empire Exhibition grounds provided an opportunity to employ ex-servicemen, reflecting Britain's postwar mood. Some 70 percent of the 2,000 men who were employed in the construction during 1923 and 1924 were ex-servicemen; see Hill and Varrasi, "Creating Wembley," 33.

the top of the Lion Kiosk inside the Palace of Industry (Figure 1.16). Metcalfe also won the inter-Imperial Competition for the Commemorative Medal of the Exhibition and designed medals for exhibitors and the souvenir keepsake medal (Figures 1.17–18). The other type of concrete lions (Figure 1.19), designed by Benjamin Clemens, decorated the front steps of the Government Pavilion (Figure 1.20).<sup>84</sup> These six huge sculptures were seated, creating gentle impressions that contrasted with Metcalfe's more aggressive-looking lion.

The lion, as England's national animal, has long been a symbol of Englishness. Three lions appear in the Royal Arms of England; in the Royal Coat of Arms of the United Kingdom, a golden lion represents England, while a unicorn symbolises Scotland. The English Football Association also chose three lions as its symbol in 1872, the year of the first international football match. Interestingly, Wembley Stadium, the preferred name of Empire Stadium, has long been a symbol of English football culture. It became the home ground for England's national team fixtures, and the very name of Wembley has become synonymous with football since the 1920s. Even before the official opening of the British Empire Exhibition in April 1924, Wembley Stadium held a national football game; it was a national site for a national sport.<sup>85</sup> The stadium was built as a part of the Empire Exhibition effort. Its official name, the Empire Stadium, manifested the imperial ideology and the notion of imperial family, which was prevalent throughout the imperial exhibitionary complex at Wembley. At the same time, however, the enormous building was popularised through national spectacles and became better known as Wembley

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<sup>84</sup> Clemens was a sculptor, educated at the North London School of Art and the RCA.

<sup>85</sup> It staged the Football Association Challenge Cup of 1923 and became the home of the Cup Final onwards. Until 1914, the Crystal Palace was used for the F.A. Cup Final. Hill and Varrasi, "Creating Wembley," 34–35.

Stadium. While most structures disappeared after the exhibition seasons, the stadium remained and occupied the position of the national sport arena for nine decades.<sup>86</sup> The name Wembley has become an icon of Englishness. The Pageant of Empire at the Stadium during the British Empire Exhibition period, in contrast, became a mere anecdote in memoirs or a footnote to the studies of great exhibitions.

This dual identity or ambiguity of Wembley is revealed by the Government Pavilion. The Pavilion exhibited “the work of the public departments of the country”, showing that “a modern state is active in the air and below the ground, on the seas and under them, in the laboratories of great cities and in the forests of the Equator”.<sup>87</sup> The introduction of the 1924 *Guide* compared this concrete architecture to “the splendour of the ancient buildings of Assyria and Egypt”.<sup>88</sup> This analogy paralleled a tendency of *The Weekly Bulletin* to write imperial history with reference to the world’s ancient empires. It attempted to legitimise the existence of the British Empire by drawing on history and reflected the geopolitics of the Middle East.<sup>89</sup> The lions in the foreground of the Government Pavilion, constructed of ferro-concrete for the first time,<sup>90</sup> symbolised Britain itself, along with the British Empire. The neoclassical building was located at the eastern end of the exhibition site, far from the centre and rather near the amusement park (Figure 1.21). It was much smaller in size than the Palace of Industry or the Palace of Engineering, the centrepieces at Wembley. In

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<sup>86</sup> The original structure was demolished in 2002 to make way for a new stadium; as an indication of the powerful connection between Wembley and England, that stadium retains the Wembley name.

<sup>87</sup> *Guide to the Exhibits in the Pavilion of His Majesty’s Government*, 7.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, 7–8.

<sup>89</sup> One of the key geopolitical issues of the interwar years was the Palestine project and Zionism. Palestine, in particular, was regarded as central to protecting British positions in Egypt and India, and was thus crucial to Britain’s entire Middle East policy, as well as to sea and air networks with South and East Asia. Hyam, *Britain’s Declining Empire*, 30–93. The enormous popularity of T.E. Lawrence in this period, especially his bestselling *Seven Pillars of Wisdom* (1922), also brought the region into the popular consciousness.

<sup>90</sup> Lord Stevenson, *British Empire Exhibition: A Lecture* (1925), 14.

comparison to buildings dedicated to the dominions, the British government building occupied a very small part of the grounds. In terms of both size and location, the Government Pavilion was not that outstanding; indeed, it was perhaps deliberately modest and bathetic. This characteristic conveyed a sense of the democratic and a myth of English freedom in the horizontal exhibition scape without a central observation tower and thus at a reassuring distance from the centralised, totalising gaze of the panopticon, in spite of the reality of both a British monarchy and the House of Lords. The government building was located on the edge of the exhibition site, in spite of the centralisation of British economic and political power in London. The buildings of Australia and Canada, in contrast, were in front of the Empire Stadium, standing along Commonwealth Way and Dominion Way at the centre. The New Zealand Pavilion was located near the Australia Pavilion, and the South Africa Pavilion to the east of the Stadium. These buildings representing white settler colonies were gathered near the central axis of the Empire Exhibition grounds.

The British Government Pavilion, however, is crucial to understanding the logic behind the Wembley Exhibition in that it reveals its dual identity by containing the composition of Britain as both a *nation* and as an *empire*. The World Map in the central court epitomised this dual trait. Just after entering the building, audiences came to see a large relief map on the ground floor (Figures 1.22–23). Mechanically controlled, the World Map showed the trade routes of the British Empire (Figure 1.24).<sup>91</sup> The small model ships moving along these routes illustrated British imperial networks and also symbolised the long-standing marine and naval power of Britain and its empire. By pushing the map's buttons, audiences learned imperial knowledge both physically and visually. In particular, thanks to the building's structure,

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<sup>91</sup> The equatorial scale was one inch to fifty miles.

audiences were able to look down on this map from the upper level, thereby practicing and finally embodying a bird's eye view with their own bodies (Figure 1.25). Viewing from above also enabled audiences to better feel the volume of the relief. The viewer looked with oblique angles, suggesting a number of analogues, including drawings and paintings in a panoramic view and aerial photography. While walking along the handrail on the upper ground floor, they could look with a 360-degree view and get the impression of capturing all that they surveyed, thus furthering imperial and national pride. The World Map *within* the Government Pavilion represents an empire within the world, and at the same time, the empire as the world.<sup>92</sup> Britain as a nation and an empire created this peculiar space that is *bigger on the inside*. A building dedicated to the government of a nation involved the projects of an empire. Furthermore, the first thing that the audience encountered, which was simultaneously the centrepiece of the governmental building, was a map of the world.

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<sup>92</sup> Another relief map was displayed in the Department of Transportation Gallery (Figure 1.26).

## 2. Seeing and Moving: Wembley as a Noun and a Verb

Fred Taylor's drawing appeared in *Commercial Art* (July 1924) and shows an aerial view of "The Heart of the Empire", taking a perspective from above St James's Park and looking westward past Westminster Bridge towards Big Ben and the Palace of Westminster (Figure 1.27).<sup>1</sup> It captures the famous architecture of central London and leads the audience's gaze towards the top centre. In this drawing, we can catch just the edge of the Park, though, St James's Park, one of the royal parks, includes The Mall and Horse Guards Parade. The ceremonial routes connect Whitehall, Trafalgar Square and Buckingham Palace, symbolising the British constitutional monarchy. The area of Whitehall represents the centre of British politics with Parliament and public buildings,<sup>2</sup> thereby becoming a metonym for the British civil service and government.<sup>3</sup> In this regard, the area has been one of the most popular tourist attractions, as well as one of the most politically important sites, in London.<sup>4</sup> As the British Government Pavilion at Wembley epitomised Britain's dual identity as a nation and an empire through the display of a variety of imperial projects, starting from the World Map on

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<sup>1</sup> Fred Taylor was one of leading poster artists, who was well known for his posters of buildings and architecture. He designed for the EMB as well as the London Underground, railway and shipping companies. This image was created for the London Underground and published in 1923 as part of the company's publicity.

<sup>2</sup> The area includes many government offices, including the Ministry of Defence, the Treasury, the Cabinet Office and the Department for International Development.

<sup>3</sup> For the construction of new public buildings during the Victorian and Edwardian periods, see M.H. Port, *Imperial London: Civil Government Building in London 1850–1915* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995). Port examines the major projects including the Admiralty, British Museum, Burlington House, Colonial Office, Foreign Office, House of Parliament, Home Office, India Office, National Gallery, Natural History Museum, New Public Offices, Royal Courts of Justice (New Law Courts), South Kensington Museum, University of London and War Office.

<sup>4</sup> If we zoom out of this area on Google Maps, we can easily recognise another symbol of the city, St Paul's Cathedral. St Paul's has represented national/imperial identity as well as the link between church and state.



the ground floor, the city of London holds its dual identity as the capital city of the UK and as the metropolis of the British Empire (and as a ‘post’ imperial city in the twenty-first century when I am writing).<sup>5</sup> The characteristic of dual identity created the peculiar space of *the bigger on the inside* as we have seen, which paves the way for the following discussion on *the smaller on the outside* in terms of the relationship between an imperial exhibition site (Wembley) and its holding city (London).

### **Smaller on the Outside**

The Chairman of the Board of the British Empire Exhibition, Lord Stevenson, gave a lecture on the structure of the exhibition grounds as well as the preparation process at the Royal Society of Arts on 16 April 1925. He predictably started the lecture with a slide of the 1851 Great Exhibition. To highlight the gigantic size of the Wembley Exhibition grounds (216 acres), Stevenson compared them with both the size of the Great Exhibition grounds in Hyde Park (26 acres),<sup>6</sup> and with the map of London. He showed the audience an outline plan of the Wembley Exhibition superimposed over a map of London to the same scale (Figure 1.28).

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<sup>5</sup> Jane M. Jacobs has traced the spatial legacy of British imperialism and highlighted that memories of empire remain active and live on in urban contexts. She noted that the preservation project of historic built environment can function as the commemoration activity to conserve imperial traces in the postimperial urbanscape. Jane M. Jacobs, *Edge of Empire: Postcolonialism and the City* (London: Routledge, 1996). It is undeniable that uneven politics and uneven development, based on the core, semi-peripheries and peripheries, continue as world-system analysis has described. However, considering constitutional decolonisation and the fact that the word ‘empire’ has officially disappeared on maps and globes, here I use the adjective of ‘post’ imperial.

<sup>6</sup> He noted that at Wembley the Palaces of Industry and Engineering alone covered 25 acres.

You will notice here that Marlborough House at the end of Pall Mall synchronised with the South-West entrance and that the Savoy Hotel comes within the Eastern boundaries of the Exhibition.<sup>7</sup> Also, the Exhibition from South-East to North-West stretches from a point near Waterloo Station to the Piccadilly Circus end of Haymarket. You will also notice by comparing the Palace of Engineering with the adjacent outline of Trafalgar Square that the former is nearly six times the size of the latter.<sup>8</sup>

As the overlap of Wembley and London on the map illustrates the physical sizes of the exhibition grounds and the holding city, viewers can recognise the relative sizes at a glance. In addition, Stevenson provided the audience with numerical information to help them compare or contrast those two sites. Even though the Wembley Exhibition grounds occupied a vast area located in northeast London, it was a part of the city, and so Wembley is smaller than London physically and numerically.

Significantly, this map of the Exhibition grounds *within* central London includes the most celebrated of all the sites of ‘imperial’ London, that is, the triangular area with Buckingham Palace, Trafalgar Square and the Houses of Parliament at its three corners, and the ceremonial routes of The Mall and Whitehall along two sides.<sup>9</sup> It is not a coincidence that Stevenson chose this triangular area, particularly showing Trafalgar Square in the dead centre of the image. On the map, Trafalgar Square and Nelson’s

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<sup>7</sup> Marlborough House, designed by Christopher Wren, was originally home of the Dukes of Marlborough and was later used by the royal family. In 1965, the House became headquarters of the Commonwealth Secretariat and the Commonwealth Foundation.

<sup>8</sup> Stevenson, *A Lecture*, 4.

<sup>9</sup> Felix Driver and David Gilbert, “Heart of Empire? Landscape, Space and Performance in Imperial London,” *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 16 (1998): 17.

Column are visualised in abstract forms, with the radial road system encouraging the viewer to focus on the centre of the image. Trafalgar Square can be easily recognised, just as Big Ben and the Palace of Westminster was in Taylor's *Heart of the Empire*. Since 1840, they had been the symbol of London, England, Britain and the British Empire, and they still remain as famous landmarks and tourist spots until today.<sup>10</sup> Above all, the triangular area is located in the city centre in terms of urban structure and its administrative district. The area of central London has embraced the official and formal infrastructure of empire, thereby serving as the economic, political, cultural and ceremonial core; a synecdoche of the city, nation and empire. Beyond the conventional study focused on the ceremonial core around Westminster, Felix Driver and David Gilbert have argued for a number of alternative 'hearts of empire' sites, rather than a singular site, and suggested the importance of the City of London (the financial centre), South Kensington (the imperial archive) and the Strand (the focus of dominion governments) in mapping imperial London.<sup>11</sup> All the hearts of empire were expanded and connected by circulation of the tangible and the intangible as well as objects and peoples in motion.

The idea of circulation plays a pivotal role in understanding the development of colonial, imperial and 'global' cities as well as the cultures of empire.<sup>12</sup> The circulation

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<sup>10</sup> For imperial urban landscapes, see Driver and Gilbert, *Imperial Cities*; Rodney Mace, *Trafalgar Square: Emblem of Empire* (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 2005); Jonathan Schneer, *London 1900: The Imperial Metropolis* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999); Dirk Schubert and Anthony Sutcliffe, "The 'Hausmannization' of London?: The Planning and Construction of Kingsway-Aldwych, 1889–1935," *Planning Perspective* 11 (1996): 115–144.

<sup>11</sup> Driver and Gilbert, "Heart of Empire," 18–21.

<sup>12</sup> Arjun Appadurai, ed., *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986); Driver and Gilbert, "Heart of Empire"; Anthony D. King, *Global Cities: Post-Imperialism and the Internationalisation of London* (London: Routledge, 1990); *Urbanism, Colonialism, and the World-Economy: Cultural and Spatial Foundations of the World Urban System* (London: Routledge, 1990); Schneer, *London 1900*.

of commerce within London linked the East End to the West End, moving from dockyards to Regent Street. Imperial trade generated and strengthened the complementary relationship between a metropole and local, national and international peripheries. It was one of the objects of the British Empire Exhibition “to foster inter-imperial trade and find fresh world-markets for Dominion and Home products”.<sup>13</sup> Thus, for a wider understanding of Wembley *within* London, I consider Liberty’s new buildings completed in 1924, the year of the British Empire Exhibition, as a node of urban networks of imperial London along with Wembley, the imperial exhibition site.

Liberty & Co., which opened to the public in 1875 with the name ‘East India House’, gained fame for its Oriental art shop.<sup>14</sup> The extension of business and increase of sales were based on imperial trade and the space of consumption in central London commercialised the ‘Others’.<sup>15</sup> Liberty’s, as art shop and oriental warehouse, profited not only from non-European – Indian, Chinese, Japanese and North African – artefacts but also from the past and ancient Europe as means of distinction by emphasising the exotic and otherness. For instance, Liberty’s art costume, which exploited classic Greek or medieval style, gained a competitive advantage in fashion retailing. In addition, the Cymric line of silver goods and jewellery and the Tudric line of pewter goods indicated strong Celtic revivals and Renaissance influences. The past as design sources has suggested an alternative, differentiating Liberty’s products from the

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<sup>13</sup> *British Empire Exhibition 1924: The Site of the Exhibition* (1924).

<sup>14</sup> Alison Adburgham, *Liberty’s: A Biography of a Shop* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1975); Sonia Ashmore, “Liberty’s Orient: Taste and Trade in the Decorative Arts in Late Victorian and Edwardian Britain, 1875–1914” (PhD diss., Open University, 2001); James Laver, *The Liberty Story* (London: Liberty & Co., 1959); MacKenzie, *Orientalism*; Mathur, *India by Design*.

<sup>15</sup> Hermione Hobhouse, *A History of Regent Street: A Mile of Style* (Chichester: Phillimore, 2008); Kathryn A. Morrison, *English Shops and Shopping: An Architectural History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003); Erika Diane Rappaport, “Art, Commerce, or Empire? The Rebuilding of Regent Street, 1880–1926,” *History Workshop Journal* 53 (2002): 94–117; *Shopping for Pleasure: Women in the Making of London’s West End* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000).

existing commodities and established trends. The past as a foreign country provided an escape alongside the Orient as a group of actual foreign countries.<sup>16</sup>

Liberty's built new buildings during Regent Street's rebuilding period between 1880 and the late 1920s.<sup>17</sup> The pair of new buildings – the Tudor Shop on Great Marlborough Street and East India House on Regent Street – epitomises the dual identity of Englishness and Britishness. For example, East India House, obviously recalled the East India Company and its London headquarters,<sup>18</sup> and was full of imperial symbols in the neoclassical style. The new frieze of the House visualised the commerce and trade of the British Empire (Figures 1.29–32):<sup>19</sup> “Britannia and the emblems of empire”, “the noble steeds of man”, “a lady of the East watching over the packing of embroideries”, “the elephant kneeling to receive his load while a woman of India passes by”, “the master potter examining the work of his apprentices”, “the arrival of a merchantman from the East laden with treasure for London”, “loading a Chinese junk with a cargo of costly silk and ivories”, “the camel receiving a load of rich merchandise while the potters carry on with their work”, and “loading the lovely

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<sup>16</sup> Liberty's still attempts to commercialise the past and historicise the present. The company archive functions as a plentiful source of inspiration and plays a pivotal role in revivals and retro trends. At the same time, contemporary designs find their way into the archive, being converted into historical materials in the process. Now, Liberty & Co. seems to consider the temporal difference visible in the Tudor house as its own strength, providing a competitive edge in the global fashion industry as well as the domestic market in that it has made English heritage in the fashion capital of the world, London, a key part of promotion and branding, especially since the swinging sixties.

<sup>17</sup> Rappaport, “Art, Commerce, or Empire.”

<sup>18</sup> For a synoptic history of the British East India Company, see Cyril H. Philips, *The East India Company* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1961).

<sup>19</sup> Edwin Thomas Hall and Edwin Stanley Hall (father and son), who were heavily involved in the Royal Institute of British Architects, designed the frieze. The sculptors were Charles Leighfield Jonah Doman and Thomas J. Clapperton. Doman worked for the architectural sculpture of the National Westminster Bank and Thames Port Authority, depicting images of commerce and trade. They shared the same theme with a frieze of the East India House. Clapperton was involved in War Memorials.

things from East on their long journey to London”.<sup>20</sup> Britannia took the centre of the frieze, and from side to side the image of imperial circulations appeared in the form of carved figures, ships and animals, heading from the ships at both ends towards Britannia; from global, national and local peripheries to the centre.

The circulation and networks of commodities and peoples were visualised through maps and infographics, and such imperial knowledge and information lay at the heart of the British Empire Exhibition, as we have seen. The carved figures and animals of Liberty’s new frieze could be seen in real life at the Exhibition grounds. The ‘native’ weavers, woodcarvers, potters, blacksmiths, goldsmiths and embroiders could be found inside the pavilions of colonies.<sup>21</sup> In the name of arts and crafts, for example, craftsmen from Nigeria, the Gold Coast and Sierra Leone worked *in situ* at the West African Pavilion. In the Hong Kong section, silk production was staged by Chinese experts, showing every process from eggs and cocoons of silkworms to completing fabrics.<sup>22</sup> The Indian Pavilion reproduced a huge bazaar run by Indian merchants selling “shawls of exquisite beauty, jewellery of great worth, precious stones fresh from the mines, silverware and brass work”.<sup>23</sup> Snake charmers and jugglers in exotic costumes performed at the Indian Theatre.<sup>24</sup> Model ships on a relief map at the centre

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<sup>20</sup> *Liberty Lamp*, the staff magazine of the shop, reproduced photographs of the frieze with these captions. *Liberty Lamp* II, no. 3 (1926): 27–30. In the context of Liberty’s building, the term ‘East’ embraced not only India, a colony of the British Empire, but also China and Japan, reflecting and revealing Chinoiserie and Japonism. China was under informal powers of the British Empire, considering histories of the Opium Wars and Hong Kong as a Crown colony (and later designated as a British Dependent Territory in 1981). In contrast, Japan was a burgeoning imperial power in East Asia and in the Pacific Ocean area, expanding colonial territories.

<sup>21</sup> Woodham, “Images of Africa and Design.”

<sup>22</sup> *The 1924 Official Guide*, 95.

<sup>23</sup> *The British Empire Exhibition 1925 Official Guide* (London: Fleetway, 1925), 74. Indian ‘art’ was displayed in the Palace of Arts, along with Britain, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and Burma.

<sup>24</sup> *British Empire Exhibition Indian Theatre Programme* (1924).

of the Government Pavilion kept running. The British Empire Exhibition intended to visualise the whole empire by miniaturising the so-called imperial family members on the same grounds. As the table of contents in the *Official Guide* shows, Wembley consisted of “The Empire at Home” and “The Empire of Overseas”.<sup>25</sup> Accordingly, Wembley, the name of a London suburb represented the British Empire itself. If Liberty’s East India House epitomises the imperial modernity of an urban core, Wembley encapsulates suburban imperialism, which I discuss in the next part.

Before the opening of the Empire Exhibition, the Wembley Park Estate (280 acres) was owned by the Metropolitan Railway Company (MRC).<sup>26</sup> Edward Watkin, the chairman of the Company planned the Metropolitan line, dreaming of a railway from Manchester through London and then a Channel tunnel to Paris, and seized on the idea of building a great tower in London, competing with the Eiffel Tower in Paris. The MRC established a separate Tower Company and invited designs,<sup>27</sup> but as a result, a tower known as Watkin’s Folly was only partly built due to a financial issue. The partially completed iron tower opened to the public on a pleasure park in the Wembley area, but finally disappeared into local history. After the demolition of Watkin’s Folly (1906–07), the MRC directly controlled both the extension of the line and residential

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<sup>25</sup> The 1924 contents included India, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, Newfoundland, Burma, Malta, West Africa, Nigeria, Gold Coast, Sierra Leone, East Africa, Southern Rhodesia, St Helena and Ascension Island, West Indies and Atlantic Group, Malaya, Sarawak, Cyprus, Palestine, Bermuda, British Guiana, Ceylon, Fiji and Hong Kong in order. There was a change in the 1925 list of “The Empire Overseas”: Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, Newfoundland, Southern Rhodesia, India, Burma, West Africa (Nigeria, Gold Coast and Sierra Leone), East Africa, Sudan, Malaya, British West Indies, British Guiana, Cyprus, Palestine, Bermuda, Ceylon and Hong Kong.

<sup>26</sup> For a longer history of Wembley, see Geoffrey Hewlett, ed., *A History of Wembley* (London: Brent Library Service, 1979); Len Snow, *Brent: Wembley, Willesden and Kingsbury* (Chichester: Phillimore, 1990); Adam Spencer, *Wembley and Kingsbury* (Stroud: Alan Sutton, 1995).

<sup>27</sup> Gustave Eiffel declined to be the Wembley Tower engineer. Hewlett, *A History of Wembley*, 170.

development.<sup>28</sup> With newly built houses along the Metropolitan line, the Company's annual guidebook, *Metro-land* appeared in 1915 and remained in print until 1933,<sup>29</sup> promoting a peaceful suburban life, 'the rural Arcadia'.

Stevenson, at his lecture, emphasised the importance of the rail transport of passengers as the advantage of Wembley. Guidebooks also highlighted how close the British Empire Exhibition was to the metropolis and how well connected it was to all directions of London and across the country. It took just ten minutes by train from Baker Street to Wembley Park on the Metropolitan Railway, and a similar distance from Marylebone on the Great Central Railway to Wembley Hill Station at the southern entrance. This marketing point was shared between Wembley, the imperial exhibition site, and 'Metro-land', the housing estate. In 1924, the *Metro-land* guidebook published a special edition to celebrate the British Empire Exhibition.<sup>30</sup> The site of Watkin's Folly was now transformed into the Empire Stadium whose Twin Towers became the symbol of the Exhibition, and furthermore, the symbol of a national sport.<sup>31</sup> Despite the name, the Twin Towers were not high-rise structures like the Eiffel Tower (1,063 feet to top) but relatively low for an observation platform (126 feet high); even located at the southernmost part. As already seen in the former section, the horizontal exhibition scape without a central tower at Wembley symbolised the

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<sup>28</sup> For a company biography, see Alan A. Jackson, *London's Metro-land: A Unique British Railway Enterprise* (Harrow: Capital History, 2006).

<sup>29</sup> With the creation of the London Passenger Transport Board (LPTB) as a public corporation, the Metropolitan was amalgamated with the other underground railways, tram companies and bus operators.

<sup>30</sup> The special edition comprised the guide of the Empire Exhibition, traffic and travel information of London, and residential property advertisements. *Metro-land British Empire Exhibition Number: With an Introduction by Oliver Green* (London: Southbank Publishing, 2015).

<sup>31</sup> The Twin Towers also appeared on the 1924 *Metro-land* cover image. The nickname "Twin Towers" reminds us contemporaries of the World Trade Center (1973–2001) as the landmark of New York City and a symbol of neoliberalism and Pax Americana.



myth of British liberalism, differentiating it from the centralised Paris model. It parallels with the British history of modern transport systems energised by private enterprises.<sup>32</sup> Wembley, a one-time undeveloped suburb, had been transformed into a miniature of the Empire, representing the whole of the British imperial world. Wembley was a part of the city of London as Britain's capital and the Empire's metropolis, and at the same time, the British Empire was *within Wembley within London*. The relationship between the imperial exhibition site and its holding city, thus, creates the peculiar space of *the smaller on the outside*.

### **Touring the Exhibition**

A frontispiece of Donald Maxwell's *Wembley in Colour* (Figure 1.33), captioned as "The City of Empire", portrays a view of the Wembley Exhibition grounds from the railway tracks.<sup>33</sup> The frontispiece describes architectural features of Wembley, such as the Twin Towers of the Empire Stadium and the dome of the Indian Pavilion, seen from a distance. The juxtaposition of a sketch and Samuel Rogers's poem "Italy" (1822), especially an excerpt from the "Venice" section, alludes the tradition of the grand tour; here, the grand tour of "The City of Empire" and of the British imperial world. Major Bladen's *The British Empire Exhibition: Bird's Eye View* in *The Weekly Bulletin* (Figure 1.2), as we have seen, captures the overall exhibition grounds from the north to the south, whereas Maxwell's colour sketch shows a point of view from the ground. The viewpoint of the sketch offers the audience a sort of virtual travel as

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<sup>32</sup> David Lawrence, *Moving Metropolis: A History of London's Transport since 1800*, 2nd ed. (London: Laurence King, 2015).

<sup>33</sup> Donald Maxwell, *Wembley in Colour* (London: Longmans Green & Co., 1924).

if they are on the train as it is approaching the station near the Exhibition grounds.<sup>34</sup> Maxwell's sketch implies the inner-city travel from the south to the north within London and a view of the southernmost area of the Exhibition. The perspective of the *Bird's Eye View* leads the audience from the North Entrance to the Stadium, and furthermore, from the Exhibition grounds to the holding city beyond the grounds. In this regard, the observer and the audience of the *Bird's Eye View* have a "mobilised virtual gaze"<sup>35</sup> to look at London from the Empire Exhibition at Wembley; that is, from the *whole* Empire (in miniature) to the metropolis, a *part* of the Empire; from Wembley to central London; from a suburb to an urban and imperial core.

Through transport systems, the nodes of imperial networks within London were connected with each other. Suburban modernity derived from the mass production and consumption of domestic commodities, as Driver and Gilbert have pointed out.<sup>36</sup> The exterior and interior design of homes in developing suburban areas also revealed imperial traces.<sup>37</sup> The suburban line linked central London and its suburbs, and facilitated journeys to amusement parks and (imperial) spectacles in suburban areas.<sup>38</sup> The idea of "suburban modernity", in recent scholarship, widens the discussion of popular imperialism and cultures of empire, which has conventionally been focused

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<sup>34</sup> Based on the viewpoint and the direction, I suppose the train was approaching Wembley Hill Station on the Great Central Railway.

<sup>35</sup> Anne Friedberg has suggested the concept of the mobilised and virtual gaze by analysing the nineteenth-century visual experience of panorama, diorama and department store, and comparing the modern practices of shopping, tourism and film viewing. Anne Friedberg, *Window Shopping: Cinema and the Postmodern* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993).

<sup>36</sup> Driver and Gilbert, "Heart of Empire," 21–24.

<sup>37</sup> Anthony D. King, *The Bungalow: The Production of a Global Culture* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1984); Deborah S. Ryan, *The Ideal Home through the Twentieth Century* (London: Hazar, 1997).

<sup>38</sup> Josephine Kane, *The Architecture of Pleasure: British Amusement Parks, 1900–1939* (London: Routledge, 2016).

on economic, political, cultural and ceremonial centres.<sup>39</sup> The idea of suburban imperialism, in particular, suggests a new approach to connecting an urban core and its suburbs within imperial urban networks as well as sheds light on London suburbs including Sydenham (the southeast), White City (the west) and Wembley (the northwest). With the development of transportation, urban mobility had strengthened and urban sprawls of housing developments built up in suburban areas.<sup>40</sup>

The case of Wembley and ‘Metro-land’ is a striking example. The Metropolitan Railway, as we have seen, was actively involved in both the extension of line and the housing development, providing and promoting the easy accessibility of the English countryside. The case of Sydenham Crystal Palace can be compared to the Wembley case in terms of the engagement of railway companies and middle-class housing developments, as well as suburban (imperial) spectacles. The Crystal Palace Company (CPC) was established for the reconstruction and extension of the 1851 Palace and the London, Brighton and South Coast Railway was involved later through financial backing for the project.<sup>41</sup> The CPC built villas near Crystal Palace Park as well as developed a pleasure ground at Sydenham. By contrast, the Metropolitan directly managed both the line and the estate, but did not lead an organisation of the Wembley Exhibition. They contributed to the imperial project by selling the area for the company’s profit. The fluctuations and difficulties of the company led to the change

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<sup>39</sup> David Gilbert, “The Edwardian Olympics: Suburban Modernity and the White City Games,” in *The Edwardian Sense: Art, Design, and Performance in Britain, 1901–1910*, eds. Morna O’Neill and Michael Hatt (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 73–97; Kate Nichols and Sarah Victoria Turner, “‘What is to become of the Crystal Palace?’ The Crystal Palace after 1851,” in *After 1851*, 1–23; Deborah S. Ryan, *Ideal Homes, 1918–39: Domestic Design and Suburban Modernism* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2018). Ryan coined the term “suburban modernity”.

<sup>40</sup> Alison C. Kay, “Villas, Values and the Crystal Palace Company, c. 1852–1911,” *The London Journal* 33, no. 1 (2008): 21–39.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*

in ownership of Wembley Park, and ironically the Metropolitan was the first to profit from a grand plan of the British Empire Exhibition.<sup>42</sup> Building the exhibition grounds was a sort of real estate development project. For the opening of the Exhibition, the underdeveloped suburban area was transformed into the imperial spaces of displays, shopping and leisure. The construction of the Wembley Exhibition grounds, moreover, was regarded as “the building of a new city” and as a solution to the unemployment of ex-servicemen after the First World War.<sup>43</sup> It was thus a national object that the organisers emphasised along with imperial grand designs. As the circulations of commerce linked the East End to the West End, and, also dockyard labourers to consumers, while mingling class, gender and race within the urban context, the development of the Empire Exhibition site connected an urban core and a suburb within the wider imperial networks of London. Accordingly, I connect the nodes of *imperial urban networks* – plural imperial sites, reflecting and highlighting urban mobility, beyond existing scholarship on individual locations.

For example, *the (imperial) flâneur and flâneuse* could do (window) shopping at Liberty’s shop, stroll along Regent Street and Oxford Street, and then travel from Baker Street to Wembley Park Station. Baker Street Station was the hub and headquarters of the Metropolitan Railway, which was directly connected to the North Entrance at the Wembley Exhibition.<sup>44</sup> *The (imperial) flâneur and flâneuse* in early-

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<sup>42</sup> It was from the sale of 216 acres of the Park to the exhibition organisers in 1922.

<sup>43</sup> Stevenson, *A Lecture*, 16.

<sup>44</sup> Walter Benjamin’s unfinished *The Arcades Project* (1927–40), Charles Baudelaire’s essay “The Painter of Modern Life” (1863) and Emile Zola’s novel *The Ladies’ Paradise* (1883) have been central to the study on urban experience and visual modernity. The concept of the *flâneur* as a gentleman stroller of city streets plays a key role in the discussion, especially as focused on nineteenth-century Paris and male experience. For the London counterpart, see Alison Byerly, *Are We There Yet?: Virtual Travel and Victorian Realism* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2013); Lynda Nead, *Victorian Babylon: People, Streets, and Images in Nineteenth-Century London* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000). For the female counterpart, see Maggie Andrews and Mary M. Talbot, eds., *All the World*

twentieth-century London strolled streets and looked around ‘cathedrals of consumption’, but they enjoyed a mechanical speed in contrast to the *flâneur* as the nineteenth-century Parisian hero wandering streets. To change trains, *the (imperial) flâneur and flâneuse* walked from a platform to a platform. They loitered on platforms, waiting trains, and browsed posters on the walls, that is, ephemeral cathedrals of consumption. While travelling through the inner city, around railway stations and platforms or inside railway carriages, *the (imperial) flâneur and flâneuse* might see advertising posters for the Empire Exhibition.

Posters as a medium rapidly became the focal point of interest and debate about the commercial application of art in the early twentieth century. Posters played an important role in political propaganda as well as in commercial advertising of entertainment and commodities.<sup>45</sup> The railway companies also promoted travels to seaside resorts or beauty spots in posters. Significantly, Pick, the publicity officer of the London Underground (later London Transport) was enthusiastic about modern poster designs as the intersecting point of art and industry.<sup>46</sup> He approached the V&A,

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*and Her Husband: Women in Twentieth-Century Consumer Culture* (London: Cassell, 2000); Christopher Breward, “Femininity and Consumption: The Problem of the Late Nineteenth-Century Fashion Journal,” *Journal of Design History* 7, no. 2 (1994): 71–89; Sarah Cheang, “Selling China: Class, Gender and Orientalism at the Department Store,” *Journal of Design History* 20, no. 1 (2007): 1–16; Krista Lysack, “Goblin Markets: Victorian Women Shoppers at Liberty’s Oriental Bazaar,” *Nineteenth-Century Contexts* 27, no. 2 (2005): 139–165; Sally Munt, “The Lesbian Flâneur,” in *The Unknown City: Contesting Architecture and Social Space*, ed. Ian Borden et al. (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2000), 246–261; Judith R. Walkowitz, “Shopping, Street Harassment, and Streetwalking in Late Victorian London,” *Representations* 62 (1998): 1–30.

<sup>45</sup> During the First World War, the Parliamentary Recruiting Committee conducted poster campaigns. The Committee produced between 100 and 200 poster designs, targeting public institutions, offices, shops and houses. James Fox, *British Art and the First World War, 1914–1924* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 69–74. For a more general history, see John Barnicoat, *Posters: A Concise History* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1972); Margaret Timmers, ed., *The Power of the Poster* (London: V&A, 1998).

<sup>46</sup> Christian Barman, *The Man Who Built London Transport: A Biography of Frank Pick* (Newton Abbot: David and Charles, 1979); David Bownes and Oliver Green, eds., *London Transport Posters: A Century*

offering copies of Underground posters, and the museum actively started building its collection of posters from about 1910.<sup>47</sup> The 1920s and 1930s were the golden age of posters as well as of London Underground publicity, managed by Pick. The *Commercial Art* journal was published in London from 1922, and the *Studio* published a special feature on posters in the 1924 autumn number.<sup>48</sup> The British Empire Exhibition, moreover, was the central locus of commercial art and British modern posters, as I scrutinise in Chapter 2.

The special exhibition of *British Advertising Art*, which opened at Wembley in connection with the International Advertising Convention (14–19 July 1924), was divided into two venues: the Palace of Arts and Poster Street. The *British Advertising Art Catalogue* shows that the majority of posters displayed at Wembley included designs for railway companies – Underground Railway, London North Eastern Railway, Canadian National Railway and Canadian Pacific Railway Co.<sup>49</sup> Railways and posters share the notions of mobility and circulation. As ephemera, posters are easily attached to walls or surfaces and detached from them, and, can be widely distributed; it is a strength of the medium as a communication tool. The British Empire Exhibition and inner-city travel to Wembley were advertised through pictorial posters, and the imperial spectacle was inscribed on printed paper.

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*of Art and Design* (Aldershot: Lund Humphries, 2008); Oliver Green, *Frank Pick's London: Art, Design and the Modern City* (London: V&A, 2013).

<sup>47</sup> Green, *Frank Pick's London*, 38–39.

<sup>48</sup> *Commercial Art* was published between October 1922 and June 1926, and later, in July 1926, the journal became part of the *Studio* magazine (founded in 1893). *The Studio: An Illustrated Magazine of Fine and Applied Art* extended its interests in commercial art in the 1920s. Ysanne Holt, “The Call of Commerce: The Studio Magazine in the 1920s,” in *The Rise of the Modern Art Market in London, 1850–1939*, eds. Pamela Fletcher and Anne Helmreich (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011), 151–173.

<sup>49</sup> *British Advertising Art Catalogue* (London, 1924).

For example, *Map of the British Empire Exhibition, 1924* (Figure 1.34) by Edward Bawden and Thomas Derrick represents the whole exhibition grounds from the northern main entrance to the Stadium at the southernmost, and from the motor park on the west edge to the amusement park at the eastern end.<sup>50</sup> The large illustrated map within the girdle of various forms of transport, including trains, buses, horse carriages and motorcars, is full of buildings and figures. The chaotic composition serves as a visualisation of the noisy sounds at the grounds. On the other hand, Frank Newbould's *Tour the Empire at Wembley* (Figure 1.35) shows a tranquil scene of the Palace of Industry, the centre of the Wembley Exhibition. It depicts the concrete building within a peaceful landscape of trees and flowers in the garden and two bridges – “Unity Bridge” – across the lake,<sup>51</sup> reminding viewers of Newbould's railway poster designs.<sup>52</sup> The poster encouraged viewers to “Tour the Empire at Wembley” in the harmonious imperial landscape, where modern concrete and artificial nature met on the exhibition grounds.

*The (imperial) flâneur and flâneuse*, arriving at Wembley Park Station, could find three kinds of mechanical transport at Wembley – a Never-Stop Railway, a Road Rail System and Railodock electric cars (Figure 1.36). These forms of transport prolonged the duration of mechanical embodied experience in that they were directly connected to the station. In terms of time and space, the rides at Wembley provided a distinguishable experience of touring the exhibition from previous great exhibitions. Even though visitors at White City and Sydenham enjoyed large-scale rides, the

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<sup>50</sup> Derrick provided the cartographic framework into Bawden's illustrations. This poster map was commissioned by Pick.

<sup>51</sup> Bridges share the notion of connecting with railway lines and radio waves, instruments of empire-building.

<sup>52</sup> The style of idealised British landscapes was maintained in his famous series of *Your Britain – Fight for It Now* during the Second World War.

kinetic pleasure was limited to the amusement areas of exhibition grounds. At Wembley, however, large-scale mechanised experiences were expanded to the whole grounds. The Never-Stop Railway ran from the north end to the south end, passing by the area of an amusement park (Figure 1.37). The Railway kept moving at a slow pace (1.5 mph to 12 mph speed range) and passengers could easily step on and off at three intermediate board/alight points. The 1925 footage of the British Pathé shows a variety of people boarding the Never-Stop Railway.<sup>53</sup> The multicultural and multiracial passengers suggest the atmosphere of Wembley, reflecting that the Never-Stop Railway did not differentiate by class.

The Railodock car routes circulated the whole of the Exhibition, passing through the amusement park; passing “Craftsmen’s Way”, “King’s Way”, “Commonwealth Way”, “Dominion Way” and “Imperial Way”.<sup>54</sup> They enabled locomotive travelling around the British Empire Exhibition beyond walking pace. The visual experience of sequence made touring of the imperial exhibition similar to film viewing, as explored in Wolfgang Schivelbusch’s seminal study and the subsequent studies on the relationship between visual modernity and virtual travel/experience.<sup>55</sup> Thanks to its mobility and speed, the Never-Stop Railway strengthened the characteristic of exhibition experience as a verb. By transporting passengers, the stop on-and-off

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<sup>53</sup> “Never Stop Railway 1925,” British Pathé, accessed February 20, 2018, <http://www.britishpathe.com/video/never-stop-railway>.

<sup>54</sup> The Railodock car, unlike the Never-Stop Railway, was connected both to Wembley Park Station and to Wembley Hill Station.

<sup>55</sup> Byerly, *Are We There Yet?*; Friedberg, *Window Shopping*; Stephan Oettermann, *The Panorama: History of a Mass Medium*, trans. Deborah Lucas Schneider (New York: Zone Books, 1997); Denise Blake Oleksijczuk, *First Panoramas: Visions of British Imperialism* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011); Wolfgang Schivelbusch, *The Railway Journey: The Industrialization of Time and Space in the 19th Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986); Vanessa R. Schwartz, *Spectacular Realities: Early Mass Culture in Fin-de-siècle Paris* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998).



method made landscapes a process rather than a fixed form,<sup>56</sup> and encouraged passengers-and-viewers to act as well as to see.

The editors of *The Weekly Bulletin* additionally published an educational guide entitled *Walks in Wembley*, which recalls the idea of *the (imperial) flâneur and flâneuse*. The guide suggested various tour routes: three different Grand Tour routes, six alternative routes, and special routes for more than one day.<sup>57</sup> Significantly, the introduction of the *Wembley Official Guide* compared the Exhibition with the traditional culture of the grand tour, which was enjoyed by mainly upper-class European young men, and underlined the equality of the twentieth-century grand tour at Wembley in that its actual cost was just eighteen pence. The *Official Guide* declared “You can do Wembley in a day”.<sup>58</sup> If the exhibition grounds were a sort of a tiny copy of the British Empire and the world as picture, then the grand tour at the Exhibition, that is, the act of touring the exhibition site, was a series of operations, and Wembley became a verb.<sup>59</sup> Maxwell’s *Wembley in Colour* encapsulated the experience of doing Wembley. While wandering, the artist painted *in situ* at the exhibition grounds and captured the moments. The collection of sketches, as a result, memorialised the British imperial world, “The City of Empire”, *within* London.<sup>60</sup> Such visual records

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<sup>56</sup> I draw the idea of landscape as a verb from W.J.T. Mitchell. Mitchell, *Landscape and Power*.

<sup>57</sup> *Walks in Wembley: An Educational Guide* (London: Mills & Boon, 1924).

<sup>58</sup> *The 1924 Official Guide*, 33.

<sup>59</sup> On the concept of tours and maps, see Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven Rendall (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 118–122.

<sup>60</sup> Maxwell used a variety of media including pencil, chalk, pen and ink, wash, water colour, oil, and distemper for his sketches within *Wembley in Colour*. This book, dedicated to the Prince of Wales (President of the British Empire Exhibition), consisted of five chapters: “In Africa”, “The Golden West”, “Lights of Asia”, “The Pacific Group” and “Great Britain and Two Islands”. Maxwell accompanied the Prince of Wales (later King Edward VIII) on his tour of the east in 1921, and participated in *The Prince of Wales’ Eastern Book: A Pictorial Record of the Voyages of HMS “Renown”, 1921–1922*.

succeeded British romantic landscapes painted by the traveller-artists during the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.<sup>61</sup>

The Empire Exhibition materialised a miniature of the British Empire. Interestingly, the first page of the *Catalogue of Blocks Supplied on Loan by the British Empire Exhibition (1924) Incorporated*, published in 1925, emphasised the copyright of designs and conditions for image reproduction. The Empire in miniature was authorised by the institution, and reproduction of the copied imperial world at Wembley was managed by the Controller of Publicity. With permission, the blocks, photos or designs within the *Catalogue* could be copied and printed, which enabled the circulation of images, that is, the miniature in miniature. The practice of selecting images to publish was analogous to browsing the catalogues of department stores or ordering products by mail.<sup>62</sup> The exhibition grounds were full of buildings to represent the so-called British imperial family – Britain, the Dominions and the Colonies, which could be seen in the *Catalogue of Blocks* (Figures 1.38–39). The architecture for Britain included the Government Pavilion, the Palace of Engineering, the Palace of Industry and the Palace of Arts, and employed steel roofs and concrete, modern materials in the neoclassical style, whereas the buildings for colonial territories such as India, Ceylon, Burma and East Africa, were designed in ‘exotic’ styles in order to represent their cultural identities. For example, the Indian Pavilion was in the style of Mughal architecture, reminding viewers of the Taj Mahal, though it was not based on

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<sup>61</sup> De Almeida and Gilpin, *Indian Renaissance*; Crowley, *Imperial Landscapes*; Quilley and Bonehill, *William Hodges*.

<sup>62</sup> Sarah Cheang, “Selling China”; Carol Hendrickson, “Selling Guatemala: Maya Export Products in US Mail-Order Catalogues,” in *Cross-Cultural Consumption: Global Markets, Local Realities*, ed. David Howes (London: Routledge, 1996), 106–121.

a particular building or a replica of an existing architectural model.<sup>63</sup> Moreover, names of the streets and avenues in the exhibition grounds, named by the “Poet of Empire”,<sup>64</sup> Rudyard Kipling, symbolised the royal connection (King’s Way and Prince’s Path) and imperial hierarchy (Imperial Way and Commonwealth Way), or implied the spatial imagination (Pacific Slope and Atlantic Slope). Just as Stevenson stressed, it was a project of “a great [sic] imperial idea, the unity and development of Empire”,<sup>65</sup> which educated *the (imperial) flâneur and flâneuse* while they were constantly seeing and moving within the exhibition grounds, travelling through the inner city, and journeying across the country.

Doing Wembley enabled not only adults but also children to experience at first hand the City of Empire within London. Indeed, school children were major targets of the imperial project, as already examined. An advertisement in *The Weekly Bulletin* suggested a new medium of virtual travel as well as the target audience for the exhibition.

On May 16th, at 3.15 p.m., there will be an experimental lesson at the British Broadcasting Company’s London Station. The subject will be: “How we toured the British Empire”. A class of boys will describe their

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<sup>63</sup> The Indian Pavilion in the style of Indo-Islamic architecture developed by the Mughal Empire represented Indian fantasies and Britain’s favour with India’s royalty. The Indian Pavilion at Wembley shared social ranking, that is, imperial dynamics of class with the Royal Pavilion in Brighton, full of Indian and Chinese fantasies, in terms of “Ornamentalism”. David Cannadine, *Ornamentalism: How the British Saw Their Empire* (London: Penguin Books, 2002). John Nash was inspired by Thomas and William Daniell’s publication *Oriental Scenery* which contained “one hundred and fifty views of the architecture, antiquities and landscape scenery of Hindoostan”. For architectural details of the Royal Pavilion, see John Morley, *Making of the Royal Pavilion, Brighton: Designs and Drawings* (London: Philip Wilson, 2003).

<sup>64</sup> *The 1924 Official Guide*, 104.

<sup>65</sup> Stevenson, *A Lecture*, 2.

experiences and impressions during a visit to Wembley. This experiment will be of interest and may be of service to other schools which are contemplating educational visits to the British Empire Exhibition.<sup>66</sup>

A new technology and science of broadcasting expanded the way in which people travelled virtually through reading guidebooks, adventure narratives and travel memoirs. Broadcasting transformed individual experiences of touring the exhibition grounds into collective experiences of speakers and listeners, reconstructing “how we toured the British Empire”. The act of listening to the radio programme transformed doing Wembley as an on-site multi-sensorial experience into an imaginative auditory-dependent experience; it transformed the spatial and temporal forms in motion of the Wembley Exhibition grounds into auditory and temporal experiences at home. The virtual travel of Wembley appeared at the dawn of British broadcasting history; the BBC, not yet a public body but a business enterprise, started broadcasting in 1922.<sup>67</sup> In particular, BBC School Radio, a division of audio teaching/learning resources, began with a pilot in February 1924, and in April 1924 a series of talks was delivered,<sup>68</sup> this was just before the broadcasting of the lesson on the British Empire Exhibition.

Radio broadcasting also involves the notion of travelling in that it is transmission by radio waves. Moreover, it is based on the standardised time and establishes the

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<sup>66</sup> *The Weekly Bulletin*, no. 15 (9 May 1924), 216.

<sup>67</sup> The British Broadcasting ‘Company’ was formed by a group of wireless manufacturers, and then was established by Royal Charter as the British Broadcasting ‘Corporation’ in 1927. For the early years, see Asa Briggs, *The History of Broadcasting in the United Kingdom 1: The Birth of Broadcasting* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961).

<sup>68</sup> David Crook, “School Broadcasting in the United Kingdom: An Exploratory History,” *Journal of Educational Administration and History* 39, no. 3 (2007): 217–226.

synchronisation of global activity.<sup>69</sup> The uniform scale of spatial and temporal measurement played a key role in British imperial expansion, and the International Prime Meridian Conference of 1884 was a critical moment as Adam Barrows has highlighted in his revisionist reading of modernism.<sup>70</sup> Greenwich Mean Time (GMT) is based on the line of longitude running through the Royal Observatory in Greenwich, London; it has invented an entire globe dependent on Greenwich precision. As eighteenth-century British naval power depended on up-to-date knowledge of positioning at sea, the legislation of world standard time and accurate global positioning contributed to British imperial politics and international hegemony. The spatiotemporal politics of Britain and its empire became ubiquitous in *wireless*. The wireless is a system of transmitting radio waves; the traveling of radio waves extends the sphere of imaginative geography and expands the freedom of movement. The BBC radio broadcasting of children's experience of the Empire Exhibition potentially conveyed the miniaturised empire to homes,<sup>71</sup> thereby serving to build the imagined imperial community (of listeners), especially the youngest members.<sup>72</sup> Even though, here, the BBC called only boys for this "experiment", reminiscent of Baden-Powell's

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<sup>69</sup> As the BBC acquired six short pips, designed to mark the precise start of every hour on BBC radio, Greenwich Time Signal was applied in February 1924.

<sup>70</sup> Adam Barrows, *The Cosmic Time of Empire: Modern Britain and World Literature* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011).

<sup>71</sup> The first licence fee for radio (ten shillings) was issued in November 1922. The issued number of radio licences grew steadily through the 1920s. According to the BBC's handbooks, the figure for 1924 was 600,000. "1920s," The History of the UK Radio Licence, accessed February 20, 2018, <http://www.radiollicence.org.uk/licence1920s.html>.

<sup>72</sup> The BBC Television Service arrived in 1936. The relationship between broadcasting and imperial education continued in the 1950s; after the Second World War, the BBC produced the *Children of Commonwealth* series in collaboration with the Imperial Institute. MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire*, 141. For the BBC's imperial activity, see John M. MacKenzie, "In Touch with the Infinite': The BBC and the Empire, 1923-53," in *Imperialism and Popular Culture*, 165-191.

Boy Scouts,<sup>73</sup> gendered imperial roles called girls and women as well,<sup>74</sup> and, in theory, radio waves were travelling to reach without distinction of age, race, class and sex. Broadcasting, furthermore, connected the nodes of imperial urban networks within London – Wembley and Greenwich<sup>75</sup> – and linked between central London (Marconi House in the Strand) and the suburbs.<sup>76</sup>

### **Empire Object Lessons**

Radio broadcasting facilitated moving the focus of imperial education from on-site at the exhibition grounds to off-site and it expanded imperial leisure activities from the public to the domestic sphere. Children at home could enjoy portable forms of the British imperial world by playing games, including board games and puzzles, and by making models. The act of playing, in addition to gaming instruments, functioned as a means of *empire object lessons*, combining the methodology of self-activity and hands-on with the ideas of empire tour and imaginative geography. ‘Object lessons’ means a pedagogical approach that depends on first-hand experiences, that is, learning with things. Object lessons gained popularity as learning aids, especially in the nineteenth century under the influence of Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi, the Swiss

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<sup>73</sup> Allen Warren, “Citizens of the Empire: Baden-Powell, Scouts and Guides, and an Imperial Idea,” in *Imperialism and Popular Culture*, 232–256.

<sup>74</sup> Warren has remarked on the Girl Guides. Ibid. For women’s societies in the context of British imperialism, see Katie Pickles, *Female Imperialism and National Identity: Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002).

<sup>75</sup> Greenwich implies the royal connection as well as the spatiotemporal politics in that the Queen’s House in Greenwich, designed by Inigo Jones, is a former royal residence and is now a part of the National Maritime Museum.

<sup>76</sup> The BBC began in Marconi’s London studio, 2LO, in the Strand.

educational reformer and Friedrich Froebel, the German educator.<sup>77</sup> There have been comparatively few studies on these objects;<sup>78</sup> though board games, jigsaw puzzles and models, relatively marginalised in art history and visual culture studies, propose a new way of thinking about imperial and visual modernity in a broader context of the multi-sensory. Learning with things and learning while playing rely on multi-sensorial and multi-dimensional practices. Through board games, jigsaw puzzles and models, the physical experience of the miniaturised empire permeated in more intimate and somatic ways at home. Therefore, I bring back these playthings into the discussion of visual and material culture of the British Empire.

Educational race games based on the Game of the Goose, in general, consist of two or more players.<sup>79</sup> Players keep moving on the board by rolling a dice or spinning a teetotum, which triggers uncertainty and sometimes dangers based on the rule. In this sense, virtual travels within board games embody travels in the real world. Following the structure of circulation or zigzags, players compete to arrive first at the goal, the final square on the board. The competition within imperial territories on the board

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<sup>77</sup> Evelyn Lawrence, *Friedrich Froebel and English Education* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1969); Michael Heafford, *Pestalozzi: His Thought and Its Relevance Today* (London: Methuen, 1967); Kate Silber, *Pestalozzi: The Man and His Work* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1973).

<sup>78</sup> Siobhan Carroll, “‘Play you Must’: *Villette* and the Nineteenth-Century Board Game,” *Nineteenth-Century Contexts* 39, no. 1 (2017): 33–47; Soraya de Chadarevian and Nick Hopwood, eds., *Models: The Third Dimension of Science* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004); Jane Dove, “Geographical Board Game: Promoting Tourism and Travel in Georgian England and Wales,” *Journal of Tourism History* 8, no. 1 (2016): 1–18; “The Counties of England: A Nineteenth-Century Geographical Game to Amuse and Instruct,” *Journal of the History of Education* 43, no. 5 (2014): 691–707; Melanie Keene, “Object Lessons: Sensory Science Education, 1830–1870” (PhD diss., University of Cambridge, 2009); Megan A. Norcia, “Puzzling Empire: Early Puzzles and Dissected Maps as Imperial Heuristics,” *Children’s Literature* 37 (2009): 1–32; Romita Ray, “The Beast in a Box: Playing with Empire in Early Nineteenth-Century Britain,” *Visual Resources* 22, no. 1 (2006): 7–31. *The Cottage of Content; or, Toys, Games and Amusements of Nineteenth Century England* (1977) was an exceptional example of exhibition, held at the Yale Center for British Art. In addition, for the role of games and play in modern art, see David J. Getsy, ed., *From Diversion to Subversion: Games, Play, and Twentieth Century Art* (University Park: Penn State University Press, 2011).

<sup>79</sup> It was a French invention of the seventeenth century.

recalls the rivalry for regional hegemony and the conflict between European (imperial) powers, such as the Great Game.<sup>80</sup> The methodology of race games that represented imperial travels, in particular, resembled the act of touring the Empire Exhibition.<sup>81</sup> Through the miniaturised empire on the board, children acquired imperial knowledge while running the routes and following the rules. Examples include: *Saliss's Dioramic Game: Overland Route to India* (circa 1853), *A Tour through the British Colonies and Foreign Possessions* (circa 1853), and *Flying Round the British Empire* (1930s).

*Saliss's Dioramic Game* (Figure 1.40),<sup>82</sup> as its title suggests, represented a passage to India.<sup>83</sup> The main elements in the picturesque of the British Raj – Indian people, elephants and banyan trees – appeared from the top of the frame.<sup>84</sup> The Indian landscapes extended along the serpentine course of a journey; views from the river, topography and architecture remind art historians of paintings by William Hodges, William and Thomas Daniell, and James Wales.<sup>85</sup> While *Saliss's Dioramic Game* focused on mapping of the Indian subcontinent, *A Tour through the British Colonies and Foreign Possessions* (Figure 1.41) both broadened the perspective and expanded British imperial territories. The thirty-seven numbered pictures are arranged in four

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<sup>80</sup> The history of conflicts in Anglo-Russian relations characterised the political and diplomatic confrontation in Central Asia. Evgeny Sergeev, *The Great Game, 1856–1907: Russo-British Relations in Central and East Asia* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2013); Jennifer Siegel, *Endgame: Britain, Russia and the Final Struggle for Central Asia* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2002).

<sup>81</sup> The tour of exhibitions provides more freedom in that the race game requires players to follow a set of rules.

<sup>82</sup> This game consists of one lithographed plate cut into nine parts. “Saliss's Dioramic Game: Overland Route to India,” V&A, accessed November 1, 2017, <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O1009351/saliss-dioramic-game-overland-route-print-sallis-william>.

<sup>83</sup> E.M. Forster's novel *A Passage to India* was published in 1924, the year of the British Empire Exhibition.

<sup>84</sup> Ray, *Under the Banyan Tree*.

<sup>85</sup> De Almeida and Gilpin, *Indian Renaissance*; Crowley, *Imperial Landscapes*; Ray, *Under the Banyan Tree*; Quilley and Bonehill, *William Hodges*.



circle levels, each of which depicted the British imperial world. The title part of *A Tour* shows symbols of the Empire – Britannia with a lion – and its seaborne power – Poseidon, sailing ships and a sailor with the Union Jack: the Greek sea god, the British female warrior and masculinity.<sup>86</sup> The booklet contained catalogue of maps and information of the Empire.<sup>87</sup> Accordingly, as game players, children learned imperial knowledge and embodied imperial geography, while travelling step by step – square by square, or, jumping over squares (borders) based on the rule – from London, the metropolis of the British Empire and the centre of the plate. Interestingly, *A Tour* provided two routes to India – one overland via Alexandria<sup>88</sup> and the other via Sierra Leone and the Cape,<sup>89</sup> whereas *Flying Round the British Empire* (Figure 1.42) illustrated a flying trip. Such a difference between the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries reflected the development of British aviation and popular interests in civil flying during the interwar period. While moving through the seventy-two numbered steps, players travel through countries and cities of the British Empire, including Gibraltar, Ottawa, Malta, the West Indies, Cape Town, Egypt, Ceylon, New Zealand, Hong Kong and Melbourne. In *Flying Round*, the British imperial territories expanded even further and the air travel provided more compressed space.

These kinds of board games can be understood in the context of popular imperialism in that they targeted children as a future generation of the Empire, who played the

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<sup>86</sup> For stereotype images of sea men, see Mary A. Conley, *From Jack Tar to Union Jack: Representing Naval Manhood in the British Empire, 1870–1918* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009); Isaac Land, *War, Nationalism, and the British Sailor, 1750–1850* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009).

<sup>87</sup> Details contain industries, income, government, history, inhabitants, faunas and floras. “A Tour through the British Colonies and Foreign Possessions,” V&A, accessed November 1, 2017, <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O26285/atour-through-the-british-colonies-board-game-betts-john>.

<sup>88</sup> The opening of the Suez Canal (1869) facilitated tours to the East and increased Britain’s long-standing strategic interest in the Eastern Mediterranean.

<sup>89</sup> “A Tour.”

game at home, thereby internalising an imperial mind-set. The board games, as aids of learning empire for fun, shared with children's and juvenile literature the methodology of following (imperial) narrative – adventures and explorations.<sup>90</sup> However, each game has individual goals, and at the same time, every turn of the game has independent narratives triggered by the fall of a dice or a game spinner. Board games provide more chances and unexpected narratives, unlike the fixed narratives in literature, and players can repeat the game and change each narrative. Moreover, the depiction of and information of each place facilitated the mapping of imperial geography, which paralleled approaches of *The Weekly Bulletin* and exhibits of Wembley. By positioning London as the first step or at the centre and symbolising the metropolis with St Paul's, the games connected the imperial centre of global finance at the urban core – the City – to the nodes of imperial networks, that is, to peripheries as well as to suburban residential areas; between the public sphere and children's homes. In addition, St Paul's Cathedral has been a metaphor for London's survival from the Great Fire of 1666 (and later the Blitz) and a symbol of the city, nation and empire, connecting the British monarchy and nation as well as church and state.<sup>91</sup> Looking down to the board – the British imperial world – from above St Paul's resonated with the aerial view of the City in Niels Møller Lund's *The Heart of the Empire* (1904; Figure 1.43).<sup>92</sup> Furthermore, the board game players' practice of

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<sup>90</sup> John M. MacKenzie, "Imperialism and Juvenile Literature," in *Imperialism and Popular Culture*, 199–226; M. Daphne Kutzer, *Empire's Children: Empire and Imperialism in Classic British Children's Books* (New York: Garland, 2000). The narratives spawned from the games feature adventure and competition in a limited time, especially starting from London, which reminds us of Jules Verne's novel *Around the World in Eighty Days* (1873).

<sup>91</sup> For a general history of St Paul's, see Derek Keene, Arthur Burns and Andrew Saint, eds., *St Paul's: The Cathedral Church of London* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004).

<sup>92</sup> Jane M. Jacobs and Stephen Daniels have used this painting in their excellent study on geography of (post)imperial London. Stephen Daniels, *Fields of Vision: Landscape Imagery and National Identity in England and the United States* (Cambridge: Polity, 1993); Jacobs, *Edge of Empire*.

looking down to the British Empire parallels the audiences' performance of embodying *a bird's eye view*, as already examined, while looking down at the World Map from the upper level of the Government Pavilion at Wembley.

*The Puzzle of the British Empire* (Figure 1.44), produced as a souvenir of Wembley, further epitomised empire object lessons. While putting the dissected puzzle together, children completed a map of the British Empire, visualising the imperial territories in red. Starting from every single edge is a relatively easier way to define the space to work in; or, starting from recognisable pieces and proceeding into harder sections. These general ways of assembling puzzles suggest the dynamics of centrifugal and centripetal forces in imperialism; from peripheries to the centre, and/or, from the centre to peripheries. The Empire map made of plywood pieces, as seen in *The Howard Vincent Map* (Figure 1.4), was accompanied with information. A separate booklet contained numerical data and imperial networks: total exports, chief products, Naval Bases, Empire air routes, fuelling stations, cable stations and wireless stations. Furthermore, children learned “how the territories ceded by the German and the Ottoman Empires was administered” and about the League of Nations.<sup>93</sup> The playthings were not just for fun, but they served as mirror global affairs, and, as we have seen in the case of board games, reflected and generated social and cultural changes. “The Empire on which the sun never sets”, the phrase inscribed on the box top, illustrated the heart of empire object lessons. If board games and jigsaw puzzles visualised the Empire in two-and-half-dimensional space, models miniaturised the Empire in more three-dimensional forms.<sup>94</sup> Making models also required a

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<sup>93</sup> “Jigsaw Puzzle, Wembley Exhibition,” Museum of Applied Arts & Sciences, accessed January 30, 2018, <https://ma.as/167160>.

<sup>94</sup> The thickness of plywood or cardboard generates the two-and-half-dimensional characteristic.

commitment of time and energy like playing board games or puzzles. As empire builders, children brought order to chaos and made something out of nothing with their hands, while completing the puzzle and making models.

*Empire Exhibition Handwork Models* (Figure 1.45) were a series of seven small-scale model drawings of architecture at Wembley on the same scale: the Malaya Pavilion, the Stadium, the South Africa Pavilion, the Canada Pavilion, the India Pavilion, the Australia Pavilion and the Hall of Engineering in order. Their instructions encouraged use of thin card or stout paper, which was an affordable material in daily lives, and the model making process understandably required manual activities such as marking, drawing, colouring, cutting and assembling.

*Empire Exhibition Handwork Models* are a miniature of the British Empire Exhibition, which is a microcosm of the British Empire. The British public, particularly school children, therefore, physically experienced the double-copied imperial world while making a paper model. Handcrafting the miniature is more intimate than walking fifteen miles of roads around the exhibition site or riding the Never-Stop Railway, stimulating the sense of possession and construction in a form of souvenirs and disseminating imperial objects into the domestic sphere. It required investments of materials (paper) and creativity as well as commitments of time and energy; children invested in and played with empire. This process provided actors with personal narratives. Accordingly, *Empire Exhibition Handwork Models* as souvenirs, which reduced the public and the monumental into the miniature, “can be appropriated within the privatised view of the individual subject”.<sup>95</sup> The models privately owned *within*

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<sup>95</sup> Susan Stewart, *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1993), 138.

family homes encapsulated the Wembley Exhibition *within* London *within* England  
*within* Britain *within* the British Empire *within* the globe.

## II

### The Palace of Arts

British art of the interwar period remains relatively under-researched despite the existing scholarship on early-twentieth-century British art. Art historians have focused on the Edwardian period, the First World War and its aftermath; and the issue of Modernism/modernisms. The Edwardian period has been regarded as a transition between Victorianism and Modernism, whereas Morna O'Neill and Michael Hatt have situated Edwardian art and culture as having distinct features within the existing narratives.<sup>1</sup> *Edwardian Opulence: British Art at the Dawn of the Twentieth Century* (2013), as its title suggests, regards the Edwardian period as a languid coda of the Victorian era, while exploring the idea of nostalgia and various aspects of the period with a range of objects. Meanwhile, *Edwardian Culture: Beyond the Garden Party* (2017), the latest volume, has moved away from the view which simply describes the period as the turn of the century, looking at a variety of subjects beyond an art historical approach.

The First World War has been portrayed as a watershed moment in art history as well as social and political history.<sup>2</sup> The official war artists and their personal

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<sup>1</sup> For the Edwardian era, see O'Neill and Hatt, *The Edwardian Sense*; Samuel Shaw, Sarah Shaw and Naomi Carle, eds., *Edwardian Culture: Beyond the Garden Party* (London: Routledge, 2017); Angus Trumble and Andrea Wolk Rager, eds., *Edwardian Opulence: British Art at the Dawn of the Twentieth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013).

<sup>2</sup> Fox, *British Art and the First World War, 1914–1924*; Paul Gough, *A Terrible Beauty: British Artists in the First World War* (Bristol: Sansom & Company, 2010); Imperial War Museum, *Art from the First World War* (London: Imperial War Museum, 2014); *Art from the Second World War* (London: Imperial War Museum, 2007); Sue Malvern, *Modern Art, Britain and the Great War: Witnessing, Testimony and Remembrance* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004); Michael J.K. Walsh, ed., *London, Modernism, and 1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010); Michael

tragedies are often seen in narratives of early-twentieth-century British art. Scholars largely consider that British art stagnated and cultural experimentation was severely damaged in the conflict. A recent revisionist perspective has also suggested the importance of ‘pacifist modernism’ in relation to the international peace movement.<sup>3</sup> Even synoptic research covering the two World Wars, however, tends to skip over the interwar years, a period whose scholarship has, to date, been largely dominated by accounts of avant-garde modernist art.<sup>4</sup>

The historiography of British art has also been metropolitan-focused; ‘British’ art is often regarded as ‘English’ art. The study on British art in the 1920s and 1930s, bound to modern movements, tends to focus on the south, including St Ives as well as London.<sup>5</sup> St Ives and the surrounding districts of West Cornwall are certainly remote from the metropolis, but at the same time, the area as a haven for artistic communities, in war-torn parts of the twentieth century, was connected to the rest of the world. Accordingly, St Ives, in the scholarship on modernism, has possessed a double character: one group focuses on the locality and characteristic landscape, and the other casts light on more complex and cosmopolitan networks of St Ives modernists.<sup>6</sup>

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J.K. Walsh and Andrekos Varnava, eds., *The Great War and the British Empire: Culture and Society* (London: Routledge, 2017).

<sup>3</sup> Grace Brockington, *Above the Battlefield: British Modernism and the Peace Movement, 1900–1918* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010).

<sup>4</sup> Susan Compton, ed., *British Art in the Twentieth Century: The Modern Movement* (Munich: Prestel, 1987); Corbett, *The Modernity of English Art*; Harrison, *English Art and Modernism*; Lisa Tickner, *Modern Life and Modern Subjects: British Art in the Early Twentieth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000).

<sup>5</sup> Ysanne Holt and David Peters Corbett’s essays exceptionally consider the issue of modernity from peripheries. Holt, “An Ideal Modernity: Spencer Gore at Letchworth”; Corbett, “The Geography of *Blast*: Landscape, Modernity and English Painting, 1914–30,” in *The Geographies of Englishness*, 91–140.

<sup>6</sup> David Brown et al., *St Ives 1939–1964: Twenty Five Years of Painting, Sculpture and Pottery* (London: Tate, 1985); Rachel Smith, “Modern Art Movements and St Ives 1939–49” (PhD diss.,

*True to Life: British Realist Painting in the 1920s and 1930s* (2017), meanwhile, is an exceptional case that returns to a marginalised subject in the age of abstract art, and which also sheds light more broadly on the 1920s and 1930s.<sup>7</sup> The recent exhibition, at the Scottish National Gallery of Modern Art, and its catalogue are noteworthy in that they explore an almost forgotten generation of British artists. Interestingly, British realist art of the interwar period has been of sustained interest in art historical peripheries such as Nottingham and Chichester, as we can see from *A Day in the Sun: Outdoor Pursuits in Art in the 1930s* (Djanogly Art Gallery, 2006) and *The Mythic Method: Classicism in British Art 1920–1950* (Pallant House Gallery, 2016).<sup>8</sup> The most recent exhibition in Edinburgh brought back to the discourse of British art history three minority elements: detailed realist paintings, the interwar period and the Scottish institution.

By contrast, the art sections of Empire Exhibitions in the early twentieth century remain understudied, even within the ever-expanding literature on interdisciplinary international exhibition studies. A new consideration, in this thesis, of the Palace of Arts at the British Empire Exhibition provides a close analysis of the public art displays at Wembley. These usefully challenge the conventional division between modernist and non-modernist, and the tension between art and craft/design within an imperial, and not just a perhaps more acceptable international, framework. Through an examination of the overlapping of personnel and shaping processes of British identity in the visual arts, I trace networks of not only members of the Arts Council

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University of York, 2015); Chris Stephens et al., *Modern Art and St Ives: International Exchanges 1915–65* (London: Tate, 2014).

<sup>7</sup> Patrick Elliott and Sacha Llewellyn, *True to Life: British Realist Painting in the 1920s and 1930s* (Edinburgh: National Galleries of Scotland, 2017).

<sup>8</sup> Harriet Judd, ed., *The Mythic Method: Classicism in British Art 1920–1950* (Chichester: Pallant House Gallery, 2016); Timothy Wilcox, *A Day in the Sun: Outdoor Pursuits in Art in the 1930s* (London: Philip Wilson, 2006).



and Committees of the Exhibition, but also little-known but influential arts organisations established between two World Wars: the Design and Industries Association (DIA), the Arts League of Service (ALS) and the British Institute of Industrial Art (BIIA). I aim to restore further this forgotten and erased historical moment, and also to address the significance of the interwar period more broadly for the historiography of the British Empire, and the historiography of empire for the interwar period.

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## **1. Arts Beyond Boundaries**

### **The Art World in Interwar Britain**

My focus on the interwar period enables me to move beyond conventional narratives of British art history, unearthing little-known connections and interactions between the art world members – artists, organisations, institutions and art administrators. The complex networks of the British art world in the interwar years provides a new way of understanding the postwar atmosphere and British interwar culture. Drawing on sociologist Howard S. Becker’s institutional theory of art, which regards the ‘art world’ as a system comprised of the networks of collective activities and shared conventions,<sup>9</sup> James Fox has documented art world members and demonstrated the

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<sup>9</sup> Howard S. Becker, *Art Worlds* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008).

cooperation of individuals after the Armistice of 1919.<sup>10</sup> Unlike the existing interpretation of the First World War's impact on British art, Fox has highlighted the art world's productivity during the war and the sense of unity in postwar Britain, particularly the 'reconciliatory mood' within the art world. After the war, a new collaborative spirit appeared in the British art world, and society witnessed closer relationships between art and the public. The Palace of Arts at the British Empire Exhibition, in particular, epitomised such a tendency by embracing a variety of individuals, styles, materials and genres in the construction of the art exhibition. The gambit was hugely popular, and the exhibition reopened in 1925. The Palace of Arts was one of the major buildings at the exhibition grounds. However, Fox has concluded his book, as seen in the title, at the very moment of the opening of the 1924 Wembley Exhibition, mentioning it only briefly on a single page.

Developing his revisionist perspective, my in-depth study on the Palace of Arts reconstructs the art world between the wars by tracing networks of personnel as well as investigating the contents of art displays at Wembley. The first half of this section focuses on the connections and interactions between individuals, groups and institutions. To demonstrate the reconciliatory mood, to use Fox's term, in the art world just prior to the Wembley Exhibition, I begin by looking at the Mansard Gallery opened in 1917, and a range of previously overlooked but prominent networks and collaborations between fine arts and design mediated by it (Diagram 1).

Ambrose Heal, the furniture designer and businessman, opened an art gallery on the fourth floor of Heal's Tottenham Court Road store in central London. No longer in existence, the Mansard Gallery played a pivotal role in introducing modern art to the

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<sup>10</sup> Fox, *British Art and the First World War*.

public and linking individual artists and groups in the early twentieth century.<sup>11</sup> Thanks to its location near the Slade School of Fine Art, Heal enjoyed opportunities to meet art students and to offer graduates a venue for exhibitions and social events. In 1919, the gallery introduced a range of French modern art, including works by Pablo Picasso, Henri Matisse, André Derain and Amedeo Modigliani, through the *Exhibition of French Art 1914–1919*.<sup>12</sup> The line-up is perhaps unsurprising because the gallery had already staged its first show curated by Roger Fry,<sup>13</sup> who had introduced London arts audiences to the Parisian avant-garde through *Manet and the Post-Impressionists* (1910) and the *Second Post-Impressionists Exhibition* (1912) at the Grafton Galleries. The advertising poster of the *Exhibition of French Art* was designed by William Roberts, the ‘English Cubist’ (Figure 2.1). The following year, the Gallery opened an exhibition on Group X (Figure 2.2); the artists’ group included leading graphic designer Edward McKnight Kauffer<sup>14</sup> as well as former Vorticists Roberts, Wyndham Lewis, Edward Wadsworth, and sculptor Frank Dobson.<sup>15</sup> The Mansard Gallery staged a wide range of exhibitions across modern art and design: the London Group under Fry’s dominant influence in the 1920s,<sup>16</sup> the Friday Club organised by Bloomsbury member Vanessa Bell, Walter Crane, London

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<sup>11</sup> The gallery was run until the 1970s.

<sup>12</sup> It was Modigliani’s UK debut.

<sup>13</sup> Fletcher and Helmreich, *The Rise of the Modern Art Market*, 306.

<sup>14</sup> For his biography, see Mark Haworth-Booth, *E. McKnight Kauffer: A Designer and His Public* (London: V&A, 2005).

<sup>15</sup> Dobson was a member of the 1925 Arts Council at Wembley.

<sup>16</sup> Denys J. Wilcox, *The London Group, 1913–1939: The Artists and Their Works* (Aldershot: Scholar Press, 1995), 14–24.

Underground posters supervised by Pick, and the latest developments in interior design.<sup>17</sup>

Heal and Pick, close friends, shared the ideal of arts and crafts and the ideas of John Ruskin and William Morris, and sought to connect art and the public, and art and everyday life.<sup>18</sup> They also sought to join the practices of fine and industrial arts together, participating in the Design and Industries Association (DIA, founded in 1915) and the British Institute of Industrial Art (BIIA, formed in 1919). In particular, Heal was a founding member of the DIA. Such a tendency derived not only from aesthetic but economic purposes, particularly reflecting the postwar mood, as I examine in the next section. Both Heal and Pick were understandably engaged in the DIA and the BIIA.

Within the networks across modern art and advertising design, Kauffer was a core agent who bridged a number of individuals and groups through personal connections as well as poster designs for the gallery (Figure 2.3). Along with Lewis and Wadsworth, Kauffer was also involved in the Arts League of Service (ALS). The organisation aimed:

To further all forms of Art as something that can be brought into our daily life and surroundings; to extend all such activities to the towns and villages, and to encourage, wherever possible, the formation of independent groups with similar aims.

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<sup>17</sup> Tracey Potts, "Creating 'Modern Tendencies': The Symbolic Economics of Furnishing," in *Historicizing Lifestyle: Mediating Taste, Consumption and Identity from the 1900s to 1970s*, eds. David Bell and Joanne Hollows (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 156–172.

<sup>18</sup> Michael T. Saler, *The Avant-garde in Interwar England: Medieval Modernism and the London Underground* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 61–91.

To promote individual expression, to stimulate through good designs and models, the creative imagination of the worker and the highest proficiency in craftsmanship.

To bring together Artists of all kinds, to foster mutual understanding and collaboration, and to establish international relationship.<sup>19</sup>

In its founding year of 1919, the ALS's first exhibition on practical arts held at the Twenty-One Gallery, staged artists whose works had been shown at the New English Art Club, the Friday Club or the London Group, but "under a new phase".<sup>20</sup> In the same year, one of the artists shown at the *Exhibition of Practical Arts*,<sup>21</sup> Paul Nash argued that the ALS was a "National Necessity" in *New Witness*.<sup>22</sup> The ALS, in order to bring the arts into everyday life, organised a variety of activities: art exhibitions, lectures<sup>23</sup> and travelling theatres.<sup>24</sup> The ALS toured the countryside with not only a repertory of short plays, but also the Travelling Portfolios of works by contemporary artists, Travelling Exhibitions, and a Poster Bureau, run in conjunction with Kauffer.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> *Exhibition of Practical Arts Catalogue* (London: Arts League of Service, 1919).

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

<sup>21</sup> Nash's sketch for a tapestry *War Memorial* was displayed.

<sup>22</sup> Paul Nash, "The Arts League of Service," *New Witness* (23 May 1919), 72, in *Paul Nash: Writings on Art*, ed. Andrew Causey (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 39–40.

<sup>23</sup> The "Modern Tendencies in Art" lecture series consisted of Paintings by Lewis (Chairman: George Bernard Shaw), Poetry by T.S. Eliot (Chairman: Laurence Binyon), Dancing by Margaret Morris, and Music by Eugène Goossens.

<sup>24</sup> A short programme of the Travelling Theatre emphasised the original company's reputation on the London stage. *Radio Times* 170, December 31, 1926, 11.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid.

The ALS's activities epitomised *arts beyond boundaries*, one of the key characteristics of interwar British art worlds.<sup>26</sup> The League published a book, entitled *Design and Art* (1928), which contained a series of interviews with leading figures, including Robert Witt (Trustee of the National Gallery and Tate Gallery), Eric Maclagan (Director of the Victoria and Albert Museum),<sup>27</sup> William Rothenstein (Principal of the Royal College of Art, South Kensington), Charles Aitken (Director of the Tate Gallery) and Charles Tennyson (Deputy Director of the Federation of British Industries).<sup>28</sup>

Significantly, Witt and Maclagan were involved in the Arts Council of the British Empire Exhibition in both 1924 and 1925.<sup>29</sup> As seen in the networks within and across the Mansard Gallery and the ALS, a number of individuals in the Arts Council and Committees of the Exhibition and their interrelations sought to reconstruct the British art world between the wars (Diagram 2). The organising process of the art sections at Wembley embraced a wide range of art experts, including art administrators, art historians, writers and a variety of artists, as well as a number of civil servants, politicians and entrepreneurs. Even though the majority of these people have been unknown or forgotten in discourses of British art and visual culture, I seek to restore interwar British art worlds by following traces and constructing complex networks of the organisers. When the Empire Exhibition reopened in 1925, there was a slight variation in contents of displays. The organising

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<sup>26</sup> For more details of the ALS activities, see *Bulletin of the Arts League of Service* (1919; 1923–1924); *Design and Art* (London: Arts League of Service, 1928); *The Arts League of Service Annual 1911–1922* (London: Arts League of Service, 1922).

<sup>27</sup> In 1921, Margaret Bulley gave introductory lectures on “How to Judge a Work of Art” and “The Relation of Art to Life”. The lectures were chaired by Maclagan. *The ALS Annual*, 18.

<sup>28</sup> *Design and Art*.

<sup>29</sup> In 1932, Witt collaborated with Samuel Courtauld and Lord Lee of Fareham in founding the Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London.

members as well as contents of the Palace of Arts, were no exception. Accordingly, I consider the changes as well.

The 1924 Administrative Staff of the Art Section consisted of Weaver (Director of the UK Exhibits), Alfred Yockney (Assistant Director of Fine Arts), A.A. Longden (Assistant Director of Applied Arts) and H.W. Maxwell (Secretary). In 1925, Maxwell took the position of both Assistant Director of Applied Arts and Secretary in the absence of Longden. Weaver, as an architectural writer, took the editorship of *Country Life*, writing on contemporary architecture and country houses. He contributed to various journals and magazines, and Edwin Lutyens was especially notable in his writings.<sup>30</sup>

Based on his experiences of organising the Wembley Exhibition, Weaver published *Exhibitions and the Arts of Display* (1925), a detailed record of the organising process behind the scenes rather than an autobiographical memoir.<sup>31</sup> The book cover was designed by Kauffer, confirming their close connection (Figure 2.4). *Exhibitions and the Arts of Display* contains a variety of subjects: “Lay-out: Galleries versus Gridiron Planning”, “Group Exhibits and Their Organisation”, “Textiles”, “Building, Decorating and Allied Trades”, “Paper, Printing, Books and Maps”, “Food, Beverages and Tobacco”, “Pottery and Glass”, “Leather and Boots”, “Clocks, Jewellery, etc.”, “The Chemical Industries”, “Musical Industries, Sports and Games, and Fancy Goods”, “General and Electrical Engineering”, “Transport Exhibits: Rail, Water and Road”, “Pavilions, Kiosks and Gardens”, “Official and Comparative Exhibits”, “Exhibition Posters” and “Exhibitions in the Future”. This characteristically detailed record to commemorate events can also be found in *The*

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<sup>30</sup> I discuss later, in Chapter 3, the detailed interrelationship between Weaver and Lutyens, exploring the Queen’s Dolls’ House.

<sup>31</sup> Weaver, *Exhibitions and the Arts of Display*.

*Book of the Queen's Dolls' House* (1924), the official publication to celebrate the completion of the Dolls' House, unveiled to the public in the Palace of Arts at Wembley (see Chapter 3). It is not a coincidence that Weaver was one of the editors of *The Book*. In addition, the methodology of covering all the facts and a wide range of subjects reflected the nature of great exhibitions; it resonates with *a bird's eye view* incorporated in the supplementary publications and public materials for the Exhibition, as already discussed in Chapter 1.

The Art Section consisted of Fine and Applied Arts. The Fine Arts section was under the guidance of Yockney, a writer and art administrator. He worked for the *Art Journal*, Imperial War Museum and Grosvenor Galleries; between 1917 and 1918, he was Secretary of the British War Memorials Committee. The Applied Arts section was organised by the BIIA; Longden and Maxwell were fellows of the BIIA. Maxwell is little-known today, though, according to the BBC Genome database, in 1927, he delivered a four-part radio programme entitled *Art in Everyday Life*;<sup>32</sup> talks on “Need Cheap Things Be Ugly?” and “Modern Tendencies in Industrial Art” in 1929; and talked about museum work as Director of the Bristol Museum and Art Gallery in the 1930s.<sup>33</sup> His connection to the BIIA underpins broadcasting as part of the synthesis of art with everyday life; extending Ruskin and Morris's ideals of the arts and crafts to new media and the objectives of interwar organisations. This kind of perception of art has repeatedly appeared in the history of British art and design and its scholarship. I explore such discourses on art and industry in the next section, focusing on the exhibitions of applied art and advertising art at Wembley, where art and industry meet.

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<sup>32</sup> The programme was composed of “Art in the Home”, “Art in Business”, “Civic Art” and “Conclusions”.

<sup>33</sup> “Radio Times 1923–2009,” BBC Genome, accessed March 1, 2018, <http://genome.ch.bbc.co.uk>.



Significantly, Longden was engaged in organising the art sections of all three 'official' Empire Exhibitions: Wembley (1924/25), Johannesburg (1936) and Glasgow (1938). Longden was Fine Art Representative for the UK in 1936 and Director of Fine Art in 1938.<sup>34</sup> In particular, the Johannesburg case is crucial to understand the changes in public relations during the interwar period.<sup>35</sup> The fine art section at the Johannesburg Exhibition was comprised of three parts: South African Art, a UK Section and Canadian Painting. The UK Section was organised by the British Council; the exhibition included 176 oils, 79 watercolours, 228 drawings, etchings, woodcuts, engravings and lithographs.<sup>36</sup> Longden was Secretary of the British Council's Fine Art Committee by this time. It was 1938 when the British Council took responsibility for the British representation at the Venice Biennale and organised the exhibition at the British Pavilion for the first time. The Johannesburg Exhibition was a sort of precursor to the 1938 British section at the Venice Biennale managed by the British Council. It both reflected and revealed the transformation from flagrant imperial propaganda during the time of the Empire Marketing Board (1926–33) to exercising soft power through cultural institutions, and the changes in the structure of the British Empire.

Moving on to the Arts Council, not only Aston Webb (Chairman) and Cecil Harcourt Smith (Vice-Chairman),<sup>37</sup> but also a fair number of leading lights in the British art world appeared. There was a small change in the total number of Council members:

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<sup>34</sup> *Catalogue of the Palace of Arts, The Fine Art Section of the Empire Exhibition Scotland 1938* (Glasgow, 1938); *Empire Exhibition 1936, Art Gallery* (Johannesburg: L.E. Joseph, 1936); *Illustrated Souvenir of the Palace of Arts, Empire Exhibition Scotland 1938* (Glasgow: MacCorquodale & Co., 1938).

<sup>35</sup> Without the Palace of Arts specially built for the event, the fine art section was displayed in the space of Johannesburg Art Gallery. The building was designed by Lutyens.

<sup>36</sup> *Empire Exhibition 1936*, 19.

<sup>37</sup> Smith started his career as a curator at the British Museum. He was appointed Director of the V&A in 1909. In 1924, Maclagan succeeded Harcourt Smith as Director of the V&A.

116 in 1924 and 103 in 1925. The Council included: Fry (painter and critic), Laurence Binyon (poet and curator),<sup>38</sup> Reginald Blomfield (architect), James Caw (Director of the National Galleries of Scotland),<sup>39</sup> Martin Hardie (Keeper of Prints and Drawings at the V&A),<sup>40</sup> Charles Holmes (art administrator and painter), Edward Hudson (founder of *Country Life*), Charles Sargeant Jagger (sculptor), Augustus John (painter), Laura Knight (artist), William Richard Lethaby (architect), William Llewellyn (painter), Pick (Managing Director of London Underground), Gerald Spencer Pryse (lithographer) and Francis Derwent Wood (sculptor).

In addition, the Chairmen of Committees included: Viscount Lascelles (Retrospective Loan Collection Committee), Charles Sims (Modern Loan Collection Committee), George Frampton (Sculpture Committee), Frank Short (Prints Committee) and Cecil Harcourt Smith (Applied Arts Committee). There was a minimal change in the Sculpture Committee; in 1924, W. Reynolds-Stephens was appointed Vice-Chairman and John Tweed succeeded Frampton as the sole director in 1925.<sup>41</sup>

The long list of names in the Arts Council and Committees demonstrates the complex networks of the British art world in the 1920s when the British Empire

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<sup>38</sup> Binyon was Keeper of Prints and Drawings at the British Museum. He had a dual responsibility for both British watercolours and a collection of Asian art (mostly Japanese and Chinese prints). John Hatcher, *Laurence Binyon: Poet, Scholar of East and West* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995).

<sup>39</sup> In 1939, Caw organised the *Exhibition of Scottish Art* held at the Royal Academy of Arts in London. That year, Lutyens was President of the RA. Former President Llewellyn wrote a preface in the catalogue. An introduction to Scottish painting and sculpture was written by Caw. *Catalogue of the Exhibition of Scottish Art, 1939* (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 1939).

<sup>40</sup> Hardie studied at the Royal College of Art under Frank Short, Chairman of Prints Committee at Wembley.

<sup>41</sup> Lutyens introduced Cecil Rhodes, Prime Minister of Cape Colony, to Tweed. Rhodes commissioned a relief panel for his new residence in Cape Town. This network should be contextualised in British imperialism, considering the close connection between Lutyens, the colonial architect, and Rhodes, one of the most committed imperialists. For more, see Nicola Capon, *John Tweed: Sculpting the Empire* (Reading: Spire Books, 2013).

Exhibition opened. In the same period, the British art world also represented national identity on the international stage, in the form of the 1922, 1924, 1926 and 1928 British sections at the Venice Biennale, as we have briefly noted. The British Empire Exhibition was the intra-empire exhibition at home, whereas the Venice Biennale was the international art exhibition abroad. The Biennale established in 1895 has continued to this day and the British Council has announced a selected artist to represent Britain every two years.<sup>42</sup> In the 1920s, before the British Council's official engagement with the British Pavilion, each exhibition at the British Pavilion was organised by different groups.<sup>43</sup> The overlapping personnel and artists, however, support and extend beyond Fox's terminal point the idea of the reconciliatory British art world, as well as the imperial genealogy of the biennale project.

For example, Sims, Knight and Philip Sassoon, involved in the Wembley Arts Council, appeared again in the list of the 1924 British section organised by the Faculty of Arts. The Faculty of Arts was formed in 1922 to promote public interest in the arts; the federation was funded by its president, William Hesketh Lever. Lever, the soap magnate, collected a wide range of art objects and founded permanent display space for the public. It was also in 1922 that the Lady Lever Art Gallery opened in the garden village of Port Sunlight, close to Liverpool.<sup>44</sup> Lever built Port Sunlight to provide his workforce with decent housing and welfare, whereas he

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<sup>42</sup> On 9 April 2018, the British Council announced that Cathy Wilkes, a Northern Irish artist, had been selected to fill the British Pavilion at the 58th Venice Biennale in 2019. See press release, "Cathy Wilkes to represent Great Britain at the 58th International Art Exhibition – La Biennale di Venezia," British Council, accessed April 9, 2018, <https://venicebiennale.britishcouncil.org/press/british-pavilion-venice-art-biennale-2019>.

<sup>43</sup> Sophie Bowness and Clive Phillpot, eds., *Britain at the Venice Biennale, 1895–1995* (London: British Council, 1995).

<sup>44</sup> The gallery embraces a wide variety of collections including paintings, sculpture, furniture, textiles, Wedgwood pottery, Chinese art, Greek and Roman antiquities, ethnographic objects and the Masonic collection. *Lady Lever Art Gallery* (Liverpool: National Museums Liverpool, 2013).

paradoxically exploited raw material (palm oil) and labour in the Congo.<sup>45</sup> He was a philanthropist at home, and at the same time, an imperialist in Africa. The (imperial) businessman and philanthropist also participated in the 1924 and 1925 Arts Council of the Empire Exhibition. Lever, as a member of the British art world, was thus actively engaged in domestic, international and imperial exhibitionary complexes. Interestingly, the list of the 1928 British section shows some more familiar names such as Witt, Fry and Augustus John.

By tracing the connections and interactions across individuals, groups and institutions, I have revealed anew the art world in interwar Britain. The interrelations between artists, organisations, institutions and art administrators have been marginalised in the study of British art, falsely polarising our understandings of the academic and the avant-garde, the international and the imperial. Moving beyond the conventional interest in the relationship between artists and critics, I have demonstrated more complex networks operative within the British art world. The previously overlooked and unexpected networks both support and challenge traditional interpretations of early-twentieth-century art and culture in Britain, encapsulating the characteristic of *arts beyond boundaries*, but adding key imperial dimensions. The second half of this section explores the reconciliatory mood further through contents of the art displays at Wembley.

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<sup>45</sup> Brian Lewis, *So Clean: Lord Leverhulme, Soap and Civilisation* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2008), 154–198; Jules Marchal, *Lord Leverhulme's Ghosts: Colonial Exploitation in the Congo*, trans. Martin Thom (London: Verso, 2008).

## Art Sections at Wembley

The Palace of Arts, located at the western end of the exhibition site, was a concrete building in the neoclassical style just like its adjoining Palaces of Industry and Engineering (Figure 1.21). The building, designed by John Simpson and Maxwell Ayrton, the Exhibition architects, had an area of some 44,000 square feet (Figure 2.5). Even though the size of the Palace of Arts was much smaller than the centrepieces at Wembley, it was a central locus for learning the art of the British Empire. Longden, as a contributor to *The British Empire: A Survey* series, summarised “The Art of the Empire” in parallel with the Exhibition.<sup>46</sup> He mentioned the art of Dominions, Colonies and Dependencies as well as artists in Great Britain. The relatively short essay is composed of subsections including Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, India, Malayan Minor Arts, and Burma.<sup>47</sup> In his introduction to the Palace of Arts, Weaver also highlighted that it was the first time that artworks were displayed under one roof, not only from the United Kingdom but from the Dominions as well.<sup>48</sup> Thus, the space of the Palace of Arts was allocated not only for Britain but also Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, India and Burma, with only approximately one-fifth devoted to dominion art exhibits.<sup>49</sup>

The Palace of Arts at Wembley emphasised the characteristics of hierarchy, hybridity and diversity, reflecting the sense of unity in postwar Britain. In addition to its broad geo-imperial range, the art sections also included a wide range of genres

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<sup>46</sup> A.A. Longden, “The Art of the Empire,” in *The British Empire: A Survey 11*, 225–288.

<sup>47</sup> As we saw in the Introduction, the historiography of postcolonial art history tends to focus on the Indian subcontinent. The region of Southeast Asia, including Myanmar (Burma), Malaysia and Singapore, has been absent in the historiographical tradition of British (imperial) art. The term ‘British Malaya’ used to refer to the Malay States under indirect British rule as well as the Straits Settlements under direct British control as a Crown colony.

<sup>48</sup> Weaver, “Introduction,” in *Catalogue of the Palace of Arts, The British Empire Exhibition 1924* (London: Fleetway, 1924), 8–9.

<sup>49</sup> For the exhibition of dominion artists, see Boyanoski, “Decolonising Visual Culture.”

and materials. They embraced not only conventional fine arts, including oil paintings, watercolours, drawings, prints and sculpture, but also applied arts, including ceramics, textiles, woodworks, metalwork and jewellery, printing, calligraphy and illumination, binding, book decoration and posters, and even, as we have seen, a dolls' house. In terms of style, the exhibition was equally various, including exemplars of 'retrospective' traditional canons of British art history, such as William Hogarth, Joshua Reynolds, Thomas Gainsborough, John Constable and J.M.W. Turner, as well as modernist pictures by Wadsworth, Rothenstein, Stanley Spencer, and John and Paul Nash, thus challenging current polarised dichotomies, amongst art historians contemporary to us, who tend to work either on more traditional or avant-garde art, but rarely both together.<sup>50</sup>

In spite of its potential art historical significance, the art sections at the British Empire Exhibition have received only a sketchy treatment.<sup>51</sup> Accordingly, I scrutinise the contents of the art sections through a close reading of the surviving Wembley materials, reconstructing further our sense of interwar British art worlds. Eight main sections formed the 1924 Palace of Arts: retrospective paintings, modern paintings, sculpture, applied art, ecclesiastical art, period rooms, theatre art and a special gallery for the Queen's Dolls' House.<sup>52</sup> In 1925, the art displays were reorganised and the official publications were published in slightly different versions (Appendices 1–2).<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> For transhistorical study, see Elizabeth Prettejohn, *Modern Painters, Old Masters: The Art of Imitation from the Pre-Raphaelites to the First World War* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017). Prettejohn examines Victorian and Edwardian artists in relation to Old Masters.

<sup>51</sup> August, "Art and Empire."

<sup>52</sup> *The 1924 Official Guide*, 55.

<sup>53</sup> *Catalogue of the Palace of Arts, The British Empire Exhibition 1924* (London: Fleetway, 1924); *Catalogue of the Palace of Arts, The British Empire Exhibition 1925* (London: Fleetway, 1925); *Illustrated Souvenir of the Palace of Arts, British Empire Exhibition 1924 Wembley* (London:

Comparison between the 1924 and 1925 floor plans clearly shows the structural changes (Figures 2.6–7). After passing the entrance, visitors saw the four major galleries (T, U, V, W) spread out in a straight line. In 1924, a small gallery of sculpture and applied art (S) connected the entrance hall and main galleries (Figure 2.8), whereas the 1925 reorganisation left the space empty. This omission conforms to art historical priorities, focused on paintings. The special gallery for the Queen’s Dolls’ House was replaced with Tapestry Galley in 1925. Meanwhile, the Dolls’ House was exhibited at the Ideal Home Exhibition in March 1925, and finally, in July, was moved to a permanent home in Windsor Castle. The 1924 Period Rooms staged the seven different styles of 1750, 1815, 1852, 1888 and 1924; the 1924 model was divided into three categories including hall, dining room and bedroom.<sup>54</sup> In 1925, the size of Period Rooms was reduced, displaying only two historically polarised models including the 1780 example and the 1925 dining room. It contributes to a disappearance of the significance of Victorian art in the longer historiography of British art, which often likes to leap from the eighteenth century to the early-twentieth-century Georgian, as if the nineteenth century had never happened, although this was not a view shared in the fine arts displays, where Victorian art had a significant presence.<sup>55</sup> Even though India and Burma did not

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Fleetway, 1924); *Illustrated Souvenir of the Palace of Arts, British Empire Exhibition 1925 Wembley* (London: Fleetway, 1925).

<sup>54</sup> I examine details of the Period Rooms later in the next section.

<sup>55</sup> Scholarship on the Pre-Raphaelites and Victorian paintings has burgeoned in recent two decades. Tim Barringer, *Men at Work: Art and Labour in Victorian Britain* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005); *Reading the Pre-Raphaelites*, rev. ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012); Tim Barringer, Jason Rosenfeld and Alison Smith, *Pre-Raphaelites: Victorian Avant-garde* (London: Tate, 2012); Mary Cowling, *Victorian Figurative Painting: Domestic Life and the Contemporary Social Scene* (Windsor: Andreas Papadakis, 2000); Nancy Rose Marshall, *City of Gold and Mud: Painting Victorian London* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012); Elizabeth Prettejohn, *Art for Art’s Sake: Aestheticism in Victorian Painting* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007); *The Art of the Pre-Raphaelites* (London: Tate, 2000); Elizabeth Prettejohn, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to the Pre-Raphaelites* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

participate in 1925,<sup>56</sup> dominion art exhibits at the right-side area (Y, Z, CC, DD, EE, FF) were maintained. In addition, the Basilica (F) and Art of Theatre (L, M) remained the same. There were subtle variances in the galleries of retrospective, modern, and applied art; however, the overall atmosphere continued.

I demonstrate details of each section in order of importance, following gallery sizes and spatial distributions. The Retrospective Galleries (N, V, W, X) displayed oil paintings, miniatures, sculpture, watercolours, drawings and prints, sharing the common 'British' as well as interwar characteristic of diversity (Figure 2.9). Viscount Lascelles (Chairman) and Witt (Vice-Chairman) of the Retrospective Loan Collection Committee discussed the names of artists to be included and sent out invitations to the works in private collections desired by the Committee. As a result, all the retrospective works were lent by private owners, most of whom were the royal family and aristocrats.<sup>57</sup> A Subcommittee consisting of Hardie, Binyon and Paul Oppé (art historian and art administrator) was devoted to organising the exhibition of retrospective watercolours. In the galleries, numerous popular and familiar works appeared. The Retrospective Galleries included portraits by Hogarth, Reynolds, Gainsborough and Thomas Lawrence, whose canonical status was by secure; landscapes by Richard Wilson, Constable and Turner, who were similarly well established by then; history paintings by the now much less studied David Wilkie and William Etty; watercolours by the again still canonical William Blake, Samuel Palmer and Aubrey Beardsley; prints by Hogarth and Turner; and sculpture

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<sup>56</sup> The 1923 Devonshire White Paper was a document on the rights of British settlers, both white and Indian, in the Kenya colony. The racialised politics of imperial citizenship led to debates over the rights of the Commonwealth citizen in Africa. The dispute in Kenya had a direct impact on the Indian boycott of the 1924 Wembley Exhibition. Despite the proposed boycott, the Indian Pavilion opened in 1924. By contrast, in 1925, India did not attend. Deborah Hughes, "Kenya, India and the British Empire Exhibition of 1924," *Race & Class* 47, no. 4 (2006): 66–85.

<sup>57</sup> For a full list, see *The 1924 Catalogue*, 72–85.



by the still canonical triumvirate of Francis Chantrey, John Gibson and Edward Onslow Ford. Based on the decision of Webb, the Chairman of the Arts Council, the narrative of British art history started with Hogarth,<sup>58</sup> and progressed to the Victorians including William Powell Frith, George Frederick Watts, the Pre-Raphaelites (John Everett Millais, Dante Gabriel Rossetti, Ford Madox Brown and Edward Burne-Jones), and Albert Moore.

Significantly, in 1925, the Retrospective Galleries were reorganised in three themes: Empire Builders, English Life and Civic Gallery. The Empire Builders section (N) showed a series of historic figures, from Henry VIII down to Cecil Rhodes; exceptionally, Rhodes appeared in the form of a sculpture by John Tweed. Celebrated subjects also included Queen Elizabeth, Walter Raleigh, William Penn, Robert Clive, James Wolfe, Horatio Nelson, the Duke of Wellington, Charles George Gordon, Benjamin Disraeli, William Ewart Gladstone, Joseph Chamberlain, and David Livingstone. The focus on politicians and military men can also be found in a poster created for the British Empire Exhibition. *Builders of Empire*, designed by R.T. Cooper, was full of national and imperial characters: warships, flags, armed soldiers, mounted troops and silhouettes of aeroplanes, in stark contrast to kneeling indigenous people (Figure 2.10). The Exhibition, as inscribed on the poster, aimed to commemorate “a glorious company, the flower of men to serve as model for the mighty world”, and like the art sections, functioned to educate viewers on imperial history and to inspire patriotism. Furthermore, as the poster illustrated, the history of Britain and its empire was not very different from military history.

The English Life section (V) was a sort of pictorial history of the Georgian and early Victorian years. This section intended to show changes in fashion and lifestyles

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<sup>58</sup> Ibid., 56.

through oil paintings; the majority were group portraits. It is noteworthy that the 1925 *Official Guide* highlighted Wilkie's *The Penny Wedding* (1818) and Johan Zoffany's *The Sharp Family* (1779–81), displayed in English Life, as must-see paintings in the Palace of Arts.<sup>59</sup> The Civic Gallery (W) reflected the development of public museums across the country (but mainly in England). After the enabling legislation was passed in 1845, as Kate Hill has investigated, municipal museums flourished thanks to a host of sponsoring groups of councillors, officials, merchants, local societies, professionals and academic institutions.<sup>60</sup> The organisers of the art sections noted that the selected paintings came from “the artistic treasures of the great municipal authorities”.<sup>61</sup> This metropolitan commitment to regionalism saw examples drawn from predominantly industrial municipal museums including Birmingham, Blackburn, Bournemouth, Bradford, Brighton, Bristol, Bury, Burnley, Derby, Hull, Leeds, Leicester, Liverpool, Manchester, Newcastle-on-Tyne, Norwich, Nottingham, Oldham, Preston, Rochdale, Stoke-on-Trent, Warrington, Worcester and York, as well as examples from Scottish collections including Aberdeen, Dundee and Glasgow. Wales and Ireland were unrepresented. The collection embraced a range of artists: Etty, Frith, Moore, Rossetti, Millais, Madox Brown, William Holman Hunt, Frederic Leighton, William Strang, Benjamin Williams Leader, John Pettie and Edwin Landseer.

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<sup>59</sup> *The 1925 Official Guide*, 54. *The Penny Wedding*, painted for George IV, is held in the Royal Collection. “Sir David Wilkie – The Penny Wedding,” Royal Collection Trust, accessed April 9, 2018, <https://www.royalcollection.org.uk/collection/405536/the-penny-wedding>. *The Sharp Family* from a private collection is on loan to the National Portrait Gallery in London. “NPG L169; The Sharp Family,” National Portrait Gallery, accessed April 9, 2018, <https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw05163/The-Sharp-Family>. For the Scottish painter Wilkie, see Nicholas Tromans, *David Wilkie: The People's Painter* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007). For the German-born painter Zoffany, see Martin Postle, *Johan Zoffany: Society Observed* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011); Mary Webster, *Johan Zoffany, 1733–1810* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011).

<sup>60</sup> Kate Hill, *Culture and Class in English Public Museums, 1850–1914* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005).

<sup>61</sup> *The 1925 Official Guide*, 52.

The Modern Galleries (O, Q, R, U, AA, BB) similarly contained a variety of genres and materials, including oil paintings, watercolours, drawings, miniatures and prints (Figure 2.11). Under the Chairmanship of Sims, the Modern Loan Collection Committee invited the chief living artists of British birth or parentage. The long list of artists included well known to us, big names today: John Nash, Wadsworth, Spencer, Fry, Knight, Augustus John, William Orpen, Henry Scott Tuke and Muirhead Bone. There were also a number of artists who participated in the Queen's Dolls' House project: Gerald Leslie Brockhurst, Arnesby Brown, David Young Cameron, Alfred Egerton Cooper, Frank Cadogan Cowper, Wilfrid Gabriel de Glehn, Frank Dicksee, Reginald Grenville Eves, Alice Fanner, Stanhope Forbes, Vivian Forbes, Henry Snell Gamley, Mark Gertler, Frederick Landseer Griggs, George Harcourt, Herbert Hughes-Stanton, Sydney Lee, John Seymour Lucas, Harry Morley, David Muirhead, Eva Noar, Glyn Philpot, George Reid, Noel Rooke, James Jebusa Shannon, George Sheringham, Charles Simpson, Algernon Talmage, Sydney Curnow Vosper and William Lionel Wyllie. In addition, the Modern Galleries embraced some artists shown at the Venice Biennale in 1922 or 1924: Archibald Barnes, Gilbert Bayes, Walter Bayes, George Clausen, Mark Fisher, Samuel Melton Fisher, John Lavery, Gerald Kelly, James Kerr-Lawson, Alfred James Munnings, William Nicholson, Julius Olsson, John Platt, Ernest Procter, William Bruce Ellis Ranken and Arthur George Walker.

However, many of the artists are now forgotten and unknown (Appendix 3. List of Artists in the Palace of Arts). Even the Dolls' House artists and Venice Biennale participants are not that familiar. They left traces on the online database of Tate or

Art UK in the twenty-first century,<sup>62</sup> which makes it possible to investigate birth and death dates or to examine a small number of works of art. These artists have been marginalised and omitted in the study of British art, though, they need to be seriously considered in our understandings of interwar British art.

The ‘Modern’ Galleries were renamed in 1925. According to the 1925 floor plan, the organisers replaced the word ‘Modern’ with ‘United Kingdom’; an early polarisation of British and Modern art matched, famously, at the current Tate sites. For example, the 1924 gallery of ‘Modern Oil Paintings’ was changed to the 1925 gallery of ‘Oil Paintings: United Kingdom’; the same thing happened in the galleries of Modern Watercolours and Drawings, Miniatures, and Prints. This alteration epitomises the Exhibition’s role in nationalising art. Contemporary artists were staged as British representatives at home and abroad in the 1920s, offering critical clues for art historians to reconstruct interwar British art worlds. Interestingly, a few artists of this forgotten generation, such as Meredith Frampton, Colin Gill and Harold Harvey, have recently appeared in the exhibition, *True to Life*, expanding the discussion on 1920s and 1930s art. The Wembley artists, therefore, are lost pieces of the puzzle and missing links in complex networks of the British art world.

The Prints Committee selected modern works including not only etchings, drypoints, woodcuts, lithographs and other original pieces, but also mezzotint reproductions. The Scottish trinity of Cameron, Bone and James McBey, who achieved canonical status in etching, appeared in the Prints section.<sup>63</sup> Most of the modern prints were available for sale, and the catalogues specified each price. By contrast, the exhibition

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<sup>62</sup> Art UK is the operating name of the Public Catalogue Foundation. Digitising projects of Art UK aim to showcase the UK’s art collections to the world. “Our Mission,” Art UK, accessed May 11, 2018, <https://artuk.org>.

<sup>63</sup> Frances Carey and Antony Griffiths, *Avant-garde British Printmaking, 1914–60* (London: British Museum, 1990), 9.

of retrospective prints was made up of loan collections from private owners, including mezzotints after Reynolds, Gainsborough and Turner. Along with the Committee, Campbell Dodgson, Keeper of Prints and Drawings at the British Museum, participated in the selection process of retrospective prints. Dodgson was a key figure in popular prints of the early twentieth century. He was a voracious collector and later bequeathed his entire collection to the British Museum. Moreover, he edited the main annual, *Fine Prints of the Year*, and the leading specialist journal, *Print Collector's Quarterly*. In this sense, the collaborations and interactions between the art world members obviously played a pivotal role in organising the art sections at Wembley.<sup>64</sup>

In the Sculpture section, the Committee invited living artists, especially younger generations, as well as some eminent deceased sculptors. The main gallery dedicated to sculpture (T) displayed works of well-established sculptors: Alfred Gilbert, Jagger, Derwent Wood, Tweed, Dobson and William Goscombe John (Figure 2.12). Not only in the lofty central gallery in the Palace of Arts, but also numerous examples were found at various places on the grounds: seven on Craftsman's Way, three on King's Way, twenty in the North Garden, three in the Garden of the Lucullus Restaurant and five on Engineer's Way.<sup>65</sup>

The Basilica (F) could be an unexpected and puzzling space for the (dominantly art-historically secular twenty-first-century) audience within the Palace of Arts. It was a church-like building capable of holding 400 people, designed by the Exhibition architects, Simpson and Ayrton. It intended to provide a suitable setting for altars, stained glass, and other ecclesiastical furnishing and decorations. With a rounded

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<sup>64</sup> Ibid., 13.

<sup>65</sup> For a full list, see *The 1924 Catalogue*, 66–67.

apse, there were six chapels, each of which was designed by different artists. The Basilica undoubtedly reflected the postwar mood as well as a broader Byzantine revival across the period. Derwent Wood's *Dead Warrior* and Alfred Kingsley Lawrence's *Service and Sacrifice* were striking examples. Lawrence's altarpiece depicted the risen Christ surrounded by ecclesiastical figures in landscapes of the early Italian Renaissance style; a distinguishing feature was the realistic portrayal of servicemen on the left side (Figure 2.13). As seen in its title, *Service and Sacrifice*, the appearance of First World War soldiers, including the injured, visualised traces of the war. The Chapel of Remembrance, in this context, served as a war memorial.

In 1925, the wall decoration in the apse changed; Colin Gill's *The Colonists, 1825* could be found in place of Lawrence's 1924 design (Figure 2.14). Gill's new fresco, chosen by a committee of experts, depicted "the voyage of Enterprise and Discovery under the Divine Guidance".<sup>66</sup> It was a sort of group portrait of people – sailors and passengers on board. The composition followed wave patterns, leading the viewers' eyes up and down and finally guiding to the main figures at the v-shaped centre. The face and posture of the woman sitting with a child recalled Madox Brown's emigration subject, *The Last of England* (1855, Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery), displayed in the Civic Gallery the same year.<sup>67</sup> The figures in the background also conveyed the anxiety and apprehension about the voyage ahead. Gill, a cousin of the better-known Eric Gill, studied at the Slade School. He won a scholarship to the British School at Rome in 1913, but the war thwarted his plan and he subsequently volunteered as an official war artist. In this respect, the artist's

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<sup>66</sup> *The 1925 Official Guide*, 52.

<sup>67</sup> For close readings, see Barringer, *Reading the Pre-Raphaelites*, 98–99; Barringer, Rosenfeld and Smith, *Pre-Raphaelites*, 128.

biography encapsulated the war experience. Nonetheless, the whereabouts of both 1924 and 1925 altarpieces are now unknown.

If the Basilica materialised the emotional experiences of postwar society in the form of religious art, the Theatre Art section (L, M) responded to the war in the ‘Tudor’ idiom we shall encounter again in the Dolls’ House, as part of a broader myth of ‘Merry England’.<sup>68</sup> This section was organised by the British Drama League; Viscount Burnham (President) and Albert Rutherston (Chairman) led the Committee. The galleries showed a number of pictures, prints and models. The models included: the Globe Theatre, Bankside (built for Shakespeare and his Company in 1599); a scene from *Midsummer Night’s Dream* (Princess’s Theatre, London, 1855–1856); the Church Scene from *Much Ado about Nothing* (Lyceum Theatre, Strand, London, 1882); and the Storm Scene from *King Lear* (the first known performance in 1606). The importance and influence of Shakespeare in this section are noticeable but perhaps unsurprising given his status as the most representative example of the English literary canon. An outstanding feature of the exhibit was a large-scale model of the best design for a National Theatre, resulting from a public competition. The organisers aimed to appear democratic, to connect the public and the art of the theatre, and to further the project of establishing a National Theatre with the name of the national poet and in the broader context of the ‘Golden Age’ of the sixteenth century.

Four galleries within the Palace of Arts (GG, HH, LL, KK) were set apart for short-period exhibitions in 1924, holding the exhibitions of *Architecture of Empire*, *British Advertising Art* and *Applied Arts*. The BIIA was in charge of the Applied Arts

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<sup>68</sup> Tatiana C. String and Marcus Bull, eds., *Tudorism: Historical Imagination and the Appropriation of the Sixteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

section in the Palace of Arts. Not only Longden and Maxwell, but also other members of the Institute participated in the organisation of the exhibitions. The idea of the BIIA derived from the experience of the Board of Trade in relation to the organisation of the decorative arts sections of international exhibitions. The origin of the Institute stresses the need to examine the Applied Arts section in a wider context, beyond the Palace of Arts. Accordingly, I discuss in more detail, in the next section, the exhibitions of applied art and advertising art shown at Wembley. In addition, I explore the Period Rooms and the 1925 Tapestry Gallery in connection with the ideals of Arts and Crafts, Ruskin and Morris and the discourses on art and industry.



## 2. Where Art and Industry Meet

### Art and Industry

In 1924, the thirteenth annual conference of the British Commercial Gas Association, held in Liverpool, hosted public lectures entitled “Art in Industry” and “The Worker and His Work”. The speakers discussed the “Influence of Beauty in Commerce and Industry” and “Human Relations in an Industrial Age” respectively. The themes resonated with nineteenth-century design reformers’ ideas. Beautiful well-made products that could be used in everyday life, and a better model of everyday work in happiness epitomised the first wave of design reform, particularly the ideals of Ruskin and Morris. Weaver, the first speaker, highlighted “a great and wider and more obvious duty” of industry, and remarked:

The power of industry to do this is really infinite. Industry controls the form and colour of everything we use. It also controls the way in which these things are commended to the public. If the men who control industry and know industry, in the way that this Association knows it, will join hands with the men who control government, in order to secure beauty in common things – beauty universally expressed in things universally seen, then all the arts will blossom throughout every branch of industry and beauty will become indefinitely and continuously associated with our common life.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Lawrence Weaver, *Art in Industry: The Influence of Beauty in Commerce & Industry* (London: British Commercial Gas Association, 1924), 5.

Weaver did not denounce exploitative industrial expansion but appreciated the possibility of industry. Rather, he discovered not only the aesthetic possibility but social solidarity, social reform and change within industry. This perspective reflected the third wave of design reform in the early twentieth century.

The first wave of design reform in Britain emerged in the 1830s with growing concern about the competitiveness in the global market.<sup>2</sup> The government was aware of the inferior quality of British manufactured goods in comparison with international competitors – France, Germany and the United States. Consequently, debates over design and industry followed. Henry Cole and his circle, and the Department of Science and Art, in particular, played a pivotal role in the discourses on design reform and governmental projects.<sup>3</sup> The importance of design education and the concept of consumers of ‘good taste’ led to the establishment of the Government Schools of Design and the Museum of Ornamental Art at Marlborough House (which was relocated and renamed the South Kensington Museum in 1857, and later, in 1899, was rebranded the Victoria and Albert Museum).

If we refer to the government-driven initiatives in education as the first-wave design reform, influences of Arts and Crafts ideas, inspired by Ruskin and Morris, can be regarded as the second wave of design reform from the late nineteenth century until the First World War. Victorian reformers, including A.W.N. Pugin, Owen Jones, E.W. Godwin and Christopher Dresser, embraced the issues of politics, religion, morality, health and hygiene as well as questions of design and craftsmanship. They

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<sup>2</sup> Kate Nichols, Rebecca Wade and Gabriel Williams, eds., *Art versus Industry?: New Perspectives on Visual and Industrial Cultures in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016).

<sup>3</sup> Barringer, *Men at Work*; Dutta, *The Bureaucracy of Beauty*; Kriegel, *Grand Designs*.

sought to raise standards of design and to elevate public taste. Even though Ruskin and Morris shared the idea of reforming design and creating beautiful everyday objects, their ideals of the Arts and Crafts rejected the factory system and modern mass production, hoping to connect makers and products as well as products and consumers.<sup>4</sup> Furthermore, Arts and Crafts ideas aimed at both aesthetic and social reforms.

Such Arts and Crafts ideas continued well into the twentieth century. The development of Arts and Crafts went global as influences of the ideas spread.<sup>5</sup> The *Deutscher Werkbund* (German Association of Craftsmen), established in Munich in 1907, similarly aimed to link artists and industrialists, expanding English Arts and Crafts ideals.<sup>6</sup> The *Werkbund*, unlike the Arts and Crafts, embraced mechanical mass production and sought to integrate crafts and industrial technology. They regarded mechanisation as necessary, which fulfilled the changing needs of society. In this respect, the *Werkbund's* theory dealt with not only mass production but also mass consumption.

The DIA, founded in 1915, was inspired by the German activities and their influence on the development of modern architecture and industrial design, especially the 1914 *Werkbund* Exhibition in Cologne.<sup>7</sup> The Association consisted of British artists, designers, manufacturers and retailers, and the working committee had a meeting

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<sup>4</sup> Elizabeth Cumming and Wendy Kaplan, *The Arts and Crafts Movement* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1991); Imogen Hart, *Arts and Crafts Objects* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010).

<sup>5</sup> Karen Livingstone and Linda Parry, eds., *International Arts and Crafts* (London: V&A, 2005).

<sup>6</sup> Lucius Burckhardt, ed., *The Werkbund: Studies in the History and Ideology of the Deutscher Werkbund, 1907–1933*, trans. Pearl Sanders (London: Design Council, 1980); Frederic J. Schwartz, *The Werkbund: Design Theory and Mass Culture before the First World War* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996).

<sup>7</sup> The exhibition was closed ahead of schedule because of the outbreak of war.

with Hubert Llewellyn Smith,<sup>8</sup> Secretary of the Board of Trade, and Harcourt Smith, Director of the V&A.<sup>9</sup> In 1915, the DIA held its first exhibition, *Design and Workmanship in Printing*, at the Whitechapel Gallery in London, featuring posters, book illustrations and works of private presses.<sup>10</sup>

It later toured across the country, and, in October 1916, Pick delivered an address on “Design and Industry” at the Royal Scottish Academy in Edinburgh during the exhibition period.<sup>11</sup> He emphasised three principles: “fitness for use”, “quality for price” and “honesty in workmanship”.<sup>12</sup> He stated:

These three principles will secure efficiency in the product. These three principles are at the root of the Design and Industries Association. And just as co-operation followed from the effort after efficiency in production, so surely co-operation must follow on the effort to secure efficiency in the product. That is why this association has been formed.

And this co-operation is twofold at least.

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<sup>8</sup> Llewellyn Smith was a lifelong admirer of Ruskin and Morris. Saler, *The Avant-garde in Interwar England*, 70.

<sup>9</sup> “DIA Nothing Need be Ugly Chapter 1 – Official Support and Initial Successes,” Design & Industries Association, accessed May 1, 2018, [http://www.dia.org.uk/page/AboutUs/Nothing\\_Need\\_be\\_Ugly](http://www.dia.org.uk/page/AboutUs/Nothing_Need_be_Ugly).

<sup>10</sup> The Whitechapel Gallery was established in the East End of London, following the philanthropic art movement of the late nineteenth century. It aimed a public gallery to provide the working class with education, leisure and recreation. Shelagh Wilson, “‘The Highest Art for the Lowest People’: The Whitechapel and Other Philanthropic Art Galleries, 1877–1901,” in *Governing Cultures: Art Institutions in Victorian London*, eds. Paul Barlow and Colin Trodd (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), 171–186.

<sup>11</sup> Pick became Chairman of the DIA in 1932.

<sup>12</sup> Frank Pick, *An Edinburgh Address on Design & Industry* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh Branch of the Design & Industries Association, 1917), 12.

It is first the co-operation of the artist and craftsman with the manufacturer and distributor. There must be a neutral meeting-ground for these, where they can discuss their difficulties and solve their problems, where they can draft the articles of self-respecting partnership, where they can know each other, their strengths and weaknesses. This the association affords. It invites them all to its membership and labours.

It goes even further, for it invites, too, those among the ultimate consumers who know what they want, and they are the only ones who count. One of the gravest drawbacks to all previous art and trade societies has been that they have ignored or despised the consumer.<sup>13</sup>

The DIA aimed to transform the nineteenth-century ideals, embodied in high-end Arts and Crafts objects, into modern mass-produced items and sensible design of everyday products. Both design quality and affordable price were crucial factors for the DIA. Education served as a major role in the democratisation of art, one of the objectives of the DIA, which recalls Cole's grand designs. They promoted the idea of 'good design' through a variety of activities, including the organisation of exhibitions, seminars and lectures and the publication of journals and guides. All the activities and campaigns were targeted at both workers and consumers.

The third wave of design reform in the early twentieth century was strengthened particularly in the postwar recovery mood. The Ministry of Reconstruction was formed by the Lloyd George government to deal with the outcomes of the war. The Ministry set up a number of subcommittees that investigated postwar conditions and

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<sup>13</sup> Pick, *An Edinburgh Address*, 13.

a wide range of political, social and economic issues: transport, housing, labour, demobilisation, education, health, child welfare, and art and industry. In 1919, the Ministry published a series of pamphlets on Reconstruction Problems and “Art and Industry” was the seventeenth issue.<sup>14</sup> After the First World War, the government was concerned about Britain (and its empire)’s competitiveness and standards of design in the manufacturing industries, just like their Victorian predecessors.

Industry is daily turning out things of all descriptions which, void of art, are yet taken into service for utilitarian purposes. But if these manufactured articles are not to be an offence, if they are to be really fit for use and to have a good influence on life, art should have been achieved in their production through the quest of quality in design, material correct and workmanship. Workmanship may be sound and design correct, but both may be very dull unless vitalized by art, and the greatest possible insistence on this aesthetic quality is imperative at this unique time of reconsideration and reconstruction.<sup>15</sup>

The public agenda and rhetoric recalls the 1836 report of the Select Committee on Art and Manufactures.<sup>16</sup> The DIA’s solutions also paralleled the first wave of design

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<sup>14</sup> The series contained: “Aims of Reconstruction”, “Housing in England and Wales”, “Demobilisation of the Army”, “Housing in Scotland”, “New Fields for British Engineering”, “Raw Materials and Employment”, “Guide to Work and Benefits for Soldiers and Civil War Workers”, “Re-Settlement of Civil War Workers”, “Naval Demobilisation”, “Labour Conditions and Adult Education”, “Commercial Forestry”, “The Re-Settlement of Officers”, “Rural Industries”, “Food Production”, “Juvenile Employment”, “Prices during and after the War” and “Art and Industry”.

<sup>15</sup> Ministry of Reconstruction, *Reconstruction Problems 17 Art and Industry* (London, 1919), 1.

<sup>16</sup> *Report from the Select Committee on Arts and Their Connexion with Manufactures* (London, 1836).

reform. The pamphlet underlined “the importance of art in industry”, sought interconnections between “industry and the public” as well as between “the crafts and manufactures”, and suggested “industry and art in education”. They clarified:

All sections of the community and their works react on one another; therefore we need and fitness in everything and *everybody* [emphasis in original]. Not only in the products, but in the producers and distributors. *And also in the public*; for although the development of art in commerce must receive its main impetus from within, the aim cannot succeed without the understanding and support of the purchasing public. How that is to be brought about is one of the chief problems of education.<sup>17</sup>

As a result, the establishment of the BIIA was officially proposed by the cooperation between the Board of Trade, the Board of Education and the Royal Society of Arts. Interestingly, the pamphlet mentioned the DIA and the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society (founded in 1887) as the forerunner of the new organisation.

Even though the BIIA was an early governmental body specifically focusing on ‘modern’ ‘industrial’ design in Britain, it has been marginalised and almost forgotten in scholarship on British design history.<sup>18</sup> There have been few studies on this

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<sup>17</sup> RECO, *Reconstruction Problems* 17, 7–8.

<sup>18</sup> Major works include: Cheryl Buckley, *Designing Modern Britain* (London: Reaktion, 2007); Adrian Forty, *Objects of Desire: Design and Society since 1750* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1986); Fiona MacCarthy, *British Design since 1880: Visual History* (London: Lund Humphries, 1982); Penny Sparke, *An Introduction to Design and Culture: 1900 to the Present* (London: Routledge, 2013); Jonathan M. Woodham, *Twentieth Century Design* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997). In comparison to the important role that the DIA played in the history of 1920s design, the BIIA tends

organisation except Yasuko Suga's pioneering article.<sup>19</sup> The BIIA report, published in 1924, divided their relatively short history into three periods: the preparatory period (1919), experimental period (1920), and definitive period (1921–1924).<sup>20</sup> The BIIA was a short-lived organisation; in 1933 they went into voluntary liquidation.<sup>21</sup> In this regard, Suga's synoptic history of the BIIA bridges the gap between the time of the publication of the report and the dissolution, whereas I focus on the first five years that the official report covered and the period prior to the British Empire Exhibition in order to understand the context of organising the Applied Arts section in the Palace of Arts at Wembley.

In 1919, Longden was appointed Director of the Institute. It was ultimately incorporated in February 1920, under the joint auspices of the Board of Trade and Board of Education, and in September, Maxwell was appointed Secretary by the Institute. Llewellyn Smith (Chairman) and Harcourt Smith (Vice-Chairman) were involved in the Council of Governors, both of whom we saw in the founding process of the DIA. The BIIA understandably had a two-fold – industrial and educational – basis, and their activities divided into four categories: “the organisation of exhibitions”, “the supply of information”, “the conduct of research” and “the giving of advice to public authorities”.<sup>22</sup>

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to be overlooked or mentioned briefly. However, Woodham's article on 1920s design has noted the BIIA's activities in more detail. Woodham, “Design and Empire.”

<sup>19</sup> Yasuko Suga, “‘Purgatory of Taste’ or Projector of Industrial Britain? The British Institute of Industrial Art,” *Journal of Design History* 16, no. 2 (2003): 167–185.

<sup>20</sup> BIIA, *Report on the Work of the British Institute of Industrial Art, 1919–1924* (London, 1924).

<sup>21</sup> The Gorell Committee for Art and Industry proposed the establishment of the Council for Art and Industry (CAI). The new organisation overlapped with the BIIA in terms of missions and members. As a result, Llewellyn Smith consented to dissolve the BIIA and to merge into the proposed Council. In 1934, the CAI first met, chaired by Pick. The BIIA's permanent collection was given to the V&A and displayed at the Bethnal Green Museum.

<sup>22</sup> BIIA, *Report on the Work*, 9–10.



The BIIA held its exhibition space in Knightsbridge and built its permanent collection. They staged annual exhibitions in the North Court at the V&A, and organised not only short period exhibitions in provincial centres but overseas exhibitions of British industrial art.<sup>23</sup> Moreover, its close cooperation with the DIA allowed it to organise a joint show at the British Industries Fair of 1923. In addition to organising exhibitions, educational consultation was their main activity. The BIIA outlined a syllabus of art in relation to commerce for university teaching, as requested by the University of London.<sup>24</sup> The first report was issued in 1921 and the recommendations were accepted by the University. It led to an invited lecture on the “Economic Laws of Art Production” at the London School of Economics,<sup>25</sup> and later an inaugural lecture on the “Place of Economy in Art” at the London County Council Central School of Arts and Crafts.<sup>26</sup> The BIIA believed that art education at the university level was important to the advancement both of British art and of British industry and commerce. These activities reflected how intrinsic design was to

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<sup>23</sup> For instance, Atherton (textile); Bradford (industrial arts and crafts); Birmingham (industrial arts and crafts); Cambridge (present day industrial art); Huddersfield (textiles, printing); and Leicester (present day industrial art). *Ibid.*, 18–19.

<sup>24</sup> BIIA, *Report to the University of London by a Special Committee of the British Institute of Industrial Art on the Teaching of Art in Relation to Commerce, in Connection with the Commerce Degree* (London, 1921); 2nd ed. (London, 1923).

<sup>25</sup> Hubert Llewellyn Smith, *The Economic Laws of Art Production: An Essay towards the Construction of a Missing Chapter of Economics* (London: Oxford University Press, 1924). The contents of the lectures were revised and rearranged into nine chapters: The Economic Meaning of a Work of Art, Unity and Subdivision in Relation to Works of Art, The Position and Function of Design in Modern Industry, Economic Fitness as a Condition of Art-Value, International Intercourse in Works of Art, The Evolution and Modification of Artistic Styles, The Interaction of National Art Culture, Periodic Movements of Art Energy, and Epilogue.

<sup>26</sup> Hubert Llewellyn Smith, *The Place of Economy in Art* (London: BIIA, 1929).

economic renewal, as we saw in the first wave of design reform and the DIA and shall see in the Council of Industrial Design (COID).<sup>27</sup>

In spite of its significance, the BIIA has been absent by and large in the narratives of British design history and postwar cultural policy. The historiographical omission of the BIIA has been in contrast with the position of the Council of the Industrial Design (COID). The BIIA can be regarded as a precursor to the COID, considering their shared missions of nationalising and promoting modern design in connection with industry. We should take account of its short-lived activities especially since we can consider the BIIA as a sort of ‘beta tester’ of the government during the interwar years. The COID, in particular, originated from the purpose of economic recovery by Winston Churchill’s wartime government, aiming at the improvement of design in the products of British industry. Just after the Second World War, the COID organised the *Britain Can Make It* exhibition (V&A, 1946) as a national exhibition of “the best-designed British goods from a wide variety of industries”.<sup>28</sup> Exhibits at the exhibition were all ‘well-designed’ products, judged by expert selection committees. Above all, the “War to Peace” exhibit was a conspicuous feature of the exhibition, revealing further postwar reconciliation.<sup>29</sup> Besides an exhibition catalogue, the COID published a supplementary book to promote Britain’s latest postwar designs with an epilogue entitled “Aesthetic Science” by George Bernard Shaw.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> The COID was founded in 1944, and later, in 1972, was re-designated as the Design Council. In 2011, the Design Council was merged with the Commission for Architecture and the Built Environment (CABE), extending their remit to the realm of design in the built environment.

<sup>28</sup> COID, *Britain Can Make It Exhibition Guide* (London: HMSO, 1946).

<sup>29</sup> For a list of the “War to Peace” group, see COID, *Britain Can Make It Exhibition Catalogue Supplement* (London: HMSO, 1946), 217–220.

<sup>30</sup> COID, *Design '46: Survey of British Industrial Design as Displayed at the “Britain Can Make It” Exhibition* (London: HMSO, 1946).

In 1951, the Festival of Britain opened as a national exhibition to instil a sense of recovery and optimism in postwar society and to celebrate the centenary of the 1851 Great Exhibition. It aimed at “an act of national reassessment and an affirmation of faith in the future”, focusing only on Britain and its achievements without (explicit) international or imperial (British Commonwealth) participation.<sup>31</sup> This contrasts in a striking way with the Great Exhibition and the Empire Exhibition, and represents a response to changes in the structure of the British Empire and constitutional decolonisation after the Second World War, as I have argued in the previous section while looking at the changes in the organisers of the UK art sections at the interwar imperial exhibitions.

The *Britain Can Make It* exhibition and the Festival of Britain have attracted academic interest, and, in the 2000s, to mark their anniversary years, both academic and commemorative publications have burgeoned.<sup>32</sup> The Festival of Britain as a national spectacle returned to centre stage especially before the 2012 London Olympics. The V&A’s *British Design 1948–2012: Innovation in the Modern Age* exhibition and its catalogue epitomise this tendency.<sup>33</sup> As seen in its title, the

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<sup>31</sup> *The Festival of Britain, 1951* (London: HMSO, 1951), 3; The Festival Office, *The Official Book of the Festival of Britain 1951* (London: HMSO, 1951).

<sup>32</sup> Harriet Atkinson, *The Festival of Britain: A Land and Its People* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2012); Becky E. Conekin, *The Autobiography of a Nation: The 1951 Festival of Britain* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003); Elain Harwood and Alan Powers, eds., *Festival of Britain* (London: Twentieth Century Society, 2001); Patrick J. Maguire and Jonathan M. Woodham, eds., *Design and Cultural Politics in Postwar Britain: Britain Can Make It Exhibition of 1946* (London: Leicester University Press, 1997); Paul Rennie, *Festival of Britain: Design 1951* (Woodbridge: Antique Collectors’ Club, 2007); Barry Turner, *Beacon for Change: How the 1951 Festival of Britain Shaped the Modern Age* (London: Aurum, 2011).

<sup>33</sup> Christopher Breward and Ghislaine Wood, eds., *British Design from 1948: Innovation in the Modern Age* (London: V&A, 2012). The *Space and Places: British Design 1948–2012* conference, in conjunction with the V&A’s exhibition, was in the same line. Christopher Breward, Fiona Fisher and Ghislaine Wood, eds., *British Design: Tradition and Modernity after 1948* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2015). The 2012 Olympic year exhibition embraced a wide variety of objects, including architecture, urban planning, fine art and sculpture, product, furniture, graphic, textile, ceramic,

exhibition focused on the period between the 1948 ‘Austerity Games’ and the 2012 Olympics, exploring postwar British art and design.<sup>34</sup> In this narrative, interwar art and cultural activities that I examine in this thesis were conspicuous by their absence.

The place of the British Empire Exhibition and the BIIA in the historiography of British art and design reflects the status of the interwar period as no man’s land in the historiographical tradition.<sup>35</sup> In addition, it resonates with a tendency to highlight Britain’s role in the Second World War and the myth of glorious victory, rather than shadows of the First World War.<sup>36</sup> Nevertheless, the Applied Arts section in the Palace of Arts at the British Empire Exhibition encapsulated the character of third-wave design reform – the collaborative efforts to link art, industry, commerce and the public in that the BIIA carefully selected and arranged the works of applied art.<sup>37</sup>

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fashion and digital design, glass and metal-working, jewellery and illustration, design for performance, film and advertising. The selected exhibits were created by designers and artists born, trained or based in Britain.

<sup>34</sup> The 1948 London Olympics hosted the opening ceremony in Wembley Stadium. The first Olympic Games after the Second World War, moreover, was accompanied by the Cultural Olympiad; the international competition exhibition, *Sport in Art*, was held at the V&A.

<sup>35</sup> Woodham’s 1980 article is exceptional. Woodham, “Design and Empire.”

<sup>36</sup> Recently, this tendency can be observed in the film industry: *Their Finest* (2016), *Dunkirk* (2017), *Darkest Hour* (2017) and *Churchill* (2017). The production of these war movies coincided with the 2016 Brexit referendum. Significantly, ‘Dunkirk’ and ‘Churchill’ have been used in the Brexiteer’s rhetoric. I do not see these films intended to portray the pro-Brexit and deliberately insular attitudes, but they have instigated fantasies of ‘Britain alone’ and ‘Empire 2.0’.

<sup>37</sup> At Wembley, the Art Section consisted of Fine and Applied Arts, conforming to the conventional division of fine art and non-fine art. Each organisation and authority, as already examined, employed different terms: ‘design’, ‘applied art’, ‘industrial art’ and ‘decorative art’. Moreover, ‘commercial art’ and ‘advertising art’ appeared in the discussion on posters. Therefore, I use all these terms, considering the original usage and the specific context.

## Applied Art

The Board of Trade engaged in the organisation of the decorative arts sections of international exhibitions. Such experiences demanded specialist knowledge and professional skills, which resulted in the establishment of the BIIA. Before the British Empire Exhibition, the BIIA had been responsible for organising a number of overseas exhibitions of British industrial art: in Stockholm, Gothenburg and Rotterdam in 1921 (books, printing, calligraphy and illumination); in the Hague, Amsterdam and Arnheim in 1923 (weaving, lace, embroidery, tapestries, ceramics, metalwork, jewellery and the arts of the book);<sup>38</sup> and the first International Exhibition of Industrial Art, Milan in 1923.<sup>39</sup> The international arena of British industrial art was not limited to Europe but expanded to the Americas. In 1922, the BIIA was invited to take part in a poster exhibition for the advertising conference of the world which was held in Milwaukee in that year. Along with the directly arranged exhibitions, the BIIA cooperated with other public authorities. The British section of the Independence Centenary International Exposition (Rio de Janeiro, 1922) was organised by the Exhibitions Branch of the Department of Overseas Trade, but the BIIA was responsible for selecting the exhibits of industrial art.<sup>40</sup> In 1925, right after the Wembley Exhibition, Longden, the Director of the Institute was involved in organising the British Pavilion at the International Exhibition of Modern Decorative and Industrial Arts in Paris.

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<sup>38</sup> The touring exhibition was invited by the Netherland England Society.

<sup>39</sup> *La Triennale di Milano* has been an international institution to organise art and design exhibitions since 1923. The International Exhibition was introduced to foster decorative and industrial arts and modern architecture in relation to the social and economic development of the young Kingdom of Italy.

<sup>40</sup> It was an international exposition to mark the centenary of Brazil's Independence.

In addition, the BIIA built up the permanent collection of contemporary examples, which was relatively small but specially chosen by the selection committee. According to the 1924 report, the permanent collection embraced 70 examples of textiles, 24 of pottery, 24 of printing, 16 of books, 10 of colour calligraphy, one of bookbinding, one of stained glass and a collection of 200 posters.<sup>41</sup> The contents of the BIIA collection show the tendency and preference of the fellows, allowing us to expect atmospheres of the Palace of Arts in the 1920s. The collection was classified according to materials and techniques: metalwork, glass, stained glass, bookbinding, illumination, textiles, ceramics, books and printing, colour prints, designs, illustration, lithographs, posters, and woodcuts.<sup>42</sup> Similar traits of hybridity and diversity could be found in the Applied Arts section in the Palace of Arts, as we have briefly noted.

The Applied Arts Committee members also displayed the characteristic of *arts beyond boundaries* of early-twentieth-century art and culture in Britain. At their request, the Director (Longden) and Secretary (Maxwell) of the Institute, organised the Applied Arts section at Wembley. Harcourt Smith, the Vice-Chairman of the Institute was elected Vice-Chairman of the Arts Council, and 32 out of the BIIA fellows were invited to serve on the Applied Arts Committee. Among the Committee members, there were familiar figures whom we have already encountered: Hardie, Kauffer, Pick, Pryse and Rooke. Additionally, the BIIA fellows within the Committee included: Douglas Cockerell (bookbinder), Harold Curwen (publisher of Curwen Press), Gordon Forsyth (ceramic designer), Graily Hewitt (novelist and calligrapher), C.H. St John Hornby (partner of WHSmith and founder of Ashendene

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<sup>41</sup> BIIA, *Report on the Work*, 15.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, 57–63.

Press), A.F. Kendrick (Keeper of Textiles at the V&A), G.H. Palmer (Keeper of Library at the V&A), H.H. Peach (businessman), Charles Spooner (architect and furniture-maker), Harold Stabler (sculptor, potter and metalworker), Phoebe Stabler (sculptor and potter), W. Augustus Steward (author of *War Medals and Their History*), E.F. Strange (Keeper of Woodwork at the V&A), E.W. Tristram (art historian and conservator), F.W. Troup (architect), Laurence Turner (architect and sculptor), Frank Warner (silk manufacturer), W.W. Watts (Keeper of Metalwork at the V&A) and Henry Wilson (architect and designer).

The Committee members were comprised of art experts, manufacturers and retailers as well as a variety of artists, including the V&A staff and members of the DIA, the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society (ACES) and the Art Workers' Guild (founded in 1884): Spooner and Wilson in the ACES, and Troup and Turner in the Guild.<sup>43</sup> These were not mutually exclusive, contrary to general assumptions. Moreover, many of these people were not just practitioners but producers of knowledge by writing and publishing books on art and design. The curators at the V&A understandably published catalogues. For example, the *Catalogue of Tapestries* (1924) by Kendrick and *Catalogues of Japanese Lacquer* (1924; 1925) by Strange are still on the Museum's reading lists. Strange wrote about Japanese prints and Chinese lacquer as well.<sup>44</sup> Steward compiled the history of military decorations, looking at war medals in the context of military history of the British Empire,<sup>45</sup> which recalls Cooper's *Builders of Empire* as we saw in the previous section. Turner,

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<sup>43</sup> Wilson was President of the ACES between 1915 and 1922. Turner was Master of the Guild in 1922.

<sup>44</sup> Edward F. Strange, *Chinese Lacquer* (London: V&A, 1925); *The Colour-Prints of Japan: An Appreciation and History* (London: A. Siegle, 1904). He was a member of the Japan Society.

<sup>45</sup> William Augustus Steward, *War Medals and Their History* (London: Stanley Paul & Co, 1915). The book was comprised of two – military and naval – sections.

who carved Morris's tomb at Kelmscott (designed by Philip Webb),<sup>46</sup> published on plasterwork.<sup>47</sup> Strikingly, Warner and Peach, the businessmen, were enthusiastic about publishing in their speciality. Warner inherited the family business, Warner & Sons (founded in 1870), which established a reputation in the textile industry, especially for producing high-class furnishing silks.<sup>48</sup> He intended to write the history of the British silk industry, exploring the progress and development across the country, the issues of designer and designing, trade unions and associations, and even the smuggling trade.<sup>49</sup> Peach, the founder of Dryad Cane Furniture, was a key figure in the third-wave design reform in that he was involved in the DIA as well as the BIIA.<sup>50</sup> At the same time, he was inspired by Arts and Crafts ideas; Peach set up Dryad Handicrafts with a passion for craftsmanship and education, collected craftworks, and compiled writings of the Arts and Crafts philosophy, including Ruskin, Morris and Lethaby.<sup>51</sup>

The majority of the Committee members, in the case of artists and manufacturers, had exhibits in the Palace of Arts: the Curwen Press, Dryad Cane Works, Warner & Sons, Harold and Phoebe Stabler, and Spooner. Some of their works were also held in the BIIA's permanent collection: Harold Stabler's enamels, Phoebe Stabler's

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<sup>46</sup> "Laurence Arthur Turner," *Mapping the Practice and Profession of Sculpture in Britain and Ireland 1851–1951*, University of Glasgow History of Art and HATII, online database 2011, accessed May 1 2018, [https://sculpture.gla.ac.uk/view/person.php?id=msib2\\_1208266553](https://sculpture.gla.ac.uk/view/person.php?id=msib2_1208266553).

<sup>47</sup> Laurence Turner, *Decorative Plasterwork in Great Britain* (London: Country Life, 1927).

<sup>48</sup> The company built an archive to hold the collection of textiles, paper designs, pattern books, record books and photographs. The Warner Textile Archive is located in the company's original mill building in Essex. Warner Textile Archive, accessed May 1, 2018, <http://www.warnertextilearchive.co.uk>.

<sup>49</sup> Frank Warner, *The Silk Industry of the United Kingdom: Its Origin and Development* (London: Drane's, 1921).

<sup>50</sup> Pat Kirkham, *Harry Peach: Dryad and DIA* (London: Design Council, 1986).

<sup>51</sup> Harry Peach, ed., *Craftsmen All: Some Readings in Praise of Making and Doing* (Leicester: Dryad Handicrafts, 1926). The subsections included: Work and Life, Basket-Making and Pottery, Weaving, Spinning and the Making of Cloth, Building, Metal-Work, Writing and Printing, Painting and Woodcuts, and Country Crafts.



bronze and pottery figures, and Warner & Sons' examples of silk and velvet. Within the permanent collection – ceramics – there were some more artists shown at Wembley: Bernard Leach, W. Howson Taylor,<sup>52</sup> and Pilkington's Tile & Pottery Company.<sup>53</sup> Another Committee member, Forsyth was renowned for his lustre vases, produced for Pilkington's. Leach, in particular, was a key figure in British studio pottery of the twentieth century.<sup>54</sup> In the British context, scholars largely locate his Orientalist art-pots, on the one hand, in St Ives pottery, and, on the other, in his friendship and collaboration with Shoji Hamada and Soetsu Yanagi, the leading figures of the Japanese aesthetic movement.<sup>55</sup> However, we should reconsider Leach in more global and imperial contexts in that Yanagi's *Mingei* theory emerged and evolved through Korean folk crafts while he was travelling in Korea under Japanese colonial rule.<sup>56</sup> As *Mingei* theory developed in the context of Japanese imperialism, Leach's practice of collecting and crafting as well as Yanagi's theory, needs to be situated in trans-imperial contexts.

While Harold and Phoebe Stabler are little-known today, they were influential in British art worlds of the 1920s and 1930s. In particular, Harold Stabler was

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<sup>52</sup> Taylor was the son of Edward Richard Taylor, who founded the Ruskin Pottery in 1898. They named the factory in honour of Ruskin. The company was primarily known for its innovative and experimental glazes. Paul Atterbury and John Henson, *Ruskin Pottery: Pottery of Edward Richard Taylor and William Howson Taylor, 1898–1935* (London: Baxendale, 1993).

<sup>53</sup> The Pilkington family established Pilkington's Tile & Pottery Company in 1891, and later, in 1893, started tile production. For more, see A.J. Cross, *Pilkington's Royal Lancastrian Pottery and Tiles* (London: Richard Dennis, 1980).

<sup>54</sup> Edmund de Waal, *Bernard Leach* (London: Tate, 2013).

<sup>55</sup> Yanagi's book *The Unknown Craftsman: A Japanese Insight into Beauty* has become influential since its first release in English in 1972 (adapted by Leach). A foreword was written by Hamada. Soetsu Yanagi, *The Unknown Craftsman: A Japanese Insight into Beauty* (Tokyo: Kodansha International, 1972).

<sup>56</sup> Kim Brandt, *Kingdom of Beauty: Mingei and the Politics of Folk Art in Imperial Japan* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007); Yuko Kikuchi, "Hybridity and the Oriental Orientalism of *Mingei* Theory," *Journal of Design History* 10, no. 4 (1997): 343–354; "The Myth of Yanagi's Originality: The Formation of *Mingei* Theory in Its Social and Historical Context," *Journal of Design History* 7, no. 4 (1994): 247–266.

appointed one of the first Designers for Industry by the Royal Society of Arts in 1936.<sup>57</sup> The Stablers had a close connection with Weaver; Phoebe Stabler designed a series of figure models and garden ornaments especially for Ashtead Potters Ltd. The company, as I noted in Chapter 1, was founded by Weaver with the purpose of employing disabled ex-servicemen; and understandably, their pottery was staged at Wembley (Figure 2.15). Phoebe Stabler also contributed to a brochure entitled *Wembley: The First City of Concrete*, writing on “concrete as a sculptor’s medium”; she “carved the first piece of concrete sculpture ever exhibited at the Royal Academy” (Figure 2.16).<sup>58</sup> In 1921, the Stablers joined Carter, Stabler & Adams Ltd., which originated from the Carter family’s factory in Poole, Dorset; their pottery was also shown in the Palace of Arts (Figure 2.17). In addition, Harold Stabler was associated with Pick; he produced the first official seal for the London Passenger Transport Board and designed a cap badge as well as posters.<sup>59</sup>

The overlapping members of the design reform organisations and the Committee demonstrate the feature of the Applied Arts section at Wembley. Pick, a BIIA fellow, was engaged in the DIA, as already examined. Curwen was one of the founding members of the DIA, in company with Heal, Peach and Harold Stabler. Curwen took over his grandfather’s business, J. Curwen & Son (founded in 1863), in 1914, and soon began to build a modern brand identity, apply a house style to their work and specialise in well-designed print materials. The Curwen Press was one of the pioneering publishers to collaborate with contemporary young artists, such as

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<sup>57</sup> “Harold Stabler,” British Museum, accessed May 1, 2018, [http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search\\_the\\_collection\\_database/term\\_details.aspx?bioId=78725](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database/term_details.aspx?bioId=78725).

<sup>58</sup> E. Owen Williams et al., *Wembley: The First City of Concrete* (London: British Portland Cement Association, 1925), 29–30.

<sup>59</sup> “Harold Stabler,” London Transport Museum, accessed May 1, 2018, <https://www.ltmuseum.co.uk/collections/collections-online/people/item/1996-5126>.

Kauffer, the Nash brothers, Bawden, Graham Sutherland and John Piper, and to promote modern design in the interwar years.<sup>60</sup> During that time, a small number of private presses achieved fame and showed acclaimed performance; Hornby's Ashdene Press was one of the leading publishers.

The Wembley Applied Arts section included a group of furniture produced by Heal & Son's and Waring & Gillow.<sup>61</sup> These companies were also engaged in the execution of some of the Period Rooms in the Applied Arts section. The 1924 Period Rooms included seven rooms: four retrospective models and three to mark the style of the exhibition year. Each retrospective room represented specific periods of time. They were designed by different individuals according to their specialty. The first room illustrated the period of Hogarth (Figure 2.18). The 1750 Room (A) was based on the design of Abraham Swan, an influential architectural designer and writer in the eighteenth century,<sup>62</sup> erected by White, Allom & Co.<sup>63</sup> in cooperation with Arthur Stratton.<sup>64</sup> Stratton was an architectural writer, who specialised in interior decoration and compiled eighteenth-century interior designs by Swan.<sup>65</sup> The second

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<sup>60</sup> Paul Cleveland, "Curwen Press, Early Adapters of Brand Strategy," *Journal of Design History* 31, no. 1 (2017): 66–82; Pat Gilmour, *Artists at Curwen: A Celebration of the Gift of Artists' Prints from the Curwen Studio* (London: Tate, 1977).

<sup>61</sup> Robert Gillow's Lancaster cabinet-making firm was founded in the early eighteenth century, and until the early 1900s, continued as Gillows. In 1897, Gillows merged with the Liverpool firm Waring, to form Waring & Gillow. "Gillow – Cabinet Making Firm," Lancashire Museums, accessed May 1, 2018, <http://collections.lancsmuseums.gov.uk/narratives/narrative.php?irn=163>.

<sup>62</sup> Abraham Swan, *The British Architect* (London, 1745); *A Collection of Designs in Architecture* (London, 1757); *Upwards of One Hundred and Fifty New Designs for Chimney Pieces* (London, 1768).

<sup>63</sup> This decorating firm designed furniture especially for the residence of Henry Clay Frick and decorated the interiors of The Frick Collection. In 1982, The Frick Collection held an exhibition dedicated to the White, Allom Library Model. "Past Exhibition: The White, Allom Library Model," The Frick Collection, accessed May 1, 2018, [https://www.frick.org/exhibitions/past/1982/white\\_allom](https://www.frick.org/exhibitions/past/1982/white_allom).

<sup>64</sup> *The 1924 Catalogue*, 11.

<sup>65</sup> Arthur Stratton, *Elements of Form and Design in Classic Architecture* (London: Batsford, 1925); *Some XVIIIth Century Designs for Interior Decoration* (London: J. Tiranti & Co., 1923); *The English*

was a Regency room, designed by A.E. Richardson (Figure 2.19).<sup>66</sup> The 1815 Room (B) represented British decorative arts at the time of the Battle of Waterloo, reminiscent of the style of John Nash.<sup>67</sup> The 1852 Room (C) aimed to highlight the impact of the 1851 Great Exhibition (Figure 2.20). It was designed by H.S. Goodhart-Rendel (architect), although the chimney piece and ceiling ornaments were from the period.<sup>68</sup> The fourth was the 1888 Room (H) to mark the year of the first exhibition of the ACES,<sup>69</sup> and included exact replicas of Red House, designed by Morris and Webb in 1859 (Figure 2.21).<sup>70</sup> The architectural details were carried out under the supervision of Turner, with the aid of the committee, consisting of Halsey Ricardo (the partner of William de Morgan in his tile works), George Jack (the lifelong associate of Webb) and C.C. Winmill (his most devoted student).<sup>71</sup> The 1888 Room suggested a domestic sense of the Pre-Raphaelites. Towards this end, May Morris lent decorative objects related to her father.<sup>72</sup> In addition, the picture over the mantelpiece was *Strayed Sheep* (1852) by Holman Hunt.<sup>73</sup>

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*Interior: A Review of the Decoration of English Homes from Tudor Times to the XIXth Century* (London: Batsford, 1920).

<sup>66</sup> Richardson is underestimated today, though he was a prolific writer and educator, holding the Bartlett professorship, and later, in 1954, was appointed President of the Royal Academy. He started work in the Arts and Crafts idiom and progressed into full-blown Classicism. Richardson bequeathed his house and collection to the National Trust. Recently, however, the contents of Avenue House in Ampthill were sold by Christie's in London. Gavin Stamp, "Rejected Riches: Avenue House," *Apollo*, September 18, 2013, <https://www.apollo-magazine.com/avenue-house>.

<sup>67</sup> *The 1924 Catalogue*, 11.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, 12.

<sup>69</sup> The ACES's annual exhibitions were held at the New Gallery.

<sup>70</sup> For a general history, see Peter Davey, *Arts and Crafts Architecture* (London: Phaidon, 1995); Pamela Todd, *William Morris and the Arts & Crafts Home* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2012). Hart has focused on Morris's two major homes, Kelmscott Manor and Kelmscott House. Hart, *Arts and Crafts Objects*, 67–111.

<sup>71</sup> For the details of objects, see *The 1924 Catalogue*, 26.

<sup>72</sup> May Morris's embroidered panel was displayed in the Applied Arts section.

<sup>73</sup> This painting is part of the Tate collection today. It was presented by the Art Fund in 1946, and now displayed in the room of "Walk through British Art: 1840" at Tate Britain. "Our English Coasts,

By contrast, the 1924 designs were selected from a public competition organised by *Country Life*. The 1924 Hall (I) and Dining Room (J) were designed by Gerald Wellesley and Trenwith Wills, eminent architects in the 1920s and 1930s, and erected by W.H. Gaze & Sons (Figure 2.22).<sup>74</sup> Pieces of sculpture by Dobson appeared in both the Hall and Dining Room.<sup>75</sup> The panels of the Dining Room were painted by Alfred Palmer.<sup>76</sup> The 1924 Bedroom (K) was designed by an interior architect, W.J. Palmer Jones, executed and furnished by Heal & Son (Figure 2.23).

The 1925 Period Rooms showed variations by presenting the models of 1780 and 1925 in different materials. The 1780 Rooms (A, B) were called “Adam Room” because they were dedicated to styles of the Brothers Adam. The Adam style or Adamesque, created by Robert Adam (often referred to as the three Scottish brothers), was a neoclassical style of interior design and architecture in the eighteenth century.<sup>77</sup> At Wembley, A.T. Bolton, the curator of Sir John Soane’s Museum, arranged the exhibits. Unlike the 1924 open competition, the 1925 Dining Room (J) was designed by Ayrton, the Exhibition architect.

Significantly, the 1925 Applied Arts section included Morris Tapestries. The Committee’s preference for the Pre-Raphaelites as well as the Arts and Crafts continued. In place of the Queen’s Dolls’ House, a Tapestry Gallery appeared as one of the must-see items in the 1925 Palace of Arts.<sup>78</sup> The Gallery displayed the Holy

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1852 (Strayed Sheep)’, William Holman Hunt, 1852,” Tate, accessed May 1, 2018, <http://www.tate.org.uk/art/artworks/hunt-our-english-coasts-1852-strayed-sheep-n05665>.

<sup>74</sup> The firm was established in 1879 as a family business of builders and decorators, based in Kingston-on-Thames.

<sup>75</sup> *The 1924 Catalogue*, 27–28.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>77</sup> They were the sons of the established architect William Adam. Robert Adam was particularly inspired by his Grand Tour between 1754 and 1758. Joseph and Anne Rykwert, *The Brothers Adam: The Men and the Style* (London: Collins, 1985).

<sup>78</sup> *The 1925 Official Guide*, 54.

Grail Tapestries (Figures 2.24–28). The original set of tapestries were designed by Burne-Jones (figurative design), Morris (the heraldry) and John Henry Dearle (decorative details), for a commission by William Knox D’Arcy in 1890.<sup>79</sup> The tapestries were executed under the guidance of Morris at Merton Abbey between 1892 and 1895, and the first sequence was shown at the 1893 Arts and Crafts Exhibition. The 1925 *Illustrated Souvenir* mentioned that the tapestries were lent by Mrs Coutts Michie;<sup>80</sup> a part of them is now housed at the Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery.<sup>81</sup>

She was born Mary Agnes Smith, who married George McCulloch, a Glasgow-born businessman and voracious collector of British art.<sup>82</sup> Following McCulloch’s death in 1907, she exhibited the McCulloch Collection of Modern Art at the Royal Academy Winter Exhibition in 1909,<sup>83</sup> and married the Scottish artist James Coutts Michie the same year. The artists shown at the Royal Academy included: some artists who would also appear in the Palace of Art at Wembley, such as Leighton, Watts, Millais, Burne-Jones, Moore, Clausen, Dicksee, John Singer Sargent and Solomon Joseph Solomon; alongside Laurence Alma-Tadema, Frank Brangwyn, Luke Fildes, David Murray, William Quiller Orchardson, Briton Riviere, John Macallan Swan, Ernest Albert Waterlow and James Abbott McNeill Whistler.

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<sup>79</sup> Zelina Garland, *The Holy Grail Tapestries* (Birmingham: Birmingham Museums Trust, 2015).

<sup>80</sup> *The 1925 Illustrated Souvenir*, 141–145.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.* In 1895, Laurence Hodson commissioned a second weaving of three of the Holy Grail Tapestries for his home Compton Hall. In 1907, Birmingham acquired the three tapestries – “The Departure”, “The Failure of Sir Gawain” and “The Attainment” – made for Compton Hall, and later, in 1980, acquired “The Summons” from the McCulloch collection. McCulloch commissioned a third weaving of the narrative subjects and one verdure for his home between 1898 and 1899. For more on Morris tapestry, see Linda Parry, *William Morris Textiles* (London: V&A, 2013), 124–163.

<sup>82</sup> Morna O’Neill, “Mrs Coutts Michie – The McCullough Collection of Modern Art at 184 Queens Gate, London,” *Home Subjects*, December 11, 2017, <http://www.homesubjects.org/2017/12/11/the-mccullough-collection-of-modern-art-at-184-queens-gate-london>.

<sup>83</sup> *The McCulloch Collection of Modern Art: Special Number of the Art Journal* (London: Virtue & Co., 1909).

Interestingly, James Coutts Michie's portrait of Alexandra McCulloch and the Holy Grail Tapestries were staged as well. The 1909 exhibition catalogue featured four sequences and a photograph of the Tapestry Room at 184, Queen's Gate, the collector's home (Figure 2.29).<sup>84</sup> Later, Mary sold a portion of the collection and donated a series of paintings to the Broken Hill City Art Gallery (founded in 1904) in Australia.<sup>85</sup> That Lever purchased part of the collection demonstrates unexpected networks of British art worlds again; the artworks became the collection of the Lever Art Gallery.<sup>86</sup>

### **Advertising Art**

The 1920s and 1930s were the golden age of posters for political propaganda and commercial advertising, as I discussed in Chapter 1. After the First World War, *War Posters Issued by Belligerent and Neutral Nations 1914–1919* (1920) appeared (Figure 2.30).<sup>87</sup> The posters were selected and edited by Hardie and Arthur K. Sabin, curators at the V&A, and remarkably dedicated to Pick “in honour of his brave and successful effort to link art and commerce”. The editors underlined the “function of impressing an idea quickly, vividly and lastingly, together with the widest

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<sup>84</sup> Ibid., 112–115. The sequences of “The Roundtable”, “The Departure of the Knights”, “The Failure of Sir Lancelot” and “The Failure of Sir Gawain” appeared in the catalogue, and the interior photography showed “The Vision of the Holy Grail” *in situ*.

<sup>85</sup> The Gallery is the oldest regional art gallery in New South Wales, Australia, established following the bequest of three major artworks by McCulloch. “Broken Hill Regional Art Gallery,” Broken Hill City Council, accessed May 1, 2018, <https://www.brokenhill.nsw.gov.au/explore/broken-hill-regional-art-gallery>. For her biography, see “Mary Coutts Michie,” Trove – National Library of Australia, accessed May 1, 2018, <https://nla.gov.au/nla.party-716080>.

<sup>86</sup> O’Neill, “Mrs Coutts Michie.”

<sup>87</sup> Martin Hardie and Arthur K. Sabin, eds., *War Posters Issued by Belligerent and Neutral Nations 1914–1919* (London: A. & C. Black, 1920).

publicity”.<sup>88</sup> The book embraced a wide range of posters of geographical diversity and even included ‘enemy’ countries: Britain, France, America, Holland, Canada, Russia, Czecho-Slovakia, Italy, Germany and Austria-Hungary.

In 1924, the Wembley Exhibition year, *Advertising and British Art* and *The Art of the Poster* were published.<sup>89</sup> In the former, the prolific art writer of the time, Walter Shaw Sparrow examined the history of advertising, and principles and methods of posters, alongside a collection of contemporary posters. The majority was predictably posters created for railway companies, including London Underground posters commissioned by Pick. Kauffer, a prominent figure in interwar graphic design and now a familiar name to us, also published a survey of posters, arranging a number of examples from the eighteenth century to the contemporary, from countries again including England, France, Germany and America. Among the contemporary examples, there were the exhibition posters by C.R.W. Nevinson, Paul Nash, Wadsworth and Lewis (Figures 2.31–34). It is noteworthy that Kauffer investigated not only European posters but also Asian examples such as Japanese woodcuts and theatre posters as well as Chinese stone reliefs, woodcuts and silk paintings, while looking at the origin and evolution of graphic design. Such a comparative study was possible thanks to the collection of the British Museum and emerging scholarship on Asian art.<sup>90</sup> Significantly, he dedicated the book to Pick, further proving Pick’s powerful influence on the development of British poster design and discourses on advertising art, as well as their close connection. The complex networks of British

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<sup>88</sup> Ibid., 1.

<sup>89</sup> E. McKnight Kauffer, ed., *The Art of the Poster: Its Origin, Evolution and Purpose* (London, Cecil Palmer, 1924); Walter Shaw Sparrow, *Advertising and British Art* (London: John Lane, 1924).

<sup>90</sup> For his comparative sources, see Kauffer, *The Art of the Poster*, 49–88.



art worlds that we have seen paved the way for the exhibition of advertising art shown at Wembley.

The British Empire Exhibition was the central locus of commercial art and British modern posters. The exhibition of *British Advertising Art* at Wembley was characterised as the “Royal Academy of Advertising Art”.<sup>91</sup> The exhibition was organised by the Joint Committee of the Arts Council of the British Empire Exhibition and of the Committee of the International Advertising Convention. The Committee included: Weaver (Chairman), S. Bernard Smith (Deputy-Chairman), W.T. Wallace and Maxwell (Joint Secretaries); some familiar names, such as Longden, Cockerell, Curwen, Hornby and Richardson; little-known art world members, such as Percy V. Bradshaw (artist and writer)<sup>92</sup> and F.V. BurrIDGE (artist); and today almost unknown figures including H. Rivers Fletcher, A.E. Goodwin, Hugh Hunter, A.E. Dent, F.E. Ball, Fred P. Phillips and F. Andrews.<sup>93</sup>

The exhibition of *British Advertising Art* consisted of two sections; 800 selected posters out of 3,000 were displayed both at the Palace of Arts (Gallery GG, HH, KK, LL) and in Poster Street (Figure 2.35).<sup>94</sup> Poster Street (40 feet wide and 270 long) was situated between the Palaces of Arts and Industry, the site itself symbolising the position of industrial art and design.<sup>95</sup> The hoardings were especially designed by

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<sup>91</sup> *Commercial Art* (August 1924), 79.

<sup>92</sup> Percy V. Bradshaw, *Art in Advertising: A Study of British and American Pictorial Publicity* (London: Press Art School, 1925); *I Wish I Could Paint: Demonstration Lessons in Water-Colour* (London: Studio, 1948); *Lines of Laughter* (London: W.H. Allen, 1946); *Seen in Perspective* (London: Chapman & Hall, 1946); *The Art of the Illustrator* (London: Press Art School, 1918); *The Magic of Line: A Study of Drawing through the Ages* (London: Studio, 1949).

<sup>93</sup> The Subcommittee for Poster Street included: Weaver, Wallace, Maxwell, Longden, Goodwin and Andrews. *British Advertising Art Catalogue*, 2.

<sup>94</sup> For the details of the open competition, see *Commercial Art* (July 1924), 58–59.

<sup>95</sup> Weaver, *Exhibitions and the Arts of Display*, 49.

Joseph Emberton, an outstanding architect in interwar British modernism.<sup>96</sup> Taylor's *Victoria Station* appeared in the very first place of the first panel on the west side.<sup>97</sup> Newbould's *Tour the Empire at Wembley* (Figure 1.35), already examined in Chapter 1, was displayed at the north end of Poster Street. The exhibition, devoted to the best examples of British poster art, continued during the Wembley Exhibition season. Meanwhile, the advertising art section within the Palace of Arts featured the making process of press advertisement as well as posters. The first group of this section was staged in the vestibule, including Kauffer, E.A. Cox and Maurice Randall. In particular, Kauffer provided 10 out of 13 examples, validating his strong influence.<sup>98</sup> The posters in the Palace of Arts section toured to various provincial centres after the temporary exhibition period (11 July–4 August 1924).

Along with British advertising art, an exhibition of *American Advertising Art and Printing* was staged at a large gallery in front of Wembley Stadium.<sup>99</sup> The exhibition, arranged by John Logeman, included more than 700 samples of American advertising art, and later toured across the country as well. The *Commercial Art* journal revealed different attitudes towards commercial art in England and America.<sup>100</sup> In addition, the journal had published sustainedly, from its first issue, on commercial art, advertising art and poster art under its motto "Being Better Art for

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<sup>96</sup> The University of Brighton Design Archives hold the Joseph Emberton Archive. In 2015, the first exhibition of his work opened at Pallant House. "Joseph Emberton Archive," University of Brighton, accessed May 1, 2018, <http://arts.brighton.ac.uk/collections/design-archives/archives/joseph-emberton-archive2>.

<sup>97</sup> *British Advertising Art Catalogue*, 21.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*, 5.

<sup>99</sup> *Commercial Art* (August 1924), 79. In 1922, the BIIA was invited to a poster exhibition for the advertising conference held in America, as already mentioned.

<sup>100</sup> *Commercial Art* (August 1924), 81–82.

Better Business and Better Business for Better Art”.<sup>101</sup> In September 1924, *Commercial Art* also published a special supplement dedicated to the exhibition of *British Advertising Art* at Wembley.

The advertising art exhibitions were originally organised in connection with the International Advertising Convention (14–19 July 1924), held at Wembley. The Convention’s slogan was “Truth in Advertising”, pursuing the advancement of commercial art.<sup>102</sup> The patron was the Prince of Wales, and Convention Presidents included the Lord Mayor of London, Viscount Burnham, and Lever.<sup>103</sup> William S. Crawford was one of the Vice-Chairmen of the General Programme Committee. He was the founder of W.S. Crawford Ltd. and a leading figure of British advertising industry (Diagram 2); later, in 1926, he joined the EMB in the company of Pick and Stephen Tallents, a major figure in interwar publicity and visual communication – the EMB, GPO, BBC and Ministry of Information.<sup>104</sup> The Convention was made up of a number of sessions on advertising, posters, printing and graphic art, commerce and industry. Among them, the Poster Advertising Department embraced “Art on the Hoarding”, “Psychology of Mass Selling”, “The Romance of Poster”, “The Three Essentials” and “Poster Advertising a Commodity of World-Wide Consumption”.<sup>105</sup>

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<sup>101</sup> *Commercial Art* (July 1923), 177. The journal dealt with a variety of design subjects, including lettering, typography, the value of the artist in window-dressing, the educative power of the poster, the art of the railway poster, animals in advertising, and art and Britain’s trade prospects, as well as Wembley related subjects.

<sup>102</sup> *Commercial Art* (July 1924), 57.

<sup>103</sup> Carl Richard Greer, *Across with the Ad-Men: International Advertising Convention, London, 1924* (Hamilton: Beckett, 1924), 209.

<sup>104</sup> Anthony, *Public Relations*; Grant, *Propaganda and the Role of the State in Inter-war Britain*; Paul Rennie, *Modern British Posters: Art, Design and Communication* (London: Black Dog, 2010); Taylor, *The Projection of Britain*.

<sup>105</sup> Greer, *Across with the Ad-Men*, 225. The advertising manager of Lever Brothers gave the talk on international advertising. Lever’s soap company (later Unilever) became a transnational corporation based on imperial expansion and exploitation in the Congo. For Lever’s strategies of packaging and advertising, see Lewis, *So Clean*, 56–92.

As Weaver and Pick believed and pursued, the 1920s believed business to be the great future patron of art. Posters played a pivotal role in the trend – integrating art and design as well as making sure that the people’s gallery in the street, and advertising art attracted young artists. In spite of the importance of the poster movement in the interwar years, the British advertising art shown at the Empire Exhibition has been marginalised in discourses of British art and design history. The transnational narratives of extensive surveys tend to overlook the posters in interwar Britain, following chronological developments of the media.<sup>106</sup> The British focus, meanwhile, has centred on Pick’s publicity and Underground posters; the scholarship has been based on London Transport Museum’s poster collection.<sup>107</sup> Recently, aviation posters have become fashionable, utilising the British Airways Heritage collection.<sup>108</sup> By contrast, Paul Rennie’s comprehensive account of modern British posters has explored the relatively understudied interwar period and acknowledged a specific group of patrons – Pick, Tallents and Jack Beddington,<sup>109</sup> while looking at British poster history of the twentieth century.<sup>110</sup> Even though there are a few exceptions exploring the poster movement between the wars, the advertising art

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<sup>106</sup> Barnicoat, *Poster*; Timmers, *The Power of the Poster*.

<sup>107</sup> David Bownes, *Poster Girls* (London: London Transport Museum, 2017); Bownes and Green, *London Transport Posters*; Green, *Frank Pick’s London*; Jonathan Riddell, *Pleasure Trips by Underground* (Harrow Weald: Capital Transport Publishing, 1998); Jonathan Riddell and William T. Stearn, *By Underground to Kew: London Transport Posters, 1908 to the Present* (London: Studio Vista, 1994); Jonathan Riddell and Peter Denton, *By Underground to the Zoo: London Transport Posters 1913 to the Present* (London: Studio Vista, 1995).

<sup>108</sup> Anthony and Green, *British Aviation Posters*; Paul Jarvis, *British Airways: 100 Years of Aviation Posters* (Stroud: Amberley, 2018).

<sup>109</sup> Beddington was Publicity Manager for Shell Mex and British Petroleum Ltd. in the 1930s, and was invited to the Poster Committee of the GPO.

<sup>110</sup> Rennie, *Modern British Posters*.

exhibition at Wembley has been only briefly noted and left in footnotes, or, eclipsed by the V&A's landmark exhibition of 1931.<sup>111</sup>

However, the Wembley advertising art exhibition paved the way for the creation of the EMB – a government department aiming at more permanent impact than Wembley. This was comprised of three subcommittees including the Research Committee, the Marketing Committee and the Publicity Committee.<sup>112</sup> The Poster Subcommittee managed by Pick, sought to 'bring the Empire alive', sharing the idea of art galleries in the street, and networking art world members in interwar Britain. Also revealed at Wembley was the close relationship between Pick and poster artists such as Kauffer, Cox, Newbould, the Nash Brothers, Taylor and Pryse, revealing the hitherto undocumented imperial complicities of a generation of British modern designers (Figures 2.36–42).

Before the V&A's poster exhibition in 1931, there were obviously important shows of advertising art in the 1920s, reserving the characteristic of graphic design modernism in the 1930s that Line Hjorth Christensen has suggested.<sup>113</sup> The BIIA staged a poster show in the 1923 Milan Exhibition; leading poster artists in the 1920s, such as Kauffer, Taylor, West Walter, Gregory Brown and Charles Pain, appeared (Figure 2.43). The ALS's 1925 exhibition of posters was a more striking example. The ALS staged a retrospective exhibition of Kauffer at the Mansard Gallery between May and June 1925, and Fry wrote a catalogue introduction (Figure

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<sup>111</sup> Line Hjorth Christensen, "Tracking the Poster Movement: An Inquiry into British Modernism by Way of the 'British and Foreign Posters' Exhibition, Victoria and Albert Museum, 1931," *Journal of Design History* 28, no. 2 (2015): 142–160; Woodham, "Design and Empire."

<sup>112</sup> Stephen Constantine, *Buy and Build: The Advertising Posters of the Empire Marketing Board* (London: HMSO, 1986); Melanie Horton, *Empire Marketing Board Posters* (London: Scala, 2010).

<sup>113</sup> Christensen, "Tracking the Poster Movement."

2.44).<sup>114</sup> In 1926, the London exhibition toured to the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford. Fry gave a lecture to illustrate the exhibition, and later the essay “Art and Commerce”, based on the Oxford lecture, was published.<sup>115</sup> The same year saw a significant example of poster exhibition staged at the Royal Academy of Arts, Burlington House (Figure 2.45).<sup>116</sup> In November 1926, the EMB presented a series of original poster designs before the distribution of reproduced versions across the country. The very first image of the EMB’s ambitious imperial project was MacDonald Gill’s *A Map of the World* (Figure 2.46). The imperial red and “highways of empire” encapsulated *imperial abstract minds* as I suggested in Chapter 1; recalling the imperial red map on the inside book covers of *The British Empire: A Survey* series and the World Map in the central court of the Government Pavilion.

The Ashmolean Museum and the Burlington House were unexpected venues for poster exhibitions, which reveals the 1920s mood of integrating art and design beyond boundaries. In addition, the New Burlington Galleries, a venue much closer to modernist artists,<sup>117</sup> held poster exhibitions relating to the Underground (1928) and Shell (1931); they had already established their styles of high-quality advertising art and strategies of visual communication (Figure 2.47). The complex networks of the art world, seen in the beginning of this chapter, continued well into the 1930s.

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<sup>114</sup> *The Arts League of Service Retrospective Exhibition of the Posters of E. McKnight Kauffer* (London: Arts League of Service, 1925).

<sup>115</sup> Roger Fry, “Art and Commerce,” in *Art and the Market: Roger Fry on Commerce in Art*, ed. Craufurd D. Goodwin (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998), 111–123.

<sup>116</sup> *An Exhibition of Original Posters Designed for the Empire Marketing Board* (London: Empire Marketing Board, 1926).

<sup>117</sup> The New Burlington Galleries staged *The First Exhibition of the Young Painters’ Society* (1930), *Masters of French Nineteenth Century Painting* (1936), *The International Surrealist Exhibition* (1936), *Twentieth Century German Art* (1938) and *Contemporary British Art from the Collections of the Arts Council and the British Council* (1949).

### III

#### The Queen's Dolls' House

In Chapter 3, I examine Queen Mary's Dolls' House, designed by Lutyens and unveiled to the public at the British Empire Exhibition, in a wider context of British imperialism (Figure 3.1). The Dolls' House *within* the Palace of Arts *within* the Exhibition encapsulated the principle of visualising and miniaturising the British imperial world, in a moment of postwar national and imperial renewal and reconciliation. The Dolls' House has been marginalised in academic scholarship and regarded as a plaything until now, and I therefore bring it back to discourses of British material and visual culture as well as Lutyens scholarship.<sup>1</sup> By locating the Dolls' House objects and their owner, the royal family, within the culture of country houses and focusing in depth on the practices and identities they animated, I demonstrate how global and imperial tastes and practices were embedded in national contexts.

In so doing, I explore the interior and exterior of the House as well as the backdrop of the project in the first section. All the rooms of the House were decorated according to particular themes, using different colours and patterns, installing furniture and ornaments in various styles, and hanging a range of artworks on the walls. The art collection within the Dolls' House has been overlooked in discourses

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<sup>1</sup> In the course of my research, the Royal Collection attempted the first condition checking of the Dolls' House. In early 2016, the House was closed for two weeks; as a result, miniature contents within the House were photographed and the digitised materials have been opened to the public. For a video showing the process, see "Case Study: Queen Mary's Dolls' House," Royal Collection Trust, accessed May 20, 2018, <https://www.royalcollection.org.uk/collection/conservation/queen-marys-dolls-house>.

of art history, whereas I look closely at the micro artworks, in relation to not only the Palace of Arts at Wembley, but the existing scholarship on British art, in the second section.

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## 1. Englishness and Britishness

### **The Queen's Dolls' House**

The Queen's Dolls' House epitomised an officially commissioned miniature universe, which was constructed by a large number of professional craftsmen. In 1920, the project was suggested by Princess Marie Louise, Queen Victoria's granddaughter and Queen Mary's childhood friend. In spring 1921, Lutyens took on the project, and a committee was subsequently established, ultimately leading to the involvement of 250 craftsmen and manufacturers, 60 artist-decorators, 700 artists, 600 writers and 500 donors. After a three-year project under Lutyens's guidance, the house was completed and unveiled to the public at Wembley in 1924.<sup>2</sup>

The Dolls' House was tremendously popular. During the exhibition, it was visited by over one million six hundred thousand people and was first on the Wembley *Official*

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<sup>2</sup> After the completion of the structure and architectural embellishment in 1921, the Dolls' House was moved to Lutyens's own house, where it occupied his drawing room while all the items were assembled. Before the opening of the British Empire Exhibition, the house was opened to the press on 8 February 1924. John Martin Robinson, *Queen Mary's Dolls' House: Official Souvenir Guide* (London: Royal Collection Enterprises Ltd., 2012), 20–21.



*Guide*'s long list of "A Thousand and One Items of Interest".<sup>3</sup> Other publications related to the Exhibition also introduced details of the Dolls' House and regarded it as a main attraction.<sup>4</sup> Such exhibition publications were preoccupied with the Dolls' House rather than the Palace of Arts, one of the major buildings at Wembley, which nested the miniature house. In 1925, the Dolls' House was exhibited at the Ideal Home Exhibition at Olympia in West Kensington, sponsored by the *Daily Mail*, where Lutyens designed an exhibition pavilion to house it.<sup>5</sup> At Olympia, an extra admission fee of one shilling to see the House resulted in proceeds of £20,000 for charity.<sup>6</sup> Finally, in July 1925, the Dolls' House was moved to Windsor Castle where it remains.<sup>7</sup>

In 1924, along with the completion of the Dolls' House, a limited edition of two volumes was officially published: *The Book of the Queen's Dolls' House* and *The Book of the Queen's Dolls' House Library*.<sup>8</sup> The first volume was edited by Arthur Christopher Benson and Weaver, and the second by Edward Verrall Lucas.<sup>9</sup> The first volume was an illustrated record of the Dolls' House and included an inventory, full lists of donors, artists, makers and craftsmen, and a catalogue of the Library as well

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<sup>3</sup> *The 1924 Official Guide*, 116.

<sup>4</sup> Harras Moore, *Pocket Guide to the Empire Exhibition at Wembley, 1924* (London: Bowman, Mason, Willis & Payne, 1924); Harras Moore, ed., *The Marlborough Pocket Guide to the Empire Exhibition, Wembley, 1924* (London: Marlborough Printing Co., 1924).

<sup>5</sup> The first Ideal Home Exhibition opened in 1908, the same year as the Franco-British Exhibition. The *Daily Mail* aimed to offer manuals of homemaking and housekeeping. Ryan, *The Ideal Home*.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 48.

<sup>7</sup> The display room at Windsor was also designed by Lutyens. The murals were painted by Philip Connard. Connard began working as a house-painter and later, in 1925, he became a Royal Academician and painted murals for New Delhi in 1935. The Royal Collection Trust promotes Queen Mary's Dolls' House as one of the highlights of a visit to Windsor Castle and still sells an *Official Souvenir Guide*.

<sup>8</sup> Arthur Christopher Benson and Lawrence Weaver, eds., *The Book of the Queen's Dolls' House* (London: Methuen & Co., 1924); Edward Verrall Lucas, ed., *The Book of the Queen's Dolls' House Library* (London: Methuen & Co., 1924).

<sup>9</sup> Edward Verrall Lucas was a prolific writer and a publisher, who, in 1924, became chairman of Methuen & Co. The collection of E.V. Lucas Papers is held at Durham University Library.

as subdivided chapters: The Architecture, The Effect of Size on the Equipment, The Furniture, The Paintings, The Library, Water-colours, Drawings and Prints, The Music, The Painted Walls and Ceilings, The Textiles, The Nurseries, The Kitchen and Stores, The Cellar, Sports and Games, The Garden, and The Dolls of the Queen's Dolls' House.<sup>10</sup> The second part devoted to the Library contained all the original contributions in miniature volumes, created by hundreds of contemporary writers including J.M. Barrie, Joseph Conrad, Arthur Conan Doyle, Thomas Hardy, Aldous L. Huxley, Rudyard Kipling and William Somerset Maugham.<sup>11</sup>

While the set of two volumes was limited to 1,500 copies, the first part was also published in a condensed version entitled *Everybody's Book of the Queen's Dolls' House* by the *Daily Telegraph*.<sup>12</sup> The official publication of the Queen's Dolls' House functioned as a souvenir such as commemorative stamps or postcards, the most common ephemera in the imperial exhibitionary complex. The commemorative stamps to mark the British Empire Exhibition were issued by the Post Office and the BIIA was involved in the selection process of designs, as already examined in Chapter 1. The limited edition was worth collecting due to its scarcity whereas the abridged one was popular and far-reaching thanks to its lower price. Unlike the Dolls'

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<sup>10</sup> Lionel Henry Cust, the Surveyor of the King's Pictures, and Albert Fredrick Kendrick, the Keeper of Textiles at the V&A, contributed chapters on paintings and textiles respectively. Lionel Henry Cust held the directorship of the National Portrait Gallery and was co-editor of *The Burlington Magazine* with Fry between 1909 and 1919. A.F. Kendrick was an expert on weaving and rugs and wrote the V&A's catalogues. For the impact of imperial projects on collecting and display cultures, see Barringer and Flynn, *Colonialism and the Object*.

<sup>11</sup> Princess Marie Louise sent a personal letter to a carefully chosen group of contemporary British writers. *The Book of the Queen's Dolls' House*, 71.

<sup>12</sup> Arthur Christopher Benson and Lawrence Weaver, eds., *Everybody's Book of the Queen's Dolls' House* (London: Daily Telegraph and Methuen, 1924). This version was abridged by Frank Vigor Morley, who was a mathematician, writer and editor. He was also co-director of the publishing firm Faber & Faber.

House, such illustrated books are portable,<sup>13</sup> and further, the process of compiling and the dynamic of vision and touch can be compared to photograph albums. Albums, the most popular format for collecting, displaying and circulating photographic images in the nineteenth century, share the methodology of inclusion with the official publication of the Queen's Dolls' House.<sup>14</sup> The theme of the chapters and the plates for inclusion within *The Book* were selected by the editors, and the contents of each chapter by the author who wrote the contribution. The process of abridging also involved organisational choices and individual tastes. If the Dolls' House was the result of combination and juxtaposition for "people of cultivated interests and tastes", *The Book* was akin to a mobile museum that collected and preserved the finest examples of arts and crafts in postwar Britain and commemorated the completion of the Dolls' House as "a little model of a house of the twentieth century".<sup>15</sup>

Readers, while seeing, reading, holding and turning pages, came to build individualised narratives and to contextualise the Dolls' House *within* the Palace of Arts *within* the British Empire Exhibition *within* their memories *within* the context of their own homes. The process and transformation is analogous to the methodology of making paper models of the Exhibition architecture, as we saw, encapsulating the exhibition experience in miniature and personalising it in the form of souvenirs. Public exhibits, therefore, are transformed into private history and memory as well as collective memories of the interwar period and nostalgia thereafter. At the exhibition,

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<sup>13</sup> The house itself is 102 inches long on its main north and south fronts and 58½ inches from east to west at ground floor level. It stands on a base of 116 inches by 72 inches and 39 inches high. *The Book of the Queen's Dolls' House*, 19.

<sup>14</sup> Patrizia Di Bello, *Women's Albums and Photography in Victorian England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007); Martha Langford, *Suspended Conversations: The Afterlife of Memory in Photographic Albums* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001).

<sup>15</sup> *The Book of the Queen's Dolls' House*, 11.

the audience could not touch all the tiny objects or take a closer look since the House was kept inside a gigantic vitrine. And, as in the Palace of Arts at Wembley in the 1920s, so in the special room dedicated to the Dolls' House at Windsor today, the audience remains at a distance. Moreover, the current environment of display at Windsor disturbs the audience's observation due to the dim lighting. Through pin spot lighting, the display room stages the Dolls' House as a medieval relic, and furthermore, its audience's practice of circling the four-sided House strengthens the religious atmosphere in terms of circumambulation. While the wall painting of the room designed by Lutyens remains unnoticeable in the dark, the Dolls' House, the centrepiece, is transformed into a sacred object. Such on-site experiences accompany a series of bodily movements and practices of seeing, particularly because the House was designed to be seen from all four sides, but not touched.

*The Book*, on the other hand, enables the reader to see/read and to hold/touch, providing a more intimate mode of communication and sense of ownership. Even readers who had not seen the Dolls' House could enjoy its details in reproduction and the miniature in their homes. Accordingly, the audiences of the Dolls' House and readers of *The Book* keep renegotiating the dynamics of direct and indirect experiences as well as close and distant, deep and shallow readings.<sup>16</sup> Souvenirs, as Stewart has analysed, remain partial as a sample of the now-distanced experience, being always incomplete.<sup>17</sup> The official publication of the Queen's Dolls' House functioned as a souvenir of the time of the British Empire Exhibition, whereas the Dolls' House itself remained as a souvenir of the Exhibition in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, long after most of the other structures from the exhibition

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<sup>16</sup> Stephen Best and Sharon Marcus, "Surface Reading: An Introduction," *Representations* 108, no. 1 (2009): 1–21.

<sup>17</sup> Stewart, *On Longing*, 132–169.

seasons in Wembley Park disappeared.<sup>18</sup> The House has maintained its popularity, even if its connection with the Empire Exhibition has been understated.

### **Inside Out**

The Queen's Dolls' House, built to a consistent scale of 1:12, consists of three main storeys. The principal elevations to north and south are 2.59 metres wide, and the side elevation is 1.49 metres wide.<sup>19</sup> By electrically powered machinery, the exterior, in the form of a detached case, can be raised up above the house, revealing the interior. In terms of architectural styles, Lutyens paid homage to Inigo Jones's Banqueting House in Whitehall and to Christopher Wren's Hampton Court Palace.<sup>20</sup> The Dolls' House referred to representative works of seventeenth-century English royal buildings, although, following the principle of design reform, it did not directly copy existing buildings (Figure 3.2). The exterior of the Dolls' House was built of wood, carved and painted to indicate Portland stone; a key 'English' material in the period for sculptors and architects alike.<sup>21</sup> Portland stone had been extensively used in buildings and monuments throughout the British Isles. In particular, Jones's Banqueting House and Wren's St Paul's are the representative example of Portland stone buildings in London. Lutyens also frequently used the material for his war memorial designs, including the Cenotaph in Whitehall (1920), the Arch of Remembrance in Leicester (1925) and the Thiepval Memorial to the Missing of the

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<sup>18</sup> The British Empire Exhibition has long faded into history, and the last remnants of the old Empire Stadium, better known as Wembley Stadium, were demolished and replaced by the modern arena in 2007.

<sup>19</sup> *Official Souvenir Guide*, 22.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>21</sup> Portland stone as a building material, the limestone unit of uppermost Jurassic age, has been quarried on the Isle of Portland, Dorset. For more history and geological aspects, see Gill Hackman, *Stone to Build London: Portland's Legacy* (Monkton Farleigh: Folly Books, 2014).

Somme (1932).<sup>22</sup> Weaver wrote that the Queen's Dolls' House, as fine architecture, balanced tradition and invention, with Lutyens's 'modern' design echoing a longer tradition of British aristocratic architecture.<sup>23</sup> Within the Dolls' House, Lutyens employed modern comforts such as electric power and indoor plumbing, and provided passenger and service lifts and a garage for motorcars.

The interior of the three-storey house was divided into numerous rooms according to their intended use (Figures 3.3–4). For instance, the ground floor consisted of the Dining Room, the Library, the Kitchen and other related practical working space. The first floor included the Saloon and the King's and Queen's Apartments, each of which consisted of a Wardrobe, Bedroom and Bathroom. On the top floor, were the Princess Royal's Bedroom, the Queen's Sitting Room, and the Day and Night Nurseries. Six servants' rooms were in the corners of the house on the mezzanine level. The Dolls' House aimed to represent a family home belonging to a monarch rather than a palace or a ceremonious residence,<sup>24</sup> and further, to serve as a record of a fine house of the period. The structure of the building and status of different rooms, however, represents the world of upstairs and downstairs rather than a democratised modern house, mirroring distinct class and social hierarchy. The Dolls' House can be located in the tradition of 'English' country houses in that the building style and the contents of the house reveal the dynamics of the owner's power and taste. Such houses functioned as a means of conspicuous consumption.

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<sup>22</sup> Lutyens was one of the key architects for the Imperial War Graves Commission (IWGC), which was changed in 1960 to the Commonwealth War Graves Commission. For his war memorials, see Jeroen Geurst, *Cemeteries of the Great War by Sir Edwin Lutyens* (Rotterdam: 010 Publishers, 2010); Gerald Gliddon and Timothy John Skelton, *Lutyens and the Great War* (London: Frances Lincoln, 2008).

<sup>23</sup> *The Book of the Queen's Dolls' House*, 18.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 11.

Even though Lutyens achieved fame for public projects such as his war monuments and work on New Delhi, he had begun his career by designing private houses through which he established the Lutyenesque style. *Country Life*, founded in 1897, played an important role in Lutyens's reputation as an architect as well as in the promotion of the English country house and idealisation of romantic countryside during the Edwardian era more generally. The weekly magazine featured a variety of country houses and advertised traditional and new houses in its property section. In addition, the company recorded changes in country houses and their gardens over decades, building the *Country Life* Picture Library.<sup>25</sup> The relationship between Lutyens's rise to fame and the magazine was based on social networks. For example, after Gertrude Jekyll, the prominent garden designer and Lutyens's key collaborator,<sup>26</sup> introduced Hudson, the magazine founder, to him, Hudson commissioned houses and introduced new clients to Lutyens. They shared the ideal of *Country Life*, and the magazine consistently featured Lutyens's works. Christopher Hussey was also influential in the networks. Hussey wrote on Lutyens's work as well as English architecture and gardens, inside and outside of *Country Life*. Later he published Lutyens's biography, which remains a major work today.<sup>27</sup>

Significantly, Weaver, one of the editors of *The Book of the Queen's Dolls' House*, was an editor of *Country Life*. He served as architectural editor of the magazine from 1910 to 1916, and later remained a director of Country Life Ltd. As a writer, Weaver

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<sup>25</sup> Mary Miers, *The English Country House: From the Archives of Country Life* (New York: Rizzoli, 2009).

<sup>26</sup> After Lutyens met Gertrude Jekyll through the Crooksbury commission, they often worked in collaboration. Jane Brown, *Gardens of a Golden Afternoon: The Story of a Partnership, Edwin Lutyens & Gertrude Jekyll* (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1982).

<sup>27</sup> Christopher Hussey, *English Country Houses Open to the Public* (London: Country Life; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1951); *The Life of Sir Edwin Lutyens* (London: Country Life; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1950).

contributed to various journals and magazines, writing on contemporary architecture and country houses, and throughout his career, remained in contact with many of the leading architects of the day.<sup>28</sup> Lutyens, in particular, was a notable figure in his writing.<sup>29</sup> Other social networks operated in the project of the Queen's Dolls' House. As we saw in Chapter 2, Weaver was also the Director of the UK Exhibits of Arts Section at Wembley, where the Dolls' House opened to the public for the first time. He contributed his own writing on architecture and edited the official publication regarding the Dolls' House. Jekyll designed the miniature garden of the House just as she had done for various Lutyens's country houses. The Dolls' House even embraced miniature versions of Jekyll's book entitled *Garden* and a copy of *Country Life* magazine.

The English country house in general and the Queen's Dolls' House in particular represent an iconic image of national identity. In his contribution to *The Book of the Queen's Dolls' House*, Weaver asserted that the House had "the qualities of unity and Englishness".<sup>30</sup> In terms of the architectural style, its exterior reflected seventeenth-century England, as we have seen. In terms of interior decoration, much of the furniture copied renowned examples in English private collections including those at Hampton Court Palace, Harewood House and Londonderry House.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> He wrote for *Country Life*, *The Architectural Review*, *The Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects*, *The Architects' Journal*, *The Burlington Magazine*, *The Antiquaries Journal* and *The Builder*. For details, see Lawrence Trevelyan Weaver, *Lawrence Weaver 1896–1930: An Annotated Bibliography* (York: Inch's Books, 1989).

<sup>29</sup> Lawrence Weaver, *Houses and Gardens by E.L. Lutyens* (London: Country Life, 1913); *Lutyens House and Gardens* (London: Country Life, 1921); *Houses and Gardens by Sir Edwin Lutyens, RA* (London: Country Life, 1925). The 1921 volume was an abridged edition of *Houses and Gardens* by E.L. Lutyens and the 1925 volume was a third impression of the earlier work of 1913.

<sup>30</sup> *The Book of the Queen's Dolls' House*, 18.

<sup>31</sup> Hampton Court Palace is a royal palace in the London Borough of Richmond upon Thames, Greater London. The history of the building traces back to the fifteenth century. In the seventeenth century, William III and Queen Mary II commissioned Wren to rebuild Hampton Court. For more, see



Lutyens employed different historical elements within the Dolls' House, which were characteristic of his country house designs.<sup>32</sup> In addition, he designed not only the building but also some of the furniture, regarding internal decorative schemes as an integral part of his architectural design.<sup>33</sup>

The inside of the Dolls' House represented the English monarch, repeatedly showing portraits of the royal family. Paintings of queens and kings were conspicuously hung on the walls, starting from Henry VIII and continuing on to the contemporary ruling power, visualising the line of succession to the throne. This tendency parallels the Empire Builders section in the 1925 Palace of Arts, which showed a series of historic figures from Henry VIII and Queen Elizabeth (Figures 3.5–6); W.Q. Orchardson's *Four Generations: Windsor Castle* (Figure 3.7), as seen in the title, especially conveyed a strong message of royal tradition and continuity by depicting, in the same frame, from the youngest to the oldest of royal family members, and placing the setting in Windsor Castle, the reigning royal residence. The importance of Henry VIII within this narrative is noticeable as even a miniature Chelsea porcelain figure of the king decorated the interior of the Dolls' House (Figure 3.8).

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Simon Thurley, *Hampton Court: A Social and Architectural History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003); Lucy Worsley and David Souden, *Hampton Court Palace: The Official Illustrated History* (London: Merrell, 2005). Harewood House, built in the eighteenth century, is a country house in West Yorkshire. It is still owned by David and Diane Lascelles, Earl and Countess of Harewood. Londonderry House, demolished in 1965, was an aristocratic townhouse in the Mayfair district of London.

<sup>32</sup> Elizabeth Wilhide, *Sir Edwin Lutyens: Designing in the English Tradition* (London: National Trust, 2012), 63.

<sup>33</sup> Lutyens designed a miniature garden seat and a pair of Napoleon chairs for the Library of the Queen's Dolls' House. The Napoleon chair was his favourite design. Wilhide, *Sir Edwin Lutyens*, 168–170.

Regalia in the Strong Room on the mezzanine level also articulated the acme of rank, power and privilege.<sup>34</sup> While the country house represents a sense of tradition and family pride through large scale family portraits, Queen Mary's Dolls' House presents royal family members, visualising family history and national/imperial history. That is, its series of portraits has an educational aspect. This visualisation strategy of power continued on into the servants' rooms and the Nursery as well as in major areas such as the Library, Dining Room and Saloon.<sup>35</sup> Along with such conventional media, portrait photography of the royal family was present in several rooms (Figure 3.9), suggesting a federal and modern monarchy. By contrast, photography of 'Tommy' could be found in servants' areas such as the Housekeeper's Room and Maid's Room. The Tommy represented British male citizens who served in the war; within the House they were present in the form of an anonymous allegory in stark contrast with individual royal portraits. Works of art including tapestries, family portraits and Old Masters, meanwhile, decorated the picture galleries of country houses,<sup>36</sup> and the collection and display of works of art within the country house both reflected and revealed the dynamics of fashion, taste and status.

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<sup>34</sup> According to the Inventory of the Queen's Dolls' House, Regalia included the King's crown, Queen's crown, Prince of Wales's crown, a sceptre, a sword of state, the King's orb, Queen's orb, two bracelets, two spurs and pearl necklace. *The Book of the Queen's Dolls' House*, 195.

<sup>35</sup> The portraits of Henry VIII and Elizabeth I are in the Library, of Queen Victoria and Prince Albert in the Dining Room, and of King George V and Queen Mary in the Saloon. In addition, King Edward VII and Queen Alexandria, King George III and Queen Charlotte, Princess Mary appeared.

<sup>36</sup> Jocelyn Anderson, *Touring and Publicizing England's Country Houses in the Long Eighteenth Century* (New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2018), 91–126; Christopher Christie, *The British Country House in the Eighteenth Century* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), 179–231; Gervase Jackson-Stops and James Pipkin, *The English Country House: A Grand Tour* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1993).

## Heads and Tails

The Queen's Dolls' House represents an ambiguous relationship between nation and empire. Inside the seventeenth-century English style building, various exotic objects appeared, illustrating the characteristic of imperial 'Britishness' rather than an indigenous 'Englishness': a screen made from Indian playing cards, a Chinese lacquer cabinet, Chinese rugs, Egyptian amulets, a Siamese tobacco jar, Persian carpets, Ganesha statues and walls decorated with Asian motifs, including lotus flower patterns and Persian figures from fairy tales (Figures 3.10–14).<sup>37</sup> It is noteworthy that Waring & Gillow participated in the Dolls' House project; the company appeared in the Wembley Applied Arts section and also executed some of the Period Rooms in the Palace of Arts. Within the Dolls' House, there was a miniature collection manufactured by Waring & Gillow: a screen, a lacquer desk, a side table and mock bamboo chairs (Figures 3.15–16). All the miniature furniture revealed the influence of Chinoiserie, including Chinese palace scenes, landscapes, fishermen and pagodas; Chinoiserie was widely identified with the monarchy from the Regency onwards. More importantly, Gillow's Lancaster-based firm, founded in the early eighteenth century – a part of the amalgamated business – was engaged in the slave trade, even if this fact has been concealed. Gillow bought slaving ships and dealt with slave traders in the 1750s and 1760s; he made more profits from the

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<sup>37</sup> The architectural style of the Dolls' House alludes to the Chinese taste of the interior, that is, the influence of chinoiserie in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The materials, such as the Chinese lacquer, rug, porcelain and furniture, reveal the characteristics of British chinoiserie. Stacey Sloboda has pointed out that British chinoiserie, unlike the French version, focused on the objects and their material properties. Stacey Sloboda, *Chinoiserie: Commerce and Critical Ornament in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014). For Chinese wallpaper of British country houses, see Helen Clifford, "Chinese Wallpaper: An Elusive Element in the British Country House," *East India Company at Home* (July 2014), 1–28, accessed May 1, 2016, <http://blogs.ucl.ac.uk/eicah/files/2014/07/EIC-Chinese-Wallpaper-PDF-Final-19.08.14.pdf>; "Chinese Wallpaper: From Canton to Country House," in *The East India Company at Home, 1757–1857*, eds., Margot Finn and Kate Smith (London: UCL Press, 2018), 39–67.

problematic trade than from furniture manufacturing.<sup>38</sup> The interiors and miniature objects, therefore, illustrate a variety of imperial dimensions to the Dolls' House that go beyond an implicit assumption that the House represents an insular national identity.

The nation and empire, as well as peripheral soft empire states, were aesthetically and decoratively intermingled inside the Dolls' House. As such, the Dolls' House can be compared with Liberty's oriental wares inside its central London Tudor building, completed in 1924, the same year as the House (Figure 3.17). Although Liberty's was inspired by the superiority of Indian textiles and profited from the oriental trade, thereby gaining fame for the Oriental art shop, the company also insisted on its English heritage through its Tudor-revival, timber-framed building in Regent Street (Figure 3.18).<sup>39</sup> Instead of seeing a modern commercial space that employed new technology and modern materials such as metal and glass, Liberty's constructed its new building, a timber-framed house to evoke the heyday of England.<sup>40</sup> Ivor Stewart-Liberty underlined the idea that the Tudor period was the most genuinely English and Elizabeth's reign marked the apotheosis of the English mentality.<sup>41</sup>

The Tudor Shop symbolises national identity by featuring the arms of Queen Elizabeth I as well as Henry VIII and his six wives (in the front of the building), the

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<sup>38</sup> "Gillow."

<sup>39</sup> The advisory committee for rebuilding Regent Street consisted of three distinguished architects: Aston Webb, John Taylor and John Belcher. It is noteworthy that Webb was appointed Chairman of Arts Council for the British Empire Exhibition.

<sup>40</sup> *Liberty's Tudor Shop: Great Marlborough Street* was compiled by Ivor Stewart-Liberty, the founder Arthur Lasenby Liberty's nephew and eventual heir. This small paperback was first published in May 1924, and then reprinted in 1970 and 2010.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, 8.

arms of Ben Jonson, Thomas More and Philip Sydney,<sup>42</sup> and the arms of Bacon, George Herbert and Shakespeare.<sup>43</sup> Such a visual strategy reminds us of Ruskin's architectural theory – “The Lamp of Memory” – which identified the relationship between architecture and cultural identity.<sup>44</sup> Just as Ruskin emphasised the role of architecture as the curator of national memory, Liberty's Tudor building constructed Englishness as well as self-identity as a shop that was differentiated from other London department stores. The intention of the company was not simply to imitate the architectural language of the medieval past but also to utilise specific building materials and skills of hand work in its construction.<sup>45</sup> In other words, Liberty's re-enacted the physical practice of the past as well as re-presented the visual language of the past.

The retrospective attitudes had appeared in discourses on the Gothic revival and Arts and Crafts ideas in the nineteenth century. Liberty's tendency in the interwar years resonates with the paradox of the British Empire; Barringer has described it as “colonial Gothic”.<sup>46</sup> The importance of craftsmanship was projected forward to the reappearance of medieval artisans in the industrial age, and the rhapsody over hand work played a duet with the Indian craftsman, as part of a broader “cult of craftsmen”, to use Mathur's term. Mathur's case study on Liberty's self-promotion

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<sup>42</sup> In the south side of the East Central Gallery roof. Ibid., 18.

<sup>43</sup> In the north side of the East Central Gallery roof. Ibid.

<sup>44</sup> John Ruskin, *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* (1880; New York: Dover Publications, 1989). See esp. chapter 6. Elizabeth Helsinger has examined Ruskin's national consciousness and its relation to art and museum. Elizabeth Helsinger, “Ruskin and the Politics of Viewing: Constructing National Subjects,” *Harvard University Art Museums Bulletin* 3, no. 1 (1994), 7–26.

<sup>45</sup> Liberty's kept the minimum use of steel. The stone was hand-chiselled, not sawn, and Herefordshire stone slabs were used in the entrance porch. Roofing tiles were hand-made Loughborough tiles. Moreover, gutters and rampipes were traditional in shape and decoration. The interior decoration consisted of linen fold, carved ornament and friezes. Details of the building are illustrated in *Liberty's Tudor Shop*.

<sup>46</sup> Barringer, *Men at Work*, 243–311.

has illustrated how the department store of the metropole constructed the fantasy and imagery of the colony – in this case, India – through promotional campaigns such as catalogues and exhibitions.<sup>47</sup> India as the past of Britain and Indian craftsmen possessing skilled hands and higher spirits, like those of medieval stonemasons of a bygone age, provided British industry with the ideal, and simultaneously they were under the imperial mission of the Enlightenment. In this regard, ‘well-made’ oriental arts and crafts inside Liberty’s Tudor Shop epitomise the imperial ambivalence and the multi-layered characteristic of cultures of empire.

Liberty’s animated abandoned materials by recycling and reusing them as well as restoring the form and style of the ancient or medieval past. Intriguingly, the Tudor building was made of oak and teak, taken from two old Men-of-War, HMS *Hindustan* and HMS *Impregnable*. Both vessels were broken up, and then recycled as architectural salvage.<sup>48</sup> HMS *Hindustan* was made of timber from India and HMS *Impregnable* was the last wooden warship to be built for the Royal Navy. From the time of its construction to recent days, Liberty’s has extensively publicised the origin of its building materials, emphasising the royal and imperial connection.<sup>49</sup> The Liberty Archive’s collection of correspondence between the company, the National Maritime Museum and the Ministry of Defence suggests that Liberty’s has tried to trace the detailed history and the exact origin of the two royal ships.<sup>50</sup> In addition, it suggests that Liberty’s request list included the history of HMS *Hindustan* and HMS

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<sup>47</sup> Mathur, *India by Design*, 27–51.

<sup>48</sup> The correspondence between the National Maritime Museum and the company manager (1966) provides detailed information. Both vessels were broken up in Castles’ Yard at Woolwich. Castles’ headquarters are now at Plymouth. WCA 788/136–137.

<sup>49</sup> “Store Heritage,” Liberty London, accessed May 20, 2018, <https://www.libertylondon.com/uk/information/the-store/store-heritage.html>.

<sup>50</sup> Westminster City Archives has held the deposited records of Liberty & Co. Ltd. of Regent Street since 1976.

*Impregnable* when organising the retrospective exhibition of 1970, clarifying the way in which the company has constructed its self-identity.<sup>51</sup> Such an image-making strategy reinforces the characteristic of Englishness and dignifies itself through a royal connection.

If we broaden our perspective to other nodes in *imperial urban networks* within London, more examples showing nostalgia for ‘Old England’ in the Tudorbethan style can be found from: a Tudor village shown at the 1910 Ideal Home Exhibition,<sup>52</sup> the 1912 *Shakespeare’s England* exhibition at Earl’s Court,<sup>53</sup> and interwar suburban houses.<sup>54</sup> The Elizabethan village at Earl’s Court, in particular, included Lutyens’s work of sixteenth-century street scenes, mostly half-timbered.<sup>55</sup> Replicas of the first Globe Theatre and HMS *Revenge* were the most popular exhibits at the exhibition. As seen in Liberty’s and at the Wembley Exhibition, images of the sea, naval warships and trade routes played a central role in shaping cultural identity, the

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<sup>51</sup> Before the V&A’s centenary exhibition of 1975, the company (Liberty of London Prints) organised *Liberty’s Past and Present* exhibition (18 November to 16 December 1970) with the Faculty of Art & Design at Wolverhampton Polytechnic. WCA 1166/13.

<sup>52</sup> Ryan, *The Ideal Home*, 26–27.

<sup>53</sup> This exhibition was organised by Mrs Cornwallis-West for the Shakespeare Memorial National Theatre Fund. It parallels the Theatre Art section in the Palace of Arts at Wembley.

<sup>54</sup> A village for Lever’s workforce in Port Sunlight, briefly noted in Chapter 2, was made up of Tudoresque cottages and manors. In Port Sunlight, the old-English style architecture was a rhetorical method for constructing self-identity as an idealised past and for suggesting continuity and tradition. Andrew Ballantyne and Andrew Law, *Tudoresque: In Pursuit of the Ideal Home* (London: Reaktion, 2011), chap. 3, Kindle; Lewis, *So Clean*, 93–153.

<sup>55</sup> Clive Aslet, *The Last Country Houses* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982), 159–160; Marion F. O’Connor, “Theatre of the Empire: ‘Shakespeare’s England’ at Earl’s Court, 1912,” in *Shakespeare Reproduced: The Text in History and Ideology*, eds. Jean E. Howard and Marion F. O’Connor (London: Methuen, 1987), 68–98.

imagined community of ruling the waves (later the skies as seen in Chapter 1);<sup>56</sup> and the Shakespearean past repeatedly appeared.

Paul Readman has explored the engagement with the past of the turn of the century, focusing on national identity, and argued that the national past, particularly the affection for the Tudor and Elizabethan periods, derived from insular ideas of English identity in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.<sup>57</sup> His analysis is passive about empire and questions scholars of ‘new imperial history’, while looking at various examples: the Alfred Millenary (Winchester, 1901) – a major international commemoration of the death of King Alfred Millenary, the publication market, the preservationist movement, tourism and pageant fever. By contrast, Deborah S. Ryan has interpreted the popularity of a vision of ‘Merrie England’, especially from the 1880s, as the establishment of an alternative imperial tradition for the British Empire – the Tudor and Elizabethan – to the Roman Empire.<sup>58</sup> She has situated the growth of suburban houses of the Tudorbethan style during the interwar years in a wider context of imperial modernity, drawing from recent scholarship on the reception of the Tudor age.<sup>59</sup>

As Ryan has pointed out and as I have suggested the idea of *imperial urban networks*, Tudorbethan houses in suburbia were connected to imperial trade and global commerce. Imperial and global tastes were entangled with national, regional, local

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<sup>56</sup> BBC’s recent documentary series reveals this trend, highlighting British aviation achievements. “BBC Four – Jet! When Britain Ruled the Skies,” BBC, accessed May 20, 2018, <https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b01m85vv>.

<sup>57</sup> Paul Readman, “The Place of the Past in English Culture, c. 1890–1914,” *Past & Present* 186 (2005): 147–199.

<sup>58</sup> Ryan, *Ideal Homes*, 135–169. Kate Nichols has explored the Greek and Roman Courts at the Sydenham Crystal Palace, focusing on the reception of ancient Greece and Rome and attitudes towards the past. For a reading in the imperial context, see Nichols, *Greece and Rome at the Crystal Palace*, 203–242.

<sup>59</sup> Ballantyne and Law, *Tudoresque*; String and Bull, *Tudorism*.



and individual contexts that produced specific meanings and power relations. The interiors embracing exotic objects materialised and visualised cultures of Britain and its empire, extending imperial citizenship to the domestic and everyday life; notably, galleons and elephants were popular and became typical examples within suburban houses.<sup>60</sup> The Queen's Dolls' House also contained a miniature porcelain model of galleon and miniature elephants (Figures 3.19–20), and Elizabethan ships were present in the Armada spectacle of the Government Pavilion at Wembley. As we saw, the British Government Pavilion embraced the composition of Britain as a nation and an empire. The dual identity was inscribed in Cox's poster created for the British Empire Exhibition; "Britain's Past and Present Beckon You to Wembley" (Figure 3.21) and the Elizabethan golden age was the prelude. The vision of 'Old England' and its popularity were interwoven with dynamic histories of imperial relations and global networks, rather than a fixed and insular identity.

### **Encapsulating the British Imperial World**

As we saw in Chapter 1, Liberty's built East India House in its neoclassical style full of imperial symbols, along with the Tudor Shop during Regent Street's rebuilding period. The pair of building names themselves – the Tudor Shop on Great Marlborough Street and East India House on Regent Street – epitomises the dual identity of Englishness and Britishness. Just as Liberty's building materialised the combination of Englishness and Britishness through the dovetailing of its interior and exterior, the English exterior of the Dolls' House contained a world of 'British' world objects. Britain as a nation and an empire created this kind of dual identity or

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<sup>60</sup> Ryan, *Ideal Homes*, 141, 165.

ambiguity. The physical presence of empire at home derived from imperial trade networks and British power within a global capitalist system. The formal and informal influences of British economic power facilitated objects in motion.

Country house scholars have researched the relationship between built environments and individual/group identities, looking at architectural styles, interior designs and a variety of objects arranged within the houses. More recently, the material turn has led to expanded studies of the country house as a site of consumption set within local, national and global systems of supply.<sup>61</sup> Among them, significant works on the connection of the country house with the empire have shed light on the imperial presence within British country houses.<sup>62</sup> Chinese wallpaper, carpets, porcelain and lacquer can be found within many country houses, including the Dolls' House, as we have seen, although there were changes in fashion and taste over time. Imperial families with direct connections to the East India Company, as *The East India Company at Home* project has shown, acquired and displayed imperial objects in their domestic spaces, which became a popular visiting site for tourists during the nineteenth century. As well as public spaces such as museums and exhibitions, domestic spaces such as 'English' country houses served as repositories for multifaceted narratives of Britain as a nation and an empire. If imperial families'

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<sup>61</sup> Jon Stobart and Andrew Hann, eds., *The Country House: Material Culture and Consumption* (Swindon: Historic England Publishing, 2016); Jon Stobart and Mark Rothery, *Consumption and the Country House* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016).

<sup>62</sup> *The East India Company at Home, 1757–1857* project examined the empire's impacts on the British country house through case studies on houses, families and objects. The research project explored examples in England, Scotland and Wales, and the result has recently been published in a book form. Finn and Smith, *The East India Company at Home*. For more related research, see Stephanie Barczewski, *Country Houses and the British Empire, 1700–1930* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014); Kate Smith, "Empire and the Country House in Early Nineteenth-Century Britain: The Amhersts of Montreal Park, Kent," *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History* 16, no. 3 (2015). For the relationship to slave trade, see Madge Dresser and Andrew Hann, eds., *Slavery and the British Country House* (Swindon: English Heritage, 2013).

country houses expressed imperial engagement in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries,<sup>63</sup> the Queen's Dolls' House emphasised the imperial wealth of the royal family, which was nominally open to the scrutiny of the public. The British monarchy represented all the imperial families.

The extent of the empire's influences on the metropole is an ongoing debate topic among historians.<sup>64</sup> It was uneven, but, as Catherine Hall and Sonya O. Rose have argued, national and local histories were imbricated in a world system fashioned by imperialism and colonialism.<sup>65</sup> The Queen's Dolls' House showed the physical representations of empire within the style of English royal buildings, and the duality of the House epitomises cultures of the British Empire. For example, India plays a prominent part within the Dolls' House. The Indian government donated the white marble and lapis lazuli required for the ground floor of the Entrance Hall, the place where visitors *first* imaginatively arrive, and the most public space of the house. This reminds us of Joseph Chamberlain's concept of the complementary economics of Empire. That is, the colonies were producers of raw materials and foodstuffs for Britain, and Britain was a manufacturer of goods within the inter-imperial trade system.<sup>66</sup> In the case of the Dolls' House, Britain represented the science and technology that provided the electric power and the sewage system in miniature, and

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<sup>63</sup> Barczewski's study explored a wide range of imperial connections, including colonial merchants, Indian nabobs, West Indian planters, military and naval officers, returnees from settlement colonies, and imperial investors. *Ibid.*

<sup>64</sup> Hall and Rose, *At Home with the Empire*; Bernard Porter, *The Absent-Minded Imperialists: Empire, Society, and Culture in Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); Thompson, *The Empire Strikes Back*.

<sup>65</sup> Hall and Rose, *At Home with the Empire*, 21.

<sup>66</sup> The EMB posters are the results of the visualisation of the complementary economics of Empire in that they represent the colonies as producers of raw materials and Britain as a manufacturer. Unlike ordinary commercial advertisements, the EMB posters do not promote particular branded products. Instead, they feature individual territories each with their own particular role, creating a highly romanticised image of the Empire.

the colony supplied building materials. The Inventory of the Dolls' House also recorded the presence of global materials including ivory, marble and jade (Figures 3.22–23). These materials travelled across the world, exploited and traded as commodities. The materials of objects maintained diverse origins even in European designs, which substantiates imbricated histories in international, global and cosmopolitan contexts.<sup>67</sup>

The architect of the Queen's Dolls' House, Lutyens, himself epitomises the characteristic of intermingled identity in that he was both well known for his country houses, and at the same time, a major figure of colonial architecture, as we have seen, since he was famously responsible for the planning and design of the new imperial capital New Delhi in India; a project in progress whilst he undertook the Queen's Dolls' House.<sup>68</sup> Scholars have described Lutyens as an "almost forgotten hero" particularly in the British context, but, in 1981, a major retrospective exhibition opened at the Hayward Gallery in London.<sup>69</sup> Even after his fame as a prominent architect in the early twentieth century was recovered, Lutyens commentators have tended to ignore the Dolls' House, and even imperial architectural historians have regarded it as a mere plaything. In this respect, Timothy M. Rohan's comparative analysis of the Dolls' House and the Viceroy's House in New Delhi is significant.<sup>70</sup> Rohan examined the interrelationship between the domesticity of the Dolls' House and the monumentality of colonial projects, drawing from Stewart's analysis of the miniature and the gigantic. Even though he was considering the issue of Englishness

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<sup>67</sup> For more history of exchange and circulation, see Appadurai, *The Social Life of Things*.

<sup>68</sup> Hopkins and Stamp, *Lutyens Abroad*, 169–207; Irving, *Indian Summer*; Metcalf, *An Imperial Vision*, 211–239.

<sup>69</sup> Colin Amery, Introduction in *Lutyens: The Work of the English Architect Sir Edwin Lutyens (1869–1944)* (London: Arts Council of Great Britain, 1981), 8.

<sup>70</sup> Timothy M. Rohan, "Lutyens, the Miniature and the Gigantic," in *Lutyens Abroad*, 115–128.

based on imperial capital,<sup>71</sup> Rohan stressed the Queen's personal taste and interest in collecting objects rather than a relation to the Empire, when he interpreted the disparate objects within the interior the Dolls' House. However, the House epitomises and encapsulates beautifully the diverse, but highly hierarchical, cultures of the British Empire. After all, it was in 7 Apple Tree Yard, Lutyens's Delhi Office, where the idea of the Queen's Dolls' House was first developed.

According to the Catalogue of the Library, the collection of miniature newspapers included: *The Architectural Review*, *Country Life*, *The Daily Mail*, *The Field*, *The Morning Post*, *Pearson's Magazine*, *Punch*, *The Saturday Review*, *The Standard Magazine*, *The Times*, *The Times of India*, *Tit-Bits* and *Truth*.<sup>72</sup> A conspicuous piece in this collection was *The Times of India*. The development of the publishing industry and telegraphic communication reduced temporal distance between home and overseas, further stimulating the colonial imagination at home. In addition, the Empire was visualised in a range of other ways in the Queen's Dolls' House. We might think about the globe (Figure 3.24) and map (Figure 3.25) placed in the Library. The miniature *Atlas of the British Empire* consisted of twelve maps: the World, the British Isles, Canada, India, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, West Africa, East Africa, Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, the West Indies and the Pacific Islands in order; maps that reflect and miniaturise imperial abstract minds.<sup>73</sup> The imperial red of the World map within the miniature *Atlas of the British Empire* (Figure 3.26) resonates with maps that I examined in Chapter 1: *The Howard Vincent Map* and the frontispiece map within the series of *The British Empire: A Survey*.

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<sup>71</sup> Edward W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (London: Vintage, 1994).

<sup>72</sup> *The Book of the Queen's Dolls' House*, 215.

<sup>73</sup> The British Library houses a reproduced version from the original made for the Queen's Dolls' House.

In terms of possession, the Queen's Dolls' House allowed the contributors and audiences as well as the owner to feel national and imperial pride by presenting the high quality of arts and crafts in miniature. Moreover, at the Wembley Exhibition, the site itself endlessly encouraged people to engage in imperial projects. The making process of the Dolls' House required a series of practices of selecting, collecting, classifying, curating and displaying, compared to the programme of museum collections. Significantly, the format of the Dolls' House reminds us of cabinets of curiosities, the precursors of modern museums, in that it is composed of small rooms with rarities and works of art. Early examples of dolls' houses appeared in the sixteenth century when cabinets of curiosities were widespread. The earliest-known house was made in 1557–58 for Albert V, Duke of Bavaria, which was a four-storey ducal residence.<sup>74</sup> It is noteworthy that one of continental models of the cabinet of curiosities, the *Kunstammer* was established by Albert V of Bavaria at Munich.<sup>75</sup> Structurally, the Dutch doll's house was more like a cabinet with its closed doors (Figure 3.27). In Holland, the cabinet house developed during the age of expanding trade and rising the middle class. Practices of collecting expensive miniatures and commissioning tiny items from artists and craftsmen became increasingly fashionable. Such a luxurious hobby was made popular by the profits of the Dutch East India Company. These continental models of cabinets came late to England, and the belated development occurred in doll's houses as well. Furnishing miniature houses, however, expanded in the eighteenth century, the heyday of country houses in Britain.<sup>76</sup> As in Holland, the advent of a fashionable hobby and the

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<sup>74</sup> Halina Pasierbska, *Dolls' Houses: From the V&A Museum of Childhood* (London: V&A, 2015), 7.

<sup>75</sup> Arthur MacGregor, *Curiosity and Enlightenment: Collectors and Collections from the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 13–15.

<sup>76</sup> Christie, *The British Country House*.

growth of country houses were evidently intertwined with the increasing power of Britain and its empire.

Britain as a nation and an empire generated a characteristic mode of the English exterior and British interior within the Queen's Dolls' House as we have seen. The British Empire Exhibition demonstrated the dual identity of the British Empire: *an empire within the world* and *the empire as the world*. The relationship between microcosm and macrocosm was embodied *within* the Dolls' House *within* the Palace of Arts *within* Wembley Park *within* London, the capital of nation and empire, *within* England *within* the United Kingdom *within* the British Empire *within* the globe. Finally, and perhaps unsurprisingly, a miniature painting of the Crystal Palace could be found in a servant's room (Figure 3.28); a miniature Crystal Palace that housed a miniature Great Exhibition that sought to encapsulate the world of Victorian trade; a Crystal Palace and Great Exhibition as a symbol of 'peace, progress and prosperity' recalled whenever Britain and its empire encounter crises.<sup>77</sup> The Queen's Dolls' House thus articulates the three motifs of global power, imperial wealth and nostalgia that became, and remain dominant in the postwar era of (supposed) decolonisation.

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<sup>77</sup> Jeffrey A. Auerbach, "The Great Exhibition and Historical Memory," *Journal of Victorian Culture* 6, no. 1 (2001): 89–112; Auerbach and Hoffenberg, *Britain, the Empire, and the World*.

## 2. Micro Art within the Dolls' House within the Palace of Arts

### Micro Artworks

The artworks inside the Queen's Dolls' House can be divided into three categories: the interior decoration, the hung collection and the Library cabinet collection. The project committee aimed to produce a memorial of the arts and crafts, design and manufacturing of the time, as seen through dolls' eyes. Unfortunately, many of the artists who participated in the project are now forgotten and unknown. Like the little-known artists examined in Chapter 2, they have been marginalised and omitted in the study of British art, leaving few or no traces on the online database of Tate or Art UK. This almost forgotten generation of British artists, however, represented early-twentieth-century British art, thereby functioning as missing links in our complex networks of British art worlds.

As in the Wembley Art Section, the promoters embraced a wide swathe of art, ranging from Victorian painters through the English Impressionists to the Surrealists, encouraging us to expect the micro artworks within the Dolls' House to be similarly eclectic. The connection between Lutyens, the architect of the House, and Weaver, the editor of the supplementary publication, who was also involved in the British Empire Exhibition, allows us to infer the interrelationship between the Dolls' House and the Palace of Arts at Wembley. It is noteworthy that Herbert Morgan was present at a meeting with Princess Marie Louise, Lutyens and Lucas.<sup>1</sup> Morgan, a businessman and industrialist, chaired an inaugural meeting of the Society of Industrial Artists (SIA) – the first professional body of design in Britain, founded in

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<sup>1</sup> Hussey, *Edwin Lutyens*, 444.



1930.<sup>2</sup> His engagement with the Dolls' House project affirms the reconciliatory mood in the 1920s, as we saw in Chapter 2, revealing the integration of fine arts and design, as well as the overall royal patronage of that integration.

The walls and ceilings were painted by contemporary artists. Looking at ceiling paintings from the ground floor, works included: the coved ceiling in the Entrance Hall by Nicholson,<sup>3</sup> the celestial ceiling in the Hall by Benjamin Guinness, and the Library by William Walcot; on the first floor, the Saloon by Sims, the Queen's Bedroom by Philpot, the Queen's Wardrobe by Robert Anning Bell, the Queen's Bathroom by Maurice Greiffenhagen, the King's Bedroom by George Wolfe Plank, the King's Wardrobe by De Glehn, and the King's Bathroom by Laurence Irving.<sup>4</sup> On the top floor, Edmund Dulac painted water lilies on the wall of the Queen's Sitting Room and Persian figures from fairy tales on the Day Nursery wall, reflecting ongoing oriental tastes.<sup>5</sup>

All the rooms of the Dolls' House were decorated according to particular themes, using different colours and patterns, installing furniture and ornaments in various styles, and hanging a range of artworks on the walls, all created and hung to scale.

The micro artworks were mostly original creations for the House, but included some

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<sup>2</sup> The SIA was renamed Society of Industrial Artists and Designers (SIAD) in 1963 and Chartered Society of Designers (CSD) in 1986. Leah Armstrong, "Steering a Course Between Professionalism and Commercialism: The Society of Industrial Artists and the Code of Conduct for the Professional Designer 1945–1975," *Journal of Design History* 29, no. 2 (2016): 161–179.

<sup>3</sup> Nicholson worked mainly as a printmaker and designer. He was a trustee of the Tate Gallery between 1934 and 1939.

<sup>4</sup> Bell was a member of the ACES and gained a number of decorative commissions for mosaics, stained glass and relief sculpture. Greiffenhagen taught at the Glasgow School of Art between 1906 and 1929. He decorated the British Pavilions for the 1925 Paris Exhibition and the 1930 Antwerp Exhibition. Plank was an American illustrator and designer, who moved to England in 1914. He had a long-term association with *Vogue*. In 1927, Lutyens designed and built a house for Plank in Sussex.

<sup>5</sup> Dulac was a French-born illustrator. He designed postage stamps to commemorate the coronation of King George VI and the coronation of Queen Elizabeth II. One of his best-known stamp designs was for the Festival of Britain in 1951. Knight and Sabey, *The Lion Roars*, 42.

reproductions. For instance, the Dining Room (on the left turning from the Entrance Hall) contained reproductions of easily recognised and popular portraits: of Queen Victoria, the Prince Consort and their family by Franz Xavier Winterhalter,<sup>6</sup> and of the Prince of Wales on Forest Witch by Alfred J. Munnings. Munnings's equestrian portrait of the Prince of Wales was especially popular, appearing in the 1925 Palace of Arts and the *Illustrated Souvenir* as well (Figure 3.29). Another notable example was Millais's *Bubbles* (1886), well known after its translation into a Pears soap advertisement. The miniature version, painted by Alfred Charles Hemming, was displayed in the Night Nursery on the top floor (Figure 3.30).<sup>7</sup>

Three sets of portraits of kings and queens in the Saloon conveyed political messages, highlighting the lineage and tradition of ruling power. The portraits visualised a genealogy, embracing George III and Queen Charlotte by James Harrington Mann (after Reynolds), King George V and Queen Mary by Orpen, and King Edward VII and Queen Alexandra by Lavery (Figures 3.31–36).<sup>8</sup> The strategic placing of portraits played a pivotal role in constructing images of the owners' wealth, power and identity within country houses.<sup>9</sup> Accordingly, examining the portraits as a group in their setting is crucial to understanding their function and meaning. The saloon

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<sup>6</sup> The group portrait after Winterhalter was painted by Ambrose McEvoy. He studied at the Slade School of Fine Art and in 1902 became a member of the New English Art Club. McEvoy gained success as a portrait painter. In 1924, he was elected an associate of the Royal Academy and a member of the Royal Society of Portrait Painters, and of the Royal Watercolour Society in 1926.

<sup>7</sup> The original painting is now displayed at the Lady Lever Art Gallery, lent by Unilever. "Artwork Details," National Museums Liverpool, accessed May 20, 2018, <http://www.liverpoolmuseums.org.uk/picture-of-month/displaypicture.aspx?id=299>; Jason Rosenfeld and Alison Smith, *Millais* (London: Tate, 2007), 184. For more on Millais, see Jason Rosenfeld, *John Everett Millais* (London: Phaidon, 2012).

<sup>8</sup> Mann, the Scottish portrait painter, studied at the Glasgow School of Art and the Slade School. Lavery was born in Belfast and studied in Glasgow, London and Paris.

<sup>9</sup> Gill Perry et al., eds., *Placing Faces: The Portrait and the English Country House in the Long Eighteenth Century* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013); Marcia Pointon, *Hanging the Head: Portraiture and Social Formation in Eighteenth-Century England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), 13–52.

within country houses was public space; available to family members and visitors. The saloon was thus furnished and decorated for entertaining a large number of people on a grand scale in comparison with drawing rooms.<sup>10</sup> The Dolls' House Saloon was decorated with a collection of gold-coloured furniture and ornaments; even the wallpaper was golden yellow. The six full-length portraits presented the kings and queens wearing coronation robes, all in gold frames, surmounted with crowns. Significantly, Lutyens designed them, following his architectural scheme. If eighteenth-century country houses served as the frame for (mostly) family portraits, as Shearer West has argued,<sup>11</sup> the Dolls' House's Saloon became the frame for portraiture of the (royal) family and the monarchy. The Saloon as a frame was full of golden yellow, revealing their royal and imperial status and wealth.<sup>12</sup>

The micro artworks within the Dolls' House ranged beyond the royal family to history, landscape, still life, genre painting and war painting (Figures 3.37–38). The miniature watercolours showing views of the Tower of London from the Thames and Edinburgh Castle, symbolising England and Scotland, legitimised the Windsors' rule over the United Kingdom (Figures 3.39–40).<sup>13</sup> In particular, conflicts over Scottish nationalism within the Wembley Committee during the preparatory period epitomise this political stance. James Pittendrigh Macgillivray, the eminent Scottish sculptor,

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<sup>10</sup> Christie, *British Country House*, 232–273.

<sup>11</sup> Shearer West, "Framing Hegemony: Economics, Luxury and Family Continuity in the Country House Portrait," in *The Rhetoric of the Frame: Essays on the Boundaries of the Artwork*, ed. Paul Duro (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 63–78.

<sup>12</sup> It recalls the statistics on gold production displayed in the South Africa Pavilion at Wembley, as we saw in Chapter 1.

<sup>13</sup> The watercolours were created by Frank Moss Bennett, who mainly painted architecture and historical scenes.

joined the Committee in 1921.<sup>14</sup> When he suggested that Scottish sculptors should exhibit separately from English artists, the Sculpture Committee refused the proposal.<sup>15</sup> Subsequently, he suggested an alternative idea that the Royal Scottish Academy should be in charge of selecting works by Scottish artists. The Committee again turned this proposal down, which resulted in Macgillivray's resignation from the Committee. The space of the Palace of Arts was allocated not only for Britain but also for the Dominions and the Colonies (only India and Burma), whereas the British exhibits were in the name of the 'United Kingdom'.

The micro art collection, moreover, reveals a range of materials including not only paintings, drawings and prints but also sculpture. Portrait busts of King Edward VII and Queen Alexandra by Goscombe John were striking examples (Figure 3.41). Goscombe John, the Welsh-born sculptor, was a founding member of the National Museum of Wales as well as a leading figure of the New Sculpture movement in the late nineteenth century, even if there has been little scholarship on his works.<sup>16</sup> After the First World War, Goscombe John was commissioned to design public monuments, predictably including war memorials. Among them, the Port Sunlight War Memorial, unveiled in 1921, is remarkable, confirming the networks of interwar British art worlds. The pair of miniature busts within the Dolls' House was reminiscent of the king and the queen sculpted on the main entrance of the V&A

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<sup>14</sup> Hugh MacDiamid, "English Invasion of Scotland," in *The Raucle Tongue: Hitherto Uncollected Prose 1*, eds. Angus Calder, Glen Murray and Alan Riach (Manchester: Carcanet, 1996), 115–116; "Scotland's Fight for Artistic Independence," *Ibid.*, 124; 290.

<sup>15</sup> Frampton was appointed Chairman of the 1924 Sculpture Committee with Reynolds-Stephens as Vice-Chairman. Tweed succeeded Frampton as the sole director in 1925.

<sup>16</sup> Only one academic research on Goscombe John has been published. Fiona Pearson, *Goscombe John at the National Museum of Wales* (Cardiff: National Museum of Wales, 1979). For more on the new trend in sculpture, see Susan Beattie, *The New Sculpture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983). For long-eighteenth-century British sculpture, prior to the New Sculpture, see Jason Edwards and Sarah Burnage, eds., *The British School of Sculpture, c. 1760–1832* (London: Routledge, 2017).

(facing Brompton Road); the full-length stone figures were executed by the same sculptor in 1906.<sup>17</sup> His royal patronage continued in the 1930s; in 1935, he designed the King George V Silver Jubilee Medal, a commemorative medal depicting crowned and robed heads of George V and Queen Mary.

In addition to the royal busts, a pair of war heroes appeared in the Hall. Jagger contributed to busts of Earl Beatty and Earl Haig, who were Commander in Chief of the British Grand Fleet and Commander respectively (Figure 3.42).<sup>18</sup> Jagger, the soldier-sculptor, was well known for his war memorials, particularly the Great Railway Memorial at Paddington Station (1922) and the Royal Artillery Memorial at Hyde Park Corner (1925) in London. The miniature bronze busts paralleled his realistic statues seen in the war memorials of the 1920s. Later, Lutyens invited Jagger to be a part of the New Delhi project.<sup>19</sup> Jagger created reliefs to decorate the Jaipur Column, a statue of Lord Hardinge (former Viceroy of India), and massive elephants in the walls flanking the south approaches to the Court and Column.<sup>20</sup> Significantly, the Jaipur Column, designed by Lutyens, was a centrepiece of the Viceroy's Court to commemorate the creation of the new capital; a plan of imperial New Delhi was inscribed on the Column. It was made of sandstone, and details

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<sup>17</sup> Pearson, *Goscombe John*, 75.

<sup>18</sup> Jagger joined the Artists Rifles during the First World War and worked for the British War Memorials Committee. Jonathan Black, "The New (British) Sculpture and the Struggle for Realism Between the Wars," *Sculpture Journal* 21, no. 2 (2012): 23–36; Ann Compton, ed., *Charles Sargeant Jagger: War and Peace Sculpture* (London: Imperial War Museum, 1985); Ann Compton, *The Sculpture of Charles Sargeant Jagger* (Much Hadham: The Henry Moore Foundation; Aldershot: Lund Humphries, 2004).

<sup>19</sup> Hopkins and Stamp, *Lutyens Abroad*, 169–207; Irving, *Indian Summer*, 166–274.

<sup>20</sup> Jagger was also commissioned by Lord Reading, Viceroy of India (1921–25), to design a statue to commemorate his period in office. Compton, *The Sculpture of Charles Sargeant Jagger*, 66–72; Steggles and Barnes, *British Sculpture in India*, 288–299, 294–295.

showed the integration of Indian elements and British imperial symbols.<sup>21</sup> Such social networks and artistic commissions further demonstrate how many imperial dimensions were embedded in British art worlds.<sup>22</sup>

The art collection of the Dolls' House shared historicising tastes with country houses; neoclassicism in miniature appeared. At the Entrance Hall on the ground floor, a miniature statue of Venus, executed by Derwent Wood, stood (Figure 43); a popular subject in his oeuvre.<sup>23</sup> Within the Dolls' House, the bronze Venus was present in nude and contrapposto, standing on a lapis lazuli columnar pedestal with square base, reminiscent of Botticelli's *Birth of Venus* (1484–86). Derwent Wood had carved the wreaths on the Cenotaph designed by Lutyens; his collaboration with Lutyens continued through the Britannic House project in London between 1924 and 1927. The building of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company (founded in 1909) was designed by Lutyens, and Derwent Wood executed statues of Britannia, an Indian Water Carrier, a Persian Scarf Dancer and a Woman with a Baby.<sup>24</sup> The origin and development of the company and the architectural languages of the building recall Liberty's East India House on Regent Street, as we saw in Chapter 1.<sup>25</sup> Considering its location,

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<sup>21</sup> It was sponsored by Sawai Madho Singh, Maharaja of Jaipur. The top was decorated with a bronze lotus flower and a six-pointed glass star. Irving, *Indian Summer*, 243–247.

<sup>22</sup> Another example can be found in a commission made by the British War Memorials Committee. In 1918, Yockney, on behalf of the Committee, contacted Jagger to ask him to produce a relief with the subject of the First Battle of Ypres. Later, Yockney was appointed Assistant Director of Fine Arts at Wembley.

<sup>23</sup> Matthew Withey, *The Sculpture of Francis Derwent Wood* (London: Lund Humphries, 2015).

<sup>24</sup> Philip Ward-Jackson, *Public Sculpture of the City of London* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2002), 109–110. For this building, see Crinson, *Modern Architecture*, 58–62.

<sup>25</sup> William Knox D'Arcy negotiated an oil concession to exploit Iran's mineral resources and found his First Exploitation Company in 1903. The British government was involved in the oil concession in connection with the imminent conversion of the Royal Navy to oil fuel. The government provided indirect financial supports and political backing to D'Arcy's company. In 1909, the original D'Arcy concession became the Anglo-Persian Oil Company (APOC) and he was appointed a director of the APOC. The company renamed the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company in 1935, and later, in 1954, became the British Petroleum (BP).

Finsbury Circus near the City, the Britannic House obviously functioned as a node within *imperial urban networks*.

In the eighteenth century, Old Masters and classical sculptures on display in country houses played a pivotal role in narratives of guide book art history, attracting British artists as well as tourists.<sup>26</sup> Greco-Roman antiquities implied the country house owner's economic, social and cultural capital: experiences of the Grand Tour, knowledge of classics and connoisseurship. Wedgwood's black basalt busts revealed the symbolic capital within the Dolls' House: Bacchus and a female wearing a classical headdress and gown (Figures 3.44–45). Josiah Wedgwood started the production of a black stoneware body, known as 'Black Basalt', in 1768. At the Etruria factory, black basalt was used in ornamental wares such as vases, portrait medallions, plaques, busts and candlesticks.<sup>27</sup> The miniature busts fell into this category. If Wedgwood had rediscovered and mass-manufactured classical designs and the antique manner had provided the main impetus for his business in the eighteenth century, a later generation of the company rediscovered their eighteenth-century origins in the interwar years, representing a doubly-rediscovered classical world. This retrospective tendency, as Cheryl Buckley has pointed out, was a response to the war as well as a business strategy to establish new markets in the early twentieth century.<sup>28</sup> It recalls Liberty's business direction already mentioned above.

The Dolls' House collection also contained a miniature statue entitled *Victory* – a winged victory holding a laurel wreath and again standing on a lapis lazuli ball

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<sup>26</sup> Jocelyn, *Touring and Publicizing*, 113–123.

<sup>27</sup> Gaye Blake-Roberts and Alice Rawsthorn, *Wedgwood: A Story of Creation and Innovation* (New York: Rizzoli, 2017).

<sup>28</sup> Buckley, *Designing Modern Britain*, chap. 2, Kindle.

(Figure 3.46). The gilt metal statue reflected not only a broader classical revival across the period but the postwar mood. In addition, a pair of Greek statuettes were on display. The statuettes of pale brown stone stand on circular fluted base, depicting a shepherd carrying a sheep and a Greek maiden playing a tambourine (Figures 3.47–48). As such, the Dolls' House continued the tradition of country houses' art collection and the long-standing interest in classical sculpture and ancient art, as seen at its contemporary venues such as the British Museum and the Greek and Roman Courts of the Sydenham Crystal Palace, designed by Jones.<sup>29</sup>

### **The Library Collection**

During the long eighteenth century, the library within country houses changed from private space to public space, becoming more accessible from the state apartments and more visible on the ground floor. By the 1760s, the library obtained equal social status with the great hall and dining and drawing rooms. Such a transition affected the way in which the library was presented within a sequence of rooms, family or state.<sup>30</sup> At the same time, the library played a key role in constructing and presenting the owner's knowledge and identity. Objects within the library embraced the collection of deliberately chosen books, library busts, antiquarian curiosities, groups of coins and medals, sculpture and paintings (mostly portraiture).<sup>31</sup> Cultural practices of collecting and displaying the objects both reflected and revealed individual tastes intertwined with broader contexts. A series of consumption, decoration and furnishing was based on economic power.

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<sup>29</sup> Nichols, *Greece and Rome at the Crystal Palace*.

<sup>30</sup> Susie West, "Life in the Library," in *Placing Faces*, 66.

<sup>31</sup> Nicolas Barker and Simon Jervis, *Treasures from the Libraries of National Trust Country Houses* (New York: Royal Oak Foundation & Grolier Club, 1999); West, "Life in the Library."



Following the design scheme of country houses, the Library within the Dolls' House was located on the ground floor and accessible from the Entrance Hall (Figure 3.49). The Library alluded to the literary patronage of the Tudor period; through portraits of Henry VII by Frank Reynolds, of Henry VIII by Arthur Stockdale Cope, and of Queen Elizabeth I by Nicholson.<sup>32</sup> The full-length portrait of Henry VIII was a reproduction of Hans Holbein the Younger's sixteenth-century work. The Armada Portrait of Queen Elizabeth I occupied centre stage in the room. It was based on the sixteenth-century panel painting. Considering that this miniature shows only a portrait of the queen without the globe and detailed backgrounds, it seems to reproduce the cut-down version held at the National Portrait Gallery in London today.<sup>33</sup>

A vision of 'Old England' served as an alternative imperial tradition for the British Empire to the Roman Empire, and the 'Golden Age' of Queen Elizabeth I was the prelude, as examined in the former section. The myth of Britain as an island nation and the long-standing seaborne power of Britain and its empire appeared repeatedly in the Dolls' House. The original Armada Portrait was created to commemorate the defeat of the Spanish Armada (1588). In particular, battles against Spain were the most famous conflict of her reign. The portrait celebrated the naval victory and represented the queen in a maritime context, encapsulating imperial power and self-confidence (as a female ruler at the individual level and as the world's foremost power at the national level). The iconic image over the chimneypiece looked down

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<sup>32</sup> Reynolds contributed to illustrated magazines including *The Illustrated London News*, *London Magazine*, *Punch* and *The Sketch*. Cope won renown as a portrait painter and exhibited at the Royal Academy and the Royal Society of Portrait Painters. His sitters embraced the royal family as well as the political and social elites.

<sup>33</sup> "NPG 541; Queen Elizabeth I," National Portrait Gallery, accessed April 9, 2018, <https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw02077>.

on the whole Library, as a starting point of British imperial history, and at the same time, as a viewpoint of surveying the British imperial world.

Moreover, a pair of Nelson and Napoleon in the form of miniature statuettes stood on the left-side cabinet (Figures 3.50–51). The full-length figure of Nelson in naval uniform was made of bronze, and Napoleon was depicted in a uniform of gilt metal. Nelson's death and the Battle of Trafalgar (1805) were critical moments in British marine art as well as naval history. Britain's decisive victory against Napoleonic France, as Quilley has explored, provided British art worlds with the most appropriate subject for the pursuit of national artistic excellence.<sup>34</sup> After the 'glorious and heroic' death, Nelson was represented in a wide range of art forms including history paintings, engravings, sculptures and cartoons, in various settings such as battle scenes, the fallen moment and allegorical composition. Within the Dolls' House, Nelson appeared with his enemy, highlighting his engagement in the Napoleonic Wars with France and the watershed moment – Britain's victory and his 'sacrifice'. In this regard, the Library was transformed to a memorial to the dead hero, who had been so central to the bloody fight for empire. It resonates with the National Maritime Museum and St Paul's, as well as the Basilica within the Palace of Arts at Wembley and Lawrence's *Service and Sacrifice*, the 1924 altarpiece.

The commemoration of British naval history could also be found in a model of HMS *Royal George*. The miniature *Royal George* was on display adjacent to the portrait of Henry VIII. The warship was built at Woolwich Dockyard and launched in 1756.<sup>35</sup> It saw actions at the 1759 Battle of Quiberon Bay and at the 1780 Battle of Cape St Vincent. But, unfortunately, in 1782, the ship sank with a massive death toll; non-

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<sup>34</sup> Quilley, *Empire to Nation*, 219–249.

<sup>35</sup> "Loss of Royal George," National Museum of the Royal Navy, accessed April 9, 2018, <https://www.nmrn-portsmouth.org.uk/sites/default/files/Loss%20of%20the%20Royal%20George.pdf>.

naval personnel – extra dockyard workers and visitors – on board at the time. The tragedy became part of national memory. Parts of the wreck survived and were reused in the construction of memorials. Strikingly, some of cannons from the *Royal George* were melted down to form the base of Nelson’s Column (1843) at Trafalgar Square in London.<sup>36</sup> The ship’s bell was recovered and displayed at St Ann’s Church in Portsmouth, and a capstan was sent to Plymouth. All of these three locations have strong connections with the Royal Navy and contain memorials for the lost and the dead at sea.

The Dolls’ House Library aimed to be “a representative, rather than a complete library”.<sup>37</sup> This scheme applied to both the selection of miniature books and the art collection within two walnut cabinets, accompanying the miniature newspapers and magazines, specially commissioned music scores, and the microscopic reduction of negative or positive photographs on glass. The Library furniture was again designed by Lutyens: a desk, two folio cabinets, a red leather sofa and armchairs.<sup>38</sup>

The book collection contained overall 300 volumes, revealing a wide variety of themes. According to the catalogue, the miniature collection included, alongside contemporary writers’ contributions, the Bible, the Koran, an English Dictionary, a series of the History of England and works by Shakespeare, Robert Burns and Charles Dickens. The contemporary writers donated original compositions for the occasion or passages from their already published works, including novels, poems and prose articles.<sup>39</sup> The special collection of cabinets further highlights the variety

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<sup>36</sup> Scott Daly, “The Sinking of HMS *Royal George* and Its Importance in British Naval Culture,” *Port Towns & Urban Cultures*, August 4, 2017, <http://porttowns.port.ac.uk/the-sinking-of-hms-royal-george>.

<sup>37</sup> *The Book of the Queen’s Dolls’ House*, 71.

<sup>38</sup> *Official Souvenir Guide*, 34.

<sup>39</sup> *The Book of the Queen’s Dolls’ House*, 71.

of taste in terms of subject matter, styles and techniques. As the authors were asked to contribute in volumes of appropriately small dimension, contemporary artists were requested for donations in two little cabinets. As a result, the wooden folio cabinets with large drawers in the Library were full of a collection of more than 760 drawings, watercolours, sketches, etchings, linocuts, engravings and cartoons. The miniature artworks were the same size as two postage stamps.<sup>40</sup> In this respect, the cabinet collection represents a miniature *within* a miniature, a world *within* a world, *within* the world.

The official publication underlined that 700 well-known contemporary artists were invited to be a part of the project.<sup>41</sup> Although most of them are little known today as we have seen, some big names are recognisable: Cox, Dicksee, Mark Gertler, Gill, Knight, the Nash brothers, Nevinson, Orpen, Pryse, Rothenstein, Sims, Giles Gilbert Scott, Elizabeth Thompson (Lady Butler), Tuke and Webb. While most of the miniature objects (including the book collection) are displayed *in situ* in the special room for the Dolls' House at Windsor Castle, the cabinet art collection, originally housed in the two folio cabinets within the Library, is held separately in the Royal Library under the category of Drawings and Watercolours.<sup>42</sup> They are available for first-hand investigation, unlike the Dolls' House and decorative objects inside. Accordingly, I have examined every single piece of the cabinet collection, seeking to return them to discourses on British art history. I locate the micro artworks in British

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<sup>40</sup> The stamp scale reminds us of imperial postal services of the GPO and its global (imperial) networks. Scott Anthony and James G. Mansell, eds., *The Projection of Britain: A History of the GPO Film Unit* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).

<sup>41</sup> *The Book of the Queen's Dolls' House*, 75.

<sup>42</sup> The current Royal Library was established by William IV, and later, in 1860, was rearranged by Prince Albert and the then Librarian, Bernard Woodward. It has remained in place until today. "A History of the Royal Library," Royal Collection Trust, accessed May 20, 2018, <https://www.royalcollection.org.uk/collection/about-the-collection/the-royal-library-and-royal-archives/a-history-of-the-royal-library>.

art historiography, and, in so doing, restore the art world in interwar Britain, in a complement to Chapter 2, and demonstrate the characteristic of *arts beyond boundaries*.

It is conspicuous that Cox, Gill and Pryse, leading figures of advertising art, contributed to the cabinet collection. They designed a number of posters, particularly commissioned by railway companies in the 1920s and 1930s.<sup>43</sup> The exhibition of *British Advertising Art* at Wembley understandably staged their designs. In particular, Cox and Pryse created a series of posters for the British Empire Exhibition: Cox's *Britain's Past & Present* series and Pryse's *Scenes of Empire* series. Pick was the most powerful patron, as we saw in Chapter 2, and these artists were commissioned for the EMB as well as the London Underground, both of which were under the directorship of Pick.

Cox's micro artworks, created in 1923, show figures and architecture respectively (Figures 3.52–53). A painting of two women with an oil jar obviously indicates his later design in *Sugar Growing in Mauritius* for the EMB (displayed in 1927) in terms of the subject and characteristic style (Figure 2.37). Pryse's 1923 etching depicts the long walk lined with trees at Windsor Castle, following the tradition of landscape of property (Figure 3.54). This miniature work confirms his reputation as a lithographer in the early twentieth century. Pryse, as already mentioned, was also involved in the British Empire Exhibition as a member of Arts Council as well as the Dolls' House.

Gill's 1923 watercolour depicts a fairy's house (Figure 3.55). MacDonald Gill was Eric Gill's brother. Although he has been lesser known, recently MacDonald Gill has

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<sup>43</sup> Railways present national-scale networks, paralleling the GPO's imperial postal networks.

been rediscovered as a key figure in the history of graphic design.<sup>44</sup> He achieved fame for his pictorial maps; one of the most famous designs was *A Map of the World*, the very first image of the EMB poster exhibition at Burlington House (Figure 2.46). Later, Gill participated in the 1938 Empire Exhibition in Glasgow, designing a mural for the entrance to the UK Pavilion.<sup>45</sup> As a prolific map designer, he continued his career in the 1930s and 1940s through map posters for the GPO and the International Tea Market Expansion Board.

The artworks of the cabinet collection reflected the artists' favourite subjects and characteristic styles in miniature. For example, Paul Nash's *Dymchurch Wall* (1922) presents a sea wall and promenade painted in watercolour, pen and ink (Figure 3.56), which is similar in composition to the 1923 engraving in the Tate collection (Figure 3.57). Nash was suffering from the aftermath of war, and in 1921, moved to Dymchurch in Kent. During this period of rest and recuperation, the Dymchurch landscape preoccupied his works. Nash repeated this subject – the interaction of nature and culture of sea, land, sky and a man-made wall – in various materials including paintings, prints and watercolours between 1919 and 1925.<sup>46</sup> This miniature version clearly demonstrates the tendency of the Dymchurch years.

Tuke also maintained his artistic interests through his 1923 watercolour. After studying in Italy and Paris, he returned to England and settled in Cornwall, where the

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<sup>44</sup> For more, see The Official Website of MacDonald Gill, accessed September 19, 2017. <http://www.macdonaldgill.com>; "MacDonald 'Max' Gill – A Digital Resource 2011," University of Brighton, accessed September 19, 2017, <http://arts.brighton.ac.uk/collections/design-archives/resources/max-gill>.

<sup>45</sup> As the exhibition buildings were ephemeral, Gill's mural disappeared.

<sup>46</sup> Frances Carey, "Some Versions of Pastoral," in *Places of the Mind: British Watercolour Landscapes, 1850–1950*, ed. Kim Sloan (London: Thames & Hudson, 2017), 153.

Newlyn School emerged.<sup>47</sup> He studied male nudes with an impressionist style, emphasising natural light. Boys on boats as well as bathers against backgrounds of sea or shore were his popular subjects, as seen in oil paintings such as *August Blue* (1893–94) at Tate and *Boy Rowing Out from Rocky Shore* (1890–98) at the Royal Cornwall Museum. Tuke’s miniature painting within the cabinet collection illustrates two men in a rowing boat; his impressionist landscape portrays hills beyond clouds against pale blue sky (Figure 3.58).

In addition, Butler miniaturised a military scene in *Charging Cavalry* (Figure 3.59). She achieved renown as a military painter in the 1870s and enjoyed her success in both academic circles and the general public. Butler visualised emotional and physical impacts on individual soldiers, subsequently leading to her losing popularity in the patriotic atmosphere.<sup>48</sup> However, she continued to paint battle scenes into the early twentieth century, and this miniature watercolour was one of them. It depicts a group of cavalry soldiers in full dress uniform, reminiscent of *Scotland Forever!*, the 1881 oil painting capturing the moment of the Royal North British Dragoon’s crashing into the French army. The soldiers amid dust clouds create the dramatic atmosphere, full of danger and uncertainty, even in miniature.

Butler’s influence can be found in another military painting of the Peninsular War (1808–14) (Figure 3.60). William Barnes Wollen was one of Butler’s contemporary artists, mostly known for his battle scenes. The 1923 miniature watercolour depicts a Trooper of the 14th Light Dragoons. The soldier on horse in uniform shares the

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<sup>47</sup> Michael Hatt, “Uranian Imperialism: Boys and Empire in Edwardian England,” in *Art and the British Empire*, 153–168; David Wainwright and Catherine Dinn, *Henry Scott Tuke, 1858–1929: Under Canvas* (London: Sarema Press, 1989); Catherine Wallace, *Catching the Light: The Art and Life of Henry Scott Tuke, 1858–1929* (Edinburgh: Atelier Books, 2008).

<sup>48</sup> For Butler’s contribution to the field of Victorian and early-twentieth-century military painting, see Dorothy Nott, “Reframing War: British Military Painting 1854 to 1918” (PhD diss., University of York, 2015), 31–78.

composition with Butler's *The Remnants of an Army* (1879), created in the middle of the Second Anglo-Afghan War (1878–80). In addition, the cabinet collection reflected the First World War. Emily Murray Paterson captured destroyed landscapes with broken trees in *Ypres, Summer, 1919* (Figure 3.61), and Robert Spencer's etching represented battlefield trenches (Figure 3.62). Traces of the war and conflict were recorded in military paintings, but also reflected in a portrait of a Land Girl by William Hatherell, presenting women's contribution to the war effort.

The collection of micro artworks embraced styles ranging from the high Victorian through the English Impressionists to the Surrealists, as we have seen. Dicksee's portrait recalls Pre-Raphaelite images of women, showing a woman with red hair wearing a green dress against dark blue backgrounds (Figure 3.63). Greiffenhagen's *Aphrodite* (1923) presents Art Nouveau style with sinuous and organic lines, and the use of black ink reminds us of Beardsley's drawings (Figure 3.64). Ann Spence Black's still life and Dora Webb's watercolour of a mystical fairy sitting on a bat highlight the hybrid characteristics of British art within the Dolls' House (Figure 3.65–66).<sup>49</sup> In addition, the collection included a portrait drawing of Lutyens, the architect of the Dolls' House, by Rothenstein, in company with a series of micro floor plans of the House.

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<sup>49</sup> It suggests the Victorians' obsession with fairies. Nicola Bown, *Fairies in Nineteenth-Century Art and Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Nicola Bown, Carolyn Burdett and Pamela Thurschwell, eds., *The Victorian Supernatural* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).



## Encapsulating British Imperial Landscapes

As we have already seen, the Library cabinet collection contained a wide range of subjects: history painting, portraiture, genre painting (scenes from daily life), landscape and still life. Among them, landscape is the most frequently seen genre. The collection visualised a constitutional monarch and a parliamentary democracy in miniature landscape art. The most celebrated sites of ‘imperial’ London – the triangular area with Buckingham Palace, Trafalgar Square and the Houses of Parliament as well as St Paul’s Cathedral, examined in Chapter 1, significantly appeared in the cabinet collection. In particular, Sydney Prior Hall’s *The Unveiling of the Queen Victoria Memorial, 16 May 1911* was miniaturised within the Dolls’ House, a photographic reproduction of the oil painting (Figures 3.67–68). Hall’s original painting, commissioned by George V and held in the Royal Collection, depicted the ceremony with rows of soldiers parading in front of the newly created Memorial. The Queen Victoria Memorial commemorated the age of imperial expansion and the most powerful in the international and global arena.<sup>50</sup> The Memorial, executed by Thomas Brock, was installed outside Buckingham Palace at the entrance to the Mall, accompanying a new facade of the Palace, designed by Webb. It is noteworthy that Webb’s architectural drawing of the front facade was also included in the cabinet collection. The imperial connotation appeared more strongly in Emily Mary Bibbens Warren’s *The Empire’s Shrine* (Figure 3.69). Warren, a British Canadian artist, worked on the interiors of buildings, including Westminster Abbey. Sunlight shining through stained glass windows was a feature of her paintings. This miniature watercolour reflected her artistic interests, presenting

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<sup>50</sup> Tori Smith, “‘A Grand Work of Noble Conception’: The Victoria Memorial and Imperial London,” in *Imperial Cities*, 21–39.

the interior of Westminster in beams of light. The Union flag hung on a pole is noticeable.

As seen in the hung collection, micro landscapes symbolising England and Scotland functioned to legitimise the idea of Great Britain within the Doll's House. Views of major buildings from the Thames and of Edinburgh Castle also appeared in the cabinet collection. This embraced royal residences including St James's Palace and Kensington Palace as well as a bucolic landscape depicting the meadows of Windsor. A statue of King Edward VII at Holyrood particularly epitomises the dynamic of national relations; the Palace in Edinburgh is the official residence of the British monarch in Scotland. Henry Snell Gamley, the Scottish sculptor, contributed to the cabinet collection a miniature pencil drawing of the memorial statue, executed by himself.<sup>51</sup> In addition, Wales was symbolised in images of women with Welsh hats, the national costume (Figure 3.70). The romanticised view reminds us of William Dyce's *Welsh Landscape with Two Women Knitting* (1860). Amadée Forestier's *The Call* (1923) depicted the Saxons' encounter with the Vikings, suggesting historical records of attacks by Viking invaders on the coasts of Britain (Figure 3.71).<sup>52</sup> At the same time, the characteristics of Englishness are also present: St George and the dragon, a Tudor house and Shakespeare's house in Stratford-upon-Avon, all painted in pen and ink, paralleling the Tudor revival in the interwar years as we have seen.

The interrelationship between landscape and identity has been explored in disciplines of history and geography as well as art history.<sup>53</sup> Landscape paintings are deemed the

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<sup>51</sup> "Henry (Harry) Snell Gamley ARSA, RSA," *Mapping the Practice and Profession of Sculpture in Britain and Ireland 1851–1951*, University of Glasgow History of Art and HATII, online database 2011, accessed May 1, 2018, [https://sculpture.gla.ac.uk/view/person.php?id=msib6\\_1210158597](https://sculpture.gla.ac.uk/view/person.php?id=msib6_1210158597).

<sup>52</sup> Forestier was specialised in historical and prehistoric scenes such as the roman soldier.

<sup>53</sup> Corbett, Holt and Russell, *The Geographies of Englishness*; Daniels, *Fields of Vision*; David Matless, *Landscape and Englishness* (London: Reaktion, 1998); Michael Rosenthal, Christiana Payne

core of British art history. Constable and Turner, in particular, have been key figures in the historiography of British landscapes. In 2014, Tate Britain and the V&A simultaneously opened exhibitions on these rival artists: *Late Turner: Painting Set Free* and *Constable: The Making of a Master* respectively. In 2018, Tate Britain also staged *Fire and Water*, hanging Constable's *Salisbury Cathedral from the Meadows* alongside Turner's *Caligula's Palace and Bridge*. It is the first time these two works have been seen together since 1831 when they were shown at the Royal Academy.

In the museum sector, landscapes have been hugely popular and played a central role in the construction of a distinct British cultural identity. Recently, Amgueddfa Cymru (the National Museum of Wales) and the British Museum had exhibitions of British landscapes, exploring the long time span between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries; the former included works of the 2000s as well.<sup>54</sup> Both exhibitions and their catalogues returned underestimated elements to British landscape studies. *Pastures Green and Dark Satanic Mills* (2014) was based on the collections of the National Museum of Wales, whereas the historiography of British art, as pointed out in Chapter 2, has been metropolitan-focused. *Places of the Mind* (2017) shed light on landscape drawings and watercolours, held in the Department of Prints and Drawings at the British Museum.<sup>55</sup> British watercolours had progressed with the development of tourism at home and abroad since the eighteenth century. Watercolour artists flourished, leading to the establishment of Watercolour Societies in the nineteenth century. By contrast, watercolours tend to be regarded as inferior to

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and Scott Wilcox, eds., *Prospects for the Nation: Recent Essays in British Landscape, 1750–1880* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997). For an overview of landscape scholarship, see Rosenthal, "Introduction," in *Prospects for the Nation*, 1–12.

<sup>54</sup> Tim Barringer and Oliver Fairclough, *Pastures Green and Dark Satanic Mills: The British Passion for Landscape* (New York: American Federation of Arts, 2014); Sloan, *Places of the Mind*.

<sup>55</sup> The collection includes well over 30,000 British drawings and watercolours as of 2017, and the Museum continues to collect contemporary works. Sloan, *Places of the Mind*, 19.

oil paintings, associated with amateurs and female painters, a pastime rather than a profession. The British Museum's recent exhibition reassessed the marginalised medium.

In addition, Tate Britain and the Yale Center for British Art have encouraged the discussion of British landscapes to imperial dimensions. While *The Lure of the East* (2008) centred British Orientalist paintings, exploring British artists' responses to the Islamic world of the Near and Middle East, *Spreading Canvas* (2016) focused on the British tradition of marine paintings, considering both national and imperial contexts.<sup>56</sup> As we saw in the Introduction, studies of British imperial landscapes have evidently developed in recent decades.<sup>57</sup> More recently, in 2017, the Paul Mellon Centre's two-day conference, *Landscape Now*, examined the practice of making and exhibiting landscapes as well as the pictorial representation of landscapes. The conference discussed a wide range of themes, from the eighteenth century to the contemporary: local, colonial, liquid landscapes, Anglo-American landscapes, and landscape and the Anthropocene. In January 2018, the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Met) in New York hosted *Thomas Cole's Journey: Atlantic Crossings* exhibition to commemorate the 200th anniversary of the English-born artist's arrival in America. This exhibition has cast light on Cole's transatlantic career, relocating his works in a wider global context and juxtaposing European and American artists. The Met's *Thomas Cole's Journey* will be on display at the

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<sup>56</sup> Hughes, *Spreading Canvas*; Tromans, *The Lure of the East*.

<sup>57</sup> Barringer, Forrester and Martinez-Ruiz, *Art and Emancipation in Jamaica*; Crowley, *Imperial Landscapes*; De Almeida and Gilpin, *Indian Renaissance*; Kriz, *Slavery, Sugar and the Culture of Refinement*; Nelson, *Slavery, Geography and Empire*; Quilley and Bonehill, *William Hodges*; Quilley and Kriz, *An Economy of Colour*; Ray, *Under the Banyan Tree*; Tromans, *The Lure of the East*; Weeks, *Cultures Crossed*.

National Gallery in London in June 2018, and intriguingly the London version is entitled *Thomas Cole: Eden to Empire*.

Developing current research trends, I seek to expand the scope of the discourse on British landscapes. The studies of British marine paintings tend to focus on the eighteenth century and studies of Orientalist paintings on the nineteenth century, reflecting the peak period of each genre, whereas the early twentieth century has been overlooked in the discourse. By contrast, the Library cabinet collection embraced various images including urban, rural, wild, touristic, Orientalist landscapes and seascapes, all of which were created in the 1920s. By newly analysing under-researched miniature landscape art within the Dolls' House, I examine how the visualisation of multiple locations around the United Kingdom, Europe and the British Empire, as well as beyond, constructed British imaginative geography and encapsulated imagined (imperial) identity in miniature form. To visualise the imaginative geography, I have created an interactive map of *British Imperial Landscapes*, using Google Maps tool (Figure 3.72),<sup>58</sup> and produced the following list, detailing the places that appear in the cabinet collection.<sup>59</sup> On the map, the places are categorised in six different colours: red (England), sky blue (Scotland), green (Wales), orange (Ireland),<sup>60</sup> yellow (Europe) and purple (direct/indirect imperial territories). These demonstrate the cosmopolitan characteristic of micro landscapes beyond a national boundary.

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<sup>58</sup> To view this map, visit

<https://drive.google.com/open?id=1KvPI6e5FEXnX51nEPXx9MkObyjI&usp=sharing>.

<sup>59</sup> It is based on the Royal Library's inventory of the Dolls' House Library cabinet collection.

<sup>60</sup> In 1922, the Irish Free State was established as a Dominion of the British Commonwealth of Nations. Donal Corcoran, "Public Policy in an emerging state: The Irish Free State 1922–25," *Irish Journal of Public Policy* 1, no. 1 (2009), accessed May 1, 2016, <http://publish.ucc.ie/ijpp/2009/01/corcoran/05/en>.

**Table 1. Places appearing in the Library cabinet collection within the Queen's Dolls' House**

<b>United Kingdom</b>	England	Bath
		Bexhill
		Bideford
		Brandon
		Bridgnorth
		Bristol
		Buildwas Abbey, in Shropshire
		Byland Abbey, in North Yorkshire
		Cambridge
		Canterbury Cathedral
		Chesterfield
		Christchurch
		Christchurch Harbour, in Dorset
		Cleeve Abbey, in Somerset
		Clifton
		Corfe Castle, in Dorset
		Cornwall
		Dartmoor National Park
		Dedham
		Devon
		Dorney Common
		Dunwich
		Durham
		Durham Cathedral
		Dymchurch
		Eling
		Ely Cathedral
		Essex
		Eton College
		Freshwater Bay, in the Isle of Wight
		Glastonbury Tor, in Somerset
		Gloucester
		Gloucestershire
		Godrevy, in Cornwall
		Goldsbrough
		Hadleigh Castle, in Essex
		Hastings
		Hornchurch
		Kirtlington Park, in Oxfordshire
		Langdale Pikes, in the Lake District
		Leicester
Lincolnshire		
(London): Big Ben; Buckingham Palace; Chadwick Road; Hampton Court; Kensington		

		Palace; Kingston Bridge; London Bridge; Palace of Westminster; Richmond Bridge; South Bank; St James's Palace; St Paul's Cathedral; Temple Church; Victoria Memorial; Waterloo Bridge; Westminster; Westminster Abbey
		Lymington River, in Hampshire
		Norfolk
		Oxford
		Pen-y-ghent, in the Yorkshire Dales
		Pevensey Bay, in East Sussex
		Poole Harbour, in Dorset
		Richmond Castle, in North Yorkshire
		Rochester
		Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew
		Rye
		Saint Ives, in Cornwall
		Seven Sisters, in East Sussex
		Shepperton
		Stratford-upon-Avon
		Storrington
		Suffolk
		Teignmouth, in Devon
		Ullswater, in the Lake District
		Walsingham Abbey, in Norfolk
		West Newton
		Winchelsea, in East Sussex
		Winchester Cathedral
		Windsor
		Windsor Castle
		Woolhampton
		York Minster
	Scotland	Aberdeen
		Argyll
		Canongate, in Edinburgh
		Crinan
		Dunnottar Castle
		Edinburgh
		Edinburgh Castle
		Eigg
		Fife
		Glen Sligachan
		Holyrood, in Edinburgh
		Iona Abbey
		Loch Lomond
		Loch Maree
		Lossiemouth

		Machrihanish Bay
		New Abbey
		Sgurr nan Gillean
		Shetland
		Stirling Castle
	Wales	Conwy
		Conwy Castle
		Harlech Castle
		North Wales
		Pembroke Castle
		Saint David's
		Snowdon
	Ireland	Swansea Bay
Malahide, in Dublin		
<b>Overseas</b>	(direct/indirect) Imperial territories	Picardy Avenue, in Belfast
		Algeria
		Boston Harbor, in the USA
		Cairo, in Egypt
		Canada
		Canadian Rockies
		Damascus, in Syria
		Egypt
		India
		Jersey
		Jerusalem, in Israel
		Kashmir, in India
		Mont Orgueil Castle, in Jersey
Palestine		
Sydney Harbour, in Australia		
Europe	Belgium: Bruges; Ypres	
	France: Borromean Islands; Brittany; Capecure; Cathedrale Notre-Dame de Paris; Corsica; Dieppe; Dinan; Etaples; Lake Annecy; Menton; Mont-Saint-Eloi; Nice; Normandy; Pont Marie; Pont Royal; Versailles; Villeneuve-sur-Lot	
	(Italy): Assisi; Bellagio; Florence; Frascati; Lake Garda; Lake Trasimeno; Rialto Bridge; San Gimignano; San Gregorio; Saint Mark's Basilica; Tivoli; Torcello; Venice	
	Netherlands	
	North Sea	
	Spain: Alicante; Cordoba; Granada; Sevilla; Toledo	
	(Switzerland): Engelberg; Geneva; Jungfrau; Lake Thun; Matterhorn; Meiringen	



The Table shows that the cabinet collection followed the conventions of British landscapes.<sup>61</sup> ‘English’ landscapes within the collection represented the ruins of old castles and remains of Gothic churches as well as the poetic images of the countryside, rustic figures, rural scenes and landscapes of property. In the eighteenth century, British artists sought the sublime and the picturesque, representing similar subjects such as towering mountains and ruins. The Grand Tour and classical tastes encouraged traveller-artists to paint Italian landscapes. The pastoral scenery with cottages and churches was established as popular themes, particularly derived from Gainsborough. The places in Europe, as they appeared in the cabinet collection, reflect traditional destinations of the Grand Tour: Italy (significantly Venice) and the Swiss Alps. These micro artworks depicted the beauties of nature as well as Renaissance art and architecture.

The French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars blocked British artists from travelling to the Continent, which resulted in the rise of domestic tourism. Consequently, internal tourists visited the less cultivated areas of Britain; Cumbria and the Lake District, Scotland and Wales became popular as accessible exotic locations. As a result, the cabinet collection predictably included images of Snowdon, Sgurr nan Gillean, the Isle of Iona and Scottish Lochs, all recognisable in the Table (Figures 3.73–74). The romantic borderland remains main attractions for both domestic and foreign tourists in the twenty-first century. Many of them are now under the protection of the English Heritage and the National Trust, or, designated national parks.

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<sup>61</sup> For general surveys, see Barringer, “Pastures Green and Dark Satanic Mills,” in *Pastures Green and Dark Satanic Mills*, 14–43; Elizabeth K. Helsinger, “Land and National Representation in Britain,” in *Prospects for the Nation*, 13–35.

In the early nineteenth century, after Napoleon's final defeat at Waterloo, Paris became popular with British tourists; nineteenth-century British artists were no exception. Paris played a leading role in the international art market, and French landscape paintings, especially the Barbizon School and Impressionism, inspired the British counterpart throughout the second half of the nineteenth century. The images of French villages and the scenery of Holland within the cabinet collection clearly succeeded the plein air paintings.

The development of tourism facilitated the rise of British Orientalist art in the nineteenth century.<sup>62</sup> The Orientalist paintings portrayed images of the 'Orient', including the Middle East and the Muslim Mediterranean. A series of exotic landscapes within the Dolls' House continued the British tradition, presenting the places nineteenth-century painters perceived as the Orient (Figures 3.75–76). Furthermore, it is possible to trace the tradition in the pictorial world of the EMB, as seen in Newbould's *Jaffa* (displayed in 1929; Figure 2.38). While Orientalist landscape paintings illustrate a camel train and desert-dwelling nomads as a sort of weary life, a camel train in the EMB posters implies that the traders on the periphery of the Empire play an important role as a supplier of raw materials and foodstuffs in the context of imperial trade. The relationship between the British and the Orient in nineteenth-century Orientalist paintings reflects the distinction between the subject and the object. However, the relationship between the metropole and the Colonies in the posters reveals not simply the relation between the observer and the surveyed, but the connection between mass producers and mass consumers. That is, it reveals

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<sup>62</sup> Tromans, *The Lure of the East*; Weeks, *Cultures Crossed*. For a general history of tourism, see Hartmut Berghoff et al., eds., *The Making of Modern Tourism: The Cultural History of the British Experience, 1600–2000* (New York: Palgrave, 2001).

the transformed relationship between metropolitan Britain and overseas as capitalism developed.

Even though the micro artworks are different materials from conventional oil paintings, they illustrated, alongside topography and landscape, portraits of local people and scenes of everyday life (bazaars and domestic interiors) – typical themes of British Orientalist art (Figures 3.77–78). Within the cabinet collection, representations of Moorish culture in Spain also appeared, which can be understood in this context. The tendency of exoticism and escapism applied to not only foreign countries and different cultures, but also domestic locations. Peasants and fisherfolk were the most popular subjects in the turn of the century, and the representation of rural village life and fishing villages reproduced the metropolitan myth.<sup>63</sup> *Putting in Broccoli, Cornwall* and *Cornish Crabbers* followed the visual languages of field work and fishing boats, depicted in their predecessors' nostalgic paintings, epitomising the myth of remote and pre-industrial villages (Figures 3.79–80).

It is noteworthy that Arthur Wilde Parsons, who painted *Cornish Crabbers* for the Dolls' House, was a naval painter. Working life in dockyard and on rivers was one of the major themes of British marine paintings. Tranquil coastal scenes, sandy shores, seascapes as well as imagery of sailing ships and yachts were popular in the cabinet collection (Figures 3.81–83). The historical development and popularity of British marine art was embedded in the myth of Britain as an island nation and the long-standing seaborne power of Britain and its empire. If the opening of the National Gallery of Naval Art (in the Painted Hall at Greenwich) in 1824 marked the

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<sup>63</sup> Anna Gruetzner Robins, "Living the Simple Life: George Clausen at Childwick Green, St Albans," in *The Geographies of Englishness*, 1–25; Nina Lübbert, "'Toilers of the Sea': Fisherfolk and the Geographies of Tourism in England, 1880–1900," *Ibid.*, 29–63.

importance of British naval culture and the national naval art collection,<sup>64</sup> the designation of Greenwich Mean Time epitomised British imperial politics and international hegemony, as seen in Chapter 1, and still remains as traces of the ‘post’ imperial world. The most consistent motifs in British marine paintings are identifiable vessels. Royal vessels and warships have played a significant role in the micro collection, including recognisable names such as HMS *Britannia*, *Victory*, *Warspite* and *Royal Sovereign*. Among them, the most striking example is the representation of the departure of the Prince of Wales for India on 28 October 1921; this micro drypoint encapsulates British imperial identity, imperial geography and naval power (Figure 3.84).

Within the Dolls’ House Library, direct/indirect imperial territories served as part of larger national visual narratives that also included imperial landscapes and portraits of imperial subjects. The cabinet collection contained *A British Subject in Canada* as well as black subjects (Figures 3.85–86). More significantly, a miniature drawing of a black baby appeared in the collection (Figure 3.87). The artist, Frederick George Lewin worked for the *Bristol Magpie* as a journalist, and later contributed to the *Bristol Times and Mirror*, *Bristol Evening Post* and *Punch* as an illustrator.<sup>65</sup> He also produced advertising images and postcard designs including wartime comic cards; the *Black Baby on a Box of Blackberry Jam* within the cabinet collection was in line with his ‘comic’ cartoons. This problematic image parallels black labourers working in colonial landscapes, portrayed in the EMB’s advertising campaigns (Figure 2.36). The labourers of the Colonies are featured as a group, and they are represented either

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<sup>64</sup> Cicely Robinson, “Edward Hawke Locker and the Foundation of the National Gallery of Naval Art (c. 1795–1845)” (PhD diss., University of York, 2013).

<sup>65</sup> James Taylor, *Pack Up Your Troubles: How Humorous Postcards Helped to Win World War I* (London: Conway, 2016), 32–33.

from behind or as bending their waists forward. Even though viewers could look them straight in the face, the faces of the illustrated figures tend to be in shade. In this regard, the members of the Colonies are visualised as a collective rather than as distinct individuals. The colonial landscapes in the posters feature not sweatshops, but exotic tropical regions, which romanticise the manual labour processes and further alienate labour itself.

As we have seen, the micro artworks *within* the wooden folio cabinets *within* the Library *within* the Queen's Dolls' House encapsulated British imaginative geography beyond a national boundary. The micro landscapes provide imperial and global networks as well as a network of places across Britain. The Dolls' House with the exterior of seventeenth-century English style comprised British imperial landscapes as well as a world of 'British' objects within. Britain's dual identity as a *nation* and *empire* created the peculiar space of *the bigger on the inside*, as we saw in Chapter 1. If the exhibition grounds held the Government Pavilion – the building dedicated to the government of a nation – embracing a variety of imperial projects, the 1924 Palace of Arts contained the Dolls' House. The multiple locations appearing in the cabinet collection resonate with 1,500 places mentioned in Samuel Phillips' *Guide to the Crystal Palace and Its Parks and Gardens*.<sup>66</sup> While the Sydenham Crystal Palace, as Edwards has suggested, presented the cosmopolitan world in the portrait gallery, the Dolls' House possessed the visualised imaginative geography and British imperial landscapes in the Library.

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<sup>66</sup> Jason Edwards, "The Cosmopolitan World of Victorian Portraiture: The Crystal Palace Portrait Gallery, c. 1854," in *After 1851*, 47–72.

## Conclusion:

### Traces of the ‘Post’ Imperial World

In this thesis, I have explored the forgotten generation of British artists in the early twentieth century as well as the marginalised history of the Empire Exhibition and the Dolls’ House, weaving together close readings of the visual and material culture of the British Empire and of British art history of the interwar period. I have addressed a neglected period of British imperial art history – the 1920s, the later period of exhibition culture beyond the third quarter of the nineteenth century. I have sought to historicise the traces of the British imperial world by returning a wide range of objects and materials which have been understudied in the discipline of art history. Through *empire object lessons*, I have considered the experience of child protagonists, still a relatively under-researched genre of the viewer within art history.

By moving from the air to the underground, I have demonstrated the modern urban context of Wembley and the relationship between the exhibition site and its holding city. Through *imperial urban networks*, I have connected key nodes within London and widened, to the suburbs, the scope of existing scholarship of imperial sites. Connecting the dots has enabled comparative studies between Wembley and Liberty’s East India House as well as the Dolls’ House and Liberty’s Tudor Shop. This study has also aimed to reconstruct British art worlds in the 1920s when the Palace of Arts staged *arts beyond boundaries*. By situating arts organisations in broader narratives of British art and design history, I have attempted to recover the significance of interwar organisations such as the ALS, the DIA and the BIIA. Finally, by locating the Dolls’ House objects and their owner, the royal family,

within the culture of country houses and focusing in depth on the practices and identities they animated, I have highlighted how global and imperial tastes and practices were embedded in national contexts. And yet...

### **plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose**

The ambiguous relationship between *an empire within the world* and *the empire as the world*, and the ambition to write World History and Geography beyond Empire History and Geography as well as English History remains in the 'post' imperial world.<sup>1</sup> For example, *A History of the World in 100 Objects* (2010), a collaboration between the BBC and British Museum, pursued "a narrative of global history through the British Museum's unparalleled world collection".<sup>2</sup> This collaboration drew attention to the roles of a public service broadcaster and a national museum, and the relationship between a *national* museum and a supposed *world* history or the history of humanity.<sup>3</sup> Neil MacGregor, then Museum Director, who wrote and narrated *A History of the World in 100 Objects*, pointed out that his programme tried to tell only *a* world history, not *the* history. Moreover, he declared that we no longer have a history of particular people or nations, but a story of endless connections.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> As already noted in Chapter 1, here I use the adjective of 'post' imperial, considering constitutional decolonisation and the fact that the word 'empire' has officially disappeared on maps and globes. However, at the same time, we should take into account uneven politics and uneven development, based on the core, semi-peripheries and peripheries, as world-system analysis has described.

<sup>2</sup> "A History of the World in 100 Objects," BBC, accessed August 26, 2016, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/ahistoryoftheworld>; "A History of the World in 100 Objects," British Museum, accessed August 26, 2016, [http://www.britishmuseum.org/explore/a\\_history\\_of\\_the\\_world.aspx](http://www.britishmuseum.org/explore/a_history_of_the_world.aspx).

<sup>3</sup> This programme, aired on BBC Radio 4 between January and October in 2010, was comprised of 100 episodes each of which engaged a single object. Such a perspective reflects the intellectual transition from textuality to materiality. It was published in a book form. Neil MacGregor, *A History of the World in 100 Objects* (London: Penguin, 2012).

<sup>4</sup> The discourse on 'global history' has provided an alternative viewpoint to dominant 'world history', considered to be Eurocentric. The selected 100 objects in the programme came from diverse regions

Even though MacGregor's position emphasised global connections rather than nationality and ethnicity, it was based on the self-recognition of the British Museum as a storehouse of collected things from all over the globe, and a neglect of the imperial origins of much of that collection. Indeed, it was London's status as a former imperial capital that made it possible for a national museum to create global history even after the dissolution of the British Empire. According to the press release, "the partnership between the BBC and the British Museum is the fulfilment of an Enlightenment dream".<sup>5</sup> The term "Enlightenment" recalls, apparently unselfconsciously, the fact that encyclopaedic universalism and progress were connected to imperial projects.<sup>6</sup> Significantly, it resonates with the BBC Empire Service (later the World Service) of the early twentieth century and the origin of the Museum.<sup>7</sup> *A History of the World in 100 Objects* asserted the now familiar notion of the human family and humanity, which implies an anthropocentric understanding of the world. But the idea of the human family also clearly recalls the earlier imperial family of mother, sisters and daughters, as we have seen, which was prevalent at the imperial exhibitions. The audio documentary series began with the noise of a dying star and ended with cosmic noise created by vibrations in the sun's atmosphere, expanding our point of view from the earthly level to the cosmic, recalling another

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and cultures, not focused on particular geographic locations, thereby following the perspective of developing global history. The different view from the clash of civilisations was strengthened by the quotation from Amartya Sen in the first episode. For historiography of world history and global history, see Robert A. Denemark et al., eds., *World System History: The Social Science of Long-Term Change* (London: Routledge, 2000); Patrick Manning, *Navigating World History* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003); Bruce Mazlish and Akira Iriye, eds., *The Global History Reader* (New York: Routledge, 2004).

<sup>5</sup> "The BBC and British Museum Announce *A History of the World* – A Unique and Unprecedented Partnership Focusing on World History for 2010," Press Releases, BBC, November 25, 2009, [http://www.bbc.co.uk/pressoffice/pressreleases/stories/2009/11\\_november/25/history.shtml](http://www.bbc.co.uk/pressoffice/pressreleases/stories/2009/11_november/25/history.shtml).

<sup>6</sup> MacGregor, *Curiosity and Enlightenment*.

<sup>7</sup> The BBC Empire Service began in 1932, and launched its first foreign-language service, Arabic in 1938. John M. MacKenzie, "'In Touch with the Infinite': The BBC and the Empire," in *Imperialism and Popular Culture*, 165–191.



BBC programme, *Doctor Who*, and the twenty-first century perspective of (imperial) armchair astronauts navigating Google Earth.<sup>8</sup> Thus, *A History of the World in 100 Objects* left us not only “the noise of a new day” but old questions of the imperial exhibitionary complex.

### **Cape Town, Oxbridge and London (or, Towards Nodes within Imperial Networks)**

One of the old questions resonated in the heart of London: “Why isn’t my professor black?” In 2014, University College London hosted a panel discussion to raise the issue of the invisibility of black (and minority ethnic) people in academia and to promote race equality in higher education.<sup>9</sup> Another question raised by UCL students followed: “Why is my curriculum white?” It was a response to the lack of diversity in university courses.<sup>10</sup> Even after the phase of formal decolonisation, traces of imperialism and colonialism continue to influence education through systematic biases in prescribed reading lists, course contents and teaching perspectives. The authors cited in scholarly papers, dominated by white, male and Eurocentric perspectives, consolidate and conceal the unevenness of ignorance.

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<sup>8</sup> “No.1 Mummy of Hornedjitef,” *A History of the World in 100 Objects*, BBC, accessed August 26, 2016, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/ahistoryoftheworld/objects/sogITE3FSKStlk12qd2W3w>; “No. 100 Solar-Powered Lamp and Charger,” *A History of the World in 100 Objects*, BBC, accessed August 26, 2016, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/ahistoryoftheworld/objects/lvs0f-uPTpeh-VRmmywHlw>.

<sup>9</sup> Jamilah Jahi, “Why isn’t my professor black?,” UCL Events Blog, March 21, 2014, <http://blogs.ucl.ac.uk/events/2014/03/21/whyisntmyprofessorblack>.

<sup>10</sup> Kilian Thayaparan, “UCL Faces Race: Why is my curriculum white?,” UCL Events Blog, November 21, 2014, <https://blogs.ucl.ac.uk/events/2014/11/21/ucl-faces-race-why-is-my-curriculum-white>.

A year later, in 2015, the Rhodes Must Fall movement also began with a protest action against a statue of Rhodes at the University of Cape Town.<sup>11</sup> The campaign for the statue's removal was a comprehensive critique of structural inequality and racism in the university system. The seated figure of the committed imperialist of the nineteenth century had been looking down the view of the whole city from the Upper Campus at South Africa's oldest university since 1934.<sup>12</sup> On 9 April 2015, the bronze statue, executed by the British sculptor Marion Walgate, was eventually removed. As a result, student demonstrations have spread across South Africa and led to wider movements to decolonise education both conceptually and spatially with the emergence of allied students at other universities.

The Rhodes Must Fall movement came to Britain when students at the University of Oxford called for a statue of Rhodes to be removed from Oriel College, where it still stands, on the facade of a building bearing his name. In addition, the "Why is My Curriculum White" campaign inspired by UCL has been extended to other British institutions, with the appearance of open letters from the University of Cambridge and School of Oriental and African Studies, the latter a 'former' training institution for colonial administrators (founded in 1916). The conversations around inclusivity and diversity have been increasingly prevalent, with recent articles on decolonising campaigns appearing in academic journals.<sup>13</sup> Significantly, between 2016 and 2017, *Decolonising the Curriculum in Theory and Practice*, a series of seminars, was organised by senior academics at the Centre for Research in the Arts, Social Sciences

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<sup>11</sup> UCT: Rhodes Must Fall (@RhodesMustFall), Facebook, <https://www.facebook.com/RhodesMustFall>.

<sup>12</sup> Rhodes became a member of Parliament in the Cape Colony and served Prime Minister of the Colony from 1890 to 1896.

<sup>13</sup> Michael A. Peters, "Why is My Curriculum White?," *Educational Philosophy and Theory* 47, no. 7 (2015): 641–646; Brenda Schmahmann, "The Fall of Rhodes: The Removal of a Sculpture from the University of Cape Town," *Public Art Dialogue* 6, no. 1 (2016): 90–115.

and Humanities (CRASSH) at Cambridge.<sup>14</sup> More recently, All Monuments Must Fall movement has begun in the US.<sup>15</sup>

## Traces

There have been further conversations on the unevenness of knowledge and lively debates around memorials as traces of the imperial past. Contextualising approaches play a critical role in the issues of public history and public memory. UCL's research projects such as *Legacies of British Slave-Ownership* and *The East India Company at Home, 1757–1857*, as we saw in Chapter 3, are striking examples.<sup>16</sup> The results of both projects were published as monographs.<sup>17</sup> In addition, *Legacies of British Slave-Ownership* was transformed into a two-part documentary series in 2015. The BBC's *Britain's Forgotten Slave Owners* (presented by David Olusoga) received a BAFTA (British Academy of Film and Television Arts) TV Award 2016.<sup>18</sup> These cases have shown what history writing can do in the 'post' imperial world and how history teaching can utilise resources and media to trace hidden stories and missing puzzles.

At the same time, recent years have also witnessed the great success of television series *Downton Abbey* (ITV, 2010–15) and of the royal family's image in *The Crown* (Netflix, 2016– ) and *Victoria* (ITV, 2016– ). In addition, Channel 4's *Indian*

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<sup>14</sup> "Decolonising the Curriculum in Theory and Practice [2016-17]," CRASSH, accessed May 1, 2018, <http://www.crassh.cam.ac.uk/programmes/decolonising-the-curriculum-in-theory-and-practice>.

<sup>15</sup> For more, see "All Monuments Must Fall: A Syllabus," LibGuides at Antioch College, accessed May 1, 2018, <https://antiochcollege.libguides.com/c.php?g=716524>.

<sup>16</sup> For online databases, visit their websites: *Legacies of British Slave-Ownership*, <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs>; *The East India Company at Home, 1757–1857*, <http://blogs.ucl.ac.uk/eicah>.

<sup>17</sup> Barczewski, *Country Houses and the British Empire*; Finn and Smith, *The East India Company at Home*; Catherine Hall et al., *Legacies of British Slave-Ownership: Colonial Slavery and the Formation of Victorian Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016).

<sup>18</sup> "BAFTA TV Award for *Britain's Forgotten Slave Owners*," UCL, May 8, 2016, <http://www.ucl.ac.uk/history/history-news-publication/bafta>.

*Summers* (2015–16) recalled the aristocratic Raj nostalgia of the 1980s; a nostalgia also hinted at in the Raj world episode of *Westworld* (HBO, 2016– ) during its second season. While the public interest in country houses and the ‘heritage debate’ emerged in the context of Thatcher years,<sup>19</sup> the British dramas’ phenomenal success across the Atlantic and globe have coincided with the 2008 global financial crisis and post-Brexit and Scottish Independence referendums, encouraging (and the product of) a widespread sense of nostalgia.

The 2018 Royal Wedding, moreover, has returned the spotlight to Windsor Castle. The British Empire Exhibition has long faded into history, and the last remnants of the old Empire Stadium, better known as Wembley Stadium, were demolished and replaced by the modern arena in 2007. Queen Mary’s Dolls’ House, however, remains as a not entirely forgotten souvenir of the Exhibition at Windsor Castle. The House has been on display at Windsor since 1925 and maintained its popularity, even if its connection with the Exhibition has been downplayed. Nevertheless, the Dolls’ House, as we have seen, encapsulates the characteristics of Britain as a nation and an empire and the postwar mood in the miniature architecture full of Englishness and Britishness. It represents multi-layered relationships between county houses and imperial families in and beyond Britain, considering the royal family’s patronage and Lutyens as an architect of country houses and British colonial architecture. It also resonates with recent trends of British popular culture as mentioned above. The more things change, the more they stay the same.

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<sup>19</sup> Robert Hewison, *Heritage Industry: Britain in a Climate of Decline* (London: Methuen, 1987); Patrick Wright, *On Living in an Old Country: The National Past in Contemporary Britain* (London: Verso, 1985).

## List of Abbreviations

ACES	Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society
ALS	Arts League of Service
BAFTA	British Academy of Film and Television Arts
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
BIIA	British Institute of Industrial Art
COID	Council of the Industrial Design
CPC	Crystal Palace Company
DIA	Design and Industries Association
EMB	Empire Marketing Board
GPO	General Post Office
MRC	Metropolitan Railway Company
NA	National Archives, Kew
V&A	Victoria and Albert Museum
WCA	Westminster City Archives

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