

**Networking the Modern: Roger Fry and
the Contemporary Art Society c.1909–39**

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Abstract

This thesis explores the work of the Contemporary Art Society (CAS) from 1909–1939. Its founders were a cross-section of British art world – collectors, dealers, artists, and curators – who wanted to support the work of living artists and make more contemporary art available in public galleries.

No previous scholarship has considered in detail what the CAS collected and why. This study is the first attempt to examine the early years of the CAS in detail and the role of the Bloomsbury Group, and in particular Roger Fry, in its development.

After reviewing the work of the CAS from 1909–1917, this thesis focuses on three case studies. The first considers the selection of works from the CAS collection by Manchester City Galleries (who received more than any other subscribing gallery). The second describes the consultancy work performed by the CAS for the Ulster Museum in Belfast. Free from financial constraints, but constrained by time, this case study explores what the CAS bought when funds were not an issue. The final case study concerns the work of the CAS Prints and Drawings Fund with the British Museum. Here a statistically significant number of works were acquired, most of which were prints, allowing for an analysis of the effect of social networks.

My case studies are presented within the context of British social, political and museum history. Their primary sources are unpublished archives held by the Tate, Manchester City Galleries, Manchester Corporation and the Ulster Museum.

My research demonstrates that though the foundation of the CAS can be attributed to the denizens of Bloomsbury, their impact on the work of the CAS as a whole, though significant in the early years, diminishes in the interwar period when other social and professional networks, and links to London art dealers, have far more influence.

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Abbreviations

In the text:

BFAC	—	Burlington Fine Arts Club
CAS	—	Contemporary Art Society
NACF	—	National Art Collections Fund
NEAC	—	New English Art Club
RE	—	The Royal Society of Painter-Printmakers
RLC	—	The Rutherford Loan Collection
RSA	—	Royal Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce
SNA	—	Social Network Analysis

In Biographical notes:

ARA	—	Associate member of the Royal Academy
ARCA	—	Associate of the Royal College of Art (London)
ARE	—	Associate of the Royal Society of Painter-Printmakers
ARWS	—	Associate of the Royal Watercolour Society
Bart.	—	Baronet
CBE	—	Commander of the Most Excellent Order of the British Empire
CH	—	Companion of Honour
CMG	—	Companion of the Most Distinguished Order of Saint Michael and Saint George
CVO	—	Commander of the Royal Victorian Order
DBE	—	Dame Commander of the Most Excellent Order of the British Empire
DSO	—	Distinguished Service Medal
FBA	—	Fellow of the British Academy
FRCS	—	Fellow of the Royal College of surgeons
KBE	—	Knight Commander of the Most Excellent Order of the British Empire
KCB	—	Knight Commander of the Order of the Bath
KCVO	—	Knight Commander of the Royal Victorian Order

MBE	—	Member of the Most Excellent Order of the British Empire
MC	—	Military Cross
OBE	—	Officer of the Most Excellent Order of the British Empire
OM	—	Order of Merit
PPRE	—	Past President of the Royal Society of Painter-Printmakers
PRA	—	President of the Royal Academy
PRE	—	President of the Royal Society of Painter-Printmakers
PRWS	—	President of the Royal Watercolour Society
RA	—	Royal Academician
RBA	—	Member of the Royal Society of British Artists
RDI	—	Royal Designer for Industry
RE	—	Fellow of the Royal Society of Painter-Printmakers
RHA	—	Royal Hibernian Academician
ROI	—	The Royal Institute of Oil Painters
RSA	—	Royal Scottish Academician
RWS	—	Member of the Royal Watercolour Society
SWA	—	Member of the Society of Women Artists

Glossary of Terms

Social Network Analysis (SNA)

Actor

Actors are the individuals linked to each other and to various organisations. 'Prominent actors' are those that are extensively involved in relationships with other actors.

Organisation

Organisations can include, for example, museums and auction houses, art schools, colleges and universities; charitable and religious organisations; and business organisations. The other key constituents of a community network are family and personal relationships.

The strength of a network analysis of the community, rather than just the primary network of an organisation, is that it highlights the interconnectedness of organisations and the collaboration of the members of the community as a whole. A community network can be seen as a set of collaborative relationships where the relationships are formed between organisations by the individuals participating in them.

Tie

A link between two individuals or organisations is called a 'tie'. The individuals who are most active in the community – in SNA terminology the 'prominent actors' – have the most recorded ties. A high community networking score means a person has the scope to be highly influential because of their participation in a wide variety of organisations. The type of participation does not matter – its existence implies some sort of relationship.

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Declaration

I declare that this thesis is a presentation of original work and I am the sole author. This work has not previously been presented for an award at this, or any other, University. All sources are acknowledged as References.

Chapter 1

Introduction

Like most good ideas, the Contemporary Art Society was conjured up over a sociable lunch. Unlike most good ideas, the Contemporary Art Society (hereafter CAS or the Society) became a reality, and is still active more than one hundred years after the lunch party in April 1909.¹ Groups of artists had tried to promote their work before: art academies, societies of artists and informal collectives had all done their part. Art dealers, critics and connoisseurs enjoyed many collaborations — both formal and informal — but this was the first time a group of private individuals in England had joined forces to promote the work of their contemporaries.²

This study covers the first thirty years of the CAS: 1909–39. The Society's aims were reiterated in each year's annual report:

... the Contemporary Art Society was initiated in the year 1909 ... to encourage, by the purchase and exhibition of chosen examples of their work, painters who in other countries would enjoy a certain official patronage.³

The core founders of the Society were Roger Fry, Ottoline Morrell and D.S. MacColl.⁴ In looking at the development of the CAS one is looking at a group endeavour, and indeed the history of the Society before the First World War shows significant input from members or associates of the Bloomsbury Group, specifically Fry, Morrell, and Clive Bell. Morrell ceased to be an active member after 1914 and

¹ Peter Stansky, *On Or about December 1910: Early Bloomsbury and Its Intimate World* (Harvard University Press, 1997), 82.

² Organisations with similar objectives were: The Scottish Modern Arts Association, active 1907–64 see: Angela Summerfield, "Interventions: Twentieth-Century Art Collection Schemes and Their Impact on Local Authority Art Gallery and Museum Collections of Twentieth-Century British Art in Britain" (PhD City University, 2007), 246–50. The Contemporary Art Society for Wales was founded in 1927 and is still active. "About the Society," June 18, 2021, <https://casw.org.uk/about-the-society/>.

³ Contemporary Art Society, *Report 1927* (London: The Pelican Press, 1928), 3.

⁴ The other founders were: Charles J Holmes, Director of the National Portrait Gallery, Sir Philip Morrell, Ernest Marsh, an expert in Martinware pottery, and Charles Aitken, Director of the Whitechapel Art Gallery. Judith Collins, "The origins and aims of the Contemporary Art Society," in *British Contemporary Art 1910–1990: Eighty Years of Collecting by the Contemporary Art Society.*, ed. Alan Bowness (London: The Herbert Press Ltd., 1991), 15.

Bell's last Executive Committee meeting was in 1917.⁵ Fry remained involved until his death in 1934 and Bloomsbury, for the rest of the interwar period, was represented by John Maynard Keynes who was elected to the Executive Committee in 1933.⁶ The Bloomsbury Group's influence might have diminished after the First World War. In a volume of scholarly articles celebrating the first eighty years of the CAS Frances Spalding asserted that it was Edward Marsh who had the most significant influence in the interwar period.⁷ Marsh, while on friendly terms with many of its members, has never been identified as one of the Bloomsbury Group *per se*. It would appear then that the founding of the CAS, and possibly its work in the interwar period might be considered one of the less well-known achievements of the Bloomsbury Group. To determine whether this is the case, the first aim of this study is to confirm whether they, and in particular Fry, were crucial to the initial success of the CAS and whether, and if so how, that influence continued through the interwar period.

To evaluate the Society's aesthetic preferences, and thus investigate the influence or otherwise of Fry and Bloomsbury, it is necessary to identify what artworks were acquired. In its first ten years the range of CAS collecting policy expanded significantly. In 1919 a separate fund for prints and drawings was established, directly controlled by Campbell Dodgson, the Keeper of Prints and Drawings at the British Museum.⁸ A separate Foreign Fund was established in 1924 with its own sub-committee.⁹ Finally, in 1928 a Pottery and Crafts Fund instigated and run by Ernest Marsh made its first report.¹⁰ The CAS collection thus included paintings, sculpture, prints, drawings, and ceramics by both British and foreign artists. Both purchased and gifted works are considered in this study, as in some cases gifts were refused, implying that donated works also reflect the Society's collecting ethos.¹¹ However, in this enquiry ceramics and crafts will not be discussed as the Pottery and Crafts Fund was controlled by Ernest Marsh alone, and his tastes and work for the CAS have already been well documented by Christopher Jordan.¹²

⁵ Lady Ottoline Morrell is last recorded as attending an Executive Committee meeting in CASC — 9215/2/2/2, Meeting Wednesday July 8, 1914; Clive Bell resigns CASC — 9215/2/2/2, Meeting Wednesday May 2, 1917.

⁶ Contemporary Art Society, *Report 1934–1935* (London: The Pelican Press, 1935), 6.

⁷ Frances Spalding, "The Contemporary Art Society: Development and recognition," in *British Contemporary Art 1910–1990: Eighty Years of Collecting by the Contemporary Art Society*, ed. Alan Bowness (London: The Herbert Press, 1991), 57.

⁸ Contemporary Art Society, *Report For the Years 1919 to June 1924* (London: The Pelican Press, 1924), 4.

⁹ CASC — 9215/2/2/4, Meeting April 10, 1924.

¹⁰ Contemporary Art Society, *Report 1928* (London: The Pelican Press, 1929), 33–34.

¹¹ Spalding, "The Contemporary Art Society: Development and recognition," 66.

¹² Christopher Jordan, "Steering Taste: Ernest Marsh, a study of private collecting in England in the early 20th Century" (PhD University of the Arts, 2007).

In terms of what could be purchased money would clearly have been an issue, but, as Judith Bumpas noted on their seventy-fifth anniversary, the CAS was proud of its bargain-hunting.¹³ As their annual report for 1930–31 explained:

A moment's reflection on the vast sums spent annually on the purchase of the Art of the past should convince us as to the expediency of buying effectively before the verdict of successive generations places on certain modern works a value beyond the reach of the ordinary purse. A shilling well spent to-day will go as far as a pound tomorrow.¹⁴

The CAS thus favoured buying works by young as-yet-undiscovered artists. “Make it new” wrote Ezra Pound, but it has often been observed that most artists begin their careers by emulating the work of the artists they admire.¹⁵ By examining some of these juvenilia and other less-well-known works in the CAS canon, it is hoped to gain a more complete view of contemporary stylistic influences than a focus on the famous would normally allow. Thus, the second aim of this study is to consider whether, because of its diverse membership and its preference for young artists, the CAS catalogue accurately mirrors stylistic trends in the British art world of the period.

A third aspect of this study is to look at the Society’s work with art museums outside London. The CAS aimed to popularise contemporary art via their contacts, their writing, their donations policy, and by touring art exhibitions. A significant part of their work was with galleries, both in London and in the provinces. To investigate the impact of this aspect of their work outside the metropolis, I have used case studies of CAS support in Manchester’s and Belfast’s art galleries to examine what, if any, impact the Society had on the awareness of contemporary art on regional museum collecting.

From the brief summary above, it can be seen that this project involves research in three key areas: the social and artistic networks to which CAS buyers and their artists belonged; developments in British art in this period as seen through the lens of CAS collecting; and the impact of the CAS on regional galleries. All three must be considered within the context of the history of the CAS, developments in British art, and the political and social history of the period.

The strategies of art dealers, critics, exhibiting societies and other aspects of the British art market in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century have been the subject of important

¹³ Judith Bumpas, *The Contemporary Art Society 1910–1985* (London: The Contemporary Art Society, 1985), 10.

¹⁴ Contemporary Art Society, *Report 1930–1931* (London: The Pelican Press, 1932), 3.

¹⁵ Canto LIII — Pound was quoting the writing on a Tang emperor’s bathtub. Ezra Pound, *Selected Poems 1908–1969* (London: Faber and Faber Ltd., 1977), 157.

research in recent years.¹⁶ By focussing on the period 1909–39 this study extends this work by linking selected CAS artworks with their artists, patrons and dealers, and mapping the social networks of key CAS members. By considering the role of Bloomsbury Group members in these networks, this study adds to the body of scholarly work on the achievements of the group. In evaluating the impact of the CAS on the collection policies of regional museums this study also evaluates how well CAS collecting reflects trends in British art in the period under consideration.

State of Play

Social Networks in the British art world

Andrew Stephenson, in his examination of the impact of the Great Depression on British Modernism from c. 1929 to 1934, concluded that the main reason that Bloomsbury artists were key players in the founding of the London Artists' Association in 1926 was to boost their sales.¹⁷ He implied that Bloomsbury artists were aware of the potential of social and professional networking as marketing tools. However, Stephenson did not discuss the role of the CAS during the 'Slump' or the Bloomsbury Group's involvement with the Society. Nonetheless, at least one writer has noted a preference in the early years of the CAS for purchasing works by artists associated with the Bloomsbury Group, which suggests that social contacts as much as artistic style influenced the Society's patronage.¹⁸ The impact of both formal and informal social networks is likely to have been a significant part of the CAS project, but this aspect of the Society's development has yet to be examined.

As one way to pursue this line of enquiry, the social science modelling technique of Social Network Analysis (SNA) might be used. Within the discipline of Art History, this technique has been applied to the consumer art market in the Protestant Netherlands of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (where the rise of a wealthy mercantile class and the demise of the Catholic Church as patron meant that the art market changed significantly). Here the collecting habits of the time were

¹⁶ See for example: Pamela M. Fletcher and Anne Helmreich, eds., *The Rise of the Modern Art Market in London, 1850–1939* (Manchester University Press, 2011). Charlotte Gould and Sophie Mesplède, *Marketing Art in the British Isles, 1700 to the Present: A Cultural History* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012).

¹⁷ Andrew Stephenson, "'Strategies of Situation': British Modernism and the Slump c.1929–1934," *Oxford Art Journal*, 1991, 33.

¹⁸ Edward Lucie-Smith, "The Contemporary Art Society record: what they bought well, and what they missed," in *British Contemporary Art 1910–1990: Eighty years of collecting by the Contemporary Art Society*, ed. Alan Bowness (London: The Herbert Press Ltd., 1991), 146.

studied using contemporary auction records and inventories of Netherlandish households.¹⁹ The contents of these documents were put on a database which has since proved an invaluable resource for academic research including using SNA to examine the links between the 'Netherlandish Academy' and artists.²⁰ Similar techniques are gaining ground in the study of Archaeology and History.²¹ At present, examples of the application of SNA techniques to the History of Art are rare, but interest in the technique is growing.²²

The state of the British art market

In their introductory remarks to a series of essays on the development of the London art market from 1850 to 1939 Pamela M. Fletcher and Anne Helmreich summarised their aim as being to consider the "economic factors, including the processes through which value is assigned to art ... [by] ... which artists and art works emerge as significant and worthy of acquisition, study, and preservation".²³ The essays discussed the interactions between dealers and critics and examined the increasing middle-class demand for domestic artworks in the early twentieth century. None examined the impact of the CAS on museum collecting and on the British art market in the period 1909–39. However, of interest to this study is the essay by Anna Gruetzner Robins in which she examined Fry's use of the commercial art world in putting together his two Post-Impressionist exhibitions, noting his wide network of contacts with dealers.²⁴ She also pointed out that in his early dealings with the Metropolitan Museum, and as advisor to millionaire buyers, Fry had shown a keen awareness of market forces.²⁵

¹⁹ John Michael Montias, *Art at Auction in 17th century Amsterdam* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2002).

²⁰ Elizabeth Ann Nogrady, "Abraham Bloemaert (1566–1651), the 'Netherlandish Academy' and artistic collaboration in seventeenth-century Utrecht" (PhD New York University, 2009). The database is *The Montias Database of 17th Century Dutch Art Inventories*, <http://research.frick.org/montias/home.php>

²¹ For a discussion of the use of network analysis in archaeology see Chapters 1 & 2 in: Carl Knappett, ed., *Network Analysis in Archaeology: New Approaches to Regional Interaction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

²² See for example: Koenraad Brosens, "Can Tapestry Research Benefit from Economic Sociology and Social Network Analysis?," in *Family Ties: Art Production and Kinship Patterns in the Early Modern Low Countries*, ed. Koenraad Brosens, Leen Kelchtermans, and Katlijne van der Stighelen (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012).

²³ Fletcher and Helmreich, eds., *The Rise of the Modern Art Market in London, 1850–1939*, 1–2.

²⁴ Anna Gruetzner Robins, "Marketing Post-Impressionism: Roger Fry's Commercial Exhibitions," in *The Rise of the Modern Art Market in London, 1850–1939*, ed. Pamela M. Fletcher, and Anne Helmreich (Manchester University Press, 2011).

²⁵ Gruetzner Robins, "Marketing Post-Impressionism: Roger Fry's Commercial Exhibitions," 90.

CAS collaboration with commercial galleries has been examined by Marta Herrero and Thomas R. Buckley, who considered the fundraising exhibitions organised with the help of these galleries 1924–37 and identified the galleries that offered CAS subscribers free entry to temporary exhibitions.²⁶ They argued that the Society's links with commercial galleries gave them an advantage as they were able to "operate as a non-commercial organisation, while participating in entrepreneurial activity" and that this advantage was gained by "the cultural capital of individual Society committee members."²⁷ A point to note is that this fundraising cooperation with commercial galleries can be seen as a form of social, in this case business, networking that might easily sway buyers into sourcing works from these galleries.

Anne-Pascale Bruneau-Rumsey has observed that "as a strong advocate of the autonomy of art, Fry was acutely aware of the economic conditions that framed its production and consumption in Britain in his time".²⁸ No critical work to date has considered whether these economic ideas influenced the CAS strategy of placing works into museum collections — as a way not only to provide immediate funds to artists but also to improve the pedigree of contemporary art and hence its marketability.

The development of British art

Academic interest in the history of British art in the early twentieth century has developed in the last fifty years. Charles Harrison's *English Art and Modernism* and biographical works on key British artists, or groups of artists, by writers such as Spalding and Cork mostly date from the 1970s onwards.²⁹ Studies of British art in the early twentieth century tend to be monographs and works that focus on the development of Modernism in art. A common thread in the latter has been the response of British artists to Modernism (as opposed to modernity). The term 'Modernism' is used in many academic contexts — such as the study of art, architecture and literature — and has been defined in various ways. It can be seen as break with tradition which happened over the period spanning the end

²⁶ Marta Herrero and Thomas R. Buckley, "Collaborating profitably? The fundraising practices of the Contemporary Art Society, 1919–1939," *Business History*, 2020.

²⁷ Herrero and Buckley, "Collaborating profitably?," 16.

²⁸ Anne-Pascale Bruneau-Rumsey, "Modernism, Commerce, and Roger Fry's Omega Workshops," in *Marketing Art in the British Isles, 1700 to the Present: A Cultural History*, ed. Charlotte Gould and Sophie Mesplède (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), 227.

²⁹ For example: Richard Cork, *Vorticism and Abstract Art in the First Machine Age*, 2 vols. (London: Gordon Fraser Gallery, 1976). Charles Harrison, *English Art and Modernism, 1900–1939: with a New Introduction*, 2nd ed. (New Haven & London: Published for The Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art by Yale University Press, (1981) 1994). Frances Spalding, *Roger Fry: Art and Life*, 2nd ed. ed. (Norwich: Black Dog Books, 1999).

of the nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries, with, as David Peters Corbett has written, an embrace of a:

... secularised world-view geared to civil society which supersedes the religious viewpoint of traditional societies; the rise of reason and rationality as the only legitimate forms of intellectual investigation; the establishment of a capitalist exchange economy and of secular forms of political power tied to the new idea of the nation-state; and the reconfiguration of social and gender roles into new class formations and patriarchal relations between the sexes.³⁰

To those interested in the development of Modernism in Britain, this change in the zeitgeist changes the sort of art produced. Thus, the 'Rethinking Englishness: English Art 1880–1940', conference held in 1997 examined changes in "artistic and other identities, gender, nationalism, modernisation and the urban/rural relationship" over the period.³¹

For Spalding, writing in 1991, the later interwar years represented a failure of the CAS to embrace the avant-garde. She ascribes the conservatism of British art in the immediate aftermath of the First World War as a "failure of nerve" caused by "a climate in which artistic experimentation seemed out of place".³² For Corbett, on the other hand, Modernism is a language with which the artist confronts modernity, and he suggests that the British rebuttal of Modernism in the 1920s came about because artists felt that "modernity was suspect, something to be evaded or denied".³³ In making this argument he cites Harrison's 1981 analysis of Paul Nash's work, but one could also argue that Nash was, because of his war experience, health and financial issues, likely to have been pursuing an independent stance regardless of any external factors.³⁴ The idea that Britain was slow to take up ideas developed on the continent is not a new one. In 1917, Clive Bell declared that:

³⁰ David Peters Corbett, *The Modernity of English art, 1914–30* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), 11.

³¹ The conference papers were published as: David Peters Corbett, Ysanne Holt, and Fiona Russell, eds., *The Geographies of Englishness: Landscape and the National Past, 1880–1940* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2002).

³² Spalding, "The Contemporary Art Society: Development and recognition," 56.

³³ Corbett, *The Modernity of English art, 1914–30*, 17.

³⁴ Harrison, *English Art and Modernism, 1900–1939*, 167–74. On Nash's choice to stop making abstract works for financial reasons see: Stephenson, "Strategies of Situation," 32.

English painters refuse obstinately to accept the European, and as artists do not spring up unaccountably as groundsel and dandelions appear to do, the defect is serious ... All that is vital in modern art is being influenced by the French masters.³⁵

As David Masters has noted, by 1935 Bell was espousing art with a certain kind of 'Englishness'.³⁶ He had changed his mind about the supremacy of French art, and was distinctly suspicious of new German art. Bell was not suspicious of all new ideals from the continent *per se* — he aimed his criticism at German Expressionism in particular when he wrote in the *Studio*: "What German painters have done is paint pictures about which German Philosophers and Mr Herbert Read can spin theories".³⁷ His words also implicitly criticised new developments in France and elsewhere — in particular surrealist, and abstract art. His attitude was reflected in most of the contents of the *Studio* in this period — Masters concludes that its editorial staff believed that:

Artists and writers who embraced 'Abstraction' and 'Theory' were seen as especially guilty of endorsing what was 'alien'. They were deemed elitist and contemptuous of the public.³⁸

Bell was a regular visitor to the Continent, but he was not alone in having an interest in artistic developments there. In the immediate aftermath of the First World War, travel to mainland Europe was not an economic or a popular option for most, but continental work could still be seen and read about in journals such as the *Burlington Magazine*.³⁹ A concrete example of British artists' interest in the work of their continental contemporaries is the Artists International Association [AIA], founded in 1933, which had 600 members by 1936.⁴⁰ AIA members were allied by left-wing politics rather than any particular style, but the size of the organisation suggests that British artists, at least by the 1930s, were far from insular.

It is perhaps self-evident that not all the art produced in any period is elevated to the canon of art history yet might still be work that resonated with viewers at the time. Large numbers of CAS artists have been ignored, and many works have not been known to the writers above due to the lack of a complete CAS catalogue. In this thesis I will consider whether a more detailed assessment of the CAS collection might find it better represents the early twentieth century zeitgeist than the stars in the Modernist firmament, and shows more avant-garde influences than previously assumed.

³⁵ Clive Bell, "Contemporary Art in England," *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs*, July, 1917, 33.

³⁶ David Masters, "Construction of national identity: British art 1930–1990" (PhD The Open University, 1996), 25–26.

³⁷ Clive Bell, "What Next in Art," *The Studio*, April, 1935, 183.

³⁸ Masters, "Construction of national identity: British art 1930–1990", 11.

³⁹ Terence Hodgkinson, "Contemporary Art and The Burlington Magazine," *The Burlington Magazine*, July, 1980.

⁴⁰ Lynda Morris, "The Artists' International Association," *Marxism Today*, August 1983, 40.

The analysis of the CAS collection to date

The essential facts of the founding of the CAS have been well described, both in secondary sources and in CAS publications.⁴¹ There has been some consensus that the ideas of Bloomsbury, and in particular Fry, dominated acquisitions before the First World War. Opinions start to diverge when discussing the interwar period. Some believe that Bloomsbury continued to dominate: for example, in her doctoral thesis of 2007 Angela Summerfield stated that “Fry's aesthetic ideas dominated the CAS from its establishment until his death in 1934.”⁴² Such ‘domination’ might be evidenced by critical evaluations of the artworks that the Society acquired. However, it should be noted that the most detailed of these, to date, have been in CAS-sponsored publications.

In 1948, the Society commissioned the art critic John Russell (1919–2008) to write a “scholarly commentary” on not only their work to date, but also changes in “British taste in Art” in the same period.⁴³ Russell declared the first thirty-eight years of the CAS a triumph, enabling “art galleries throughout the United Kingdom to build up a nucleus of good modern pictures”.⁴⁴ He wrote as a staunch advocate of the originality of British art, noting that the CAS existed “in order to insinuate into public collections paintings by contemporary artists”.⁴⁵ It is interesting to note his use of both ‘contemporary’ and ‘modern’ here — the Society’s name was originally to have been ‘The Modern Art Association’.⁴⁶ The change of ‘Modern’ to ‘Contemporary’ in their name reflected their ambition to buy works by “artists living or recently dead”.⁴⁷ The Society’s acquisitions, wrote Russell, reflected “perhaps more accurately than those of any other institution, the course of what has been best in English painting”.⁴⁸

⁴¹ For example: Collins, "The origins and aims of the Contemporary Art Society."; D.S. MacColl, "The Origin and Aims of the Contemporary Art Society," in *Catalogue of the Special Loan Collection of Selected Pictures by Contemporary British Artists* (Newcastle: Laing Art Gallery, 1912). Summerfield, "Interventions", 120–34. Sacha Craddock: *The Contemporary Art Society: A Biography* (forthcoming)

⁴² Summerfield, "Interventions", 123.

⁴³ Contemporary Art Society, *Chairman's Report Auditors Accounts for 1946* (London: Lund Humphries, 1947), 8.

⁴⁴ John Russell, *From Sickert to 1948 : the achievement of the Contemporary Art Society* (London: Lund Humphries, 1948), 5.

⁴⁵ Russell, *From Sickert to 1948 : the achievement of the Contemporary Art Society*, 19.

⁴⁶ Summerfield, "Interventions", 120.

⁴⁷ Contemporary Art Society, *Report 1911* (London: The Contemporary Art Society, 1912), 2.

⁴⁸ Like many writers of this period Russell uses ‘English’ and ‘British’ synonymously. Russell, *From Sickert to 1948 : the achievement of the Contemporary Art Society*, 21.

In 1985, a slim colour-illustrated volume was published to celebrate the Society's 75th anniversary.⁴⁹ In it, the art historian and radio arts producer Judith Bumpus (1939–2010) adopted a suitably celebratory tone as she described the history of the Society. She gave particular attention to Fry's struggle to instigate a fund for purchase of foreign art (which was only created in 1924, fifteen years after the founding of the CAS).⁵⁰ She also noted that in 1935, when the CAS celebrated their first twenty-five years of existence with an exhibition at the Tate, Georges Duthuit, an art critic for *The Listener*, had singled out the lack of any surrealist works.⁵¹ Duthuit amusingly imagined a CAS buyer's response to surrealist artworks, and also gave a possible reason for their not having bought any:

They saw larvae, phantasms, monsters in the process of metamorphosis, fantastically coupled, tattered, convulsed in a terrifying protogenesis and performing the most complicated operations of torture and perverse love. It remained for them to make their choice with an eye on the gallery in Manchester or Belfast that would welcome these products.⁵²

The implication here is that buyers were not led solely by their personal tastes, but kept in mind the likelihood of works being accepted by the curators and viewing public of the galleries for which the works were destined.

In 1991, the Society celebrated eighty years of collecting with the publication of another illustrated volume, this time containing a selection of essays.⁵³ It was edited by Alan Bowness, a CAS Executive Committee member 1961–69 and 1970–86 and Director of the Tate 1980–88.⁵⁴ Several of the essays covered the period under consideration. The book's overall tone was positive — it was a work of celebration after all. Nonetheless, the writers felt that the CAS in its early years had fallen short of an ideal acquisition strategy. In his introductory remarks Bowness described the interwar activities of the CAS as having a "certain cosy complacency".⁵⁵ He singled out for particular criticism the Society's reluctance to acquire abstract and surrealist works even when offered as gifts and ascribed this reluctance to Edward Marsh (who became CAS Chairman in 1937, having served on the

⁴⁹ Bumpas, *The Contemporary Art Society 1910–1985*.

⁵⁰ Bumpas, *The Contemporary Art Society 1910–1985*, 7–9.

⁵¹ Bumpas, *The Contemporary Art Society 1910–1985*, 10.

⁵² Georges Duthuit, "A famous art society," in *Art in England*, ed. R.S. Lambert (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1938), 63.

⁵³ Alan Bowness, ed., *British Contemporary Art 1910–1990: Eighty years of collecting by the Contemporary Art Society* (London: The Herbert Press Ltd., 1991).

⁵⁴ "Bowness, Sir Alan, (11 Jan. 1928–1 March 2021)," in *WHO'S WHO & WHO WAS WHO* (March 9, 2021).

⁵⁵ Bowness, *Eighty years of collecting by the Contemporary Art Society*, 8.

Executive Committee since 1917). Whilst praising Marsh for his generous patronage of artists such as Paul Nash, Bowness noted:

Marsh owned no foreign art, and he was too old to appreciate the abstraction and surrealism that characterised the more advanced British art of the 1930s.⁵⁶

Bowness concluded that the 1930s were not good years for the CAS and, while acknowledging that funds for purchase were small, bemoaned the rejection of gifts to the Society of works by “a younger generation”.⁵⁷ As Director of the Tate, Bowness would have been very familiar with CAS collecting as over the years the Tate had been a notable beneficiary of the Society’s largesse. His knowledge of the rejection of abstract works might well have come from his personal and professional connections as in 1957 he married Sarah Hepworth-Nicholson, the daughter of Ben Nicholson and Barbara Hepworth and would compile the first *Catalogue Raisonné* of Hepworth's work in 1971.⁵⁸

In the eightieth anniversary publication, Richard Cork, art critic for the *Times* and author of the first major survey of Vorticism also offered a pessimistic evaluation of CAS acquisitions.⁵⁹ In his view, when it came to new and challenging art the CAS “showed a notable reluctance to support any of the artists associated with more recent avant-garde movements like Fauvism, Cubism and Futurism.”⁶⁰ He noted that although that Clive Bell had acquired a work by Wyndham Lewis by 1913 (now lost) nothing was purchased from the Vorticists’ first group exhibition in 1915.⁶¹ In the same volume the art critic, poet and photographer Edward Lucie-Smith, who served on the Executive Committee from 1974–1989, praised the early work of the CAS, but agreed with Bowness and Cork that Vorticist and Abstract acquisitions were notable by their absence.⁶² He ascribed this lack to the possibility that CAS buyers might have “carried Bloomsbury clan loyalty to extremes” implying that they were influenced more by their social networks than a desire to purchase the best contemporary art. He also suggested that the CAS ignored the Vorticists because “Roger Fry in particular had good reason to regard [them] as a nest

⁵⁶ Bowness, *Eighty years of collecting by the Contemporary Art Society*, 8–9.

⁵⁷ Bowness, *Eighty years of collecting by the Contemporary Art Society*, 9.

⁵⁸ Alan Bowness, ed., *The Complete Sculpture of Barbara Hepworth 1960–69* (London: Lund Humphries, 1971).

⁵⁹ Cork, *Vorticism and Abstract Art in the First Machine Age*.

⁶⁰ Richard Cork, "Allies of the Avant-Garde: Patrons of advanced art in Britain, 1910–1920," in *British Contemporary Art 1910–1990: Eighty Years of Collecting by the Contemporary Art Society.*, ed. Alan Bowness (London: The Herbert Press Ltd., 1991), 32.

⁶¹ Cork, "Allies of the Avant-Garde," 32,49.

⁶² Contemporary Art Society, *Annual Report 1974* (London). Contemporary Art Society, *Annual Report and Statement of Accounts 1989* (London: The Mapledon Press).

of enemies".⁶³ Both Cork and Lucie-Smith implied that support for Wyndham Lewis, and the Vorticist movement of which he was co-founder, would not have been possible after the so-called "Ideal Home Rumpus" of 1913 when Lewis, Frederick Etchells, Edward Wadsworth and Cuthbert Hamilton announced their resignations from the Omega workshops in a letter (sent to its shareholders and patrons) that accused Fry of misappropriating a commission to decorate a room at the Ideal Home Exhibition that year.⁶⁴ However, in the same volume, Spalding provided a more diplomatic view, noting that in the 1920s "the motley nature of CAS purchases continued to be disguised by the excellence of many gifts".⁶⁵ Nonetheless, singling out the purchases of 1928 as an example, she too complained that the CAS "preferred to ignore developments that were taking place" and on the whole selected artists who were already established.⁶⁶

Distilling the views in the 1991 volume, and focussing on the 'why' rather than the 'what' two threads emerge: the first is that some of the authors considered that CAS buyers restricted their purchases because of personal loyalties; the second is that the CAS preference for figurative works with their stylistic origins in late-nineteenth century and early twentieth century France reflected a nervous conservatism in the face of change. The latter critique would seem to reflect the promotion of the modernist canon favoured in the late 1980s and 1990s. From a different perspective, one might argue that in buying works by artists well reviewed in the press or recommended by the dealers, critics and artists whom they trusted, the CAS were anxious to create an inclusive public art collection rather than one that would only appeal to the *cognoscenti*.

We should perhaps consider what evidence the writers above might have used to draw their conclusions. In his 1948 review of the CAS collection Russell chose to show more prints and drawings than oil paintings (just 59 out of 107 plates). Similarly, in 1960, when the Society celebrated its fiftieth anniversary with an exhibition at the Tate, forty percent of the artworks displayed were works on paper, suggesting that at that point the Society still considered that that the selection of works on paper had been more successful overall.⁶⁷ By contrast, in their seventy-fifth anniversary publication, of the 11 of the 28 works illustrated that dated from before 1939 seven were oil paintings, two were sculptures and two works on paper. In the eightieth anniversary publication the focus both in text and

⁶³ Lucie-Smith, "The Contemporary Art Society record," 146.

⁶⁴ Spalding, *Roger Fry: Art and Life*, 173–75.

⁶⁵ Spalding, "The Contemporary Art Society: Development and recognition," 64.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

⁶⁷ There were 97 oil paintings, 82 works on paper and 16 sculptures in the show. Contemporary Art Society and Tate Gallery, *The First Fifty years 1910–1960: An Exhibition of a Selection of Works given by the Contemporary Art Society to Public Galleries* (London: Tate Gallery, 1960).

illustrations was again on oil paintings and sculptures (oil paintings in metropolitan collections being particularly favoured).⁶⁸

In the four anniversary publications discussed above, the CAS canon thus mostly comprises well-known works by well-known artists, most of which are oil on canvas. It is reasonable to assume that CAS publications contain artworks favoured by the CAS themselves, but it should be noted that in this selection process, the work of less well-known artists, and, more recently, works on paper have been excluded (despite these forming the largest portion of the works acquired). It might well be that the perceived dominance of Bloomsbury artists comes from the use of this restricted sample. Thus, the lack of visibility of the largest part of CAS collecting means that analysis of their acquisitions to date is incomplete.

The development of museums in Britain

The field of museum and collecting studies is a relatively recent development in art historical research, with most work to date focussing on the late eighteenth to early twentieth century. With the exception of *The People's Galleries: The art museum in Britain 1800–1914* (2015) by Giles Waterfield and Summerfield's unpublished doctoral research, studies of early twentieth-century museum collecting and display are few.⁶⁹

Waterfield notes that by 1900 most large cities had public galleries, and the possession of an art gallery was an aspiration for smaller towns by the early 1900s.⁷⁰ He adds that after an initial surge of enthusiasm for art galleries in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century, attendance numbers fell after the First World War as more compelling attractions such as radio, cinema, music halls, motoring and football competed for the public's attention. Curators began to experiment with temporary exhibitions in order to bring people back into their galleries.⁷¹ This would have provided an opportunity for the CAS, who (as will be discussed in Chapter 2) organised an extensive programme of temporary exhibitions in order to promote the work of the artists they supported. Waterfield notes that between the first and second Post-Impressionist exhibitions in 1910 and 1912 respectively, early contempt "softened into a willingness to consider the possibilities of this new style of art", and notes

⁶⁸ Of the 90 illustrations in *British Contemporary Art 1910–1990*, 30 are works from 1909–39. Of these 30, only 13 are outside London, with 4 of those in Leeds City Art Gallery. Bowness, *Eighty years of collecting by the Contemporary Art Society*.

⁶⁹ Summerfield, "Interventions".

⁷⁰ Giles Waterfield, *The People's Galleries: Art Museums and Exhibitions in Britain, 1800–1914*, The Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2015), 299.

⁷¹ Waterfield, *The People's Galleries*, 302–03.

that “regional galleries had an important role to play in these developments”.⁷² The leading examples of this tendency as identified by Waterfield were in Brighton and Leeds. Brighton Museum and Art Gallery under its Chief Librarian and Curator Henry D. Roberts (1870–1951) inaugurated a series of exhibitions of foreign art in 1906 which began with Impressionism, moved to Post-Impressionism and even included Cubist art in 1913. In Leeds, the art historian and educationalist Michael Sadler had become Vice Chancellor of Leeds University in 1911 and shortly afterwards, in 1912, the critic Frank Rutter became Curator of the City Art Gallery. Together they initiated a series of art exhibitions of both contemporary and historic artworks. They brought in a more scholarly approach curating temporary exhibitions with the aim of making the experience more enriching for the visiting public.⁷³ Leeds, along with Manchester and Bradford, hosted the first of the CAS touring exhibitions, but did not become a subscribing member of the Society until 1927 even though Sadler had been a member of the CAS Executive Committee since 1923.⁷⁴ Brighton was an early recipient of CAS largesse, receiving Wyndham J. Tryon’s *Spanish Landscape* (c.1911–1914, Plate 1) in 1921, and becoming a subscribing member of the Society in 1927.⁷⁵ Despite these shining examples, Waterfield concludes that public collections made relatively few purchases of contemporary art in the early twentieth century.⁷⁶ Addressing this lack of visibility of contemporary art in public collections was of course one of the aims of the founders of the CAS.

The historian Andrea Geddes Poole has examined the influence of members of the aristocracy on the boards of trustees of the National Gallery, Tate, Wallace Collection and National Portrait Gallery from 1890 to 1939, a period which coincides with that of this study. She noted that all four galleries had “boards of trustees heavily stocked with aristocrats” which in her opinion gave “a decisive concentration of cultural control in aristocratic hands”.⁷⁷ Geddes Poole describes them as having no professional expertise but only “often haphazardly acquired amateur connoisseurship.”⁷⁸ She asserted that because of this lack of genuine expertise:

⁷² Waterfield, *The People's Galleries*, 306.

⁷³ Waterfield, *The People's Galleries*, 307–11.

⁷⁴ Contemporary Art Society, *Report 1911*. Contemporary Art Society, *Report 1927*, 16. CASC — 9215/2/2/4, Meeting May 9, 1923.

⁷⁵ Contemporary Art Society, *Report for the years 1914 to 1919* (London: W. Speaight & Sons, Printers, 1920), 9. Contemporary Art Society, *Report 1927*, 12.

⁷⁶ Waterfield, *The People's Galleries*, 312.

⁷⁷ Andrea Geddes Poole, *Stewards of the Nation's Art: Contested Cultural Authority, 1890–1939* (Toronto, Buffalo & London: University of Toronto Press, 2010), 4.

⁷⁸ Geddes Poole, *Stewards of the Nation's Art*, 217.

... they asserted amateur connoisseurship as genuine cultural authority... and the Treasury, the directors and finally the public began to view the [aristocratic] trustees, particularly in contrast to the galleries' directors, as fractious, opinionated, and simply not up to the task.⁷⁹

Their failure, she wrote, was most clearly evidenced by an "unending exodus of old master paintings from Britain" as well as a climate of disruptions and resignations.⁸⁰ However, the situation was not the same across all four galleries. The Tate, with six arts professionals out of a board of twelve trustees, and the National Portrait Gallery, where the main expertise required was knowledge of why certain individuals should be commemorated, suffered less from the challenges of having aristocratic amateurs on their boards.⁸¹ At the National Gallery and the Wallace Collection however, the predominance of opinionated aristocratic amateurs resulted in an atmosphere of "acrimony and lack of mutual understanding... where trustees blocked the director's proposed purchases... and treated his opinions with disdain and disparagement".⁸² Geddes Poole noted that by 1939, the grip of well-born amateurs had diminished as increasing professionalism took hold in the museum sector, but that in the earlier period:

The issues concerned power and authority and were fraught with implications for an aristocracy in the process of being eclipsed by an emerging professional class, a struggle encapsulated in what was clearly seen by aristocratic trustees as the temerity and presumption of directors and keepers. When the vexatious issue of artistic connoisseurship arose, aristocratic trustees did not usually examine their amateur connoisseurship; they simply asserted it.⁸³

It should be noted here that it was not until 1932, with the opening of the Courtauld Institute, that any university-level study of the history of art, the conservation and restoration of works of art, the teaching of art history and "museum work" and corresponding qualifications could be achieved in Britain.⁸⁴ Most curators in this period had studied fine art by travelling abroad and were in some cases also practicing artists. Aitken, Director of the Tate, had taken a degree in Modern History at New College, Oxford and his knowledge of art first developed during a trip to Italy with his friend, later a

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ Geddes Poole, *Stewards of the Nation's Art*, 214.

⁸¹ Geddes Poole, *Stewards of the Nation's Art*, 217–18.

⁸² Geddes Poole, *Stewards of the Nation's Art*, 218.

⁸³ Geddes Poole, *Stewards of the Nation's Art*, 219.

⁸⁴ Robert Witt, "The Courtauld Institute," *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs*, November, 1932.

Slade-trained artist, Maxwell Balfour (1874–1914).⁸⁵ MacColl, Aitken's predecessor at the Tate, graduated from University College London, and Lincoln College Oxford. He went to study art by travelling in Europe, and on his return trained as an artist at the Westminster School of Art. A watercolourist, he became a member of the New English Art Club (NEAC) in 1896.⁸⁶ Sir Charles Holroyd (1861–1917), first Keeper at the National Gallery Millbank and later Director of the National Gallery, trained at the Slade and was a painter and printmaker. Once Director of the National Gallery he was kept so busy that "his etching tended more and more to be a recreation pursued during scanty weeks of leisure".⁸⁷

Geddes Poole's study is of interest because six CAS Executive Committee members in the same period were hereditary peers and all six were also trustees of national museums. None were associated with the Wallace Collection but four were members of the National Gallery Board of Trustees. Of these, two served in the period which Geddes Poole regards as challenging: Thomas Lister 4th Baron Ribblesdale (1854–1925) who was a trustee from 1909 to 1924 and Robert Windsor-Clive 1st Earl of Plymouth (1857–1923) who sat on the board from 1900 to 1923.⁸⁸ Their presence in the CAS serves to remind us that not all aristocrats were as described in the quotation above, and that some had used a childhood surrounded by Old Master paintings in their families' stately homes to acquire both knowledge of art and the ability to know when to ask for expert help. Ribblesdale's link to the CAS came via Charles Holmes, one of the Society's founders, whose appointment as director of the National Gallery he had personally supported.⁸⁹ As for Plymouth, in 1916 when Charles Holroyd of the National Gallery recommended that the gallery purchase Masaccio's *Madonna and Child* it was he who consulted both Charles Holmes, the Director of the National Portrait Gallery, and D.S. MacColl, one of the founders of the CAS (by then director of the Wallace Collection) to help him justify the acquisition

⁸⁵ D.S.M., "Obituary — Charles Aitken," *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs*, September, 1936.

⁸⁶ "MacColl, Dugald Sutherland (1859–1948)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, accessed December 31, 2016, <http://www.oxforddnb.com>.

⁸⁷ Campbell Dodgson, "Sir Charles Holroyd's etchings," *The Print Collector's Quarterly*, October, 1923.

⁸⁸ Thomas Lister 4th Baron Ribblesdale (1854–1925) was a trustee of the National Gallery 1909–1924 and of the National Portrait Gallery 1895–1923; Lord Henry Cavendish-Bentinck (1863–1931) was a trustee of the Tate Gallery 1917–1927; Robert Windsor-Clive 1st Earl of Plymouth (1857–1923) was a trustee of the Tate Gallery 1917–1923 and of the National Gallery 1900–1923; David Alexander Robert Lindsay 28th Earl of Crawford and 11th Earl of Balcarres (1900–1975) was a trustee of the Tate Gallery 1931–1937 and of the National Gallery 1935–1960; George Charles Montagu 9th Earl of Sandwich (1874–1962) was a trustee of the Tate Gallery 1934–1941; Robert Anthony Eden, 1st Earl of Aden (1897–1977) was a trustee of the National Gallery 1935–1949. Geddes Poole, *Stewards of the Nation's Art*, 227–32.

⁸⁹ Geddes Poole, *Stewards of the Nation's Art*, 158.

to the rest of the board.⁹⁰ Another aristocratic CAS member, David Alexander Robert Lindsay 28th Earl of Crawford and 11th Earl of Balcarres (known as Lord Balniel 1913–1940), joined the Executive Committee in 1927. He “took a keen interest in public collection development”, was one of the founders and later Chairman of the National Art Collections Fund and was already on the Executive Committee of the Scottish Modern Arts Association (a group with similar ambitions to the CAS that restricted itself to Scottish and Scotland-based artists).⁹¹ The perceived expertise of the aristocrats associated with the CAS is further evidenced by the membership of the Tate Gallery’s first board of trustees, established in 1916, whose ten members included two CAS stalwarts: Plymouth (who joined the CAS Executive Committee in 1913) and Lord Henry Cavendish Bentinck (who had been on the CAS Executive Committee since 1910).⁹² Aitken, by then Tate’s Director, had of course been one of the founders of the CAS.

The conservatism described by Geddes Poole might have been one reason why the CAS focus on developing links with regional museums came about as, away from London, boards of trustees benefitted from more varied memberships. In offering regional galleries artworks and curatorial expertise, the CAS were addressing not just financial and personnel issues but also, as Amy Woodson-Boulton has noted in her study of Victorian art museums in the major northern cities, a desire for independent regional identity.⁹³ Nick Prior has noted a similar desire for “Scottish distinctiveness” in museums north of the border.⁹⁴ Both Prior and Geddes Poole have implied that the embrace of contemporary art by British artists was one way in which regional museums could feel superior to their national rivals, but they did not examine how the CAS might have helped them achieve their ambitions.

Summerfield’s 2007 thesis investigated “the widely held opinion, within the curatorial and art history worlds, that the growth and development of public art collections is disparate and is the outcome of the individual tastes and interests of curators, best understood as isolated individual histories”.⁹⁵ She concluded that her theory was correct, that individuals make a significant difference, but that there was also some evidence for a nationwide cultural pattern. Summerfield considered the

⁹⁰ Geddes Poole, *Stewards of the Nation's Art*, 88–89.

⁹¹ Summerfield, "Interventions", 246.

⁹² Geddes Poole, *Stewards of the Nation's Art*, 34.

⁹³ Amy Woodson-Boulton, "“Industry without Art Is Brutality”: Aesthetic Ideology and Social Practice in Victorian Art Museums," *Journal of British Studies*, 2007.

⁹⁴ Nick Prior, *Museums and Modernity : Art Galleries and the Making of Modern Culture* (Oxford: Berg, 2002), 209.

⁹⁵ Summerfield, "Interventions", Vol 2, 188.

work of the CAS, but only at a high level, and did not link them to what she identified as “the significant role local authority art galleries and museums played throughout the twentieth century in promoting the patronage of contemporary British artists, both within a significant local constituency and a national context.”⁹⁶ She also did not consider the ways in which the individuals involved were, in many cases, linked to larger groups of opinion makers.

Approach

None of the studies above included any detailed analysis of the reasons behind the selection of acquisitions by regional museums. Summerfield recommended “a comprehensive and comparative statistical examination of modern and contemporary British art purchases by public collections in Britain”.⁹⁷ While this could be attempted, time and a lack of archival sources mean that investigating a catalogue of acquisitions as large as that of the CAS is problematic. During the period under consideration, the CAS promoted, to a greater or lesser extent, 786 artists.⁹⁸ They acquired 2,219 works of art, of which 650 were acquired by their General Fund, 21 by the Foreign Fund, and 1,548 by their Print Fund. Of these, 349 General Fund items (just over half of them), 9 Foreign Fund (just under half of them) and 234 Print Fund items were noted in CAS annual reports as having been given or bequeathed to the society.⁹⁹ The Society’s membership grew from 139 to 534 and their annual income more than tripled.¹⁰⁰ By 1939 forty-seven museums were subscribing members.¹⁰¹ In this research I have therefore adopted a strategy of examining three case studies rather than attempting any statistical analysis of the over 2,000 artworks and nearly 800 artists associated with CAS in the period under consideration. By adopting this approach I have been able to explore in more detail the possible motivations of the individuals involved, the artworks acquired and donated, the conditions in the galleries and communities concerned, and the possible impacts of social networks in the selection process. In this thesis, each case study has its own chapter and each case study investigates a different aspect of the Society’s operations.

⁹⁶ Summerfield, “Interventions”, Vol. 2, 189.

⁹⁷ Summerfield, “Interventions”, Vol. 2, 189.

⁹⁸ See Appendix 1.

⁹⁹ Numbers are from CAS annual reports from 1911 to 1938–9 and Print Fund reports 1919–1921 to 1926–1927 inclusive.

¹⁰⁰ Balance sheet income: £814 6s 6d in 1911; Contemporary Art Society, *Report 1911*, 7–8. Balance sheet income: £2,801 2s 7d in 1939. Contemporary Art Society, *Report 1938–9* (London: The Curwen Press, 1939), 15–31.

¹⁰¹ Number of Museums: Summerfield, “Interventions”, Appendix 1. Appendix 2 —Museums subscribing to the CAS in 1939.

Overall, the society's acquisitions have been widely dispersed — in some cases a gallery might only have received one artwork. Of the collections outside London that received statistically significant numbers of artworks Manchester was an obvious choice for the first case study as it received thirty-nine works in the period under consideration — more than any other town or city.¹⁰² This relatively large number of works gives the opportunity of identifying whether there were any patterns of social and professional networks, aesthetic and other preferences in Manchester's decisions to accept certain works. A secondary point of interest in this case study is that many of the works donated by the CAS to Manchester joined a collection that was destined to be circulated for display in art schools — the Rutherston Loan Collection (RLC). The choices made by Manchester for the RLC can be assumed to be works that they thought demonstrated 'exemplary styles', worthy of dissemination to the next generation of artists.

My second case study, Belfast, was not amongst the highest in terms of the number of works donated by the CAS, but it was the highest in terms of works selected by the CAS, having outsourced the purchase of a collection of paintings to them when it received a legacy of £6,000 from Sir Robert Lloyd Patterson (1836–1906).¹⁰³ This case study represents the Society's first major project as consultants to a regional gallery. The Society's buyers chose forty-one artworks for the Belfast Museum. Whereas normally the society was constrained by a relative lack of funds, here they could afford to buy more of what they considered the best in British art (though it should be noted that some works were still too expensive for them).

The work of the Print Fund at the British Museum is my third case study. As has been noted above, the CAS collection of works on paper, nearly all of which were acquired via its Print Fund, has been widely appreciated. Nearly all of them found their home in the British Museum Print Room — they received over 1,500 items, a statistically significant number of works. In the Manchester and Belfast case studies the impact of social networks can be investigated but the relatively low number of artworks and artists involved is too small a sample to be statistically significant. In looking at the work of the Print Fund, the numbers involved are large enough to provide an ideal data source to look at the effect of social networks on the selection process. To narrow matters down still further, only the work of printmakers has been selected for analysis in this third study, firstly because nearly ninety percent of the items the British Museum received from the CAS were prints, and secondly because the period in which the works were acquired largely coincides with a twentieth-century renaissance in British

¹⁰² See Appendix 3 – General and Foreign Fund artworks presented to galleries 1909–1939.

¹⁰³ Brian Kennedy, *A catalogue of the Permanent Collection: 1 British Art 1900–1937 Robert Lloyd Patterson Collection* (Ulster Museum, 1982), 3.

printmaking. Even when considering prints alone, the number of works (over 1,300) and the number of artists involved (near 500) allow for a statistically significant sample size.

In Chapter 2, I will return to the question of Bloomsbury dominance before the First World War by considering the early history of the CAS in terms of the links between the individuals involved. In this chapter I will also describe the CAS buyer system and the process by which works were donated to galleries across Britain and elsewhere. In this chapter my primary sources are CAS Executive Committee meeting minutes and the society's annual reports. Secondary sources include the CAS anniversary publications discussed above, biographies and autobiographies, and the obituary pages of various newspapers.

Chapter 3 addresses the Manchester City Galleries case study. Here my primary sources have been the minutes of the city's Art Galleries Committee, the archives of the Rutherford Loan Collection, contemporary newspaper reports, and the gallery's object files to which I was kindly given access. Secondary sources include biographies, autobiographies and exhibition catalogues.

My fourth chapter concerns the work done by the CAS for Belfast in selecting works of art for the Lloyd Patterson collection. My primary source here is the unpublished correspondence between the three CAS buyers, invoices, and correspondence between the gallery and art dealers, Lloyd Patterson committee meeting notes and contemporary newspaper reports. The correspondence between the CAS buyers has not been previously examined as, after having been donated by the grandson of one of the buyers, they were filed in the Accounts archives in Belfast and not in the object files.¹⁰⁴ Secondary sources in this chapter include biographies, autobiographies and the catalogue of the Lloyd Patterson Collection.

My final case study, the British Museum print room, is discussed in Chapter 5. Here, my research has been greatly assisted by the recent publication of a new online collections database by the British Museum. I have been fortunate in having access to two spreadsheets summarising the British Museum's object files (one from an archivist working for the CAS and one from a personal contact in British Museum Print Room). Sadly the two spreadsheets do not completely align and the work required to consolidate them by the CAS has stopped due to lack of funding. Other primary sources for this chapter include the letters between Campbell Dodgson, the CAS buyer, and his niece; the annual reports of the CAS Print Fund, and Dodgson's writings for the *Print Collector's Quarterly* and other publications. Secondary sources include surveys of British and continental printmaking, biographies, autobiographies, and exhibition catalogues.

¹⁰⁴ UMALP— John Hinchingsbrooke to James Ford-Smith (d.2010), Keeper of Art at the Ulster Museum, Belfast Gallery, December 9, 1969.

In order to collate this large amount of data — artworks, artists, CAS Executive Committee members, CAS buyers, and the social networks which linked the individuals concerned — I have used a Microsoft Access database. This database has been used to produce the summary reports contained both within this thesis and in the appendices. It is hoped that this database will be published at some point, possibly with the support of the CAS.

In compiling the database it was first necessary to identify and locate the artworks acquired by the Society from 1909 to 1939.¹⁰⁵ The Society's annual reports are the primary source for this task as they contain lists of purchases, gifts and bequests. With the launch of the on-line catalogue of oil paintings in British collections by the Public Catalogue Foundation (PCF) in 2011, previously unpublished paintings from the CAS canon can now be easily evaluated. The PCF now operates under the name 'Art UK'.¹⁰⁶ Unfortunately, works on paper are not currently in the Art UK website (although many works presented to galleries by the CAS can be seen via the Tate, V&A, and British Museum websites). The identification of artworks is made difficult by the loss of a large portion of the Society's archive in the Tate flood of 1928. (For example, in 1959, when organising the Society's fiftieth anniversary exhibition its Secretary was obliged to write to subscribing museums to ask which artworks they had received from them — the original records of donations had been lost).¹⁰⁷ Prior to this project, the CAS had no complete record of the current whereabouts of the artworks it donated to public collections in the period 1909–39 and this is still the case. It should be noted that as the Society's early annual reports and exhibition catalogues were not illustrated, identifying ambiguously titled works can be challenging. Works with titles such as 'Nude' are difficult to track down, especially as no dimensions are given in early twentieth-century catalogues and other documentation. In addition, many works have been re-titled over the years.

The database has also been used to collect data on the multi-faceted personalities of the CAS and their milieu. Details of artists, CAS committee members, CAS buyers, art dealers, and museum contacts have been recorded. The information held for each person not only includes basic details, such as date of birth, but also their memberships and/or links to organisations such as government bodies, schools and other arts organisations, i.e. their so-called 'primary networks'. For the purposes of this study, a simplified approach to social network analysis has been used to identify the people and

¹⁰⁵ The database has been created, in the first instance, using Microsoft Access 2010. This software allows images to be stored so that reports can be illustrated.

¹⁰⁶ "Art UK — Welcome to the nation's art," 2014, accessed August 24, 2020, <https://artuk.org/>.

¹⁰⁷ TATE-EXH — Contemporary Art Society 50th Anniversary Exhibition (1 Apr–8 May 1960), January 15, 1959 – April 28, 1960.

social networks that were critical to the development of the CAS.¹⁰⁸ Any relationship with an organisation in the period under consideration is assumed to have a potential influence as not all of the start and end dates of relationships can be identified with certainty. However, as all of the individuals concerned were involved in formal groups, such as boards of trustees and exhibiting societies, or informal groups such as the Bloomsbury Group, the database only includes consideration of which of these links might have been significant to their role in my three case studies. Nonetheless, it maps a significant portion of the interpersonal and professional relationships in the British art world of this period.

In looking at social networks, the first area to be handled with care is the identification of Bloomsbury Group members. Whereas the CAS can be considered as a formal group — the Society's annual reports list committee members and subscribing members — the Bloomsbury Group have a disputed membership — the details of who, and who was not, 'Bloomsbury' are subject to debate.¹⁰⁹ The group has been described as having "in common a body of practice or a distinguishable ethos, rather than the principles or stated aims of a manifesto".¹¹⁰ In this study only the core membership has been considered and they are being treated as an organisation, albeit an informal one.¹¹¹ A second issue is that many of the less-well-known artists, particularly printmakers, might once have been considered promising but in many cases are 'lost' perhaps because they changed careers, or perhaps were victims of the Second World War. For some of these artists, not even dates of birth are available and, for women artists in particular, the change of surname associated with marriage makes them hard to track down if no date and place of birth is available.

Stylistic Analysis

Of the standard attributes of a catalogued artwork its attribution, date and medium are sometimes subject to change, for example in the light of new scientific analysis or archival research. In tracing stylistic influences, the analysis of paintings is more subjective. In this study, stylistic influences have been identified by visual analysis of selected artworks. However, it should be noted that, as yet, there is no complete and internationally agreed set of stylistic terms with which to describe paintings, even though in recent years the Getty Research Institute has been working to provide just that with its

¹⁰⁸ To perform more complex SNA analysis, computer programs such as Ucinet, Pajek, and NetMiner might be used. For more information on these programs, see for example: <http://www.analytictech.com> and <http://www.netminer.com>.

¹⁰⁹ S.P. Rosenbaum, ed., *The Bloomsbury Group* (Toronto & Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1975), x–xi.

¹¹⁰ Raymond Williams, "The Significance of 'Bloomsbury' as a Social and Cultural Group," in *Keynes and the Bloomsbury Group*, ed. Derek Crabtree and A.P. Thirwall (London: Macmillan, 1978), 40.

¹¹¹ Rosenbaum, ed., *The Bloomsbury Group*, x–xi.

Art and Architecture Thesaurus an open-source 'toolkit' which aims to assist museums and others with scholarly cataloguing.

The *Art and Architecture Thesaurus* is provided in a hierarchical format, where descriptors such as objects' physical attributes, and its style and period, are held in separate hierarchies referred to as *facets*.¹¹² Its style hierarchies are also defined by country and also by region. If a style is prevalent in many countries within a region it will be at regional level; if it only occurs in one country it will be at country level. For example, some might say that Cloisonnism is a sub-category of Post-Impressionism, but while 'Post-Impressionist' is shown as a 'modern European' fine art facet, 'Cloissonist' is only listed in the 'modern French' facet.

As far as art in Britain is concerned, Harrison wrote:

...for the first three decades of the [20th] century at least there was to be no English contribution to this [modern art] movement which a foreign observer would have regarded as central.¹¹³

The modern British section of the Getty styles and period facet reflects Harrison's rather depressing analysis — it contains only five entries (see Figure 1).

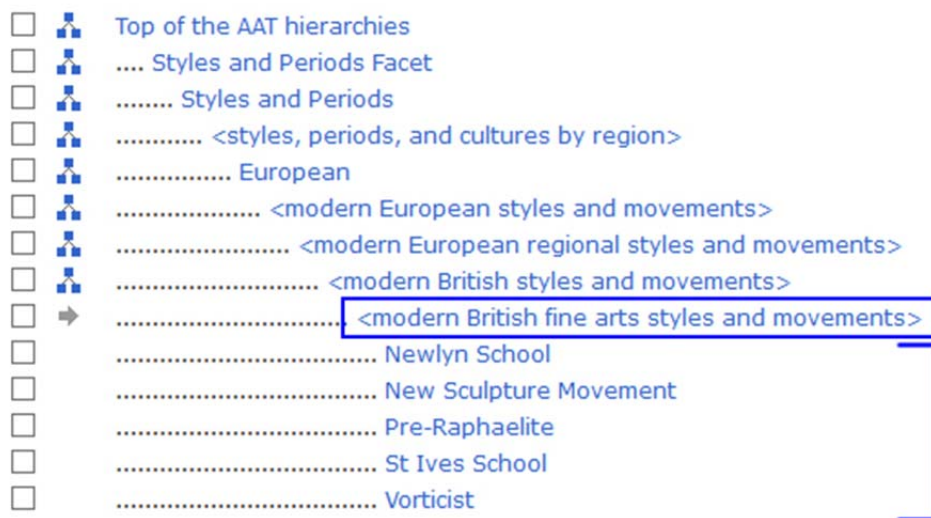


Figure 1. Hierarchical display of the Styles and Periods Facet, modern British fine arts styles and movements. From: The Getty Research Institute, *Art and Architecture Thesaurus Online Hierarchy Display*.¹¹⁴

¹¹² "Art and Architecture Thesaurus Online Hierarchy Display," The J. Paul Getty Trust, 2004, accessed November 10, 2014, <http://www.getty.edu/research/tools/vocabularies/aat/index.html>.

¹¹³ Harrison, *English Art and Modernism, 1900–1939*, vii–viii.

¹¹⁴ "Art and Architecture Thesaurus Online Hierarchy Display."

Using the Getty country/regional hierarchy enables us to examine which CAS artists were using European, versus British styles. According to the Getty definitions, Cubist, Surrealist, Non-figurative styles (abstract and concrete, and abstract surrealist) and Neo-Romanticism are Pan-European styles, and Futurism is defined as Italian. The Getty hierarchy cannot then be used to look at the 'Britishness' of British art. For example, an artist might have trained in France — so their stylistic influences might be French, but their subject matter might be British. In this thesis the Getty hierarchy is used as far as possible to describe stylistic influences, but to aid readability descriptors such as Impressionist, Abstract and Surrealist are used without a prefix of 'British' when describing works by British artists.

Conclusion

For completeness, the Bloomsbury Group's contribution to the founding of the CAS will be discussed in Chapter 2. The main business of this study, however, is to look at what happened next. Did the Bloomsbury Group — both in terms of its aesthetic stance as promulgated by Roger Fry and also in terms of its enormous range of social interactions with the British art world — maintain its influence through the interwar period? To answer this question, I will look at social networks and selected artworks in three cases studies in order to consider whether the Bloomsbury legacy prevailed or whether other social networks came to dominate.

By utilising the techniques of the digital humanities and traditional art historical methods in my case studies, I hope to situate the works acquired by the CAS within the many developments in British art 1909–39. To its detractors, the absence of Vorticist, Futurist, Surrealist and Abstract acquisitions in this period means that the CAS collection does not fit easily into an art historical canon where signs of change are favoured over signs of consolidation. However, nowhere in its stated objectives did the CAS promise to please the art historians and critics of the future. Their aim was to support their artist contemporaries and inject regional collections with what they thought best in contemporary art. How they attempted to do this, and the possible reasons for their selections, I will describe in the following chapters.

Finally, by investigating the ways in which the regional museums concerned (Manchester and Belfast) benefited from CAS involvement, I will consider whether local custom and practice restricted the Society's options. The three case studies will thus establish the extent to which the CAS, a private organisation, had the capacity to promote change in the public sector outside London.

Over a century has passed since the founding of the CAS and this thesis only covers their first thirty years of existence. In looking not only at the art historical but also the socio-economic and social networking contexts it seeks to shed light on the ambitions and personalities that enabled the Society

to provide Britain's national and regional collections with many of their finest examples of early twentieth-century British art.

Chapter 2

Setting the Scene

Finding a group of like-minded individuals to establish the CAS was only the first step. Next, the group had to agree their objectives, create an organisational structure and define the processes that would allow them to achieve those objectives. In this chapter, I will discuss the evolution of the CAS as an organisation and consider whether its operational structures favoured or inhibited the dominance of particular individuals, ideas and social networks.

On the latter point, some definition of what constitutes a social network is useful. As Summerfield has noted, the CAS Executive Committee amalgamated many art world interests in its first Executive Committee as it included critics, collectors, art dealers and museum curators.¹¹⁵ Three of the founders of the CAS had links to the Bloomsbury group: Ottoline Morrell, Roger Fry and Clive Bell. Other members of the CAS Executive Committee were art collectors with family connections to Ottoline Morrell: her husband Philip, her cousin Tommy Scott-Ellis, 8th Baron Howard de Walden and her elder brother Lord Henry Bentinck MP. In social network analysis (SNA) terms, the members of the Executive Committee are 'actors' linked to each other by professional and community organisations or networks. Examples of professional organisations would be the National Gallery, the *Burlington Magazine* and the New English Art Club. Family connections constitute community networks. With its emphasis on friendships and lack of any formal structure the Bloomsbury Group – however you define its membership – is also a community rather than a professional network. In SNA terminology the link between any two individuals, or an individual and an organisation or network or between two organisations is called a 'tie'. In a given situation the higher the number of ties an individual has the more likely they are to have a significant influence on the outcome.¹¹⁶ Selecting committee members with large numbers of ties would have been advantageous to the CAS because in order to perform their mission they needed to raise funds. However, the risk was that professional and community networks might sway the choice of the artists they supported in terms of acceptance of gifts and artworks purchased.

When looking at potential conflicts of interest, it should be noted that some of the early Executive Committee members were also practising artists. When this was queried by Henry Tonks in 1911, a note was dispatched "to reply that they appeared as critics and not as artists" on the

¹¹⁵ The early membership is discussed in Summerfield, "Interventions", 120–23. Executive Committee members are listed in Appendix 4.

¹¹⁶ See Glossary for a definition of these and other SNA terms.

committee.¹¹⁷ Using the titles of Executive Committee members as a clue to their aesthetic preferences can also be misleading as some of the more aristocratic names on the front of CAS annual reports were never involved in day to day operations. For example: the Honourable Gervase Beckett MP was replaced fairly quickly by Philip Morrell MP;¹¹⁸ Lord Ribblesdale opened an exhibition in Bournemouth in 1913 but never attended any meetings;¹¹⁹ and Sir Philip Sassoon only ever attended two meetings.¹²⁰

From its inception, the CAS considered its role to be to supply works by “artists living or recently dead” to national and regional collections.¹²¹ It was a role which the National Art Collections Fund (NACF), founded in 1903, had been unable to assume until that point. (It has been calculated that of the £158,972 14s. 3d. spent by the NACF 1928–37 on works of art less than 1.5 % went to living artists).¹²² The NACF had attempted to instigate a program to buy modern art in 1910 and a sub-committee was set up with Philip Morrell MP, Fry, and Charles Holmes of the National Portrait Gallery as members.¹²³ Effectively, this sub-committee was the seed from which the CAS would grow — all three were founder members. NACF representatives were invited to early CAS committee meetings “to avoid overlapping” the two groups’ activities, and it was quickly agreed that “whereas the object of the NACF was to buy and present art objects chiefly of past periods, the aims of the two societies were so dissimilar that they would be mutually independent”.¹²⁴

Although the CAS was not officially registered as a charity until 1931, its operations from the very beginning were recorded in a business-like fashion.¹²⁵ Minutes were taken, buyers were nominated and agreed by the Executive Committee and sub-committees were elected to perform larger tasks. The Executive Committee’s minutes note action points, purchases and gifts but we have no record of the face-to-face and telephone conversations that might have informed their decisions. Financially, the CAS also operated in a business-like fashion. Initially, all the monies collected by the CAS entered a General Fund from which funds were allocated on an annual basis (usually) to purchase works of art. The General Fund’s accounts, the membership of the Society and members’ subscriptions

¹¹⁷ CASC — 9215/2/2/1, Meeting March 16, 1911.

¹¹⁸ Summerfield, "Interventions", 121.

¹¹⁹ CASC — 9215/2/2/2, Meeting December 12, 1913.

¹²⁰ CASC — 9215/2/2/4, Meeting February 14, 1924 and Meeting May 8, 1924.

¹²¹ Contemporary Art Society, *Report 1911*, 2.

¹²² Francis Watson, *Art Lies Bleeding* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1939), 243.

¹²³ Summerfield, "Interventions", 111.

¹²⁴ CASC — 9215/2/2/1, Meetings held on April 9th and April 26, 1910.

¹²⁵ Incorporated as Charity number: 208178 with articles of association dated April 7, 1931. Contemporary Art Society, *Report 1930–1931*, 7.

were recorded in annual reports from 1911 onwards. The General Fund was to remain the core of CAS operations, but in June 1919 Campbell Dodgson gained agreement for the founding of a separate Prints and Drawings Fund (which will be discussed in Chapter 5).¹²⁶ After 1919, drawings and other works on paper were still acquired by the General Fund but only one print, a colour woodcut, was purchased after this date.¹²⁷ The Prints and Drawings Fund produced separate accounts and annual reports from the date of its inception. In 1912 Ernest Marsh moved that the CAS should consider a scheme to support contemporary ceramicists, but it was not until 1927 that a separate Pottery and Crafts Fund was noted in the Society's annual report.¹²⁸ The General Fund report for that year noted the gift of a blue-grey jar by William Staite Murray from Edward Marsh, but from 1928 all ceramics acquisitions were accounted for separately in annual reports for the Pottery and Crafts Fund.¹²⁹

It had been agreed in 1910 "after much discussion" that a fund should be started to acquire works by foreign artists.¹³⁰ However, by 1919 there had still been no progress on this and Fry, who considered this to be a vital role for the CAS, brought the matter to the attention of the committee again.¹³¹ By March 1923, a continued lack of progress on the Foreign Fund was probably the reason behind Fry's resigning from the Executive Committee. In the minutes of March 1923 Fry was recorded as saying that he felt he had "been for nearly ten years in a minority of one ... and it was inevitable that his opinion could have very little effect". He agreed, however, to stay on until November that year.¹³² In the end he decided not to quit the Society and was nominated the buyer for the first half of 1924.¹³³ His campaign had worked: in January that year St John Harris was given the task of forming "a fund for the purpose of buying works of contemporary foreign artists".¹³⁴ In the following May an anonymous donor placed £1,000 at the Society's disposal to buy works by foreign artists provided that they could equal that contribution by their own fundraising and, after 1924, donations to the Foreign Fund were

¹²⁶ CASC — 9215/2/2/2, Meeting June 5, 1919.

¹²⁷ Meryl Watts, *Chameleon*, c.1936, colour woodcut, 28.8 x 29 cm, British Museum, London (Museum Number: 1939,0730.54).

¹²⁸ CASC — 9215/2/2/1, Meeting June 26, 1912; Contemporary Art Society, *Report 1927*, 6. Ernest Marsh's work is described in Jordan, "Steering Taste".

¹²⁹ Contemporary Art Society, *Report 1927*, 9.

¹³⁰ CASC — 9215/2/2/1, Meeting November 17, 1910.

¹³¹ CASC — 9215/2/2/2, Meeting June 15, 1919.

¹³² CASC — 9215/2/2/4, Meeting March 14, 1923.

¹³³ CASC — 9215/2/2/4, Meeting January 18, 1924.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*

recorded separately in CAS annual reports.¹³⁵ In short, by 1924 the CAS was raising money for four very different types of purchase: British art, foreign art, prints and drawings, and pottery and crafts.¹³⁶

The General Fund was the main source of income for buying British art. However, CAS buyers usually had very little to spend.¹³⁷ A chart of General Fund revenue (see Appendix 6) shows that between 1919 and 1924 they had less than £1,000 to spend on art each year. Revenue peaked from 1925 to 1932, taking a dip as the effects of the 'Slump' hit home. By 1939 General Fund revenues had recovered and were declared as £2,729. The most expensive purchases relied on help from donors, for example, the CAS paid £650 in 1932 for Sickert's *Miss Gwen Ffrangcon-Davies as Isabella of France* (1932, Tate) but of that sum the NACF donated £350 and the Dutch-born stockbroker and art collector Cornelis 'Frank' Stoop (1863–1933) another £100.¹³⁸ Among the cheaper acquisitions was Vanessa Bell's *The Spanish Lady* (c. 1912, Leicester Museum & Art Gallery) for which the CAS paid £5 5 s. in 1912, but most paintings cost the Society around £50.¹³⁹ The relative lack of funds for purchases in the period under consideration means that the size of the CAS collection owes much to gifts. Of the 650 works acquired by the General Fund 283 works were purchased, and five part-purchased. Thirteen works were listed in annual reports as having been donated to galleries with no previous report of how they were acquired. The remaining 349 works were gifts. The CAS also managed the donation of one artwork and had six works on permanent loan. From 1924–39 the Foreign Fund recorded just twenty-one acquisitions in annual reports of which two were part-purchases, and nine were gifts. In other words for both the General Fund and the Foreign Fund roughly half their acquisitions were given to them.

The CAS purchase process

Any artwork in the CAS collection was subject to three key decisions: whether or not it should be acquired either by purchase or gift, whether it should be made available for presentation to a gallery, and finally whether or not a gallery would decide to accept it as a gift. When the CAS acted as an intermediary for the presentation of a work these decisions took place simultaneously; on other occasions the gap between acquisition and acceptance by a gallery could be many years.

At the first decision point, works could be purchased, bequeathed or given to the CAS, but in all cases their acquisition had to be approved by the CAS Committee or by the CAS buyer in place at

¹³⁵ CASCM — 9215/2/2/4, Meeting May 8, 1924.

¹³⁶ CAS fundraising for the Foreign Fund is discussed in Herrero and Buckley, "Collaborating profitably?."

¹³⁷ For a year-by-year breakdown of CAS revenue see Appendix 6.

¹³⁸ Contemporary Art Society, *Report 1932–1933* (London: The Pelican Press, 1933), 10.

¹³⁹ Vanessa Bell, *The selected letters of Vanessa Bell*, ed. Regina Marler (London: Bloomsbury, 1993).122

the time. It is notable that while acquisitions for the Prints and Drawings Fund and for the Pottery and Crafts Fund were under the control of individuals – Campbell Dodgson and Ernest Marsh respectively – the General and Foreign Funds both involved more individuals in the acquisition process. This might have been because the acquisitions for these funds were seen as having a higher profile and hence greater responsibility on the buyer's part, or perhaps represented areas in which the Society wanted to make sure that no personal or aesthetic favouritism would prevail in the selection of works and styles. That the early committee members had very different tastes is easily evidenced. In 1910, even as Fry was promoting the first Post-Impressionist exhibition, Robert Ross was reviewing it in the *Morning Post*, writing that "the emotions of these painters (one of whom, Van Gogh, was a lunatic) are of no interest except to the student of pathology and the specialist in abnormality".¹⁴⁰ By 1912, MacColl was still unconvinced by Fry's "new aesthetic, or religion", particularly dismayed by its rejection of the traditional approaches to pictorial space "throwing overboard one or another element in the full range representation so as to keep [its] ship floating".¹⁴¹

Removing the possibility of aesthetic or personal favouritism was one of the reasons why the CAS purchasing process had to be organised with care. In 1910 the society's first approach to purchasing works for the General Fund was to appoint a selection committee of three members plus two *ex-officio* members to buy artworks. The use of a sub-committee seems on the surface to be a sensible way to avoid any accusations of personal bias. The selection committee's members were to be re-nominated each year and its purchasing decisions ratified by vote.¹⁴² The first selection committee was made up of Fry, MacColl and Ross.¹⁴³ It was easy to gain consensus on the first work purchased – Augustus John's *Smiling Woman* (Plate 2). Ottoline Morrell was already a patron of John and would have supported its purchase. Fry had reviewed it for *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* and likened its palette and simple expressive lines to the frescoes of the Renaissance, noting that the model (John's partner Dorelia McNeill) was depicted without any of the "veils and subterfuges of modern life" and "with the uncompromising frankness of the middle ages".¹⁴⁴ A month later, in the same publication, his fellow Executive Committee member Charles Holmes was also enthusiastic and wrote that "The vitality of this gypsy Gioconda is fierce, disquieting, emphatic".¹⁴⁵ The *Smiling woman* is certainly without veils or subterfuge as, where a nineteenth-century salon nude might have glanced shyly at the viewer, hers is a confident appraising glance and her smile implies that is not the viewer

¹⁴⁰ Robert Ross, "The Post Impressionists at the Grafton," *Morning Post* (London) November 7, 1910.

¹⁴¹ D.S. MacColl, *Confessions of a Keeper and other papers* (London: Maclehose, 1931), 202, 20.

¹⁴² CASCM — 9215/2/2/1, Meeting May 11, 1910; CASCM — 9215/2/2/1, Meeting May 18, 1910

¹⁴³ CASCM — 9215/2/2/1, Meeting of May 18, 1910.

¹⁴⁴ Roger E. Fry, "The Exhibition of Fair Women," *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs*, April, 1909, 17.

¹⁴⁵ C.J. Holmes, "Two Modern Pictures," *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs*, May, 1909, 81.

who appraises her, but she who is evaluating the viewer and liking what she sees. The palette might also be less Renaissance than modern, as with its subtle tones it owes more than a little to Whistler, who would doubtless have dubbed it *Symphony in tan and terracotta*. With its confident, brisk description of the folds of her dress *Smiling Woman* recalls the drapery of Velazquez, an artist whom both John and Whistler admired. The stylistic links are easily explained: John's sister, Gwen, studied briefly at Whistler's Académie Carmen 1898–99 and when Augustus visited her in Paris he had spent time studying Velazquez and other old masters at the Louvre as well as visiting Whistler's studio.¹⁴⁶

The selection committee system lasted just over a year. In 1911, the CAS settled on the principle of electing a buyer for six months at a time.¹⁴⁷ They would have an agreed spending budget but otherwise *carte blanche* as to what they could acquire.¹⁴⁸ In 1923, the policy changed again with buyers being nominated for a year.¹⁴⁹ It should be noted that in the event of a buyer not having found a suitable acquisition, or delays in the purchase process, works from a previous buyer were sometimes recorded in the annual report of the year during which the next buyer held sway. Sometimes the buyer of an artwork was recorded in the Executive Committee minutes but sometimes it was not. Likewise buyers were sometimes noted in annual reports and at other times not. As a result the link between the CAS buyer and an artwork is sometimes uncertain. Nonetheless, in terms of collecting policy, it is evident that although Bloomsbury aesthetics, as promulgated by Roger Fry, might have grounded the Society's initial development, decisions overall during the entire period were based on a wide cross-section of opinion.¹⁵⁰

Up until the resignation of Clive Bell in 1917, the Bloomsbury group had a maximum of three representatives on the CAS Executive Committee at any time. Their opportunity to influence CAS acquisitions was thus highest in the first eight years of the Society's existence when fifty-one works were purchased.¹⁵¹ Roger Fry was a member of the original selection sub-committee and shared the responsibility for the purchases of 1909; he was also the buyer for the first half of 1915. Clive Bell was the buyer for the second half of 1913 and Ottoline Morrell was the buyer for the second half of 1914. Bloomsbury Group members were therefore buyers for approximately two of the eight years from 1909 to 1917. All three had ties to community and professional networks associated with the Bloomsbury Group. Clive and Vanessa Bell had together instigated the Friday Club in 1905, its

¹⁴⁶ Sue Roe, *Gwen John: a life* (London: Vintage, 2002), 26–27.

¹⁴⁷ CASC — 9215/2/2/1, Meeting Thursday November 2, 1911.

¹⁴⁸ CASC — 9215/2/2/1, Meeting Thursday November 2, 1911; Appendix 5 — CAS buyers.

¹⁴⁹ CASC — 9215/2/2/4, Meeting March 14, 1923.

¹⁵⁰ Spalding, "The Contemporary Art Society: Development and recognition," 64–65.

¹⁵¹ See Appendix 7 for a list of the works purchased 1909–17.

members drawn mainly from the Slade and the Royal Academy Schools.¹⁵² As well as meeting for lectures and discussions on Friday evenings, its members held exhibitions from 1908 onward.¹⁵³ In 1912 Fry set up the Grafton Group whose first “Post-Impressionist” exhibition took place in March 1913. There was not just British but also continental art on display — favourable comparisons being encouraged by a lack of gallery labels so that visitors could gain “a fresh impression of them without the slight and almost unconscious predilection which a name generally arouses”.¹⁵⁴ Many Grafton Group artists were later recruited to join the Omega Workshops, which opened in July 1913 with Fry, Vanessa Ball and Duncan Grant as co-directors and Fry the driving force behind its inception.¹⁵⁵ Fry was thus the most ‘prominent actor’ in the Grafton and Omega networks as he instigated both.

In total, the Bloomsbury Group buyers had a hand in twenty-two of the fifty-one purchases made from 1909–17. In 1913, Clive Bell mainly selected works by artists then associated with the Omega workshops: Cuthbert Hamilton, Jesse and Frederick Etchells, and Wyndham Lewis.¹⁵⁶ His support for Bloomsbury artists came in the form of a purchase of a Duncan Grant. (Interestingly, it was Ross, not one of the Bloomsbury Group, who bought two works by Vanessa Bell). In 1914, Ottoline Morrell bought two paintings by artists that she was already supporting by her private patronage — Mark Gertler and Gilbert Spencer. She had met both via the writer Gilbert Cannan (1884–1955) who was a mutual friend of Edward Marsh.¹⁵⁷ Although Fry might well by this time have influenced her taste in art, her initial ties to these artists were outside the Bloomsbury Group community network. In 1915, Fry mainly selected works from artists who were employees of the Omega workshops: Bernard Adeney, Nina Hamnett, Roald Kristian and Alvaro Guevara.¹⁵⁸ A noticeable aspect of the ‘Bloomsbury’ acquisitions was that many were by works by young artists in their twenties. Thirty-seven of the forty-one paintings selected by the CAS from 1909–17 were by artists over thirty years of age, evidence

¹⁵² Richard Shone, "The Friday Club," *The Burlington Magazine*, May, 1975, 280.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁴ Anon., "The Grafton Group," *Times* (London) March 20, 1913.

¹⁵⁵ Frances Spalding, *Roger Fry: Art and Life* (London: Elek, 1980), 174–77.

¹⁵⁶ All four had left the Omega workshops by October 5, 1913. Judith Collins, *The Omega Workshops* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1984), 59.

¹⁵⁷ David Boyd Haycock, *A crisis of brilliance: five young British artists and the Great War* (London: Old Street, 2009), 184–85.

¹⁵⁸ Adeney joined the Omega Workshops having previously worked on the Borough Polytechnic murals with Fry in 1911 where he contributed *Toy Sailing Boats, the Round Pond*, 1911, Tempera on canvas, 227.6 × 304.8 cm, Tate. Hamnett worked for Omega from 1913 and Roald Kristian Edgar de Bergen) from 1914. They married in October 1914. Collins, *The Omega Workshops*, 75, 103. Guevara was recruited by Fry from the Slade and given a one-man show at the Omega workshops in August 1916. Collins, *The Omega Workshops*, 76, 137–38.

perhaps of a cautious acquisition strategy. Fourteen paintings were by artists in their twenties and all of these were selected by the buyers linked to Bloomsbury, suggesting that Fry's support for *les jeunes* — young non-established artist not yet recognised by the Royal Academy — was an influencing factor.¹⁵⁹ Taking all the purchases from 1909–17 by the Bloomsbury Group members and by other buyers into consideration, forty-one artists had work purchased. Of these nine were associated with the Omega Workshops, seventeen with the London Group (another Fry initiative), and five with the Friday Club. Six had exhibited as the 'Grafton Group' at the show put together by Fry in 1913.¹⁶⁰ Most artists had ties to more than one of these groups but, if we eliminate the crossovers between the groups, twenty-five of them (just over half of the total) had ties to Bloomsbury, and specifically to Fry.

Leaving aside any Bloomsbury Group bias, the second most featured organisational network was the New English Art Club (NEAC). Nineteen of the artists whose work was purchased prior to 1917 were NEAC members or exhibitors. This was not surprising given that three members of the Executive Committee — Fry, MacColl and Holmes — were actively involved with the NEAC in this period and knew many artists personally. NEAC exhibitions appear to have been happy hunting grounds for CAS buyers in this period. Bell probably selected Harold Squire's *Blue Bool* from their 1913 winter exhibition where Squire's vision of the Dorset clay pit's azure waters as a Fauvist landscape of turquoise and orange was favourably reviewed (Plate 3).¹⁶¹ The preference for NEAC artists can also be read as 'playing safe' as any artist who exhibited or was a member had to have been recognised by the NEAC hanging committee, and by their artist peers, as talented.

Since the late nineteenth century the NEAC had had strong links to the next significant organisational network, the Slade School of Art (forty-six of the ninety-five of the men, and all but four of the sixteen women elected to the NEAC from 1900 to 1940 were Slade graduates).¹⁶² The Slade and the CAS also had more direct ties: Fry had lectured there on the history of art 1909–14, and MacColl

¹⁵⁹ Fry described his aim of supporting '*les jeunes*' while planning the second Post-Impressionist exhibition with Clive Bell. See: Spalding, *Roger Fry: Art and Life*, 154. Roger Fry and Denys Sutton, *Letters of Roger Fry* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1972), 344.

¹⁶⁰ Anon., "The Grafton Group," *The Westminster Gazette* (London) March 25, 1913.

¹⁶¹ Squire's work was described as "beautiful" in the review of the Fiftieth Exhibition of Modern Pictures of the New English Art Club Winter 1913 at the Galleries of the Royal Society of British Artists. E.M., "Art Notes," *The Illustrated London News*, Jan 10, 1914.

¹⁶² Katy Deepwell, "A Fair Field and No favour: Women Artists Working in Britain Between the Wars," in *This Working-Day World: women's lives and culture(s) in Britain, 1914–1945*, ed. Sybil Oldfield (London: Taylor & Francis, 1994), 149.

had taught the subject there before him.¹⁶³ Ties to the Slade can be seen in CAS purchases from 1909–17 as fourteen of the artists selected had studied there. If one combines the Slade and NEAC groups, twenty-four artists have ties to the CAS via these networks. Hence, whilst there are significant links to Fry and the Bloomsbury group in purchases of work from 1909 to 1917; the Society's links to the NEAC and the Slade had a nearly equal effect on the artists selected.

CAS Exhibitions

Having purchased or accepted the gift of a work of art, the next step was to work out what to do with it. Initially, the bulk of the collection was used, together with loans, for exhibitions in London and in the provinces.¹⁶⁴ From 1911, touring exhibitions and loans were regularly reported in CAS annual reports reaching 53 provincial galleries in the years up until 1939.¹⁶⁵ Fry's experience with the Post-Impressionist exhibition of 1910–11 had demonstrated how press coverage, combined with lectures and magazine articles, could normalize an idea as controversial as 'Post-Impressionism' and these techniques would be used by the CAS. Each exhibition had a catalogue with CAS committee members providing introductory texts. At each location an Executive Committee member went to the opening night of the exhibition to give a speech. The regional exhibitions provided useful publicity to attract new subscribers, and hence more money to spend each year. However, the touring exhibitions were not a source of revenue of themselves as the local galleries received the entrance fees. (No figures for exhibition receipts are recorded in CAS annual reports or meeting notes.) In any case, any exhibition profits were likely to be insignificant. For example the first fundraising exhibition for the Foreign Fund, held at Colnaghi's gallery in London June 21 to July 4, 1924, only made a profit of £67 7 s. but donations of £94 were received and the Society gained an extra £22 pa in subscriptions.¹⁶⁶

The first touring exhibition was set up by a sub-committee comprising Robert Windsor-Clive 1st Earl of Plymouth, Lord Henry Cavendish-Bentinck (known ad Henry Bentinck) and Sir Cyril Kendall Butler. It was opened in Manchester by Ross in December 1911.¹⁶⁷ The catalogue had introductory

¹⁶³ Christopher Reed, *A Roger Fry Reader: edited and with introductory essays by Christopher Reed* (London: The University of Chicago, 1996), 239. "UCL History of Art Timeline," June 5, 2020, accessed January 01, 2021, <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/art-history/about/history-art-timeline>.

¹⁶⁴ CASCM — 9215/2/2/1, Meeting April 9, 1910.

¹⁶⁵ Summerfield, "Interventions", 147.

¹⁶⁶ CASCM — 9215/2/2/4, Meeting December 3, 1924.

¹⁶⁷ CASCM — 9215/2/2/1, Meeting March 16, 1911.

texts by Fry and MacColl.¹⁶⁸ The exhibition went to Manchester, Leeds, Aberdeen, Bradford, and Newcastle in 1912 with attendances of 45,071, 30,750, 9,574, and 30,000 recorded for the first four locations respectively.¹⁶⁹ Yet the Society had very few works to exhibit at that point — of the 276 works listed in the catalogue, only thirteen belonged to the CAS.¹⁷⁰ It would appear that the sub-committee leveraged their personal and professional networks to great effect in putting together the show. A large number of loans were from the Executive Committee and the exhibition sub-committee — Butler, Bentinck, Judge William Evans and Ottoline Morrell — and the later-to-be Executive Committee members Sir Augustus Moore Daniel and Michael Sadler. There were also significant numbers of loans from collectors such as Charles Rothenstein (later known as Charles Rutherston, whose work with Manchester City Galleries will be discussed in Chapter 3), the composer Dalhousie Young (1866–1921), the Mayor of Chelsea Christopher Head (1869–1912), and the ophthalmic surgeon Dr Walter H Jessop FRCS (1852–1917). In his introductory text to the exhibition catalogue MacColl also thanked the Carfax Gallery (where Ross and More Adey [1858–1942] were co-directors), William Marchant of the Chenil Gallery and the Dutch art dealer Elbert Jan Van Wisselingh (1848–1912) for loans.¹⁷¹

Presenting works to galleries

Having acquired works and then used them in touring exhibitions, the second decision point in the CAS process was whether or not to deaccession them from the CAS collection. They could be donated to galleries and could also be sold to raise funds. In the 1914–19 report, it was noted that:

... after a certain number of years it is in the power of the Committee to sell any of the pictures with which they are not then in sympathy, or which may not have stood the test of time, and out of the proceeds to buy other works to replace them.¹⁷²

However, in the period under consideration, only the Prints and Drawings Fund seems to have taken advantage of the possibilities of selling works as sales are recorded in the 1920 accounts and in

¹⁶⁸ Contemporary Art Society, *Loan exhibition of works organised by the Contemporary Art Society and Dr. Harrington's collection of Seymour Haden's etchings. Winter, 1911* (London and Manchester: John Heywood Ltd., 1911).

¹⁶⁹ CASCM — 9215/2/2/1, Meeting October 23, 1912.

¹⁷⁰ Contemporary Art Society, *Loan exhibition of works organised by the CAS, Winter 1911*.

¹⁷¹ Contemporary Art Society, *Loan exhibition of works organised by the CAS, Winter 1911*, xvii.

¹⁷² Contemporary Art Society, *Report 1914–19*, 3.

following years.¹⁷³ (Unfortunately the works sold are not detailed but in the case of printed items it is possible that having acquired more than one version of the same print the extra copies were sold.)

The main purpose of acquisitions was that they be donated to galleries. From 1917 onwards, the CAS gave provincial galleries the opportunity to select works from its collection. However, the first major transfer of works out of the collection was not until 1924 when a sub-committee composed of Charles Aitken, Edward Marsh and Ernest Marsh selected 65 paintings to be offered as gifts or loans to forty provincial art galleries.¹⁷⁴ They were “nearly all accepted with much pleasure”.¹⁷⁵ Another sixty pictures were offered, on the same basis, in 1927 and forty were accepted that year.¹⁷⁶ From 1927 H.S. ‘Jim’ Ede, who had become the Society’s first Assistant Secretary the previous year, was authorised to arrange gifts to provincial art galleries.¹⁷⁷ Ede joined the Tate’s curatorial staff in 1922 and would not have been employed by the CAS, but seconded from the Tate on a part-time basis.¹⁷⁸ It was Ede who came up with the idea of getting higher subscriptions from galleries by offering more works to galleries who paid higher subscriptions — the so-called ‘greedy fund’.¹⁷⁹ On Ede’s departure from the Tate in 1936, Robert M. Wellington held the post for six months, after which a new Tate assistant curator, Robert ‘Robin’ Ironside, took over the role of Assistant Secretary until 1945.¹⁸⁰

The third major decision point, whether a gallery would accept a work offered by the CAS, was implicitly restricted. Firstly by what had been acquired in the first place (and this, if not given to the CAS, would depend on what was on the market and affordable at the time), secondly by what the CAS nominated for presentation that year, and thirdly by the ability of the Assistant Secretary to manage the stock of works available. The exception to this restriction was when a would-be donor contacted the gallery in advance of any approach to the CAS to agree that their gift would be welcome.

In general, the CAS kept works for a number of years before presenting them to galleries. In a 1922 article D.S. MacColl explained: “... to admit only the dead to our National galleries was a wholesome rule for more reasons than one. The first is the atmosphere of jealousy created when the

¹⁷³ Contemporary Art Society, *Report 1919–24*, 24.

¹⁷⁴ CASC — 9215/2/2/4, Meeting January 18, 1924.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁶ CASC — 9215/2/2/4, Minutes June 2, 1927; Contemporary Art Society, *Report 1927*, 10.

¹⁷⁷ Bumpas, *The Contemporary Art Society 1910–1985*, 10.

¹⁷⁸ "Ede, Harold Stanley [Jim] (1895–1990)," Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Oxford University Press, September 23, 2004, <http://www.oxforddnb.com>.

¹⁷⁹ Bumpas, *The Contemporary Art Society 1910–1985*, 10.

¹⁸⁰ Contemporary Art Society, *Report 1936–7* (London, 1937), 6. Contemporary Art Society, *Report 1944–5* (London: Curwen Press, 1946), 4.

living enter.”¹⁸¹ The second reason, he added, was that it would take time for the long-term value of works by living artist to be confirmed. Thus, the logic of keeping works in the CAS collection for a certain period before giving them to national collections was that:

What is wanted is an intermediary, a suspended state of being or probation, a Purgatory of art before the Paradise of national collections is reached... two such purgatories were provided at a time when it was not always possible to force good things into the National or Tate Gallery. One is the National Art Collections’ Fund, predominantly, but not entirely for old Masters; the other, the less wealthy and powerful Contemporary Art Society, entirely for the living.¹⁸²

Any paintings that left the CAS collection were therefore, we might assume, either by that point considered worthy of a national collection or no longer considered worthy to be put in a CAS loan exhibition. Many works went fairly quickly into public collections, but many others did not, leading one to suspect that administrative failings, more than the taste of recipient curators, might also have been an issue. (As noted above, the work of managing an increasingly large collection was done by part-time Assistant Secretaries who were also curators at the Tate Gallery.) For example: of the fifty-three purchases made 1909–17 ten works were held by the CAS for over twenty years, with six being presented to galleries over forty years after being acquired (1959–1964).¹⁸³ Since the latter coincided with preparations for the Society’s fiftieth anniversary exhibition one suspects that some much-needed housekeeping was taking place.

If there was a catalogue of the works acquired and later presented, this seems to have disappeared by 1959 as when organising the Society’s fiftieth anniversary exhibition the then Secretary, Pauline Vogelpoel (1926–2002), was obliged to write to subscribing museums to ask which artworks they had received.¹⁸⁴ When not being displayed, the CAS Collection was stored at the Tate Gallery and this gave rise to some losses when the gallery flooded on January 7, 1928.¹⁸⁵ Of the works purchased 1909–17, the current whereabouts of seven are unknown and they might well have been destroyed in that flood.¹⁸⁶

In short, in the matter of presenting works to galleries, the CAS often fell short of the business-like approach demonstrated in its Executive Committee minutes and financial reporting. The reasoning

¹⁸¹ MacColl, *Confessions of a Keeper and other papers*, 364.

¹⁸² MacColl, *Confessions of a Keeper and other papers*, 367.

¹⁸³ See Appendix 7.

¹⁸⁴ TATE-EXH — Contemporary Art Society 50th Anniversary Exhibition (1 Apr–8 May 1960), January 15, 1959–April 28, 1960.

¹⁸⁵ Anon., "Flood Damage At Tate Gallery," *Times* (London) January 9, 1928.

¹⁸⁶ See Appendix 7.

behind deaccession decisions is not documented in the CAS archives or annual reports. However the size of the 1911 CAS loan exhibition — 276 artworks, most of which were loans — gives a good idea of just how much unpaid administration work CAS committee members and their Assistant Secretary must have been doing and how difficult it must have been to keep on top of same.

However, it was not just the CAS that was short of staff in the period under consideration. Many of the works donated to galleries are not credited to the Society, or inaccurately so. For example: a work by Roderic O’Conor purchased by Fry in 1924 is described as “Gift from H. S. Ede via the Contemporary Art Society, 1927” on the Art UK website. Ede was merely administering the gift so the cataloguing must have been done by someone who did not understand how the Society’s presentation scheme worked.¹⁸⁷ The decision-making processes behind the donation and acceptance of works by galleries are hard to deduce when looking at the CAS collection as a whole. For this reason, in the next chapter, a case study of the work of the CAS with Manchester City Galleries will be used as a basis for an exploration of the possible motivations for galleries to accept works from the CAS collection.

¹⁸⁷ CASCM — 9215/2/2/4, Meeting December 3, 1924; Roderic O’Conor, *Femme à la Chemise*, c.1924, oil on canvas, 64.8 x 48.3 cm, Derby Museum and Art Gallery.

Chapter 3

The CAS and regional museums: Manchester City Galleries

Whilst CAS buyers could choose what works to purchase or accept as gifts they had no control over which of the works would be accepted by provincial galleries once offered up for presentation. When dealing with national collections they had the advantage that some Executive Committee members were also directors of London galleries. Once they expanded their operations to the provinces this advantage was no longer available and the decision as to whether to accept works from the CAS collection rested with local curators. In this chapter I look at the relationship between the CAS and wealthy, art-aware Manchester, where the city's curators proved to be far from passive recipients of its largesse. I will be looking at how the decisions to accept works into Manchester's collections might have been made, and at the works acquired, to see whether any patterns of social and professional networks, aesthetic and other preferences can be identified. Given that a significant number of paintings were destined for art schools via the Rutherston Loan Collection (RLC) scheme, which will be described below, I will also consider how these works might have informed students about particular styles of art.

The first works accepted by Manchester arrived in 1928, but the relationship between the CAS and the city of Manchester had officially begun in 1911 when the City Art Gallery hosted the Society's first touring exhibition (described in Chapter 2). The show opened in Manchester on December 8, 1911 and was open for approximately seven weeks, closing on January 28, 1912.¹⁸⁸ The Manchester exhibition contained 276 works supplemented by a collection of 199 etchings by the surgeon, connoisseur and founder of the Society of Painter-Printmakers — Sir Francis Seymour Haden (1818–1910). In Manchester, the exhibition saw 45,071 tickets sold over a period of seven weeks. (As a comparison: Manchester's 'Exhibition of Oil Paintings, Water-Colour Drawings, Etchings, Lithographs, Woodcuts, Sculpture and Jewellery by Charles Shannon, Charles Ricketts, William Strang, ARA, C. J. Holmes and H. Wilson, Autumn 1909' ran over seven weeks from Sept 9 through October 24 and recorded 50,097 admissions.)¹⁸⁹ These numbers need to be set against Manchester's estimated population in 1911 — 2,617,598 — in theory just over 6% of the inhabitants might have attended the CAS exhibition. Even by today's standards these are high attendance figures which speak of a city

¹⁸⁸ Contemporary Art Society, *Loan exhibition of works organised by the CAS, Winter 1911*.

¹⁸⁹ MAGC - GB127, Vol. 10. Art Galleries Committee, "Summary of admissions from September 17, 1909 to September 16, 1910".

where there was a strong interest in the arts, and one not necessarily restricted to the upper and upper-middle classes.¹⁹⁰

A stroll through Manchester's St Peter's Square gives one some understanding of the city's desire to be seen as a progressive centre of design and industry — a city where an interest in the arts would be encouraged. Eclectic styles compete on all sides: Alfred Waterhouse's 1877 Victorian Gothic Town Hall, Vincent Harris's 1934 Neoclassical Central Library, and the ornate red brickwork of Charles Trubshaw's 1903 Eclectic Baroque Midland Hotel all jostle for visual attention.¹⁹¹ Liverpool-born Waterhouse began his career in Manchester and was at the height of his success when he designed the Town Hall. Harris had won the competition to build Leeds Civic Hall the year before he won the Manchester Central Library commission. The library's distinguished neo-classical exterior hid a steel-frame and an ultra-modern system of pneumatic tubes and book lifts, based on American designs, to return books to the stacks.¹⁹² Trubshaw's luxurious 400-bedroom hotel with its palm court, winter gardens and two-storey theatre testified to the financial success of the Midland Railway and its clients.¹⁹³ Manchester's ambition was to be Britain's second city — rich in cultural capital as well as industry. Its ambitions began in the nineteenth century and are still a factor in the city's decision-making today. At the beginning of the twentieth century, the city's nineteenth-century avant-garde held sway both in both arts and business administration, and were determined to continue to build on Manchester's cultural and financial success.

Manchester had become a municipal borough under the 1835 Municipal Reform Act; receiving its Statute as a city in 1853. Municipal expenditures were financed from local business taxes and revenues from the city's gas and water works.¹⁹⁴ The city had grown on the back of the cotton and

¹⁹⁰ 'Table H' "A Vision of Britain: Census of 1911," University of Portsmouth, 2009–2014, accessed November 16, 2017, <http://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/census/EW1911PRE/2>.

¹⁹¹ "National Heritage List for England. 1207469 — TOWN HALL," 1974, accessed July 1, 2015, 2015, <http://list.historicengland.org.uk/resultsingle.aspx?uid=1207469>.

"National Heritage List for England. 1270759 — CENTRAL PUBLIC LIBRARY," 1974, accessed July 1, 2015, 2015, <http://list.historicengland.org.uk/resultsingle.aspx?uid=1270759>.

"National Heritage List for England. 1271154 — MIDLAND HOTEL," 1974, accessed July 1, 2015, 2015, <http://list.historicengland.org.uk/resultsingle.aspx?uid=1271154>.

¹⁹² Alistair Black, Simon Pepper, and Kaye Bagshaw, *Books, Buildings and social engineering : early public libraries in Britain from past to present* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2009), 179-84.

¹⁹³ John J. Parkinson-Bailey, *Manchester : an architectural history* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), 133-34.

¹⁹⁴ W.H. Chaloner, "The birth of modern Manchester," in *Manchester and its region* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1962), 136.

wool trades, which benefited enormously from the opening of the Manchester Ship Canal in 1894. The canal provided access to the North Sea with the passage wide enough to take ocean-going transport ships bringing wool from Australia, cotton from India and unbleached cotton 'grey cloth' from Japan as well as foodstuffs, fuels and chemicals.¹⁹⁵ The cloth trades — processing, weaving, and fabric printing based on these raw materials — were central to Manchester's success. Fabric design — for dressmaking and interior decoration — required the creative design skills which the city aimed to engender in its art schools.

In the 1920s and 1930s municipalities were analogous to city states. In 1930, John McShane, MP for Walsall, described their impact:

A young person today lives in a municipal house, and he washes himself — or I hope he does — in municipal water. He rides on a municipal tram or omnibus... he walks on a municipal road; he is educated in a municipal school. He reads in a municipal library and he has his sport on a municipal recreation ground. When he is ill he is doctored and nursed in a municipal hospital and when he dies he is buried in a municipal cemetery.¹⁹⁶

It could be argued that a healthy, educated workforce is a more productive one. The costs of municipal services meant that the council therefore needed to encourage education and any other means by which Manchester would retain its commercial success, and hence generate the business rates which paid for their role. By 1893 the city had one of the more progressive art schools under the directorship of Walter Crane (1845–1915) — a follower of William Morris, who subscribed to the idea that fine arts should be linked to the applied arts, but with an emphasis on craft rather than industrial design.¹⁹⁷

Manchester's museums and galleries were founded not only as sites of civic pride but also as places where its population could be educated. The city's interest in art galleries began in the nineteenth century. Inspired by the Great Exhibition of 1851, the 1857 'Art Treasures of the United Kingdom' display of fine art in Manchester was held in a Mancunian crystal palace — three giant halls of glass and prefabricated iron. The enormous space housed a central sculpture gallery with side rooms containing an encyclopaedic hang of over 2300 British and continental paintings from the Italian

¹⁹⁵ Chaloner, "The birth of modern Manchester," 144.

¹⁹⁶ Parliamentary Debates, 14 February, 1930, cols.804–5. the Second Reading of the Local Authorities Enabling Bill moved by John McShane, the first Labour MP for Walsall, elected in 1929. Cited in: Andrew Saint, *Politics and the people of London : the London County Council, 1889–1965* (London: Hambledon Press, 1989), 200.

¹⁹⁷ Paul Wood, "Between God and the Saucepan: some aspects of art education in England from the mid-nineteenth century until today," in *History of British Art: 1870 – now*, ed. Chris Stephens (London: Tate Publishing, 2008), 173.

Renaissance onwards. The exhibition also included examples of the decorative arts — objects intended to appeal to those involved in the ‘industrial arts’ of a mercantile metropolis. As the city did not have an art collection at this point the works were borrowed from collectors in the city and across the UK.¹⁹⁸ The 1857 exhibition was viewed not only as a prestige project but also as an opportunity to educate the populace. In this, like the Great Exhibition, it was supported by Prince Albert who wrote to the President of the General Council of the Exhibition, Lord Ellesmere in 1856:

... If the collection you propose to form were made to illustrate the history of Art in a chronological and systematic arrangement, it would speak powerfully to the public mind, and enable, in a practical way, the most uneducated eye to gather the lessons which pages of thought and scientific research have attempted to abstract...¹⁹⁹

To support the 1857 exhibition’s didactic project, numerous guidebooks were written at varying levels of assumed reader knowledge — from the educated to the novice.²⁰⁰ As with the Great Exhibition, entry prices were reduced to a shilling in the last weeks so that lower-middle and working class visitors could attend. In those final weeks it was noted that the guidebooks were inappropriate for less educated people who, overwhelmed by what they saw, were impressed, but learned nothing.²⁰¹

Prince Albert’s aims were focused on the appreciation of art, its history and the human progress it described. However, in Manchester the ideas of John Ruskin had even more influence. Ruskin’s aesthetic theories linked the beauty of nature, reflected in art, to the achievement of a higher moral purpose. What he called ‘Typical Beauty’ showed God’s purpose in the world.²⁰² For Ruskin, the purpose of the museum was to offer examples of ‘Typical Beauty’ — both in art and in natural specimens. By diligent study and by copying the dedicated student would necessarily come to appreciate the high moral qualities needed to produce great art.²⁰³ One of Ruskin’s disciples in Manchester, and a regular correspondent, was the wealthy businessman and social reformer Thomas Coglan Horsfall (1841–1932). Inspired by Ruskin’s teaching, he founded the Manchester Art Museum

¹⁹⁸ Waterfield, *The People’s Galleries*, 89–93.

¹⁹⁹ Waterfield, *The People’s Galleries*, 103.

²⁰⁰ Ibid.

²⁰¹ Waterfield, *The People’s Galleries*, 106.

²⁰² Ruskin wrote of Beauty: ‘It is either the record of conscience, written in things external, or it is the symbolizing of Divine attributes in matter, or it is the felicity of living things, or the perfect fulfilment of their duties and functions. In all cases it is something Divine; either the approving voice of God, the glorious symbol of Him, the evidence of His kind presence, or the obedience to His will by Him induced and supported.’ John Ruskin, *Modern Painters*, vol. II (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1856), 130.

²⁰³ Waterfield, *The People’s Galleries*, 130.

at Ancoats in 1886 in the heart of a desolate slum area.²⁰⁴ It was particularly aimed at the education of school children. Horsfall, together with the writer and art historian John E. Pythian and others, collected pictures and objects which were exhibited in the museum and also lent to churches and schools in order to give the people of Ancoats “a notion of the often inaccessible world outside”. The aim was “to show how the study of art, which has always reflected man’s activities, may help to an understanding both of natural history and of human nature.”²⁰⁵

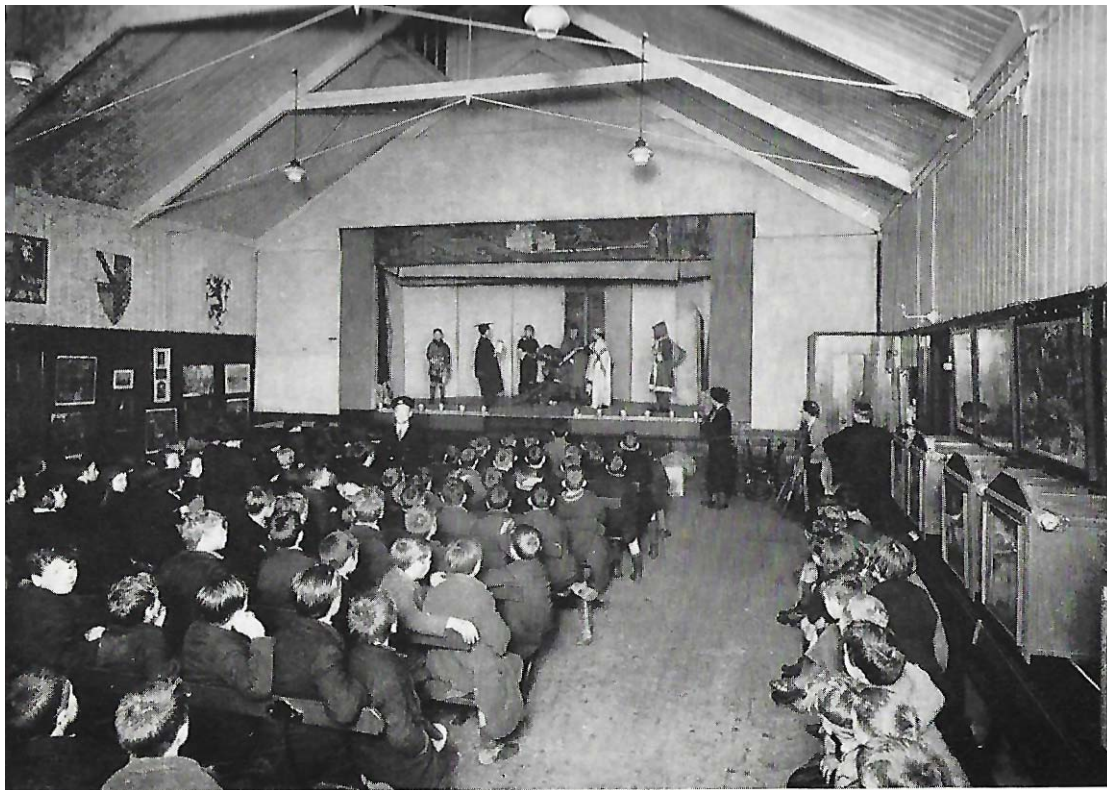


Figure 2. The Horsfall Museum Children’s Theatre, Manchester, 1937²⁰⁶

To this end the Ancoats Museum provided lectures, guided tours, and a children’s theatre where plays were produced. In the same spirit of continuing education Manchester’s galleries provided, in the winter months, a series of lectures on art, with guest speakers using ‘lantern slides’ to illustrate talks on paintings, sculpture, engravings and architecture — not only in the city centre, but also in branch galleries at Queen’s Park and Platt Hall.²⁰⁷ There was also (in conjunction with the Manchester Education Committee) a programme in which school pupils were given guided tours of

²⁰⁴ Waterfield, *The People’s Galleries*, 237.

²⁰⁵ Lawrence Haward, *Illustrated Guide to the Art Collections in the Manchester Corporation Galleries* (Manchester: Manchester Art Galleries Committee, 1938), 23.

²⁰⁶ Haward, *Illustrated Guide to the Art Collections in the Manchester Corporation Galleries*, 35.

²⁰⁷ Haward, *Illustrated Guide to the Art Collections in the Manchester Corporation Galleries*, 23–24.

their local museums. Lawrence Haward, Curator of the Corporation's art galleries wrote: "In this way the young people (the citizens to be) learned from an early age to regard a visit to a gallery as a perfectly normal experience, and very soon they not only enjoy coming themselves, but they return in their leisure hours with their friends and parents".²⁰⁸ The galleries were seen as places where the talents of students, artists and craftsmen could be nurtured.²⁰⁹ In short, Manchester's early dedication to public outreach projects would be respected even in today's museums.

In 1911 Manchester was near the zenith of its industrial success. The city's ambitions and interest in art education can be seen in plans, published in 1912, to build a new museum and art gallery on the site of the Old Infirmary — it was to be, effectively, a Mancunian version of the Victoria and Albert Museum complete with lecture theatres and study rooms.²¹⁰ A visit by members of the Art Galleries Committee in 1905 to design schools and museums on the continent was made as part of the planning process for the new institution.²¹¹ The deputation noted:

Throughout the German towns efforts are made to encourage the application of art to industry to inculcate good craftsmanship as well as to give refined pleasure, to improve the standard of public taste, and to foster a love of the beautiful. In such cities as Hamburg, Munich, Berlin and Cologne, the industrial art museums are designed with these ends in view.²¹²

After the First World War, Manchester's manufacturing industries faced challenges: exports of finished cotton cloth more than halved in the period 1910–1930.²¹³ The planned museum was never built, but the Art Galleries Committee did not lose their interest in education. Press reports on the museum project bought an art education programme to the city — the Rutherston Loan Collection scheme — which was established in order to lend contemporary works to art schools and other

²⁰⁸ Lawrence Haward, "The Problem of Provincial Galleries and Art Museums, with special reference to Manchester," *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, 1922, 636.

²⁰⁹ Haward, "The Problem of Provincial Galleries and Art Museums," 635.

²¹⁰ Bernard Douglas Taylor, *Municipal Art Galleries and Art Museums: their scope and value. With special reference to the needs of Manchester, and containing plans of the present and proposed Manchester Art Galleries* (Manchester: Manchester : J. E. Cornish, 1912., 1912).

²¹¹ Joseph Thompson, Report to the City Council of a visit to certain art galleries and museums in Belgium, Holland, Germany and in Great Britain, 1905, MAGC - GB127 M6/1/48/36, Council Minutes/Art Galleries Committee.

²¹² Thompson, Report to the City Council of a visit to certain art galleries and museums in Belgium, Holland, Germany and in Great Britain.

²¹³ Philip Stanton, *Britain 1905–1951* (Cheltenham: S. Thornes, 2000), 26.

museums. The first three works were presented to the city in 1928. In the interwar period, Manchester accepted thirty-nine works from the CAS General Fund or CAS Foreign Fund. Of the interwar donations: nineteen went to the Whitworth Art Gallery and twenty to the Corporation of Manchester (eighteen paintings and two sculptures).²¹⁴ Of the latter, fourteen went into the Rutherston Loan Collection (RLC). A further eight works acquired by the CAS before 1939 were received by Manchester Corporation after 1940 and, of these, two joined the RLC.

Manchester's museums and galleries

The Corporation of Manchester was listed as a subscriber in CAS annual reports from 1911 onwards. Manchester's was one of the earliest regional collections to be actively involved with the Society. However, it is important to note that because of their separate management structures the CAS had two relationships with the city: first with the Corporation of Manchester and secondly with the Whitworth Institute which was first listed as a subscriber in the 1919–24 report. The Whitworth Art Gallery, founded in 1889, was administered by a private Board of Governors in the period under consideration.²¹⁵ It would become a part of the University of Manchester in 1958.²¹⁶ Both relationships encompassed the hosting of CAS exhibitions, as well as the loans and presentation of works to the permanent collections, but here I will concentrate on the relationship with the Corporation of Manchester and the works they received from the CAS.

In 1882, the art collection of the Royal Manchester Institution for the Promotion of Literature, Science and the Arts as well as the building designed by Sir Charles Barry that housed it — were ceded to the Corporation.²¹⁷ This building, on Mosley Street, became the City Art Gallery. In 1918, the Ancoats Museum was offered to the city and its name changed to the Horsfall Museum. By the early twentieth century, the City Art Gallery in central Manchester, was the main gallery and there were also six branch galleries and museums in the outskirts of the city: the Horsfall Museum, Ancoats; the Queen's Park Gallery, Harpurhey; Heaton Hall, Heaton Park; Platt Hall, Rusholme; Fletcher Moss Museum, Didsbury; and Wythenshaw Hall, Northenden. The city's art collections were held in Mosley Street, Queen's Park and Platt Hall. All these galleries were managed by the Art Galleries Committee. By contrast, the Whitworth had an Honorary Director — Margaret Pilkington (1891–1974) — who from

²¹⁴ Charles Sydney Cheston, *Somerset Landscape*, c.1920 was purchased by Thomas Blackwell for the CAS in 1920. It is shown as presented to Manchester in the CAS 1919–1924 report, but has not been identified.

²¹⁵ Haward, *Illustrated Guide to the Art Collections in the Manchester Corporation Galleries*, 25.

²¹⁶ Gallery Whitworth Art, *The Whitworth Art Gallery: The First Hundred Years* (Manchester: The Whitworth Art Gallery, University of Manchester, 1988), 10.

²¹⁷ Haward, *Illustrated Guide to the Art Collections in the Manchester Corporation Galleries*, 9.

1931 performed the role as a volunteer for over twenty years.²¹⁸ (She was related to the Pilkington Glassworks and Pilkington Tile Company family, so was independently wealthy.)²¹⁹

Manchester's Art Galleries Committee was a sizeable organisation comprising on average twenty members including the Lord Mayor, and thirteen to fifteen councillors and aldermen. The remaining seven to eleven members represented the Royal Manchester Institution, the Whitworth Institute and the University of Manchester. The Committee's membership changed at regular intervals as council members were elected or re-elected; however, the institutional membership was more stable. Margaret Pilkington was a member of the Art Galleries Committee from 1925, first as a nominee of the Royal Manchester Institution and later as a representative of the Whitworth Institute. The Committee had a significant budget for the purchase of artworks (£2,000 per annum up until 1912, that same amount until 1922, and then sometimes £1,000 and on occasions £2,000 per year for additional purchases up until 1937).²²⁰

Lawrence Haward and the City Art Gallery

In 1914, Lawrence Haward (1878–1957) was appointed Curator of the City Art Gallery, a post he held until 1945. Haward was a graduate of King's College Cambridge (1900) and a near contemporary of Clive Bell, although they do not appear to have known each other. Haward's university circle centred round his contemporary Edward J. Dent (1876–1957), a fellow of King's who distinguished himself in music both as a researcher and a composer.²²¹ Haward was well-educated, cultured, a linguist and an expert on music. His personal connections meant that he secured several notable bequests for Manchester museums.²²² He was in professional contact with two CAS Executive

²¹⁸ Whitworth Art, *The Whitworth Art Gallery: The First Hundred Years*, 9.

²¹⁹ The most detailed account of Margaret Pilkington's life and work can be found in: David Blamires, Sarah Hyde, and Patricia Jaffé, *Margaret Pilkington 1891–1974* (Buxton: Hermit Press, 1995).

²²⁰ Haward, "The Problem of Provincial Galleries and Art Museums," 634. Haward, *Illustrated Guide to the Art Collections in the Manchester Corporation Galleries*, 9.

²²¹ Lawrence Haward, *Edward J. Dent : a Bibliography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1956).

²²² "In 1917 James Blair bequeathed a collection of paintings and watercolours, including a magnificent group of Turner watercolours.

In 1917 Leicester Collier left British and European porcelain, glass, paintings and old master prints.

In 1920 Thomas Greg bequeathed his exceptional collection of English pottery, recording the development of English ceramics from the Roman period to the early 19th century.

In 1920 Dr David Lloyd Roberts left paintings, watercolours, prints, silver and glass.

In 1934 Mary Greg gave her collections of Dolls and Dolls' Houses and Handicrafts of Bygone Times, an extensive and eclectic collection of domestic objects, handicrafts, toys and dolls' houses.

In 1934 John Yates bequeathed jades, oriental ivories, enamels, antiquities and Victorian paintings."

Committee members, Charles Aitken and D.S. MacColl, because of his membership and attendance at the meetings of the Royal Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce (RSA) in London.

Haward made sure that a programme of changing exhibitions was central to Manchester's museums strategy — he believed that such exhibitions provided a stimulus to increased visitor numbers and maintained interest in his galleries.²²³ In a lecture to the RSA in 1922 he summarised his curatorial policy in two maxims: "Show things to the best advantage", and "Have only the best to show".²²⁴ To maintain control of the latter he was perfectly prepared to refuse donations or bequests of artworks.²²⁵ His sentiments echoed an earlier document on Manchester museum strategy that cited C.J. Holmes (1868–1936), in suggesting that Manchester should only collect the very best items.²²⁶ (Holmes was at that point Director of the National Portrait Gallery and was also on the Executive Committee of the CAS.)

In terms of maintaining the quality of the collection, purchases could be problematic. Haward noted in his RSA lecture that whereas "the scrutiny of gifts is often left to one individual, it is very rare to find decisions as to purchases not made by an entire committee".²²⁷ Haward was not on the Art Galleries Committee he merely reported to it. This might well have frustrated some of his curatorial ambitions.²²⁸ He considered their role to be "to decide such questions as to whether any money is to be spent on buying works of art at all, what type of work it is desirable to add to the collection, what should be the maximum spent at one time, and so on".²²⁹ However, in his view "expert knowledge and taste should never be made a matter of collective judgement" as committee members were "bound to differ about works of primary importance, and will, indeed, often only be able to come to an agreement about those that are not of sufficient interest either way to rouse their passions".²³⁰ He

"A history of the collections," Manchester Art Gallery, 2021, July 22. 2021, <https://manchesterartgallery.org/collections/our-collections/a-history-of-collections/>.

²²³ Haward, "The Problem of Provincial Galleries and Art Museums," 635.

²²⁴ Haward, "The Problem of Provincial Galleries and Art Museums," 636.

²²⁵ Haward, "The Problem of Provincial Galleries and Art Museums," 633.

²²⁶ Taylor, *Municipal Art Galleries and Art Museums: their scope and value. With special reference to the needs of Manchester, and containing plans of the present and proposed Manchester Art Galleries*, 22.

²²⁷ Haward, "The Problem of Provincial Galleries and Art Museums," 637.

²²⁸ Refers to his problems with the Art Galleries Committee. Lawrence Haward, Letter to D.S. MacColl. 27 May 1938, GB 247 MS MacColl H217, University of Glasgow — Special Collections.

²²⁹ Haward, "The Problem of Provincial Galleries and Art Museums," 637.

²³⁰ Ibid.

confessed that “a way out may sometimes be found by the device of delegating different pieces of specific work to sub-committees, and then co-opting onto the smaller bodies members to act in what is quaintly known as an advisory capacity”.²³¹ The scrutiny of gifts however was often “left to an individual” so one can surmise that it was Haward’s own tastes, rather than that of the Art Galleries Committee, who were behind the selection of works from the CAS inventory. There is evidence that when accepting works from the CAS, particularly for the Rutherston Loan scheme, which will be discussed below, he had had considerable independence.²³²

The Rutherston Loan Collection (RLC)

The Art Galleries Committee used CAS artworks to supplement an art education programme — the Rutherston Loan Collection scheme — which had been established in order to lend contemporary works to art schools and other museums. This was not a new idea — Henry Cole’s South Kensington Museum had planned a similar loan scheme in the 1830s, and their modest loan system came into operation in 1855.²³³ Horsfall’s Ancoats museum had also championed a scheme for schools in the late nineteenth century. The idea for Manchester’s new scheme and the artworks to support it came from the Bradford businessman, Charles Lambert Rutherston (1866–1927) who donated his collection to the city in 1925.²³⁴

At least fourteen of the eighteen paintings given to the Corporation of Manchester were used in the RLC scheme. The CAS did not just donate paintings to the RLC. They also lent paintings in batches of fifteen to twenty at a time. Unfortunately, the records available do not allow us to see what the loaned works were. The CAS was not the only source of new works for the RLC. It also received numerous donations and loans from individuals, particularly those with whom Charles Rutherston and his wife Essil had personal connections.²³⁵ By July 1934 Rutherston's original gift of 464 works had been supplemented by another 414 from his estate via his wife, and thirty-two from Mr E.C. Gregory as well as those from the CAS. Another fifty-five works had been purchased and there were loans from the permanent collection so that by 1934 the total number of works in the RLC was 984.²³⁶

²³¹ Ibid.

²³² Allan Walton’s *Sand Boat* went straight into the collection and out on loan without the Committee’s approval. S.D. Cleveland, Rutherston Collection Quarterly Report — October 1929, MAGC - GB127, Vol. 13.

²³³ Waterfield, *The People's Galleries*, 135.

²³⁴ Charles Rutherston, Letter to Alderman Todd, Chairman of the Art Galleries Committee, September 12, 1925, MAGC - GB127, Vol. 10.

²³⁵ SD Cleveland was authorised to visit London with Mrs Rutherston once or twice a year to get further loans for the scheme. S.D. Cleveland, Rutherston Loan Scheme — April Report, April 25, 1929, MAGC - GB127, Vol. 13.

²³⁶ S.D. Cleveland, Rutherston Loan Scheme — Summer Report, July 19, 1934, MAGC - GB127, Vol. 14.

Charles Rutherston was originally known as Charles Rothenstein, but changed his name in 1914.²³⁷ He was the elder brother of the artists William Rothenstein and Albert Rutherston. After training at Bradford's Technical College, and despite showing some talent as an artist, Charles, as the eldest son, was obliged to follow his father into the family's textile business. His two younger brothers went on to become artists. It is probably not surprising that Henry Moore would later write of him: "He [Charles Rutherston] must be rolling in money and yet I don't think he is tremendously happy".²³⁸ Rutherston was a keen supporter of the arts and collected widely, from Chinese bronzes to contemporary prints. He started collecting contemporary art in the 1890s and continued into the 1920s. His collecting practice came about via personal friendships, family ties and professional networks which spanned Bradford, London, Manchester, Leeds and Paris, and centred on artists linked to his brothers.²³⁹

Rutherston married his second wife, Essil Elmslie (1880–1952), in 1925.²⁴⁰ She was 45, he was 59. She was an artist who had exhibited with the NEAC, a Slade student (c.1905), who had managed the Redfern Gallery for two years before her marriage. In 1913 she had replaced Vanessa Bell as Secretary to the Friday Club (founded by Bell in 1905).²⁴¹

Rutherston was a subscribing member of the CAS from 1923 onwards.²⁴² He was never a member of the CAS Executive Committee. However, when the idea of regional branches was discussed by them in 1912, his name was put forward to run the Bradford branch.²⁴³ Despite not being on the CAS Executive Committee, his network included committee members whom he knew via his collecting practice and the New English Art Club (NEAC).

²³⁷ Robert Speaight, *William Rothenstein: The Portrait of an Artist in his Time* (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1962).

²³⁸ Henry Moore, *Henry Moore: Writings and Conversations*, ed. Alan Wilkinson, Documents of Twentieth-Century Art, (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2002), 50.

²³⁹ Anon., "DEATH OF CHARLES RUTHERSTON: A Great Art Collector and His ideals THE MANCHESTER GIFT," *The Manchester Guardian* (Manchester), December 30, 1927. Charles Rutherston, Transcript of a speech delivered in City Art Gallery, Manchester, July 15, 1926, MCAG-RLC.

²⁴⁰ Anon., "OBITUARY: Mr C.L. Rutherston," *Times* (London), December 30, 1927.

²⁴¹ Shone, "The Friday Club," 283.

²⁴² Contemporary Art Society, *Report 1919–24*, 14.

²⁴³ CASC — 9215/2/2/1, Sir Cyril Kendall Butler, Minutes of a Sub-Committee Appointed to Consider the Desirability of Forming Local Committees of the CAS, February 2, 1912. (Rutherston is referred to as C. Rothenstein.)

In 1925, after much consideration, Charles Rutherston gave his art collection to the Corporation of Manchester to form the basis of a loan collection. There seems to be a consensus that Rutherston got the idea for the scheme from his brother William Rothenstein.²⁴⁴ Shaw notes: "That the Charles Rutherston art collection (presented to Manchester City Art Gallery in 1925) owed much to William Rothenstein's advocacy is a certainty".²⁴⁵ As Rutherston had a wide network of friends in the British art world of the period, this might not be completely accurate. Rutherston himself gave Charles Aitken, then Director of the Tate Gallery and one of the founders of the CAS, much of the credit.²⁴⁶ More publicly still, in his letter to Manchester's Art Galleries Committee, offering his collection to them, Rutherston wrote that Haward was the defining force behind his decision, writing:

For a long time I have been considering this scheme and on several occasions have considered various possibilities in London and elsewhere as to the feasibility of putting it into effect but without finding a satisfactory solution. I have known Mr Haward for a number of years and we have frequently discussed the educational functions of art galleries and museums and the need for more thoughtful and modern methods of exhibiting works of Art than are to be found in most of them. When he recently forwarded for my perusal the report in the Manchester Guardian of the plans for the new Art Gallery in your city, I realized at once that the new building would give me just the occasion, for which I had long been seeking, of putting my scheme into practice. I have always regarded Manchester as one of our most public-spirited cities and Mr Haward as a most progressive Director in matters relating to Art.²⁴⁷

As there was no date set for the new gallery, Rutherston agreed that Platt Hall was a suitable location for the collection in the medium term.²⁴⁸ In his letter offering his collection to Manchester, Rutherston described it as containing:

A. Oil paintings by Bernard Adeney, Charles Conder, C.E. Cundall, Duncan Grant, C.J. Holmes, Augustus John, Gwen John, J.B. Manson, David Muirhead, John Nash, Paul Nash, C.R.W. Nevinson, Lucien Pissarro, P. Wilson Steer, Walter Sickert, Joseph Southall, Henry

²⁴⁴ Mary Lago and Lady Christiana Jane Powell Herringham, *Christiana Herringham and the Edwardian Art Scene* (Columbia, MS: University of Missouri Press, 1996), 273. Samuel Shaw, "Equivocal positions : The influence of William Rothenstein, c.1890–1910" (Ph.D. University of York, 2010., 2010), 63.

²⁴⁵ Shaw, "Equivocal positions", 63.

²⁴⁶ Rutherston, Transcript of a speech delivered in City Art Gallery, Manchester, July 15, 1926. Anon., "MANCHESTER'S NEW ART TREASURES: Formal Presentation of the Collection DONOR'S TRIBUTE TO THE CITY Lord Howard de Walden on the Artist's Purpose," *The Manchester Guardian* (Manchester), July 16, 1926.

²⁴⁷ Rutherston, Letter to Alderman Todd, Chairman of the Art Galleries Committee, September 12, 1925.

²⁴⁸ Anon., "MANCHESTER'S NEW ART TREASURES."

Tonks, Will Rothenstein, Albert Rutherston and other artists of the modern school; some fifty paintings in all.

B. Water Colours and Drawings by Max Beerbohm, William Blake, Muirhead Bone, Burne-Jones, Gerard Chowne, Charles Conder, Frank Dobson, Francis Dodd, Henri Gaudier-Brzeska, Eric Gill, Edward Gregory, Augustus John, Eric Kennington, Henry Lamb, Wyndham Lewis, Ambrose McEvoy, John Nash, Paul Nash, Charles Ricketts, William Roberts, D.G. Rossetti, Will Rothenstein, Albert Rutherston, Randolph Schwabe, William Shackleton, Walter Sickert, P. Wilson Steer, Francis Unwin, Edward Wadsworth, and others; amounting to roughly four hundred drawings.

C. A collection of woodcuts by Gordon Craig, Eric Gill, John Nash, Gwendoline Raverat, and others; comprising over one hundred prints.

D. Sculpture, comprising bronzes by Despiau, Frank Dobson, Jacob Epstein, Alfred Gilbert, Mestrovic, and stone carvings by Eric Gill; amounting to about a dozen pieces in all.²⁴⁹

Rutherston estimated the value of his collection to be between £5,000 and £50,000 pounds.²⁵⁰ (This would be between two and twenty million pounds today.)²⁵¹ He wanted his collection to:

... be considered to form the nucleus (to which others, beside myself may add) of a loan collection from which various works may be distributed on loan, as required, amongst the various Galleries and Schools of Art in Lancashire and Yorkshire, this area to be extended as time goes on if deemed advisable.²⁵²

He added that he had given his collection to Manchester well before he died because he was interested in seeing how the scheme would work, and to this end he was even planning to move closer to the city. Sadly, he died just two years later, aged 61. His widow, Essil, became actively involved with the RLC after her husband's death and was on the RLC sub-committee until her own death in 1952.²⁵³

²⁴⁹ Rutherston, Letter to Alderman Todd, Chairman of the Art Galleries Committee, September 12, 1925.

²⁵⁰ Charles Rutherston, "A Loan Collection For Manchester," *Times* (London), September 29, 1925.

²⁵¹ Five Ways to Compute the Relative Value of a UK Pound Amount, 1270 to Present, <http://www.measuringworth.com/ukcompare/>, accessed July 10, 2015.

²⁵² Rutherston, Letter to Alderman Todd, Chairman of the Art Galleries Committee, September 12, 1925.

²⁵³ Anon., "OBITUARY: Mrs Charles Rutherston," *The Manchester Guardian* (Manchester), November 25, 1952.

How the Rutherston Loan scheme operated

Platt Hall was officially the home of the RLC from 1927.²⁵⁴ Thus in CAS annual reports, works destined for Platt Hall were works which were donated to the RLC. From October 1926 the day-to-day running of the scheme was managed by Haward's Assistant Curator, S.D. Cleveland.²⁵⁵

Rutherston had specified that loan periods should be short so that works had no chance of becoming 'stale' in their loan locations.²⁵⁶ This meant that the works in the collection got a fair amount of wear and tear. Effectively, they were lent out for school terms and then returned to Platt Hall for display so that borrowers could choose what they wanted from the collection. After a four-week break they then went on to their next loan location. The process was described in one of the RLC's Quarterly Reports:

In the four weeks between the return of works at Christmas and Easter and their despatch on loan for the next periods the returned works have to be checked, examined for any damage, often taken out and cleaned, any slight scratching of frames or breakage of glass repaired (fortunately no material damage has yet occurred), re-arranged and hung in the seven rooms devoted to the scheme, arrangements made for the visits of selectors, the rooms dismantled and the works sorted out for the next loans and finally dispatched suitably protected against damage. Then, when all the loans are dealt with, the collection that remains is arranged and hung. Thus at least six times in the year changes in the display of the collection affecting more than half the wall space of the building take place creating a variety of interest for the local visitor who is further catered for by occasional exhibitions held there.²⁵⁷

After an initially enthusiastic take-up by art colleges, a subtle change in use of the RLC can be seen the 1930s: more pictures went to schools, and fewer to art colleges.²⁵⁸ One reason for this might have been that as the average age of works in the collection increased (as can be seen in the RLC catalogues) they no longer represented the best in contemporary art. Artistic styles had changed — by

²⁵⁴ "PLATT HALL: A Lodging for the Rutherston Gift MANCHESTER'S NEW ART GALLERY," *The Manchester Guardian* (Manchester) May 21, 1927.

²⁵⁵ MCAG-RLC — Sandra A. Martin, Report on the Rutherston Loan Scheme, c.1966. (Martin was Curator of Fine Art in 1966.)

²⁵⁶ Rutherston, Letter to Alderman Todd, Chairman of the Art Galleries Committee, September 12, 1925.

²⁵⁷ S.D. Cleveland, Rutherston Collection Sub Committee Report — January 11, 1929, MAGC - GB127, Vol. 13.

²⁵⁸ "Pictures for Schools: Documenting the research project 'Pictures for Schools: Art, Education and Reconstruction in Post-war Britain,'" Grenfell-Baines School of Architecture, Construction and Environment at the University of Central Lancashire, 2014, accessed March 1, 2015, <https://picturesforschools.wordpress.com/2014/06/09/manchester-art-galleries-rutherston-loan-scheme/>.

the 1930s Surrealism and Abstract art were in fashion, and these were not well represented in the RLC, which had strong NEAC /early twentieth-century holdings. The death of Charles Rutherston meant the loss of his personal networks, which in turn gave Manchester less chance to acquire new works via gifts or bequests. The scheme ran until 1978 when it was closed down by the then new Director of the Manchester City Art Gallery, Timothy Clifford, citing bad security and rising insurance costs.²⁵⁹

Factors influencing the selection of works by Manchester

The taste of provincial galleries might not have always chimed with the largely metropolitan CAS buyers who, rather than adopting their buying to provincial scene, took the somewhat superior attitude that eventually provincials would come round to their way of thinking. There were often years or even decades between CAS acquisition and acceptance by a gallery, with work stockpiled in the meantime. In a 1922 article D.S. MacColl explained: "... to admit only the dead to our National galleries was a wholesome rule for more reasons than one. The first is the atmosphere of jealousy created when the living enter".²⁶⁰ The second reason, he added, was that it would take time for the long-term value of works by living artist to be confirmed. (The time spent in of this art purgatory for the works selected by the Manchester Corporation is summarised in Figure 3.)

²⁵⁹ Waldemar Januszczak, "On the art ship Enterprise," *The Guardian* (London) September 22, 1984.

²⁶⁰ MacColl, *Confessions of a Keeper and other papers*, 364.

Paintings and Sculpture given to the Corporation of Manchester (created before 1939)	
Years in CAS Collection	Number of artworks
0	2
1	3
2	4
3	1
4	2
5	4
6	1
7	2
10 or more	7
Total number of works	26

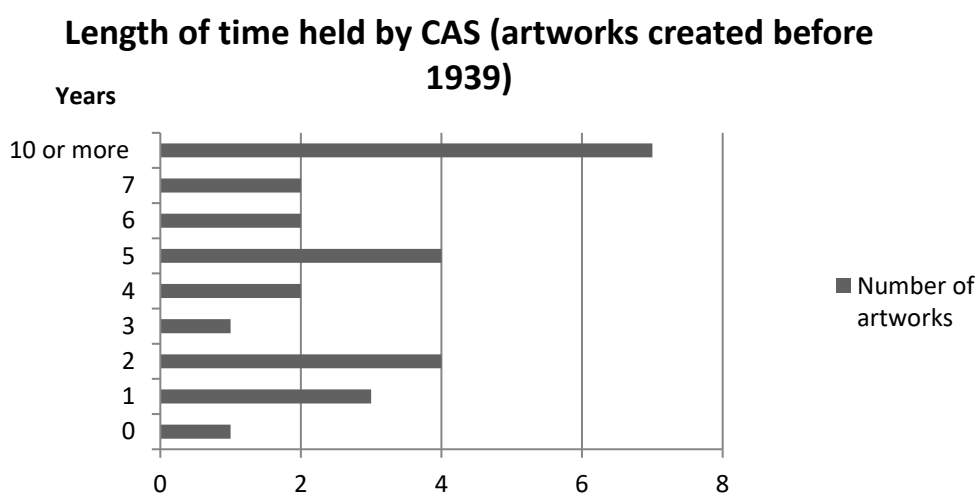


Figure 3. The length of time that Manchester's selections had been owned by the CAS

In the case of works given to Manchester the CAS kept them in their collection for an average of three years. Nearly half the works were donated within two years. One work, Betty Muntz's *Erda*, was a joint purchase between the CAS, friends of the artists and the Art Galleries Committee and went

straight from the artist into the Manchester collection. The two works which took more than ten years to be released were Harold Gilman's *Interior with Artist's Mother* (Plate 4) and Gertler's 1917 *Still Life* (Plate 5).

In the selection of works for the city, it is likely that Lawrence Haward would have been the decision maker. For works entering the RLC, Rutherford's widow Essil, a trained artist and former gallery manager, would probably have been involved, along with Margaret Pilkington who was a member of the RLC sub-committee from October 1930.²⁶¹ Pilkington was an artist in her own right, a wood engraver, who had studied at the Slade from 1913 where she was taught wood engraving by Lucien Pissarro.²⁶² Manchester City Galleries and the RLC together received eighteen paintings and two sculptures from the CAS in the interwar period.

Haward's choices might well have been guided by what he called "local patriotism". In a 1922 lecture to the RSA, he noted that "many not insignificant painters and art workers have refused to migrate to the capital, preferring to remain provincial ... and gather strength, like Antæus, from their native soil".²⁶³ Ironically, Haward was himself born in London, schooled at Uppingham in the Midlands, graduated from Cambridge and only came to Manchester on being appointed Curator of the City Gallery.

Haward's 'local patriotism' is evidenced in many of the works selected from the CAS collection by Manchester. For example, five of the eighteen paintings show images of ships and harbours. These images would resonate in a city based on the logistical power of the Manchester Ship Canal and the Salford Docks (Figure 4). It is interesting to note that all the boats depicted are contemporary working vessels: Duncan Grant shows us fishing boats at St Tropez (Plate 6), Eurich's barge is berthed in front of Victorian warehouse buildings (Plate 7), and Walton's *Sand Boat* is unloading its cargo (Plate 8). Wadsworth's port in *Dunkerque* has traditional sea clippers at their berths with dockyard cranes in the distance (Plate 9) while Fraye's tranquil port of Marseilles shows a quiet moment where steam cargo ships and sailboats are neighbours in the sunshine (Plate 10). To a wealthy merchant and dock worker alike these were recognisable echoes of their own life which rendered their working existence heroic.

²⁶¹ MCAG-RLC — RLC committee October 30, 1930.

²⁶² Pilkington's work as an artist is described in: Blamires, Hyde, and Jaffé, *Margaret Pilkington 1891–1974*.

²⁶³ Haward, "The Problem of Provincial Galleries and Art Museums," 631–32, 38.



Figure 4. Salford Docks in 1900 (Image courtesy Manchester Libraries)

Four of the eighteen paintings reflect Manchester's cloth trade, for in them luxuriant fabrics and furnishings form core compositional elements. Haward might have been thinking of ways to inspire fabric design students when he chose Gertler's *Still Life* — its objects arrayed on a draped turquoise grey Kilim motif fabric (Plate 5). Wolfe's *Aisha* sits in front of the painted cloth backdrop of irises in bold Matisse-inspired colours (Plate 11), while Coxon's *Model Resting* sits in front of what could be an Indian wall hanging, or perhaps a decorative painted wall in the Bloomsbury style. She sits on a quilt of brightly coloured cotton chintz: another echo of the type of fabrics printed in Manchester (Plate 12).



Figure 5.

Duncan Grant, *Daphne and Apollo*, design on printed satin for Allan Walton Textiles, 1932, V&A, London

In Duncan Grant's *Window, South of France* the beauties of the Provence landscape seen through the window are almost overwhelmed by the loosely described brightly coloured roses that decorate the interior (Plate 13). The room in the painting is Grant's studio in La Bergère, a farm cottage just north of Cassis, which he and Vanessa Bell rented from 1928–30 during the winter.²⁶⁴ As peripatetic visitors, it is unlikely that Grant applied the same decorative fervour to their studios as they did in Charleston, which they rented on a long-term basis. The wallpaper, then, is an imagined Duncan Grant design in the style which he and Bell were using for fabric designs and interiors during this period (see Figure 5).

'Local patriotism' can also be seen in the choice of northern artists whose selection would implicitly support any argument that creativity did not only happen in the London and the south-east. Among the northern artists were: Allan Walton who was born in Cheshire (his family owned a textile firm in Manchester); Christopher Wood who was born in Lancashire; and Edward Wadsworth and Richard Eurich — both born in Yorkshire. Eurich was born in Bradford, Rutherford's home town, and trained at Bradford School of Art, one of the schools in the Rutherford scheme. However, Eurich's *Blue Barge*, which is large and has been fragile since early on in its life, stayed in the City Gallery collection rather than being risked in transit. Similarly, Leeds Art Gallery was an RLC borrower and Coxon had studied at the Leeds School of Art.

²⁶⁴ Richard Shone, James Beechey, and Richard Morphet, *The Art of Bloomsbury: Roger Fry, Vanessa Bell and Duncan Grant* (London: Tate Gallery, 1999), 218.

Another aspect of 'local patriotism' might have been the selection of Elwin Hawthorne's *Church near Blackheath* (Plate 14) which would have provided inspiration not just to art students, but also to working-class gallery visitors. Hawthorne, a house decorator, along with Walter Steggles, a shipping clerk, were leading members of the East London group, founded in 1925. The group was formed almost entirely of working-class art students from the Bethnal Green Men's Institute and later the Bromley Evening Institute.²⁶⁵ The high point of the group's success was the inclusion of paintings by Hawthorne and Steggles in the 1936 Venice Biennale.²⁶⁶ The *Times* described Hawthorne's *Church near Blackheath* as "a first-rate picture of its kind, veracious without regrets, a discovery of artistic meaning in the commonplace."²⁶⁷ Manchester went on to acquire another East London Group painting by the CAS in 1946 — *Norfolk Small Holding* by Walter Steggles (Plate 15).

Six of the eighteen paintings were landscapes — perhaps Haward was embracing the idea of art as a holiday for the eyes of working people? The curators of Manchester seem to have been holding to the Ruskinian idea that it is a landscape under control that is the most beautiful. Ruskin's *Unto this Last* (originally published as a series of series of four essays in *Cornhill Magazine* in 1860) offered his thoughts on the destructive effect of unbridled capitalism on the workers that powered its profits. However, he considered that a well-managed landscape had the power to counteract this evil:

The presence of a wise population implies the search for felicity as well as for food; nor can any population reach its maximum but through that wisdom which 'rejoices' in the habitable parts of the Earth... The desire of the heart is also the light of the eyes. No scene is continually and untiringly loved, but one rich by joyful human labour; smooth in field; fair in garden; full in orchard; trim, sweet and frequent in homestead; ringing with voices of vivid existence.²⁶⁸

None of the landscape paintings selected by Manchester show wildernesses — all show signs of the positive influence of humanity. Fraye's view of Marseilles (Plate 10) takes the viewer to a busy South of France as does Grant's *Boats at St Tropez* (Plate 6). In the afternoon heat of both pictures, the stillness depicted implies the workers are resting, but in both there has been activity which justifies their rest. The ultimate holiday for the eyes can be seen through Grant's *Window, South of France* (Plate 13) where a bright palette renders the sunshine of Provence with such joyous energy that one

²⁶⁵ See: David Buckman, *From Bow to Biennale: artists of the East London Group* (London: Francis Boutle Publishers, 2016).

²⁶⁶ Buckman, *From Bow to Biennale*, 160–61.

²⁶⁷ Anon., "Art Exhibitions: Contrast at Lefevre Galleries," *Times* (London), March 13, 1934.

²⁶⁸ John Ruskin and Susan Cunnington, *Unto this last* (London and Toronto: J. M. Dent and Sons Ltd, 1921), 123–24.

can almost smell the lavender and hear cicadas in the hot summer air. But there is no wilderness — the vines in the distance criss-cross the hills in regulated order and tidy farmhouses dot the landscape. Back in England Wood's *Cumberland Landscape* (Plate 16) records a rainy walk across the hillsides of north-west England. It can be read as a celebration of the freedom to walk the hills that surround the northern industrial cities, dark clouds overhead tempered by bright light over the hills beyond. Yet this too is a domesticated landscape, there are farmhouses in the mid-ground. Somewhat less poetic is Bissill's *Winter Landscape* (Plate 17), yet even here one has the satisfaction of wondering what will happen and what one will find if one walks over the bridge into the tidy-looking village. Hawthorne allows a city dweller in Manchester to visit South East London and find it an oddly empty sort of place (Plate 14). Graham's *Landscape with Farm* (Plate 18) takes the viewer to a sunny immaculate countryside where neatly trimmed bushes and a bright red fence punctuate a disciplined landscape of ordered 'smooth fields'. Finally, Guthrie's snowclad Massachusetts, with its Scandinavian-style red roofed houses and wide open spaces, filled with busy gossip and activity, allows the viewer to travel to foreign climes and find Ruskin's 'sweet homesteads' there (Plate 19).

Haward also seems to have been thinking of working-class audience when choosing portraits. Gertler's *Girl Seated* might well be taking a rest from shop work (Plate 20). Roberts's *Sarah* (a portrait of his wife) has the stubborn set of jaw of a girl who will work hard to improve her life, and the shoulders and a healthy muscled neck of one used to hard work (Plate 21). Coxon's *Model Resting* denies us her gaze. She is very far from the idealised fantasy nudes of French Academy paintings of the nineteenth century with her healthy upper arm development and strong-looking hands (Plate 12). Her bobbed hair, as with Gertler's *Girl Seated*, identifies her as a modern girl relaxing — she is enjoying a private moment to which both a male or a female viewer might relate. Muntz's modern Madonna and Child, *Erda*, is likewise neither classical nor idealised (Plate 22). The style is reminiscent of that of her tutor Frank Dobson; however, to the inexperienced viewer *Erda* is, first and foremost, a mother. The eye is drawn to the tenderness with which she shelters her child between her extended legs. In these portraits and nudes, there is a memory of Victorian didacticism — but the morality being espoused has a twentieth-century outlook: the independent modern woman, the loving mother and child.

In terms of subject matter then, Manchester's selections from the CAS collection can be seen to reflect local patriotism, local industry and the values that were perceived as key to the city's success.

Given the likely wear and tear on paintings in the Rutherston scheme, any selection criteria would have to include ease of handling and storage; and a preference for works that were not too expensive would have been logical (in case of damage). Ideally the loan collections would represent

particular styles so as to have inspirational as well as pedagogic value. Keeping in mind that fourteen of the eighteen paintings selected were to join the RLC we should also consider their usefulness as teaching aids in art schools. Milne's *Artichoke Flowers* (Plate 23) owes much to Van Gogh's *Sunflowers* (1888) bought by the Courtauld Fund for London's National Gallery in 1924. The compositional elements are identical: an earthenware vase on a simple brown surface, a yellow wall behind, some flowers fading and some flowers still bright. Milne's emulation of the great Post-Impressionist, together with his own expressive brushwork would serve well as a teaching aid on the Post-Impressionist style. Another artist owing much to Van Gogh's use of impasto — though not colour — is Coxon in his *Model Resting* (Plate 12). Graham's *Landscape with Farm* (Plate 18) likewise emulates the work of the French self-taught, naive artist Henri (*le Douanier*) Rousseau (1884–1910) whose work was featured in the Second Post-Impressionist Exhibition in 1912 and was collected by Samuel Courtauld.²⁶⁹

Other works for the RLC seem to have taken their inspiration from Cézanne — in terms of his constructive brushstrokes, and an approach to modelling which shows an interest in the 'significant form' aesthetic of Clive Bell. These include Duncan Grant's *Boats St. Tropez* (Plate 6), Gertler's *Still Life* (Plate 5), Walton's *Sand Boat* (Plate 8), and Roberts's *Sarah* (Plate 21). Gertler's *Girl Seated* (Plate 20) shows both the artist's hand at work and an interest in formal values. Its volumes descend along a defined diagonal and are disposed equally across the horizontal base of the image — perhaps an exercise in 'significant form' applied to a portrait. On a more technical note, Grant's *Boats St. Tropez*, Walton's *Sand Boat* and Roberts's *Sarah* can all be used as examples of low key tonal modelling — restricting the palette to gain a tranquillity not available with a high tone, brightly coloured composition. Staying with an interest in French modern art, Wolfe's *Aisha of the Kasba* (Plate 11) seems inspired by Matisse in his Orientalist phase and indeed the artist did have a studio in Paris between 1922–1923.²⁷⁰ In that many of the pictures selected for the RLC were expected to become teaching examples we may excuse, in certain cases, their rather obvious links to more famous works. For this application, the originality of an artwork was not as critical as its ability to emulate a style developed elsewhere. The influence of Cézanne and the Post-Impressionists, as well as what appears to be an interest in 'significant form' means that the RLC collection in this period is propagating the ideas of Roger Fry and Clive Bell well into the 1930s.

Finally, one can consider the effect of social networks on Haward's selection of works for Manchester. The impact of personal connections at the point where a provincial gallery accepts works from the CAS is, in theory, limited because they can only select those works which have previously

²⁶⁹ See for example: Henri Rousseau, *Toll Gate*, 1888–92, oil on canvas, 40.6 x 32.75 cm, The Courtauld, London.

²⁷⁰ See for example: Henri Matisse, *Woman in Oriental Dress*, 1919, oil on canvas, 40.8 x 32.7 cm, Kelvingrove Art Gallery and Museum, Glasgow

been acquired by the Society. The exception to this rule would be when a donor asked for a work to be presented to the gallery via the CAS. As far as RLC selections are concerned: Coxon knew Charles Rutherston (his name appears twice in Rutherston's Visitors book) and was a protégé of William Rothenstein.²⁷¹ George William Bissill (*Winter Landscape*, 1933) had his first one-man show at the Redfern Gallery when Essil Elmslie, later Mrs Rutherston was in charge.²⁷² Essil took over the Friday Club in 1913, where Edward Wadsworth was an exhibiting member from 1915 onwards, and works by Wadsworth were in the original Rutherston collection. Personal considerations might also have engendered the selection of Graham's *Landscape with Farm* — a note to Haward finds him confessing that he has found little success in his life and has been reduced to 'a soldiering job', while painting small canvases on Sundays.²⁷³

A notable example of personal networks determining the acquisition of a piece is the story behind Betty Muntz's *Erda*. In 1932, Muntz had had a solo show with the London Artists' Association, which was founded by Fry and Maynard Keynes, so she was linked to Bloomsbury via this group.²⁷⁴ The poet and translator Robert C. Trevelyan (1872–1951) was in discussion with Haward to place the work in the gallery well before the CAS became involved.²⁷⁵ Trevelyan was a friend of Roger Fry from Cambridge. They had shared a house and studio in 1892 and Fry later illustrated Trevelyan's second book *Polyphemus and Other Poems*.²⁷⁶ They remained lifelong friends.²⁷⁷ Fry's fellow Executive Committee member, Edward Marsh, was also a close friend of Trevelyan; they had been in the same 'set' at Trinity College.²⁷⁸ All three were Cambridge Apostles. Haward, however, seems to have known Trevelyan only distantly — probably via the Cambridge alumni network — in his first letter to Trevelyan after the offer of the statue was made Haward mentions looking forward to meeting the poet at 'Miss Phillip's annual dinners.'²⁷⁹ Haward was interested in getting modern sculpture for his

²⁷¹ Anon., "Obituary: Raymond Coxon," *Times* (London), February 18, 1997.

²⁷² Anon., "OBITUARY: Mrs Charles Rutherston."

²⁷³ MCAG-OF — GRAHAM, FERGUS, Fergus Graham to Lawrence Haward.

²⁷⁴ London Artists' Association, "Sculpture and drawings by Elizabeth Muntz, 4th-28th May, 1932," (London: Cooling Galleries, 1932).

²⁷⁵ 'The society contributed £50 towards the purchase of "Erda" Bronze by Miss Betty Muntz; Mr R.C. Trevelyan giving the remainder (£150); for presentation to the Manchester Art Gallery.' Contemporary Art Society, *Report 1932–1933*, 10. Correspondence between Lawrence Hayward and R.C. Trevelyan in The City Art Gallery objects file for 'Erda'.

²⁷⁶ Spalding, *Roger Fry: Art and Life*, 42.

²⁷⁷ Spalding, *Roger Fry: Art and Life*, 246.

²⁷⁸ Edward Marsh, *A Number of People: a Book of Reminiscences* (London: William Heinemann Ltd, 1939), 48.

²⁷⁹ MCAG-OF — MUNTZ, ELIZABETH, Lawrence Haward to Robert Trevelyan, June 21, 1932.

collection, and demonstrating that a provincial Gallery can collect modern pieces, but the initiation of this particular donation came via the Cambridge alumni network.²⁸⁰

Haward's direct intervention is also evidenced by correspondence with Eurich on the subject of *The Blue Barge* (Plate 7). Harvard writes that the CAS, because of Eurich's connection with Yorkshire, was thinking of offering the painting to either Manchester or Bradford. Eurich was to be given final choice, but in the letter Haward reminds him: "You will, I hope, state quite categorically what I understand from your letter... that the pictures should come here and not to Bradford."²⁸¹

It should be noted that it is impossible to analyse which works were not selected by Manchester because there is no documentation which can tell us which works were offered from the CAS collection to provincial galleries at any time (apart from the list of paintings accepted by galleries other than Manchester). However, Manchester could not have sourced any abstract art, surrealist art, German Expressionism, Futurist or Cubist art from the CAS in the period under consideration because the Society did not acquire any such work. The example of Etchells' Vorticist *Woman at Mirror* (Plate 24) suggests that the gallery was not interested in acquiring works that were too far away from the conservatively figurative. The painting was purchased by Clive Bell as CAS buyer in 1913, but did not join the Manchester collection until 1964. (Of course, as noted in Chapter 2, it might just have not have been offered by the CAS before that date.)

Another point to note here is that sometimes the artists who have not 'stayed the course' were very well known when the galleries were presented with their work. Maurice Lambert, whose *Flight of Birds* (Plate 25) was selected by Manchester in 1930, was receiving a good deal of press coverage at the time.²⁸² It is equally possible that Haward was attracted to this work when he saw it on display at the Cooling galleries at the time when he went to London to inspect Muntz's *Erda*.²⁸³

Manchester's changing priorities in the 1930s

In 1917, Haward became one of the founding members of the Manchester branch of the Design and Industries Association (DIA).²⁸⁴ The DIA was a voluntary body founded in 1915 "for the

²⁸⁰ Ibid.

²⁸¹ MCAG-OF — EURICH, RICHARD, Lawrence Haward to Richard Eurich, February 5, 1937.

²⁸² For example: Anon., "New Sculptures by Maurice Lambert," *The Studio* (January–June 1932), 1932.

²⁸³ Anon., "Art Exhibitions: Three Sculptors," *Times* (London), May 6, 1932. MCAG-OF — MUNTZ, ELIZABETH, Lawrence Haward to Robert Trevelyan, June 21, 1932

²⁸⁴ Jane Fraser and Liz Paul, "Art, Industry and Everyday Things: Manchester City Art Gallery and Industrial Art between the Wars," *The Journal of the Decorative Arts Society 1850 – the Present*, 1998, 43.

purpose of encouraging excellence of design and workmanship in British industry”²⁸⁵. By the 1930s interest in modern design education was beginning to circulate in art criticism, art colleges and museums.²⁸⁶ For example, in Herbert Read’s opinion:

The artistic quality of manufactured goods, especially in those countries influenced by the Bauhaus ideas of Professor Gropius, is undoubtedly higher than in Great Britain.²⁸⁷

At the end of the First World War, the British government decided that better design would be a key factor in improving sales figures from British manufacture and set up a special body called the Council of Industrial Design (CID) under the Board of Trade.²⁸⁸ The economic Slump of c.1929–34 also brought many in local and national government to the view that Britain’s failing industrial base could be improved if moves were made to provide for better design education.²⁸⁹ Manchester’s contribution to this strategy was to pull together design exemplars of ceramics, glass, textiles and printing in a new ‘Industrial Art Collection’ which was set up by Haward in 1929.²⁹⁰ The response from local industry and from the Manchester Art School, where the focus was still Fine Art and Crafts rather than industrial design, was disappointing.²⁹¹ However, Haward’s enthusiasm for his new ‘Industrial Art Collection’ was undimmed and in 1935 he got agreement for the terms of the RLC to be expanded to include commercial art, such as posters and book covers.²⁹² At this point Manchester and CAS ambitions diverged. Once industrial art became Manchester’s priority the CAS was less able to help them because their focus remained the fine arts.

Conclusions

Manchester’s collaboration with the CAS was successful as far as the Rutherston loan scheme was concerned because the city used their CAS donations and loans to supplement the collection, thus

²⁸⁵ John Grey, *Design and Industries Association — What it stands for* (London: The Design and Industries Association, 1947), 2.

²⁸⁶ For a discussion of Read and Pevsner’s influence on inter-war design training see: Wood, "Between God and the Saucepan," 174–75.

²⁸⁷ Herbert Read, *Art and Industry — the principles of industrial design* (London: Faber, 1934).

²⁸⁸ Grey, *Design and Industries Association — What it stands for*, 3.

²⁸⁹ For an analysis of the impact of the Slump on the British art market see: Stephenson, "Strategies of Situation."

²⁹⁰ "A history of the collections."; Fraser and Paul, "Art, Industry and Everyday Things: Manchester City Art Gallery and Industrial Art between the Wars."

²⁹¹ For a summary of the design training provided by Manchester Art school in 1937 see: Nikolaus Pevsner, *An Enquiry into Industrial Art in England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1937), 142–43.

²⁹² S.D. Cleveland, Rutherston Loan Scheme — April Report, April 12, 1935, MAGC - GB127, Vol. 15. S.D. Cleveland, Rutherston Loan Scheme — July Report, July 1935, MAGC - GB127, Vol. 15.

putting the artworks to strategic educational use. The CAS, meanwhile, gained the opportunity to influence art education in the region.

Charles Rutherston's role in the loan scheme was curtailed by his early death in 1927, but prior to this his friendships in the art collecting world allowed Manchester to supplement his collection with legacies and gifts. On his death, his widow, Essil Elmslie Rutherston, an artist herself, took over his role. She too was well acquainted with the artists of her generation, via the Slade, the Redfern Gallery and the Friday Club. Hence both Charles Rutherston and his wife's community and professional ties to the social networks of the art world were important factors in the collaboration between the CAS and Manchester.

For Manchester's permanent collection, the collaboration between the city and the CAS also demonstrates the impact of social networks in the art world in this period. It was the networking skills of Lawrence Hayward that brought the Rutherston collection to Manchester and his links to the CAS Committee, via the Cambridge alumni network, that got the sculpture *Erda* presented to Manchester rather than elsewhere.

Haward's pivotal role in this story might be the reason why the relationship between Manchester and the CAS was less fruitful from the late 1930s. His most important project between 1930 and 1939 was the creation of the 'Industrial Art Collection'.²⁹³ As Manchester's priorities changed and improved industrial design became their priority less of his time and energy was spent maintaining the quality of the RLC. The changing usage of the RLC in this period also meant that the works the CAS were lending or giving to Manchester were more likely to be placed in secondary schools than art colleges and thus less able to influence the development of British art.

The case of Manchester shows us that the CAS was essentially diffusing examples of its particular concept of modern art, with its limited repertoire of artists mostly from the same generation. The success of Fry's promotion of the Post-Impressionism of Van Gogh, Matisse and Cezanne, and Clive Bell's espousal of 'significant form' can be seen in Haward's selection of works for the RLC by artists who had absorbed their ideas. As seen in the previous chapter's discussion of purchases made from 1909–17, the CAS buyers, patrons and artists involved seem, in the majority of cases, to have shared professional and community networks.

Manchester, happily, was as fond of figurative art and the artists preferred by the CAS as they were. The city provided a good home for the art made by artists that the Society wanted to support,

²⁹³ Fraser and Paul, "Art, Industry and Everyday Things: Manchester City Art Gallery and Industrial Art between the Wars."

and via the RLC, diffused it to a far larger audience than would normally have visited their galleries. At first Manchester and the CAS had a successful working relationship with both parties getting what they wanted: the Society got to promote its idea of modern art, Manchester got good stock for the Rutherford loan scheme and for its permanent collection. With the advent of economic difficulties in the 1930s, Manchester's focus moved to industrial design as a means to improve sales of goods made in the city. As a result, the art donated by the CAS was demoted to school use and hence, as their ambitions diverged, the CAS had less opportunity to promote contemporary fine art.

Chapter 4

The CAS as consultants: Belfast

In this chapter I will look at the background to Belfast's decision to create a modern art collection and engage the CAS to buy it for them in 1929. I will examine how the CAS managed the selection of the paintings over the following four years and what might have affected their purchasing decisions. The first tranche of paintings were exhibited in London prior to being shipped to Belfast so I will also contrast the reception of the paintings in the two cities.

In the early twentieth century, a bird's-eye view of Manchester and Belfast would have given the impression of two rather similar cities. In both, trade relied on access to the sea — in Manchester, via the Ship Canal; in Belfast via the Victoria Chanel — the building of which in 1839–41 enabled the city to develop shipbuilding and heavy engineering businesses. Both cities manufactured and processed cloth — in Manchester cotton and wool; in Belfast linen. In both cities industrialists built up not just their fortunes, but also cultural networks in the form of learned societies. Manchester's Art Museum at Ancoats opened in 1886; Belfast's Belfast Free Public Library in 1888, with its fine art exhibition space opening in 1890. With a population of around 350,000 in 1900, Belfast was the ninth largest city in the British Isles and was similar in size and wealth to Dublin which was at that point the administrative capital of Ireland under British rule.²⁹⁴ (At the turn of the twentieth century, Belfast briefly overtook Dublin as the largest city in Ireland, its linen production the largest in the world.)²⁹⁵ However, with a population of just over 700,000 in 1911, Manchester was twice the size of Belfast.²⁹⁶

Belfast was colonised by the Normans in 1177. In the seventeenth century the north of Ireland's underlying demographic changed dramatically when James I, in an attempt to suppress the indigenous Gaelic-speaking Catholic population, encouraged the immigration of English and Scottish Protestants to the Ulster region — the so-called Plantation of Ulster.²⁹⁷ The wealth of the city was largely controlled by Protestants; the rural population was largely Catholic. In the nineteenth century demand for labour in the shipbuilding and other industries encouraged Ulster's rural Catholics to migrate to the city. Once there, Catholic workers encountered widespread discrimination, for example

²⁹⁴ Anne Power, Jörg Plöger, and Astrid Winkler, *Phoenix cities: the fall and rise of great industrial cities* (Bristol: Policy Press, 2010), 173.

²⁹⁵ Power, Plöger, and Winkler, *Phoenix cities*, 172.

²⁹⁶ 'Table H', "A Vision of Britain: Census of 1911."

²⁹⁷ Power, Plöger, and Winkler, *Phoenix cities*, 171.

at the shipbuilders, Harland and Wolff, where a majority Protestant workforce ensured that Catholic workers were the first to be laid off in times of crisis.²⁹⁸ The resulting tension between Catholics and Protestants brought civil unrest. The formation of the Protestant Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF) in 1912 — who favoured union with the rest of the British Isles — and the mainly Catholic, nationalist Irish Republican Army (IRA) in 1914 then set the scene for conflict which resulted in the partition of Ireland in 1921.²⁹⁹ Thus, in the 1920s and 1930s, Manchester and Belfast had different socio-political aspirations. Whereas Manchester aspired to be England's second city, Belfast was working hard to assume a new role as the capital of the newly created province of Northern Ireland.

Both cities were listed as CAS subscribers by 1913, but their interaction with the Society differs significantly. Manchester's curator Lawrence Haward made careful selections from CAS artworks to supplement an existing collection. By contrast, Belfast gave the CAS £6,425 15s 6d (approximately £285,400 in today's money) to buy the city a collection of modern and contemporary British art from scratch.³⁰⁰ This was the first time that the CAS acted as art consultants and the first time that they had had such a large amount of money to spend. They purchased forty-one paintings for Belfast. The project gave the opportunity for their buyers "to encourage, by the purchase and exhibition of chosen examples of their work, painters who in other countries would enjoy a certain official patronage".³⁰¹ But did this happen?

Ireland before the First World War

Why might Belfast have decided to buy a collection of modern and contemporary art? One possible response takes us to Dublin in 1903. At the end of the nineteenth century the nationalist cause in Ireland was linked closely to an Irish cultural renaissance centred in the capital and supported by writers such as William Butler Yeats (1865–1939). It was in Dublin where the idea of an Irish gallery of Modern Art was first proposed by the Irish born, London-based art dealer, collector and connoisseur Hugh Lane (1875–1915). Lane was also, before the First World War, the CAS connection to Ireland.

Lane was born in Cork, but his career as an art dealer began in London working as a gallery assistant for Martin Colnaghi in 1893.³⁰² By 1901, he was a well-established and successful dealer, well-

²⁹⁸ John Whyte, "How much discrimination was there under the Unionist regime 1921–68?," in *Contemporary Irish Studies*, ed. Tom Gallagher and James O'Connell (Manchester University Press, 1983), 17.

²⁹⁹ Power, Plöger, and Winkler, *Phoenix cities*, 173.

³⁰⁰ UMALP— July 4, 1932 Letter from Arthur Deane to Lord Ivor Spencer Churchill. Sterling equivalent from http://www.moneysorter.co.uk/calculator_inflation2.html#calculator, accessed 13/Sep/2017

³⁰¹ Contemporary Art Society, *Report 1929* (London: The Pelican Press, 1930), 3.

³⁰² Thomas Bodkin, *Hugh Lane and his pictures*, 3rd ed. (Dublin: The Stationery Office for An Chomhairle Ealaíon (The Arts Council), 1956), 1-2.

connected both in both the English and Irish art world. Lane's involvement in Ireland's cultural renaissance started with a visit to his maternal aunt, the Anglo-Irish nationalist and writer, Lady Augusta Gregory (1852–1932) at Coole Park in Galway that year.³⁰³ She had been friends with W.B. Yeats since 1897 — they were collaborators in the project to revitalise the Irish stage. Both were members of the Protestant, Anglo-Irish minority that had controlled the economic, political, social, and cultural life of Ireland since at least the end of the seventeenth century. They were leading members of the group that would go on to create the Irish Literary Theatre company, the Irish National Theatre Society and the Abbey Theatre.³⁰⁴

The passionate support that Lane developed for Irish art can be linked to this meeting — Yeats the poet being the son of the artist John Butler Yeats (1839–1922), and the brother of Jack Butler Yeats (1871–1957) also an artist. For ten days in late 1901 works by Yeats senior and his friend and fellow member of the Royal Hibernian Academy (RHA), the French-trained Irish landscape artist Nathaniel Hone the Younger (1831–1917), were exhibited in Yeats's Dublin studio.³⁰⁵ Impressed by the exhibits, Lane commissioned Yeats to paint a series of portraits of distinguished Irishmen (the task started by Yeats senior was later completed by William Orpen).³⁰⁶ Moved to help the RHA's finances, Lane organised a winter exhibition of Old Masters in 1902 — all borrowed from stately homes in Ireland. As a result of this exhibition, and the public interest which it engendered, Sir Thomas Drew, President of the Academy wrote to the *Irish Times* demanding that the government give the institution more money and a new building which would both the Academy and a modern art gallery.³⁰⁷ He reasoned:

Art is in the air in Dublin just now. Mr Lane's enterprise has given Dublin an Exhibition so charming and surprising as to attract for a few weeks... all that is best in cultured society in Ireland... An Academy House in the educational centre of Dublin, with the grouped Art Institutions for passing exhibitions of Living Art, and the permanent gallery of modern and living artists' works, as advocated by him, are the least that Dublin, among English and Irish cities should now stand for.³⁰⁸

³⁰³ Joseph Hone, *W. B. Yeats, 1865–1939* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press Ltd, 1989), 182.

³⁰⁴ David A. Ross, *Critical companion to William Butler Yeats: a literary reference to his life and work*, Facts on File library of world literature, (New York: Facts On File, 2009), 475. Table of contents only
<http://www.loc.gov/catdir/toc/ecip0814/2008013642.html>.

³⁰⁵ Bodkin, *Hugh Lane and his pictures*, 4.

³⁰⁶ The paintings are now in the Irish National Portrait Gallery. Bodkin, *Hugh Lane and his pictures*, 5.

³⁰⁷ Cyril Barrett and Jeanne Sheehy, "Visual Arts and Society, 1900–1921," in *A New History of Ireland: Ireland under the Union, 1870–1921*, ed. W.E. Vaughan (Oxford University Press, 2010), 476.

³⁰⁸ Bodkin, *Hugh Lane and his pictures*, 7.

It was a long haul to get the project off the ground, with more exhibitions, letters to the press, and negotiations with the British government to follow. Art was indeed in the air and press coverage of Lane's 'Exhibition of a Selection of Works by Irish Painters' at the Dublin Guildhall in 1904 must have impressed not those only in Dublin, but also art lovers in Belfast.³⁰⁹ Lane expounded his ideas in the Introduction to the exhibition's catalogue:

We have in the Dublin National Gallery collection of the works of Old Masters which it would be hard to match in the United Kingdom outside London. But there is not in Ireland one single accessible collection or masterpiece of modern contemporary art... A gallery of Irish and modern art in Dublin would create a standard of taste, and a feeling of the relative importance of painters. This would encourage the purchase of pictures, for people will not purchase where they do not know.

Such a gallery would be as necessary to the student if we are to have a distinct school of painting in Ireland, for it is one's contemporaries that teach one the most. They are busy with the same problems of expression as oneself, for almost every artist expresses the soul of his own age.³¹⁰

Lane followed up this exhibition with another in 1905 — paintings from his own collection and loans from the dealer Paul Durand Ruel. In a preface to its catalogue he rejoiced, "We have here the nucleus for a gallery of Modern and Contemporary Art" and offered to donate his own collection if such a gallery were to be created in Dublin.³¹¹

Hugh Lane's name is the golden thread that runs through the project to create a modern art gallery in Dublin, but he was not alone. His friend and supporter was the art writer Ellen Duncan (1850–1937). She was one of the founders of the United Arts Club (UAC) in Dublin in 1907 (WB Yeats became one of its Vice-Presidents in 1910). As a writer for the *Burlington Magazine*, she knew both Roger Fry and Frank Rutter.³¹² She was the curator and instigator of the *Exhibition of Works by Post-Impressionist Painters* (1911) and *Modern French Pictures* (1912) at the UAC.³¹³ Funds to create the Municipal Gallery of Modern Art were gathered with the support of Duncan, the UAC, the circle of

³⁰⁹ Bodkin, *Hugh Lane and his pictures*, 8-10.

³¹⁰ Bodkin, *Hugh Lane and his pictures*, 10.

³¹¹ Bodkin, *Hugh Lane and his pictures*, 12.

³¹² Patricia Boylan, "Mrs. Duncan's Vocation," *Irish Arts Review Yearbook* 12 (1996): 98,100.

³¹³ See: Róisín Kennedy, "Transmitting Avant-garde Art: Post-impressionism in a Dublin Context," *Visual Resources* 31, no. 1-2 (2015).

Yeats and Lady Gregory and when the gallery finally opened, in 1913, Duncan was its first official Curator.³¹⁴

In its nascent form, the gallery had opened in 1908 in a rented house at 17 Harcourt Street.³¹⁵ Lane lent paintings, wrote the first catalogue *pro bono* and arranged hang with the aid of his friend and assistant Thomas Bodkin (1887–1961).³¹⁶ Harcourt Street was to be a temporary location; Lane was working toward the construction of the new gallery — against council opposition — when he drowned during the sinking of the RMS *Lusitania* in 1915.³¹⁷ The paintings which he had promised to Dublin became embroiled in controversy when a codicil to his will — written in his handwriting, signed but alas not witnessed — was found. The last witnessed version of Lane's will left his collection of modern paintings to the National Gallery in London; the unwitnessed codicil left it to the City of Dublin provided they built a gallery to house it within five years of his death.³¹⁸ Among the thirty-nine paintings involved were masterpieces such as Manet's *La Musique aux Tuileries* (1862), *Sur la Plage* by Degas (1869–1870), Renoir's *Les Parapluies* (1886) and works by Morisot and Camille Pissarro. It would take until 1993 for pressure on the British Government to allow thirty-one of the paintings to be returned to Ireland. The remaining eight — works by Manet, Monet, Pissarro, Renoir, Morisot, Vuillard and Degas — are shared between London and Dublin on a six-year cycle.³¹⁹

Lane's collecting reflected not only his art dealership but also his friendships with contemporary artists and critics as evidenced by William Orpen's 1909 *Homage to Manet* (Plate 26). Lane lived between London and Dublin, and the room depicted was in Lane's house in South Bolton Gardens, which was later acquired by Orpen and used as a studio. In the painting, the Irish novelist and art critic George Moore (1852–1933) reads aloud from a newspaper, Philip Wilson Steer sits directly below Manet's portrait of his student *Eva Gonzalès* (1870, National Gallery, London) which was part of Lane's personal collection at the time. D.S. MacColl occupies his hands with a loop of red ribbon, Lane is seated at the far right, hand to his head, Henry Tonks stands closest to the Manet and Walter Sickert stands at the far right. Dublin-born Orpen, though based in London was a member of the United Arts Club.³²⁰ He met Lane through an exhibition of Irish art that the dealer had organized in London's

³¹⁴ Boylan, "Mrs. Duncan's Vocation," 101.

³¹⁵ Boylan, "Mrs. Duncan's Vocation," 98–99.

³¹⁶ Bodkin, *Hugh Lane and his pictures*, 18.

³¹⁷ Anon., "The *Lusitania* Sunk," *Times* (London), May 8, 1915.

³¹⁸ Augusta Gregory, "Sir Hugh Lane's Pictures," *Times* (London), December 6, 1916.

³¹⁹ "The story of masterpieces collected by Sir Hugh Lane," accessed June 12, 2021, <https://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/about-us/history/collectors-and-benefactors/sir-hugh-lane>.

³²⁰ Kennedy, "Transmitting Avant-garde Art: Post-impressionism in a Dublin Context," 69.

Guildhall Gallery in 1904.³²¹ Four months later they travelled on holiday together to Paris and Madrid. According to Orpen, it was while travelling in Spain that he converted Lane to Manet's work.³²²

Before the First World War Lane was the CAS connection to Ireland, probably introduced to the Society by D.S. MacColl who was on the Committee and at the meeting in 1910 when Lane was nominated as a CAS Vice President. Lane accepted the offer.³²³ In 1911, again with MacColl at the meeting, Lane was nominated to serve on the CAS Executive Committee.³²⁴

Although Lane was occupied with developments in Dublin, Belfast was also in the picture; a new art gallery was planned and in 1911 the CAS confirmed "the provisional arrangement made with the Curator of the Belfast Art Gallery to act as advisors on purchases on payment of out of pocket expenses and on receiving an annual subscription".³²⁵

Belfast's museums and galleries

Just as in Manchester, the educational mission of public collections was central to Belfast's administrative policy because during the nineteenth century the working classes were, finally, given the right to have their Sundays off. It was felt that libraries and museums would keep them away from the temptations of public houses and the music halls.³²⁶ The history of Belfast's museums follows the pattern that we saw in Manchester. Initially collections were held by private societies and only later taken into the control of the city.

The earliest collection open to the public in Belfast was that of the Belfast Natural History and Philosophical Society, founded in 1821. By 1827, the Society was working on plans to raise funds to build a home for their collection of seashells, fossils and ornithological specimens. They worked quickly — the Belfast Natural History and Philosophical Society Museum opened at 7 College Square North in November 1831. There were lecture rooms and offices on the ground floor. The collection was on the top two floors and, from 1833, these upper rooms were open to the public on Wednesdays and Saturdays (see Figure 6).³²⁷

³²¹ Barbara Dawson, *Hugh Lane: founder of a gallery of modern art for Ireland* (London: Scala, 2008), 35.

³²² Bodkin, *Hugh Lane and his pictures*, 16.

³²³ CASCM — 9215/2/2/1, Meeting June 15, 1910 — Lane nominated as Vice President; Meeting Wednesday July 13, 1910 — agreed.

³²⁴ CASCM — 9215/2/2/1, Meeting May 4, 1911 — Lane asked to serve on the Executive Committee.

³²⁵ Ibid.

³²⁶ Waterfield, *The People's Galleries*.

³²⁷ Noel Nesbitt, *A Museum in Belfast* (Antrim: W & G Baird Ltd, 1979), 9–11.



Figure 6. Peter Glover, *The Belfast Natural History and Philosophical Society Museum*, 2015, accessed March 10, 2018, <http://www.belfastsociety.com/the-building/>

Belfast's town council had been working towards creating a public library since the 1850s. The legal challenge of the Council of Public Libraries Act of 1882 forced their hand and led to the establishment of the Belfast Free Public Library which opened on Royal Avenue in October 1888. In the Library, three rooms were set aside on the top floor for temporary art exhibitions and the institution was renamed the Belfast Free Public Library, Art Gallery and Museum in 1890. By the turn of the century, it had its own curator, and a small permanent collection of paintings and engravings donated by wealthy individuals. Meanwhile, the Natural History Museum — which by now included antiquities and paintings — was finding it difficult to maintain standards with private funding. In 1906 its council recommended that Belfast Corporation take over their building and its contents — on condition that

they gave the public access to the collection and allowed the building to be used for Society meetings as before. This was formally agreed by the society in February 1907, but it took until 1909 for a complete agreement to be reached with the Corporation, and the collection was only handed over in 1910.³²⁸ The transfer meant that the municipal collection gained large natural history, ethnographic and local history holdings (including an Egyptian mummy and a historical series of spinning wheels) but very little fine art.³²⁹

From 1905 Belfast's Art Gallery and Museum became a separate organisation, independent of the Library. A new curator, Arthur Deane (1875–1954) was recruited that year. Deane was a Glasgow-born botanist, who was previously Assistant Curator of the Warrington Museum.³³⁰ His selection was easily justified by the museum's large natural history holdings.

In April 1906, one of Deane's first jobs was assisting Hugh Lane in a loan exhibition of modern paintings held in the Belfast Free Library and sponsored by the Belfast Arts Society, the Ulster Society of Architects and the Ulster Art Club.³³¹ 1906 was also the year that Belfast's palatial Neo-Baroque City Hall designed by Sir Brumwell Thomas (1868–1948) was inaugurated. Just as Manchester aspired to be England's second city Belfast began to think of challenging Dublin as not only the financial but also the cultural capital of Ireland. That year, plans to build a new public museum and art gallery for the city began to gain traction. Opening the Hugh Lane exhibition, Sir James Henderson (1848–1914), the Chairman of the Library and Technical Instruction Committee, insisted that an art gallery was need in the city "because they had in Belfast not only ability of an industrial kind, but also of an intellectual kind".³³²

The Lloyd Patterson Collection

The growing idea of Belfast as a cultural capital must have been one of the factors behind the decision of two key members of the Council of the Belfast Natural History and Philosophical Society Museum to donate their art collections to the city in 1906. They were the Irish naturalist and linen merchant Sir Robert Lloyd Patterson (1836–1906) and William Thomas Braithwaite (1844–1921).

³²⁸ Belfast Natural History and Philosophical Society, *Report and Proceedings of the Belfast Natural History and Philosophical Society 1909–1910* (Belfast: Mayne & Boyd, 1911), 25, <https://archive.org/details/reportproceeding09belf>.

³²⁹ Nesbitt, *A Museum in Belfast*, 11.

³³⁰ 'DEANE, ARTHUR. 06/06/1875-12/01/1954. Ref: 2670' in C.D. Waterston and A. Macmillan Shearer, *Biographical Index of Former Fellows of the Royal Society of Edinburgh 1783–2002*, 1 (Edinburgh: The Royal Society of Edinburgh, 2006), https://www.rse.org.uk/cms/files/fellows/biographical_index/fells_indexp1.pdf.

³³¹ Anon., "Ireland," *Times* (London), Apr 21, 1906.

³³² Anon., "Ireland."

Patterson was the second son second son of Robert Patterson F.R.S. (1802–1872), one of the founders of the Belfast Natural History Society. Braithwaite was the co-founder of the public house chain of Braithwaite & McCann, a Freemason and world famed rifle shot. On September 27, 1906, he seconded the motion that the Natural History Society cede its collection to the Municipal Museum.³³³ (Shortly afterwards the donation of his own collection of Old Masters and antiquities to the institution was made public.)³³⁴

Sir Robert Lloyd Patterson died on January 29, 1906. He bequeathed to the Corporation of Belfast a collection of 135 pictures, drawings, prints and bronzes along with £6,000 (approximately £750,000 in 2021) to build a gallery to house them.³³⁵ The works were to be kept together and displayed as the 'Lloyd Patterson Collection'.³³⁶ The bequest would become available on the death of Lady Patterson, who retained a life interest. Taking into consideration these promised acquisitions in 1910, the Art Gallery and Museum Subcommittee proposed that their gallery would contain:

- a) Watercolour paintings — illustrating the progress of art
- b) Topographical drawings and maps of old Belfast
- c) Paintings of the modern French school
- d) Paintings of the modern British school³³⁷

The idea of collecting paintings of the modern French and British schools would have been a popular option in the run-up to the First World War. In 1913 a second exhibition of twenty-five modern paintings from Hugh Lane's collection took place in Belfast — late nineteenth-century works including four by Nathaniel Hone the Younger.³³⁸ Belfast's first subscription to the CAS was recorded in 1913.³³⁹ The next year, Belfast hosted a loan exhibition of works from the CAS collection which had

³³³ Belfast Natural History and Philosophical Society, *Report and Proceedings of the Belfast Natural History and Philosophical Society 1906–1907* (Belfast: Mayne & Boyd, 1908).

³³⁴ Anon., "Municipal Museum and Art Gallery: Mr W.T. Braithwaite's Donations," *The Northern Whig* (Antrim) October 5, 1906.

³³⁵ Inflation calculator: <https://www.in2013dollars.com/UK-inflation>

³³⁶ Kennedy, *A catalogue of the Permanent Collection: 1 British Art 1900–1937 Robert Lloyd Patterson Collection*, 3.

³³⁷ Nesbitt, *A Museum in Belfast*, 29,31.

³³⁸ Arthur Deane, "Illustrated catalogue : loan exhibition of modern paintings lent by Sir Hugh Lane : October, 1913," ed. Belfast Public Art Gallery and Museum (Belfast, 1913).

<http://catalogue.nli.ie/Record/vtls000639703/HierarchyTree#page/1/mode/1up>.

³³⁹ Contemporary Art Society, *Report 1914–19*, 8.

previously been shown in Liverpool, Sheffield, and Leicester.³⁴⁰ In 1910 it had been assumed that the Lloyd Patterson bequest would form the core of Belfast's modern British art holdings.³⁴¹ Doubts must have begun to arise as to the wisdom of this idea, because in 1911 the CAS agreed to act as buying advisors to Belfast on payment of out of pocket expenses and on receiving an annual subscription.³⁴² Nothing came of this arrangement before the start of the war.

By 1910, it was apparent that Belfast's Museum would need a new building. Potential sites began to be considered in November that year and by 1911 it was decided that the Botanic Gardens just off Stranmillis Road would be the best site. A public competition was advertised in 1913 throughout the United Kingdom, with the project awarded to the Edinburgh architect James Cumming Wynnes on May 1, 1914. However, with the outbreak of war, work had to be halted and would not restart until after 1923, by which time Belfast had seen the War of Independence, civil war, partition and the creation of Northern Ireland and the Irish Free State.³⁴³

Belfast after Partition

By the time building work commenced on the new museum, Ireland had been partitioned and Belfast was the capital of the newly created province of Northern Ireland. The British government — anxious to support the Unionists — was ready to provide money to help the city acquire the trappings needed for a new administration. It granted the Corporation of Belfast a loan of £80,000 towards the cost of erecting the first half of its new museum and the foundation stone was laid on July 22, 1924.³⁴⁴ An art gallery was to occupy the second floor; there were to be five picture galleries — one dedicated to the Lloyd Patterson Collection — and two sculpture halls.³⁴⁵ The question then was... what was there to hang in the new galleries?

Braithwaite and the Natural History Museum had provided Old Master paintings. Thomas McGowan, a local printer, had donated a collection of watercolour views of Belfast.³⁴⁶ In 1929, for the opening of the new gallery, Belfast-born Sir John Lavery RA (1856–1941) donated thirty-nine of his

³⁴⁰ Contemporary Art Society, "Special exhibition of modern paintings in oil and water colours, lent by the Contemporary Art Society, London : November, 1914," ed. Belfast Public Art Gallery and Museum (Belfast, 1914).

³⁴¹ Nesbitt, *A Museum in Belfast*, 31.

³⁴² CASC — 9215/2/2/1, Minutes Thursday May 4, 1911

³⁴³ Nesbitt, *A Museum in Belfast*, 28–29.

³⁴⁴ Nesbitt, *A Museum in Belfast*, 29–30.

³⁴⁵ Nesbitt, *A Museum in Belfast*, 35.

³⁴⁶ Nesbitt, *A Museum in Belfast*, 31.

own paintings, including twelve formal portraits of Northern Irish notables in their robes of office.³⁴⁷ There were landscape paintings and portraits of his wife and family as well, yet the artist's self-portrait was placed above the Ulster worthies — politicians and leaders of the Protestant and Catholic Church in Northern Ireland — who were hung 'on the line'. It is easy to read this room, ostensibly an art gallery, as an act of propaganda, with those who had ensured the continuity of links with mainland Britain gazing solemnly at visitors (see Figure 7).

³⁴⁷ *Lord Carson (1854–1935), PC*, 1922, oil on canvas, 91.4 x 71.1 cm (BELUM.U641); *Joseph MacRory (1861–1945), DD, Archiepiscopus Armachanus Totius Hiberniae Primus*, 1928, oil on canvas, 102.1 x 76.7 cm (BELUM.U62); *The Marquess of Londonderry (1878–1949), KG, Chancellor of the Queen's University of Belfast*, c.1924, oil on canvas, 101.6 x 76.2 cm (BELUM.U638); *Right Honourable the Viscount Craigavon (1871–1940), First Prime Minister of Northern Ireland*, c.1923, 91.5 x 71.1 cm (BELUM.U617); *His Eminence Cardinal Logue (1840–1924)*, 1920, oil on canvas, 79.1 x 64.1 cm (BELUM.U64); *Right Reverend Dr Charles T. P. Grierson (1857–1935), Bishop of Down and Dromore*, 1928, oil on canvas, 76.2 x 63.5 cm (BELUM.U637); *The Right Honourable Hugh O'Neill (1883–1982), PC, First Speaker of the House of Commons, Northern Ireland*, 1922, oil on canvas, 76.3 x 63.6 cm (BELUM.U75); *Sir Joseph Davison (d.1948)*, 1928, oil on board, 76.1 x 63.7 cm (BELUM.U76); *Most Reverend Charles Frederick D'Arcy (1859–1938), MA, DD, Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of All Ireland*, 1928, oil on canvas, 102.1 x 76.3 cm (BELUM.U61); *Joseph Devlin (1871–1934), MP*, 1928, oil on canvas, 102.1 x 76.7 cm (BELUM.U63); *The Most Honourable the Marquess of Dufferin and Ava (1875–1930), First Speaker of the Senate, Northern Ireland*, nd, oil on canvas, 76.2 x 63.5 cm (BELUM.U636); *Sir Edward Mervyn Archdale (1853–1943), PC, DL*, 1928, oil on canvas, 76.8 x 64.2, (BELUM.U74).



Figure 7. Unknown Photographer, *Sir John and Lady Lavery standing in front of display of Lavery paintings in the Ulster Museum, May 1929*, Ulster Museum, Belfast (BELUM.Y.W.10.79.67)
 © National Museums NI

Lloyd Patterson’s bequest was subject to the life interest of Lady Patterson. In 1919 she placed the collection in the custody of the Belfast Corporation and it was exhibited from November of that year. Following her death in 1926 the Trustees of the bequest sent the Corporation a cheque for the £6,000 that Patterson had left to build a gallery for his collection.³⁴⁸ The money was no longer needed for construction — government funding had been found — so it could be allocated for new acquisitions. By that time doubts must have surfaced as to the suitability of Lloyd Patterson’s collection to represent ‘modern painting’ — in 1927, the art critic Frank Rutter was asked to review its contents and give his opinion as to what should be retained or sold. Rutter’s judgement was damning:

... this collection as a whole does not retain the standard of artistic interest sufficiently high to justify its acceptance by and permanent exhibition at the Art Gallery of a great city. I must go further and say that to exhibit pictures of this class would bring discredit on the Art Gallery in

³⁴⁸ Kennedy, *A catalogue of the Permanent Collection: 1 British Art 1900–1937 Robert Lloyd Patterson Collection*, 3.

which they were hung and would be calculated to do actual harm from an educational point of view, since these pictures would give false standards of taste to the uninformed and ignorant.³⁴⁹

Belfast decided to retain those works of local historical interest and sell the rest of Lloyd Patterson's collection. They would then be able to use the proceeds from the sale, together with the £6,000, to purchase a new set of paintings.³⁵⁰ In order to do this, the terms of the will had to be challenged in the Chancery Division of the High Court; and the case was not resolved until January 1929. The court granted the city the power to dispose of the bequest with two provisos: first that the new collection should be hung as the 'Lloyd Patterson collection' to commemorate the donor's generosity; and second that expert assistance should be found for the purchase of new pictures.³⁵¹

Arthur Deane had by this time been Belfast's curator for twenty-three years. He proposed that the new collection be of works by modern and contemporary Irish artists, and writing to the Libraries, Museums and Art Committee, noted that:

The value of the collection of Old Masters is undisputed and becomes more fully recognised with each year... People are coming from all over the world to learn from them but what many people do not realise is that the same pictures were first acquired as moderns, in their own day, bought while the paint was fresh on the canvas. This is really the only way to buy pictures, from the artists themselves, and the way that all really valuable collections were made. I propose that the works to be henceforth known as the Lloyd Patterson collection should be works by Irish artists of today. Irish by birth or descent.³⁵²

This sounds very much like Hugh Lane's introduction to the Dublin Guildhall exhibition of 1904.³⁵³ That Deane was building on Lane's legacy is further evidenced by his suggestion that any purchases be made with the help of Lane's assistant Dr Thomas Bodkin of the National Gallery of Dublin.³⁵⁴ However, after Lane's death, Bodkin was busy contesting the allocation of the Hugh Lane Bequest to London.³⁵⁵ He was, by 1929, Director of the National Gallery of Ireland and might have been too busy to assist. There was also the matter of politics: Bodkin's Dublin museum had become the national

³⁴⁹ UMALP — Frank Rutter, *Report on the Lloyd Patterson collection, to the chairman and committee of the Belfast Art Gallery*, December 13, 1927.

³⁵⁰ UMALP — Arthur Deane to Sir C.K. Butler, CAS March 7, 1929.

³⁵¹ Anon., "LLOYD PATTERSON PICTURES," *Northern Whig and Belfast Post* (Antrim), January 29, 1929.

³⁵² UMALP — Arthur Deane 'The Lloyd Patterson Collection' February 1929.

³⁵³ Bodkin, *Hugh Lane and his pictures*, 8–10.

³⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵⁵ Witness Bodkin, *Hugh Lane and his pictures*.

museum of the Republican Irish Free State in 1921; Deane's was controlled by the Unionist Corporation of Belfast. Partition, when it came, had been marked by civil war in the south and civic unrest, with sectarian murders in the north. For the Corporation of Belfast, a decision to use Dublin's resources would have been politically unsustainable. On March 7, 1929 Deane asked the CAS to help.³⁵⁶ Evidently he had not been in close contact with the Society before this request — his letter was addressed to Sir Cyril Kendall Butler (1864–1936) as Honorary Secretary of the Society; he was evidently unaware that the post was now held by Lord Ivor Spencer-Churchill (1898–1956).³⁵⁷

The CAS appointed a sub-committee of three buyers: Edward (Eddie) Marsh, Spencer-Churchill (who preferred to be known as Ivor Churchill) and George Charles Montagu, 9th Earl of Sandwich. As CAS Honorary Secretary, Churchill was the official liaison with Belfast.

When Deane first wrote to the CAS the new gallery was planned to open in May.³⁵⁸ In the event, the date was moved back to July 4, 1929 so the CAS had just over two months to form a collection.³⁵⁹ Deane suggested the new gallery be filled with works similar to those shown in the 1914 CAS loan exhibition in Belfast. He sent a floor plan of the new gallery so that the buyers could consider the overall hang when selecting the size and number of works they bought.³⁶⁰ After his first meeting with the CAS, he confirmed that Belfast was looking for “a representative collection, of say 25 to 30 works, of different phases of Modern Art”.³⁶¹ Deane appears not to have specified a list of Belfast's preferred artists, though a list was sent after the first tranche of twenty paintings had been delivered (see Appendix 8).³⁶²

The CAS Buying Team

We have no record of how the three CAS buyers were chosen but we know that the selection took place at a meeting on March 21, 1929 called by Churchill as Hon. Secretary.³⁶³ That the buying team was in place before the Belfast delegates met the CAS in London on April 24, 1929 is evidenced by Deane and Councillor Mercer, the Deputy Chairman of the Art Committee, being shown Augustus John's *Vivien* (Plate 27) at that meeting — which the CAS had already reserved on their behalf.³⁶⁴ At

³⁵⁶ UMALP — Arthur Deane to Ivor Churchill, March 7, 1929.

³⁵⁷ UMALP — Sir C.K. Butler to Arthur Deane, March 9, 1929.

³⁵⁸ UMALP — Arthur Deane to Ivor Churchill, March 7, 1929.

³⁵⁹ UMALP — Arthur Deane to Ivor Churchill, June 15, 1929.

³⁶⁰ UMALP — Arthur Deane to Ivor Churchill, March 7, 1929.

³⁶¹ UMALP — Arthur Deane to Ivor Churchill, April 26, 1929.

³⁶² UMALP — Arthur Deane to Ivor Churchill, April 22, 1930.

³⁶³ UMALP — H.S. Ede to George Montagu, March 15, 1929; Ivor Churchill to Arthur Deane, March 22, 1929.

³⁶⁴ UMALP — Ivor Churchill to Arthur Deane, April 25, 1929.

£500, the work was relatively expensive and a sizeable chunk of the £6,000 which the buyers were certain would be available. It was however a relatively safe purchase. John was one of the most highly regarded painters in Britain at that time — the *Times* called him “probably the most naturally gifted painter in Europe” and had described the portrait as “one of the finest that Mr John has painted”.³⁶⁵

The day after the meeting Churchill wrote to confirm that the CAS would accept the role of buyers. However, he insisted that first, the Society had a free hand in the selection of the works, and second, that they could make the purchases out of hand without obtaining the agreement of the Libraries, Museums and Art Committee beforehand.³⁶⁶ The second condition was refused but Deane assured Churchill there was no possibility of any CAS purchase decisions being vetoed.³⁶⁷

Edward (Eddie) Marsh (1872–1953)

Blessed with a pair of tufted eyebrows that would impress an Eagle owl, Edward (Eddie) Marsh was at first sight an unlikely patron of the arts — Personal Private Secretary to Winston Churchill for most of his career, his civil service salary alone would not have allowed for generous patronage. His resources were expanded by a family inheritance. On his mother’s side he was descended from the Prime Minister Spencer Perceval, and thus inherited some of the £50,000 parliamentary grant awarded to Perceval's family following his assassination in the House in 1812. Marsh called it his “murder money”; he spent it not only on art but also on literature his other great passion.³⁶⁸

A graduate of Trinity College, and a Cambridge Apostle, Marsh was a contemporary of Roger Fry, the poet Robert C. Trevelyan and Desmond MacCarthy (1877–1952).³⁶⁹ His artistic patronage began early — 1896 found him donating money towards Roger Fry’s first exhibition of paintings (Trevelyan was a mutual friend).³⁷⁰ Marsh’s writing career also began at university, when he took on the role of theatre and music critic for the *Cambridge Observer* in 1892.³⁷¹ The editor was a friend and fellow Trinity student Oswald Sickert (1871–1973), younger brother of Walter, the artist.³⁷² Marsh later remarked that he would have had an infinitely more valuable collection had he bought a Sickert when

³⁶⁵ Anon., "Art Exhibitions. Mr Augustus John R.A.," *Times* (London), Apr 27, 1929.

³⁶⁶ UMALP — Ivor Churchill to Arthur Deane, April 25, 1929.

³⁶⁷ UMALP — Arthur Deane to Ivor Churchill, May 6, 1929.

³⁶⁸ W. C. Lubenow, *The Cambridge Apostles, 1820–1914: liberalism, imagination, and friendship in British intellectual and professional life* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 131.

³⁶⁹ Lubenow, *The Cambridge Apostles, 1820–1914*, 158–59.

³⁷⁰ Christopher Hassall, *Edward Marsh, patron of the arts: a biography* ([London]: Longmans, 1959), 77.

³⁷¹ Hassall, *Edward Marsh*, 28.

³⁷² "Sickert, Oswald, Valentine", "A Cambridge Alumni Database," accessed January 12, 2017, <http://venn.lib.cam.ac.uk/Documents/acad/intro.html>.

he first encountered the artist, but he did not.³⁷³ His collecting began in 1901 when he relied on the advice of the Paris-trained artist Neville Bulwer-Lytton (1879–1951), the brother of Victor Lytton (1876–1947), 2nd Earl of Lytton, whom he had met at Trinity.³⁷⁴ By 1911 he had acquired a good selection of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century watercolours including works by Cotman, Girtin, Blake and Sandby.³⁷⁵ (On visiting Marsh, Paul Nash later recalled “I knew here was a collection of personal taste.”)³⁷⁶ Through Neville, Marsh met Robert Ross, the manager of the Carfax Gallery, who had organised Lytton’s first one-man show there.³⁷⁷ Marsh began buying contemporary art after an invitation from Ross to attend the Carfax Gallery’s 1911 Camden Town Group exhibition.³⁷⁸ He fell in love with Duncan Grant’s *Parrot Tulips* (1911, Southampton City Art Gallery) and bought it on the spot.³⁷⁹ Lytton, who painted in a late English Impressionist style, protested: “It is a disgraceful picture. It has neither colour, drawing nor composition. Its technique is atrocious and it is incompetent beyond measure”.³⁸⁰ Lytton’s protests fell on deaf ears — Marsh later wrote:

Buying old Masters in shops began to seem a sheeplike, soulless conventionalism. How much more exciting to back what might be roughly called one’s own judgement... to go to the studios and the little galleries, and purchase, wet from the brush, possible masterpieces of the possible Masters of the future.³⁸¹

Marsh became friend and patron to a generation of Slade artists including Mark Gertler, Stanley Spencer, John Currie, and Paul and John Nash.³⁸² His guides to the world of the Slade cohort were Gertler and Currie.³⁸³ In 1912 he had just compiled and edited the first of what would be five volumes of *Georgian Poetry*, which included works by Marsh’s literary circle including Trevelyan and his friend Rupert Brooke.³⁸⁴ Stanley Spencer suggested Marsh should follow it up with a book of *Georgian Drawings*.³⁸⁵ It would only include the Slade generation. Paul Nash told Gordon Bottomley:

³⁷³ Marsh, *A Number of People*, 352.

³⁷⁴ Hassall, *Edward Marsh*, 58, 109, 11.

³⁷⁵ Marsh, *A Number of People*, 353.

³⁷⁶ Haycock, *A crisis of brilliance: five young British artists*, 176.

³⁷⁷ Hassall, *Edward Marsh*, 111–12.

³⁷⁸ Carfax Gallery, *The Second Exhibition of the Camden Town Group* (London: Good, Ltd., 1911).

³⁷⁹ Hassall, *Edward Marsh*, 177.

³⁸⁰ Hassall, *Edward Marsh*, 179.

³⁸¹ Marsh, *A Number of People*, 355.

³⁸² See ‘Eddie Marsh and *Les Jeunes*’ in Haycock, *A crisis of brilliance: five young British artists*, 159–74.

³⁸³ Haycock, *A crisis of brilliance: five young British artists*, 165.

³⁸⁴ Edward Marsh, *Georgian Poetry, 1911–1912 (Compiled by E. M.)* (London: Poetry Bookshop, 1912), 34.

³⁸⁵ Hassall, *Edward Marsh*, 280.

“There will be no older Gods like John. Rothenstein or others & I do pray they keep to that idea”.³⁸⁶ Unsurprisingly, the outbreak of war brought the project to an abrupt halt, but it had allowed Marsh to develop working relationships with Spencer and Nash. Gertler, a pacifist, had cut off contact with Marsh in 1915 as Marsh was a civil servant and obliged to support the War.³⁸⁷ (Marsh would remain a loyal supporter of Gertler’s work and they were reconciled after the First World War.)³⁸⁸ Currie committed suicide in 1914 following a disastrous love affair.³⁸⁹ Having lost his guides, Marsh’s links to the Slade no longer dominated his tastes after the war, but he still supported his favourites. For the young artists he supported he appears to have combined the role of agony aunt, best friend and landlord (the spare bedroom was always in use: some friends even had a latchkey). Yet he did not buy just any picture from his protégés: in his memoirs he explained:

In one way or another I made up my mind which of the painters I knew were good judges of pictures; next I picked their brains to find out which artists they thought well of; and then I waited till I saw a work by one of those artists which aroused in me what I can only call the Lust of Possession.³⁹⁰

Marsh joined the CAS as a subscriber in 1911. He was on the Committee by 1923, and was CAS buyer for that year (and also for 1927).³⁹¹ Following the death of Kendall Butler in 1936, Marsh became CAS Chairman.³⁹² He resigned in 1950, at the age of 78.³⁹³ He had a life-long preference for representational pictures. “I am content,” he wrote, “and even anxious to be stigmatised as a consistent and brazen supporter of what is now slightly called Representational Art.”³⁹⁴ Of abstract art, he wrote: “I have a deep and distant respect for abstract painting, which I have taken deep, though most often inefficacious pains to understand and enjoy”.³⁹⁵

Marsh began working for Winston Churchill in late 1905.³⁹⁶ His links to the Churchill family — he travelled with Winston both on government business and its associated diplomatic trips — as well

³⁸⁶ Haycock, *A crisis of brilliance: five young British artists*, 175.

³⁸⁷ Mark Gertler, *Selected Letters*, ed. Noel Carrington (London: Rupert Hart-Davis Ltd., 1965), 102.

³⁸⁸ Gertler, *Selected Letters*, 247–48.

³⁸⁹ Marsh, *A Number of People*, 361.

³⁹⁰ Marsh, *A Number of People*, 356.

³⁹¹ Hassall, *Edward Marsh*, 502, 05.

³⁹² Contemporary Art Society, *Report 1936–7*, 5.

³⁹³ Contemporary Art Society, *Report 1949–50* (London: Lund Humphries, 1950), 2–3.

³⁹⁴ Marsh, *A Number of People*, 358.

³⁹⁵ Marsh, *A Number of People*, 357.

³⁹⁶ Hassall, *Edward Marsh*, 119–20.

as the entrée to upper-class society that came via friends from Cambridge meant that he was incredibly well connected. Eddie's memoirs say little about the work that he did as Private Secretary to Winston Churchill. Discretion was an essential part of the job. However Hassall does note his involvement in talks with the Irish Free State from 1921 to 1923, when he was in meetings with the Irish delegation under Éamon de Valera (1882–1975), and later private talks with Michael Collins (1890–1922) which took place at Sir John Lavery's house in London.³⁹⁷ (Later, Lavery's wife, Hazel, seems to have felt that Eddie should take some credit for establishing the Irish Free State.)³⁹⁸ CAS links to Belfast had lapsed after the 1914 loan exhibition. Given Lavery's involvement in the creation of the new museum and his wife's correspondence with Marsh, it was probably his idea to engage the CAS as buyers.

Lord Ivor Spencer-Churchill (1898–1956)

Lord Ivor Spencer-Churchill (Ivor Churchill) was CAS Honorary Secretary for the duration of the Belfast project. Hence the official correspondence between Belfast and the CAS was entirely between Deane and Churchill. Churchill's first subscription to CAS was recorded in 1923 when he also presented a Gilbert Spencer's *Landscape with Cows* (c.1923, Kirklees Museums and Galleries) to the Society.³⁹⁹ By 1926 he was Honorary Secretary, becoming Joint Honorary Secretary (with St John Hutchinson K.C. in 1938). He was a 'Special Purchases' buyer in 1936, when he bought two works: a terracotta by Frank Dobson, *Noon* (1936, Tate), and a watercolour by Jacob Epstein, *Poppies* (c.1936, Potteries Museum, Stoke-on-Trent?).⁴⁰⁰

A studious child, Ivor Spencer-Churchill was the younger of the two sons of Charles Spencer-Churchill, 9th Duke of Marlborough and his first wife, Consuelo Vanderbilt (1877–1964), an American railroad heiress.⁴⁰¹ His parents married in 1895 and separated in 1906 when he was eight years old (they would divorce in 1921).⁴⁰² Cecil Beaton described him as having "the pursed, cherubic features of his American mother... an expression that denotes that he, quicker than anyone, realizes the sadness and amusement of the fact that he will never appear grown-up".⁴⁰³

³⁹⁷ Hassall, *Edward Marsh*, 487–88.

³⁹⁸ Hassall, *Edward Marsh*, 489.

³⁹⁹ Contemporary Art Society, *Report 1919–24*, 7,15.

⁴⁰⁰ Presented to Stoke-on-Trent Contemporary Art Society, *Report 1936–7*, 8. Contemporary Art Society, *Report 1940–1* (London: The Curwen Press, 1941).

⁴⁰¹ John Pearson, *The private lives of Winston Churchill* (London: Bloomsbury Reader, 2011).

⁴⁰² Contemporary Art Society, *Report 1936–7*, 8.

⁴⁰³ Cecil Beaton and Richard Buckle, *Self-portrait with friends : the selected diaries of Cecil Beaton 1926–1974* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1982, 1979), 288.

Despite his boyish features, Churchill appears to have been well-organised and highly intelligent. It would seem that when he did anything he did it well: he started owning race horses in the mid-1930s, they won; he started breeding Jersey cattle after the Second World War, they were prize-winners.⁴⁰⁴ With these organisational skills, he made a good choice for Honorary Secretary.

Churchill's mother is credited with giving him an interest in French art.⁴⁰⁵ Judging by his collection, he had a good eye. The *Times* featured it in an illustrated article of 1928 with works by Camille Pissarro, Cezanne, Frank Dobson and de Segonzac singled out for attention.⁴⁰⁶ (Segonzac would become a friend.)⁴⁰⁷ Churchill owned Cézanne's *Le Moulin brûlé à Maisons-Alfort*, (c.1894 Private Collection), which he purchased in 1923; *La Montagne Sainte-Victoire vue du bosquet du Château Noir*, (c.1904, Private Collection) purchased in 1934; *Portrait de l'artiste au chapeau à large bord*, (1879–80, Kunstmuseum, Bern) purchased c.1929; and *Baigneurs*, (c.1890, Private Collection) purchased in c.1929.⁴⁰⁸ In 1927 he bought Pierre Bonnard's *The Bath* (1925, Tate), and Matisse's *Large Cliff: the Two Rays*, (1920, Norton Museum of Art, West Palm Beach)

The list of works Churchill donated to the CAS give us an idea of the British artists whose purchase he might have supported — the list includes Sickert, Duncan Grant, Vanessa Bell, Jack Butler Yeats, Keith Baynes and Mark Gertler (see Appendix 9). Churchill was the youngest member of the buying team by over twenty years — Marsh and Montagu were near contemporaries. He was evidently a supporter of contemporary British art but had a strong preference for French. He would have loved to have bought Belfast a selection of French paintings, had time and funds allowed. You can almost hear him sighing as he writes: "I know we are not in the position of buying a gallery of Cézannes ... we shall have to do the best we can with the pictures at our disposal".⁴⁰⁹

Churchill's son, Robert, born in 1954, went on to marry Jeanne, the grand-daughter of the French artist Paul Maze, but they did not meet until 1977. Jeanne recalled:

I didn't meet Robert until Paul had a 90th-birthday exhibition at the Wildenstein Gallery in London. My parents gave a large dinner at their house after it... I talked to him after dinner. He

⁴⁰⁴ Most entries in the *Times* for Churchill 1935–40 are race results for his horses: Chopsticks, Nora Nisi, Flammarion, A Tout Change, Chrysler II, etc. His cattle results are in **Portsmouth Evening News** and other Hampshire papers of the 1950s.

⁴⁰⁵ Anon., "Obituary — Lord Ivor Churchill," *Times* (London), Sep 18, 1956.

⁴⁰⁶ Anon., "Private Art Collections: Lord Sandwich's Pictures," *Times* (London), Jun 21, 1928.

⁴⁰⁷ Anon., "Obituary — Lord Ivor Churchill."

⁴⁰⁸ Rewald: (765); Rewald: (902); Rewald: (415) and Rewald: (747). "The Paintings of Paul Cézanne : An Online Catalogue Raisonné," accessed 13 Sep, 2017, <http://www.cezannecatalogue.com/catalogue/index.php>.

⁴⁰⁹ UMALP — Spencer-Churchill to Edward Marsh, April 27, 1929.

had just bought a small flat in London... When I walked into the flat, it was full of my grandfather's paintings, which Paul had given him.⁴¹⁰

On the basis of this personal connection Churchill was likely to have supported the purchase of Paul Maze's *Boulogne* in 1933.

George Charles Montagu, 9th Earl of Sandwich (1874–1962)

George Montagu first subscribed to the CAS in 1923. He was listed as a Committee member in the 1919–24 report and kept this role until 1944.⁴¹¹ Montagu was the CAS buyer for 1929 and 1932. He was also a Trustee of the Tate Gallery, 1934–41, the National Maritime Museum (Greenwich), 1937–46; and also a Member of Committee of the British Council (Art Section).

In a *Times* article of 1928 describing the Sandwich collection most of the works illustrated were Old Masters; the most recent was a wooded landscape by Derain. However the *Times* art critic also noted that the collection also included works by J.D. Innes, Gaudier-Brzeska, Roger Fry, Stanley Spencer, Paul Maze, Elliott Seabrook, Frank Dobson, Robin Guthrie, Augustus John, Duncan Grant, F. Porter, Bernard Meninsky and George Bissell.⁴¹² Compared to Churchill, most of Montagu's contemporary art was British, not French — as buyer for 1929, Montagu selected Duncan Grant's *Window South of France*, which went to Manchester.⁴¹³ One suspects that of the three buyers, Sandwich had the most conservative taste; when discussing the purchase of Robert's *Les Routiers* he admitted to having a "natural predilection for the lyrical rather than the dramatic in painting".⁴¹⁴ Montagu's collection was dispersed, and his home, Hinchingsbrooke Manor, was sold following his death in 1962.

The CAS approach

Although we have no record of how the subcommittee was selected we are lucky in that the three buyers kept in touch with each other by mail, and copies of much of their correspondence were kept by George Montagu. All the correspondence we have on the purchase decisions comes from letters given to the Ulster Museum by Montagu's family in 1969.⁴¹⁵ The friendship between the three

⁴¹⁰ "Jeanne Maze: An Interview with Olivier Lebleu," accessed June 12, 2021, <https://www.jeannemaze.com/en/interview>.

⁴¹¹ Contemporary Art Society, *Report 1919–24*, 13.

⁴¹² Anon., "Private Art Collections: Lord Sandwich's Pictures."

⁴¹³ UMALP — George Montagu to Edward Marsh, April 27, 1929.

⁴¹⁴ UMALP — George Montagu to Edward Marsh, February 6, 1933.

⁴¹⁵ UMALP — John Hinchingsbrooke to James Ford Smith, December 9, 1969.

men is evidenced by the fact that each addresses each other by their first names — unusual in this period. We do not have correspondence on all the selections — all three buyers were on the telephone and on at least one occasion they went shopping together.⁴¹⁶

Deane's key requests to the buyers were that the works purchased had to fit into a certain size of room and be similar to those exhibited by the CAS in Belfast in 1914.⁴¹⁷ The floor plan Deane sent is lost, but one can imagine, from the photograph of the Lavery gallery (see Figure 7 above) that it would have been a long room with windows on one side and its shorter sides pierced by archways. Deane also put in a specific request that there be work by Philip Wilson Steer (1860–1942).⁴¹⁸ The CAS agreed with Belfast that they would provide “a representative collection of say 25 to 30 works of different phases of Modern Art”.⁴¹⁹ The team had just over two months to buy sufficient paintings for the formal opening of the gallery.⁴²⁰ When the project started, the Lloyd Patterson collection had not yet been sold so the buyers could only be certain that they had £6,000 to spend.

Given these constraints, Marsh suggested that “it would be no use to attempt anything like a historical series”. He went on: “I think the only consideration possible is the intrinsic quality of the pictures and the importance of the artists as such, not as illustrating tendencies”.⁴²¹ The purchase of paintings for Belfast can be divided into two distinct phases: the first phase was to find sufficient paintings in time for the official opening; the second phase was to spend any remaining funds to enrich the collection. Only two months were available for the first phase, so there would not have been time to travel to Ireland or elsewhere to select works. The buyers made the sensible decision to purchase all the works in London. However, in the second phase the buyers continued to only choose works from London galleries (See Appendix 10). This metropolitan bias was probably purely logistical. Marsh was based in London, but Montagu and Spencer-Churchill travelled regularly. On some occasions two of the buyers would go and view pictures together, but this was rare. The pattern was that one of the team would find a painting, and then write to the others to go and look at it so that they could agree to it. If the works had not all been in London they would have had difficulty doing this.

⁴¹⁶ UMALP — George Montagu to Edward Marsh, April 27, 1929.

⁴¹⁷ In 1914 the CAS exhibited pictures and drawings in Belfast. UMALP — Arthur Deane to Sir C.K. Butler, CAS, March 7, 1929.

⁴¹⁸ UMALP — Arthur Deane Belfast CAS Ivor Churchill, April 26, 1929.

⁴¹⁹ UMALP — Arthur Deane to Ivor Churchill, April 26, 1929.

⁴²⁰ UMALP — Spencer-Churchill to Arthur Deane, June 8, 1929.

⁴²¹ UMALP — Edward Marsh to George Montagu, April 27, 1929.

The results of the project

Deane's first proposal — to the Libraries, Museums and Art Committee — was for a collection of works by artists who were Irish, or of Irish descent, but by the time the CAS became involved in 1929 only six of these artists were still alive, with an average age of 62. They represented, by and large, a group that had peaked in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. In 1930 — almost a year after the delivery of the first tranche of paintings — Belfast sent a different list of artists to the CAS.⁴²² The Irish idea had been dropped and on the second Belfast list, only Gerald Festus Kelly (1879–1972) and Sir William Orpen (1878–1931) were Irish or of Irish descent — the rest were British. Not that these lists would have made much difference — of the forty-one works purchased, only two were by artists of Irish or of Irish descent and only seven works were by artists on either of Belfast's lists (see Appendix 8). The CAS bought some works by established artists but in the main they bought young talent — the new Lloyd Patterson collection was created by thirty-seven artists in total with an average age of 41. Three of them were 'recently deceased', and only three had a recognised status (RA, OM etc.) at time of purchase.

Phase 1

The first phase of the project was to find sufficient paintings in time for the official opening of the gallery on July 4, 1929.⁴²³ The CAS had received the request to be Belfast's purchasing consultants on March 7th.⁴²⁴ Work began in early April 1929 and the first meeting of the CAS and Belfast's representatives was held in London on April 24, 1929. The buyers found twenty paintings in Phase 1 and these were exhibited for two weeks from June 12, 1929 at the Tate Gallery on Millbank before being shipped to Belfast.⁴²⁵

This first phase was largely driven by Edward Marsh. Of the first batch of paintings ten were first identified by him and a further four probably identified by him. Three were found by Montagu and one by Churchill. For the other two paintings the surviving correspondence does not allow us to work out which buyer found them first (see Appendix 11).

Marsh's note of April 26, 1929 is the first surviving document discussing the selection of paintings. In it, he explains that he has plenty of time to visit galleries that day because "Winston went

⁴²² The Belfast list was sent again to Ivor Churchill at his request. UMALP — Arthur Deane to Ivor Churchill, April 22, 1930.

⁴²³ UMALP — Arthur Deane to Ivor Spencer-Churchill, June 15, 1929.

⁴²⁴ UMALP — Arthur Deane to Sir CK Butler, March 7, 1929; Ivor Churchill to Arthur Deane, April 25, 1929.

⁴²⁵ UMALP — Ivor Spencer-Churchill CAS) to Arthur Deane, June 8, 1929.

into the country before luncheon and there is nothing to do at the Treasury".⁴²⁶ Churchill's Budget of April 15 had set out the Conservative party's manifesto for the General Election that would be held on May 30, 1929 — Churchill and Baldwin, his Prime Minister, had gone to the country in more ways than one.⁴²⁷ The timing of the 1929 General Election explains Marsh's dominance of the first phase — Winston was off campaigning and Marsh, as a civil service Private Secretary was not allowed to be involved in this. Any other civil service work would have been put on hold until the election results were certain. The delivery of the first consignment of paintings to Belfast coincides with a Labour victory in the General Election. Winston left office to begin his 'wilderness years' and Marsh got a new boss, J. H. (Jimmy) Thomas (1874–1949).

The buyers were evidently considering Deane's floorplan as they approached their task. Montagu noted that Duncan Grant's *Interior* (Plate 28) would "help as a pivoting centre for one or other of the long walls".⁴²⁸ In fact the three largest paintings in the gallery were acquired in the first phase: Duncan Grant's *Interior*, Spencer's *Betrayal* (Plate 29) and Cedric Morris's *Birds* (Plate 30). Montagu also seems to have been considering the overall hang when he notes that a portrait by William Nicholson (*Oliver Nolle*, current whereabouts unknown) "might be worth considering as a balance to the Philpot portrait ... if we are going to get harmony in the arrangement of the pictures on the walls".

The buyers were anxious to acquire 'names' for the collection — Marsh was prepared to spend "up to £1,000 or so on two Sickerts".⁴²⁹ The most expensive paintings in the first phase were painted by artists who were already well established 'names'. Philip Wilson Steer's *Nude and Yachts on the Solent* were £472 10s each (Plates 31 and 32); Sickert's *Suspense* cost £650 and his *Easter* £350 (Plates 33 and 34). Augustus John's *Vivien* cost £500 and his much smaller *Red Feather* £350 (Plates 27 and 35). Perhaps the most surprising 'expensive' work was Duncan Grant's *Interior* at £630 given that Montagu, as CAS buyer for 1929, had purchased Grant's 1928 *Window, South of France*, (Manchester City Galleries) for 150 guineas that year from the Paul Guillaume Gallery. Glyn Philpot's portrait of an unknown young man was relatively expensive at £315, but he was a well-known artist at this time (Plate 36). William Nicholson's *Cinnerarias* and a Rothenstein's *Landscape* both came in at £210 (Plates 37 and 38). The remaining works in the collection cost on average under £100 each, with the cheapest, *Avoca Bridge, Co. Wicklow* by the East London group's George Bissell, costing only £13 15s (Plate 39).

⁴²⁶ UMALP — Edward Marsh to George Montagu, April 26, 1929.

⁴²⁷ Our Parliamentary Correspondent, "Conservative Policy," *Times* (London), Mar 30, 1929.

⁴²⁸ UMALP — George Montagu to Edward Marsh & Ivor Churchill, April 26, 1929.

⁴²⁹ UMALP — Edward Marsh to Ivor Spencer-Churchill, April 30, 1929.

The works purchased came almost entirely from London galleries, and so the availability of works in London in the three months available would have been a major factor in the selection of the first tranche of paintings. The buyers worked quickly — by May 13, 1929 they had reserved £4,930 worth of paintings (nineteen paintings in all) and had their eyes on three more paintings totalling around £500.⁴³⁰ By the end of the first phase therefore 90% of the initial £6,000 had been spent.

Phase 2

After the delivery of the first consignment, there was less pressure on the buyers because the original Lloyd Patterson collection had yet to be sold, and the buyers did not yet know how much money the sale of Lloyd Patterson's collection would raise. Belfast could not accurately confirm how much money remained to be spent until after the sale which was held in May 1930.⁴³¹ Deane confirmed in June 1930 that the team had £1,129 6s left to spend.⁴³² Matters then seem to have completely left in abeyance. Reasons for the delay are not documented, but in June 1932 we find Churchill writing to Deane to ask whether the CAS were still required as buyers and if so, how much was left to spend.⁴³³ In early July Deane confirmed that, following the sale of the original collection, and taking into account the amount already spent, £1,035 remained to be spent — noting that the CAS would have to include incidentals such as carriage and insurance in their budgeting.⁴³⁴ The Corporation formally agreed to the next phase of CAS buying on 2nd August 1932.⁴³⁵ Evidently, the holiday period intervened since the next note to Belfast was in November, asking Deane to confirm how much space was left on the walls and roughly how many paintings were required. The curator replied that they needed 'about 18 further oil paintings of an average size of about 3' x 2'6"'.⁴³⁶ By this time it had been agreed that no prints or watercolours were to be acquired, only oil paintings.⁴³⁷ It is worth noting the emphasis on the physical display, rather than aesthetics, here.

Once again, the bulk of the selection was made in a very short period of time. Churchill reported on the 8th December that the CAS had bought a further ten paintings and spent just over

⁴³⁰ UMALP — Edward Marsh to George Montagu, May 13, 1929.

⁴³¹ UMALP — Arthur Deane to Spencer-Churchill, June 4, 1930.

⁴³² UMALP — Arthur Deane to Spencer-Churchill, June 4, 1930.

⁴³³ UMALP — Ivor Churchill to Arthur Deane, June 14, 1932.

⁴³⁴ UMALP — Arthur Deane to Spencer-Churchill, July 4, 1932.

⁴³⁵ UMALP — Arthur Deane to Spencer-Churchill, August 3, 1932.

⁴³⁶ UMALP — Arthur Deane to Spencer-Churchill, November 5, 1932.

⁴³⁷ UMALP — Ivor Churchill to Arthur Deane, November 2, 1932.

£456 in just over a month.⁴³⁸ Thirteen further paintings would be acquired with the roughly £500 that remained.

In the second phase, Marsh had a boss and seems to have been less involved in the project — there were fewer scribbled notes from him. The second phase was more of a joint effort between the three buyers, with Churchill and Montagu more actively involved. After the first burst of activity the second phase dragged out for nearly a year, by the end of which the team members were forgetting what they bought previously and what was in the collection as a whole. (It is worth noting here that none of them ever visited Belfast.) One reason for the delay was that Churchill was ill in 1931–32, and it was he that co-ordinated the work.⁴³⁹

The pictures they might have bought

The choice of Sickerts was made at London's Saville Gallery where Marsh considered the artist's *Plaza Tiller Girls* in 1928 too expensive at £720 (Plate 40).⁴⁴⁰ The painting he chose was cheaper: "a very lovely 'Suspense' (only I wish the girl hadn't such a dirty face)" at £655 (Plate 33).

Dod Proctor was on Deane's 1930 request list. Her painting, *Morning* (1926, Tate) was voted Picture of the Year at the Royal Academy Summer Exhibition of 1927 and had been bought for the nation by the Daily Mail newspaper. Marsh was considering her before Deane confirmed Belfast's interest. He wrote to Montagu about a picture he had seen in the Leicester Galleries: "There's also a picture that I have always liked very much, tho' I expect you and Ivor won't — a Dod Proctor of a naked baby ... in cushions, £350."⁴⁴¹ He was right; Churchill didn't like it. (Plate 41)⁴⁴²

They were looking for a work by the Irish-born, London-based artist William Orpen from the outset. He featured on all of Belfast's lists and was a well-established 'name'; an Academician, and highly successful portrait painter in Edwardian London. He had been a war artist in the First world War and was awarded the Order of Merit in the 1918 King's birthday honours. In April 1929, Edward Marsh wrote to Sandwich about some pictures he had seen in the Leicester Galleries:

Upstairs there are two Orpens which you might look at, both painted in 1905 — one an extremely powerful half-length of a woman in red. I don't personally find the colour exactly

⁴³⁸ UMALP — Ivor Churchill to Arthur Deane, December 8, 1932.

⁴³⁹ UMALP — George Montagu to Ivor Spencer-Churchill, June 10, 1932.

⁴⁴⁰ UMALP — Edward Marsh to Ivor Churchill, April 30, 1929.

⁴⁴¹ UMALP — Edward Marsh to George Montagu, April 26, 1929.

⁴⁴² UMALP — Ivor Churchill to Edward Marsh, April 27, 1929.

pleasing, but it is consistent ... about £500... Then there is a figure piece of a woman ... in a window, very pretty, perhaps almost too! £450...⁴⁴³

Orpen's woman in red might have been one of the portraits he made that year of the journalist and writer Anita Bartle (1876–1962) wearing a red shawl (see Plate 42) and the woman in the window perhaps a version of the 1901 portrait of his wife Grace which he painted on their honeymoon (Plate 43).⁴⁴⁴ Neither appealed to Churchill who, having seen the pictures, wrote back: "I do not like ...the Orpens at the price... I do not think we need to be in a hurry to purchase pictures of the more expensive kind unless we are all convinced that they are exceptional examples. I do not think this applies to either of the Orpens in question and I ask myself whether it might not be as well to choose as our example of his work a portrait of some well-known personality. I suggest this in view of the fact that he possesses little interest for me as an artist pure and simple..."⁴⁴⁵ Montagu agreed, adding "...we should wait to find if possible one of his earliest and best manner."⁴⁴⁶

The next potential Orpen found by Marsh was in Knoedler's in January 1933. He wrote to Sandwich:

I have just been to see the Orpens at Knoedler's, and there is one that I think we should do well to buy for Belfast. It is a good-sized picture, of a bronze Cupid standing beside a round looking-glass against a gold brocade curtain, to my mind extremely fine in colour and paint. Healy told me it was a favourite of Orpen's own, and it used to hang in his studio. The price is £150, which for a public gallery would be reduced by 10 per cent., making £135.⁴⁴⁷

But by this time, the Belfast funds had nearly been spent, Marsh continued:

None of the others seemed to me nearly so suitable, except that fine portrait of Ray Lankester, which is hopelessly beyond our means [Plate 44]. There is a good little picture of a girl in a nightcap which I think he said was £40 — but it wouldn't do nearly so well for a gallery. I asked Healy to reserve the Cupid.⁴⁴⁸

After inspecting the pictures, the others decided against his choice. Montagu wrote back:

Ivor does not think there will be sufficient room for so large a picture as the "Cupid" for one thing, and for another he agrees with me that it is in some respects rather a dark picture and

⁴⁴³ UMALP — Edward Marsh to George Montagu, April 26, 1929.

⁴⁴⁴ The red shawl and its model: William Orpen, *Anita*, 1905, oil on canvas, 76 × 55.7 cm, Tate, London.

⁴⁴⁵ UMALP — Ivor Churchill to Edward Marsh, April 27, 1929.

⁴⁴⁶ UMALP — George Montagu to Edward Marsh, May 1, 1929.

⁴⁴⁷ UMALP — Edward Marsh to George Montagu, January 21, 1933.

⁴⁴⁸ UMALP — Edward Marsh to George Montagu, January 21, 1933.

not very typical of Orpen's work, and for a third reason, which I also agree with, he thinks that being an Irishman they would probably prefer to have a self-portrait.⁴⁴⁹

The self-portrait was the final choice (Plate 45).

William Roberts was on Belfast's list, was considered and then forgotten for a while. Montagu had been sent to look at some works by Roberts at the London Artists' Association in June 1929, which Marsh had had set aside.

I agree that the one ... which consists of a group of men beside some water with swans on it, is certainly the best picture there [Plate 46]. I think the price is 200 guineas ... As you know, I personally do not care for Roberts' affectations in style, which are too well-known for me to describe, but if you both consider he is sufficiently important to be included as a type of modern art to make the whole collection fully comprehensive, I do think this particular picture is a good example. The colour is certainly very good, and so is the design in many ways.⁴⁵⁰

This painting did not get to Belfast, so it was evidently purchased by someone else. The next Roberts to turn up was in 1930 — *Sawing Wood* at Cooling's Gallery — which the team went on to buy (Plate 47). Marsh enthused: "A picture there which I should buy with enthusiasm is W Roberts' *Sawing Wood*, which I really think is a top-notch, and he is in the list."⁴⁵¹ Sandwich agreed:

If we are going to get a Roberts, Ivor and I both liked the one at Coolings called "*Sawing Wood*". I do not think we should get a better one, so I will agree to that.⁴⁵²

Two years later, Marsh had forgotten the (relatively small) *Sawing wood*:

In looking at the list of purchases I was rather horrified to realise that we haven't got a Roberts. I have a great belief in him, and think his importance is bound to be realised more and more. If so, Posterity might reproach us for our neglect. There is an extraordinarily fine one now at the London Artists, Masks, a really very distinguished and remarkable work, though perhaps the subject would not immediately appeal to the Belfastians [Plate 48]. The price put on it is £300, but I understand we could have it for £150. Alternatively, there is an extremely attractive picture of bicyclists (also at the L.A.A.), a most delightful design, gaily and deliciously

⁴⁴⁹ UMALP — George Montagu to Edward Marsh, January 27, 1933.

⁴⁵⁰ UMALP — George Montagu to Ivor Churchill, June 21, 1929.

⁴⁵¹ UMALP — Edward Marsh to George Montagu, June 12 (?), 1930.

⁴⁵² UMALP — George Montagu to Edward Marsh, July 1, 1930.

coloured. This is much cheaper, only £65. I feel rather strongly that we ought to have one or the other of these.⁴⁵³

Sandwich thought *Masks* to be too expensive.⁴⁵⁴ Marsh disagreed:

As for the price of the Roberts — it took him a whole year's work & there is infinitely more in it than in a typical Duncan (I don't mean it is better, but that he must have taken so much time and trouble). Duncan could turn out a dozen £50 pictures in the time and the labourer is worthy of his fee!⁴⁵⁵

The funds from Belfast were running out by 1933; there was only about £350 left to spend. There was space in the gallery for only three more pictures.⁴⁵⁶ The buyers also thought *Masks* might be "difficult for the Belfastians".⁴⁵⁷ Churchill left Marsh and Sandwich to decide. As price and size were issues with *Masks*, Montagu suggested two others:

The one I liked best was called "Beach Fun" [Plate 49]. It is a group of men sitting on the beach and bathing, with a nice mellow sand background. It is more lyrical in quality. Roberts generally, I think, is difficult for the public to appreciate. I find him difficult enough with his somewhat crude hatchet-headed, square shouldered and round limbed people, and therefore if we can find one of his works where his colour and design is kept in balance by lyrical quality I think that would go down better in North Ireland. I hope you will go and see this one. I thought the little one called the "Ballet Dancer" hanging on the right hand of the big picture, and very charming thing and full of emotion, but it is of course rather small for a gallery [This might be Plate 50].⁴⁵⁸

Having visited the exhibition a few days later, Marsh replied. He much preferred a third painting, of bicyclists, better known as *Les Routiers*:

I've just been to the London Artists & seen Roberts' Beach Fun. It is an interesting picture, but I must say I quite infinitely prefer the Bicyclists, which I mentioned in my first letter, but which you say nothing of in yours. I wonder if you saw it? In colour and design and spirit seems to me far better than B.F., & much more likely to attract the public.⁴⁵⁹

⁴⁵³ UMALP — Edward Marsh to George Montagu, January 21, 1933.

⁴⁵⁴ UMALP — George Montagu to Edward Marsh, January 23, 1933.

⁴⁵⁵ UMALP — Edward Marsh to George Montagu, January 24, 1933.

⁴⁵⁶ UMALP — Ivor Churchill to George Montagu, January 24, 1933.

⁴⁵⁷ UMALP — Edward Marsh to George Montagu, February 4, 1933.

⁴⁵⁸ UMALP — George Montagu to Edward Marsh, January 27, 1933.

⁴⁵⁹ UMALP — Edward Marsh to George Montagu, February 4, 1933.

He suggested that Churchill get the deciding vote, but Sandwich bowed to his expertise and conceded on *Les Routiers*, so this became the second Roberts to arrive in Belfast (Plate 51).

One example of the CAS preference for the modern above the Irish was the treatment of Hone the Younger, one of Hugh Lane's protégés. In 1933, Deane suggested that a painting by Hone should be bought by the CAS from Lloyd Patterson funds.⁴⁶⁰ Churchill replied that the museum would do better to buy the painting itself — geography plays a part here; the painting was in Belfast.⁴⁶¹ It was in one sense an odd request — Belfast already had three paintings and six watercolours by the artist. However, Hone's oil paintings in the collection are all studies and the painting under consideration appears to have been finished work. Nonetheless, it would seem that the painting was not acquired by either the CAS or by Belfast.

The buyers also came up with various options for Mark Gertler and Duncan Grant (see catalogue notes). Some artists were put forward by just one of the buyer, and dismissed. For example, Montagu wanted to buy a Meninsky but Marsh told him the artist was not on Belfast's list... an interesting argument, given that most of the artists they did buy were not on any of Belfast's lists. Eddie Marsh's reportedly self-deprecating, rather shy demeanour did not stop him being a persuasive interlocutor. When we look at some of the paintings which were considered and then rejected it was Marsh who decided that they were not suitable. He was friend and patron to at least nine of the thirty-seven artists whose work was purchased; his enthusiasm for his protégés might well have been spoken but there are no direct references to these friendships in any of the surviving letters.

Analysis of the paintings

The museum's new gallery was bright and spacious, with pink-grey walls and a single-line hang.⁴⁶² Into this already calming atmosphere the first tranche of paintings delivered from London brought sunshine, colour and some famous names. The highest proportion of paintings chosen were landscapes — eighteen in all, followed some way behind by nine portraits, seven still lifes, and seven works that also fit comfortably into the traditional genres. Notably there was a complete absence of history painting, paintings from World War I, social realism (of the gritty variety), Victorian sentimentality (of the small animals and children variety) and any paintings with an implicit moral

⁴⁶⁰ UMALP — Arthur Deane to Ivor Churchill, July 16, 1929.

⁴⁶¹ UMALP — Ivor Churchill to Arthur Deane to August 1, 1929.

⁴⁶² Anon., "BELFAST MUSEUM AND ART GALLERY — A Striking Tribute from Lady Haberton," *Belfast News-Letter*, August 10, 1932.

message. The focus — a very modernist approach — is entirely on the effect of the painted surface on the viewer.

Of the nineteen landscapes, nearly all are British scenes — and of the five paintings showing places in France, only two have the exotic turquoise sea and ochre-olive tones of the Mediterranean. The world depicted is suffused by sunlight. The two snow scenes are viewed from indoors; looking out through a window onto snow bathed in sunshine. Although in some of the paintings there are boats and houses in every case human activity does not seem to have generated any human figures in the landscape. The net result of this compositional trick is that each of the paintings has a tranquillity completely at odds with the bustling life and regular civic unrest of Belfast in the 1920s. To walk into this room would be to walk into a haven of peace and tranquillity, to be surrounded by soft greens, cool blues, the damask pink under-painting in many of the landscapes picking up the wall colour behind. It is almost as if the paintings were selected to render the viewer calmer and more cheerful. Collectively, they are a meditation on the Romantic ideal of landscape that soothes the soul.

In terms of subject matter, only one of the scenes is in Ireland — *Avoca Bridge, Co. Wicklow*, acquired during the second phase of purchasing, is set in the country south of Dublin (Plate 39). For the others, there is a feeling of Englishness — even Fairlee Harmar's rolling hills of the Aveyron Valley in south-west France looks as if it could be in Sussex (Plate 52). Buildings, where shown, have a domesticated feel — William Rothenstein's farm buildings could be anywhere in the rural heartland of England — or perhaps be a dairy farm in Northern Ireland (Plate 38). Belfast, linked to the sea by a ship canal, is nonetheless surrounded by water and four of the paintings deal with the beauties of the seashore: Manson's *A Freshening Breeze, St Briac* (Plate 53) and Wilson Steer's, *Yachts on the Solent* (Plate 32) both depict seascapes of leisure; Ethel Walker's *Summer Afternoon* a tranquil walk along the beach (Plate 54). Even the port of Boulogne, in Paul Maze's treatment becomes Boulogne on Sunday — nothing is happening to make us feel stressed (Plate 55). The style in all cases is either English Impressionist or English Post-Impressionist — the paintings are linked by their use of colour, and their depiction of beautiful solitary stillness. They are 'landscapes of Englishness' where English weather does not feature. In fact, the only storm clouds are found in southern Ireland in this hang — over the *Avoca Bridge, Co. Wicklow*. One painting stands in contrast to the meditative trend, Augustus John's *Red Feather* but this — with Dorothy 'Dorelia' McNeill as its subject — is once again an essay in blues and greens — the red feather of the title providing the small splash of complimentary colour that boosts the energy level of the entire painting (Plate 35).

In the portrait section, we find some of the best-known artist 'names' and also well-known sitters. Augustus John had been a leading portrait painter since the turn of the century; Ambrose McEvoy was among the 'recently deceased'. *Miss Mary Clare*, his sitter, was an actress who had

appeared in more than four hundred stage and film productions.⁴⁶³ Henry Lamb's painting of *David Garnett* captured not so much the Bloomsbury group's sometime lover of Duncan Grant, but Garnett the well-known writer.⁴⁶⁴ Orpen's self-portrait was a very late addition to the collection (Plate 45). The man in the Glyn Philpot portrait remains unknown, his narrow tie, wary eyes and short haircut suggesting a military background — perhaps someone who had fought in the First World War (Plate 36). Philpot, in this period, was popular enough to merit having any of his pictures in the gallery, and indeed when the 'Belfastians' later complained of the horrors of modern art, Philpot was the only artist singled out for praise.⁴⁶⁵

In the still life section there was more of an attempt to demonstrate the latest treatments of the artist's greatest standby subject — we see a still life inspired by Di Chirico's metaphysical art from Edward Wadsworth, his *Gasteropoda* tracing the lines of a Golden section of crustacean tranquillity (Plate 56). Again we see the use of rich greens and vibrant blues, their relaxed yet vivid tonality offset by splashes of red poppies in Vanessa Bell's *Flowers in a Ginger Jar* (Plate 57), and russet apples in Seabrook's marvellously impastoed bowl of *Fruit* (Plate 58). Matthew Smith's *Daisies* with its energetic, fluid brushstrokes emphasises both the use of colour and technique (Plate 59). Apart from the notable absence of any abstract or Cubist tendencies, the still lifes represent a good selection of different approaches to the motif — one can easily imagine a group of art students being taken to compare and contrast these works.

Two of the largest paintings in the room represent what might be called a figurative section: Spencer's *Betrayal* (Plate 29) and Duncan Grant's dreamlike depiction of the interior of Charleston Farmhouse, where Vanessa Bell paints as David Garnett works on a Russian translation (Plate 28). These two — the largest paintings in the room — were, as mentioned above, bought in the first phase and were considered by the buyers to be the anchor points for the two long walls of the gallery. The selection of the two Sickerts represented a certain degree of compromise, because of the prices asked for work by this by now well-established artist. Setting price aside, the choice of *Suspense* and *Easter* gave the buyers the opportunity to display both Sickert's characteristic *camaieu* technique and also his developing interest in the use of photography to construct compositions (Plates 33 and 34). Wolfe, as we saw in Manchester, gives us a relaxed Mediterranean-feel English Matisse (Plate 60).

Sickert, John, Steer and Roberts were the only artists represented more than once in the collection. This makes sense for the first three artists as they were all well-established 'names'. Roberts was represented twice by accident. His *Sawing Wood* was found in 1930 and his *Les Routiers* in 1933.

⁴⁶³ Ambrose McEvoy, *Miss Mary Clare*, c.1915–1920, oil on canvas, 76.4 x 63.5 cm, Ulster Museum, Belfast.

⁴⁶⁴ Henry Lamb, *David Garnett*, 1930, oil on canvas, 76.2 x 63.8 cm, Ulster Museum, Belfast.

⁴⁶⁵ R.B., "Letters to the Editor — BELFAST ART GALLERY," *Northern Whig and Belfast Post* (Antrim), July 29, 1929.

The buyers had forgotten the purchase of the first of these by 1933 — perhaps because despite its industrious cheeriness it is a relatively small painting. Unlike many of Roberts’s interwar works, his observations of working people doing everyday things in these two paintings have a lightness of touch and a bright energetic colour handling so that that even Montagu, who admitted that he did not appreciate the artist, supported these purchases.⁴⁶⁶

That leaves us with two oddities, and a nude. Churchill thought that it was “important that they should be made to have a nude for purely educational purposes”. Here he was probably talking about art education — in the early twentieth century the life class and drawing from the nude still held sway as the best way to train budding artists. However, the nude would prove problematic — see below.

Even though Cedric Morris was a young painter, the buyers decided that the hang would not be complete without one of his pictures. The problem then was finding one that all of the buyers agreed on. Morris was better known as a landscape artist, but the collection was starting to have a fairly high percentage of landscapes, so the buyers chose *Birds* (Plate 30).⁴⁶⁷

Alfred Neville Lewis’s *Basuto Boy* has, to modern eyes, suspicious overtones of colonialism. If the boy had a name we would consider it a portrait but (unlike Philpot’s young man, where the identity is lost) this boy never had a name — and so became an ethnographic ‘specimen’ (Plate 61). Neville Lewis, born in South Africa, specialised in these sympathetic portraits of Africans, and they were very popular in the period. The CAS bought eight of his figure studies of ‘types’ between 1920 and 1929 — *Basuto Boy* was the last to be purchased. We have no record of the decision-making process behind the acquisition of this work — but given Neville Lewis’s popularity at the time it was probably taken to be something that would appeal to the public.

Reception

Before being sent to Belfast the first tranche of Lloyd Patterson pictures was exhibited at the Tate Gallery in June 1929. They were “well received by the English press and several commentators, including the influential P.G. Konody in *The Observer* (June 16, 1929), praised both the Contemporary Art Society for its choice of works and the Belfast Corporation for wisely investing its purchases to them”.⁴⁶⁸ However, not everyone was happy: echoes of London’s response to the first Post-Impressionist exhibition can be found in a letter of July 1929 describing all the works (apart from the

⁴⁶⁶ UMALP — George Montagu to Edward Marsh, February 6, 1933.

⁴⁶⁷ UMALP — Edward Marsh to Ivor Churchill & George Montagu, May 1, 1929.

⁴⁶⁸ Kennedy, *A catalogue of the Permanent Collection: 1 British Art 1900–1937 Robert Lloyd Patterson Collection*, 5.

Glyn Philpott portrait) as “ill drawn and wretchedly painted daubs”.⁴⁶⁹ Rumbblings continued through early 1930, with an anonymous ‘Average Citizen’ declaring: “If this is modern art, give me something prehistoric”.⁴⁷⁰ Some wrote to defend the new collection, but it fell to Arthur Deane, Natural History specialist and convert, it would seem, to contemporary art, to declare:

Art is ever seeking new things and new ways of saying eternal truths... In the Modern Art exhibition recently held in the Gallery many indeed of the works were based on the serenely simplified art of primitive races, and showed, as such, simplified colour schemes and naive lines. The music of some primitive races pervades our modern life, and has usurped our dances, so why reject other phases? It is only when jazz-time aspires to the consideration given to a Beethoven symphony that one rebels, and in art these experiments in the primitive should be recognised for what they are. This recognition leaves no mystification or bitterness behind, and often enough serves as a wholesome tonic to the mind.⁴⁷¹

Deane’s persuasiveness calmed matters, except on a matter of ‘indecenty’. Following a meeting on April 24, 1929 — where the idea had been agreed — the CAS had purchased a nude by Wilson Steer from the Leicester Galleries for £472 10s.⁴⁷² Just two months after the Gallery opened, the late Robert Lloyd Patterson’s nephew wrote to protest about the *Nude* (Plate 31) asking that it be hung in a room away from the rest of the ‘Lloyd Patterson Collection’. He considered the work unsuitable for public display and not one of which his uncle would have approved.⁴⁷³ Complaints of ‘indecenty’ continued until February 1930.⁴⁷⁴ At that point the Corporation bowed to public pressure and requested that the *Nude* be exchanged for something else “by reason of continuously growing adverse public opinion”.⁴⁷⁵ Representatives of the Corporation travelled to London to supervise the switch (it was only their second visit to London, the first had been to instigate the CAS selection project). The CAS refused to have anything to do with the exchange. Churchill wrote back to Deane to say that “they would be failing in their mission if they were to capitulate to popular prejudice against a nude”.⁴⁷⁶ The nude was swapped (without the blessing of the CAS) for: Wilson Steer's *The Teme at*

⁴⁶⁹ R.B., "Letters to the Editor — BELFAST ART GALLERY."

⁴⁷⁰ AN AVERAGE CITIZEN, "CORRESPONDENCE — FREAK ART," *Belfast News-Letter*, February 10, 1930.

⁴⁷¹ Arthur Deane, "Mainly for women — Belfast's New Museum," *Belfast News-Letter*, May 15, 1930.

⁴⁷² UMALP — Ivor Churchill to George Montagu, February 5, 1930.

⁴⁷³ UMALP — R.M. Patterson to Chairman, Libraries Committee, August 29, 1929.

⁴⁷⁴ AN AVERAGE CITIZEN, "CORRESPONDENCE — FREAK ART."

⁴⁷⁵ UMALP — Spencer-Churchill to George Montagu, February 5, 1930.

⁴⁷⁶ Ibid.

Ludlow (Plate 62); two watercolours, Wilson Steer's *Haweswater* (Plate 63) and a portrait by G.L. Brockhurst (Plate 64); and a pencil sketch (current whereabouts unknown).

It is hard to judge the precise quality of this work from the black and white photograph which survives — particularly its painted surface, which could easily change its reading. Is it a softly rendered family circle of mother and child, naked in their innocence, or a precursor to Lucien Freud's depictions of the lumpy awkwardness of cellulite-laden flesh — with a twisted homunculus added as an afterthought at the side? The painting has a certain innocence in that the sex of both mother and child are discreetly hidden by their twisted, almost mannerist torsos. Steer's *Nude* is relatively small — 50.8 x 61 cm — and had passed without censorious remark in London where the *Times* decried it as "a more convincingly constructed "Nude" than [Steer] commonly contrives".⁴⁷⁷ However, nudity was a sensitive subject in Presbyterian-dominated Protestant-controlled Belfast (the church had 390,000 members recorded in 1926).⁴⁷⁸ "I wonder what they would have said if we had chosen one by Mark Gertler!" wrote Montagu.⁴⁷⁹ In fact, it would take till 1968 for the museum to acquire its first nude — and that, by coincidence, was by Mark Gertler.⁴⁸⁰ The Libraries Committee might have been recalling the slashing of Velazquez's *Rokeby Venus* by the Suffragette artist and arsonist Mary Richardson in October 1914.⁴⁸¹ Or they might have had a better understanding than their liberal metropolitan buying team of the activism inherent in Belfast politics at this time — a polity dominated by confrontations between the Protestant / Presbyterian majority and the minority Catholic population. Three years after the *Nude* controversy, the painting known as *William III, the Duke of Schomberg and the Pope* by Pieter van der Meulen (b.1638) had red paint thrown at it by Charles Forster, a Scottish Protestant League member and Glasgow city councillor, while his companion Mary Ratcliffe slashed it with a knife. The painting had been purchased sight-unseen for the new Stormont building on the assumption that the William in question was William of Orange, who by winning the Battle of the Boyne had become a Protestant hero in Northern Ireland. The painting had caused fury among the Protestants because it seemed to contain a triple-crowned image of the Pope, resting on a cloud, bestowing a blessing on William (Plate 65).⁴⁸²

⁴⁷⁷ Anon., "Art Exhibitions. Mr Augustus John R.A.."

⁴⁷⁸ R.F.G. Holmes, "Presbyterianism," in *The Oxford Companion to Irish History*, ed. S. J. Connolly (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998).

⁴⁷⁹ UMALP — George Montagu to Spencer-Churchill, February 6, 1930.

⁴⁸⁰ Mark Gertler, *Sleeping Nude*, 1928, oil on canvas, 76 x 102 cm, Ulster Museum, BELUM.U456.

⁴⁸¹ Gaynor Kavanagh, *Museums and the First World War: A Social History* (London: Leicester University Press, 1994), 22.

⁴⁸² Tony Canavan, "A papist painting for a Protestant parliament?," *History Ireland*, 2008.

Conclusion

Deane's first proposal — to buy a collection of Irish art — channels his mentor Hugh Lane, for whom he had worked when he first moved to Belfast. The idea of buying an Irish collection was quietly dropped. Deane seems to have become converted to the art of a younger generation — after the delivery of the first tranche of paintings to Belfast, his next shopping list sent to the CAS contains much younger artists, and by 1930 we find him in the press defending contemporary art.

The loss of an 'Irish' aspect in the instructions given to the CAS can be linked to the Museum's management by the Unionist controlled Corporation of Belfast. Of the two Irish artists eventually selected, McEvoy had completed his career under British sovereignty and the Protestant Dublin-born Orpen had made his home in London in 1915, never even visiting the country of his birth again apart from a one day-visit in 1918.⁴⁸³ After the establishment of the Irish Free State in 1922, it was very important for Unionists to stress the continuity of Northern Ireland's cultural links to Britain. Indeed a 1923 Department of Education report stated that it was "... important that every citizen should become acquainted with the history of his native country and for this purpose the children in our schools should acquire an elementary knowledge of the history of Great Britain, and of Ireland and especially Ulster as part of the United Kingdom".⁴⁸⁴ The new Lloyd Patterson collection then was effectively one of British artists — an implicitly Unionist stance, but not actually a deliberate one, in that, apart from the budget and the dimensions of the room, the CAS ignored most of the Belfast requests. They ceded ground only in response to pressure to provide works by Wilson Steer and Fairlee Harmor. After the controversy of the nude — and possibly because of the reduced budget — they favoured young less well-known artists, not requested by Belfast and probably largely unknown to the Belfast public.

In popular music or in film we accept the idea of a 'one-hit wonder', and in the fine arts — both in the art market and museums — buyers look for consistency and progression as well as the much harder to measure characteristic, 'originality'. How then could a young artist gain a track record without the support of a wealthy patron, or else a respected critic, and establish their 'name' as a respected artist? Both Deane and the CAS buyers talk about their purchases for the new collection in

⁴⁸³ Nuala C. Johnson, "Spaces of conflict and abivalent attachments: Irish artists visualise the Great War," in *The Great War and the British Empire: Culture and Society*, ed. Michael J.K. Walsh and Andrekos Varnava (London: Routledge, 2016), 169.

⁴⁸⁴ Ministry of Education for Northern Ireland, Final Report of the Departmental Committee on the Education Service in Northern Ireland, 1923, p. 53.

terms of 'names' — and as 'good examples' of that 'name'. The artist as a brand pervades the first phase, and even in the second phase the CAS buyers speak terms of 'names', but in this case the names of their protégés — artists that they have already purchased for their own collection. As regards women, the 'name' we would now think of is Vanessa Bell — she was considered in the first phase, but only purchased in the second phase. Ethel Walker appears in the second phase, as does Fairlee Harmar (Lady Harburton by marriage). Harmar had approached Deane with a view to getting one of her paintings in the new gallery. Deane agreed to her request and forwarded it to London. Her gender made absolutely no difference there. Montagu happily announced that he and Churchill had found a work by Harmar — an impressionistic landscape — and notes "at least he is Irish".⁴⁸⁵ Harmar, of course, was a 'she' and born in Dorset.

Marsh's career as a patron of the fine arts and literature is well documented, but his 'day job' as a private secretary to a series of senior government officials is undocumented. He was, in professional matters, the soul of discretion. Of the three buyers, Marsh had the strongest Irish connections. He was friends with Lord and Lady Lavery, but his greatest interest in the Irish situation and its aftermath would have come via his work for Winston Churchill. As Churchill's secretary Marsh was involved in the treaty talks creating the Irish Free State; he was Churchill's secretary when Winston authorised the creation of the Black and Tans, and would have seen daily reports of the sectarian violence which followed partition. The transition to devolution came at human cost with the original 'Troubles', centring on Belfast, resulting in 491 deaths in the period 1920–22.⁴⁸⁶ The first tranche of paintings sent to Belfast, was very much a Marsh project, and the later selections were also strongly influenced by him — so what did he send the Belfastians? A room full of peaceful meditations on colour and style — a haven from a wicked world of the faith-divided conflict outside the gallery walls. As he later wrote:

Art has throughout the ages offered an 'escape' from the material to the spiritual world, from whence the fugitives may return with a clearer eye and a braver heart to the earthly turmoil.⁴⁸⁷

⁴⁸⁵ Niall Cunningham, "The doctrine of vicarious punishment: space, religion and the Belfast Troubles of 1920–22," *Journal of Historical Geography* 40 (2013), <http://dro.dur.ac.uk/15880/>.

⁴⁸⁶ Cunningham, "The doctrine of vicarious punishment," Figure 1.

⁴⁸⁷ Marsh, *A Number of People*, 358.

Chapter 5

The CAS Print Fund

In the previous two chapters I examined two modes of CAS influence and patronage: in Manchester, the selection of artworks by an experienced curator from a selection purchased over a number of years by a number of different CAS buyers; in Belfast, the purchase of a complete collection on behalf of the gallery by a team of three CAS buyers. In both cases most of the buyers were private collectors. In the Manchester case, local considerations appear to have guided the selections. In the second case, Belfast gave the CAS *carte blanche* — the works purchased can be read variously as a summary of CAS patronage in the early 1930s, the personal patronage of the three buyers involved and/or as a benevolent act of metropolitan cultural colonialism by the buyers, mixed with a desire to embrace 'Englishness' by their Unionist clients. In both Manchester and Belfast all the works were by artists living or recently deceased, and most were British. The Society was therefore working closely to its aims, as reiterated in each year's annual report:

... The Contemporary Art Society was initiated in the year 1909 ... to encourage, by the purchase and exhibition of chosen examples of their work, painters who in other countries would enjoy a certain official patronage.⁴⁸⁸

In the previous case studies the impact of social networks has been noted, but the relatively low number of artworks and artists involved is too small a sample to be statistically significant. However, in the interwar period the CAS print Fund acquired 1,548 works on paper, the majority of which — 1,327 items — were prints on paper. The number of printed items provides a large enough sample size to allow for a more meaningful statistical analysis. So large was the volume of prints collected in the period under consideration that most are, even now, inadequately catalogued.⁴⁸⁹ Furthermore, the British Museum (henceforth BM) has some items recorded as having been donated by the CAS that do

⁴⁸⁸ Contemporary Art Society, *Report 1928*, 3.

⁴⁸⁹ For the purpose of this chapter a 'line item' can be a single print, or in some cases a portfolio. E.g. Paul Nash, *The Creation, Book of Genesis (12 woodcuts)* (British Museum) purchased in 1925. This was how the prints were recorded in CAS reports.

not appear in CAS reports.⁴⁹⁰ In this study I will only discuss the printed items listed in CAS annual reports.

In the interwar period there were two CAS buyers involved: Campbell Dodgson, the Keeper of Prints and Drawings at the British Museum (BM) and his successor, Arthur Mayger Hind, (usually referred to as A.M. Hind). Dodgson acquired 1,088 print items from 1919 to 1934 with his acquisitions peaking in 1924–1930. Hind acquired just 239 items from 1935 to 1939 (see Appendix 12).⁴⁹¹ The major part of the CAS interwar print collection was thus selected by Dodgson during a period that coincides with the zenith of a British printmaking revival that began in the late nineteenth century. The focus of this chapter will be Dodgson's print acquisitions with particular consideration of the social networks of the British printmaking world to which he was most closely tied.

Dodgson's stated aim for the Print Fund was "to collect systematically, on international lines, etchings, lithographs and woodcuts by the best modern artists".⁴⁹² But might he have missed some works because of his personal preferences? In 1935, Roger Fry wrote in a private note to Kenneth Clark:

Would you consent to become a director of the *Burlington Magazine*? As it is I am the only director who is in any way capable of controlling or criticizing the art historical quality of the magazine. I fear I don't count Campbell Dodgson, though perhaps I'm unfair in that because he is capable of standing up for certain standards of a dry-as-dust kind — but his natural inclinations in the matter of art are deplorable.⁴⁹³

In looking at the work of Campbell Dodgson as a CAS buyer, I will consider what collecting strategies and in particular what social networks might have informed his selections, and whether he succeeded in creating a representative collection of early twentieth-century printmaking for the British Museum. I will also discuss why Roger Fry might not have approved of all of his selections and why their approaches might have differed.

⁴⁹⁰ E.g. Edward Bouverie-Hoyton, *Bosco Saero*, 1926–1930, etching, 17.5 x 22.6 cm, British Museum (Museum Number: 1930,0111.178).

⁴⁹¹ In CAS reports printed works were either single sheets or in some cases portfolios. Where the work was listed as a portfolio this is counted as one print item, where, for example, the report stated "12 prints" and these are separately catalogued on the BM website they are counted as twelve items.

⁴⁹² Campbell Dodgson, "A Fund for the Purchase of Modern Prints and Drawings," *The Burlington Magazine*, July, 1919, 41.

⁴⁹³ 'Roger Fry to Kenneth Clark, August 6, 1935', in Fry and Sutton, *Letters of Roger Fry*, 683.

The British Museum Print Room

The British Museum was established by Act of Parliament in 1753 and opened the doors of its first home at Montagu House, Bloomsbury, in 1759. Its core collection — the combined legacies of Sir Hans Sloane (1660–1753), Sir Robert Cotton (1669–1749) and Robert Harley, 1st Earl of Oxford (1661–1724)— was made up of printed books, manuscripts and “natural and artificial curiosities”.⁴⁹⁴ Works on paper were therefore part of the collection from its inception. In 1799 the Rev. Clayton Mordaunt Cracherode (1730–1799) bequeathed 848 Old Master drawings, etchings and engravings, valued at £5,000 for tax purposes, to the museum.⁴⁹⁵ Despite these riches it was not until 1808 — following a series of thefts that began in 1804 but were not discovered till 1806 — that the collection of Prints and Drawings was considered important enough to merit its own Keeper, albeit within the Department of Antiquities. Initially housed in a separate gallery in Montagu House, the department was one of the earliest to move to Robert Smirke’s new museum building in 1828.⁴⁹⁶ It took until 1837 to make a full inventory of the collection, by which time the museum had 9,302 drawings and 45,752 prints.⁴⁹⁷ Today the museum’s website notes that “the Print Room holds approximately 50,000 drawings and over two million prints dating from the beginning of the fifteenth century up to the present day”.⁴⁹⁸ A combination of purchases and legacies has created a collection with “enormous strengths in early prints and in the works of painter-etchers”.⁴⁹⁹ These can be studied in the Prints and Drawings Study Room — a quiet haven of scholarly concentration on the top floor of Sir John James Burnet’s Edward VII galleries at the north entrance to the museum.⁵⁰⁰

The BM was part of the Civil Service until 1963, with new employees having to sit Civil Service entrance examinations.⁵⁰¹ Thus when Campbell Dodgson joined the Prints and Drawings department in 1893 it was by dint of having passed these exams. He joined a department run by Sir Sidney Colvin (1845–1927), who had taken over as Keeper in 1884. Colvin’s tenure saw many improvements: he

⁴⁹⁴ Antony Griffiths, "The Department of Prints and Drawings during the First Century of the British Museum," *The Burlington Magazine*, August, 1994, 531.

⁴⁹⁵ Griffiths, "The Department of Prints and Drawings," 532.

⁴⁹⁶ Griffiths, "The Department of Prints and Drawings," 532-34.

⁴⁹⁷ Griffiths, "The Department of Prints and Drawings," 541.

⁴⁹⁸ "Department of Prints and Drawings," accessed August 20, 2019, https://www.britishmuseum.org/about_us/departments/prints_and_drawings.aspx.

⁴⁹⁹ Griffiths, "The Department of Prints and Drawings," 544.

⁵⁰⁰ Marjorie L. Caygill and Christopher Date, *Building the British Museum* (London: Published for the Trustees of the British Museum by British Museum Press, 1999), 58–62.

⁵⁰¹ "British Museum Act," The National Archives, 1963, accessed August 20, 2019, 2019, <https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1963/24/contents>.

introduced a system of indexing works by artist name, and set his team about the task of cataloguing the collection in greater depth.⁵⁰² Laurence Binyon (1869–1943) joined the department in 1895, having lost out to Dodgson in the 1893 exams because of his lack of German.⁵⁰³ The third of Colvin's best-known university-educated recruits was A.M. Hind. Younger than Dodgson and Binyon, he joined the department in 1904.⁵⁰⁴

When Colvin retired in 1912, Dodgson took over as Keeper of Prints and Drawings. Colvin had wanted Binyon to have the job as he knew Binyon needed the money, but the Trustees considered that Dodgson was better qualified.⁵⁰⁵ Binyon's pressing financial issues were relieved by making him Keeper of Oriental Prints and Drawings — a new section of the department — with an appropriate pay rise. Dodgson let him have the rent-free accommodation that came with his new job, and Binyon's family lived there until Dodgson's retirement in 1932.⁵⁰⁶

Dodgson succeeded Colvin at a busy time. The new Prints and Drawings Room was to open in the Edward VII galleries in 1914. It was fitted out and ready in time, but in 1916 it, along with the rest of the BM, closed to the public until the end of the First World War. Many members of the museum staff were involved in the war effort — just twenty-six certificates of indispensability were requested, and nearly half the combined staff of the BM and the British Museum (National History) volunteered.⁵⁰⁷ There was also, as the annual report of 1917 noted, a significant risk that such a very large and well known landmark would be a target for bombers, so the most valuable books, manuscripts, and works on paper were evacuated to the National Library of Wales in Aberystwyth.⁵⁰⁸ Dodgson, who was forty-seven years old at the start of the war, remained in the museum for the duration, running what was essentially a one-man operation.

⁵⁰² Frances Carey, *Campbell Dodgson: scholar and collector 1867–1948* (British Museum, Trustees, 1998), 10–11.

⁵⁰³ Carey, *Campbell Dodgson: scholar and collector*, 12.

⁵⁰⁴ Frances Carey, "Campbell Dodgson (1867–1948)," in *Landmarks in print collecting: connoisseurs and donors at the British Museum since 1753*, ed. Anthony Griffiths (London: British Museum Press for the Trustees of the British Museum, 1996), 212.

⁵⁰⁵ Carey, "Campbell Dodgson (1867–1948)," 210.

⁵⁰⁶ Carey, *Campbell Dodgson: scholar and collector*, 22–23.

⁵⁰⁷ Kavanagh, *Museums and the First World War: A Social History*, 54–55.

⁵⁰⁸ Frederic G. Kenyon, "General Progress at the Museum, Bloomsbury," in *Account of the Income and Expenditure of the British Museum (Special Trust Funds) for the Year ending the 31st day of March 1916* (London: T. Fisher Unwin Ltd., June 10, 1919).

The Print Fund

In the period under consideration the BM had no budget for buying contemporary prints and drawings.⁵⁰⁹ The First World War had seen a complete suspension of its purchase grant.⁵¹⁰ Even before, and certainly after the War, priority was given to filling 'gaps' in the collection of Old Masters. Past Keepers, wrote Dodgson, had "concentrated their attention too exclusively on ... filling gaps in the collections of the works of famous engravers of the past".⁵¹¹ Even funds released from the sale of duplicate prints — a practice which started in 1909 — were used to acquire Old Masters, (in particular the works sold at auction in Germany in the 1920s and 1930s following the financial crisis there).⁵¹² Nearly 4,000 prints and drawings were acquired during Dodgson's keepership, but those funded by the government purchase grant or the National Art Collections Fund were inevitably Old Masters.⁵¹³

Under the British legal deposit system the BM's Reading Room received a copy of every new book printed in Britain. Such a principle did not exist for prints — the idea had been suggested in 1911 but was considered unworkable as most prints were not registered for copyright.⁵¹⁴ The only way, then, to acquire contemporary work was to solicit gifts, or to look for a different funding arrangement. Dodgson's solution was the CAS Print Fund, an idea which he nurtured from the beginning of his tenure as Keeper of Prints and Drawings in 1912, the execution of which was "deferred for several years owing to the War."⁵¹⁵ The aim of the CAS Print Fund was to acquire contemporary prints and drawings which would remain in the possession of the Society for a certain period. They would first be shown in touring exhibitions, and then presented to the BM. The Print Fund came into being in June 1919 — prior to that no prints had been purchased by the Society at all. Dodgson proposed, and the CAS Committee agreed, that a Print Fund be set up for the "purchase of original modern prints and drawings, both English and foreign for the benefit of the British Museum". The prints acquired would "remain in the possession of the Contemporary Art Society for a period ... and be available for

⁵⁰⁹ Campbell Dodgson, "Quarterly Notes — April 1935," in *The Print Collector's Quarterly* (London: J.M. Dent & Sons Ltd, 1935), 89.

⁵¹⁰ Kenyon, "General Progress at the Museum, Bloomsbury."

⁵¹¹ Campbell Dodgson, "Quarterly Notes — July 1924," in *The Print Collector's Quarterly* (London: J.M. Dent & Sons Ltd, 1924), 127.

⁵¹² Frances Carey, "Curatorial Collecting in the Twentieth Century," in *Landmarks in print collecting: connoisseurs and donors at the British Museum since 1753*, ed. Anthony Griffiths (London: British Museum Press, 1996), 237.

⁵¹³ Carey, "Campbell Dodgson (1867–1948)," 211.

⁵¹⁴ Martin J. Hopkinson, *No day without a line: the history of the Royal Society of Painter-Printmakers, 1880–1999* (Oxford: Ashmolean Museum, 1999), 31.

⁵¹⁵ Dodgson, "Quarterly Notes — July 1924," 128–29.

exhibition before being offered to the Trustees of the British Museum".⁵¹⁶ Dodgson believed that the BM, as a national museum, was the logical place to consign the prints once they had toured sufficiently.⁵¹⁷ Not everyone agreed with Dodgson on this point: the idea of donating prints and drawings to provincial galleries was suggested by Charles Aitken when the Print Fund was established, but he was overruled.⁵¹⁸ When Hind took over the Print Fund in 1935, the policy was reviewed and it was decided to allocate twenty-five percent of the works acquired by the Print Fund to regional galleries.⁵¹⁹ The first museums to benefit from the change of strategy were Cardiff, Leeds, Leicester, the London Museum, Manchester City Galleries and the Ashmolean in 1936.⁵²⁰

To pay for the purchases Dodgson "undertook to raise and administer ... a separate account from the general funds of the Society", and it was unanimously agreed that Dodgson "as Keeper of Prints and Drawings should himself spend the money to be obtained".⁵²¹ When Dodgson retired at the end of 1934, A.M. Hind, his successor as Keeper, was appointed in his stead. Hence, in contrast to the situations described in previous chapters, the Print Fund from 1919–39 was managed by two individual buyers, both museum professionals, with no interference from other CAS Committee members.

Dodgson raised money for the Print Fund through personal networks and requests for donations in CAS annual reports and the *Print Collector's Quarterly* (where he was Editor 1921–1936).⁵²² A significant number of contributors to the Print Fund were printmakers. Among the more generous were Dodgson himself (who gave ten guineas a year), George Henderson (who was married to Elsie Henderson, a lithographer), Charles Rutherston (who featured in the Manchester case study), Dodgson's wife Catherine, and members of her family. The average annual revenue (i.e. spending power) of the Print Fund 1919–1939 was £250 (see Appendix 6) *cf.* approximately £2,051 for the CAS General Fund (see Appendix 6). The funds to buy prints and drawings were thus roughly a tenth of that available for other acquisitions. Prints are relatively cheap when compared to paintings and sculpture, the exceptions in this period being the works of the 'super etchers': the Scottish artists David Young Cameron, Muirhead Bone and James McBey; and the Swedish Anders Zorn (1860–1920).⁵²³ In 1929, works by Bone and Cameron were fetching £300–£400 at auction, *cf.* Duncan Grant's *Interior* (Plate 28)

⁵¹⁶ CASCM — 9215/2/2/2, Meeting June 5, 1919.

⁵¹⁷ Dodgson, "Quarterly Notes — April 1935," 87–88.

⁵¹⁸ CASCM — 9215/2/2/2, Meeting June 5, 1919.

⁵¹⁹ Dodgson, "Quarterly Notes — April 1935," 87–88.

⁵²⁰ Contemporary Art Society, *Report 1936–7*, 28.

⁵²¹ CASCM — 9215/2/2/2, Meeting June 5, 1919.

⁵²² Dodgson, "Quarterly Notes — April 1935," 87.

⁵²³ Campbell Dodgson, "On Collecting Etchings," *Morning Post* (London) March 21, 1925.

which cost the CAS £630 in 1929.⁵²⁴ However, most works on paper were relatively cheap. In the first thirty years of CAS collecting, general funds were used to purchase or part-purchase 288 artworks (mainly paintings and sculptures). By contrast, in its first twenty years the Print Fund acquired 1,329 print items (including 192 gifts) and 219 drawings (fifteen of which were gifts).⁵²⁵

The Print Fund's independence can be seen in its annual reports. For the first four years of its existence the fund produced its own annual report, and its work was also included in CAS annual reports. It is notable that a sizeable proportion of the items mentioned in the first three Print Fund reports did not make it into the 1919–24 CAS report. There is no obvious reason why so many items were omitted, but a certain amount of administration fatigue seems likely given the large number of items involved. Possibly because of the difficulties of keeping the reports in line, in 1925 the Print Fund began to produce a separate annual report and print fund acquisitions were not included in the main CAS reports. In 1928, the reports were re-consolidated and there were no further separate Print Fund reports.

Print Fund exhibitions

From 1914 the Prints and Drawings Room had a dedicated exhibition space within the Edward VII wing of the BM, but this was mostly used to exhibit Old Master prints and drawings. During Dodgson's management of the Print Fund there was only one exhibition of contemporary prints and drawings at the BM itself — in 1924 after a first tranche of works were transferred from the CAS collection to the museum.⁵²⁶ The BM's exhibition space was dedicated to displaying works from the museum's collection. Hence the first Print Fund exhibition was held at Dodgson's home at 22 Montagu Square in June 1919.⁵²⁷ A second show was held in 1920. The *Times* declared that the selection was "both good and catholic, ranging from drawings by Degas to woodcuts by Mr Wadsworth".⁵²⁸ Despite this promising start, the response to the next exhibition in 1921 was subdued. Dodgson wrote to his niece that it had "a very good start with over 100 visitors during the weekend, but ... attendance has been disappointingly small and I fear we shall not do much more than cover expenses".⁵²⁹ Nonetheless, Dodgson continued to use his own home to display the latest Print Fund acquisitions —

⁵²⁴ A.M. Hind, "The Plight of Etching — Fashion in Art," *Times* (London), August 10, 1939.

⁵²⁵ Note: Not all the prints and drawings in the CAS collection were acquired by the Print Fund.

⁵²⁶ Joanna Bowring, *Chronology of Temporary Exhibitions at the British Museum*, British Museum Research Publications No. 189, (London: British Museum, 2012), 9.

⁵²⁷ Jan Gordon, "Art & Artists," *The Observer* (London) June 29, 1919.

⁵²⁸ Anon., "The Art of Camille Pissarro: Harvest of a Quiet Eye," *Times* (London), May 14, 1920.

⁵²⁹ BM-DN4/1-5 - Letters from Campbell Dodgson to Eveline Dodgson November 4, and Oct 12, 1921.

exhibitions at 22 Montagu Square were noted in the annual reports for 1923, 1925, 1928, 1929 and 1931.

Dodgson also organised several touring exhibitions to provincial museums each year: Derby and Sheffield in 1920; and Leeds, Bradford and York in 1921.⁵³⁰ Exhibitions in Birkenhead, Birmingham, Halifax, Chorley, Birmingham's Central School of Arts and Crafts, and Marylebone Town Hall and Colnaghi's in London were mentioned in Print Fund reports from 1923–28. Dodgson saw these tours as a means to display the Print Fund's new acquisitions to its donors and also as a means to allow artists and collectors outside London to see them. However the workload of arranging framing, cataloguing, freight and insurance for exhibitions of between twenty and 150 prints must have been substantial, which was probably why the 1928 Print Fund Report announced a new arrangement with the Art Exhibitions Bureau founded by Charles R. Chisman (1877–1955). The Bureau was to manage tours of the works acquired by the Print Fund round Britain with its expenses shared between participating galleries.⁵³¹ Chisman had pioneered the idea of circulating exhibitions and went on to be Organizing Director of the Empire Art Loan Exhibitions Society, founded in 1932.⁵³² The 1928–34 Print Fund reports record tours of first 150, then 125 framed images to Barnard Castle (Bowes Museum), Belfast, Birkenhead, Blackpool (twice), Bootle, Burton-on-Trent (twice), Carlisle, Derby (twice), Halifax, Lincoln, Manchester, Oldham, Plymouth, Newcastle-on-Tyne (twice), Leeds (twice), Reading, Salisbury and Sheffield. The exhibitions received good press coverage, but unfortunately, despite Chisman's organisational flair, they did not generate any extra revenue for the CAS.⁵³³ By 1936, the CAS was working with Chisman's Empire Art Collections Society and prints and drawings from the collection toured Australia, Canada, Jamaica, and New Zealand 1936–1939.⁵³⁴

Campbell Dodgson

Dodgson was the youngest of eight children, the son of William Oliver Dodgson (1811-1895), a partner in a stockbroking firm.⁵³⁵ When William Dodgson died in 1895, his £135,544 fortune (approximately £18 million in 2020) was split between Campbell, his younger brothers William Henley

⁵³⁰ Campbell Dodgson, *The Contemporary Art Society Print Fund: First Report for the years 1919–21* (London: Miles & Co. Ltd., 1922), 3.

⁵³¹ Contemporary Art Society, *Report 1928*, 24.

⁵³² Bernard Dolman, *Who's who in Art*, vol. 5 (London: Art Trade Press Limited, 1950), 86.

⁵³³ Contemporary Art Society, *Report 1929*, 23.

⁵³⁴ Contemporary Art Society, *Report 1936–7*, 28. (The CAS report mistakenly identifies the Empire Art Loan Exhibitions Society as the Empire Art Collections Society.)

⁵³⁵ Carey, *Campbell Dodgson: scholar and collector*, 3.

and Henley Frederick, and his father's business partner George James Newbery.⁵³⁶ Dodgson would become a pillar of the establishment: his wedding was reported in the *Times*, and he and his wife were presented at Court. He perhaps enjoyed the company of artists rather more — he was, for example, among regular visitors to Esther Bensusan Pissarro's 'at home' every other Sunday mingling with friends of Lucien Pissarro such as Francis Dodd, Ethel Walker, Spencer Gore, Harold Gilman, Robert Bevan, Walter Sickert, and Charles Aitken.⁵³⁷ To complement his fluency in German he invited French friends — including the Pissarro family — to his home on Monday evenings when only French would be spoken!⁵³⁸

Dodgson was educated at Winchester College (1880–86), before going up to New College, Oxford, where he took a first-class honours degree in Greats in 1890 and a second in Theology in 1891.⁵³⁹ In 1913 he married an artist, Frances Catherine Spooner (1883–1954), the daughter of William Archibald Spooner (Warden of New College and the originator of 'Spoonerisms').⁵⁴⁰ Frances would have been eleven years old when he left Oxford so they probably met in London where she attended the Royal Academy Schools and (for a short period) the Slade. Their wedding was a grand, but fundamentally family affair: a choral service in New College Chapel. Two of the six bridesmaids were family members of the bride, two were friends of the bride and two were the groom's nieces Eveline and Barbara.⁵⁴¹ Dodgson had been an Anglo-Catholic since his undergraduate days. He initially considered the priesthood, but went for the Civil Service exams instead. "An austere man of retiring nature", he took his Christian duties seriously, opening his home to refugees in the Second World War.⁵⁴²

Dodgson was independently wealthy from the age of maturity, so it is interesting to note that where some might have settled into a life of leisure, he followed a career in the Civil Service and took up a salaried post in the BM — albeit in an area that interested him passionately. Thanks to his German, Dodgson's first major task came in 1895 when around 1,200 German fifteenth- and sixteenth-century woodcuts were donated to the museum by the collector William Mitchell (1821/2–1908). The

⁵³⁶ "Calendars of Wills and Administrations 1858–1920,"

http://www.willcalendars.nationalarchives.ie/reels/cwa/005014909/005014909_00528.pdf.

⁵³⁷ William Sutton Meadmore, *Lucien Pissarro — Un coeur simple* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1963), 130.

⁵³⁸ Carey, *Campbell Dodgson: scholar and collector*, 29–30.

⁵³⁹ "Dodgson, Campbell (1867–1948)," Oxford University Press, 2004, accessed January 16, 2017,

<http://www.oxforddnb.com>.

⁵⁴⁰ "Dodgson, Frances Catharine (1883–1954)," Oxford University Press, 2004, accessed January 16, 2017,

<http://www.oxforddnb.com>.

⁵⁴¹ 'Marriage', *Times* (London, England), Wednesday, September 24, 1913, Issue 40325, 9

⁵⁴² Carey, "Campbell Dodgson (1867–1948)," 212. Carey, *Campbell Dodgson: scholar and collector*, 36.

gift brought to light a more-or-less complete absence of any comprehensive cataloguing or research on the museum's German woodcuts. The German-speaking Dodgson was given the task of producing a catalogue.⁵⁴³ Dodgson would make many visits to collections in northern Europe and become friends with some of the Continent's leading curators. He had completed the first volume of his catalogue of early German and Flemish woodcuts in 1903, and a second volume was published in 1911.⁵⁴⁴ Chief amongst the museum professionals who helped Dodgson with his research was Max Lehrs (1855–1938), who also sparked Dodgson's interest in collecting contemporary art. Lehrs was Director of the Dresden Print Room from 1896–1904 and again 1908–1924. He was Head of Prints and Drawings at Berlin's Kupferstichkabinett 1905–1907. Thanks to Lehrs, Dresden acquired not only Old Master prints but also contemporary works.⁵⁴⁵ Dodgson cited as the reason behind the success of the Dresden cabinet's contemporary collection "the knowledge, taste and initiative" of its Director.⁵⁴⁶

Dodgson would become a leading authority on early German and Flemish prints. He wrote monographs on Lucas Cranach (1900) and Dürer (1926), and was co-editor of the Dürer Society's publications 1898–1911.⁵⁴⁷ His many contributions to the study of German printmaking saw him awarded the *Goethe-Medaille für Kunst und Wissenschaft* medal in July 1933, in recognition of his services to German art.⁵⁴⁸ His was among the last medals awarded by Reichspresident Paul von Hindenburg (1847–1934) before Hitler took over the programme in November 1934.⁵⁴⁹

Dodgson was active in networks of printmakers, print collectors and museum professionals. His monographs, articles and catalogues were highly respected in the print-collecting world. He was also involved in the founding of the Print Collectors' Club, gave lectures to them and contributed to

⁵⁴³ Carey, *Campbell Dodgson: scholar and collector*, 12.

⁵⁴⁴ Campbell Dodgson, *Catalogue of early German and Flemish woodcuts: preserved in the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum, Vol. 1: German and Flemish woodcuts of the XV century* (London: William Clowes & Sons Limited, 1903). Campbell Dodgson, *Catalogue of Early German and Flemish Woodcuts preserved in the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum: Vol. 2* (London: British Museum, 1911). In the same period he had also translated monographs by Hermann Knackfuss on Van Dyck (1899), Holbein (1899), Raphael (1899) and Dürer (1900) from the German.

⁵⁴⁵ Carey, *Campbell Dodgson: scholar and collector*, 12–14.

⁵⁴⁶ Dodgson, "A Fund for the Purchase of Modern Prints and Drawings," 41.

⁵⁴⁷ Carey, "Campbell Dodgson (1867–1948)," 213.

⁵⁴⁸ Carey, *Campbell Dodgson: scholar and collector*, 35. Dodgson's award is listed in *Der deutsche Almanach für Kunst und Wissenschaft — Erster Jahrgang 1933*, ed. Friedrich Mentzen (Berlin: Verlag Der deutsche Almanach für Kunst und Wissenschaft, 1933).

⁵⁴⁹ Hartmut Heyck, *The Goethe-Medal for Art and Science* (Ottawa: Heyck Publications, 2009), 26, and Appendix C.

their annual publications. In fact, he was consistently 'professional'. Perhaps the dullness associated with this adjective is the reason why his biographer, Frances Carey, to provide a contrast to this point of view, has told the tale of his short but interesting acquaintance with Oscar Wilde.⁵⁵⁰

After completing his degree, in 1893, Dodgson became tutor to the 23-year-old Lord Alfred Douglas (1870–1945), known as 'Bosie', who was doing badly at Magdalen College, Oxford. Bosie's mother, Lady Queensberry, was worried that her son had not been spending enough time on his studies. Dodgson's friend from Winchester, and later Oxford, the poet Lionel Johnson (1867–1902), was Bosie's cousin and recommended Dodgson to be the young man's tutor. Dodgson agreed to go for a month, but on February 3 he learned that his Civil Service examination (for which he needed at least ten days' hard preparation) was to begin on February 20. Lady Queensberry asked him to come all the same, if only for a week, while she looked for another tutor.⁵⁵¹ The young man was not a dedicated student. On receiving an invitation to join Wilde in Babbacombe near Torquay, bags were packed, presents bought and pupil and tutor descended on the coast where Wilde decided to upgrade the household into an official educational establishment: Babbacombe School. Wilde was to be Headmaster, Dodgson, Lead Tutor and Bosie the only student. Dodgson later described his stay as an "electrifying experience."⁵⁵² Wilde seems to have teased him mercilessly. Just a few letters survive to give us a flavour of their short stay together — Dodgson was offered his tutoring job on February 1, 1893 and left on February 10 to prepare for his Civil Service exams. After meeting Wilde, he wrote to Johnson:

I think him perfectly delightful with the firmest conviction that his morals are detestable. He professes to have discovered that mine are as bad. His command of language is extraordinary, so at least it seems to me who am inarticulate, and worship Irishmen who are not. I am going back on Saturday. I shall probably leave all that remains of my religion and my morals behind me.⁵⁵³

Wilde seems to have spotted the dreamer in Dodgson that his diligent professionalism hid so well. We only know what Wilde said from Dodgson's account of Wilde's reading of his hand. Following the palm-reading, Wilde declared that:

You have an extraordinarily sensuous and sensitive temperament, with a capacity for great passions and pleasures — the making of a hedonist, an artist. A strong imagination, memory,

⁵⁵⁰ Carey, "Campbell Dodgson (1867–1948)," 212–13.

⁵⁵¹ Oscar Wilde, *The Letters of Oscar Wilde*, ed. Rupert Hart-Davis (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1962), 867.

⁵⁵² Carey, "Campbell Dodgson (1867–1948)," 212.

⁵⁵³ Campbell Dodgson to Lionel Johnson, Babbacombe Cliff, February 8, 1893 in Wilde, *The Letters of Oscar Wilde*, 868.

delight in colour, imagining worlds of beauty in a Greek phrase, or in some forms of Italian art. But this is restrained by your secretiveness, timidity, dread of action. Your best friends do not know you: you live intensely when you are quite alone; you can never be at your best when expected to be. If you try to translate into words your intense delight in art, you will produce a dry string of names and dates.⁵⁵⁴

Perhaps the bookplate designed for him in 1909 by a member of Binyon's circle, Thomas Sturge Moore, can give another insight into Dodgson's personality (see Plate 66). The family motto *DILIGENTIA* (diligence) is the first thing that strikes the eye and the image, also known as *The Virgin and the Unicorn*, suggests a chastity reflecting the alternate meaning of *diligentia* — pure love. Given the diligent work and thoroughness that went into Dodgson's catalogues, one would be tempted to recall Fry's "dry as dust" comment, were it not for the letters that Dodgson wrote to his niece Eveline Dodgson (1901–1995). Dodgson's younger brother Capt. Arthur Dodgson (1859–1903) committed suicide in 1903.⁵⁵⁵ His widow re-married 1907 and his daughter Eveline became Campbell's ward (he and Frances had no children of their own).⁵⁵⁶ Eveline would go on to become an artist herself and married James Byam Shaw, who worked with Dodgson at the Courtauld, in 1929.⁵⁵⁷ Dodgson's letters to Eveline tell of a man who enjoyed travelling, meeting people and the thrill of the chase — or at least the chase of a desirable print. Describing an auction in Leipzig in 1927, he wrote of his excitement:

... to attend such a sale in the character of the would-be buyer doomed to many disappointments; to breathe for five days the heated atmosphere of rumour and anticipation; to speculate on the chances of this or that museum, on either side of the Atlantic, acquiring this or that rarity; to hear how much money the Munich print-room had begged from the rich brewers and to wonder whether it would all be spent before the last afternoon, and whether there was still any chance of making acquisitions ... All this was a somewhat thrilling experience, rich in its alternations of pleasure and pain.⁵⁵⁸

When Dodgson died in 1949, he left an estate of nearly £80,000 (approximately £2.8 million in 2021).⁵⁵⁹ He left £3,000 to each of his fourteen nephews and nieces.⁵⁶⁰ He also left £3,000 for the

⁵⁵⁴ BM-DN4/1-5 — Campbell Dodgson to Lionel Johnson, Babbacombe Cliff, Torquay, Feb 10, 1893.

⁵⁵⁵ Anon., "Suicide of a Naval Officer," *Evening News* (Sydney, NSW), August 10, 1903.

⁵⁵⁶ "Shaw, (John) James Byam (1903–1992)," Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Oxford University Press, accessed September 13, 2019, 2004, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/51315>.

⁵⁵⁷ "Shaw, (John) James Byam (1903–1992)."

⁵⁵⁸ Carey, *Campbell Dodgson: scholar and collector*, 32–33.

⁵⁵⁹ Inflation calculator: <https://www.in2013dollars.com/UK-inflation/>; "Dodgson, Campbell (1867–1948)."

⁵⁶⁰ Carey, *Campbell Dodgson: scholar and collector*, 3.

purchase of artworks for the BM to be administered by National Art Collections Fund (now the Art Fund).⁵⁶¹ He bequeathed his private collection of around 5,000 works on paper (2,500 by British artists, 1,500 French and the rest from Germany, Scandinavia and the USA) to the BM and the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge. The larger portion went to the BM.⁵⁶² It was a collection built up with precisely this purpose in mind, which in “its totality represents a mode of collecting which has all but vanished from the post WW2 art world”.⁵⁶³ Given that Dodgson used his personal funds to fill in the ‘expensive’ gaps in the BM collection, both during his life and in his bequest, in considering his contribution to the museum’s early twentieth-century print holdings we must consider not only his CAS acquisitions but also some aspects of his personal collecting.

Printing techniques and the connoisseur

Dodgson’s interest in acquiring contemporary prints for the CAS reflects a significant change in the perceived status of the printmaker — from artisan to artist — that occurred in the mid-nineteenth century. In Dodgson’s case, and for other print collectors, it also reflects a passion for detail and connoisseurship to which new developments in printmaking gave full rein. However, as a CAS buyer, did his selections favour artists whose techniques were of interest to a printmaking connoisseur, or did his choices reflect other aesthetic preferences? Did he embrace, for example, modernist concepts such as the flattening of pictorial space, and did he, like Edward Marsh, favour the figurative over the abstract? Before considering Dodgson’s aesthetic choices it is worth remembering that his connoisseurship was based on an in-depth knowledge of printmaking techniques.

A print connoisseur must have a detailed knowledge of the techniques and materials used by the artist, as in printmaking these make a significant difference in the resulting image. In woodcut, wood engraved and linocut images, lines are carved into a block (known as the matrix) in a relief printing process. The ink is applied to the surface; the carved lines remain ink-free and the remaining surface produces the image. Wood cutters carve along the grain of the tree, wood engravers work across the grain. The type of wood used determines the sharpness of the image and the ease of cutting — a tight cross grain on a slow growing wood such as boxwood produces a crisper image than pine carved along the grain. Wood-engraved blocks are resilient; they are deep enough to be set alongside type in a letterpress bed, so that text and illustrations can easily be printed together. In the period under consideration, the terms woodcut and wood engraving were used interchangeably as often the two types of print are not distinguishable to the naked eye. The woodcutter and wood engraver cannot put wood back in the block once it is cut — they can only take more wood away. The controlled

⁵⁶¹ As of December 2018, there is £4 left. Art [Fund report 2018](#) .

⁵⁶² Carey, "Campbell Dodgson (1867–1948)," 211.

⁵⁶³ Ibid.

minimalism of Eric Gill's 1923 *Girl in bath, II* (Plate 67) requires a mastery of draughtsmanship, vision and a controlled Matisse-like simplicity, which is even more appreciated when one understands the technique used to create it.

Engraving and etching are both intaglio processes using metal plates. In engraving, lines are cut into the plate using a burin, and training and practice are needed to produce consistently smooth lines. In etching, the plate is covered with a resist on which an artist can draw as freely as if they were drawing on paper. The lines are then 'cut' by dipping the plate in an acid solution — where the artist has drawn the bare metal is etched away by the acid, but where the resist remains the plate is untouched. Mezzotint and aquatint processes can be used after etching or engraving to provide subtle changes in light and shade. The ink is applied to the whole plate, and then rubbed away so that it remains only in the cut lines. A special press is used, with damp paper so that the press squeezes the ink out of the cut lines onto the paper. A metal plate can produce thousands of prints; copper around 4,000 impressions, steel many more.⁵⁶⁴ In late print runs, however, the image will look faded because the lines in the plate will be squashed by the pressure of the press over time. In both etching and engraving multiple 'states' can be produced, either by cutting or etching extra lines, or by hammering out the metal to remove lines. In wood, one can always cut more lines, but one can never put the wood back: wood allows less scope for mistakes; metal more for revisions.

Lithography (from Ancient Greek; '*lithos*', 'stone' and '*graphein*', 'to write') was first invented in 1798 by the German playwright, Aloys Senefelder (1771–1834). The technique works on the principle that water and oil do not mix. Greasy lithographic crayons or a liquid emulsion ink called *tusche* are applied to a semi-porous surface, usually stone. The non-greasy parts are receptive to water, which then rejects the printing ink, whilst the areas drawn with greasy ink or crayon attract it. By the early nineteenth century the process was in use in Germany for reproductions of paintings and drawings in books. French artists, notably Delacroix and Gericault in the 1820s, were the first to see lithography's potential for original printmaking.⁵⁶⁵

Colour printing, by any of the above processes, adds further levels of complexity. Either multiple blocks must be made, or the block re-carved between each colour in a reduction printing process. Each colour is printed in sequence, the lightest colours first. The challenge is always the registration of each new colour layer with the previous one. The arrival of Japanese *Ukiyo-e* prints in 1860s Europe bought a wave of stylistic change as artists such as Monet and Degas collected prints and

⁵⁶⁴ Geoffrey Wakeman, *Victorian book illustration: the technical revolution* (Newton Abbot: David and Charles, 1973), 33.

⁵⁶⁵ Anthony Griffiths, *Prints and Printmaking: an introduction to the history and techniques* (London: British Museum Publications Ltd, 1980), 104.

embraced ideas such as cropping, birds' eye views and large flat areas of colour. Japanese woodblock printmakers had also developed a method of colour registration without error— their papers are pressed by hand onto the matrix — not rolled in a press. The block is larger than the print, leaving space for registration marks to which the papers are then aligned. A second advantage of the Japanese method is its use of water based inks, which are applied with a brush, not a roller, thus allowing for subtle gradations of colour.

All that is black is not completely black. Prints that have been run through a press (woodcuts, wood engravings, intaglio and sometimes lino) can enjoy solid blacks and solid colours as the inks are applied evenly with a roller and the pressure of the press then ensures even coverage. White — in intaglio — is achieved by careful wiping of the plate. The choice to leave white 'grey' in certain places was a particular speciality of James McNeill Whistler (1834–1903), as can be seen in the rear wall of the gloomy interior of the *Wheelwright* (1879–1880, Plate 68). This 'plate tone' effect is entirely in the hands of the printmaker and the amount of ink left on the plate can vary from impression to impression, making each unique. For the connoisseur, a 'pale' engraving is unsatisfactory — insufficient ink has been left on the plate, or the plate is worn — but a mix of white and controlled grey plate tone in an etching can be fascinating.

By contrast some lino prints, and all Japanese woodblock prints, are printed by placing the paper over the inked matrix and transferring the ink by manual pressure using a baren (a disk-like hand tool with a flat bottom and a knotted handle). The choice of how much pressure is used determines the solidity of the colour, for example in Cyril Power's *The tube staircase* (Plate 69), he has applied colour more thickly to the matrix in some places than in others. In Japanese-style prints, the hand of the artist can be seen in the printing process because inks are applied by hand with a brush — allowing subtle gradations of colour, such as the sea in John Edgar Platt's *Mullion Cove* (Plate 70).

The image on the matrix (the plate, stone, lino or woodblock) always prints in reverse, and an artist might adjust it many times (creating 'proofs') to achieve their desired result. It is an iterative, calculated process — whether the work is an 'original' or a 'reproduction'. The printmaker Ruth Weisberg describes it thus:

The printmaking process allows the artist to record the discreet changes and developments in the image. The transcription of these revisions has been formalised over the centuries into a system of proofs and states. Most importantly, the artist's mode of concept is shaped by the possibility of successive proofs. The artist thinks differently when working on a print. There are often dramatic transformations of tone and colour in the transfer from matrix to paper, as well as in the reversal of the image's direction. In intaglio, the bright metallic line revealed by a scratch in the grounded plate may become a black line on white paper. In lithography, one

learns to calculate the value range of colour. When printed in yellow, pale washes of black *tusche* may disappear altogether. ... The process unfolds through a series of controlled accidents. This is our delight and our challenge. The final image is the visible consequence of all one's decisions.⁵⁶⁶

What all this means is that apart from monographs — where the image is actually painted on a plate, then printed as just one or two copies — there is practically no equivalent to the immediate impact of a 'painterly' brushstroke or an 'intuitive' sketch; in printmaking every work is the result of multiple stages of design, experiment and execution. Any published edition of a print can thus have several 'states' that show us how the artist's ideas progressed. They "reveal directly the artist intentions and mental process."⁵⁶⁷ As Weisberg notes:

The eight states of Rembrandt's *Ecce Homo* give us access to Rembrandt's internal considerations. The decisive sixth state, in which a crowd of onlookers is replaced by a cavernous abyss, has a stunning effect on anyone who has really studied these prints. Imagine, by comparison, what it would be like if we were to have all the stages of the painting, or all the alternative modes of resolution, for a painting such as Velasquez's *Las Meninas*.⁵⁶⁸

Finally, prints are generally stored in portfolios, not hung on the wall. They are taken out and handled. Collectors appreciate prints in a physically very intimate way: feeling the texture and the quality of the paper. This intimacy leads to an emphasis on craftsmanship. The print connoisseur — as a 'type' of collector — is interested in details. Magnifying glasses feature strongly in their lives.

Print-making in the early twentieth century

A revival in fine art printmaking in mid-nineteenth century Britain took place, in part as a reaction to changes in printmaking technology. The majority of the printed images produced commercially at this time were used in advertising and in the illustrated press. The skill of the reproductive engraver as a craftsman should not be underestimated, but the imaginative creation, the original drawing or painting from which the print was reproduced, was generally done by another — divorcing artistic intent from the production process. For example, J.M.W. Turner's *58 Picturesque*

⁵⁶⁶ Ruth Weisberg, "The syntax of the print: in search of an aesthetic context," in *Perspectives on contemporary printmaking: critical writing since 1986*, ed. Ruth Pelzer-Montada (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2018), 63. A proof is an impression of a print taken in the printmaking process to see the current printing state of a plate while it is being worked on by the artist. An 'artist's proof' is usually un-numbered. A state represents a new version of the image, following reworking.

⁵⁶⁷ Weisberg, "The syntax of the print," 63-64.

⁵⁶⁸ Weisberg, "The syntax of the print," 64.

Views on the Southern Coast of England was planned and produced by the engraver William Bernard Cooke (1778–1855). Watercolours were provided by Turner, with drawings from his paintings made by other artists and then plates made by a team of engravers managed by Cooke.⁵⁶⁹ The artist might have trained at the Royal Academy Schools; a wood engraver would have completed a six-year apprenticeship.⁵⁷⁰ The division of labour between artist and reproductive printmaker was such that Ruskin could write that “no engraver thought himself able to draw; and no artist thought it his business to engrave”.⁵⁷¹

The wood engravers of the nineteenth century were, like engravers on metal, enslaved to the demands of the illustrated press. Their customers wanted realism and so subtle variations of tone were used to describe space. Some remarkable works, such as the Dalziel brothers *Snapdragon* of 1865 (see Plate 71), were produced. In *Snapdragon* the Dalziel brothers have created tonal values in a manner analogous to metal engravings. Wood engraving is a relief process — a line cut in the block produces a white line. If a black line is required then the engraver has to cut two lines, one either side of the final black line. The subtle gradations of tone in the white-collar against the dark velvet suit of the young boy in the darkened foreground were created by black line crosshatching. The spots of light we see have been carefully cut out of the block leaving the black lines proud.

Large illustrations were split into sections so that members of a team of wood engravers could each copy their part of the drawing with a master engraver assembling the sections into a final block for printing.⁵⁷² Walter Crane (1845–1915) describes the workshop in which he had been an apprentice:

A row of engravers at work at a fixed bench covered with green baize running the length of the room under the windows with eyeglass stands ... And for night work around table with a glass lamp in the centre, surrounded with a circle of large clear glass globes filled with water to magnify the light and concentrated on the blocks ... The experienced hands in the best light, the 'prentice hands between.⁵⁷³

Faced with this industrialisation of printmaking, some engravers began to consider how to make prints that could stand for themselves as works of art. The movement can be traced back to the ‘illuminated printing’ of William Blake (1757–1827) in the late 1780s, and, later, the works of his followers Samuel Palmer (1805–1881) and the Shoreham ‘Ancients’.

⁵⁶⁹ E.g. J.M.W. Turner (after), *Dover from Shakespeare’s Cliff*, 1826, line engraving on paper, 16.3 x 24.3 cm, Tate.

⁵⁷⁰ James Hamilton, *Wood engraving & the woodcut in Britain, c.1890-1990* (London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1994), 31.

⁵⁷¹ John Ruskin, *Ariadne Florentina* (London: George Allen, 1904), 190.

⁵⁷² Hamilton, *Wood engraving & the woodcut in Britain*, 33.

⁵⁷³ Hamilton, *Wood engraving & the woodcut in Britain*, 32. Citing Walter Crane, *An Artist’s Reminiscences* (London: Methuen, 1907), 46–50.

These developments came to a head in the so-called Etching Revival of the 1860s which began in Paris and established itself in Britain thanks to Whistler and his brother-in-law Francis Seymour Haden (1818–1910).⁵⁷⁴ Whistler encouraged his friend Alphonse Legros (1837–1911) — a maker of etchings, drypoints and lithographs as well as a painter — to move from Paris to London in 1863.⁵⁷⁵ Having invited Legros to London, Whistler, master of the gentle art of making enemies, had fallen out with him by 1867, but by then Legros was well established.⁵⁷⁶ Despite his poor English, the Frenchman became the Slade Professor of Fine Art at University College London in 1876, and held the post till 1893.⁵⁷⁷ Legros became one of the heroes of the printmaking community as well as the New English Art Club (NEAC), as witnessed by William Orpen's 1904 sketch of the leading lights of the New English (Plate 72) — Legros leads, with Rodin at his side, a procession of French-inspired genius, his pupils William Rothenstein and Frederick Brown following behind.

The status of the artist-printmaker at the start of the nineteenth century was problematic because the Royal Academy (RA) did not really encourage artists who were solely printmakers. In 1769 its original charter allowed for just six Associate-Engravers and by 1854 it allowed for just four Academician-Engravers.⁵⁷⁸ In 1880, frustrated by the lack of any progress at the RA, Haden and other printmakers took matters in hand and founded their own professional association, the British Society of Painter-Etchers and Engravers.⁵⁷⁹ This gained its Royal Charter in 1888, later becoming the Royal Society of Painter-Printmakers (RSP).⁵⁸⁰ Haden became the society's first President and held the post for thirty years. Having declared the status of the artist printmaker to be as great as any Academician, the RSP was keen to avoid any contamination of the membership by mere copyist reproductive printmakers. In 1881 the founder members passed a resolution banning anything that was not original work from its exhibitions.⁵⁸¹ Originally all the members were Fellows (RE) but from 1887, Associate Members (ARE) were elected on the basis of work submitted for peer review with Fellowship (RE)

⁵⁷⁴ Griffiths, *Prints and Printmaking*, 68–69.

⁵⁷⁵ Melissa Berry, "Translocal Artistry: James McNeill Whistler's "Wapping"," *Victorian Review*, Fall 2012, 34.

⁵⁷⁶ Stanley Weintraub, *Whistler: A Biography* (New York: Weybright and Talley, 1974), 59–60. Kenneth McConkey, *The New English: a history of the New English Art Club* (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 2006), 59.

⁵⁷⁷ Negley Harte, John North, and Georgina Brewis, *The World of UCL* (London: UCL Press, 2018), 118.

⁵⁷⁸ William Sandby, *The history of the Royal Academy of Arts from its foundation to the present time*, vol. II (London: Longman, Roberts & Green, 1862), 243,46,359.

⁵⁷⁹ Hopkinson, *No day without a line*, 11.

⁵⁸⁰ Now known as the Royal Society of Printmakers.

⁵⁸¹ Hopkinson, *No day without a line*, 11.

becoming a higher level of membership.⁵⁸² From 1880 to 1909 the RSP granted Fellowships to 250 artist-etchers, many of whom were also Royal Academicians.⁵⁸³

Dodgson's connections to the printmaking world in Britain

Many forms of printmaking are implicitly collaborative: artist-printmakers will share a press because it is an expensive item of equipment; some, especially lithographers, will have their work printed professionally by the same person; others will work with writers and illustrators on a particular book. British artists are said to be not fond of 'isms (the Vorticists provide the only British 'ism' in the early twentieth century) but as far as printmakers are concerned exhibiting societies are a natural progression in a process which is often a shared endeavour. There were a number of formal networks in the British printmaking world, such as the RSP, and also looser community networks associated with the style of one teacher, or school. A collector, such as Dodgson, who could speak the language and demonstrate an in-depth technical knowledge of the techniques of printmaking would have access to networks that others could never attain. In this chapter I argue that Dodgson's purchasing decisions were, in part, influenced by the strength, or otherwise, of his ties to these networks.

In this section I will look at some of the main British printmaking networks in the interwar period with which Dodgson had demonstrable ties, and in some cases had no ties. The aim here is to identify which, if any, of these networks, might have influenced both his personal and his CAS acquisitions. Just over half of the prints he acquired for the Society were made by British artists with ties to the networks below. The printmakers included in the sections below, and the number of works Dodgson acquired from them, are listed in Appendix 13. (It should be noted that, sadly, many artists whose work he acquired have 'vanished', having very minimal or zero biographical information available.) A summary of Dodgson's ties to the networks described below will be presented in Figure 8, but first what were these networks and how was Dodgson connected to them?

The Royal Society of Painter-Printmakers (RSP)

The RSP was strongly associated with the Royal College of Art as Frank Short (1857–1945), second President of the RSP, taught etching, engraving, mezzotint and aquatint there. Short was a master of a delicately melancholic mezzotint technique, perfect for dusk or a threatening storm such as that in *The Angry Cloud* (1930) which Dodgson purchased for the CAS (Plate 73). His students included Malcolm Osborne, who took over from Short when he retired in 1924, and Robert Sargent Austin.

⁵⁸² Hopkinson, *No day without a line*, 51.

⁵⁸³ "Royal Society of the Painter-Printmakers Archive," accessed August 28, 2019, <https://cfpr.uwe.ac.uk/project/the-royal-society-of-the-painter-printmakers-archive/>.

Dodgson had close ties to the RSP: he was elected an Honorary Fellow (RE) in 1919.⁵⁸⁴ When he arrived in London in 1893 to take up his post at the BM he was already taking an active interest in the work of the RSP — he is listed as one of the biggest buyers at their 1898 annual exhibition and in the period up to the First World War continued to buy works for his personal collection.⁵⁸⁵ He acquired 375 etchings and engravings for the Print Fund. Of these 175 (including twenty-three gifts) were by printmakers who were, or would become RSP Fellows (RE) or Associates (ARE).

The Society of XII (1904–15)

By the early twentieth century, the artist printmaker was an established figure in the art world with schools such as London's Central School of Arts and Crafts training the next generation, but the argument over original versus reproductive printmaking continued. The decision to accept reproductive printmakers as members of the RSP sparked the resignations of William Strang (1859–1921), who had been a Fellow of the RSP since 1881, and David Young Cameron (1865–1945) in February 1903, and the founding of a breakaway group, the Society of XII.⁵⁸⁶

In early 1903, Dodgson had hosted a dinner at his stepmother's house at 91 Cadogan Gardens where the controversial issue of the copyist versus the original etcher was discussed. Muirhead Bone, newly arrived in London from Glasgow, was among the attendees as was his friend and housemate Charles Aitken, Director of the Whitechapel Gallery (later one of the founders of the CAS).⁵⁸⁷ (Bone kept his printing press in a back room at Whitechapel for a number of years).⁵⁸⁸ The other guests included C.J. Holmes, who was just about to become Editor of the *Burlington Magazine*, his friend Harold Child (1869–1945) then RSP Secretary, and William Strang.⁵⁸⁹ The dinner was the first of several meetings resulting in the founding of the Society of Twelve (the XII) in 1904 "for the purpose of holding exhibitions of prints and drawings and to facilitate the publication of limited editions of prints".⁵⁹⁰ Its name was a nod to the *Société des Trois* set up by Henri Fantin-Latour (1836–1904), Legros and Whistler in Paris in 1858. Legros, by this time in London, had taught Strang etching at the Slade and

⁵⁸⁴ Dodgson's BM colleagues, A.M. Hind and Laurence Binyon, were elected in 1932. Hopkinson, *No day without a line*, 63, 66.

⁵⁸⁵ Hopkinson, *No day without a line*, 26, 30.

⁵⁸⁶ Sylvester Bone, "Muirhead Bone and the Society of XII," *The British Art Journal*, Summer 2003, 66.

⁵⁸⁷ Bone, "Muirhead Bone and the Society of XII," 66.

⁵⁸⁸ Bone, "Muirhead Bone and the Society of XII," 68.

⁵⁸⁹ Bone, "Muirhead Bone and the Society of XII," 66.

⁵⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

was nominated for, and accepted, an honorary membership of the XII.⁵⁹¹ Legros would become an honorary member of the XII in 1905.⁵⁹²

The group was an exclusive one: no copyists could join and new members had to be proposed by an existing member.⁵⁹³ Unlike the RSP, which insisted on its members being engravers or etchers on metal, the XII allowed for all forms of print media. Eventually there were sixteen active members.⁵⁹⁴ There were never any women members —not because of any official policy of exclusion, but perhaps because the very few female printmakers at this time were not known by the society's members.⁵⁹⁵ (Most of the famous female British printmakers of the period under consideration established their reputation in the interwar period.) The last exhibition of the XII was in 1915.

All the XII members were established printmakers and their work was expensive; Nonetheless Dodgson acquired twenty-five line items for the CAS — of which eight were gifts. None of these were by Muirhead Bone, whose work was expensive. Dodgson evidently planned to build the museum's collection of the artist's work via his bequest and lifetime donations (which contained approximately 520 prints by Bone).⁵⁹⁶ Bone's links to Dodgson would continue after the demise of the XII, and they would work together as Executive Committee members of the CAS and also in the First World War (see below).

The Senefelder Club

In 1908, the dominance of the etchers was challenged by the founding of the Senefelder Club for lithographers. The club aimed to raise the status of lithography, which Dodgson, introducing their 1922 exhibition catalogue, described as:

... that rich and tender medium by which the print preserves with unrivalled directness the very touch of the draughtsman's hand, as he plays on all the keys of a more wonderful scale of black and grey and white than any other printmaker can provide. It is not only Whistler who has made the stone to sing.⁵⁹⁷

⁵⁹¹ Bone, "Muirhead Bone and the Society of XII," 67–68.

⁵⁹² Bone, "Muirhead Bone and the Society of XII," 72.

⁵⁹³ Bone, "Muirhead Bone and the Society of XII," 67.

⁵⁹⁴ Bone, "Muirhead Bone and the Society of XII," 67.

⁵⁹⁵ Bone, "Muirhead Bone and the Society of XII," 72. NB. The number of female RSP members increased significantly after the First World War, see: Hopkinson, *No day without a line*, 64–67.

⁵⁹⁶ Number found by searching BM online database.

⁵⁹⁷ Campbell Dodgson and Joseph Pennell, *The Senefelder Club* (London: Morland Press, 1922), 13.

The lithographers and etchers had a common hero: Whistler was both lithographer and etcher. The three founding members of the Senefelder Club were Francis Ernest Jackson (1872–1945), Archibald Standish Hartrick, and James Kerr-Lawson (1865–1939). The American artist and author Joseph Pennell (1857–1926) joined later and became the first President.

The club was founded with two practical aims in mind: to exhibit works as a group, and to share a printing press.⁵⁹⁸ Other founder members included John Copley (1875–1950) and the French artist Ethel Gabain, who he would marry in 1913, Gerald Spencer Pryse, Charles Shannon, Augustus John, William Rothenstein, C.R.W. Nevinson, Edmund Joseph Sullivan and Edmund Blampied. Frank Brangwyn was President of the club in 1922. In 1913 a resolution was passed to admit lay members, namely members who were collectors, not printmakers. For an annual subscription of a guinea they were offered a signed proof of a lithograph specially drawn by one of the artist members.⁵⁹⁹

Honorary members of the Senefelder Club included the Paris-based painter and lithographer Théophile Steinlen (1859–1923), the French artist Jean-Louis Forain and Dodgson himself.⁶⁰⁰ Dodgson had a close relationship with the Senefelder Club — he and Pennell wrote a history of the society together.⁶⁰¹ He acquired 134 lithographs for the Print Fund of which fifteen were gifts. Of the seventy-two British and American lithographs, forty-one (including three gifts) were by Senefelder Club members.

The New Pastoralists — 1920s

The origins of the RSP had a distinctly Parisian feel — Legros and Whistler met in Paris, and many members, as with the NEAC, had studied there. The RSP favoured impressionistic images of the modern world and its denizens, such as Augustus John's 1906 portrait of Dorelia as *Girl smiling, in fur hat and feathers* — its lines etched with a confident insouciance, her eyes full of mischief (Plate 74). Such works had a flair which Dodgson appreciated — he owned a copy of the Dorelia print — but inspiration without perspiration troubled him. In 1924, writing about the etcher Frederick Landseer Maur Griggs, he wrote:

⁵⁹⁸ Dodgson and Pennell, *The Senefelder Club*, 15.

⁵⁹⁹ Dodgson and Pennell, *The Senefelder Club*, 22-23.

⁶⁰⁰ 'List of Members' in Dodgson and Pennell, *The Senefelder Club*.

⁶⁰¹ Dodgson and Pennell, *The Senefelder Club*.

I note among recent developments in English etching signs of a reaction against the doctrine, once widely accepted, that is not a work of art if it is more than a memorandum, hastily scribbled down upon the copper, of an impression keenly felt at a given moment...⁶⁰²

Where might one look for a more serious and spiritual reflection on the world? Perhaps back to that defining English Romantic, William Blake. A new phase in the reception of Blake's work began in 1906, when Robert Ross organised a large exhibition of his works at the Carfax Gallery.⁶⁰³ Blake, wrote Ross, had an "intensely subjective attitude" towards nature.⁶⁰⁴ Ross implicitly critiqued the impressionistic tendencies of the RSP as he wrote of Blake:

It would be hard to imagine anyone ... whose mind was exclusively objective in its proclivities, bestowing even curiosity, much less admiration, on such disturbing, transcendental art. In the heaven of painting there are, fortunately, many mansions and they are not all designed by Whistler...⁶⁰⁵

A second landmark exhibition of Blake's work took place in 1913.⁶⁰⁶ From public appreciation of Blake's oeuvre to that of his follower Samuel Palmer was but a short step. Griggs is often cited as the first artist to 'rediscover' Samuel Palmer. He took up etching in 1912, having first trained as an architect. He progressed quickly and was elected RE in 1916. Born in Hitchin, Griggs first encountered Palmer's work in a copy of the 'Eclogues of Virgil' in the Mechanics' Institute library there (which was illustrated with etchings by the artist).⁶⁰⁷ His admiration of Palmer's work is evident in early works such as his 1913 *Maur's Farm* (Plate 75) — a reworked version of one of the pen and ink illustrations commissioned by the publisher Macmillan for their 'Highways and Byways' series in 1900.⁶⁰⁸ It is a fantastical vision of a buttressed hulk, perhaps a medieval barn, shrouded in darkness while opposite haystacks and staddle stones seem to glow in the fading light of evening. Despite the brooding intensity of such works, Dodgson noted that "in all the intricacy of cross-hatching there is always light

⁶⁰² Campbell Dodgson, "The Etchings of F.L. Griggs," in *The Print Collector's Quarterly* (London: J.M. Dent & Sons Ltd, 1924), 95.

⁶⁰³ *Exhibition of Drawings and Illuminated Prints by William Blake, including the entire Butts Collection*, Carfax Gallery, June-July 1906.

⁶⁰⁴ Robert Ross, "The Place of William Blake in English Art," *Burlington Magazine*, June, 1906, 162.

⁶⁰⁵ Ross, "The Place of William Blake in English Art," 155.

⁶⁰⁶ A. G. B. Russell, *Catalogue of Loan Exhibition of Works by William Blake. October to December, 1913 (2nd ed.)* (London: HMSO for National Gallery Millbank, 1913).

⁶⁰⁷ Jerrold Northrop Moore, *F.L. Griggs, 1876–1938: the architecture of dreams* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1999), 14.

⁶⁰⁸ 'Helpringham' in W. F. Rawnsley and F.L. Griggs (Illus.), *Highways and byways in Lincolnshire* (London: Macmillan, 1914).

enough for the eye to penetrate into the gloomiest depths.”⁶⁰⁹ Griggs’ depictions of ancient buildings had a seldom-equalled accuracy that came from his architectural training; and a choice of subject matter that came from his conversion to Catholicism in 1912 and a deep personal response to pre-Reformation craftsmanship.⁶¹⁰ He was a perfectionist who produced only about thirty etchings in the first twelve years of his career.⁶¹¹ Dissatisfied by the results gained from commercial printers, Griggs installed a commercially sized press at *Dover’s House*, his home in Chipping Campden, in 1922.⁶¹²

Griggs and his friend Martin Hardie (1875–1952) wanted to introduce Samuel Palmer’s work to the younger generation. Hardie was a watercolourist and etcher who was also Keeper of the Department of Engraving Illustration and Design at the Victoria and Albert (V&A) Museum. In 1926, they and Frank Short collaborated on a limited re-edition of five prints by Samuel Palmer: *The Early Ploughman, The Bellman, Christmas, Opening the Fold and The Willow*. The portfolio was followed by an exhibition of works by Palmer and the Shoreham Ancients at the V&A in late 1926, curated by Hardie.⁶¹³

Griggs and Hardie were not alone in promoting the work of Palmer. Binyon’s book, *The Followers of William Blake: Edward Calvert, Samuel Palmer, George Richmond & their Circle*, was published in 1925. That same year Graham Sutherland, then a student at Goldsmiths College, attended a slide lecture on nineteenth-century etching by Frederick Marriott (1860–1941) which included Samuel Palmer’s 1850 *Herdsmen’s Cottage* (Metropolitan Museum, New York).⁶¹⁴ Sutherland recalled “I was amazed at its completeness, both emotional and technical... that the complex variety of lines could form a tone of such luminosity.”⁶¹⁵ He would later describe Palmer as “a sort of English Van Gogh”.⁶¹⁶ Sutherland’s fellow students included Paul Drury, William Larkins, Edward Bouverie Hoyton

⁶⁰⁹ Dodgson, "The Etchings of F.L. Griggs," 102.

⁶¹⁰ Dodgson, "The Etchings of F.L. Griggs," 101.

⁶¹¹ Dodgson, "The Etchings of F.L. Griggs," 106.

⁶¹² Moore, *F.L. Griggs, 1876–1938*, 148.

⁶¹³ Alfred Herbert Palmer, *Catalogue of an Exhibition of Drawings, Etchings & Woodcuts by Samuel Palmer and other Disciples of William Blake October 20 – December 31, 1926* (London: The Board of Education for the Victoria and Albert Museum, 1926).

⁶¹⁴ "Palmer's Legacy: The neo-romantic pastoral tradition in the 20th & 21st centuries," accessed September 9, 2019, https://elizabethharvey-lee.com/exhibitions/palmer/palmer_legacy.htm.

⁶¹⁵ Malcolm Yorke, *The spirit of place: nine neo-romantic artists and their times* (London: Tauris, 2001), 108.

⁶¹⁶ Graham Sutherland, "Landscape and Figures: Conversation with Andrew Forge," *The Listener*, July 26, 1962, 132.

and Robin Tanner (1904–1988). Together they would become known as New Pastoralists.⁶¹⁷ In the mid- to late 1920s, inspired by Palmer, they produced intensely Romantic prints idealising the English countryside.⁶¹⁸ They visited Shoreham and worked their etchings into visions of dark and mysterious complexity. Sutherland later recalled: “As we became familiar with Palmer’s later etchings, we bit our plates deeper. We had always been warned against over-biting. But we did overbite and we burnished our way through innumerable states quite unrepentant at the way we punished and maltreated the copper.”⁶¹⁹

The popularity of limited edition etchings in the 1920s led to price speculation and an overheated print market. This crashed, along with Wall Street, in October 1929. During the 1920s prices rose so quickly that “an artist would make a new print, the gallery would invite collectors to subscribe, collectors would then book an auction sale six months down the line and flip their impression from the sold-out edition”.⁶²⁰ It was effectively a futures market in original prints. The effect of the 1929 crash on artist printmakers was immediate and brutal: “In 1929 Robin Tanner sold out. In 1930 he sold one print.”⁶²¹ The financial crash of 1929 brought the end of the New Pastoralists, but before that Griggs had strongly approved of their work; in 1926 he invited Sutherland and Drury to Chipping Camden to demonstrate printing from their plates on his Dover's House press.⁶²²

Dodgson had direct links to Griggs and hence the New Pastoralists. He wrote two monograph articles for *The Print Collector's Quarterly* on Griggs (see below) and visited Dover's House in April 1921, staying for three days. The artist later wrote to his friend the journalist Russell Alexander that Dodgson had “bought (at a nominal sum) all he could lay his hands on.”⁶²³ Dodgson's bequest to the BM included twenty-two prints by Griggs. He bequeathed and donated a further eight by Sutherland,

⁶¹⁷ Rachel Campbell-Johnston, *Mysterious wisdom: the life and work of Samuel Palmer* (London: Bloomsbury, 2011), 331.

⁶¹⁸ Campbell-Johnston, *Mysterious wisdom*, 330–31.

⁶¹⁹ Graham Sutherland, "The Visionaries: A Personal and Nostalgic Impression," in *The English Vision. Etchings and Engravings by Edward Calvert, William Blake, Samuel Palmer, Graham Sutherland, Frederick Griggs and Paul Drury* (London: William Weston Gallery, Oct 1973). Biting is the process where acid etches the metal plate. The longer the plate is left in acid, the deeper the bite and the more ink each line can hold. Taken to extremes the resulting image will not be sharp.

⁶²⁰ Emma Crichton-Miller, "Art Market: The changing fortunes of modern British printmaking," *Apollo*, May 3, 2018, <https://www.apollo-magazine.com/the-changing-fortunes-of-modern-british-printmaking/>. Cites a 2018 interview with Gordon Cooke, a nineteenth- and twentieth-century print specialist and dealer.

⁶²¹ *Ibid.*

⁶²² Moore, *F.L. Griggs, 1876–1938*, 192.

⁶²³ Moore, *F.L. Griggs, 1876–1938*, 137.

eight by Drury and two by Larkins. For the Print Fund, Dodgson acquired eighteen prints by the New Pastoralists, two of which were gifts.

The Society of Wood Engravers

The industrial use of wood engraving came to an end with the patenting of the halftone etching technique by Louis and Max Levy in 1893. Where previously photographs had been first copied by artists then laboriously wood engraved for publication, halftone used the photograph's negative to etch a metal plate ready for printing.⁶²⁴ Ironically, the death of commercial wood engraving allowed the technique to re-establish itself as a fine art.

In the early twentieth century one of the most influential teachers of wood engraving, and key to the revival of the practice, was Noel Rooke. Rooke taught at the Central School of Arts and Crafts in London from 1905, but only began to teach non-reproductive wood engraving in around 1913.⁶²⁵ He was wholly opposed to the techniques used by French wood engravers and English illustrators in the nineteenth century to serve the needs of the illustrated press. The Rooke style is figurative, but highly stylised. His images have a deceptive simplicity, achieved by removing the tone provided by detailed crosshatching. Where some nineteenth-century wood and all metal engravers would cut to print dark lines, Rooke cut away the wood in order to create light. He was working at the beginning of the twentieth century, but his works show nothing of industrialisation or modernity: his favourite motifs were naturalistic Romantic landscapes. The bold curves of the *Two Bridges* (Plate 76) are echoed by curving branches, emphasising form as much as content. The print is sometimes catalogued as a woodcut, sometimes as a wood engraving: its relatively large dimensions suggest that it is a woodcut; its sharp lines imply that it was cut on a block with a very tight grain.⁶²⁶ Recession is implied by the normal rules of linear perspective, but the absence of tonal cross-hatching gives an image that cries out 'this was cut from the wood!' Rooke himself produced few independent works — his teaching took most of his time — but fellow wood engravers rejoiced in the clarity of his new style. His student, Robert Gibbings, wrote of a pleasure that is at once sensuous and aesthetic:

... the crisp purr of the graver as it furrowed the polished surface... the cleanness of the white line it incised: even the simplest silhouette has an austere quality, a dignity that could not be achieved by other means. Clear, precise statement was what it amounted to.⁶²⁷

⁶²⁴ Henry R Kang, *Digital Color Halftoning* (Piscataway, NJ: SPIE Press, 1999), 2.

⁶²⁵ Hamilton, *Wood engraving & the woodcut in Britain*, 54.

⁶²⁶ Hamilton, *Wood engraving & the woodcut in Britain*, 55.

⁶²⁷ Hamilton, *Wood engraving & the woodcut in Britain*, 16.

In January 1920, the RSP enlarged the scope of its membership to include wood engravers — Rooke and one of his pupils Gwen Raverat were the first wood engravers to become Fellows.⁶²⁸ This acknowledgment of their skill did not stop them becoming founder members of the Society of Wood Engravers (SWE) later that year. The other founders included Philip Hagree, Gibbings, Lucien Pissarro and Eric Gill.⁶²⁹ The first exhibition of the Society was in 1920, and annual exhibitions followed. Margaret Pilkington, another Rooke student, exhibited with the society and became Honorary Secretary in 1924. She served as chairman from 1952 to 1967.⁶³⁰

Dodgson was a keen supporter of the SWE from the beginning, writing introductions for their first two annual exhibitions at the Chenil Gallery in London.⁶³¹ He acquired 193 works by members of the Society of Wood Engravers for the Print Fund, of which forty were gifts. Just five were by Rooke. In Dodgson's bequest, however, there were relatively few prints from the members. The exceptions were: twenty-five prints by George Buday (mainly of religious subjects which might have appealed to the devout Anglo-Catholic Dodgson); twenty-five prints by Gibbings and thirteen by Lucien Pissarro (who was known personally to Dodgson).

The Brook Green School and the English Wood Engraving Society

The Brook Green School of Art in Hammersmith was founded by the sculptor, painter and printmaker Leon Underwood in 1921. Underwood had been a student of Henry Tonks and the Brook Green School initially reflected his personal strengths: life drawing, etching on metal, and sculpture predominated. Unlike Noel Rooke, Brook Green students embraced French methods of wood engraving. They particularly liked the use of the *vélo*, (also known as a threading tool), which allows a greater range of tone thanks to its ability to cut from three to eight parallel lines at a time.

Underwood's pupils included the printmakers Gertrude Hermes, Blair Hughes-Stanton, Raymond Coxon, Mary Groom, and Nora Unwin. It was one of Underwood's students — the American artist Carolyn Marion Mitchell, wife of the Bulgarian diplomat Ivan Stancioff (1897–1972) — who is credited with bringing wood engraving and the use of the *vélo* to Brook Green. The *vélo* had been re-introduced in France by the Greek painter printmaker Demetrius Galanis.⁶³² Mitchell had seen an

⁶²⁸ Hopkinson, *No day without a line*, 32.

⁶²⁹ "About Us," accessed Sep 12, 2019, <https://www.woodengravers.co.uk/about-us/>.

⁶³⁰ "Pilkington, Margaret (1891–1974)," Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Oxford University Press, January 6, 2011, <http://www.oxforddnb.com>.

⁶³¹ Campbell Dodgson, "Introduction," in *Catalogue of the first annual exhibition of the Society of Wood Engravers* (London: 1920). Campbell Dodgson, "Foreward," in *Catalogue of the second annual exhibition of the Society of Wood Engravers* (London: 1921).

⁶³² Campbell Dodgson, "The Etchings of Leon Underwood," *Artwork*, May/August 1925, 216.

exhibition in Paris of his wood engravings after Picasso, and was so inspired that she went to his studio in Montmartre and asked him for lessons. When she began her studies at the Brook Green School in 1923, Mitchell persuaded Underwood, Hermes and Hughes-Stanton to take up wood engraving.⁶³³

The use of the *vélo* re-introduced tonal variety to British wood engraving, but the embrace of French techniques — and an interest in the French primitivism — was at odds with the SWE. In 1925 Underwood, Hermes, Hughes-Stanton, Eileen Agar (1899–91), and Ralph Chubb (1892–1960), broke away from the SWE and formed the English Wood Engraving Society. As a group they had no homogeneous style but aimed to attract artists who were not just interested in book illustration, but also wanted to make wood engravings that were works of art in their own right. They held annual exhibitions at St. George's Gallery, London.⁶³⁴ In November 1931 they held their seventh and final exhibition at London's Colnaghi gallery, by which time they had been joined by Agnes Miller Parker.⁶³⁵ After this, in 1932, Miller Parker, Hermes, Hughes-Stanton and others re-joined the SWE.⁶³⁶ Miller-Parker did not study at the Brook Green School — she and her husband the critic and painter William McCance (1894–1970) trained at the Glasgow School of Art — but they were near neighbours of Hermes and Hughes-Stanton and Hermes taught her wood engraving.⁶³⁷ The three would work for the Gregynog Press from 1930 onwards.

Underwood had begun collecting African tribal art in 1919; he had travelled to Iceland, the Altamira caves in Spain, and Mexico, photographing and collecting indigenous artworks whose formal characteristics, so different from the European tradition, excited him.⁶³⁸ He was riding the same wave of interest in 'the primitive' that inspired Gauguin and later Picasso. He used the *vélo* first in wood engravings and later for lino cutting. Lino allowed him a greater speed of cutting but, because of its relative fragility, less possibility of producing multiples. It was these later works, such as *Supplication* (Plate 77) that Dodgson would call "striking" and yet "strange and to old-fashioned eyes probably repulsive".⁶³⁹ Underwood, like Rooke, carved the light, not the lines, but where Rooke's controlled gentility re-assures the viewer, the almost brutal lines of *vélo* hatching and angular line work give this

⁶³³ Hamilton, *Wood engraving & the woodcut in Britain*, 84.

⁶³⁴ Hamilton, *Wood engraving & the woodcut in Britain*, 101-02.

⁶³⁵ Anon., "Art Exhibition," *Times* (London), November 28, 1931.

⁶³⁶ Albert Garrett and Iain Macnab, *Wood engravings and drawings of Iain Macnab of Barachastlain* (Tunbridge Wells: Midas Books, 1973), 33. In Appendix 13, prints by Miller Parker and Hughes-Stanton and are counted in both Brook Green School and SWE figures as it is not known when the designs were initiated.

⁶³⁷ Hamilton, *Wood engraving & the woodcut in Britain*, 88–89.

⁶³⁸ Simon Martin, "Modern Primitive: the Rediscovery of Leon Underwood," *Pallant House Gallery Magazine*, March–June 2015, 21.

⁶³⁹ Dodgson, "The Etchings of Leon Underwood," 216.

print a wildness that did not sit easily with English Romanticism. He had won a scholarship to the British School in Rome in 1920 and was a recognised talent when Dodgson first met him at a Print Fund exhibition in Montagu Square in 1921; the artist had brought his etchings around to show them to him. In 1925, Dodgson wrote a very favourable review of Underwood's etchings (which mostly date from before 1922), but confessed himself less comfortable with the artist's later work in wood engraving and lino.⁶⁴⁰ Leaving his personal prejudice aside, he acquired thirty-six works by artists associated with the Brook Green School for the Print Fund, including four by Underwood. Nine of these were gifts. Perhaps as thanks for Dodgson's support, Underwood gave the BM eighteen prints between 1922 and 1927. Dodgson's preference for his etching is more noticeable in his private collection: his bequest to the museum includes a further twenty prints by the artist, but of these only three were woodcuts (and two of those were Christmas cards from the artist).

Vorticists and Futurists

Edward Wadsworth was the Vorticists' only printmaker. His early training as an engineer shows up in the precision of his woodblock prints. Romantic landscapes were forgotten as the group embraced the technology of the twentieth century. Prints like *Riponelli: a village in Lemnos* (Plate 78) are aerial views, implicitly celebrating the freedom of manmade flight. There is more than slight homage to Braque's views of the *Viaduct at L'Estaque* (1908, Musée national d'art moderne, Paris) and Picasso's 1909 series of rooftop views of the Horta de San Juan, and indeed the Vorticists had originally exhibited as 'Cubists' in 1913.⁶⁴¹ Dodgson purchased just three of Wadsworth's prints; the artist donated a further twelve. Dodgson's bequest included two of the artist's prints and a copy of Wadsworth's book *Sailing-ships and Barges of the Western Mediterranean and Adriatic Sea* (the BM already had a copy donated by Wadsworth in 1926) which he had reviewed in 1926, noting that its etched illustrations were "a joy to the eye of the mere print-loving landlubber".⁶⁴²

From the first English Futurist, C.R.W. Nevinson — who was also a member of the Senefelder Club — only two prints were acquired, but the CAS did not need to buy more, as Nevinson made significant donations of his prints in 1918 and again in 1926. Dodgson bequeathed a further ten pre-1918 prints by Nevinson, (including a 1918 Christmas card from the artist).⁶⁴³ It should be noted that both Wadsworth and Nevinson were war artists (see below), and their work was purchased after 1918.

⁶⁴⁰ Dodgson, "The Etchings of Leon Underwood," 216.

⁶⁴¹ Cork, *Vorticism and Abstract Art in the First Machine Age*, 135.

⁶⁴² Campbell Dodgson, "Quarterly Notes — December 1926," in *The Print Collector's Quarterly* (London: J.M. Dent & Sons Ltd, 1926), 300.

⁶⁴³ Christopher Richard Wynne Nevinson, *Christmas card*, 1924, etching and drypoint, 13.8 x 18 cm, British Museum, London (Museum number: 1949,0411.2313).

The Grosvenor School

It would be the printmakers of the Grosvenor School of Modern Art who would best express the speed and excitement of twentieth-century life in print. The Grosvenor was a private art school established in 1925 by wood engraver, painter and etcher Iain MacNab of Barachastlain. Linocut print techniques were taught by Claude Flight, who ran the school with MacNab 1926–1930. Flight's students included Sybil Andrews, the Swiss Lill Tschudi, the Australian Ethel Spowers (1890–1947) and Cyril Power.⁶⁴⁴

Lino had been invented in 1855, but its use as a print matrix for artists was only developed in the twentieth century — a resistance coming in part from its use by school children. Linocut printing is a relief process: the cut lino can be printed on a press, but the different densities of ink across the image which were a hallmark of Grosvenor school prints, such as Cyril Power's *The Tube Staircase* (Plate 69) were achieved by using rollers and barens to transfer the ink to the paper. The registration techniques used in Japanese woodblocks can also be used on lino, but the bright energetic visions of the Grosvenor School embraced the speed and bustle of modern life as seen by the Futurists, not the tranquillity of Japanese landscapes.

Dodgson had no personal connections to the Grosvenor School. He only purchased nine linocut prints by Grosvenor School artists for the Print Fund; one other was given to the CAS by an anonymous donor.

The Society of Graver-Printmakers in Colour

It was not until the 1890s that artists in Britain began to engage seriously with Japanese woodblock printmaking techniques. The *Studio* published a series of articles explaining how the Japanese method worked, returning to the subject again in 1919.⁶⁴⁵ Its main practitioners were John Dickson Batten, Frank Morley Fletcher (1866–1949), who taught at the Reading School of Art, William Giles, Sydney Lee and Allen Seaby. Batten, Lee and Seaby and others were founder members of the Society of Graver-Printmakers in Colour in 1909. Like the RSP they insisted on works being original, not the work of copyists.⁶⁴⁶ As a stylistic group it has been said that the Japanese woodblock printmakers in Britain "made a virtue of looking back to the techniques of the Japanese masters, and seemed to make a virtue, too, of complexity".⁶⁴⁷ Yet, it must be said, works such as John Edgar Platt's *Mullion Cove*

⁶⁴⁴ Hamilton, *Wood engraving & the woodcut in Britain*, 100.

⁶⁴⁵ Hamilton, *Wood engraving & the woodcut in Britain*, 70.

⁶⁴⁶ Nancy E. Green, "Temptation of the East: The Influence of Japanese Color Woodcuts on British Printmaking," in *Color Woodcut International: Japan, Britain, and America in the Early Twentieth Century*, ed. Christine Javid (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press for Chazen Museum of Art, 2008), 39–40.

⁶⁴⁷ Hamilton, *Wood engraving & the woodcut in Britain*, 70.

(Plate 70) have enormous charm even though they lack the vivacity of *Ukiyo-e prints*. Platt thanked Binyon and Dodgson for their support in the introduction to his 1938 handbook of colour printing (for which Dodgson provided a 'Foreword').⁶⁴⁸ Dodgson selected thirty-seven works by these artists for the Print Fund (of which one was a gift).

The British Museum Print Room

The Print Room was at the centre of wide social networks "fostered by Sidney Colvin through his wide circle of acquaintance" and "his successors, Dodgson, Binyon, Hind and A.E. Popham were able to extend the network of relationships into virtually every society, advisory committee or periodical publication" in the world of the fine arts prior to the First World War.⁶⁴⁹ These networks might well have influenced Dodgson's purchasing decisions.

Before the First World War, the Print Room and the Reading Room were the haunts of a group of avant garde artists and writers centred round Binyon (who was by then well known for his poetry). Museum staff, writers and artists took their refreshment and "the best coffee in London" at the Vienna Café at 24–28 New Oxford Street — an easy walk from the museum.⁶⁵⁰ (The café closed at the start of the war as it had mostly German staff.)⁶⁵¹ It was there that Binyon introduced Ezra Pound to Wyndham Lewis in 1909.⁶⁵² Lewis had studied at the Slade under the tutelage of Henry Tonks — he is first recorded in the Student Room Register in October 1899.⁶⁵³ Tonks was drawing master from 1892, then Slade Professor of Fine Art from 1918–30 at University College, London.⁶⁵⁴ He encouraged his students to study Old Master drawings.⁶⁵⁵ Getting through the first-year life class at the Slade was essential if one wanted to progress. As a result, the BM Print Room, the Victoria and Albert Museum Library, and the National Gallery saw a steady stream of visits by Lewis and his contemporaries; Mark Gertler, Dora Carrington, Paul Nash, Nevinson and Stanley Spencer before the First World War; and in

⁶⁴⁸ John Platt, *Colour woodcuts : a book of reproductions and a handbook of method* (London: Pitman & Sons, Ltd, 1938).

⁶⁴⁹ Carey, "Campbell Dodgson (1867–1948)," 216.

⁶⁵⁰ John Hatcher, *Laurence Binyon : poet, scholar of East and West* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 44.

⁶⁵¹ Percy Wyndham Lewis, *Blasting and Bombardiering* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1967), 280.

⁶⁵² Ezra Pound, Wyndham Lewis, and Timothy (Ed) Materer, *Pound/Lewis : the letters of Ezra Pound and Wyndham Lewis* (New York: New Directions Publishing Corporation, 1985), 3.

⁶⁵³ Paul O'Keeffe, *Some sort of genius : a life of Wyndham Lewis* (Berkeley, CA: Counterpoint, 2015), 33.

⁶⁵⁴ "Tonks, Henry (1862–1937)," Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Oxford University Press, accessed September 9, 2019, <http://www.oxforddnb.com>.

⁶⁵⁵ Haycock, *A crisis of brilliance: five young British artists*, 31.

the interwar period William Coldstream and others.⁶⁵⁶ Of these only Nash and Nevinson are known as printmakers. Binyon was a useful contact for young artists before the war — he supplemented his income by writing a regular art column for the *Saturday Review* from 1906–11.⁶⁵⁷ Dodgson, on the other hand, seems not to have taken Print Room networks into consideration — he purchased eight works by Nash and Nevinson, all after the First World War, by which time he knew them via Wellington House (see below). It would seem that attendance at the Print Room was not itself enough to garner Dodgson's attention.'

A more direct influence on Dodgson's BM-linked purchases was the presence of the Japanese printmaker Yoshijiro Urushibara (a.k.a. Urushibara Mokuchū) in the Print Room. Urushibara was born in Tokyo, and it is thought that he first arrived in London in 1910, aged 21, as part of a team demonstrating Japanese woodblock printing techniques at that year's Anglo-Japanese Exhibition.⁶⁵⁸ He had been hired by the BM to work on a facsimile edition of the *Nushi Zhen (Admitions)* Tang Dynasty handscroll acquired by the BM in 1903.⁶⁵⁹ The project was managed by Binyon and the book published in 1911.⁶⁶⁰ The collaboration between Urushibara and the Anglo-Welsh artist Frank Brangwyn produced a stunning blend of two cultures. They first worked together in 1919 when they produced ten illustrations for a book of Binyon's poetry entitled *Bruges*. Brangwyn made four black and white woodcuts and Urushibara six colour woodcuts to Brangwyn's designs. A further collaboration followed in 1924: *Ten Woodcuts* — with an Introduction by Binyon.⁶⁶¹ In these collaborations Urushibara created soft lines, reminiscent of lithographs and near transparent watercolour shades. In the *Devil's Bridge, St Gothard's pass* (Plate 79) it is hard to imagine that the vigorous description of the crumbling old bridge with people rushing across it has been carved in wood. For the Print Fund, Dodgson acquired seven prints by Urushibara; one other was donated.

⁶⁵⁶ David Boyd Haycock, "'A Crisis of Brilliance' Nevinson, Tonks and the Slade School of Art, 1900–12," in *A Dilemma of English Modernism: Visual and Verbal Politics in the Life and Work of CRW Nevinson (1889–1946)*, ed. Michael JK Walsh (Newark, DE: University of Delaware Press, 2007), 38–39.

⁶⁵⁷ David Peters Corbett, "Crossing the Boundary: British Art across Victorianism and Modernism," in *A companion to British art : 1600 to the present*, ed. Dana Arnold and David Peters Corbett (Chichester: Wiley Blackwell, 2016), 133–34.

⁶⁵⁸ Libby Horner, "Urushibara Mokuchū (1889–1953)," in *Britain & Japan : biographical portraits, Volume VII*, ed. Hugh Cortazzi (Folkstone: Global Oriental, 2012), 441.

⁶⁵⁹ Museum No: 1903,0408,0.1

⁶⁶⁰ Horner, "Urushibara Mokuchū (1889–1953)," 438.

⁶⁶¹ *Ten Woodcuts cut and printed in colour by Yoshijiro Urushibara after designs by Frank Brangwyn, RA*, (London: John Lane, 1924).

The First World War and 'Wellington House'

Dodgson's precise role in the First World War is not well documented. In 1918 he was awarded a CBE in the post-war honours list — but with no indication as to why.⁶⁶² It is possible that, given his skills in German, he was co-opted into translating intercepted messages. A more likely reason is his wartime involvement with the War Propaganda Bureau (WPB) and later the Department of Information (DOI). The journalist, writer and Liberal politician Charles Masterman (1873–1927) was named chief of the WPB soon after war began. The organisation was more generally known by the name of its headquarters, Wellington House in Buckingham Gate, London. Masterman used his extensive connections in the press and literary world to enlist writers such as Rudyard Kipling (1865–1936), Arthur Conan Doyle (1859–1930) and John Buchan (1875–1940) to help “shape public opinion and convince the United States to support the Allies”.⁶⁶³ As well as producing over 1,200 pamphlets and books, many illustrated, the WPB tightly controlled war photography. In March 1917, the newly elected Prime Minister David Lloyd George merged the WPB into a new department for foreign propaganda, the Department of Information (DOI). Masterman continued as Director of Publications under the new DOI Director, the novelist John Buchan.

In 1916, Dodgson's friend Muirhead Bone was the first artist to be sent to the Front.⁶⁶⁴ By the end of the war, Henry Tonks and many of his ex-students from the Slade such as Paul and John Nash, C.R.W. Nevinson and Eric Kennington had followed. Between 1916 and 1918 over ninety artists were employed to produce paintings and drawings to illustrate WPB publications.⁶⁶⁵ Their works were used to illustrate magazines, shown in exhibitions and even sold. In 1918, four monographs entitled *Artists at the Front* were published by *Country Life* magazine featuring the work of Paul Nash, Nevinson, Kennington and Sir John Lavery.

Dodgson's best known project for the DOI is the 1917 commission of a portfolio of sixty-six original lithographs collectively known as *Britain's Efforts and Ideals*. He, together with the illustrator, Thomas Derrick (1885–1954), and the lithographer, Francis Ernest Jackson, proposed the project to Masterman in 1917.⁶⁶⁶ Dodgson and Jackson used their pre-War contacts to select the main

⁶⁶² "Third Supplement," *The London Gazette* (London) June 7, 1918, 6689.

⁶⁶³ Spencer C. Tucker, ed., "Masterman, Charles," in *World War I: the definitive encyclopedia and document collection* (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2014), 1047.

⁶⁶⁴ Alan G.V. Simmonds, *Britain and World War One* (New York: Routledge, 2012), 257.

⁶⁶⁵ Tucker, "World War I: the definitive encyclopedia," 1047.

⁶⁶⁶ Jonathan Black, "The Contribution of C.R.W. Nevinson and Eric Kennington to the Britain's Efforts and Ideals Lithographic Project of 1917," in *Burning Bright: Essays in Honour of David Bindman*, ed. Diana Dethloff et al. (London: UCL Press, 2015).

contributors, many of whom were members of the Senefelder Club.⁶⁶⁷ The idea was that a selection of printmakers, eighteen in all, would create original lithographs that justified and celebrated the war effort. The prints were exhibited in London at the Fine Art Society and then toured major British cities including Manchester, Liverpool, Leeds and Birmingham.⁶⁶⁸ The *Ideals* were colour lithographs; twelve allegorical images by twelve artists with Jackson providing *United Defence Against Aggression (England and France, 1914)*.⁶⁶⁹ The *Efforts* described the practical aspects of making war, in a set of smaller, monochrome lithographs. Two younger artists —C.R.W. Nevinson and Eric Kennington — were selected for this section as well as a number of their more senior contemporaries. Both had served (Nevinson as an ambulance driver and Kennington as a Private) and been invalided out of active service. Their war experience gave verisimilitude to their work. Kennington's images of soldiers in training and at the front have a documentary feel. Yet his clean-shaven fresh-faced young men wear clean uniforms and are presented as young heroes; none of the distasteful aspects of war are shown (see for example Plate 80). Nevinson's images were of aircraft manufacture, and aeroplanes in flight have a stylised air of contained excitement: female acetylene welders in dark goggles focus on their work within a razor-sharp geometry of square workbenches, triangles of light, and acetylene tubes.⁶⁷⁰ There are echoes of Nevinson's earlier attachment to Futurism in another image where a single plane swoops down through a dark rainbow of searchlights (Plate 81). Though the project overall was not a great commercial or critical success. Nevinson's work was singled out for praise by several critics, establishing him as one of the leading printmakers of the early twentieth century.⁶⁷¹ He and Kennington were approved as war artists following the project.⁶⁷² Dodgson was one of two art experts on the DOI Committee approving the selection of war artists; the other was fellow CAS founder Robert Ross.⁶⁷³ His recommendation, or dismissal, could make the difference between an artist being assigned to the DOI or sent for active service.

⁶⁶⁷ The Senefelder Club members were: Archibald Standish Hartrick, Augustus John, Charles Haslewood Shannon, Edmund Joseph Sullivan, Frank Brangwyn and William Rothenstein

⁶⁶⁸ Black, "The Contribution of C.R.W. Nevinson and Eric Kennington," 240–41.

⁶⁶⁹ Complete sets of the *Efforts and Ideals* were presented to national museums and regional museums in Britain. The National Museum of Wales has the most available as digital images online. E.g. F. Ernest Jackson, *United Defence Against Aggression (England and France, 1914)*, c.1917, Lithograph on paper, 63.2 × 43.8 cm, Amgueddfa Cymru — National Museum Wales

⁶⁷⁰ C.R.W. Nevinson, *Acetylene Welding*, 1917, lithograph on paper, 40.3 × 29.8 cm, Amgueddfa Cymru — National Museum Wales.

⁶⁷¹ Black, "The Contribution of C.R.W. Nevinson and Eric Kennington," 240.

⁶⁷² Black, "The Contribution of C.R.W. Nevinson and Eric Kennington," 236,42.

⁶⁷³ IWM WWI Artists, File number 182/5.

As well as working on this project, Dodgson wrote introductory texts to the *Artists at the Front* volumes on Kennington and Nevinson. More importantly, from the perspective of finding new talent for the CAS, Dodgson acquired thirty-six works by those who worked on *Efforts and Ideals* for the Print Fund, one of which was a gift.⁶⁷⁴ It should be noted that many of the war artists were established artists whose work was expensive. Dodgson's personal collection supplemented his CAS acquisitions from this group by over a thousand prints; notably with works by Bone (approximately 520 works), Ricketts (27 prints), Shannon (24), and John (264). Less well represented in Dodgson's personal collection were: Brangwyn (14 prints); Kennington (8); Paul Nash (4); John Nash (5); Nevinson (10); and Rothenstein (8).

The Print Collector's Quarterly

Dodgson was Editor of the *Print Collector's Quarterly* (PCQ) from 1921–36, a magazine which was printed in New York (1911–1917) before its publication moved to London.⁶⁷⁵ He was also a regular contributor, producing monographic articles on contemporary and pre-twentieth-century printmakers. Dodgson's writing gave him the opportunity to study and promote the work of his favoured artists. As Editor he would also have gained an insight into the work of those artists covered by other contributors. PCQ writers included four printmakers: Ernest Stephen Lumsden, Edmund Joseph Sullivan, Douglas Percy Bliss and John Copley. Museum professionals contributing to the magazine were: James Laver (1899–1975) and Martin Hardie of the V&A, Binyon of the BM, and Gunnar Jungmarker (1902–1983) of Stockholm's Nationalmuseum.⁶⁷⁶ Other writers were art critics, and print collectors. Dodgson was CAS buyer for the Print Fund from 1919 to 1934. He became Editor of the PCQ in February 1921 and stayed in that role until October 1936. We may assume he was reading the PCQ before he became Editor. The contributors and contents of the magazine seem to have greatly influenced Dodgson's Print Fund acquisitions, as 246 of Dodgson's CAS print acquisitions (of which forty-five were gifts) were by artists covered in PCQ articles from 1919 to 1934.

The influence of social networks on Dodgson's Acquisitions

Although the Print Fund was not initiated until 1919, Campbell Dodgson had been on the CAS Committee since its fourth meeting in May 1910.⁶⁷⁷ He was the buyer for the first half of 1913, purchasing an oil painting by his friend Muirhead Bone (*Snowy Morning, Queen Margaret's College,*

⁶⁷⁴ Dodgson bought nothing for the Print Fund by Charles Pears (1873–1958), Maurice Greiffenhagen (1862–1931) Gerald Edward Moira (1867–1959), Claude Shepperson (1867–1921) or Francis Ernest Jackson (1872–1945), who acted as technical adviser on *Britain's Efforts and Ideals* and provided one lithograph.

⁶⁷⁵ *The Print Collector's Quarterly Complete Index*, (San Francisco: Alan Wofsy Fine Arts, 2006).

⁶⁷⁶ See: *The Print Collector's Quarterly Complete Index*.

⁶⁷⁷ CASC — 9215/2/2/1, Meeting May 18, 1910.

Glasgow, 1900–1901, Tate) and Epstein's bronze *Euphemia Lamb* (1908, Tate).⁶⁷⁸ He was buyer again for the first half of 1919, favouring the work of war artists such as Kennington's *Raider with a cosh* (1917, Tate) and *A Lean-to* (1918, Whitworth Art Gallery, Manchester) as well as Paul Nash's watercolour *Sanctuary Wood* (1917, Grundy Art Gallery, Blackpool). In 1919 he also selected a drawing made by Eric Gill, a design for fourteen relief panels of the 'Stations of the Cross' in Westminster Cathedral.⁶⁷⁹ As a CAS General Fund buyer, apart from Epstein, Dodgson patronised artists that he knew from the world of printmaking.

However, Dodgson's art world was the world of print, and that world in the period under consideration was dominated numerically — in terms of the number of practitioners and the number of works produced — by etchers and wood cutters. Woodcuts made up the largest proportion of Print Fund acquisitions under Dodgson, with almost the same proportion being etchings and engravings (see Appendix 14.1). He also acquired works in other media — lithographs, wood engravings and linocuts.

When it came to Print Fund acquisitions, many purchases came from artists with whom Dodgson had a direct or indirect association. We can also assume that he followed his own advice to print collectors:

I would advise the collector not only to keep his eye on Bond Street, not only to visit the official exhibitions in Pall Mall East and Burlington House, but to be on the look-out for good work not yet hall-marked at such places as the annual exhibition of students' work sent in to compete for scholarships at the British school in Rome, or that held every summer at the L.C.C. school in Southampton Row.⁶⁸⁰

The L.C.C. was London County Council's Central School of Art and Design, and the printmakers in the graduate shows were students of Noel Rooke and A.S. Hartrick. It is likely that some of the now-untraceable Print Fund artists came to Dodgson's attention in these shows.

Dodgson's personal printmaking networks in Britain appear to have made an impact on his selections of works. The Print Fund did not have a lot of money to spend, so one would not expect Dodgson to buy high numbers of expensive prints. Likewise, if the volume of prints produced by a group was low, there would not be many to purchase. The table below summarises these factors, as

⁶⁷⁸ CASCM — 9215/2/2/1, Meeting March 13, 1913; and Meeting April 30, 1913.

⁶⁷⁹ CASCM — 9215/2/2/2, Meeting May 30, 1919; Eric Gill, *First design for the Stations of the Cross, in Westminster Cathedral*, 1914, pen and grey ink, touched with watercolour and gold, 27.5 x 24.1 cm, British Museum, (Museum Number: 1920,1211.1).

⁶⁸⁰ Dodgson, "On Collecting Etchings."

applied to the networks detailed in the previous section, with groups listed in descending order of number of works acquired.

	Purchases	Gifts	Total	Volume made	Prices	Dodgson's personal links	Impact on Dodgson's purchases
The Print Collector's Quarterly	241	45	246	High	Variable	Strong	Significant — he bought a lot
The Society of Wood Engravers (SWE)	153	40	193	High	Variable	Strong	Significant — he bought a lot
Royal Society of Painter-Printmakers (RSP)	152	23	175	High	Variable	Strong	Significant — he bought a lot
Senefelder Club	38	3	41	High	Variable	Strong	Noticeable — he bought a lot of lithographs
Society of Graver-Printmakers in Colour	36	1	37	Medium	Variable	Some	Noticeable — quite a lot given low volumes
'Wellington House'	35	1	36	Medium	High	Strong	Significant — he bought a lot despite high prices
Brook Green School & English Wood Engraving Society	25	9	34	Medium	Low	Slight	None
Society of XII	17	8	25	Medium	High	Strong	Significant — he bought despite high prices
The New Pastoralists	16	2	18	Low	High	Strong	None
Grosvenor School	9	1	10	Low	Low	Slight	Significant — he bought hardly any

	Purchases	Gifts	Total	Volume made	Prices	Dodgson's personal links	Impact on Dodgson's purchases
The British Museum Print Room	7	1	8	Unknown	Low	Strong	None
Vorticists and Futurists	5	12	17	Low	Low	None	Significant — he bought hardly any

Figure 8. The influence of printmaking social networks on Print Fund acquisitions by Campbell Dodgson

Many printmakers work in a variety of media and often join more than one organisation in order to optimise the number of shows in which they can exhibit. For example, Blair Hughes-Stanton was associated with both the SWE and Brook Green. For these artists, works will have been counted more than once in the table above. However, if we look at all of Dodgson's acquisitions with links to any of the groups above — removing duplicates and the Vorticists with whom he had no relationship — 459 purchases and eighty-nine gifts by printmakers based in Britain, have links to one or more of the above networks. In other words, just over half of his Print Fund acquisitions came from artists linked to his British print networks.

Large numbers of women were involved in the networks above and this is also reflected in Dodgson's acquisitions. Of the 1,088 print items he acquired, 200 (approximately nineteen percent) were by women. By contrast the main CAS funds acquired 671 works and just eighty-three (approximately twelve percent) were by women artists. The nature of monochrome printmaking is that in general the matrix and the tools used to produce it are small and portable. One can work as easily at a kitchen table as in a studio. From the point of view of women with domestic responsibilities printmaking is thus an activity that could continue relatively easily after marriage and perhaps childbirth. For painters, a dedicated studio space is desirable and it is harder to create in short snatches of time. Vanessa Bell had servants to help with her children and a studio where she could easily work up more than one canvas at a time.⁶⁸¹ Other women painters, such as the Australian Stella Bowen (1893–1947), who had studied at the Westminster school of Art, and Ida John (1877–1907) who graduated from the Slade, sacrificed their careers to housework and childcare in an age when a reasonable of income was required to keep good servants and there were few domestic appliances to help.⁶⁸² By contrast Edna Clarke Hall, another talented Slade student did manage to produce

⁶⁸¹ Vanessa Bell to Roger Fry, September 7, 1924. Bell, *The selected letters of Vanessa Bell*, 280.

⁶⁸² Virginia Nicholson, *Among the Bohemians: Experiments in Living 1900–1939* (London: Penguin Books, 2003), 214.

watercolours and prints despite her domestic servitude, and Dodgson acquired four etchings, four lithographs and one watercolour by her.⁶⁸³

Continental and Non-European prints

The nationality of an artist is not necessarily an indication of where their work is produced and the British printmaking groups described above include some foreign artists. For example, the Japanese artist Urushibara was based in London. Nonetheless, the number of items acquired from non-British artists gives a flavour of the international bias of the Print Fund. 362 of Dodgson's 923 print purchases were by non-British artists, as were fifty-four of the 165 gifts he negotiated (see Appendix 14.2). This means that thirty-eight percent of Print Fund acquisitions were by international artists, far higher as a percentage than the rest of the CAS, where from 1909–39 just 140 (twenty percent) of a total of the 671 works acquired by the General and Foreign Funds combined were by foreign artists.

Works by French, Austrian, German, Dutch and American artists made up 63 percent of the Print Fund's non-British line items. Dodgson's continental print connections began in 1895 when he travelled to Germany to research his catalogues of early German and Flemish woodcuts. There he met and became friends with Max Lehrs who, as well as being an expert on these early works, had also, when working in Berlin, created a separate department for the collecting of modern prints (and on his return to Dresden set up a similar department there). Writing after Lehrs' death in 1938, Dodgson praised his foresight in acquiring late nineteenth century French works "before prices had risen" and noted that Lehrs had "specially esteemed" Max Klinger (1857–1920), Otto Greiner (1869–1916), Karl Stauffer-Bern (1857–1891), Käthe Kollwitz and Max Liebermann.⁶⁸⁴ Lehrs was a great supporter of Kollwitz: he contributed a biography and critical appreciation of her work to *Die Zukunft* in 1901 (her first published catalogue) and "was the first Museum professional to collect her prints, proofs, and rejected sheets in a systematic manner".⁶⁸⁵ Lehrs' influence is evident in Dodgson's collecting, as he acquired thirty-six Kollwitz prints for his personal collection. (They were all from the same dealer and most were early works from before 1910.)⁶⁸⁶ He also added three works by Klinger and two by Greiner to his personal collection, but bought nothing by the Swiss Stauffer-Bern. For the Print Fund Dodgson

⁶⁸³ All the works are held by the British Museum. Nicholson, *Among the Bohemians*, 60–61.

⁶⁸⁴ Campbell Dodgson, "Max Lehrs," *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 74, no. 430 (January, 1939).

⁶⁸⁵ Louis Marchesano and Natascha Kirchner, "Artistic Quality and Politics in the Early Reception of Kollwitz's Prints," in *Käthe Kollwitz Prints, Process, Politics*, ed. Louis Marchesano (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2019), 10.

⁶⁸⁶ Anthony Griffiths, "The Archaeology of the Print," in *Collecting Prints and Drawings in Europe, c.1500–1750*, ed. Christopher Baker, Caroline Elam, and Genevieve Warwick (London: Routledge, 2017), 23.

acquired two works by Kollwitz and from her fellow '*Neue Sachlichkeit*' group members: two by Max Liebermann, three by Lovis Corinth and one by Max Slevogt.

Dodgson seems to have been as active in Parisian printmaking networks as those in London. A note to his niece in 1931 tells how he is, as every year, taking advantage of an invitation to the annual dinner of the French society of wood engravers, the *Société de la gravure sur bois originale* (SGBO), to brush up his knowledge of contemporary French printmaking and visit dealers.⁶⁸⁷ Dodgson's links to the SGBO are evidenced by his acquiring twenty-nine woodcuts and wood engravings from SGBO members, one of which was a gift (see Appendix 13.13).

His interest in the French artist Jean-Louis Forain can also be ascribed to Lehrs.⁶⁸⁸ Dodgson started collecting Forain in 1909. He was introduced to the artist in his Paris studio and bought ten etchings at that time. He visited again in 1921 and asked if Forain would give the drawing to the British Museum. Forain agreed, and as Dodgson had trouble picking a single image, he let him take four for the Print Fund.⁶⁸⁹ Dodgson's bequest added a further 141 works by Forain to the collection.

What did Campbell Dodgson not buy?

What did Campbell Dodgson not buy, or not buy a lot of? And were any omissions negated by his bequest to the Museum — a collection which he had put together for precisely that purpose?

Not all that is contemporary is avant-garde — the art made by contemporaries can include works by nonagenarians as well as fresh-faced graduates. The older generation might have honed their style fifty years ago (not everyone has Rembrandt's talent for reinvention, after all), and even in the ranks of young contemporaries, different schools and different styles abound. For a CAS buyer, the rules of engagement merely stated support for works of art by those "artists living or recently dead".⁶⁹⁰ With this in mind, and given that Dodgson was buying works by both international and British artists it is noticeable that most of the artists he chose, and the networks they had ties to, worked in figurative styles whose experiments in impressionistic and futuristic descriptions mirror similar approaches in the paintings of the period.

In 1972, the BM's Assistant Keeper of Prints and Drawings summarised Dodgson's contribution to the museum's collection as having "nothing that could be described as 'avant garde'".⁶⁹¹ This was

⁶⁸⁷ BM-DN4/1-5 — Letters from Campbell Dodgson to Eveline Dodgson January 22, 1931.

⁶⁸⁸ Dodgson, "Max Lehrs."

⁶⁸⁹ Campbell Dodgson, "Quarterly Notes — October 1931," in *The Print Collector's Quarterly* (London: J.M. Dent & Sons Ltd, 1931), 300.

⁶⁹⁰ Contemporary Art Society, *Report 1911*, 2.

⁶⁹¹ P.H. Hulton, "Acquisitions of Modern Art by Museums," *The Burlington Magazine*, October, 1972, 735.

perhaps a little harsh, as there were definitely some items, although not a lot. Dodgson's interest in the avant-garde seems to have had more of a continental, than a British focus. There were no works by the Fauves acquired by the CAS, but some came via Dodgson's bequest.⁶⁹² He left sixteen works by Picasso to the BM. He did not buy any German Expressionist works for the Print Fund, possibly because he had not seen any; more likely because he had been told their work was "terrible" by Hans Singer, Lehrs' colleague in Dresden.⁶⁹³ Dodgson's bequest included one (1925) portrait etching by Ernst Ludwig Kirchner (1880–1938); but all nine works in his personal collection by Emil Nolde (1867–1956) date from before 1910. He seems to have had no contacts with the Surrealists in Paris, and it was not until 1936 that a major exhibition was held in London.⁶⁹⁴ Dodgson was evidently intrigued: he bought nothing for the Print Fund but his bequest included a print by Salvador Dalí and a 1938 portfolio of prints by Pablo Picasso, Joan Miró, Yves Tanguy, André Masson, John Buckland Wright, Dalla Husband and Stanley William Hayter, accompanied by Paul Eluard's poem *Solidarité*.⁶⁹⁵ His purchase of the last might have been more for charitable than aesthetic reasons, as the portfolio was created to raise funds for the orphans of the Spanish Civil War.⁶⁹⁶

Again, Dodgson did not buy much from what is now considered the early twentieth-century British avant-garde but he did buy some items. He bequeathed a book of woodblock prints created by Bloomsbury Group artists (which might have been a gift or a review copy rather than a purchase). Of the 1,088 printed items acquired by the Print Fund during Dodgson's tenure, only fifty-four were by artists included in the 2016 exhibition of 'Avant-garde British printmaking 1914–1964', held at the Osborne Samuel Gallery in London (see Appendix 15). There is a marked shortage of abstract art in Dodgson's selections for the CAS, with Wadsworth's *Riponelli: a village in Lemnos* (Plate 78) dating from his Vorticist period. Dodgson's uncertainty as to the value of some developments is hinted at by an early use of scare quotes in the Introduction to his 1922 survey of contemporary woodcuts where he notes the "'Cubist' or 'Post-Impressionist' element is represented by Mr. Gibbings, Mr McKnight Kauffer, and Mr Wadsworth". They were only slightly represented in fact, as only three of the twenty-seven entries are can be considered 'Cubist' (though Dodgson did apologise for not including more

⁶⁹² Carey, *Campbell Dodgson: scholar and collector*, 26. The BM catalogue lists ten print items by Matisse and five by Derain.

⁶⁹³ Carey, "Campbell Dodgson (1867–1948)," 218-19.

⁶⁹⁴ *The International Surrealist Exhibition*, 11 June – 4 July 1936, New Burlington Galleries, London.

⁶⁹⁵ Salvador Dalí, *Enfant sauterelle*, 1933, engraving, 36.8 x 30.cm, British Museum (Museum number: 1949,0411.2404); Various artists, *Solidarité* (Print portfolio with poem by Paul Eluard and seven etchings and engravings), 1938, British Museum (Museum number: 1949,0411.5094.1).

⁶⁹⁶ Catalogue entry for the portfolio at the Toledo Museum of Art, accessed June 10, 2021, <http://emuseum.toledomuseum.org/objects/43018/>

Wadsworth because of plate size constraints).⁶⁹⁷ However, two of McKnight's geometric compositions did make it to the BM as part of Dodgson's bequest, but again this number is tiny compared to the size of the Dodgson's collection as a whole. One feels he was curious about developments in abstract art — but in no way enthusiastic.⁶⁹⁸

United yet Apart: Dodgson versus Fry

Networks can sometimes go sour, but it is often hard to trace the moment when friendship blackens into suspicion. Why might Roger Fry write that Dodgson's "natural inclinations in the matter of art are deplorable"?⁶⁹⁹ We are looking at two men whose lives intersected professionally on many occasions but who had different world views. Professionally, they were both involved with the founding of the *Burlington Magazine*, the National Art Collections Fund, the CAS and the Courtauld Institute of Art. Socially, although Dodgson's wife Frances knew Vanessa Bell via the Friday Club, Dodgson and Fry had no shared networks of friends: Fry was at Cambridge; Dodgson at Oxford. Fry was ten years' older than Dodgson, yet he embraced a Bohemian lifestyle, while Dodgson was very much 'establishment'. Fry was a lapsed Quaker, Dodgson a devout Anglo-Catholic.

Both men started their careers as connoisseurs: Fry as an expert on the Italian renaissance and Dodgson on German printmakers of the sixteenth century. Fry retained his interest in the Renaissance even as he moved on to promoting the works of the Post-Impressionists and producing a stream of books and articles discussing his Formalist ideas, and the importance of Cézanne and the French school. His busy lecturing and writing career flourished and he used his earlier training as a constant source of reference, as for example in 1933 when, in contrasting the natures of representational and abstract art, he referenced works from Giorgione to Cezanne, pausing briefly to salute Chardin and Rembrandt, in the course of just one lecture.⁷⁰⁰

In an essay of 1926, Fry divided art buyers into four groups: the Philistines, the state, the 'snobbists' and the cultured. The Philistines were "esthetic atheists who own no obedience to any doctrine, whose only allegiance is to their untutored and wayward satisfaction".⁷⁰¹ The "cultured group

⁶⁹⁷ Campbell Dodgson, *Contemporary English Woodcuts* (London: Duckworth & Co., 1922).

⁶⁹⁸ Edward McKnight Kauffer, *Roof tops*, 1916, woodcut, 10.4 x 12.8 cm, British Museum, (Museum number: 1939,0228.90); Edward McKnight Kauffer, *Flight*, 1917, woodcut, 13.7 x 22.9 cm, British Museum (Museum number: 1939,0228.8).

⁶⁹⁹ 'Roger Fry to Kenneth Clark, August 6, 1935' in Fry and Sutton, *Letters of Roger Fry*, 683.

⁷⁰⁰ This article is a transcription of a lecture given in Brussels in 1933. Roger Fry, "The double nature of painting," in *A Roger Fry Reader*, ed. Christopher Reed (Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press, 1996).

⁷⁰¹ Roger Fry, "Culture and Snobbism," in *Art and the Market: Roger Fry on Commerce in Art*, ed. Craufurd D. Goodwin (Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 1998), 103.

who worshipped the past ...would only buy art once it acquired a pedigree".⁷⁰² The 'snobbists' tended "to march in step with the vanguard of any aesthetic movement as soon as its victory is no longer in doubt".⁷⁰³ From Fry's point of view then, the cultured and the 'snobbist' could be influenced. Did Fry think Dodgson was one of the snobs? Certainly, most of his purchases were works by mid-career or established printmakers (see Appendix 14.3).

Both men wrote many articles and books on art; but their style was very different. Fry describes Campbell Dodgson as "dry-as-dust" but Oscar Wilde possibly judged him better, when he said:

You cannot translate into words your intense delight in art, instead you will pronounce a string of numbers and dates.⁷⁰⁴

The cataloguing of prints — all those hours with a magnifying glass, working out the sequence of revisions and states — suits someone who is methodical, but would be anathema for a more intuitive type. However, just because the print expert must examine the quality and detail in a work, that does not mean ignoring its artistic intent, as Dodgson noted:

... there is some merit in careful work, deliberately planned and conscientiously finished; only it makes the mistake too often of accepting dull finish as sufficient and not seeing how far it falls short of beautiful craftsmanship. The etcher needs inspiration as well as craftsmanship; without it he will be dull.⁷⁰⁵

Dodgson here assumes a tacit understanding of what might be considered 'dull' by the reader. He was no theorist. His writings were, as Wilde prophesied, largely prosaic. His focus was generally biographical, with an emphasis on cataloguing and describing works. Only faint traces of his passions come through in his descriptions and he seldom explained why he thought someone's work should be appreciated. His writing style, in fact, only appeals to those who are already enthusiasts — he moved in the circles of the already converted.

In contrast, Fry put a good deal of thought into why some works might have lasting value and others not. His first instinct was to consider the formal values of the overall image — he was a man who could refer to a "large mass" at the centre of a Crucifixion without mentioning the body of Christ.⁷⁰⁶ His ideas allowed him to approach new styles with confidence and gave him an independence

⁷⁰² Fry, "Culture and Snobbism," 91.

⁷⁰³ Fry, "Culture and Snobbism," 102.

⁷⁰⁴ BM-DN4/1-5 — Campbell Dodgson to Lionel Johnson, Babbacombe Cliff, Torquay, February 10, 1893.

⁷⁰⁵ Dodgson, "The Etchings of F.L. Griggs," 95–96.

⁷⁰⁶ John Rothenstein, *Modern English Painters: Wood to Hockney* ([S.l.]: Macdonald, 1974), 127.

that powered his defence of Post-Impressionism when critics mocked him. Dodgson's defence of wood engraving in the catalogue of the second SWE exhibition was mild and pragmatic: wood engravings, he explained, look good framed on the walls of the small rooms:

... such as most of the collecting world inhabits these days when the burden of taxes is heavy, and large engravings after Landseer have lost their charm... and oil paintings are hateful if bad, and much too expensive if good.⁷⁰⁷

Both men were highly analytical, with keenly developed powers of observation, but where Dodgson's detailed approach speaks of 'perspiration', Fry's leans towards inspiration. It is enough difference to leave space for a certain mutual disdain.

Dodgson, who shied away from a theoretical approach, instead put his trust in the expertise of his peers. In Britain, Dodgson bought largely from established artists, or younger artists whose work was accredited by their elders — through societies who elected members, or via respected teachers who were members of those societies. We know that he had links to the SGBO in Paris and can imagine that he had similar links with other continental print networks, although these have not been discussed here. It might be said that Dodgson's approach was more conservative than that of Fry because he stayed within his areas of competence — understanding the technical qualities of a print and knowing what he liked — relying on crowd-sourced expertise from his printmaking networks to affirm what to acquire for his museum.

Despite his professionalism, some personal tastes show through: he was at heart a perfectionist with a love of accuracy and figurative motifs, which can be seen in his fondness for the works of Griggs and Robert Austin. A deeply religious man, he collected a body of contemporary Christian images which might seem like an odd preference now, but in the context of the Anglo-Catholic revival of mid-nineteenth century Oxford, which was still a powerful force in the interwar period, it would not have seemed odd at the time. This is not to say that Dodgson ignored anything that would now be considered avant-garde. As a museum professional whose aim was to build an encyclopaedic collection, he acquired works which went against most of his personal preferences, but one feels he could not feel enthusiastic about them, nor reassured that he had made the right decision.

Summary

In Manchester a professional curator selected from works acquired by a mixture of curators and collectors. In Belfast all the purchases were made by private collectors. Here, for the British Museum the curator is choosing works for his own collection. His bias was that of a curator (in British

⁷⁰⁷ Dodgson, "Foreward."

Museum terms a Keeper) aiming to acquire a comprehensive selection of the most relevant works of the period, and slightly earlier. Dodgson's selections reflect his profession more than his personal bias — he was building an encyclopaedic collection not just with CAS funds, but also with his own bequest and almost weekly donations throughout his tenure as Keeper.⁷⁰⁸

One cannot praise highly enough Dodgson's strategy of a lifetime's collecting made in aid of enriching the British Museum's collection. Realising that he would never get enough government purchase grant to buy a representative selection of contemporary work, Dodgson — reflecting the 'diligence' that was his motto — devised an acquisitions strategy of which the CAS print fund was the first part, gifts from printers he knew personally the second, and his personal collection the third. He bought "an almost religious sense of duty to bear upon his career; his private collection was to be but an extension of his public obligations"⁷⁰⁹

One hesitates to use the term 'hero worship' but it must be confessed that British Museum publications concerning Dodgson have a hagiographic quality. The writings are perhaps tinged with a hint of wistful jealousy — here was a Keeper with the funds and independence to acquire as he thought best, free from the constraints of today's Acquisitions Committees and Boards of Trustees.

Current scholarship favours the story of Modernism and the avant-garde — bemoaning how few examples of these works were purchased and survive — but in relative terms not that much was ever produced. In terms of collecting contemporary art, Dodgson's proportion of 'traditional' to 'modernist' matches the availability of works on the market, and favours the innovative more than might be expected given his budget constraints. His preference for the figurative is an echo of Edward Marsh's support for what he called "Representational Art".⁷¹⁰ Perhaps Fry's 'dry as dust' comment referred to what he saw as Dodgson's 'conservative' choices. But we should note that Dodgson's selections are only seen as 'conservative' now. At the time he was taking far more counsel from collectors, artists and museum professionals than Fry. Dodgson was confident in his own personal areas of expertise, but it seems that when faced with new stylistic ideas he looked to his peer networks to confirm their long term value in a museum collection. Where their preferences matched his own, he acquired many works; when he was uncertain, he acquired a representative few. Where Fry moved mostly within a Bohemian milieu, with occasional forays into the bourgeoisie in order to make money, Dodgson was at home with the establishment and his personal networks exemplify this. Those networks came as a result of both his own dedicated networking and because of the implicitly social nature of printmaking: he knew dealers, collectors, museum professionals and printmakers in

⁷⁰⁸Carey, "Campbell Dodgson (1867–1948)," 211.

⁷⁰⁹ Carey, "Campbell Dodgson (1867–1948)," 212.

⁷¹⁰ Marsh, *A Number of People*, 358.

Britain, in France and in Germany, all of whom informed his selections. The effect of these multiple influences was to dampen any tendency he might have had to buy what we would now describe as avant-garde, but enabled him to put together a highly representative selection of what was then contemporary. The Print Fund collection therefore mirrors what was most popular and most collected in its period.

When buying contemporary art, one is inevitably acquiring some works that will not survive the test of time. In art, a canonical work can move gracefully from avant-garde, to modern, to Old Master — but such transitions can only be seen with hindsight. Some artists, popular in their heyday, might be forgotten after a hundred years — and perhaps like Botticelli, rediscovered centuries after that. Some, notably women artists, might be forgotten altogether. The aesthetics of print versus other sorts of art — even now a tricky subject — must have led to disagreements within the Society. Dodgson's valedictory editorial in the *Print Collector's Quarterly* noted, perhaps defensively:

The work of the artists of today has an interest for us who know these artists themselves, personally or by repute, which it can never possess, quite in the same degree, for subsequent generations of students, who know them only by tradition. We are all liable to make mistakes; we shall not be offended, if we are wise, if even in our lifetime we see our verdicts reversed.⁷¹¹

⁷¹¹ Dodgson, "Quarterly Notes — July 1924," 128.

Chapter 6

Discussion

In recent years the interwar patronage of the CAS has been criticised as being too “well mannered” and its early patronage as showing “a notable reluctance to support any of the artists associated with more recent avant-garde movements like Fauvism, Cubism and Futurism”.⁷¹² The reasons put forward for these and other critiques of the Society have ranged from the art critic Edward Lucie-Smith’s conclusion that it “carried Bloomsbury clan loyalty to extremes”, and Frances Spalding’s concern that they “preferred to ignore developments that were taking place”.⁷¹³ Many of these analyses have neglected to consider the bigger picture concerning the art consumption and the mechanics of patronage in interwar Britain. In this thesis I have endeavoured to correct this by considering the effect of social networks, attempting to situate the works acquired by the CAS within a profile of the art produced in the period, and looking at how well (or otherwise) the CAS worked with metropolitan and provincial galleries. The research is supported by three case studies on the work of the CAS in Manchester, Belfast and the British Museum.

In Chapter 2, I addressed the early influence of social networks by considering how influential the Bloomsbury Group was in the founding of the CAS and in its collecting strategies prior to 1917. Prior to 1917, Roger Fry, Clive Bell and Ottoline Morrell were all, at some point, either members of the CAS Executive Committee or its nominated buyers. The group’s direct influence should therefore have been at its strongest from 1909 to 1917. My research confirms that Bloomsbury, and in particular Fry, was indeed key to the founding of the Society. However, in the matter of what was purchased the situation was more nuanced, with other artistic networks holding almost equal sway — notably the members of the New English Art Club.

In my case studies a pattern of direct influence by Bloomsbury Group, as a network, in the Society’s interwar acquisition strategy, has been harder to discern. In the Manchester City Galleries case study, most of the selections made by its curator, Lawrence Haward, had discernible links to what can be assumed to be the interests of his gallery visitors in this period. Many of his choices were destined to join the Rutherford Loan Collection and were, at least initially, to tour art and design schools. They were selected to represent various trends in art. When looking at the artists concerned,

⁷¹² Richard Shone, "The Contemporary Art Society centenary," *The Burlington Magazine*, April, 2010. Cork, "Allies of the Avant-Garde," 32.

⁷¹³ Lucie-Smith, "The Contemporary Art Society record," 146. Spalding, "The Contemporary Art Society: Development and recognition," 64.

seven of the twenty works selected by Haward were by artists linked to the Bloomsbury Group: two works by Duncan Grant were selected and one each from Allan Walton, Edward Wolfe, Raymond Coxon, William Roberts and Elizabeth Muntz, who were all members of the London Artists' Association (LAA). (The LAA was, as I will discuss below, a key Bloomsbury organisational network in the interwar period.) Haward was, in most cases, selecting from works previously chosen, or agreed as gifts, by CAS buyers and the CAS Committee. He himself had no direct social network ties to Bloomsbury. The influence of Bloomsbury as a network is hard to identify in the Manchester case study, even though some of the works selected were by Bloomsbury artists. This would imply that the CAS buyer system removed the risk of any group dominating acquisitions as a whole.

In Belfast, when a sub-committee of CAS buyers acquired forty-one paintings on behalf of the gallery none of the buyers had any direct ties to the Bloomsbury Group. Nearly all the works were acquired from London dealers. When one looks at the ties of the thirty-three artists whose works were selected, only eight are directly or indirectly associated with the Bloomsbury Group: one each from Duncan Grant (one of the two most expensive works), Vanessa Bell and Roger Fry as well as two works by William Roberts and one each from Frederick J. Porter and Paul Nash, who were all LAA members. From the Belfast case study, it would appear that the Bloomsbury Group were not directly steering the choices of the CAS buyers, and were only influencing to a small extent the selections at one remove via its activities in the art market.

In my third case study, the Prints and Drawings Fund and its work with the British Museum, the works considered were selected by just one buyer, Campbell Dodgson. The number of works acquired was far higher than in the Manchester and Belfast case studies, reflecting the relative cheapness of works on paper as compared to paintings and sculpture. Campbell Dodgson had no discernible ties to the Bloomsbury Group, and there is no evidence of Bloomsbury Group influence in the activities of the Print Fund. However, my research has identified a number of British artist networks which appear to have influenced the selection of just over half of the prints by printmakers based in Britain. The Print Fund case study, given that it is just one of three considered in this thesis, has been researched at a fairly high level but the results suggest that the influence of artists' organisational and community networks provides a line of enquiry that could be used in further research, particularly if the dates when network ties existed can be identified.

Turning to the question of how well the Society's collecting reflects British art in the period, the Manchester and Belfast cases studies provide evidence that CAS buyers did indeed avoid, or were perhaps unable to acquire, Cubist, Surrealist and Abstract works. The artworks in the Manchester case study were donated to the city between 1918 and 1939 but, as mentioned above, their selection was made by the local curator. In terms of CAS choices the timing of the Belfast project is an important

factor as it ran from 1929 to 1933, i.e. before the arrival of the Surrealists in London and before Ben Nicholson *et al* started to promote constructivist art in Britain.⁷¹⁴ The Print Fund selected a higher percentage of works by non-British artists and did include some Futurist works. There were, however, still no surrealist or abstract works selected. Comparing the Belfast and Print Fund cases studies, the key factor in the selection of works is geographical. Most of the works for Belfast were purchased in London galleries and reflect the sort of work available on London art market 1929–33. As will be discussed below, this was greatly affected by economic circumstances at the time. By contrast, the Print Fund buyer, Campbell Dodgson, was a regular visitor to the continent. He acquired works on his travels and thus had more opportunities to select works by continental artists. Returning to the point above, if Dodgson’s continental networks did not include surrealist and abstract artists this would explain the lack of such works in the Print Fund collection as much as his personal preferences.

In the final aspect of this research, how well (or otherwise) the CAS worked with metropolitan and provincial galleries, the case studies provide two examples of successful collaboration, but by different means. In Manchester, the key to the collaboration’s success was a skilled curator with a clear vision of what he wanted to get from the Society’s resources. Once he, and his Board of Trustees, shifted their attention to improving industrial design in the city the collaboration between the CAS and Manchester, focused as it was on the fine arts, lost traction. In Belfast the curator’s relative lack of fine arts expertise meant that the CAS buyers were free to act independently after having had some initial, very general, guidance from the gallery on what sort of work should be acquired. They had a larger budget than they usually had to buy paintings and could act quickly to secure the works they wanted. The success here was due to a trusting delegation of roles. In the longer term, although the museum continued to subscribe to the CAS, their on-going lack (at least in the period under consideration) of a curator whose interests lay in contemporary art meant that, having acquired an exemplary collection of modern British art, they did not add much to it later. Likewise, in the British Museum, after Dodgson retired in 1934, the focus of his successor moved back to the collecting of Old Masters, and fewer works were acquired in the period running up to the Second World War. All three examples, serve to highlight the importance of local expertise in building and maintaining links to the Society, not to mention generating public interest, and therefore funding.

⁷¹⁴ Salvador Dali's first one-man show in London was sat the Zwemmer Gallery in 1934. 'The International Surrealist Exhibition' was at the New Burlington Galleries in June–July 1936.

The 14th '7 & 5' exhibition at the Zwemmer Gallery in October 1935 brought Constructivist works by Ben Nicholson and John Piper to the public's attention. Nicolette Gray (1911–1997) organised the 'Abstract & Concrete: An Exhibition of Abstract Painting & Sculpture' with continental and British works in 1936.

To look at these conclusions in more detail, I will first return to the question of how much social networks influenced the founding of the CAS, its early acquisitions, and my three case studies.

The social networks of the Contemporary Art Society

Personal friendships, family and professional networks appear to have strongly influenced both the selection of CAS Executive Committee members and its acquisition choices in the first thirty years of its existence.

The power of personal networks involved can be seen from the Society's inception in 1909 when Fry and D.S. MacColl met for lunch at the house of Lady Ottoline Morrell. She wrote in her diary for that day: "I feel strongly now that every penny one can save ought to be given to young artists ... young creators have such a terrible struggle".⁷¹⁵ Morrell's enthusiasm stemmed from a genuine desire to help young artists, but also came from her friendship with Roger Fry, whom she had met in 1904.⁷¹⁶ Her enthusiasm was evidently contagious. Family connections meant that her cousin, Baron Howard de Walden (a patron of Augustus John, Eric Gill and Jacob Epstein), would be one of the Society's most generous donors and President for the next 30 years.⁷¹⁷ Her husband, Philip Morrell MP, was Treasurer till March 1912 and Chairman until November 1911.⁷¹⁸ Her elder brother, Lord Henry Bentinck MP, took over as Chairman in 1912 remaining in the role until his death in 1931.⁷¹⁹

Professional networks seeded the CAS Executive Committee. Fry had been involved in the founding of the National Art Collections Fund (NACF) in 1903. The NACF committee of 1904 included: the then Keeper of Prints and Drawings at the British Museum, Sidney Colvin; MacColl, who became Director of the National Gallery Millbank in 1906; the critic Bowyer Nichols; and David Lindsay Earl of Crawford and Balcarres (AKA Lord Balcarres) all of whom would join the CAS Executive Committee.⁷²⁰ Philip Morrell had served, with Fry and Charles Holmes, then Director of the National Portrait Gallery, on a NACF sub-committee for the purchase of modern art (a precursor to the CAS which ceased operations after the founding of the CAS).⁷²¹ Fry, being a founder and later Editor of the *Burlington*

⁷¹⁵ Ottoline Lady Morrell and Robert Gathorne-Hardy, *Memoirs of Lady Ottoline Morrell: a study in friendship, 1873–1915* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1964), 133.

⁷¹⁶ Miranda Seymour, *Ottoline Morrell : life on the grand scale* (New York: Farrar Straus Giroux, 1992), 60.

⁷¹⁷ Thomas Seymour, *My Grandfather, A Modern Medievalist: The Life of the 8th Lord Howard de Walden* (National Trust, 2012), 11-12, <https://nt.global.ssl.fastly.net/documents/chirk-castle---my-grandfather-a-modern-medievalist-the-life-of-the-8th-lord-howard-de-walden.pdf>.

⁷¹⁸ CASCM — 9215/2/2/1, Meetings May 11, 1910; November 2, 1911 and March 28, 1912.

⁷¹⁹ Seymour, *Ottoline Morrell*, 87.

⁷²⁰ Anon., "Personal &c.," *Times* (London) March 5, 1904.

⁷²¹ Summerfield, "Interventions", 111.

Magazine, knew Robert Ross, Frank Rinder and Arthur Clutton Brock as occasional contributors to the publication. All the CAS committee members were collectors of modern, if not contemporary art, and many collected other things as well. Fry knew Ross and Clutton Brock from the Burlington Fine Arts Club (BFAC).⁷²² Other BFAC members included Sidney Colvin and Campbell Dodgson of the BM, Edward Marsh, and the second Treasurer of the CAS, the Earl of Plymouth.⁷²³ Fry's connections to the Bloomsbury Group would have brought critic Clive Bell to join the founders of the CAS and, in 1932, the art lover and economist John Maynard Keynes. Hence, in Social Network Analysis (SNA) terms Fry is the most 'prominent actor' in the founding of the CAS because he is linked to all the personal and professional networks involved.

The core members of the Bloomsbury Group were linked by friendships made at King's and Trinity College, Cambridge. In 1905 Virginia and Vanessa Stephen's brother Thoby (1880–1906) had the idea of hosting 'Thursday evenings' at their home in Gordon Square for his Cambridge friends. This brought his sisters, and his brother Adrian, into the circle of his fellow Trinity alumni: Clive Bell, Lytton Strachey (1880–1932), Saxon Sydney Turner (1880–1962), and Leonard Woolf (1880–1969). Strachey, Woolf and Turner were all members of the Cambridge Conversazione Society, generally known as the Apostles, and this brought their near-contemporaries Keynes, E.M. 'Morgan' Forster (1879–1970), Desmond MacCarthy, and later Fry into the fold.⁷²⁴ Fry was another Apostle but fifteen years older than Clive Bell. They met in 1910 when both were on a train to Cambridge.⁷²⁵ The core of the 'Old Bloomsbury' group was thus created in Cambridge and as Leonard Woolf noted:

Of the 10 men of Old Bloomsbury only Clive, Adrian and Duncan were not Apostles. Of the other seven of us, Desmond, Morgan, Lytton, Saxon, Maynard, and I all overlapped more or less at Cambridge and had already grown into a particular intimacy there as active members of the Society.⁷²⁶

Woolf's use of forenames here is a notable change from the restraint of the Victorian era when surnames were used, even between close friends. The change is often cited as a conscious, espousal of

⁷²² "Clutton-Brock, Arthur, (23 March 1868–8 Jan. 1924), Art Critic of The Times.," in *WHO'S WHO & WHO WAS WHO* (December 1, 2007). "ROSS, Robert Baldwin," in *Who Was Who* (2014).

⁷²³ Stacey author Pierson, *Private collecting, exhibitions and the shaping of art history in London : the Burlington Fine Arts Club* (New York: Routledge, 2017), 59,72–173,77.

⁷²⁴ The fullest description of who Bloomsbury considered its core membership is a group portrait: Vanessa Bell, *The Memoir Club*, c.1943, oil on canvas, 60.8 x 81.6 cm, National Portrait Gallery, London.

⁷²⁵ Spalding, *Roger Fry: Art and Life*, 117–18.

⁷²⁶ Leonard Woolf, "Old Bloomsbury," in *The Bloomsbury Group*, ed. S.P. Rosenbaum (Toronto and Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, (1964), 1975), 112.

a new way of demonstrating friendship within the Bloomsbury Group.⁷²⁷ The group might well have been the first to adopt such informality, but exposure to more informal American cultural norms in fiction and film made the habit a commonplace by the 1930s, as witnessed by the correspondence between the three buyers in the Belfast case study.

A later, and very significant, addition to the committee would come through similar, but not identical networks. Trinity College alumnus Edward Marsh was, like Fry, a Cambridge Apostle. He was first listed as a member of the CAS in the 1911 report and joined the Executive Committee in May 1917 having probably been nominated by Bentinck who was an old friend.⁷²⁸ (An understandable confusion comes after 1917 as Ernest Marsh, ceramics collector, expert on Martinware and the founder of the CAS ceramics fund, had been a member since 1910, and minutes noting E. Marsh are ambiguous.)

By staying up an extra year for the second part of his Classical Tripos, Marsh had made friends with both Victor Lytton (1876–1947), the brother of Neville his first advisor on matters artistic, and Desmond MacCarthy, both freshmen in 1894.⁷²⁹ Marsh was also a friend of E.M. Forster — a fellow Apostle and one of the holders of the spare key to Marsh's flat at Gray's Inn.⁷³⁰ Through the poet Rupert Brooke (1887–1915) with whom he was a friend in life, and for whom he would be literary executor, Marsh also knew Keynes.⁷³¹ Marsh knew Fry socially: they were both Apostles, and met at the dinners held by the society; but they were not contemporaries. In short, Marsh was on friendly terms with many members of the Bloomsbury Group — but he never considered himself to be one of them.⁷³²

The CAS Executive Committee never had a stable membership. By 1915 the Morrells had moved out of Bloomsbury to Garsington.⁷³³ MacColl resigned in 1913 — he would never convert to the delights of Post-Impressionism and had no patience with Fry's promotion of Cézanne.⁷³⁴ Ross died in 1918. Bell is last recorded as attending a meeting in 1917.⁷³⁵ Friendships and family connections

⁷²⁷ Mark Peel, "New Worlds of Friendship: the early 20th Century," in *Friendship : a history*, ed. Barbara Caine (London: Routledge, 2014), 270.

⁷²⁸ CASCM — 9215/2/2/2, Meeting May 2, 1917; Hassall, *Edward Marsh*, 502–3.

⁷²⁹ Hassall, *Edward Marsh*, 59. Marsh, *A Number of People*, 352.

⁷³⁰ Hassall, *Edward Marsh*, 148.

⁷³¹ Hassall, *Edward Marsh*, 209.

⁷³² Hassall, *Edward Marsh*, 66.

⁷³³ Seymour, *Ottoline Morrell*, 224.

⁷³⁴ CASCM — 9215/2/2/2, Meeting December 12, 1913; see also 'A year of Post-Impressionism' (1912) and 'Cézanne as Deity' (1928) in MacColl, *Confessions of a Keeper and other papers*.

⁷³⁵ CASCM — 9215/2/2/2, Meeting November 13, 1917.

brought in the first three new members: 'Jack' St. John Hutchinson was a friend and patron of artists including Mark Gertler and Duncan Grant — he was married to Mary Hutchinson, Grant's cousin and Clive Bell's lover;⁷³⁶ Muirhead Bone was a friend of Campbell Dodgson and worked with him in the First World War; and Frances Dodgson — nominated because the committee thought there should be a female presence — was married to Campbell Dodgson.⁷³⁷ Alas, Frances made very few contributions to the committee minutes and her last recorded attendance was in 1926.⁷³⁸

Marsh became Chairman of the CAS in 1937, following the death of Cyril Kendall Butler.⁷³⁹ His appointment came near to the end of the interwar period, a period which saw many changes in the membership of the Executive Committee (including a number of people who did not stay very long). There were many aristocratic names on the interwar roll call but it should be noted that most were either museum trustees or government officials, specifically ministers in the Treasury. This was a significant change as prior to the First World War committee members were all either arts professionals or gallery trustees. As an example of the new breed of CAS committee member, Roderick Meiklejohn (who joined in 1923) had been with the Treasury since 1902. He became the Treasury's Deputy Controller of Supply Services in the 1928 and resigned from the CAS committee a year later.⁷⁴⁰ Meiklejohn, a career civil servant, might seem an odd choice. In 1914 he had led the Treasury review of a National Gallery report, created by a sub-committee of trustees headed by Lord Curzon, which recommended an increase in the National Gallery's annual purchase grant to from £5000 to £25,000. Meiklejohn rejected the proposal on the grounds that it would inflate the prices of pictures.⁷⁴¹ However, he endorsed an idea from the gallery's former Director, the artist Sir Edward Poynter (1836–1919), that a £10,000 reserve fund should be set up for the purchase of exceptionally important works and this was an idea dear to the hearts of Fry and Keynes.⁷⁴² The link to Meiklejohn was Keynes who had been working at the Treasury when Fry told him of the planned sale of the Degas collection in March 1917.⁷⁴³ The National Gallery's purchase grant had been suspended for the war but Meiklejohn authorised the special grant of £20,000 which Keynes and Holmes took to Paris to attend the sale.⁷⁴⁴ C.L. Stocks, also of the Treasury, joined the committee in 1932 and would also have been in contact

⁷³⁶ Fry and Sutton, *Letters of Roger Fry*, 756.

⁷³⁷ CASC — 9215/2/2/4, Meeting March 14, 1923.

⁷³⁸ CASC — 9215/2/2/4, Meeting November 16, 1926.

⁷³⁹ Contemporary Art Society, *Report 1936–7*, 5–6.

⁷⁴⁰ "Meiklejohn, Sir Roderick Sinclair," in *WHO'S WHO & WHO WAS WHO* (2007).

⁷⁴¹ Geddes Poole, *Stewards of the Nation's Art*, 134–36.

⁷⁴² Geddes Poole, *Stewards of the Nation's Art*, 137.

⁷⁴³ Denys Sutton, "The Degas Sales and England," *The Burlington Magazine*, April, 1989, 266.

⁷⁴⁴ Geddes Poole, *Stewards of the Nation's Art*, 160–61.

with Keynes. He was most definitely an art collector as it was he who sold Duncan Grant's *Interior* (Plate 28) to Belfast. In addition, Stocks had been, with Fry, on the committee that produced the Gorell report on 'Art and Industry' in 1932.⁷⁴⁵ The interest of high-powered government officials in the arts is a change that would come to fruition after the Second World War with the formation of the Arts Council — another Keynes project.⁷⁴⁶ However, a point to note is that none of the government officials apart from Marsh and Keynes were ever nominated as buyers.

From the above it is evident that knowledge of personal and professional networks is critical to understanding the make-up of the CAS Executive Committee. It was a peer group where the membership changed over time but all the new members arrived via personal and professional connections. Peer group pressure determines how a group operates, and, as the social psychologist Michael Argyle has noted:

Small social groups always develop 'norms', i.e. shared ways of behaving, thinking, and feeling, especially in relation to the main goals and activities of the group. These can be thought of as constituting the culture-pattern of the group at a given time. The norms can be changed through the action of one or more individual members of the group.⁷⁴⁷

Before the First World War, Fry — the most connected member — held sway and those who disagreed with him, such as MacColl, resigned. In 1932, a second strong Bloomsbury personality, Maynard Keynes, joined the Executive Committee, but it was Marsh who would become Chairman in 1937.

Social networks in an economic crisis

“When bankers get together for dinner they discuss art. When artists get together for dinner, they discuss money” — Oscar Wilde⁷⁴⁸

The impact of economics, both national and personal, cannot be ignored when considering the state of the art market and the motivations of individual CAS members. In 1909, at the height of the so-called Edwardian Gilded Age, the founders could afford to be altruistic. For example, in 1908, Fry, although already paying for his wife's hospitalisation, was still confident enough of his earning

⁷⁴⁵ Lord Gorell and et al., *Art & Industry: Report of the Committee appointed by the Board of Trade under the Chairmanship of Lord Gorell on the Production and Exhibition of Articles of Good Design and Every-day Use*, (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1932).

⁷⁴⁶ Craufurd D. Goodwin, *Art and the Market: Roger Fry on Commerce in Art* (Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 1998), 59–60.

⁷⁴⁷ Michael Argyle, "The Social Psychology of Social Change," in *Social Theory and Economic Change*, ed. Tom Burns and S.B. Saul (Abingdon: Routledge, 2001), 87–88.

⁷⁴⁸ Traditionally, but wrongly, attributed to Oscar Wilde.

potential to take out a loan to build 'Durbins', his house near Guildford.⁷⁴⁹ By 1918, he was moving out — he could no longer afford to keep it as he attempted to keep the Omega Workshops afloat.⁷⁵⁰

Omega was not the only victim of economic downturn.⁷⁵¹ In the interwar period both patrons and artists had financial difficulties. Wealthy patrons who had supported avant-garde art before World War I cut back their spending as the value of their stocks and shares decreased. As with any study of this period, due attention must be paid to the economic downturn which followed the First World War, which meant financial hardship for artists in some cases. As William Coldstream later wrote:

The 1930 slump affected us all very considerably ... it caused an immense change in our general attitude. One painter I know lost all his money and had to become a traveller in vacuum cleaners. Everyone began to be interested in economics and then politics. Two very talented painters who had been at the Slade with me gave up painting altogether, one to work for the ILP, the other for the Communist Party.⁷⁵²

For those who wanted to remain painters, the lessons of politics 'unity is strength' inspired the creation of a number of new artists' exhibiting groups, where a shared style or set of interests was not so much the aim as sharing the costs of renting exhibition space and publicity. This was not a new idea — one can think of the Camden Town group before the First World War.

In 1913 Fry had tried to blend artistic endeavour with philanthropy by founding the Omega Workshops. The issue, for Fry, was that artists needed the freedom to be able to create work in their free time without the pressure of wondering where their next rent payment would come from. His solution was to pay them 30 shillings (£1.50) to work for three and a half days a week for the Omega Workshops.⁷⁵³ David Masters has suggested that Bloomsbury's vision of 'amateurism' meant that art should be free of any of the pressures of real life: disinterested creativity not necessarily in thrall to the needs of commerce.⁷⁵⁴ But even Fry, pre-War, realised that the freedom for artists to create would be of necessity restricted to rich artists unless some form of support was provided.

⁷⁴⁹ Spalding, *Roger Fry: Art and Life*, 107.

⁷⁵⁰ Spalding, *Roger Fry: Art and Life*, 212. Sutton, "The Degas Sales and England," 271.

⁷⁵¹ Spalding, *Roger Fry: Art and Life*, 212.

⁷⁵² William Coldstream, "The Artist Speaks," in *Art in England*, ed. R. S. Lambert (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books Ltd, 1938), 101.

⁷⁵³ Fry and Sutton, *Letters of Roger Fry*, 369.

⁷⁵⁴ Masters, "Construction of national identity: British art 1930–1990", 22–23.

In 1925 Fry was able to return to his ideal of artistic philanthropy when, with Keynes and Samuel Courtauld (1876–1947), he founded the London Artists' Association (LAA).⁷⁵⁵ Their first group exhibition was at the Leicester Galleries in May 1926.⁷⁵⁶ Keynes is credited with having the idea; Fry was to determine which artists should be supported. Courtauld, a wealthy industrialist and art collector, together with Frank Hindley-Smith (1863–1939), Bolton mill-owner and contemporary art collector, and the novelist Leo Hamilton Myers (1881–1944), were to provide the finance.⁷⁵⁷ The LAA organised annual group shows as well as a program of solo exhibitions. Artists nominated as members would receive a salary of £150 a year and in return the LAA would receive a percentage of sales from their exhibitions. As Stephenson notes, it was "relatives and friends [of the artist and organisers] who used their influence to promote the group's activities and status".⁷⁵⁸ In social networking terms the LAA was therefore not just leveraging the power of an organisational network but also its community network, to promote the work of Bloomsbury artists and those who shared their aesthetic. Stephenson concludes:

... the LAA can be recognised as an important site of cultural production. The Association's annual exhibition afforded Bloomsbury artists a public exhibition venue... It was a forum for the ritual appreciation of 'advanced art' produced by Bloomsbury...⁷⁵⁹

A number of the artists who were nominated as LAA members had also been members of the London Group, which was founded in 1913. Members of the Camden Town Group and the Vorticists were early members, as were other artists who had been employed by the Omega Workshops. The London Group shared the cost of exhibitions and publicity but did not have the resources to provide their artists with a salary. Following the death of the London Group's first President, Harold Gilman, in 1919 Bloomsbury became the dominant faction. Bernard Adeney was the next President with Fry, who served on the group's hanging committee, a "very active and public *eminence grise*". Artists in the Bloomsbury circle — Fry, Vanessa Bell, Grant, Keith Baynes and Elliott Seabrooke — were all members.⁷⁶⁰ The group became a link between the English Impressionism of the NEAC and the Post-Impressionist styles

⁷⁵⁵ Andrew Stephenson, "'An Anatomy of Taste': Samuel Courtauld and debates about art patronage and modernism in Britain in the inter-war years," in *Impressionism for England — Samuel Courtauld as patron and collector* (London: Yale University Press, 1994), 41.

⁷⁵⁶ London Artists' Association, *Exhibition of paintings and sculpture by Bernard Adeney, Keith Baynes, Vanessa Bell, Frank Dobson, Roger Fry, Duncan Grant and F. J. Porter* (London: Ernest Brown & Phillips, May 1926). ⁷⁵⁷ Spalding, *Roger Fry: Art and Life*, 237.

⁷⁵⁸ Stephenson, "Strategies of Situation," 33.

⁷⁵⁹ Stephenson, "Strategies of Situation," 34.

⁷⁶⁰ Corbett, *The Modernity of English art, 1914–30*, 75–76.

favoured by Clive Bell and Fry. Fry noted in his introduction to the London Group's 1928 retrospective exhibition catalogue:

The London group has done for Post-Impressionism in England what the New English Art Club did, in a previous generation, for Impressionism. And a bond of union between the two can be found in the person of Mr Sickert, for the origins of the London Group are found in the Camden Town Group...⁷⁶¹

Fry's and Keynes's links to these groups helped promote the artists within them to CAS buyers, and this can be seen in the Manchester and Belfast case studies. For example, in Manchester, the joint purchase between the CAS, friends of the artists and the Art Galleries Committee of Muntz's *Erda* (Plate 22) was instigated by R.C. Trevelyan, a mutual friend of Fry and Eddie Marsh. If we consider the other artists in the case studies: eighteen of the thirty-eight artists selected for Belfast, and eight of the seventeen artists selected by Manchester in the interwar period, were members of the post-War London Group, the LAA or both. Of the sixty-one works selected for Belfast by the CAS, and for Manchester by Haward in the interwar period, thirty are by artists associated with the post-War London Group or the LAA. Taking both case studies into consideration, just under half of the artists concerned have ties to Bloomsbury, and approximately half the works selected have a Bloomsbury connection via the organisational networks in which the artists operated.

Whilst noting the usefulness of organisational networks, it is still evident from the case studies that an individual patron can make a difference. Twelve of the thirty-eight artists selected for Belfast were artists whose work was encouraged and supported by Edward Marsh, one of the CAS buyers.⁷⁶² Marsh had begun collecting art with purchases of "old English masters" under the tutelage of Neville Lytton, the third Earl of Lytton (1879–1951), who had trained as an artist in Paris.⁷⁶³ His conversion from "ancient to modern" came about in December 1911 when, guided by Robert Ross, he bought Duncan Grant's *Parrot Tulips* (1911, Southampton City Art Gallery) at the Carfax Gallery. His motives in buying contemporary art were very similar to those of Ottoline Morrell. He wrote:

... to buy an old picture did nobody any good except the dealer; whereas to buy a new one gave pleasure, encouragement and help to a man of talent, perhaps of genius.⁷⁶⁴

⁷⁶¹ Roger Fry, "The Modern Movement in England," in *London Group Retrospective Exhibition 1914–1928, April–May, 1928* (London: 1928). Exhibition catalogue

⁷⁶² For details of the artists whom Marsh supported see *An Honest patron : a tribute to Sir Edward Marsh*, (Liverpool: Bluecoat Gallery, 1976).

⁷⁶³ Marsh, *A Number of People*, 355.

⁷⁶⁴ Marsh, *A Number of People*, 355.

His tastes in contemporary art were guided not by Lytton but by the artists that he knew well and, for him, “what might be roughly called one’s own judgement”.⁷⁶⁵ Through Ross, Marsh had met young painters such as Stanley Spencer, the Nash brothers, Mark Gertler and John Currie (c.1884–1914). By 1914 he was working with them, together with Elliott Seabrook, William Roberts, Isaac Rosenberg, Gilbert Spencer, C.R.W. Nevinson, Rudolf Ihlee, Wyndham Tryon and Henri Gaudier-Brzeska on a book that was to be called *Georgian Drawings*. A portfolio of drawings by the artists he knew and supported, it was to act as a companion to the volumes of *Georgian Poetry* that he edited 1912–22 (George here being George V). Bentinck and Michael Sadler (who joined the committee in 1923) had volunteered to support the *Georgian Drawings* project but this collapsed with the onset of the First World War.⁷⁶⁶ In 1912 Marsh dined with Duncan Grant and their mutual friend George Mallory (1886–1924).⁷⁶⁷ Marsh would become one of Grant’s loyal patrons. As CAS buyer for 1923 he bought Grant’s *Flower Piece* (1922, Aberdeen Art Gallery).⁷⁶⁸ As buyer for 1937 he purchased a large pencil study by Grant — one of his designs for the Queen Mary (*The Guitar-player*, 1936, V&A). His bequest to the CAS included Grant’s 1910–11 *Dancers* (Tate) and the *Parrot Tulips* (1911, Southampton City Art Gallery) that had been his first contemporary art purchase.⁷⁶⁹ He bought works by Bloomsbury artists but when it came to aesthetics he disagreed with Fry. He respected Fry’s knowledge of Old Masters but found he could not agree with his ideas on modern art.⁷⁷⁰ In 1913, writing about one of the young artists he knew, he remarked: “I’m afraid he has come under the noxious influence of dear Roger Fry, whom I love as a man but detest as a movement ... It seems too wretched that he should spend all his time painting square people because someone tells him to.”⁷⁷¹

The CAS collection and British art 1909–39

In considering whether the CAS collection adequately reflects British art in the period under consideration it is well to remember that any artist who was already established and successful would also be expensive. The 1911 CAS report records a combined income from subscriptions and donations of just £814, yet the choice for their first acquisition was a statement piece by an established (and living) star of British art at the time whose work found favour with all the committee members.

⁷⁶⁵ Marsh, *A Number of People*, 355.

⁷⁶⁶ Hassall, *Edward Marsh*, 280.

⁷⁶⁷ Hassall, *Edward Marsh*, 189.

⁷⁶⁸ CASCM — 9215/2/2/4, Meeting May 9, 1923.

⁷⁶⁹ Marsh, *A Number of People*, 355.

⁷⁷⁰ He valued Fry’s opinion on his paintings by Richard Wilson. Marsh, *A Number of People*, 354.

⁷⁷¹ Hassall, *Edward Marsh*, 258.

Augustus John's *Woman Smiling* (1908–9, Plate 2) was purchased from the artist for £225 in 1910 and donated to the National Gallery Millbank in 1917. It is a large format painting, the size of which might be the reason for Sickert's initial response to the founding of the CAS:

The harm that the growth or organizations of this kind will do to art and artists is, I think, immeasurably greater than the good ... they will tend to the encouragement of the exhibition picture. It will be the exhibition picture that will gain ground, and the room picture that will suffer from the operations of the Contemporary Art Society. Buying, not for their own rooms, such committees inevitably tend to consider what kind of works the Press and the public think it well that other people should inspect in public galleries. The private collector buys what he loves, and what he wishes to see at the side of his fireplace, or over his own sideboard ... the Contemporary Art Society will, as sure as fate, create a definite Contemporary Art Society product, as recognizable at a hundred yards as such...⁷⁷²

If one looks at the size of the oil and tempera paintings considered in the Belfast and Manchester case studies they are, on average, sixty-four cm high and sixty-six cm wide. Most are therefore paintings that could easily fit over a domestic mantelpiece. The only 'gallery' sized painting (163 x 174.8 cm) was Duncan Grant's *Interior* (Plate 28) which was considerably more expensive (at £630) than most CAS purchases. The 'domestic' size of most works purchased by the CAS in this period can be linked to the type of art available at the time. As Stephenson notes "in the period from the mid-1920s up to the Wall Street crash" there was "expanding demand for British Art amongst the British middle and upper middle class" and artists responding to this demand would have produced smaller paintings.⁷⁷³ During the 'Slump' writers in the *Studio* and the *Listener* worked to persuade younger patrons to purchase artworks for the interior.⁷⁷⁴ It follows that commercial galleries would be stocking works of a size suitable for a domestic interior — and for works in the Belfast case study, where provenance is known, commercial galleries appear to have been the main source.

To the detractors of CAS patronage the absence of any Cubist, Vorticist, Futurist, German Expressionist, abstract and Surrealist works is problematic. Apart from the Vorticists, all these movements represented the newest ideas from the continent. The one buyer who proved an exception to this was Clive Bell, who bought a Fauvist inspired landscape by Harold Squire (Plate 3) and three likely to be proto-Vorticist cubist inspired works by Wyndham Lewis (now lost), Cuthbert Hamilton (untraced) and Frederick Etchells in 1913.⁷⁷⁵ That same year, Bell also bought Duncan Grant's

⁷⁷² W.R. Sickert, "The Contemporary Art Society," *The New Age* (London) August 4, 1910, 268.

⁷⁷³ Stephenson, "Strategies of Situation," 31.

⁷⁷⁴ Stephenson, "Strategies of Situation," 44–45.

⁷⁷⁵ CASCM — 9215/2/2/2, Meeting December 12, 1913. See also, Appendix 7.

Adam and Eve (now lost). Grant's study for this work is in the Tate — its bright earth-tones and modelling with thick black strokes reminiscent both of the African sculpture popular with French collectors in this period, and of Picasso's re-use of African colour-schemes and motifs in work such as his 1907 *Dance of the Veils*.⁷⁷⁶ Ross's proposal to only support British artists was rejected in 1910 so the CAS could have bought foreign works from the year of its inception. However it took until 1924 for the Foreign Fund was to be created.⁷⁷⁷ In terms of buying cheaply, the Society thus 'missed the boat' on Cubism and Fauvism — by the time the Foreign Fund had any money these works were expensive. By contrast, the Print Fund bought significantly more continental art than the rest of the CAS, and, aided by the relative cheapness of prints, it could be more adventurous.

By 1938, the Society had not bought any paintings by Wyndham Lewis since 1913, when Clive Bell purchased his *Laughing Woman* (now lost). In 1926 the novelist and art collector Sydney Schiff (1868–1944) had given, and had accepted by the Executive Committee, fourteen works on paper by Lewis.⁷⁷⁸ Two more had been given two by Edward Marsh and Lady Cunard in 1923.⁷⁷⁹ All sixteen were from Lewis's post-War output, not from his Vorticist days. In 1938, Lewis published his autobiography *Blasting and Bombardiering*, and held his first major show since 1921 at the Leicester Galleries.⁷⁸⁰ The show prompted a group of his contemporaries — artists, writers, and critics including Michael Sadler — to write to the *Times* to ask that his "deep and original art should be publicly recognised" by one of his works being acquired by a public collection.⁷⁸¹ The Tate responded by buying the artist's *Red Scene* (1933–6, Tate).⁷⁸² The CAS Print Fund had already acquired his *Woman Reading* (Plate 82). Sadler was on the CAS committee, but it was Keynes who moved that the Society should buy a work by Lewis.⁷⁸³ There might have been some bias against the artist, or perhaps a desire to preserve the independence of that year's buyer, that made the committee agree that "the buyer for

⁷⁷⁶ Duncan Grant, *Head of Eve*, 1913, oil on board, 75.6 × 63.5 cm, Tate; Duncan Grant *Adam and Eve* reproduced pl.96 in Richard Shone, *Bloomsbury Portraits* (London: Phaidon, 1993). Picasso, *Dance of the Veils*, 1907, Oil on canvas, 150 x 100 cm, Hermitage, St. Petersburg

⁷⁷⁷ CASC — 9215/2/2/1, Meeting May 18, 1910.

⁷⁷⁸ Contemporary Art Society, *Report 1926* (London: The Pelican Press, 1927), 9.

⁷⁷⁹ Contemporary Art Society, *Report 1919–24*, 7.

⁷⁸⁰ Wyndham Lewis, *"Infernos" and other new paintings*, Ernest Brown & Phillips Ltd., The Leicester Galleries, December, 1937.

⁷⁸¹ Henry Moore et al., "Mr. Wyndham Lewis's Works," *Times*, December 22, 1937.

⁷⁸² Oliver F. Brown, "Points from Letters," *Times*, January 31, 1938.

⁷⁸³ CASC — 9215/2/2/1, Minutes January 13, 1938.

the year should remain quite unbiased on the matter".⁷⁸⁴ In any case Jasper Ridley, the buyer for 1938, went on to buy Lewis's *La Suerte* (Plate 83).

Why might so little work by Lewis have been purchased? Both Cork and Lucie-Smith have implied that support for Lewis, and the Vorticist movement of which he was co-founder, would not have been possible after the so-called 'Ideal Home Rumpus' of 1913, when he and others announced their resignations from the Omega workshops in a letter (sent to its shareholders and patrons) that accused Fry of misappropriating a commission to decorate a room at the Ideal Home Exhibition that year.⁷⁸⁵ Marsh had met Lewis in 1913, while dressed in one of the Futurist costumes designed by Lewis for 'The Picture Ball' (a fundraising event organised by Lady Muriel Paget at the Albert Hall). They did not strike an immediate rapport. Marsh wrote to Elliot Seabrooke:

He is very magnificent to look at, but I don't think he liked me and I suspected him of pose so we shan't be friends. Hoping to strike a chord I told him I had spent the day with Stanley Spencer and he said 'I don't know him, is he a painter?' which must have been put on.⁷⁸⁶

Hostilities continued in the 1920s after Clive Bell republished an article in *Since Cézanne*, a collection of his essays, in which he took exception to the critics of Britain bestowing praise on British artists who were, in his opinion, less talented than their contemporaries in France. The origin of his complaint lay in the reviews of a 1920 exhibition *The Nation's War Paintings* which included Lewis's *A Battery Shelled* (1919, Imperial War Museum).⁷⁸⁷ Bell praised Lewis's work for its "absence of vulgarity and false sentiment, the sobriety of colour" and its "painstaking search for design."⁷⁸⁸ Unfortunately, he then added that, in Paris, a painting by Lewis "would neither merit nor obtain from the most generous critic more than a passing word of perfunctory encouragement."⁷⁸⁹ Lewis struck back — after five years of war perhaps Bell was missing Paris so much that he ought to move there permanently? Lewis had misunderstood, wrote back Bell — it was the critics he was complaining about. Lewis's *coup de grace* came when he reviewed Bell's *Since Cézanne* for the *Daily Herald*. He declared the piece a 'bluff' — intended to distract readers from the author's ongoing promotion and

⁷⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁸⁵ Spalding, *Roger Fry: Art and Life*, 173–75.

⁷⁸⁶ Hassall, *Edward Marsh*, 258.

⁷⁸⁷ *Imperial War Museum: the Nation's War Paintings and other records*, Royal Academy, London 12 December, 1919–7 February, 1920

⁷⁸⁸ Clive Bell, "Wilcoxism," in *Since Cézanne* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1922), 193. First published September 1920

⁷⁸⁹ Ibid

praise of Duncan Grant; the author being blind to Grant's demerits because of his Bloomsbury Group ties.⁷⁹⁰

To be opinionated is not always to gain friends, so was it a difficulty in forming useful networks that made Lewis so unpopular with CAS buyers, and can this be seen in my case studies? In Manchester, the curator had no need to ask the CAS for work by Lewis, because some of the artist's works were included among the watercolours and drawings given to the collection by Charles Rutherston.⁷⁹¹ Lewis did not have a major exhibition in London from 1921 to 1937, so when the Belfast team were looking for artworks there would have been no paintings for them to buy. Marsh had given a drawing to the Society in 1923, so he must have forgiven Lewis for his "pose".⁷⁹² However, Lewis was not linked to the London-based CAS buyers by networks of friendship, or by organisation networks. He and other artists had left the London Group in 1920 to form the short-lived Group X.⁷⁹³ Even though his work was included in the London Group's *Retrospective Exhibition* in 1928, he was on the whole independent of most of the artists' exhibiting networks after the First World War, even though there were critics such as Frank Rutter who supported him. His independence from the networks in which the CAS operated, along with his lack of London shows, might well be one reason why his work was not purchased again by the CAS before 1938.

Viewed through a lens of social networks, it is less surprising that the Print Fund acquired more continental art than the General Fund. Campbell Dodgson had an excellent working knowledge of German and translated monographs from German to English and was a regular contributor to *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für vervielfältigende Kunst (The News of the Society for Reproductive Art)* 1909-1914.⁷⁹⁴ With his skill in German he could easily make connections in Sweden, Denmark and Norway (where German was the second language in this period).⁷⁹⁵ He had collected the work of French printmakers since before the First World War and was a regular visitor to Paris.⁷⁹⁶ In Paris he was in contact with artists such as Jean-Louis Forain, Raoul Dufy, and Marie-Laurencin (he purchased

⁷⁹⁰ Mark Hussey, *Clive Bell and the Making of Modernism: A Biography* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2021), 210–11.

⁷⁹¹ Rutherston, Letter to Alderman Todd, Chairman of the Art Galleries Committee, September 12, 1925.

⁷⁹² CASC — 9215/2/2/4, Meeting May 9, 1923.

⁷⁹³ Corbett, *The Modernity of English art, 1914–30*, 74–75.

⁷⁹⁴ Edmund Schilling, "Obituary: Mr. Campbell Dodgson," *The Burlington Magazine*, October, 1948.

⁷⁹⁵ Carey, *Campbell Dodgson: scholar and collector*, 12. Birger Winsa, "Language Planning in Sweden," in *Language Planning and Policy in Europe*, ed. Robert B. Kaplan and Richard B. Baldauf (Clevedon, Buffalo and Toronto: Multilingual Matters Ltd., 2005), 301.

⁷⁹⁶ Carey, *Campbell Dodgson: scholar and collector*, 24, 29–30, 34–35.

works by all three for the CAS).⁷⁹⁷ As well as visiting artists and dealers in Paris, he found time to join the annual dinners of groups such as the French Society of Wood Engravers, the *Société de la gravure sur bois originale*.⁷⁹⁸

The importance of professional and social networks in determining what art the CAS buyers acquired is perhaps demonstrated best by an anecdote from William Roberts. In his posthumously published memoirs Roberts tells how Henry Tonks (his tutor at the Slade) introduced him to his friend Cyril Kendall Butler. Butler invited Roberts to stay at his home near Shrivensham in Berkshire and commissioned six drawings of London markets (only two of which were completed and paid for before war broke out). After the First World War, Roberts wrote to Butler asking if he would be interested in buying the rest of the series or some other work. Butler called round to Roberts's flat, but did not buy anything, or even offer to. Roberts recalled: "After asking me what artists I associated with, and who my friends were ... he departed, leaving me no better off than before."⁷⁹⁹ The implication here is that, as with Campbell Dodgson and the Print Fund, when looking for artists to support, Butler relied on them having the approval of their artist peer networks to confirm his personal preferences or otherwise.

Genres of painting

My three case studies have all addressed interwar purchases, but it should be noted that they date from the period before there was much in the way of abstract and surrealist art available in London's commercial galleries. A reasonable stylistic summation of the works discussed in the case studies is that they are all figurative or, as Edward Marsh would have said, "Representational" art. "I am content," he wrote, "and even anxious to be stigmatised as a consistent and brazen supporter of what is now slightly called Representational Art."⁸⁰⁰ Of abstract art, he wrote: "I have a deep and distant respect for abstract painting, which I have taken deep, though most often inefficacious pains, to understand and enjoy."⁸⁰¹ We could take Marsh's comments on "Representational art" as being a fair summary of CAS attitudes to abstract art in general, but it should be remembered that Marsh is not the only buyer in this period.

⁷⁹⁷ Carey, "Campbell Dodgson (1867–1948)," 221.

⁷⁹⁸ Dodgson usually remembered to take home the menu card, e.g. Mathurin Méheut, *Menu-card of a dinner given by the Société de la Gravure sur Bois Originale, 26 January 1925*, V&A, London (Accession number E.244-1925)

⁷⁹⁹ 'Sir Cyril Butler' in William Roberts, "Early Years," in *Five Posthumous Essays and Other Writings*, ed. John Roberts (Valencia: Artes Gráficas Soler, 1990).

⁸⁰⁰ Marsh, *A Number of People*, 358.

⁸⁰¹ Marsh, *A Number of People*, 357.

Spalding depicted the art of the interwar period as suffering “a failure of nerve” but this can easily be re-stated as ‘recovering through caution’.⁸⁰² Artists who had been at the early stages of their careers before the First World War — such as Stanley Spencer, Duncan Grant and Wyndham Lewis — had either volunteered to serve, or became conscientious objectors. Established artists, such as Walter Sickert, had been too old to join up. With a drop in the art sales during the War, war artists were the lucky ones, for at least they had an income. But by the early 1920s they had lost this income and the art market remained unsteady.⁸⁰³ Both established and young artists faced financial difficulties in the interwar period, particularly those, who having served, began to study art after the war and graduated in the mid-1920s. Their straitened circumstances came in tandem with a background of post-war trauma, and a collapse in the pound’s exchange rate, making travel to the continent (and a chance to see new ideas there) a more expensive proposition. On a positive note, however, the low exchange rate made continental art more expensive and, as Stephenson has noted, a British government campaign to “Buy British” resulted in more British art being stocked by London dealers in the 1930s particularly “‘modern’ works which identified national concerns and interests, cultivated the picturesque in a modern way or celebrated the familiar in an ‘accessible style’”.⁸⁰⁴ He suggests that the reason why new continental ideas of surrealism and abstract art did not gain ground in Britain was that rising xenophobia, encouraged by magazines such as *the Studio*, persuaded middle-class buyers to invest in ‘British’ art: works by British artists showing an inspiring vision of Britain itself.⁸⁰⁵ As Stephenson has noted:

... the Slump resulted in the virtual death of modern forms of easel painting, except within the conventional forms of landscape painting, still life painting and portraiture.⁸⁰⁶

Looking at the works bought by the CAS for Belfast, along with those selected by Manchester by Haward, confirms this analysis:

Genre	Count
Animal	2
Genre	4
History	1
Landscape	29

⁸⁰² Spalding, "The Contemporary Art Society: Development and recognition," 56.

⁸⁰³ Andrew Stephenson, "From Conscription to Depression: The Market for Modern British Art in London c.1914–1930," in *Marketing Art in the British Isles, 1700 to the Present: A Cultural History*, ed. Charlotte Gould and Sophie Mesplède (London and New York: Routledge, 2012), 60–61.

⁸⁰⁴ Stephenson, "Strategies of Situation," 43.

⁸⁰⁵ Stephenson, "Strategies of Situation," 43.

⁸⁰⁶ Stephenson, "Strategies of Situation," 30.

Nude	2
Portrait	14
Still Life	9
Total	61

Figure 9. Genres of paintings acquired for Belfast by CAS buyers and for Manchester by Lawrence Haward

Landscapes make up nearly half of the works selected for Manchester and Belfast: twenty-nine out of sixty-one. These numbers sit well within the scholarship of the last few decades, which has identified the landscape painting of the interwar period as encapsulating a vision of an idealised land — in years in which the rural landscape was coming under increasing pressure, whilst at the same becoming a site of leisure for day-trippers and holiday makers from the towns.⁸⁰⁷ The Automobile Association had 100,000 members in 1920, but by 1939 this had risen to 750,000.⁸⁰⁸ H.V. Morton could write in 1927:

The remarkable system of motor-coach services which now penetrates every part of the country has thrown open to ordinary people regions which even after the coming of the railways were remote and inaccessible... More people than in any previous generation are seeing the real country for the first time. Many such explorers return home with a new enthusiasm.⁸⁰⁹

Perhaps, like the Grand Tourists, this ‘staycation generation’ returned home with a desire to see the places that they had enjoyed on their living room walls? By 1932, increasing nationalism, and a suspicion of artistic styles with their origins on the continent, was reflected in a strident editorial in *The Studio* — a magazine aimed at a middle class market, not the connoisseur — which pronounced that what their readership needed was work by “uncompromisingly British artists” producing “British pictures of British people” and “British landscapes”.⁸¹⁰ The works chosen for Manchester by Haward suggest he was not a reader of *The Studio*: of twelve landscapes, five are French and one is in New England. For Belfast, the CAS buyers were indeed patriotic: of the twenty landscapes only five are French scenes.

In considering the interwar period, a tacit understanding of the human psyche by the buyers might well be at play in the large number of landscapes and figurative non-abstract works as a

⁸⁰⁷ See Chapters 1 & 2, David Matless, *Landscape and Englishness*, 2nd ed. (London: Reaktion Books, 2016).

⁸⁰⁸ "From the early years to the present day," accessed January 10, 2021, <https://www.theaa.com/about-us/aa-history/timeline>.

⁸⁰⁹ H.V. Morton, *In search of England*, 16 ed. (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1931), vii.

⁸¹⁰ Charles Geoffrey Holme, "Editorial," *The Studio*, January–June 1932, 64.

proportion of total acquisitions. Recent neurological research has centred around 'biophilia' an idea first discussed by Edward O. Wilson who defined it as "the innate tendency to focus on life and life-like processes".⁸¹¹ Put simply, the idea is that because of our origins in the natural world, humans are particularly sensitive to their environment and feel less anxious when in the presence of natural rather than urban landscapes. It is a hypothesis which developments in neuroscience have been able to demonstrate to some extent using MRI scanning and other techniques. In a study performed at the University of Toronto in 2013, tests showed that the amount of activity in the amygdala (the area which responds to stress) and other regions of the brain changed to reflect a positive response when the test participants were shown, for example, images of open vs. closed spaces and curved rather than rectangular objects.⁸¹² In other words, just looking at images can stimulate and improve one's response to stress. This calming effect is, however, particularly noticeable when study participants look at images of landscapes. In a 2015 study of forty-six students from the Netherlands, those who looked at pictures of nature had better stress responses in tests compared with those who looked at pictures of buildings. If we take these studies into consideration and apply them to the art market then in a period of rising anxiety (due to first the Slump, then the Great Depression and then rising political tensions on the continent), the popularity of landscape painting would be bound to increase. If one considers the lives of the CAS buyers, and Manchester's Curator, Lawrence Haward, one might be tempted to feel that they would be beyond such anxieties: but perhaps not. Haward steered his gallery toward the promotion of design in the 1930s as a response to the economic difficulties he could see around him. Marsh, when not working with the CAS, was Winston Churchill's Private Secretary, and was fully aware of both tensions in Ireland and those rising on the continent. Leaving these speculations aside, the case studies confirm the popularity of landscape and portrait genres in the period under consideration and indicate that in their acquisition strategy the CAS was mirroring the British art market of the time.

The CAS and commercial galleries

Richard Shone has noted that most CAS works were purchased from "the Leicester Galleries, the Lefevre, the Redfern and the Mayor Gallery and from the selling exhibitions of the London Group" i.e. London-based galleries.⁸¹³ An analysis of the pictures purchased for Belfast and for the General

⁸¹¹ John A. Kinch, "Biophilia," in *Encyclopedia of Literature and Science*, ed. Pamela Gossin (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press).

⁸¹² Oshin Vartanian et al., "Impact of Contour on Aesthetic Judgments and Approach-avoidance Decisions in Architecture," *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America* 110 (2013).

⁸¹³ Shone, "The Contemporary Art Society centenary."

Fund confirms this — most of the paintings with known provenance came from London dealers, in particular the Leicester Galleries.⁸¹⁴

Dealer	No. of works
Adams Brothers	1
Alex Reid & Lefevre Ltd. *	1
Arthur Tooth & Sons	2
Beaux Arts Gallery	1
London Artists' Association	4
M. Knoedler & Co. Inc.	1
The Colnaghi Gallery	1
The French Gallery	2
The Goupil Gallery	4
The Leicester Galleries	12
The Paul Guillaume Gallery	3
The Redfern Gallery	2
The Saville Gallery	2
Thomas Agnew & Sons Ltd	2
Other sources	3
Total	41

Figure 10. London Galleries who supplied works acquired for the Belfast Lloyd Patterson Collection

Many of Marsh's gifts to the CAS are likely to have come through his personal contacts, but for the rapidly-executed Belfast acquisitions, a map of London shows a shoe leather network — most of the galleries involved are within walking distance of his office, his home, and the BFAC. Richard Shone has noted that Marsh's favoured hunting grounds were the Independent Gallery, Reid and Lefevre, and the Leicester Galleries. The latter, apart from regularly putting on one-man shows by British artists, also had the advantage of a hire-purchase system so that works could be paid for instalments. As his protégées began to enjoy some success, the price of their works went up and Marsh, a patron of relatively modest means, was quick to take advantage of the Leicester galleries scheme.⁸¹⁵ (By the mid-1930s, many galleries were adopting similar sales strategies to attract customers, for example Arthur Tooth & Sons who introduced a hire purchase scheme in 1935).⁸¹⁶ In perhaps another ploy to ensure

⁸¹⁴ See Appendix 11.

⁸¹⁵ *An Honest patron : a tribute to Sir Edward Marsh*, 14–15.

⁸¹⁶ Stephenson, "Strategies of Situation," 45.

CAS custom, several of the galleries above — Lefevre, Goupil, the Leicester Galleries and Paul Guillaume — offered privileges to CAS subscribing members.⁸¹⁷ As well as offering privileges, the Leicester Gallery was also a CAS subscriber and the closeness of their relationship with the society is reflected in the figures above.⁸¹⁸

This reliance on dealers, personal connections, and the exhibitions of groups such as the LAA might be a reason for the lack of abstract and surrealist purchases, more so perhaps than any particular bias against these styles. It is unfortunate that the provenance of most CAS artworks is not available, but further research might confirm this theory. Before the First World War the CAS Executive Committee contained a number of art critics and museum professionals, as well as art collectors. After the First World War, apart from Fry, none of the Executive Committee members was an art critic; although collectors and art professionals continued to be represented. Fry's 1909 "An Essay in Aesthetics" was based on the first of a series of lectures he gave in New York in 1907.⁸¹⁹ In it, he listed what, to him, were the key formal 'design elements'. A powerful work of art, wrote Fry, provides its stimulus through its unity and its balance of design elements.⁸²⁰ Fry continued to write on art and study continental developments for the rest of his life. Had he lived, he might well have expanded his interests to include non-objective abstraction. However, none of the Belfast case study buyers was an art critic; and in Manchester Haward had many ideas on how run a gallery but never attempted any art criticism. They were confident in their own taste, but also relied on the advice of people that they trusted to introduce them to new artists and new styles.

The CAS and regional museums — did they succeed?

Supporting artists, it must be remembered, was the primary objective of the CAS. This was to be achieved not so much by the purchase price (although to an impoverished artist in this period all income was useful), but by giving them a CAS 'stamp of approval' to start with and later the ultimate stamp of approval which was being exhibited in an art museum. But why might acceptance by a public gallery have been important to them?

⁸¹⁷ Herrero and Buckley, "Collaborating profitably?," 7, Table 1.

⁸¹⁸ Ibid.

⁸¹⁹ Flaminia Gennari Santori, "European Masterpieces for America — Roger Fry and the Metropolitan Museum of Art," in *Art Made Modern: Roger Fry's Vision of Art*, ed. Christopher Green (London: The Courtauld Gallery & Merrell Publishers Ltd., 1999), 110. citing Roger Fry, Six lectures, c.1905-1907, manuscript, The Roger Fry Papers, REF/1/76 1905-1907, King's College Archive, Cambridge

⁸²⁰ Roger Fry, "An Essay in Aesthetics," in *Vision and Design* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1920).

In his 1964 essay, "The Artworld", the philosopher and sometime artist Arthur Danto considered the question of what made Andy Warhol's painted plywood Brillo cartons a work of art. He concluded:

What in the end makes the difference between a Brillo box, and a work of art consisting of a Brillo box, is a certain theory of art ... The world has to be ready for certain things, the artworld no less than the real one. It is the role of artistic theories, these days as always, to make the artworld, and art, possible.⁸²¹

But who or what made up this 'artworld'? And who led opinion? Here Danto was imprecise: "museums, connoisseurs and others are makeweights in the Artworld" he wrote.⁸²² Danto's essay marked the beginning of the institutional theory of what makes a work of art. In 1969, George Dickie began what would be a long series of works on the institutional theory by suggesting that the artworld was a system wherein an artefact could "acquire the status of a candidate for appreciation" and should it then end up on display in a museum "its status has been conferred".⁸²³ Dickie's paper and the books that followed it set off a round of discussion. In 1983, he responded to his critics with "The New Institutional Theory of Art". Abandoning the theory that an artwork's status can only be conferred, his new rule was: "A work of art is an artefact of a kind created to be presented to an artworld public".⁸²⁴ This allowed for the possibility that a work of art might never leave the artist's studio, but still left the question of what constituted the "artworld" hanging. Dickie's "artworld public" were defined as having an "understanding shared by all involved that they are engaged in an established activity or practice within which there is a variety of roles: artist roles, public roles, critic roles" and curator roles (so the existence of museums, and galleries is implied).⁸²⁵ In the institutional theory, then, the agreement is tacit and the players undefined. The focus is on what constitutes a work of art, not what makes for a successful career as an artist. The artworld is, in the end, so loosely defined that if it were the setting for a game, the board would change under the artist's feet even as they set out from their starting place. However, in both Danto and Dickie's work, the role of the art museum is privileged and has a high, if not the highest, status.

⁸²¹ Arthur Danto, "The Artworld," *The Journal of Philosophy* 61, no. 19 (October 15, 1964): 581.

⁸²² Danto, "The Artworld," 584.

⁸²³ George Dickie, "Defining Art," *American Philosophical Quarterly* 6, no. 3 (July, 1969): 254.

⁸²⁴ George Dickie, "The New Institutional Theory of Art," in *Aesthetics and the Philosophy of Art The Analytic Tradition, An Anthology*, ed. Peter Lamarque and Stein Haugom Olsen (Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishing, 2004), 53.

⁸²⁵ Dickie, "The New Institutional Theory of Art," 51.

One mechanism missing from these definitions of the artworld is the idea of patronage, i.e. support of artists. David Morgan's discussion of the Bloomsbury Group's literary patronage concluded that the patronage (direct assistance), or brokerage (asking someone else to help), of individuals, was not the only mechanism at work in a cultural landscape, but that:

... networks can be seen as important locations for the practice of brokerage and patronage, patterns which may exist within and between clusterings or networks. The idea of a social network is also linked to patterns of friendship...⁸²⁶

But an individual patron, or a group of friends, unless they are incredibly wealthy, can only go so far in supporting an artist in a direct fashion. An artist needs either a dealer, or a critic to promote their work for their sales to be strong enough to provide an income. How then does an artist's career acquire sufficient momentum? The first to notice a young artist's skills are likely to be their artist peers. If one of them already has a patron or a dealer they might recommend their friend to them. The dealer or collector might decide to promote the artist further. The critics might respond positively, in which case success looms, and eventually after years of exhibitions and positive reviews, one of the artist's patron-collectors might die and leave a work to a public art gallery. A work in a gallery, is a work that has gained recognition by one of the key players in the 'artworld' and has had artwork status conferred on it by the institutional theory. More practically, any potential buyer of the artist's work can see the phrase 'as exhibited at the Tate Gallery' etc. in a sales catalogue. The buyer can be reassured by placement in a national, or even a regional museum, that the artist will stay the course of time and that the artwork they buy today will not be identified as being by an 'also ran' in years to come. However, the traditional cycle of gaining 'museum status' was slow. After all one can hardly wish an early demise on one's patron just so that one's work can be hung in a public art gallery. The Society's underpinning, but undisclosed, idea was to insinuate themselves into the artworld, as a direct link between the artist and the public gallery, acting as an intercessor to get the artist's work on public display sooner rather than later. In so doing, they both anticipated the institutional theory of art and accelerated the process by which an artist's work would become acceptable as an investment.

But curators had first to be persuaded to take the paintings. Here it is interesting to contrast the three case studies: the British Museum got exactly what it wanted, as the Keeper of Prints and Drawings was also the CAS buyer; Belfast got what the CAS would have liked to have seen in their gallery. Manchester got what its curator thought the locals would appreciate.

⁸²⁶ David Morgan, "Cultural Work and Friendship Work: the Case of "Bloomsbury"," *Media, Culture and Society* 4 (1982): 21.

As was seen in the Manchester case study, the ability of a provincial museum to get the best value for their CAS subscription depended highly on the expertise and enthusiasm of their curator. It also depended on having a supportive Board of Trustees. Once Haward (and his Trustees) became interested in the potential for fine arts-industrial arts crossover — setting up their ‘Industrial Art Collection’ in 1929 — Manchester’s links to the CAS weakened (even though the city remained generous subscribers and regularly hosted CAS exhibitions).⁸²⁷ At the British Museum, Campbell Dodgson’s enthusiasm for contemporary printmakers was by no means matched by his successor A.M. Hind. Having outsourced the selection of their collection of contemporary art, Belfast selected just three paintings and one drawing from the CAS before the Second World War.⁸²⁸ This high tide, then ebbing of interest, in the CAS must in part reflect human resources, for if a curator like Haward moved his attention to something else, it is unlikely that there would be an Assistant Curator able to take over contemporary art acquisitions with the same level of skill. Belfast hired the CAS precisely because they lacked suitable skills — their curator Arthur Deane was not an art historian or a practising artist.

In my three case studies there is some evidence of the effects of how well, or not, the curators involved were linked to professional networks in the art world. In Belfast, Deane, a botanist by training, was nonetheless a protégé of Hugh Lane in matters of art. Lane’s death in 1919 left a gap in the Irish art world, further complicated by the onset of civil war. Deane and his Trustees’ choice to hire the CAS as consultants was a sensible one — it had been suggested before the First World War.⁸²⁹ In Manchester, Haward had links to the London metropolis and into the art world via the RSA. His Trustees included Margaret Pilkington, who was a founder, and later Chair of the Society of Wood Engravers, and thus knew Campbell Dodgson and Muirhead Bone. Charles Rutherston, whose Loan Collection program was so revolutionary in Manchester, was brother to William Rothenstein, who was a good friend of Fry. It would therefore seem that metropolitan-regional networks also had a part to play in the success of CAS collaborations.

A legacy in regional museums?

My three case studies were selected on the basis of which museums and galleries received the most works from the CAS. They are all based in large metropolitan areas, and this was an important

⁸²⁷ <http://www.manchestergalleries.org/the-collections/about-the-collection-2/history-of-the-collection/>; Fraser and Paul, "Art, Industry and Everyday Things: Manchester City Art Gallery and Industrial Art between the Wars."

⁸²⁸ Margaret Dorothy Nicholson, *The Model*, 1928 oil on canvas, 51 x 76.5 cm; Margaret Brynhild Parker, *Quayside, Appledore*, c.1930–1933, oil on canvas, 42.2 x 76.2 cm; Frank Northcliffe, *Ferragudo, Algarve*, oil on canvas, 40.6 x 50.8 cm; John Skeaping, *Les Cocades*, c.1934, chalk on paper, dimensions unknown

⁸²⁹ CASC — 9215/2/2/1, Meeting May 4, 1911.

factor in the success of their collaborations with the Society. A city would have the resources to hire a full-time curator, whereas in a small town the job might be fulfilled part time by the local librarian. The enthusiasm and skills might be the same in both small town and city curators, but this seems unlikely. Even if such were the case, the demands on time for a librarian/curator in a small town would be high, leaving them with little time to work with the CAS. A large city would also be able to pay a higher subscription, and thus have a greater entitlement to works from the CAS collection. More importantly, a city gallery would be larger and better able to host CAS travelling exhibitions, and thus expose the local populace to contemporary art and build acceptance and enthusiasm for the same. City galleries could also develop stronger links to the CAS because the organisation of these exhibitions would serve to tighten professional ties between the Society and the curator.

Moreover, an important consideration in CAS acquisitions was the end customer — quite a large number of artworks went to the Tate and the British Museum, but a far larger proportion were destined to be selected by provincial curators for provincial museums. Before the First World War, it is not unreasonable to assume that if a London audience had trouble with Post-Impressionism, then a provincial audience might have been even more conservative. Too adventurous and a work would perhaps not be selected by a local gallery from the CAS collection. Indeed, MacColl's idea that the collection should be a holding area, "a Purgatory of art before the Paradise of national collections is reached", acknowledges an implicit assumption that some contemporary art would not find favour with provincial audiences until the artist had time to establish a reputation.⁸³⁰

The risk of getting selections wrong was public humiliation. An artist's reputation was not always enough to guarantee a positive response to a painting, as is evidenced by the response to Philip Wilson Steer's *Nude* (Plate 31), which was rejected by the Belfast public when it was first displayed in 1929. (The painting was returned to the Leicester Galleries and exchanged for two landscapes by Wilson Steer dating from the turn of the century and a sensitive, but traditional portrait by Brockhurst.)⁸³¹ Steer's *Nude* was an adventurous experiment on his part. A woman painted — near sculpted — with no attempt at idealisation, in a heavy impasto whose colouring is impossible to judge now, as we only have a black-and-white image. This is a painting that could easily have withstood the passage of time and gone on to be a classic, a precursor to the work of Lucian Freud, but because of its initial reception it never gained admission the CAS canon. In their role as consultant buyers, the CAS had no opportunity to stop the rejection of Wilson Steer's *Nude* — the money for the collection had come from the late Robert Lloyd Patterson's bequest. His nephew wrote to protest about the painting as he considered that the work was unsuitable for public display, and not one of which his uncle would

⁸³⁰ MacColl, *Confessions of a Keeper and other papers*, 367.

⁸³¹ See Plates 62, 63 and 64.

have approved.⁸³² Further complaints of ‘indecenty’ continued until February 1930.⁸³³ At that point the Corporation gave in to public pressure and requested that the *Nude* be exchanged for something else “by reason of continuously growing adverse public opinion”.⁸³⁴ The CAS therefore had no part in the loss of this work to public collections.

In the long term, the key works from the collection have become highlights of the Ulster Museum and are often on display — notably the Duncan Grant *Interior* (Plate 28) and Sickert’s *Suspense* (Plate 33) — both on display when I visited. The high quality of the gallery’s modern collection was remarked on by Bendor Grosvenor when filming the BBC’s *Britain’s Lost Masterpieces* there in 2016.⁸³⁵ The primary source material used in this thesis having been lost until re-discovered during this research (2017), the gallery’s Senior Curator was pleased to give all the credit for the selection of the Lloyd Patterson paintings to the then curator, Arthur Deane.⁸³⁶ How quickly memories fade! Sadly, by contrast, every work selected for Manchester was in storage when I visited in 2016.

Other works, not mentioned in this study, have become victims of crises in local gallery funding or changes in curatorial strategy. Roberts’s *The Chess Players* (Plate 84) was sold at auction for £1.16 million in 2012 by the Museum of Art, Newark, New Jersey, to which it was presented in 1941.⁸³⁷ Francis Bacon’s *Figure Study II* (1945–46) was presented to the Bagshaw Museum, Batley in 1952.⁸³⁸ It was transferred to the Kirklees Gallery and costs £10,000 year to insure when held there. As a result it spends most of its time out on loan, as then the borrowing gallery will settle its insurance bill.⁸³⁹ There is no revenue to be had from such loans, only administration costs. The painting’s estimated value in 2016 was £60 million, and this led Labour leader of Kirklees Council to suggest that the council should

⁸³² UMALP — R.M. Patterson to Chairman, Libraries Committee, August 29, 1929.

⁸³³ AN AVERAGE CITIZEN, "CORRESPONDENCE — FREAK ART."

⁸³⁴ UMALP — Spencer-Churchill to George Montagu, February 5, 1930.

⁸³⁵ Brendan Hughes and Harry Bell, "Britain's Lost Masterpieces," in *Belfast*, ed. Spike Geilinger (2016).
<https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b07yqgl3>.

⁸³⁶ Hughes and Bell, "Britain's Lost Masterpieces."

⁸³⁷ Lot 17, Sotheby's, "Modern British Art, Sale Number: L12141," (London, May 10, 2012).

⁸³⁸ Francis Bacon, *Figure Study II*, c.1946, Kirklees Museums and Galleries Accession number: 1984.4818).

⁸³⁹ Tony Earnshaw, "Why Kirklees Council can't sell £20m Francis Bacon painting," *Huddersfield Daily Examiner (Yorkshire Live)* (Huddersfield) January 14, 2017, <https://www.examinerlive.co.uk/news/west-yorkshire-news/kirklees-council-cant-sell-20m-12448140>.

sell it to pay off pressing council expenses.⁸⁴⁰ The CAS had to remind the council that the original deed of gift means they have to give the painting back to the Society if they no longer require it.⁸⁴¹

The present-day CAS has moved towards the Belfast model, concentrating its resources on providing consultancy more than acquisition. It helps museum professionals and collectors develop their knowledge and expertise and, holding to its original remit, it still acquires artworks and donates them to public collections across the UK. Yet, one feels that the challenge now is to find a model that builds enthusiastic support for these institutions at local level. Here of course is the dilemma. As Giles Waterfield observed:

To flourish, museums need at least one of these: an absolute ruler, government patronage, a society in which encouraging public institutions is a public obligation or means of social advancement or an exceptionally driven individual.⁸⁴²

The richest towns collect most taxes and have residents with more leisure and disposable income with which to support their galleries. The poorest, lacking both resources, are looking in many cases at a gallery in need of maintenance, with high insurance bills and no funds or resources to provide a public outreach program that would allow their rich collections to be enjoyed by the populace. Waterfield, in 2015, was not optimistic:

At the time of writing the situation seems worse than ever, as local councils, forced to cut budgets, again turn to non-statutory expenditure. While as yet few museums or galleries have actually closed, the future looks black: curatorial expertise dwindles or disappears, opening hours diminish, the fine new buildings and extensions paid for by the Heritage Lottery Fund can be hard-pressed to operate... The ugly prospect of the sales of works of art by local councils has reopened. Many municipal galleries remain stubbornly active but in general this is a troubling period...⁸⁴³

The success of Pallant House exhibitions of interwar art in recent years proves that there is public interest in the works of the interwar generation of artists. The Hepworth Wakefield and the Ulster Museum, both of whom have reasonably large holdings, have had similar successes. Tate Britain, a significant recipient of CAS largesse, has many works on display and often loans. However, the

⁸⁴⁰ Tony Earnshaw, "Should Kirklees Council sell off Francis Bacon painting worth up to £60 MILLION?," *Huddersfield Daily Examiner (Yorkshire Live)* (Huddersfield) December 28, 2016, <https://www.examinerlive.co.uk/news/should-kirklees-council-sell-francis-12374639>.

⁸⁴¹ Earnshaw, "Why Kirklees Council can't sell £20m Francis Bacon painting."

⁸⁴² Waterfield, *The People's Galleries*, 11.

⁸⁴³ Waterfield, *The People's Galleries*, 322.

situation in other local galleries reflects the perilous finances of locally financed institutions in an era when council budgets have been cut, and local arts funding has to be decreased in order to provide for rubbish collection and other essential services. In those places where new contemporary art galleries have succeeded, such as Margate and Hastings, it is notable that the local population includes a large London diaspora or commuter population.

The idea that a gallery can provide entertainment and education has disappeared in part, perhaps, because of an emphasis in the popular press on some of the more ridiculous aspects of art elitism. Where the burghers of Manchester could have visited a contemporary art collection that represented their lived existence — and bought prints to hang over their mantelpieces — the contemporary art world in recent years has been dominated by large, gallery-proportioned set pieces that only make sense *in situ* and after twenty minutes careful reading of obscurantist wall text. In 2019, when two vases by Grayson Perry were unveiled at the V&A, he described their new home as being “Britain’s mantelpiece”.⁸⁴⁴ The pots were made as part of a Channel 4 television documentary that explored his response to a nation divided by Brexit.⁸⁴⁵ As an artist whose many interests reflect those of the general public, and not just the intelligentsia, he has been snidely derided as “popular with the masses”.⁸⁴⁶ But it will only be popular assent that rescues local galleries. The London elite may enjoy a day trip to Margate’s Turner Contemporary, but are unlikely to make the trek to Swindon, which holds 600 works of art and 300 studio ceramics, made between 1880 and 2017, by artists who lived and worked in Britain.⁸⁴⁷ As I write, the Swindon Museum and Art Gallery has been closed since March 2020, and plans are now being considered to put the collection in storage.⁸⁴⁸ (Swindon has at least twenty-six works given to them by the CAS.)⁸⁴⁹ Nor are Londoners likely to find time to visit Lincoln’s Usher Galley — under threat of closure in 2019 — which received three paintings and two

⁸⁴⁴ Mark Brown, “‘Democracy has terrible taste’: Grayson Perry’s Brexit vases acquired by V&A,” *The Guardian* (London) March 29, 2019, <https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/2019/mar/29/democracy-has-terrible-taste-grayson-perry-brexit-vases-acquired-by-va>.

⁸⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁸⁴⁶ Jacky Klein, *Grayson Perry* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 2009), 7–8.

⁸⁴⁷ “Our Collections,” 2016, accessed September 5, 2020, <http://www.swindonmuseumandartgallery.org.uk/info/4/collections/4/collections-1/2>.

⁸⁴⁸ “Anger over suggested closure of Swindon Museum and Art Gallery,” *Swindon Advertiser*, Newsquest Media Group Ltd., July 6, 2021, accessed July 10, 2021, <https://www.swindonadvertiser.co.uk/news/19420369.anger-suggested-closure-swindon-museum-art-gallery/>.

⁸⁴⁹ As displayed on the Art UK website: https://artuk.org/discover/artworks/painting-64590/view_as/grid/search/keyword:contemporary-art-society--locations:swindon-museum-and-art-gallery/page/1.

drawings from the CAS in the period under consideration.⁸⁵⁰ Sadly, the legacy of the Society's work with regional museums will remain a fragile one for as long as the future of local museums remains in doubt.

⁸⁵⁰ "Councillors agree plans to hand Usher Gallery to third party," Museums Association, September 12, 2019, accessed September 1, 2020, <https://www.museumsassociation.org/museums-journal/news/2019/09/12092019-usher-gallery-new-operator/#>.

Appendix 1

Artists whose work the CAS acquired

Lists are in order of artist surname with number of works acquired by the fund.

A1.1 — General Fund

Artist	Artworks
Herbert Washington Addison (British, M, 1871–1939)	2
W. Bernard Adeney (British, M, 1878–1966)	1
John Aldridge RA (British, M, 1905–1983)	1
John Armstrong (British, M, 1893–1973)	1
John Banting (British, M, 1902–1972)	1
William Arnold-Foster (British, M, 1886–1950)	1
George Hume Barne (British, M, 1882–1931)	2
Edward Bawden (British, M, 1903–1989)	1
Walter Bayes RE (British, M, 1869–1956)	2
Keith Baynes (British, M, 1887–1977)	4
Sir Max Beerbohm (British, M, 1872–1956)	1
George Belcher (British, M, 1875–1947)	1
Graham Bell (South African, M, 1910–1943)	1
Vanessa Bell (British, F, 1879–1961)	9
Nadia Benois (Russian, F, 1896–1974)	1
Robert Polhill Bevan (British, M, 1865–1925)	1
George William Bissill (British, M, 1896–1973)	3
Beatrice Bland (British, F, 1864–1951)	1
David Bomberg (British, M, 1890–1957)	4
Sir Muirhead Bone (British, M, 1876–1953)	2
Pierre Bonnard (French, M, 1867–1947)	2

E. Bowden (British, M)	1
Hon. Dorothy Eugénie Brett (British, M, 1883–1977)	2
Horace Brodzky (Australian, M, 1885–1969)	1
Peter Alfred Brooker (British, M, 1900–1965)	1
Margaret Brynhild Parker (British, F, 1907–1987)	3
Frank Spencer Curtis Budgen (British, M, 1882–1971)	1
Roger d'Este Burford (British, M, 1904–1981)	1
Rodney Joseph Burn (British, M, 1899–1984)	2
Francis Butterfield (British, M, 1905–1968)	1
Sir David Young Cameron RA RE (British, M, 1865–1945)	1
Rt Hon. Ian Douglas Campbell-Gray (British, M, 1901–1946)	3
Richard Cotton Carline (British, M, 1896–1980)	2
Sydney William Carline (British, M, 1888–1929)	1
George James Charlton (British, M, 1899–1979)	1
Charles Sydney Cheston ARE (British, M, 1882–1960)	1
Lady Edna Clarke Hall née Waugh (British, F, 1879–1979)	1
Sir William Menzies Coldstream CBE (British, M, 1908–1987)	1
C. Cole (British, M)	1
Ernest Alfred Cole (British, M, 1890–1980)	1
Charles Henry Collins Baker (British, M, 1880–1959)	1
Charles Conder (British, M, 1868–1903)	1
John Albert Cooper (British, M, 1894–1943)	1
Estela Coria (Mexican, F)	1
John Cosmo Clark (British, M, 1897–1967)	1
Raymond James Coxon (British, M, 1896–1997)	7
Charles Ernest Cundall RA (British, M, 1890–1971)	3
John Currie (British, M, 1883–1914)	5
Adrian Maurice Daintrey (British, M, 1902–1988)	2

Robin Vere Darwin CBE RA (British, M, 1910–1974)	1
Ms. Hermine David (French, F, 1886–1970)	1
Alan Douglas Davidson ROI RBA (British, M, 1873–1932)	2
Shri Mukul Chandra Dey (Indian, M, 1895–1989)	1
Frank Owen Dobson RA (British, M, 1886–1963)	6
William Dring (British, M, 1904–1990)	1
Enslin Hercules du Plessis (South African, M, 1894–1978)	2
Raoul Dufy (French, M, 1877–1953)	1
Ronald Ossory Dunlop (Irish, M, 1894–1973)	5
Sir William Eden Bart. (British, M, 1849–1915)	1
Florence Ada Neumegan Engelbach (British, F, 1872–1951)	1
Sir Jacob Epstein KBE (British, M, 1880–1959)	6
Mabel Esplin (British, F, 1874–1921)	1
Frederick Etchells (British, M, 1876–1973)	1
Jessie Etchells (British, F, 1892–1933)	1
Richard Ernst Eurich OBE RA (British, M, 1903–1992)	4
Powys Evans (British, M, 1899–1981)	1
Ian Fairweather (British, M, 1891–1974)	2
Anne Louise Falkner (British, F, 1862–1933)	2
John Duncan Fergusson (British, M, 1874–1961)	3
William Mark Fisher RA (British, M, 1841–1923)	1
Mrs. Margaret Fisher Prout (British, F, 1875–1963)	1
Hanslip Fletcher (British, M, 1874–1955)	1
Vivian Forbes (British, M, 1891–1937)	1
Eric Forbes-Robertson (British, M, 1865–1935)	1
Ida Forbes-Robertson (British, F)	1
Barnett Freedman CBE RDI (British, M, 1901–1958)	5
Roger Eliot Fry (British, M, 1866–1934)	5

Ethel Léontine Gabain (British, F, 1883–1950)	1
Démétrius-Emmanuel (Demetrios) Galanis (French, M, 1879–1966)	1
Henri Gaudier-Brzeska (French, M, 1891–1915)	43
Eugène Henri Paul Gauguin (British, M, 1848–1903)	1
Margaret Gere (British, F, 1878–1965)	1
Charles Robert Gerrard RBA ROI ARCA (British, M, 1892–1964)	1
Mark Gertler (British, M, 1891–1939)	13
Arthur Eric Rowton Gill ARA RDI (British, M, 1882–1940)	6
Harold Gilman (British, M, 1876–1919)	1
Charles (Isaac) Ginner CBE ARA (British, M, 1878–1952)	5
Frederick Spencer Gore (British, M, 1878–1914)	1
Laura Sylvia Gosse (British, F, 1881–1968)	1
Sir Lawrence Burnet Gowing (British, M, 1918–1991)	1
Fergus Graham (British, M, 1900–1968)	1
Duncan James Corrowr Grant (British, M, 1885–1978)	14
James Arden Grant RE (British, M, 1887–1973)	2
Imre Anthony Sandar Gross ARE (British, M, 1905–1984)	1
George Grosz (German, M, 1893–1959)	2
Alvaro Guevara (Chilean, M, 1894–1951)	2
Robin Craig Guthrie (British, M, 1902–1971)	4
Allan Gwynne-Jones CBE DSO RA (British, M, 1892–1982)	1
Ernest Frederick Gye (British, M, 1879–1955)	1
Christopher Hall (British, M)	1
Cuthbert Fraser Hamilton (British, M, 1885–1959)	1
Charles George Hamilton Dicker (British, M, 1896–1977)	1
Nina Hamnett (British, F, 1890–1956)	2
Fairlie Harmar (British, F, 1876–1945)	3
Archibald Hattemore (British, M, 1890–1949)	1

James Havard Thomas (British, M, 1854–1921)	1
Elwin Hawthorne (British, M, 1905–1954)	3
Francis William Helps (British, M, 1891–1972)	1
Elsie Marian Henderson (British, F, 1880–1960)	5
Ethel Quixano Henriques (British, F, 1868–1936)	1
Tristram Hillier (British, M, 1905–1983)	1
Ivon Hitchens (British, M, 1893–1979)	5
James Morey Hockey (British, M, 1904–1990)	1
Frances Mary Hodgkins (New Zealander, F, 1869–1947)	5
Sir Charles John Holmes KCVO (British, M, 1868–1936)	1
Julia Beatrice How (British, F, 1867–1932)	1
Eric Hesketh Hubbard (British, M, 1892–1957)	1
Anna Hope 'Nan' Hudson (British, F, 1867–1957)	1
Sydney James Hunt (British, M, 1896–1940)	1
Rudolf Ernest Charles Ihlee (British, M, 1883–1968)	2
Darsie Japp MC (British, M, 1883–1973)	2
Augustus Edwin John OM RA (British, M, 1878–1961)	4
Gwendolen Mary 'Gwen' John (British, M, 1876–1939)	2
Harry Jonas (British, M, 1893–1990)	1
David Michael Jones CBE (British, M, 1895–1974)	7
Glyn Owen Jones (British, M, 1906–1984)	1
Violet Jones (British, F)	1
Violet Madeline Josette 'Jo' Jones (British, F, 1894–1989)	1
Basil Jonzen (British, M, 1913–1967)	2
Percy Hague Jowett (British, M, 1882–1955)	1
Eric Henri Kennington (British, M, 1888–1960)	2
Mrs. Hazel King-Farlow née Guggenheim (American, F, 1903–1995)	1
Eve Kirk (British, F, 1900–1969)	1

Clara Klinghoffer (British, F, 1900–1970)	3
Madeleine Knox (British, F, 1890–1975)	1
Jacob Kramer (British, M, 1892–1962)	1
Roald Kristian (Norwegian, M, 1893–1918)	1
Henry Lamb MC RA (British, M, 1883–1960)	3
Maurice Lambert (British, M, 1901–1964)	2
Constance Lane (British, M, 1892–1944)	1
Sir John Lavery RA RSA RHA (British, M, 1856–1941)	1
Derwent Lees (Australian, M, 1884–1931)	5
Rupert Leigh (British, M)	1
Thérèse Lessore (British, F, 1884–1945)	4
Arthur Lett-Haines (British, M, 1894–1978)	1
Rt Hon. Frederick Leverton Harris (British, M, 1864–1926)	1
Alfred Neville Lewis (South African, M, 1895–1972)	6
Wyndham Lewis (British, M, 1882–1957)	18
André L'Hote (French, M, 1885–1962)	1
Edward Barnard Lintott (British, M, 1875–1951)	1
Horace Mann Livens (British, M, 1862–1936)	1
Ernest Stephen Lumsden RE (British, M, 1883–1948)	1
William York MacGregor RSA (British, M, 1855–1923)	1
Barbara MacKenzie-Smith (British, F, 1900–1983)	1
Ms. Sine Mackinnon (British, F, 1901–1996)	1
Robert Braithwaite Martineau (British, M, 1826–1869)	1
Henri Matisse (French, M, 1869–1954)	4
Constance Maurice (British, F)	1
William Frederick 'Fred' Mayor (British, M, 1865–1916)	1
Paul Lucien Maze (British, M, 1887–1979)	1
James McBey (British, M, 1883–1959)	1

Mary McCrossan (British, F, 1863–1934)	1
Ambrose McEvoy ARA ARWS (British, M, 1878–1927)	2
Francis Jack "Frank" McEwen (British, M, 1907–1994)	1
Edward McKnight Kauffer (American, M, 1890–1954)	2
Allan McNab (British, M, 1901–1982)	1
Winston McQuoid (British, M, 1909–1984)	1
Charles Robert Owen Medley (British, M, 1905–1994)	1
Bernard Meninsky (British, M, 1891–1950)	8
John MacLauchlan Milne (British, M, 1886–1957)	1
Malcolm Midwood Milne (British, M, 1887–1954)	2
Sir Walter Thomas Monnington PRA (British, M, 1902–1976)	1
Henry Moore OM CH FBA (British, M, 1898–1986)	4
James Wilson Morrice (Canadian, M, 1865–1924)	1
Sir Cedric Lockwood Morris (British, M, 1889–1982)	5
Kenneth MacIver Morrison (British, M, 1868–1936)	1
David Muirhead ARA (British, M, 1867–1930)	1
Rory Mullen (Irish, M, 1900–2000)	1
Elizabeth (Betty) Muntz (Canadian, F, 1894–1977)	1
Graham Murray (British, M, 1907–1987)	1
Hyam Myer (British, M, 1904–1978)	1
John Northcote Nash RA CBE (British, M, 1893–1977)	5
Paul Nash (British, M, 1889–1946)	9
Thomas Saunders Nash (British, M, 1891–1968)	3
Philip Naviasky (British, M, 1894–1983)	1
Geoffrey C. Nelson (British, M, 1893–1943)	4
Christopher Richard Wynne Nevinson ARA (British, M, 1889–1946)	1
Algernon Cecil Newton (British, M, 1880–1968)	1
Nigel Ramsay Newton (British, M, 1903–1976)	1

Bertram. Nicholls (British, M, 1883–1974)	1
Ben Nicholson OM (British, M, 1894–1982)	4
Margaret Dorothy Nicholson (British, M, 1886–1972)	1
Sir William Newzam Prior Nicholson (British, M, 1872–1949)	2
Winifred Nicholson (British, F, 1893–1981)	3
Frank Northcliffe (British, M, 1902–1970)	2
Henning Nyberg (Swedish, M, 1903–1964)	1
Roderic O'Connor (Irish, M, 1860–1940)	2
Cecil Osborne (British, M, 1909–1996)	1
Edwin John Victor Pasmore CH CBE (British, M, 1908–1998)	2
Mervyn Peake (British, M, 1911–1968)	1
Glyn Philpot (British, M, 1884–1937)	2
Ms. Louise Pickard (British, F, 1865–1928)	2
John Piper CH (British, M, 1903–1992)	1
Lucien Pissarro (French, M, 1863–1944)	3
Roland Vivian Pitchforth (British, M, 1895–1982)	5
Elizabeth Violet Polunin née Hart (British, F, 1887–1950)	1
Vladimir Polunin (Russian, M, 1880–1957)	1
Frederick J. Porter (New Zealander, M, 1883–1944)	6
John Wardell Power (Australian, M, 1881–1943)	2
Doris Margaret (Dod) Procter née Shaw, RA (British, F, 1892–1972)	1
Sam Rabin (British, M, 1903–1991)	1
Lady Patricia Ramsay (British, F, 1886–1974)	2
Eric Ravilious (British, M, 1903–1942)	1
Alfred William Rich (British, M, 1856–1921)	1
Charles (de Sousy) Ricketts RA (British, M, 1866–1931)	1
William Patrick Roberts RA (British, M, 1895–1980)	16
Marjorie Kathleen Rowles (British, F, 1900–1971)	1

Isaac Rosenberg (British, M, 1890–1918)	1
Sir William Rothenstein (British, M, 1872–1945)	5
Edith (Betty) Sadleir née Tupper-Carey (British, F, 1893–1978)	1
Ethel Sands (American, F, 1873–1962)	1
K.R. Sastri (Indian, M)	3
J. Van Schnell (Dutch, M)	1
Prof. Randolph Schwabe (British, M, 1885–1948)	1
Elliott Seabrooke (British, M, 1886–1950)	8
Thurston Laidlaw Shoosmith (British, M, 1865–1933)	2
Walter Richard Sickert RE (British, M, 1860–1942)	10
Henry James Silk (British, M, 1883–1947)	1
John Rattenbury Skeaping RA (British, M, 1901–1980)	4
Sir Matthew (Arnold Bracy) Smith CBE (British, M, 1897–1959)	2
John Bulloch Souter (British, M, 1890–1971)	1
Vsevolod Sozonov (Russian, M, 1899–1966)	3
Gilbert Spencer RA (British, M, 1892–1979)	7
Sir Stanley Spencer CBE RA (British, M, 1891–1959)	7
Elizabeth Spurr (British, F, 1910–1987)	1
Harold Squire (British, M, 1881–1959)	1
William Staite Murray (British, M, 1881–1962)	2
A.E. Standish (British, M)	1
Walter James Steggles (British, M, 1908–1997)	6
Théophile-Alexandre Steinlen RE (French, M, 1859–1923)	1
George Adolphus Storey RA (British, M, 1834–1919)	1
Rowland Suddaby (British, M, 1912–1972)	1
Graham Vivian Sutherland OM ARE (British, M, 1903–1980)	1
William Christian Symons (British, M, 1845–1911)	1
Trevor Tennant (British, M, 1900–1980)	1

James Harvard Thomas (British, M, 1854–1921)	1
George Henry Thompson (British, M, 1853–1953)	1
Alfred Reginald Thomson RA (British, M, 1894–1979)	1
Alfred Thornton (British, M, 1863–1939)	2
Geoffrey Tibble (British, M, 1909–1962)	2
Henry Tonks FRCS (British, M, 1862–1937)	5
Wyndham J. Tryon (British, M, 1883–1942)	3
Albert Edward Turpin (British, M, 1888–1964)	2
(George Claude) Leon Underwood (British, M, 1890–1975)	1
Thomas Willem van Oss (British, M, 1901–1941)	1
Henri Vergé-Sarrat (Belgian, M, 1880–1966)	1
Edward Alexander Wadsworth ARA (British, M, 1889–1949)	4
Ethel Walker DBE ARA (British, F, 1861–1951)	5
Evan Walters (British, M, 1892–1951)	1
Allan Walton (British, M, 1891–1948)	5
Meryl Watts (British, M, 1910–1992)	1
Miss R.A. West (British, F)	1
John Lavers Wheatley ARE (British, M, 1892–1955)	2
Ethelbert White (British, M, 1891–1972)	2
Ms. Muriel Gertrude Wilson (British, F, 1893–1977)	1
Edward Wolfe (British, M, 1887–1982)	8
Alfred Aaron Wolmark (British, M, 1877–1961)	1
Christopher Wood (British, M, 1901–1930)	4
Irene Wyatt (British, F, 1903–1987)	1
(Guy) Richard Charles Wyndham (British, M, 1896–1948)	2
Jack Butler Yeats RHA (Irish, M, 1871–1957)	5
Total artworks	650
Total artists	271

A1.2 — Foreign Fund

Artist	Artworks
Léon Samoilovitch Bakst (Russian, M, 1866–1924)	1 *
Roger Bissière (French, M, 1886–1964)	1
Henri Clément Serveau (French, M, 1886–1972)	1
André Fraye (French, M, 1887–1963)	1
Henri Gaudier-Brzeska (French, M, 1891–1915)	1
Henri Eugène Le Sidaner (French, M, 1862–1939)	1
Carlo Levi (Italian, M, 1902–1975)	1
Aristide Maillol (French, M, 1861–1944)	1
Henri Matisse (French, M, 1869–1954)	1
Luc Albert Moreau (French, M, 1882–1948)	1
Philip Naviasky (British, M, 1894–1983)	2
Pablo Picasso (Spanish, M, 1881–1973)	1
Georges Henri Rouault (French, M, 1871–1958)	4
Andre Dunoyer de Segonzac (French, M, 1884–1974)	2
Jean-Édouard Vuillard (French, M, 1868–1940)	1
Ossip Zadkine (French, M, 1890–1967)	1
Total artworks	21
Total artists	16

*Four sheets of designs for costumes

A1.3 — Print Fund

Print items are sometimes portfolios, listed as one line item in CAS reports. Numbers include prints and drawings.

Artist	Artworks
Abraham Abramowitz (British, M, 1897–1993)	1
Adrian P. Allinson (British, M, 1890–1959)	4
Alfred Charles Stanley Anderson CBE RA RE (British, M, 1884–1966)	8
(Elna) Ingeborg Andreasen-Lindborg (Danish, F, 1875–1950)	1
Mariano Andreü (Spanish, M, 1888–1976)	1
Sibyl Andrews (British, F, 1898–1992)	1
Lady Mabel Marguerite Annesley (British, F, 1881–1959)	3
Edward Jeffrey Irving Ardizzone CBE RA (British, M, 1900–1979)	2
Christian Asmussen (Danish, M, 1873–1940)	1
John Austen (British, M, 1886–1948)	1
Frederick G. Austin RE (British, M, 1902–1990)	2
Robert Sargent Austin PRE RA PRWS (British, M, 1895–1973)	44
Lord Henry John Fanshawe Badeley, 1st Baron Badeley KCB CBE RE (British, M, 1874–1951)	1
Stanley Roy Badmin RWS RE (British, M, 1906–1989)	6
Georges-Marie Baltus (Belgian, M, 1874–1967)	2
Oskar Bangemann (German, M, 1858–1925)	3
Anthony Raine Barker (British, M, 1860–1963)	1
Peter Barker-Mill (British, M, 1908–1994)	1
James Bateman RA ARWS ARE (British, M, 1893–1959)	1
John Dickson Batten (British, M, 1860–1932)	4

Mary Emmeline Batten (British, M, 1873–1952)	2
Marius Alexander Jacques Bauer (Dutch, M, 1867–1932)	1
Edward Bawden (British, M, 1903–1989)	1
Adolphe Marie Timothée Beaufrère (French, M, 1876–1960)	3
Leonard Beaumont (British, M, 1891–1986)	8
Harry Becker (British, M, 1865–1928)	3
Sir Max Beerbohm (British, M, 1872–1956)	1
George Belcher (British, M, 1875–1947)	1
Albert Belleruche (British, M, 1864–1944)	1
Gabriel Belot (French, M, 1882–1962)	1
Camille Beltrand (French, M, 1877–1951)	5
Georges Beltrand (French, M, 1881–1969)	1
Jacques Anthony Louis Beltrand (French, M, 1874–1977)	1
René Ben Sussen (French, M, 1895–1988)	1
Alexandre Benois (Russian, M, 1870–1960)	1
Charles Bernard Rice (British, M, 1900–1998)	3
Paul-Albert Besnard (French, M, 1849–1934)	2
Alfred Edmeades Bestall (British, M, 1892–1986)	1
J. Anthony Betts (British, M, 1897–1980)	1
Pamela Bianco (American, F, 1906–1994)	2
Edmund Bille (Swiss, M, 1878–1959)	1
Pearl Binder (British, F, 1904–1990)	11
Edmund Blampied RE (British, M, 1886–1966)	11
Lily Blatherwick (British, F, 1854–1934)	2

Douglas Percy Bliss (British, M, 1900–1984)	2
Oscar Bojesen (Danish, M, 1879–1930)	1
Stephen Bone (British, M, 1904–1958)	1
Robert Étienne Bonfils (French, M, 1886–1972)	3
Wendela Boreel (French, F, 1895–1985)	1
Stig Borglind (Swedish, M, 1892–1965)	1
Emma Bormann (Austrian, F, 1887–1974)	4
Jacques Boullaire (French, M, 1893–1976)	4
Edward Bouverie-Hoyton (British, M, 1900–1988)	1
Leonard Griffiths Brammer RE (British, M, 1906–1994)	1
Sir Frank William Brangwyn RA RWS RBA RE (British, M, 1867–1956)	4
Théodore Brenson (French, M, 1893–1959)	5
Norbertine Bresslern-Roth (Austrian, F, 1891–1978)	4
Maurice Brocas (Belgian, M, 1892–1948)	1
Gerald Leslie Brockhust RE (British, M, 1890–1978)	4
Horace Brodzky (Australian, M, 1885–1969)	7
William David Brokman Davis (British, M, 1892–1993)	2
Auguste Brouet (French, M, 1872–1941)	1
Elizabeth Christie Austen Brown (British, F, 1869–1942)	2
Thomas Austen Brown (British, M, 1857–1924)	1
Mabel Bruce Low (British, F, 1883–1972)	1
Anselmo Bucci (Italian, M, 1887–1955)	1
Alec Buckels ARE (British, M, 1892–1972)	2
Eveleen Buckton ARE (British, F, 1872–1962)	3

George Buday RE (Hungarian, M, 1907–1990)	6
Cecil Tremayne Buller (Canadian, F, 1886–1973)	2
Rodney Joseph Burn (British, M, 1899–1984)	2
Adrian Bury (British, M, 1891–1991)	4
Maurice Busset (French, M, 1879–1936)	1
Enid Constance Butcher (British, F, 1902–1991)	1
Henry Butler (British, M, 1882–1967)	2
Sir David Young Cameron RA RE (British, M, 1865–1945)	1
Francesc Canyellas (Spanish, M, 1889–1938)	1
Charles Émile Carlegle (Swiss, M, 1877–1937)	1
Ethel Carrick (British, M, 1872–1951)	4
Celestino Celestini (Italian, M, 1882–1961)	2
Jules Louis Chadel (French, M, 1870–1941)	4
Tom Chadwick (British, M, 1915–1942)	1
Fernand Chalandre (French, M, 1879–1924)	1
Samuel Chamberlain (American, M, 1895–1975)	2
Jean Charlot (French, M, 1898–1979)	1
Daphne Chart (British, F, 1909–2006)	1
Charles Sydney Cheston ARE (British, M, 1882–1960)	2
Ian Alec Johnson Cheyne (British, M, 1895–1955)	2
Giorgio de Chirico (Italian, M, 1888–1978)	1
Arent Christensen (Norwegian, M, 1898–1982)	2
Christian Christensen (Norwegian, M, 1898–1977)	2
Beatrice M. Christy (British, F, 1910–2003)	1

Johann Vincenz Cissarz (German, M, 1873–1942)	1
Anne Clark (British, F)	1
Lady Edna Clarke Hall née Waugh (British, F, 1879–1979)	7
Stanley Clarke Hutton RA (British, M, 1898–1984)	1
Katherine Clausen (British, F, 1887–1936)	3
Sir George Clausen RA (British, M, 1852–1944)	2
Katherine Mabel Clayton (British, F, 1887–1976)	1
Gérard Cochet (French, M, 1888–1969)	1
Henry George Cogle (British, M, 1875–1957)	1
Leslie James Cole (British, M, 1910–1976)	1
John Copley (British, M, 1875–1950)	4
Lovis Corinth (German, M, 1858–1925)	3
Ettore Cosomati (Italian, M, 1873–1960)	4
Othon Coubine (French, M, 1883–1969)	1
Armand Coussens (French, M, 1881–1935)	1
Frederick Halford Coventry (New Zealander, M, 1905–1997)	1
Raymond Teague Cowern (British, M, 1913–1986)	3
Arthur Leonard Cox (British, M, 1879–1961)	1
Henri-Edmund Cross (British, M, 1856–1910)	1
John Currie (British, M, 1883–1914)	1
Eric Fitch Daghlish (British, M, 1892–1966)	12
Benjamin Dahrelup (Danish, M, 1898–1959)	5
Ann C. Dallas (British, F, 1908–1997)	3
Robin Vere Darwin CBE RA (British, M, 1910–1974)	1

Jules de Bruycker (Belgian, M, 1870–1945)	1
Germaine de Coster (French, F, 1895–1992)	1
Henry de Waroquier (French, M, 1881–1970)	1
Miriam Deane (British, F, 1890–1927)	3
Edgar Degas (French, M, 1834–1917)	3
Maurice Denis (French, M, 1870–1943)	1
André Derain (French, M, 1880–1954)	2
Edward Julius Detmold ARE (British, M, 1883–1957)	3
Shri Mukul Chandra Dey (Indian, M, 1895–1989)	2
Edward Montgomery O'Rourke Dickey RA CBE (British, M, 1894–1977)	2
Benvenuto Disertori (Italian, M, 1887–1969)	1
Frank Owen Dobson RA (British, M, 1886–1963)	2
Mstislav Valerianovich Dobuzhinskii (Russian, M, 1875–1957)	4
Francis Edgar Dodd RA (British, M, 1874–1949)	5
Frances Catherine Dodgson (British, F, 1883–1954)	2
Paul Dalou Drury PRE (British, M, 1903–1987)	7
Irma Duczynska (Polish, F, 1870–1932)	1
Georges-Charles Dufresne (French, M, 1876–1938)	1
Raoul Dufy (French, M, 1877–1953)	1
Pieter Dupont (Dutch, M, 1870–1911)	1
Knud Eel (Danish, M, 1914–1967)	1
Georg Ehrlich (Austrian, M, 1897–1966)	5
Willy Eisenschitz (Austrian, M, 1889–1974)	1
Ivy Anne Ellis (British, F, 1897–1984)	2

Ragnhild Ender (Norwegian, M, 1886–1973)	1
Robert Engels (German, M, 1866–1926)	1
James Ensor (Belgian, M, 1860–1949)	1
Kristoffer Eriksen (Norwegian, M, 1889–1962)	1
Francis Ernest Jackson ARA (British, M, 1872–1945)	3
Powys Evans (British, M, 1899–1981)	1
James Robert Granville Exley RE (British, M, 1878–1967)	1
Arthur Henry (Harry) Fabian Ware (British, M, 1903–1980)	1
Wilfred Fairclough RWS RE (British, M, 1907–1996)	3
Leonhard Fanto (Austrian, M, 1874–1940)	6
John Farleigh RE (British, M, 1900–1965)	3
Myrtle Fasken (British, F, 1889–1972)	1
V. Ferenczy (Ukrainian, M)	1
Anna R. Findlay (British, F, 1885–1968)	1
Marjorie Firth (British, F, 1895–1975)	1
William Mark Fisher RA (British, M, 1841–1923)	1
Mrs. Margaret Fisher Prout (British, F, 1875–1963)	1
Maia Fjaestad (Swedish, F, 1873–1961)	5
(Walter) Claude Flight (British, M, 1881–1955)	2
Sir William Russell, Flint RA RE PRWS (British, M, 1880–1969)	3
Jean-Louis Forain (French, M, 1852–1931)	5
Vivian Forbes (British, M, 1891–1937)	1
Hans Frank (Austrian, M, 1884–1948)	11
Leo Frank (Austrian, M, 1884–1956)	2

C.M. Free (British, M)	1
Barnett Freedman CBE RDI (British, M, 1901–1958)	1
Hubert Andrew Freeth RA RWS RE (British, M, 1912–1986)	4
Jean Frélaud (French, M, 1879–1954)	1
Axel Fridell (Swedish, M, 1894–1935)	2
Hester Froud ARE (New Zealander, F, 1882–1971)	1
Ethel Léontine Gabain (British, F, 1883–1950)	5
Démétrius-Emmanuel (Demetrios) Galanis (French, M, 1879–1966)	2
Tibor Gallé (Hungarian, M, 1896–1944)	1
Emil Ganso (American, M, 1895–1941)	1
Eugène Henri Paul Gauguin (British, M, 1848–1903)	3
Hugo Gehlin (Swedish, M, 1889–1953)	2
Marquete (Margarethe) Geibel (German, F, 1876–1955)	3
Charles March Gere RA (British, M, 1869–1957)	1
Margaret Gere (British, F, 1878–1965)	1
Mark Gertler (British, M, 1891–1939)	2
Percy Francis Gethin (British, M, 1874–1916)	2
Robert Gibbings (Irish, M, 1889–1958)	13
Evelyn Gibbs RE (British, F, 1905–1991)	1
William Giles (British, M, 1872–1939)	7
Arthur Eric Rowton Gill ARA RDI (British, M, 1882–1940)	32
Edward Frank Gillett (British, M, 1874–1927)	1
Hendrik Glicenstein (Polish, M, 1870–1942)	1
Isobel Lilian Gloag ROI (British, F, 1865–1916)	1

Stephen Frederick Gooden RA RE (British, M, 1892–1955)	2
Cora Josephine Gordon née Turner (British, F, 1879–1950)	1
Jan Gordon (Unknown, M, 1882–1944)	1
Edward Gordon Craig (British, M, 1872–1966)	11
Wiktorija Julia Jadwiga Gorynska (Polish, F, 1902–1945)	1
Laura Sylvia Gosse RBA ARE SWA (British, F, 1881–1968)	8
Duncan James Corrowr Grant (British, M, 1885–1978)	1
James Arden Grant RE (British, M, 1887–1973)	4
Kenneth Green (British, M, 1905–1986)	1
Madeline Green (British, F, 1884–1947)	1
Walter Greengrass (British, M, 1896–1970)	1
Edwin Greenman (British, M, 1909-2003)	3
John Frederick Greenwood RE (British, M, 1885–1954)	5
Sidney Ernshaw Greenwood (British, M, 1913-2001)	1
Barbara Greg RE (British, F, 1900–1983)	2
Vivien Gribble (British, F, 1888–1932)	1
Ronald Grierson (British, M, 1901–1992)	4
Frederick Landseer Maur Griggs RA, RE (British, M, 1876–1938)	11
Mary Elizabeth Groom (British, F, 1903–1958)	1
Louis Erich Gruner (German, M, 1881–1966)	1
Pierre Guastalla (French, M, 1891–1968)	3
Pierre Gusman (French, M, 1862–1941)	4
Robin Craig Guthrie (British, M, 1902–1971)	2
Allan Gwynne-Jones CBE DSO RA (British, M, 1892–1982)	3

Philip Hagreeen (British, M, 1890–1988)	6
Oliver Hall RE (British, M, 1869–1957)	6
Nicolai Hammer (Danish, M, 1887–1970)	4
Viktor Hammer (Austrian, M, 1882–1967)	1
Alfred Hammerbeck (Norwegian, M, 1891–1965)	2
Archibald Standish Hartrick RWS OBE (British, M, 1864–1950)	4
Kiyoshi Hasegawa (Japanese, M, 1891–1980)	1
Joan Hassall RE OBE (British, F, 1906–1988)	16
Stanley William Hayter (British, M, 1901–1988)	2
Margaret Curtis Haythorne (British, F, 1893–1978)	2
Joseph Hecht (Polish, M, 1891–1951)	4
Lilla Hellesen (Norwegian, F, 1902–1963)	3
Elsie Marian Henderson (British, F, 1880–1960)	4
Robertine Heriot (British, F, 1869–1962)	1
René Georges Hermann-Paul (French, M, 1864–1940)	3
Gertrude Hermes (British, F, 1901–1983)	9
Herman Heuff (Dutch, M, 1875–1945)	1
Stanley Hickson (British, M, –1969)	3
Vernon Hill (British, M, 1886–1972)	1
Frances Mary Hodgkins (New Zealander, F, 1869–1947)	1
Ferdinand Hodler (Swiss, M, 1853–1918)	1
Mary Hogarth (British, F, 1861–1935)	5
Edgar Holloway (British, M, 1914-2008)	8
Sir Charles John Holmes KCVO (British, M, 1868–1936)	3

Sir Charles Holroyd RE (British, M, 1861–1917)	1
Désirée Hoole (British, F)	1
Rosa Somerville Hope ARE (British, F, 1902–1972)	2
George Horton (British, M, 1859–1950)	1
Julia Beatrice How (British, F, 1867–1932)	3
Theodorus (Theo) Hoytema (Dutch, M, 1863–1917)	1
Ernst Huber (Austrian, M, 1895–1960)	2
Blair Rowlands Hughes-Stanton (British, M, 1902–1981)	13
James Dixon Innes (British, M, 1887–1914)	1
Gustaf Isander (Swedish, M, 1863–1929)	1
Hans Jäger (German, M, 1887–1955)	1
Norman Thomas Janes RWS RE (British, M, 1892–1980)	3
Bohumir Jaronek (Czech, M, 1886–1933)	1
Samuel Jessurum de Mesquita (Dutch, M, 1868–1944)	1
Augustus Edwin John OM RA (British, M, 1878–1961)	4
David Michael Jones CBE (British, M, 1895–1974)	1
Eric Stephen Jones (British, M, 1904–1962)	1
Percy Hague Jowett (British, M, 1882–1955)	1
Ludwig Heinrich Jungnickel (Austrian, M, 1881–1965)	2
Livia Kádár (Hungarian, F, 1894–1985)	7
Edmond Xavier Kapp (British, M, 1890–1978)	2
Elizabeth Keith (British, F, 1887–1956)	2
Cynthia Kent (British, F)	2
William Kermode (Australian, M, 1895–1959)	3

Ethel Kirkpatrick (British, F, 1869–1941)	1
Walter Klemm (German, M, 1883–1957)	1
Clara Klinghoffer (British, F, 1900–1970)	2
Dame Laura Knight RA RWS RE (British, F, 1877–1970)	4
Frantisek Koblíha (Czech, M, 1877–1962)	1
Käthe Kollwitz (German, M, 1867–1945)	2
Julius Komjádi (Hungarian, M, 1894–1958)	2
Janina Konarska (Polish, M, 1900–1975)	2
N. Kouprianoff (Russian, M)	1
Rudolf Josef Kratina (German, M, 1872–1953)	5
Aleksei Ilyich Kravchenko (Russian, M, 1889–1940)	1
Roop Krishna (Indian, M, 1901–1968)	1
Alfred Kubin (Austrian, M, 1877–1959)	6
Erkki Kulovesi (Finnish, M, 1895–1971)	1
Jean Émile Laboureur (French, M, 1877–1943)	9
Henry Martyn Lack (American, M, 1909–1979)	1
Arthur Robert Laird (British, M, 1881–1958)	1
Kate Elinor Lambert née Klein (British, F, 1892–1977)	2
Mary Lanchester (British, F, 1864–1942)	1
Erwin Lang (Austrian, M, 1886–1962)	2
Fritz Lang (German, M, 1877–1961)	8
Léon Lang (French, M, 1899–1983)	5
William Martin Larkins ARE (British, M, 1901–1974)	2
Albert Larsen (Danish, M, 1885–1957)	3

Oskar Laske (Austrian, M, 1874–1951)	2
Marie Laurencin (French, F, 1883–1956)	5
Edward Louis Lawrenson (Irish, M, 1868–1940)	1
Henri Le Sidaner (French, M, 1862–1939)	1
Rupert Lee (British, M, 1887–1959)	3
Sydney Lee RA RE (British, M, 1866–1939)	7
Derwent Lees (Australian, M, 1884–1931)	1
Louis Legrand (French, M, 1863–1951)	1
Evelyn Leigh-Pemberton (British, F)	1
Clare Veronica Hope Leighton RE (British, F, 1898–1989)	8
Joseph Alexandre Marie Lemoine (French, M)	3
Louis Auguste Lepère (French, M, 1848–1918)	1
Cecil Mary Leslie (British, F, 1900–1980)	1
Herbert Lespinasse (American, M, 1884–1972)	3
Thérèse Lessore (British, F, 1884–1945)	1
Alfred Neville Lewis (South African, M, 1895–1972)	2
Wyndham Lewis (British, M, 1882–1957)	1
André L'Hote (French, M, 1885–1962)	1
Max Liebermann (German, M, 1847–1935)	4
Maxwell Gordon Lightfoot (British, M, 1886–1911)	1
Ephraim Moses Lilien (Polish, M, 1874–1925)	2
Daphne Lindner ARE (British, F, 1912-2012)	1
Sir Lionel Lindsay (Australian, M, 1874–1961)	2
Vincent Henry Lines (British, M, 1909–1968)	1

Walter Llewellyn Lister (British, M, 1856–1957)	1
Marie Littledale (British, F, 1910–1994)	1
Ulrica Lloyd née Hyde (British, F, 1911–1988)	1
Switbert Lobisser (Austrian, M, 1878–1943)	4
Anton Lock (British, M, 1893–1971)	5
Georges Loukowski (Russian, M, 1884–1954)	4
Lowes Dalbiac Luard (British, M, 1872–1944)	6
Theodore Dunham Peter Luling (American, M, 1902–1978)	2
Bertha Lum (American, F, 1869–1964)	1
Ernest Stephen Lumsden RE (British, M, 1883–1948)	3
Mariette Lydis (Austrian, F, 1887–1970)	3
Dugald Sutherland MacColl (British, M, 1859–1948)	1
William Brown MacDougall (British, M, 1868–1936)	6
Barbara MacKenzie-Smith (British, F, 1900–1983)	1
Charles Hodge Mackie (British, M, 1862–1920)	3
Donald Shaw MacLaughlan (Canadian, M, 1876–1938)	1
Iain MacNab of Barachastlain RE (British, M, 1890–1967)	4
Siri Elsie Magnus-Lagercrantz (Finnish, F, 1875–1944)	1
Gustaf Magnusson (Swedish, M, 1890–1957)	2
Aristide Maillol (French, M, 1861–1944)	3
Antonin (Anton) Majer (Czech, M, 1882–1963)	1
Guy Seymour Warre Malet (British, M, 1900–1973)	2
Louis Malteste (French, M, 1862–1928)	1
William Westley Manning RE (British, M, 1868–1954)	1

Jean Marchand (French, M, 1883–1940)	2
Charles Maresco Pearce (British, M, 1874–1964)	3
George Marples ARE (British, M, 1869–1939)	1
Frederick Marriott RE (British, M, 1860–1941)	1
Henri Matisse (French, M, 1869–1954)	3
Alexander James Mavrogordato (British, M, 1869–1947)	1
Julia Mary Mavrogordato (British, F, 1903–1992)	1
Robert Ashwin Maynard (British, M, 1888–1966)	3
Florence Mary (Molly) McArthur (British, F, 1893–1972)	1
James McBey (British, M, 1883–1959)	4
John McClure Hamilton (American, M, 1853–1936)	3
Ambrose McEvoy ARA ARWS (British, M, 1878–1927)	1
Allan McNab (British, M, 1901–1982)	5
William Frederick Measom (British, M, 1813–1881)	1
Frank Charles Medworth (British, M, 1892–1947)	2
Ruth Meier (British, F, 1888–1965)	3
Bernard Meninsky (British, M, 1891–1950)	2
Ivan Meštrović (Croatian, M, 1883–1962)	1
Hon. Paul Ayshford Methuen (British, M, 1886–1974)	1
Ludwig Michalek (Austrian, M, 1859–1942)	2
Arthur Ralph Middleton Todd RA RWS RE (British, M, 1891–1966)	2
Jules Migonney (French, M, 1876–1929)	1
Lilian May Miller (American, F, 1895–1943)	1
Hal Missingham (Australian, M, 1906–1994)	1

Carolyn Marion Mitchell (British, F, 1903–1994)	2
Sir Walter Thomas Monnington PRA (British, M, 1902–1976)	1
John Charles Moody RE (British, M, 1884–1962)	1
Luc Albert Moreau (French, M, 1882–1948)	1
William Evan Charles Morgan (British, M, 1905–1979)	5
Harry Morley ARA RWS RE (British, M, 1881–1943)	4
Concord and Cavenish Morton (British, M, 1911-)	2
Alice M. Moykopf (British, F)	1
Edvard Munch (Norwegian, M, 1863–1944)	2
John J.A. Murphy (American, M, 1888–1967)	6
John Northcote Nash RA CBE (British, M, 1893–1977)	15
Paul Nash (British, M, 1889–1946)	9
Max Nathan (Danish, M, 1880–1952)	2
Pamela d'Avigdor Nathan (British, F, 1905-)	1
Christopher Richard Wynne Nevinson ARA (British, M, 1889–1946)	2
Lancelot Ney (French, M, 1900–1965)	1
Wijnand Otto Jan Nieuwenkamp (Dutch, M, 1874–1950)	3
Charles Thrupp Nightingale (British, M, 1878–1939)	2
Job Nixon RE (British, M, 1891–1938)	4
Abdel-Salam Ali Noor (Egyptian, M)	2
Julius Olsson Nordfeldt (American, M, 1878–1955)	1
Dirk Nyland (Dutch, M, 1881–1955)	1
Mervyn O'Gorman (British, M, 1871–1958)	2
Max Oppenheimer (Austrian, M, 1885–1954)	1

Emil Orlik (German, M, 1870–1932)	1
Achille-Émile Orthon Friez (French, M, 1879–1949)	1
Malcolm Osborne ARA PRE (British, M, 1880–1963)	5
Séan O'Sullivan RHA (British, M, 1906–1964)	2
Ernest Albert Painter (British, M, 1895-)	1
Agnes Miller Parker ARE (British, F, 1895–1980)	6
Leonid Pasternak (Russian, M, 1862–1945)	4
(Mary) Viola Paterson (British, F, 1899–1981)	3
James Paterson (Unknown, M)	1
Edgar Edwin Lawrence Pattison (British, M, 1872–1950)	1
Arthur Paunzen (Austrian, M, 1890–1940)	8
Henry Albert Payne (British, M, 1868–1940)	1
Mervyn Peake (British, M, 1911–1968)	1
Alec Maurice Pecker (British, M, 1893–1975)	2
Edward Pellens (Belgian, M, 1872–1947)	1
Claughton Pellew (British, M, 1890–1966)	7
Christopher Perkins (British, M, 1891–1968)	2
Georg Pevetz (Austrian, M, 1893–1971)	1
Martin Erich Philipp (German, M, 1887–1978)	1
Walter Joseph Phillips (Canadian, M, 1884–1963)	9
Jean Picart Le Doux (French, M, 1902–1982)	1
Pablo Picasso (Spanish, M, 1881–1973)	2
Gustave Pierre (French, M, 1875–1937)	1
Gabriel Pippet (British, M, 1880–1962)	1

Fritz Pirner (German, M, 1889–1960)	1
Lucien Pissarro (French, M, 1863–1944)	3
Orovida Camille Pissarro (British, F, 1896–1968)	1
Paul-Emile Pissarro (French, F, 1884–1972)	6
John Edgar Platt ARE (British, M, 1886–1967)	11
Max Pollak (Austrian, M, 1886–1970)	6
Jan Christiaan (Jan) Poortenaar (Dutch, M, 1886–1958)	4
Constance Mary Pott RE (British, F, 1862–1957)	2
Charles Potter (British, M, 1904-2002)	1
Cyril Edward Power (British, M, 1872–1951)	3
Alfons Purtscher (Austrian, M, 1885–1962)	1
Betty Purvis (British, F, 1905–1935)	6
René Quillivic (French, M, 1879–1969)	1
Arabella Louisa Rankin (British, F, 1871–1947)	1
Armand Rassenfosse (Belgian, M, 1862–1934)	1
Gwen Raverat née Darwin, RE (British, F, 1885–1957)	23
Eric Ravilious (British, M, 1903–1942)	8
Raymond Ray-Jones RE (British, M, 1886–1942)	2
Bertrand-Jean (Odilon) Redon (French, M, 1840–1916)	1
Pierre-Auguste (Auguste) Renoir (French, M, 1841–1919)	2
Frederick (Fred) Charles Richards RE (British, M, 1878–1932)	14
Charles (de Sousy) Ricketts RA (British, M, 1866–1931)	1
Arthur Rigden Read (British, M, 1879–1955)	6
Diego Rivera (Mexican, M, 1886–1957)	2

William Patrick Roberts RA (British, M, 1895–1980)	1
William Palmer Robins RWS RE (British, M, 1882–1959)	4
Auguste Rodin RE (French, M, 1840–1917)	1
Noel Rooke ARE (British, M, 1881–1953)	5
Aage Roose (Danish, M, 1880–1970)	1
Louis Conrad Rosenberg RE (American, M, 1890–1983)	6
Thomas 'Tom' Ross (British, M, 1878–1961)	1
Sir William Rothenstein (British, M, 1872–1945)	3
Ker-Xavier Roussel (French, M, 1867–1944)	1
Abani Roy (Indian, M, 1898–1975)	1
Mabel Alington Royds (British, F, 1874–1941)	4
Sir Henry George Rushbury CBE RA RE RWS (British, M, 1889–1968)	14
Sir Walter Wesley Russell CVO RA (British, M, 1867–1949)	2
Albert Daniel Rutherston (British, M, 1881–1953)	3
Poul Rytter (Danish, M, 1895–1965)	1
Artur Oliver Julianus Sahlén (Swedish, M, 1882–1945)	2
Harald Sallberg (Swedish, M, 1895–1963)	1
Toivo Santeri Salokivi (Finnish, M, 1886–1940)	2
Frieda Salvendy (Austrian, F, 1887–1968)	1
Reginald Savage (British, M, 1886–1905)	1
Lodewyck Schelfhout (Dutch, M, 1881–1943)	4
Rudolf Schiestl (German, M, 1878–1931)	1
Ferdinand Schmutzer (Austrian, M, 1870–1928)	1
J. Van Schnell (Dutch, M)	1

Prof. Randolph Schwabe (British, M, 1885–1948)	3
Allen William Seaby (British, M, 1867–1953)	6
Lennart Segerstråle (Finnish, M, 1892–1975)	6
Andre Dunoyer de Segonzac (French, M, 1884–1974)	5
Gino Carlo Sensani (Italian, M, 1888–1947)	1
Luigi Servolini (Italian, M, 1906–1981)	1
Charles Haslewood Shannon RA RE (British, M, 1863–1937)	6
Frederick Hawkesworth S. Shepherd (British, M, 1877–1948)	1
William James Affleck Shepherd (British, M, 1867–1946)	2
Sir Francis Job "Frank" Short RA PPRE (British, M, 1857–1945)	2
Walter Richard Sickert RE (British, M, 1860–1942)	8
Paul Signac (French, M, 1863–1935)	2
Vladimír Silovsky (Czech, M, 1891–1974)	2
Joseph Godfrey Simpson (British, M, 1879–1939)	5
John Rattenbury Skeaping RA (British, M, 1901–1980)	3
Wladyslaw Skoczylas (Polish, M, 1883–1934)	1
Eric Slater (British, M, 1896–1963)	2
Humphrey Richard Hugh Slater (British, M, 1906–1958)	1
Bernard Sleigh (British, M, 1872–1954)	1
Max Slevogt (German, M, 1868–1932)	1
M. J. Hamblin Smith (British, M, 1871–1936)	1
May Aimée Smith (British, F, 1886–1962)	2
Percy John Delf Smith (British, M, 1882–1948)	2
Ilia Alekseevich Sokolov (Russian, M, 1890–1968)	1

George Soper RE (British, M, 1870–1942)	2
Louis-Joseph Soulas (French, M, 1905–1954)	1
John Bulloch Souter (British, M, 1890–1971)	1
Nathaniel Sparks RE (British, M, 1880–1956)	1
Count Pehr Louis Sparre (Swedish, M, 1863–1964)	1
Francis Howard Spear (British, M, 1902–1979)	1
Gilbert Spencer RA (British, M, 1892–1979)	1
Sir Stanley Spencer CBE RA (British, M, 1891–1959)	1
Gerald Spencer Pryse (British, M, 1882–1956)	3
Ferdinand Springer (German, M, 1908–1998)	1
Leonard Russell Squirrell RWS RE (British, M, 1893–1979)	2
Harald Krohg Stabell (Norwegian, M, 1874–1963)	2
Elsie Marion Starling (British, F, 1899–1955)	1
Steiner (German, M)	1
Théophile-Alexandre Steinlen RE (French, M, 1859–1923)	4
Helen Grace Stevenson (British, F, 1889-)	2
Naomi Stoney (British, F, 1910-)	2
Oskar Stössel (Austrian, M, 1869–1974)	3
Charles Hjalmar Straat (Swedish, M, 1885–1971)	1
David Rogerson Strang (British, M, 1887–1967)	1
Ian Strang RE (British, M, 1886–1952)	2
William Strang RA RE (British, M, 1859–1921)	2
Allan Gordon Strawbridge (Australian, M, 1890–1954)	1
Carl Vilhelm Stubbe-Teglbjærg (Danish, M, 1894–1971)	3

Carl Wilhelm Stubbe-Teglbjærg (Danish, M, 1894–1971)	1
Thomas Sturge Moore (British, M, 1870–1944)	1
Edmund Joseph Sullivan ARWS RE (British, M, 1869–1933)	1
Graham Vivian Sutherland OM ARE (British, M, 1903–1980)	2
Max Švabinský (Czech, M, 1873–1963)	1
Prince Eugene of Sweden (Swedish, M, 1865–1947)	1
Istvan Szegedi-Szuts (Hungarian, M, 1893–1959)	1
Charles William Taylor RE (British, M, 1878–1960)	5
Georges Tcherkessof (Russian, M, 1900–1943)	1
Vere Lucy Temple (British, F, 1898–1980)	4
Johannes Frederik Engelbert Ten Klooster (Dutch, M, 1873–1940)	6
Jacques Thevenet (French, M, 1891–1989)	1
Henri Joseph Thomas (Belgian, M, 1878–1972)	1
Carl Thomson (British, M)	1
Alfred Thornton (British, M, 1863–1939)	3
Anna Ticho (Czech, F, 1894–1980)	3
Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec (French, M, 1864–1901)	2
Lill Tschudi (Swiss, F, 1911-2004)	1
Aukusti Tuhka (Finnish, M, 1895–1973)	1
Charles Frederick Tunnicliffe OBE RA RE (British, M, 1901–1979)	4
Henry Emerson Tuttle (American, M, 1890–1946)	2
(George Claude) Leon Underwood (British, M, 1890–1975)	4
Francis Sydney Unwin (British, M, 1885–1925)	3
Nora Spicer Unwin RE (British, F, 1907–1982)	2

Yoshijirō Urushibara Mokuchū (Japanese, M, 1889–1953)	11
Maurice Utrillo (French, M, 1883–1955)	1
Walter Vaes (Belgian, M, 1882–1958)	1
Paul Vahrenhorst (German, M, 1880–1951)	2
Suzanne Valadon (French, F, 1865–1938)	1
Édouard Vallet (Swiss, M, 1876–1929)	1
Félix Edouard Vallotton (French, M, 1865–1925)	2
(Gerard Antoine) Henri van der Stok (Dutch, M, 1870–1946)	3
André (Andreas) van der Vossen (Dutch, M, 1893–1963)	1
Dirk van Gelder (Dutch, M, 1907–1990)	3
Frits (AKA Frederic Ferdo) van Hengelaar (Dutch, M, 1896–1968)	2
Henri van Straten (Belgian, M, 1892–1944)	1
Nandor Lajos Varga (Hungarian, M, 1895–1978)	2
Jacobus Gerardus Veldheer (Dutch, M, 1866–1954)	1
Daniel Albert Veresmith (American, M, 1861–1932)	1
Henri Vergé-Sarrat (Belgian, M, 1880–1966)	2
Emile Antoine Verpilleux MBE (British, M, 1888–1964)	1
Gustav Vigeland (Norwegian, M, 1869–1943)	1
Jacques Villon (French, M, 1875–1963)	1
Maurice de Vlaminck (French, M, 1876–1958)	5
Ludwig von Hofmann (German, M, 1861–1945)	1
Hans Richard von Volkmann (German, M, 1860–1927)	1
Jean-Édouard Vuillard (French, M, 1868–1940)	1
Vera Waddington (British, F, 1886–1954)	10

Edward Alexander Wadsworth ARA (British, M, 1889–1949)	16
Ethel Walker DBE ARA (British, F, 1861–1951)	1
Robin Wallace (British, M, 1897–1952)	1
Leslie Moffat Ward (British, M, 1888–1978)	1
William Washington ARE (British, M, 1855–1956)	2
Antony Waterer (British, M, 1914-)	1
Archibald Bertram Webb (British, M, 1887–1944)	1
Clifford Cyril Webb RBA RE (British, M, 1895–1972)	4
Major Herman Armour Webster RE (American, M, 1878–1970)	1
Josef Weisz (German, M, 1894–1969)	5
Ludwig Oswald Wenkeback (Dutch, M, 1895–1962)	1
Jerk Werkmäster (Swedish, M, 1896–1978)	1
John Laviers Wheatley ARE (British, M, 1892–1955)	2
Ethelbert White (British, M, 1891–1972)	11
Franklin White (British, M, 1892–1975)	2
Barbara Moray Williams RE (British, F, 1911–1975)	2
Olaf Willums (Norwegian, M, 1886–1967)	4
William Wilson (British, M, 1905–1972)	2
Kurt Hans Winkler (German, M, 1902–1992)	1
Henry Winslow ARE (American, M, 1874–1955)	1
Charles Freegrove Winzer (British, M, 1886–1940)	2
Heinrich Wolff (German, M, 1875–1940)	1
George Henry Wood (British, M, 1847–1945)	1
Ursula Wood (British, F, 1868–1925)	1

Marguerite Elizabeth Wrede (German, F, 1898–1981)	1
John Buckland Wright (New Zealander, M, 1897–1954)	1
Nora Wright (British, F, 1886-)	2
Arthur Raymond Young (American, M, 1895–1989)	2
Solomon Borisovich Yudovin (Russian, M, 1892–1954)	1
István Nagykikinda Zádor (Hungarian, M, 1882–1963)	1
Total artworks	1548
Total artists	578

Appendix 2

Museums subscribing to the CAS in 1939

Aberdeen Art Gallery

Victoria Art Gallery, Bath

Belfast Art Gallery (now the Ulster Museum)

Williamson Art Gallery, Birkenhead

Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery

Grundy Art Gallery, Blackpool

Bootle Art Gallery (closed 1979)

Russell Coates Art Gallery, Bournemouth

Cartwright Hall Art Gallery, Bradford

Bristol Art Gallery

Cardiff, National Museum of Wales

Edward Pease Museum and Art Gallery, Darlington (closed)

Derby Art Gallery

Kelvingrove Art Gallery, Glasgow

Bankfield Museum, Halifax

Harrogate Art Gallery (now the Mercer Art Gallery)

Hove Art Gallery

Huddersfield Art Gallery

Ferens Art Gallery, Hull

Kidderminster Art Gallery (closed)

Warrington District Council Art Gallery and Museum, Leamington Spa

Leeds City Art Gallery

Leicester Museum and Art Gallery

Usher Art Gallery, Lincoln

Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool

Manchester City Art Gallery

Cord Art Gallery, Merthyr Tydfil (now Cyfarthfa Castle Museum and Art Gallery)

Newark-on-Trent Art Gallery (closed)

Laing Art Gallery, Newcastle-upon-Tyne

Newport Museum and Art Gallery

Castle Museum, Nottingham

Oldham Art Gallery

Harris Museum, Preston

Rochdale Art Gallery

Salford Museum and Art Gallery

Sheffield City Art Galleries

Astley Cheetham Art Gallery, Stalybridge

Stockport War Memorial and Art Gallery

Hanley Gallery, Stoke-on-Trent

Wakefield Art Gallery

Wolverhampton Art Gallery

York City Art Gallery

Appendix 3

General and Foreign Fund artworks presented to galleries 1909–1939

This table is based on information from the CAS annual reports dated from 1911 to 1938–9. Not all works recorded as being presented to galleries can be confirmed as there is, as yet, no complete catalogue of CAS artworks.

Donated to:	Artworks
Aberdeen	3
Belfast	3
Birkenhead	2
Birmingham	3
Blackpool	1
Bootle	5
Bournemouth	1
Bradford	8
Brighton	4
Bristol	5
Burnley	1
Cardiff	5
Derby	4
Glasgow	6
Halifax	1
Harrogate	3
Hove	1
Huddersfield	3
Hull	2
Kingston Upon Thames	2
Leamington Spa	1

Leeds	8
Leicester	8
Lincoln	2
Liverpool	2
London —Tate	92
London —The British Museum	9
London —V&A	2
Manchester	39
Merthyr Tydfil	5
Newcastle upon Tyne	10
Nottingham	5
Oldham	3
Preston	4
Rochdale	6
Salford	4
Sheffield	5
Shrewsbury	1
Stalybridge	1
Stoke-on-Trent	5
Sunderland	1
Swansea	2
Wakefield	2
York	4
Total	284

Appendix 4

CAS Executive Committee Members

CAS Committee member	Dates	
Sir Charles John Holmes KCVO (1868–1936)	(1910– 1912)	Landscape painter and art historian. Director of the National Portrait Gallery, 1909–1916; Director of the National Gallery, 1916–1928.
Dugald Sutherland MacColl (1859–1948)	(1910– 1913)	Painter, poet, critic and Director of the Tate Gallery, 1906–1911.
Philip Edward Morrell MP (1870–1943)	(1910– 1913)	Liberal MP, 1910–1918; husband of Lady Ottoline Morrell
John Bowyer Nichols FSA (1859–1939)	(1910– 1913)	Known as Bowyer Nichols. Poet; art critic for the <i>Westminster Gazette</i> ; Trustee of the Wallace Collection, 1918–29.
Judge William Evans (1847–1918)	(1910– 1913)	Judge and legal writer; collector of works by NEAC and Camden Town Group artists.
Arthur Clutton-Brock (1868–1924)	(1910– 1914)	Essayist and journalist. Literary Editor of <i>The Speaker</i> , 1904–06; art critic for <i>The Tribune</i> , 1904–06; and <i>Times</i> , 1908–1924.
Lady Ottoline Violet Anne Morrell (1873–1938)	(1910– 1914)	Patron of the arts and founder member of the CAS. Wife of Philip Edward Morrell. Early CAS meetings were held in their home at 44 Bedford Square, London, WC1.
Clive Bell (1881–1964)	(1910– 1917)	Art critic, writer, Bloomsbury group member and husband of Vanessa Bell.
Robert Baldwin Ross (1869–1918)	(1910– 1918)	Journalist and art critic. Director of Carfax Gallery, 1900–1908. Executor and Administrator of Oscar Wilde’s literary estate.

Thomas Lister, 4 th Baron Ribblesdale (1854–1925)	(1910– 1919)	Liberal politician (House of Lords). Founder member of the CAS; Trustee of the National Gallery, 1909–1925.
Frank Rinder (1863–1937)	(1910– 1923)	Writer; art critic for the <i>Glasgow Herald</i> ; print collector; authority on Scottish art; art adviser to the Felton Bequest, National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne, 1918–1928.
Charles Aitken CB (1869–1936)	(1910– 1929)	Director of the Whitechapel Art Gallery, 1901–1911; Keeper of the Tate Gallery, 1911–1917, and its first Director, 1917–1930.
Lord Henry Cavendish-Bentinck MP (1863–1931)	(1910– 1931)	Known as Lord Bentinck. Art Collector and Conservative MP (1895–1906 and 1910–29). Lady Ottoline Morrell's brother. CAS Chairman, 1910–1931.
Roger Eliot Fry (1866–1934)	(1910– 1934)	Painter, designer, art critic, and writer. Co-founder of the Burlington Magazine, 1903; Curator of Paintings at the Metropolitan Museum of New York, 1905–1910 Co-founder of NACF, 1909. Bloomsbury group member; founder of the Omega Workshops, 1913.
Sir Cyril Kendall Butler KBE JP (1864–1936)	(1910– 1936)	Businessman, lawyer, landowner, and art collector. Ministry of Food, Divisional Food Commissioner, 1917–18; Chief British Representative International Mission for Relief to Central Europe, 1919–20; CAS Honorary Secretary, 1910–1923; Treasurer, 1923–1936; Chairman, 1931–1936. Patron of Sickert. Friend of John Singer Sargent.
Campbell Dodgson CBE RE (1867–1948)	(1910– 1943)	Collector and art historian. Keeper of Prints and Drawings, British Museum, 1912–1932. Founder member of CAS. CAS Print Fund Administrator, 1919–1934.

Ernest Marsh (1863–1945)	(1910– 1945)	Collector of prints and ceramics. Founder member of CAS. CAS Pottery and Crafts Fund Administrator, 1928–1945.
Tommy Scott-Ellis, 8 th Baron Howard de Walden (1880–1946)	(1910– 1946)	British peer, landowner, writer and patron of the arts. Trustee of the Tate Gallery, 1938–1945. Cousin of Lady Ottoline Morrell. CAS President 1910–1946.
Hon. Sir William Gervase Beckett, 1 st Baronet (1866–1937)	(1912– 1919)	Banker and Conservative MP, 1906–1929. Art collector & father-in-law of Anthony Eden. Not recorded as attending any CAS meetings.
Sir Augustus Moore Daniel KBE (1866–1950)	(1912– 1944)	Assistant Director of the British School of Rome, 1906–07; Trustee of National Gallery, 1925–29; Director of the National Gallery, 1929–33.
Robert Windsor-Clive, 1 st Earl of Plymouth GBE, CB, PC (1857–1923)	(1913– 1923)	Conservative politician (House of Lords). Trustee of the National Gallery, 1900–1923; Trustee of the Tate 1917–1923.
Thomas Geoffrey Blackwell OBE (1884–1943)	(1914– 1923)	Businessman (Crosse & Blackwell Ltd.) and art collector. Patron of Philip Wilson Steer and NEAC artists.
Sir Edward Howard Marsh KCVO CB CMG (1872–1953)	(1917– 1952)	Patron of artists and writers. Editor of five volumes of <i>Georgian Poetry</i> , 1912–1922. Rupert Brooke's literary executor. Private secretary to several British politicians, notably Winston Churchill. Trustee of the Tate Gallery, 1937–44. Chairman of the CAS, 1937–1950.
St. John 'Jack' Hutchinson KC (1884–1942)	(1918– 1942)	Barrister-at-law, civil servant, Liberal member of London County Council 1912–1916 and would be Liberal MP. His wife Mary was Clive Bells' mistress and cousin to Lytton Strachey and Duncan Grant.
Sir Muirhead Bone (1876–1953)	(1920– 1943)	Painter, draughtsman and printmaker. Trustee of the Tate Gallery, 1920–1927; Trustee of the National Gallery, 1941–48

Frances Catherine Dodgson (1883–1954)	(1923–1926)	Painter and draughtswoman. Wife of Campbell Dodgson
Sir Roderick Sinclair Meiklejohn KBE (1876–1962)	(1923–1929)	Civil Servant. From 1910, Deputy Controller of Supply services in in H.M. Treasury with responsibility for the National Gallery, National Portrait Gallery, Tate and Wallace Collection. First civil service commissioner, 1928–49. Friend of Robert Ross and Siegfried Sassoon.
Harold Stanley 'Jim' Ede (1895–1990)	(1923–1936)	Painter, writer and patron of contemporary artists. Curator at the Tate Gallery, 1921–1936. Founder of Kettle’s Yard, Cambridge. CAS Assistant Secretary, 1923–1936.
Sir Michael Sadler KCSI CB (1861–1943)	(1923–1943)	Historian, educationalist and university administrator. Vice-Chancellor of the University of Leeds, 1911–1923. Co-founded the Leeds Art Collections Fund. Art collector and patron of Jacob Kramer.
George Charles Montagu, 9 th Earl of Sandwich (1874–1962)	(1923–1943)	Art collector. Assistant Private Secretary to the Board of Trade, 1898–1900. MP for Huntingdon, 1900–1906. Trustee of the Tate Gallery, 1934–41
Hon. Sir Jasper Nicholas Ridley KCVO OBE (1887–1951)	(1923–1951)	Barrister, banker, and agriculturalist. Chair of the Trustees of the Tate Gallery, Trustee of the National Gallery, 1939–1946; Trustee of the British Museum, 1947–1951. CAS Treasurer 1936–1938.
Sir Philip Albert Gustave David Sassoon, 3 rd Baronet GBE CMG (1888–1939)	(1924–1924)	Businessman, pilot, and Conservative MP (1912–1939) who held ministerial posts from 1919–1939. Art collector and generous host. Trustee of National Gallery (1921–1939; Chairman from 1933), Tate (1923–1936) and Wallace Collection (1922–1939).

Rt. Hon. Frederick Leverton Harris (1864–1926)	(1924– 1926)	Businessman, amateur painter and art collector. Conservative MP, 1900–1906; Unionist MP 1907–1910 and 1914–18. Parliamentary Secretary to Ministry of Blockade, 1916–18. CAS Honorary Secretary, 1924–1926
Robert Anthony Eden, 1 st Earl of Avon KG MC PC (1897–1977)	(1926– 1929)	Conservative MP. Foreign Secretary 1935–38, 1939–45 and 1951–55. Gervase Beckett was his father-in-law. Trustee of the National Gallery 1935–1949.
Mr. Montague Shearman (1886–1940)	(1927– 1940)	Barrister, civil servant, and Collector of modern French and British Art. Son of Sir Montague Shearman (1857–1930).
Samuel Courtauld (1876–1947)	(1927– 1947)	Industrialist and art collector; one of the founders of the Courtauld Institute of Art. Trustee of the Tate Gallery 1927–1937, Trustee of the National Gallery 1931–1947.
Lord Ivor Charles Spencer-Churchill (1898– 1956)	(1927– 1948)	Art collector, especially modern French painting. CAS Honorary secretary, 1926–1938
David Alexander Robert Lindsay, 28 th Earl of Crawford and 11 th Earl of Balcarres KT GBE DL FRSE (1900–1975) (Known as Lord Balniel 1927–1939.)	(1926– 1948)	Unionist politician (House of Lords). Trustee of the Tate Gallery, 1932–37; Trustee of the National Gallery, 1935–41, 1945–52 and 1953–60; Trustee of the British Museum, 1940–73. Member of the Standing Commission on Museums and Galleries, 1937–1952.
James Bolivar Manson (1897–1945)	(1930– 1941)	Artist. Director of the Tate Gallery, 1930–1938. Left Tate due to mental health issues (alcoholism) and returned to painting. Friend of Charles Aitken, Jacob Epstein and William Rothenstein.

Ernest Frederick Gye CMG (1879–1955)	(1932–1932)	Foreign Office Diplomat who entered the Foreign Office in 1903. Second Foreign Secretary, 1908; Councillor, 1924; Minister and Consul General in Tangier, 1933; Minister Plenipotentiary in Venezuela, 1936; retired 1939.
Charles Lancelot Stocks CB (1878–1975)	(1932–1945)	Art collector. Secretary to the Treasury, Whitehall, 1901–34.
John Maynard Keynes, 1 st Baron Keynes CB, FBA (1883–1946)	(1932–1946)	Economist, journalist, art collector, financier and Bloomsbury Group member. Instrumental in establishing the Arts Council of Great Britain and was its founding Chairman in 1946.
Arthur Mayger Hind RE (1880–1957)	(1934–1945)	Keeper of Prints and Drawings, British Museum, 1933–45; CAS Print Fund Administrator, 1935–45.
Robert Cunliffe 'Robin' Ironside (1912–1965)	1937–1946	Painter, writer and theatre designer. Assistant Keeper at the Tate Gallery, 1937–46; Assistant Secretary of the Contemporary Art Society, 1937–45.
Kenneth Mackenzie Clark, Baron Clark OM CH KCB FBA (1903–1983)	(1937–1953)	Art historian, collector, writer and broadcaster. Director of the National Gallery, 1933–1946; Founder and Chairman of the War Artists' Advisory Committee, 1939–1945. Patron of Henry Moore, John Piper, Graham Sutherland and others.
Thelma Cazalet-Keir CBE (1899–1989)	(1938–1956)	Art collector. Campaigner for women's rights and one of Britain's first female MPs. Conservative MP for Islington East, 1931–45.
John Knewstub Maurice Rothenstein CBE (1901–1992)	(1938–1965)	Art historian and Director of the Tate Gallery, 1938–1964

Appendix 5

CAS Buyers from 1909 to 1939

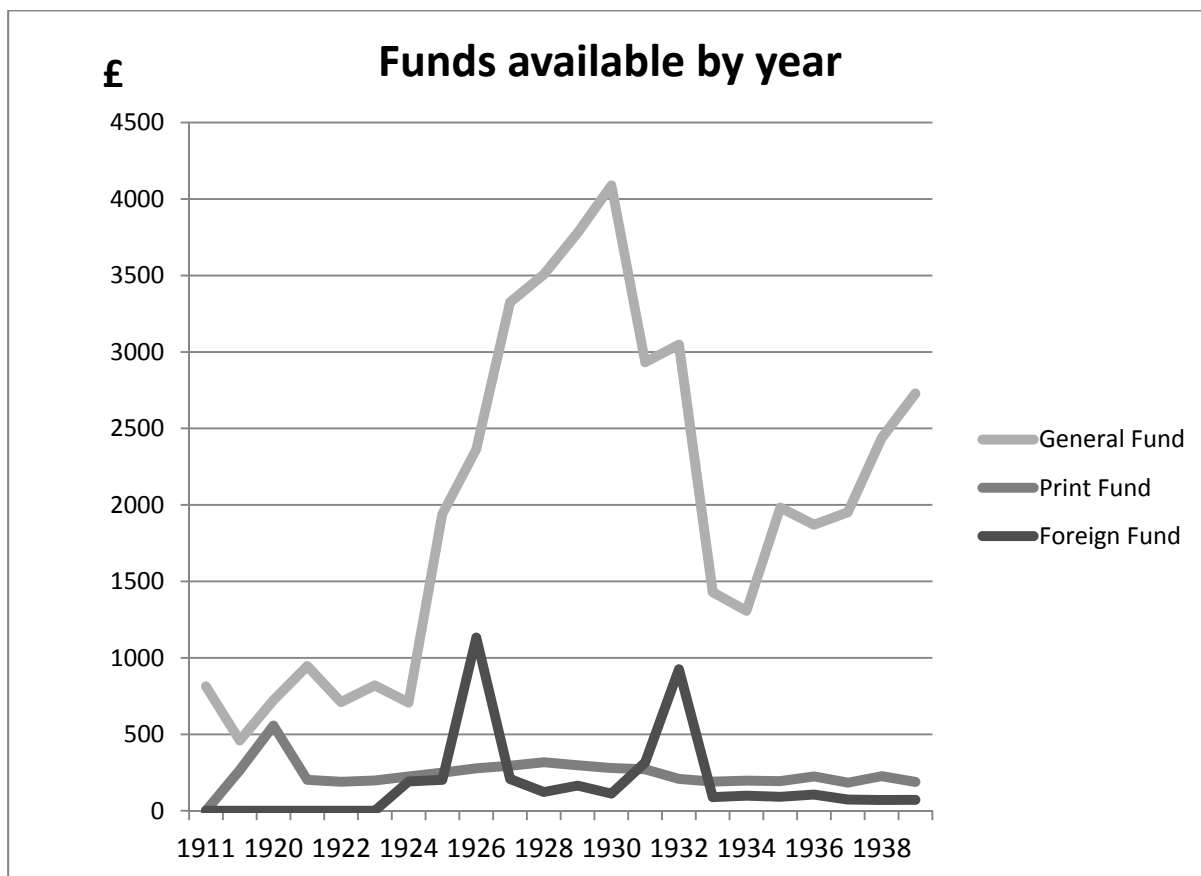
Name	Dates	Notes
The 1910 CAS Selection Committee —Robert Ross, D.S. MacColl and Roger Fry	1909–1911	Resigned November 2, 1911
Charles Aitken	1911–1912	Nominated for first six months
Robert Baldwin Ross	1912	Nominated for last six months
Campbell Dodgson	1913	
Frank Rinder	1914	Nominated for first six months
Lady Ottoline Violet Anne Morrell	1914	Nominated for last six months
Roger Eliot Fry	1915	Nominated for first six months
Sir Cyril Kendall Butler	1915	Nominated for last six months
Sir Augustus Moore Daniel	1916–1917	Nominated for the whole year and stayed on till May 1917
Lord Henry Cavendish-Bentinck	1917	Took over as A.M. Daniel was unable to continue
Campbell Dodgson	1918	
St. John (Jack) Hutchinson	1919–1920	Nominated for six months but continued into 1920
Thomas Geoffrey Blackwell	1920	
Sir Muirhead Bone	1921	Nominated for first six months
Sir Augustus Moore Daniel	1922	Nominated for last six months
Ernest Marsh	1922	Overspent his £150 by £30
Sir Edward Howard Marsh	1923	
Roger Eliot Fry	1924	
Rt. Hon. Frederick Leverton Harris	1925	
Hon. Sir Jasper Nicholas Ridley	1926	

Mr. Montague Shearman	1927	
Sir Edward Howard Marsh	1927	Overspent his £150 by £80
Sir Cyril Kendall Butler	1928	
George Charles Montagu, 9 th Earl of Sandwich	1929	
Lord Ivor Charles Spencer-Churchill	1930	
Tommy Scott-Ellis, 8 th Baron Howard de Walden	1931	
Sir Augustus Moore Daniel	1932	
Campbell Dodgson	1932	Had £100 to spend
George Charles Montagu, 9 th Earl of Sandwich	1932	Had £100 to spend
David Alexander Robert Lindsay, 28 th Earl of Crawford and 11 th Earl of Balcarres	1933	as Lord Balniel
St. John 'Jack' Hutchinson KC	1934	
Charles Lancelot Stocks CB	1935	
Campbell Dodgson CBE RE	1936	
John Maynard Keynes, 1 st Baron Keynes	1937	Buyer for the early part of 1937 and then fell ill.
Sir Edward Howard Marsh	1937	Took over for last part of 1937
Hon. Sir Jasper Nicholas Ridley	1937	
Kenneth Mackenzie Clark, Baron Clark	1939	

Appendix 6

General Fund, Foreign Fund and Print Fund Revenue

Year	General Fund (£)	Print Fund (£)	Foreign Fund (£)
1911	814	0	0
1919	460	265	0
1920	724	557	0
1921	946	202	0
1922	711	190	0
1923	820	198	0
1924	708	224	192
1925	1941	250	202
1926	2364	278	1133
1927	3325	295	208
1928	3507	318	123
1929	3779	298	165
1930	4089	280	112
1931	2933	272	316
1932	3048	209	926
1933	1429	191	89
1934	1308	197	99
1935	1982	194	92
1936	1871	224	106
1937	1952	184	74
1938	2437	226	71
1939	2729	189	72
Average 1919–1938	2051	250	



Source: CAS Annual Reports.

Note: figures are rounded up to the nearest £.

Appendix 7

General Fund: Works Purchased 1909–17

The checked columns refer to network ties that were in place when the artwork was purchased.

For the Bloomsbury Group:

O = Omega workshops

FC = Friday Club

BG = Bloomsbury Group

Buyer	Purchased	Slade	NEAC	Blooms- bury	
1910 CAS Selection Committee (Robert Ross, D.S. MacColl and Roger Fry)	1910				Paul Gauguin <i>Tahitian Study</i> , c.1891 Oil, crayon on paper, 85.4 x 101.9 cm Tate, London
	1910	✓	✓		Augustus John <i>Woman Smiling</i> , 1908-9 Oil on canvas, 196 x 98.2 cm Tate, London
	1911				Eric Gill <i>A Roland for an Oliver (Joie de Vivre)</i> , 1910 Hoptonwood stone, 94.6 x 68 cm University of Hull Art Collection, Hull
	1911				Eric Gill <i>Crucifixion</i> , 1910 Hoptonwood stone, 94.5 x 78 cm Tate, London
	1911		✓		William Newzam Prior Nicholson <i>The Lowestoft Bowl</i> , 1911 Oil on canvas, 47.5 x 61 cm Tate, London
	1911	✓	✓		William Rothenstein <i>A Fakir</i> , c.1910–1911 Pencil, Cyfarthfa Castle Museum & Art Gallery, Merthyr Tydfil

Buyer	Purchased	Slade	NEAC	Blooms- bury	
Robert Baldwin Ross	1912			✓	Vanessa Bell <i>Girlhood of Thisbe</i> , before 1912 Oil on canvas (Now thought to be <i>Spanish Lady</i> , c.1912) ⁸⁵¹
	1912			✓	Vanessa Bell <i>The Spanish Lady</i> , c. 1912 Oil on millboard, 75.6 x 53 cm New Walk Museum & Art Gallery, Leicester
	1912			✓ (FC)	Henry Lamb <i>Phantasy</i> , 1912 Oil on canvas, 86.4 x 61 cm Tate, London
	1912		✓		Walter Richard Sickert <i>Despair</i> , c.1908-9 Graphite on paper, 27 x 20 cm Tate, London
	1912	✓	✓		Henry Tonks <i>A Girl's Head</i> , Exhibited 1903 Oil on canvas, 61.5 x 50.8 cm Tate, London
Campbell Dodgson	1913		✓		Muirhead Bone <i>Snowy Morning, Queen Margaret's College, Glasgow</i> , 1900-1 Oil on canvas, 63 x 76.5 cm Tate, London
	1913				Jacob Epstein <i>Euphemia Lamb</i> , 1908 Bronze, 37.5 x 40 cm Tate, London
	1913	✓	✓		Margaret Gere <i>Noah's Ark</i> , c.1909 Tempera on Silk, 26.4 x 26.4 cm Tate, London

⁸⁵¹ Bumpas, *The Contemporary Art Society 1910–1985*, 6.

Buyer	Purchased	Slade	NEAC	Blooms- bury	
Charles Aitken	1911	✓	✓	✓ (FC)	Derwent Lees <i>Arenig Fawr</i> , 1911 Oil on canvas, 24.5 x 35 cm The Potteries Museum & Art Gallery, Stoke-on-Trent
	1912		✓	✓ (BG)	Duncan Grant <i>The Queen of Sheba</i> , 1912 Oil on plywood, 133.5 x 133.8 cm Tate, London
	1912	✓	✓		Darsie Japp <i>In Dentdale</i> , 1912 Oil on canvas, 53.3 x 74.9 cm Towneley Hall Art Gallery & Museum, Burnley
	1912	✓	✓		Ambrose McEvoy <i>La Reprise</i> , 1912 Oil on canvas, 64.2 x 76.4 cm Aberdeen Art Gallery
	1912		✓		William Christian Symons <i>The Little Squaw</i> , c.1890–1905 Oil on panel, 56 x 40.5 cm Sunderland Museum & Winter Gardens
Clive Bell	1913			✓ (O)	Jessie Etchells <i>Flowers</i> , before 1913 Oil on canvas, 46 x 35.5 cm Touchstones Rochdale
	1913			✓ (O)	Frederick Etchells <i>Woman at Mirror</i> , 1913 Oil on canvas, 115.2 x 76.9 cm Manchester City Galleries ⁸⁵²

⁸⁵² Although Manchester has this as 1914, the purchase reported by Clive Bell in 1913. CASC M — 9215/2/2/2, Meeting December 12, 1913.

Buyer	Purchased	Slade	NEAC	Blooms- bury	
Clive Bell (Cont.)	1913		✓	✓ (BG)	Duncan Grant <i>Adam and Eve</i> , 1913 Oil on canvas, approximately 213 x 335 cm Damaged in Tate Gallery flood, 1928, presumed lost. ⁸⁵³
	1913	✓		✓ (O)	Cuthbert Fraser Hamilton <i>The Natives</i> , c.1913 Oil on canvas, 81.2 x 60 cm Current whereabouts unknown
	1913	✓		✓ (O)	Wyndham Lewis <i>Laughing Woman</i> , 1912– 1913 Oil on canvas Presumed lost in Tate Gallery flood, 1928. ⁸⁵⁴
	1913		✓		Lucien Pissarro <i>Blackpool Valley</i> , 1913 Oil on canvas, 54.6 x 65.4 cm City Art Centre, Edinburgh
	1913	✓	✓		Harold Squire <i>The Blue Pool</i> , c.1913 Oil on canvas, 46 x 56 cm Bradford City Art Gallery
Cyril Kendall Butler	1914				George Adolphus Storey <i>My Father</i> , 1868 Oil on canvas, 58.4 x 49.5 cm Tate, London
	1915	✓	✓		Henry Tonks <i>Mme. Rodin</i> , 1914 Pastel on Paper, 37.5 x 28.6 cm Tate, London

⁸⁵³ Shone, *Bloomsbury Portraits*, 124.

⁸⁵⁴ Cork, *Vorticism and Abstract Art in the First Machine Age*, 18, 300.

Buyer	Purchased	Slade	NEAC	Blooms- bury	
Cyril Kendall Butler (Cont.)	1916				Charles Ginner <i>Victoria Station, London, the Sunlit Square</i> , 1913 Oil on canvas, 75 x 87 cm The Atkinson, Southport
	1916	✓	✓		Frederick Spencer Gore <i>Houghton Place</i> , 1912 Oil on canvas, 51.5 x 61.4 cm Tate, London
	1916	✓	✓		Fairlie Harmar <i>After a Game of Lawn Tennis</i> , before 1916, Oil on canvas, 55.8 x 68.6 cm Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery
	1916	✓	✓	✓ (FC)	Derwent Lees <i>Aldbourn</i> , 1915 Oil on canvas, 71.5 x 91.5 cm Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool
	1916		✓		Lucien Pissarro <i>High View : Fishpond</i> , 1915 Oil on canvas, 53.3 x 64.8 cm Tate, London
Frank Rinder	1914				David Young Cameron <i>Ben Ledi</i> , 1914 Oil on canvas, 126.5 x 112 cm Tate, London
	1914	✓	✓		William York MacGregor <i>Street in Fuenterrabia</i> , c.1908 Oil on canvas, 91.2 x 55.8 cm, Laing Art Gallery, Newcastle upon Tyne
	1914				James McBey <i>Trial Proof</i> , 1914 Pen & Watercolour, 27 x 38 cm Whitworth Art Gallery, Manchester

Buyer	Purchased	Slade	NEAC	Blooms-bury	
Frank Rinder (Cont.)	1914		✓		Walter Richard Sickert <i>Army and Navy</i> , c.1914 Oil on canvas, 50.8 x 40.6 cm Bristol Museum & Art Gallery
Henry Cavendish-Bentinck	1917				Hanslip Fletcher <i>Baker's Chop House</i> , before 1917 Watercolour, 20.3 x 46.3 cm Current whereabouts unknown
	1917	✓			Elsie Marian Henderson <i>Study of a Tiger</i> , 1916 Chalk on Paper, 21.6 x 36.2 cm Tate, London
	1917	✓			Elsie Marian Henderson <i>Three Studies of Leopards</i> , 1916 Chalk on Paper, 25 x 37 cm Tate, London
Ottoline Violet Anne Morrell	1914	✓	✓		Mark Gertler <i>Fruit Sorters</i> , 1914 Oil on canvas, 76.2 x 63.5 cm New Walk Museum & Art Gallery, Leicester
	1914	✓			Gilbert Spencer <i>Seven Ages of Man</i> , 1913-14 Oil on canvas, 139.1 x 207.8 cm Art Gallery of Hamilton, Hamilton, Ontario
Roger Fry	1915		✓	✓ (O)	W. Bernard Adeney <i>Tunley Bottom</i> , c.1920 Oil on canvas, 57 x 77 cm Newark Town Hall Museum and Art Gallery
	1915				George Hume Barne <i>Still Life</i> , before 1915 Oil on canvas, 38 x 45.7 cm Current whereabouts unknown
	1915	✓		✓ (O)	Alvaro Guevara <i>Music Hall</i> , before 1915, Bodycolour on board, 34.3 x 47.5 cm, Whitworth Art Gallery, Manchester

Buyer	Purchased	Slade	NEAC	Blooms-bury	
Roger Fry (Cont.)	1916			✓ (O)	Nina Hamnett <i>Still Life</i> , before 1916 Oil on canvas, 44 x 34 cm Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery
	1916			✓ (O)	Roald Kristian <i>Still Life</i> , before 1916 Oil on canvas, 45.7 x 38 cm Current whereabouts unknown
	1916				James Wilson Morrice <i>House in Santiago</i> , 1915 Oil on canvas, 54 x 65 cm The British Museum, London
	1916				Roderic O'Conor <i>Iris</i> , c.1913 Oil on canvas, 61 x 50.2 cm Tate, London
The CAS Executive Committee	1912	✓	✓		Ambrose McEvoy <i>In a Mirror (Study for picture 'The Ear-ring')</i> Exhibited 1911 Graphite and watercolour on paper, 47 x 39 cm Tate, London
The CAS Executive Committee (Cont.)	1914		✓		Walter Richard Sickert <i>Ennui</i> , c.1914 Oil on canvas, 152.4 x 112.4 cm Tate, London

Appendix 8

Artists selected for Belfast

A8.1

Arthur Deane's proposal to the Belfast Libraries and Art Committee, February 1929

Artist	Born	Nationality	Status	Age in 1929	Years since death
Hugh Bellington Smith (1866–1922)	England	British		D	7
Gerald Chowne (1875–1917)	India	British		D	12
Norman Garstin (1847–1926)	Ireland	Irish		D	3
Edwin Hayes (1819–1904)	Ireland	Irish		D	25
Nathaniel Hone (1831–1917)	Ireland	Irish	RHA	D	12
Gerald Festus Kelly (1879–1972)	England	British	PRA	50	
John Bedell Stainford MacIlwaine (1857–1945)	Ireland	British	RHA	72	
Ambrose McEvoy (1878–1927)	British	British	ARA ARWS	D	2
Dermod O'Brian (1865–1945)	Ireland	Irish		64	
Roderic O'Conor (1860–1940)	Ireland	Irish		69	
Frank O'Meara (1853–1888)	Ireland	Irish		D	41

Artist	Born	Nationality	Status	Age in 1929	Years since death
Sir William Newenham Montague Orpen (1878–1931)	Ireland	British	RA	51	
Walter Frederick Osborne (1859–1903)	Ireland	Irish		D	26
James Jebusa Shannon (1862–1923)	USA	British	RA	D	6
Charles Haslewood Shannon (1863–1937)	England	British	RA	66	
Richard Whately West (1848–1905)	Ireland	Irish	RA	D	24
John Butler Yeats (1839–1922)	Ireland	Irish		D	7

Notes:

1. Deane nominated artists who were Irish, or of Irish descent. Eight were Academicians.⁸⁵⁵
2. Only six of Deane's artists were still alive in 1929, and the average age of the living artists was sixty-two years old.

⁸⁵⁵ UMALP – Arthur Deane to the Chairman and Members of the Libraries, Museums and Art Committee, undated copy, c.1929.

A8.2**Arthur Deane's List of Artists for Phase 2 Purchases sent to the CAS April 22, 1930**

Artist	Born	Nationality	Status	Age in 1929	Years since death
Sir David Young Cameron (1865–1945)	Scotland	British	RA	64	
Phillip Connard (1875–1958)	England	British	RA	54	
Charles Ernest Cundall (1890–1971)	England	British	RA	39	
Edmond Dulac (1882–1953)	France	British		47	
Roger Eliot Fry (1866–1934)	England	British		63	
Gerald Festus Kelly (1879–1972)	England	British	PRA	50	
James McBey (1883–1959)	Scotland	British		46	
John Northcote Nash (1893–1977)	England	British		36	
C.R.W. Nevinson (1889–1946)	England	British		40	
Sir William Nicholson (1872–1949)	England	British		57	
Sir William Newenham Montague Orpen (1878–1931)	Ireland	British	RA	51	
Samuel John Peploe (1871–1935)	Scotland	British		58	
Doris Margaret 'Dod' Procter (1892–1972)	England	British	RA	37	

Artist	Born	Nationality	Status	Age in 1929	Years since death
William Patrick Roberts (1895–1980)	England	British		34	
William Strang (1859–1921)	Scotland	British	RA	D	8

Deane's list of artists for Phase 2 purchases was sent to Churchill.⁸⁵⁶ Seven of the artists on the list were Academicians. In 1929, one was deceased, and the average age of the living artists was forty-eight years old.

⁸⁵⁶ UMALP – Deane to Spencer–Churchill, April 22, 1930

A8.3 The artists chosen for Belfast by the CAS

Artist	Born	Nationality	Status	Age in 1929	Years since death	Known to buyers
Keith Baynes (1887–1977)	England	British		42		
Vanessa Bell (1897–1961)	England	British		32		
George William Bissill (1896–1973)	England	British		33		
Ronald Ossory Dunlop (1894–1973)	Irish	Irish		35		
Roger Eliot Fry (1866–1934)	England	British		63		Marsh
Mark Gertler (1891–1939)	England	British		38		Marsh
Duncan Grant (1885–1978)	Scotland	British		44		
Fairlee Harmar (1876–1945)	England	British		53		
James Dixon Innes (1887–1914)	Wales	British		D	15	
Augustus Edwin John (1878–1961)	Wales	British	OM, RA	51		
Henry Lamb (1883–1960)	Australia	British		46		
Alfred Neville Lewis (1895–1972)	South Africa	SA		34		
James Bolivar Manson (1897–1945)	England	British		32		
Paul Lucien Maze (1887–1979)	France	British		42		Churchill

Artist	Born	Nation ality	Status	Age in 1929	Years since death	Known to buyers
Ambrose McEvoy (1878–1927)	England	British	ARA ARWS	D	2	
Cedric Lockwood Morris (1889–1982)	Scotland	British		40		
Paul Nash (1889–1946)	England	British		40		Marsh
John Northcote Nash (1893–1977)	England	British		36		Marsh
Sir William Nicholson (1872–1949)	England	British		57		
Sir William Newenham Montague Orpen (1878–1931)	Ireland	British	RA	51		
Glyn Philpot (1884–1937)	England	British		45		
Lucien Pissarro (1863–1944)	France	French		66		
Frederick Porter (1883–1944)	New Zealand	New Zealand		46		
William Patrick Roberts (1895–1980)	England	British		34		Marsh
Sir William Rothenstein (1872–1945)	England	British		57		
Elliott Seabrooke (1886–1950)	England	British		43		Marsh
Walter Richard Sickert (1860–1942)	Germany	British		69		
Matthew (Arnold Bracy) Smith (1897–1959)	England	British		32		
Stanley Spencer (1891–1959)	England	British		38		Marsh

Artist	Born	Nation ality	Status	Age in 1929	Years since death	Known to buyers
Gilbert Spencer (1892–1979)	England	British		37		Marsh
Frederick Spencer Gore (1878–1914)	England	British		D	15	
Edward Alexander Wadsworth (1889–1949)	England	British		40		Marsh
Ethel Walker (1861–1951)	Scotland	British		68		
Ethelbert White (1891–1972)	England	British		38		
Philip Wilson Steer (1860–1942)	England	British	OM	69		
Edward Wolfe (1887–1982)	South Africa	British		42		
(Guy) Richard Charles Wyndham (1896–1948)	England	British		33		

The CAS selected works by thirty–seven artists in total. In 1929, three were deceased, and the average age of the living artists was forty–one years old.

A8.4 Comparison of all three lists

Artist	Deane's list of Irish Artists ⁸⁵⁷	Irish by birth or descent?	Belfast Final List	Purchased?	Available in London?	Known to the buyers?	Note
Ambrose McEvoy	x	Yes		Yes			
C.R.W. Nevinson			x				1
Charles Cundall			x				
Charles H Shannon	x	Yes					
Dermot O'Brian	x	Yes					
Dod Proctor			x				
Edmond Dulac			x				
Edwin Hayes	x	Yes					
Frank O'Meara	x	Yes					
Gerald Chowne	x	Yes					
Gerald Festus Kelly	x	Yes	x				
H. Bellington Smith	x	Yes					
James McBey			x				
John Butler Yeats	x	Yes					
John Nash			x	Yes			
J.J. Shannon	x	Yes					
J.B.S. MacIlwaine	x	Yes					
Nathaniel Hone	x	Yes					

⁸⁵⁷ UMALP – Ulster Museums Lloyd Patterson Request Archive. Deane to the Chairman and Members of the Libraries, Museums and Art Committee, undated copy, c.1929.

Artist	Deane's list of Irish Artists	Irish by birth or descent?	Belfast Final List	Purchased?	Available in London?	Known to the buyers?	Notes
Norman Garstin	x	Yes					
Philip Connard			x				
Philip Wilson Steer			X	Yes			
Roderic O'Conor	x	Yes					
Roger Fry			x	Yes			
R.W. West	x	Yes					
S.J. Peploe			x				
Sir D.Y. Cameron			x				
Walter F Osborne	x	Yes					
Sir William Orpen	x	Yes	x	Yes			
William Nicholson			x	Yes			
William Roberts			x	Yes			
William Strang			x				

Notes:

- 1) Deane wrote to Churchill on May 27, 1930 "The committee has under consideration the purchase of a painting by C.R.W. Nevinson for the general collection".⁸⁵⁸ Therefore although Nevinson was on the list, the CAS was not obliged to buy one. Belfast purchased : C.R.W. Nevinson, *A Mountain Landscape in Wales*, purchased 1930, oil on canvas, 71.3 x W 91.7 cm, Ulster Museum, Belfast

⁸⁵⁸ UMALP – Deane to Churchill May 27, 1930

Appendix 9

Works Donated to the CAS by Lord Ivor Spencer Churchill

Donated		Note
1926	Andre Dunoyer de Segonzac, <i>Cows</i> , before 1926 Oil on canvas, Current whereabouts unknown	
1927	Jack Butler Yeats, <i>Grafton Street/Conversation Piece</i> , 1293 Oil on canvas, 23.1 x 36.2 cm Ulster Museum, Belfast	
1927	Jack Butler Yeats, <i>Dublin Night</i> , 1925 Oil on canvas, 22.3 x 35 cm Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery, Birmingham	
1927	Jack Butler Yeats, <i>The Street</i> , before 1927 Oil on canvas, Current whereabouts unknown	
1928	Keith Baynes, <i>Still Life</i> , before 1928 Oil on canvas, Current whereabouts unknown	
1928	Roger d'Este Burford, <i>The Passage</i> , before 1928 Oil on canvas, 51.4 x 29.2 cm The Atkinson, Southport	
1928	Mark Gertler, <i>Head of a Girl</i> , before 1928, Oil on canvas, 43.2 x 35.6 cm Glasgow Museums Resource Centre, Glasgow	
1928	Henri Eugène Le Sidaner, <i>An Italian lake</i> , before 1928 Oil on canvas, 25 x 32.8 cm Kirklees Museums and Galleries	
1928	William Frederick 'Fred' Mayor, <i>La Tache Rouge</i> , before 1916 Watercolour, Current whereabouts unknown	
1928	Vladimir Polunin, <i>Grapefruit</i> , 1927 Oil on canvas, 31 x 37 cm Doncaster Museum & Art Gallery, Doncaster	

Donated		Note
1928	Elizabeth Violet Polunin, <i>In a Window</i> , before 1928 Tempera on canvas, Current whereabouts unknown	
1928	Patricia Ramsay, <i>Banana Tree</i> , before 1928 Oil on board, 52 x 72.8 cm Museums Sheffield	
1928	Walter Richard Sickert, <i>Reclining Nude</i> , 1912 Oil on canvas, 40.9 x 51.2 cm Usher Art Gallery, Lincoln	
1928	Thomas Willem van Oss, <i>Foggy Afternoon, Boulevard St Michel, Paris</i> , 1926 Oil on canvas, 51.3 x 40.9 cm Manchester City Galleries	
1930	Pierre Bonnard, <i>La Fenêtre (The Window)</i> , 1925 Oil on canvas, 108.6 x 88.6 cm Tate, London	1
1930	Pierre Bonnard, <i>The Bath</i> , 1925 Oil on canvas, 86 x 120.6 cm Tate, London	2
1937	Vanessa Bell, <i>A Venetian Window</i> , 1926 Oil on canvas, 69 x 49 cm Leamington Spa Art Gallery & Museum	
1937	Duncan James Corrowr Grant, <i>Boats at Twickenham</i> , 1926 Oil on canvas, 53.5 x 81.3 cm Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery	
1937	Derwent Lees, <i>Aldbourn</i> , Wiltshire, before 1931 Oil on canvas, 70.5 x 90.9 cm Leeds Art Gallery	

Notes:

1. Churchill donated Pierre Bonnard's, *The Window*, 1925 to the Tate Gallery, via the Society in 1930 having purchased it in c.1927 from the Independent Gallery, London.⁸⁵⁹
2. Churchill donated Pierre Bonnard's, *The Bath*, 1925 to the Tate Gallery, via the Society in 1930 having purchased it in c.1927 from the Bernheim-Jeune gallery, Paris.⁸⁶⁰

⁸⁵⁹ Tate – Catalogue number N04494

⁸⁶⁰ Tate – Catalogue number N04495

Appendix 10

The provenance of paintings selected for Belfast

The works purchased came almost entirely from London galleries and so the availability of works by Irish artists in London in the period under consideration would have driven decisions for the first tranche of paintings in 1929.

Source	No of Paintings	Total value (£ s d)
Private Collector	1	£630
From the artist	2	£110
Dealers		
Adams Brothers	1	£45
Alex Reid & Lefevre Ltd.	1	£35
Arthur Tooth & Sons	2	£145
Beaux Arts Gallery	1	£47 5s
London Artists Association (Cooling Galleries)	4	£215
M. Knoedler & Co. Inc.	1	£90
The Colnaghi Gallery	1	£315
The French Gallery	2	£95
The Goupil Gallery	4	£303
The Leicester Galleries	12	£2,875 16s 6d
The Paul Guillaume Gallery	3	£660.
The Redfern Gallery	2	£45 5s
The Saville Gallery	2	£1,000
Thomas Agnew & Sons Ltd	2	£73 10s

Appendix 11

The CAS Buyers who selected works for Belfast and what they chose

A11.1 Phase 1 paintings

Plate		Selected by	Where from
28	Duncan Grant <i>Interior</i> , 1918	Marsh	Personal contacts
32	Philip Wilson Steer <i>Yachts on the Solent</i> , 1920	Marsh	Leicester Galleries
38	William Rothenstein <i>Landscape</i> , c.1925	Unknown	Leicester Galleries
61	Alfred Neville Lewis <i>Basuto Boy</i> , c.1928–1929	Unknown	Leicester Galleries
58	Elliott Seabrooke <i>Fruit</i> , 1928	Montagu? Marsh?	The artist
59	Matthew Smith <i>Daisies</i> , c.1920–1929	Montagu	Tooth's
33	Walter Richard Sickert <i>Suspense</i> , c.1916	Marsh	Saville Gallery
29	Stanley Spencer <i>The Betrayal</i> , 1922–1923	Montagu	Goupil Gallery
34	Walter Richard Sickert <i>Easter</i> , c.1928	Marsh	Saville Gallery
30	Cedric Lockwood Morris <i>Birds</i> , 1928	Marsh	Paul Guillaume
31	Philip Wilson Steer <i>Nude</i> , c.1901	Montagu	Leicester Galleries
–	James Dixon Innes <i>Olives at Collioure</i> , 1911 Oil on canvas, 30.8 x 40.9 cm	Churchill	Leicester Galleries

Plate		Selected by	Where from
–	Frederick Spencer Gore <i>Applehayes</i> , c.1909–1910 Oil on canvas, 51.1 x 61.1 cm	Marsh	Leicester Galleries
35	Augustus Edwin John <i>The Red Feather</i> , c.1911	Marsh	Leicester Galleries
37	Sir William Nicholson <i>Cinerarias</i> , c.1928	Marsh and Montagu	Leicester Galleries
27	Augustus John <i>Vivien</i> , c.1929	Marsh	Paul Guillaume
–	Paul Nash <i>St Pancras Lilies</i> , 1927 Oil on canvas, 63.7 x 45.8 cm	Marsh	Paul Guillaume
56	Edward Wadsworth <i>Gasteropoda</i> , 1927	Marsh	Tooth's
–	Ambrose McEvoy <i>Miss Mary Clare</i> , c.1915–1920 Oil on canvas, 76.4 x 63.5 cm	Marsh?	Leicester Galleries
36	Glyn Philpot <i>Portrait of a Young Man</i> , c.1920	Marsh (and Montagu?)	Colnaghi Gallery

A11.2 Phase 2 paintings

Bought	Plate		Selected By	Where From
1930	–	Roger Eliot Fry <i>Valley of the Rhône</i> , 1930 Oil on canvas, 54.4 x 65.3 cm	Churchill and Montagu	London Artists Association
1930	47	William Patrick Roberts <i>Sawing Wood</i> , c.1930	Marsh	London Artists Association
1930	62	Philip Wilson Steer <i>The Teme at Ludlow</i> , 1900	Montagu	The Leicester Galleries
1933	–	Keith Baynes <i>The Garden, Villa Bois Saint Joseph</i> c.1932, Oil on canvas, 50.8 x 76.6 cm	Churchill and Montagu	Thomas Agnew & Sons Ltd
1933	57	Vanessa Bell <i>Flowers in a Ginger Jar</i> , 1931	Churchill and Montagu	Thomas Agnew & Sons Ltd
1933	39	George William Bissill <i>Avoca Bridge, Co. Wicklow</i> c.1932–1933	Montagu	The Redfern Gallery
1933	–	Ronald Ossory Dunlop <i>Buildings at Walberswick</i> , c.1932 Oil on canvas, 63.8 x 76.9 cm	Montagu	The Redfern Gallery
1933	–	Mark Gertler <i>The Mandoline</i> , 1931 Oil on canvas, 92.1 x 71.5 cm	Montagu	The Leicester Galleries
1933	52	Fairlie Harmar <i>L'Aveyron</i> , c.1932	Churchill and Montagu	Beaux Arts Gallery
1933	–	Henry Lamb <i>David Garnett</i> , 1930 Oil on canvas, 76.2 x 63.8 cm	Marsh and Montagu	The Leicester Galleries
1933	53	James Bolivar Manson <i>A Freshening Breeze, St Briac</i> , c.1907	Montagu	The French Gallery
1933	55	Paul Lucien Maze <i>Boulogne</i> , 1925–1926	Churchill	Paul Lucien Maze
1933	–	John Northcote Nash <i>Garden Under Snow</i> , c.1924–1930 Oil on canvas, 76.4 x 61.2 cm	Marsh	The French Gallery

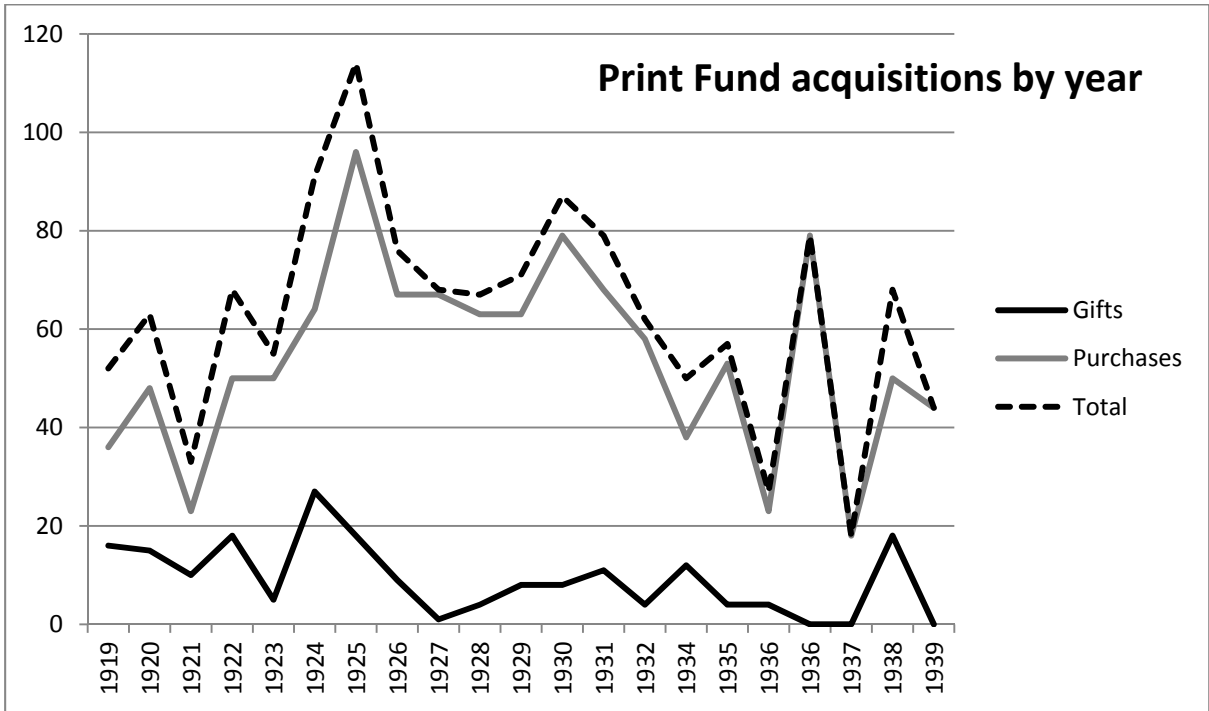
Bought	Plate		Selected By	Where From
1933	45	William Orpen <i>Self Portrait, c.1905–1910</i>	Marsh	M. Knoedler & Co. Inc.
1933	–	Lucien Pissarro <i>Trippleton Farm, 1932</i> Oil on canvas, 53.9 x 43.2 cm	Montagu	The Goupil Gallery
1933	–	Frederick Porter <i>View from the Artist's Studio, 1931</i> Oil on canvas, 59.9 x 73.5 cm	Unknown	Adams Brothers
1933	51	William Patrick Roberts <i>Les Routiers, c.1931</i>	Marsh	London Artists Association
1933	–	Gilbert Spencer <i>Little Milton near Garsington, 1926</i> Oil on canvas, 67.5 x 89.2 cm	All three	The Goupil Gallery
1933	54	Ethel Walker <i>Summer Afternoon. c.1933</i>	Unknown	Alex Reid & Lefevre Ltd.
1933	–	Ethelbert White <i>Sun Through the Wood, c.1932</i> Oil on canvas, 63.8 x 77.2 cm	All three	The Leicester Galleries
1933	60	Edward Wolfe <i>The Doorway, c.1929–1930</i>	Churchill and Montagu	London Artists Association
1933	–	Richard Charles Wyndham <i>Summer Landscape, c.1932</i> Oil on canvas, 63.7 x 76.5 cm	All three	The Goupil Gallery

Appendix 12

Print Fund acquisitions by year

NB: An item can be a single image or in some cases a portfolio.

Year	Gifts	Purchases	Total
1919	16	36	52
1920	15	48	63
1921	10	23	33
1922	18	50	68
1923	5	50	55
1924	27	64	91
1925	18	96	114
1926	9	67	76
1927	1	67	68
1928	4	63	67
1929	8	63	71
1930	8	79	87
1931	11	68	79
1932	4	58	62
1934	12	38	50
1935	4	53	57
1936	4	23	27
1936	0	79	79
1937	0	18	18
1938	18	50	68
1939	0	44	44
Grand Total			1329



Appendix 13

Printmaking Networks and CAS acquisitions from their artists

These lists include all the artists associated with given groups, with a count of the total line items acquired by Campbell Dodgson 1919–1939.

A13.1 The Royal Society of Painter-Printmakers (RSP)

The line count here is for etchings and engravings.

Artist Name	Line item count
Alfred Charles Stanley Anderson CBE, RA, RE	6
Frederick G. Austin RE	2
Robert Sargent Austin PRE, RA, PRWS	9
Baron Henry John Fanshawe Badeley CBE, RE	1
Stanley Roy Badmin RWS, RE	6
Edmund Blampied RE	10
Leonard Griffiths Brammer RE	1
Sir Frank William Brangwyn RA, RWS, RBA, RE	2
Gerald Leslie Brockhust RE	3
Charles Sydney Cheston ARE	2
Edward Julius Detmold ARE	3
Paul Dalou Drury PRE	4
James Robert Granville Exley RE	1
Sir William Russell, Flint RA, RE, PRWS	3
Hester Frood ARE	1
Evelyn Gibbs RE	1
Stephen Frederick Gooden RA, RE	2
Laura Sylvia Gosse RBA ARE SWA	2
James Arden Grant RE	4

Artist Name	Line item count
Frederick Landseer Maur Griggs RA, RE	10
Oliver Hall RE	6
Sir Charles Holroyd RE	1
Rosa Somerville Hope ARE	2
Dame Laura Knight RA, RWS, RE	4
William Martin Larkins ARE	2
Sydney Lee RA RE	1
Ernest Stephen Lumsden RE	3
Iain MacNab of Barachastlain RE	2
William Westley Manning RE	1
George Marples ARE	1
Frederick Marriott RE	1
Arthur Ralph Middleton Todd RA, RWS, RE	1
John Charles Moody RE	1
Harry Morley ARA, RWS, RE	3
Job Nixon RE	3
Malcolm Osborne ARA, PRE	5
Constance Mary Pott RE	2
Gwen Raverat, née Darwin RE	1
Raymond Ray-Jones RE	2
Frederick (Fred) Charles Richards RE	14
William Palmer Robins RWS. RE	3
Louis Conrad Rosenberg RE	6
Thomas 'Tom' Ross	1
Sir Henry George Rushbury CBE, RA,RE, RWS	13
Sir Frank Short RA, PPRE	2
Walter Richard Sickert RE	2

Artist Name	Line item count
George Soper RE	1
Nathaniel Sparks RE	1
Leonard Russell Squirrell RWS, RE	2
Théophile-Alexandre Steinlen RE	3
Ian Strang RE	2
William Strang RA, RE	2
Edmund Joseph Sullivan ARWS,RE	1
Graham Vivian Sutherland ARE	2
Charles Frederick Tunnicliffe OBE, RA, RE	3
William Washington ARE	2
Total	175

A13.2 The Society of XII (1904–15)

Artist Name	Line item count
Sir George Clausen RA	2
Francis Edgar Dodd RA	2
Edward Gordon Craig	11
Augustus Edwin John OM, RA	2
Sir William Rothenstein	1
Walter Richard Sickert RE	2
Ian Strang RE	2
William Strang RA, RE	2
Thomas Sturge Moore	1
Total	25

A13.3 The Senefelder Club

Artist Name	Line item count
Anthony Raine Barker	1
Edmund Blampied RE	10
Lily Blatherwick	1
Sir Frank William Brangwyn RA, RWS, RBA, RE	2
Francis Ernest Jackson ARA	3
Ethel Léontine Gabain	5
Archibald Standish Hartrick RWS OBE	3
Elsie Marian Henderson	4
Augustus Edwin John OM, RA	2
Arthur Robert Laird	1
Vincent Henry Lines	1
John McClure Hamilton	3
Christopher Richard Wynne Nevinson	2
Betty Purvis	5
William Palmer Robins RWS. RE	3
Sir William Rothenstein	1
Francis Howard Spear	1
Gerald Spencer Pryse	3
Edmund Joseph Sullivan ARWS,RE	1
Daniel Albert Veresmith	1
Total	53

A13.4 The New Pastoralists — 1920s

Artist Name	Line item count
Paul Dalou Drury PRE	4
Frederick Landseer Maur Griggs RA, RE	10
William Martin Larkins ARE	2
Graham Vivian Sutherland ARE	2
Total	18

A13.5 The Society of Wood Engravers

Artist Name	Line item count
Lady Mabel Marguerite Annesley	3
Douglas Percy Bliss	2
Alec Buckels ARE	1
Eric Fitch Daglish	12
Edward Montgomery O'Rourke Dickey NEAC, RA, CBE	2
John Farleigh RE	3
Myrtle Fasken	1
Robert Gibbings	13
Eric Gill	32
Edward Gordon Craig	11
John Frederick Greenwood RE	5
Vivien Gribble	1
Mary Elizabeth Groom	1
Philip Haggren	6
Blair Rowlands Hughes-Stanton	12
Norman Thomas Janes RWS, RE	2
David Michael Jones CBE	1
Sydney Lee RA, RE	5

Artist Name	Line item count
Iain MacNab of Barachastlain RE	3
Guy Seymour Warre Malet	2
John Northcote Nash RA, CBE	13
Paul Nash	6
Agnes Miller Parker ARE	6
Cloughton Pellew	6
Lucien Pissarro	2
Gwen Raverat RE, née Darwin	20
Eric Ravilious	7
Noel Rooke ARE	5
Ethelbert White	10
Total	193

A13.6 Brook Green School & English Wood Engraving Society

Artist Name	Line item count
(George Claude) Leon Underwood	4
Agnes Miller Parker ARE	6
Blair Rowlands Hughes-Stanton	12
Gertrude Hermes	9
Mary Elizabeth Groom	1
Nora Spicer Unwin RE	2
Miss Carolyn Marion Mitchell	2
Total	36

A13.7 Vorticists and Futurists

Artist Name	Line item count
Christopher Richard Wynne Nevinson	2
Edward Alexander Wadsworth	15
Total	17

A13.8 The Grosvenor School

Artist Name	Line item count
Sibyl Andrews	1
Peter Barker-Mill	1
Anna R. Findlay	1
(Walter) Claude Flight	2
Walter Greengrass	1
Cyril Edward Power	3
Lill Tschudi	1
Total	10

A13.9 The Society of Graver-Printmakers in Colour

Artist Name	Line item count
John Dickson Batten	4
Elizabeth Christie Austen Brown	2
William Giles	7
Elizabeth Keith	2
John Edgar Platt ARE	8
Allen William Seaby	4
Yoshijirō Urushibara Mokuchū	8
Total	35

A13.10 The British Museum Print Room

Artist Name	Line item count
Paul Nash	6
Christopher Richard Wynne Nevinson	2
Yoshijirō Urushibara Mokuchū	8
Total	16

A13.11 WWI and 'Wellington House'

Artist Name	Line item count
Sir Frank William Brangwyn RA, RWS, RBA, RE	2
Sir George Clausen RA	2
Archibald Standish Hartrick RWS OBE	3
Augustus Edwin John OM, RA	2
James McBey	4
John Northcote Nash RA, CBE	13
Paul Nash	6
Christopher Richard Wynne Nevinson	2
Sir William Rothenstein	1
Edmund Joseph Sullivan ARWS,RE	1
Total	36

A13.12 The Print Collector's Quarterly (PCQ)

Artist Name	Line item count
Alfred Charles Stanley Anderson CBE, RA, RE	6
Robert Sargent Austin PRE, RA, PRWS	9
Oskar Bangemann	3
Mary Emmeline Batten	2
Marius Alexander Jacques Bauer	1
Adolphe Marie Timothée Beaufrère	3
Leonard Beaumont	7
Paul-Albert Besnard	2
Edmund Blampied RE	10
Douglas Percy Bliss	2
Gerald Leslie Brockhust RE	3
Cecil Tremayne Buller	2
Charles Sydney Cheston ARE	2
Sir George Clausen RA	2
Eric Fitch Daglish	12
Jules de Bruycker	1
Edward Julius Detmold ARE	3
Francis Edgar Dodd RA	2
Paul Dalou Drury PRE	4
Jean-Louis Forain	4
Ethel Léontine Gabain	5
Percy Francis Gethin	2
Stephen Frederick Gooden RA, RE	2
Edward Gordon Craig	11
Ronald Grierson	4
Frederick Landseer Maur Griggs RA, RE	10

Artist Name	Line item count
Oliver Hall RE	6
Elsie Marian Henderson	4
Gertrude Hermes	9
Sir Charles Holroyd RE	1
Blair Rowlands Hughes-Stanton	12
Gustaf Isander	1
Augustus Edwin John OM, RA	2
Clare Veronica Hope Leighton RE	7
Sir Lionel Lindsay	2
Ernest Stephen Lumsden RE	3
Donald Shaw MacLaughlan	1
Henri Matisse	2
Luc Albert Moreau	1
John J.A. Murphy	6
Paul Nash	6
Wijnand Otto Jan Nieuwenkamp	3
Job Nixon RE	3
Malcolm Osborne ARA, PRE	5
Max Pollak	6
Bertrand-Jean (Odilon) Redon	1
Louis Conrad Rosenberg RE	6
Sir Henry George Rushbury CBE, RA,RE, RWS	13
Ferdinand Schmutzer	1
Prof. Randolph Schwabe	1
Andre Dunoyer de Segonzac	1
Walter Richard Sickert RE	2
Joseph Godfrey Simpson	4
Max Slevogt	1

Artist Name	Line item count
Percy John Delf Smith	1
Théophile-Alexandre Steinlen RE	3
William Strang RA, RE	2
Ian Strang RE	2
Thomas Sturge Moore	1
Edmund Joseph Sullivan ARWS,RE	1
Graham Vivian Sutherland ARE	2
Charles William Taylor RE	5
Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec	2
Francis Sydney Unwin	2
Gustav Vigeland	1
Total	246

A13.13 Société de la gravure sur bois originale (SGB0)

Artist Name	Line item count
Jacques Anthony Louis Beltrand	1
Robert Étienne Bonfils	3
Jacques Boullaire	4
Jules Louis Chadel	2
Pierre Gusman	4
René Georges Hermann-Paul	3
Jean Émile Laboureur	9
Jules Migonney	1
René Quillivic	1
Louis-Joseph Soulas	1
Total	29

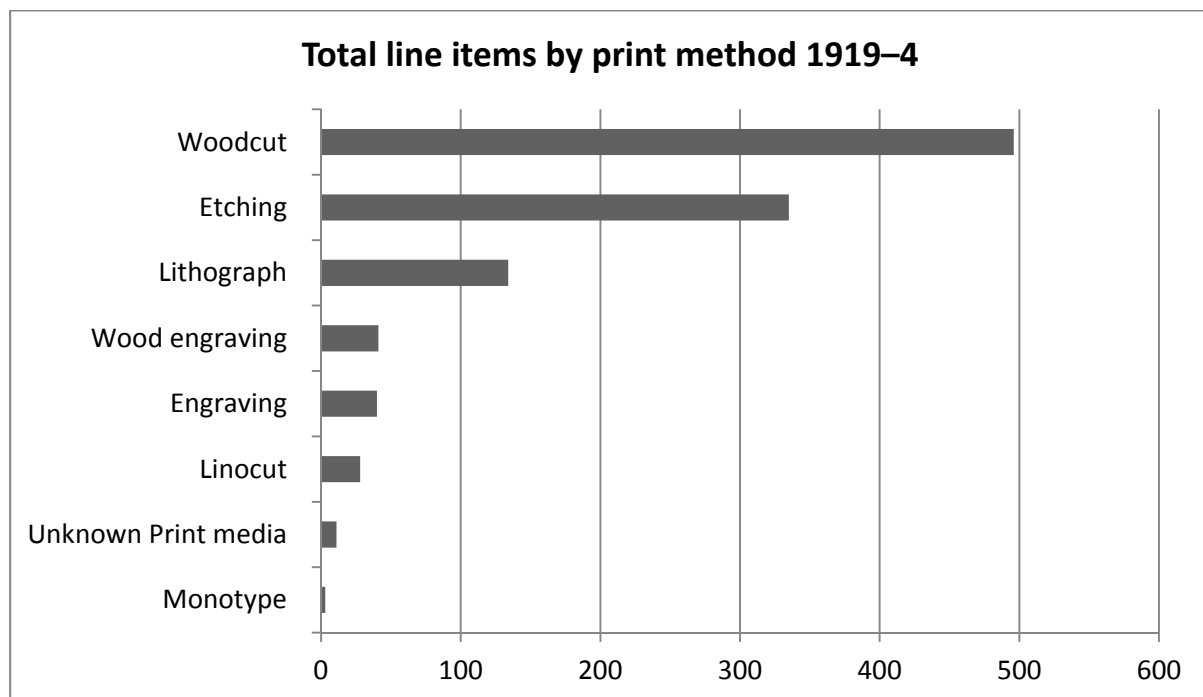
Appendix 14

Print Fund acquisitions by medium, nationality, and age of artist

A14.1 Print Fund line items by print medium

The numbers below are for items acquired under Campbell Dodgson's management of the Print Fund 1919–1934.

Print method	Total
Monotype	3
Unknown Print media	11
Linocut	28
Engraving	40
Wood engraving	41
Lithograph	134
Etching	335
Woodcut	496
Grand total	1088



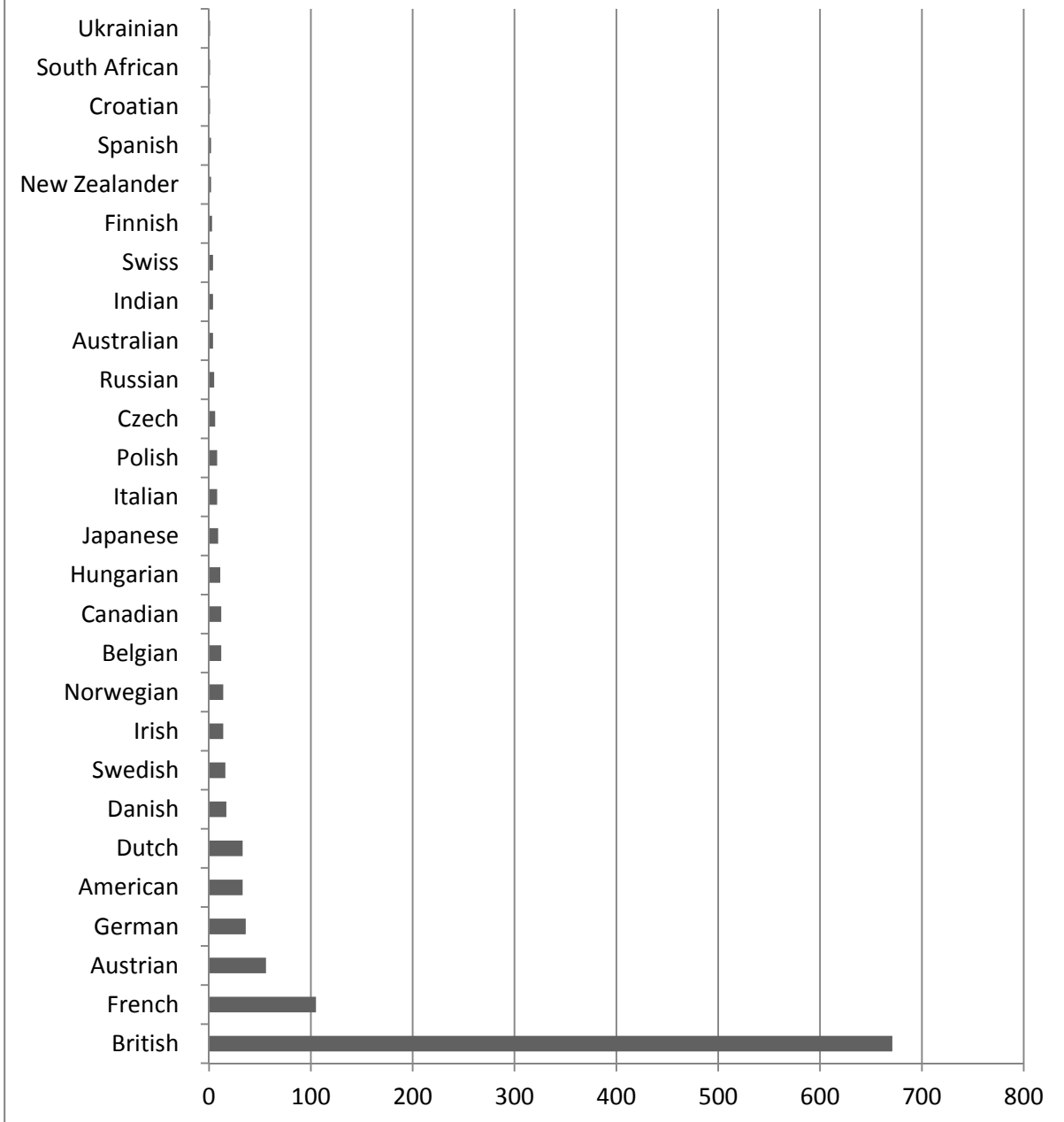
A14.2 Print Fund items 1919–1934 by artist nationality

The line items below are for the years when Campbell Dodgson was in charge of Print Fund acquisitions. They represent the artist's country of birth, or naturalisation, but not necessarily their habitual country of residence. The numbers are for purchases and gifts combined.

Nationality	Total
British	671
French	105
Austrian	56
German	36
American	33
Dutch	33
Danish	17
Swedish	16
Irish	14
Norwegian	14
Belgian	12
Canadian	12
Hungarian	11
Japanese	9
Italian	8
Polish	8
Czech	6
Russian	5
Australian	4
Indian	4
Swiss	4
Finnish	3
New Zealander	2
Spanish	2
Croatian	1

Nationality	Total
South African	1
Ukrainian	1
Grand Total	1088

Total print line items by artist nationality 1919–34

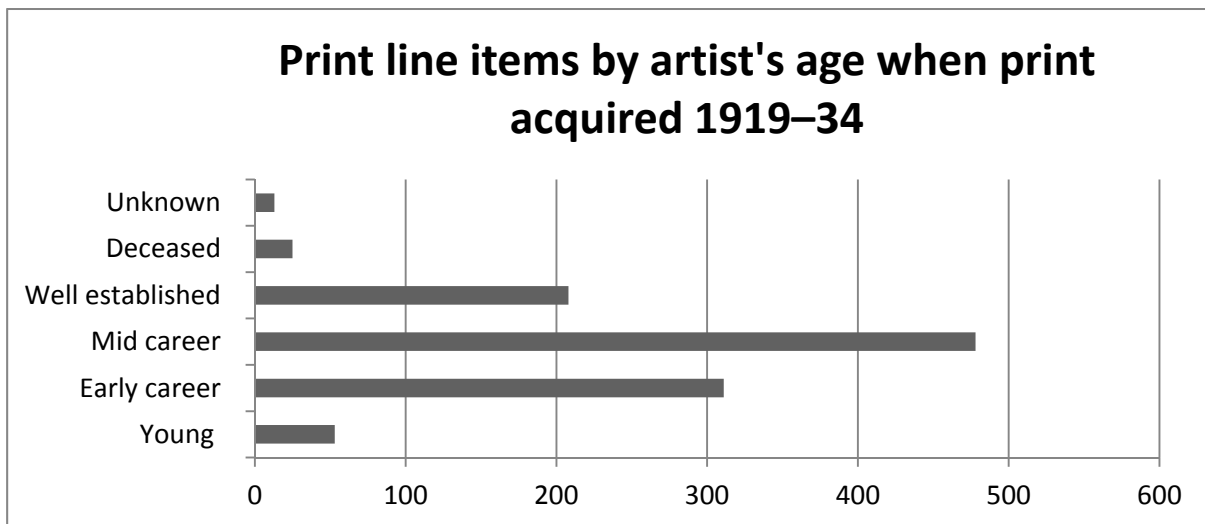


A14.3 Print Fund items by artist age at year of acquisition

Breakdown for Print Fund acquisitions under Campbell Dodgson 1919-34 based on the artist's age when their print was acquired. Numbers include both purchases and gifts.

- Young: 0-25 years
- Early career: 26-35years
- Mid career: 36-50 years
- Well established: 51 years +
- Deceased
- Age Unknown – no birth date available for the artist

Age range	Total
Young	53
Early career	311
Mid career	478
Well established	208
Deceased	25
Unknown	13
Grand total	1088



Appendix 15

Printmakers considered avant garde

The list below contains artists whose work featured in the 2016 exhibition of 'Avant-garde British printmaking 1914–1964' held at the Osborne Samuel Gallery in London.

Artist Name	Line item count
Stanley William Hayter	2
Gertrude Hermes	9
Blair Rowlands Hughes-Stanton	12
Iain MacNab of Barachastlain	4
Paul Nash	7
Christopher Richard Wynne Nevinson	2
Percy John Delf Smith	1
Graham Vivian Sutherland	2
Edward Alexander Wadsworth	15
Total	54

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Plates



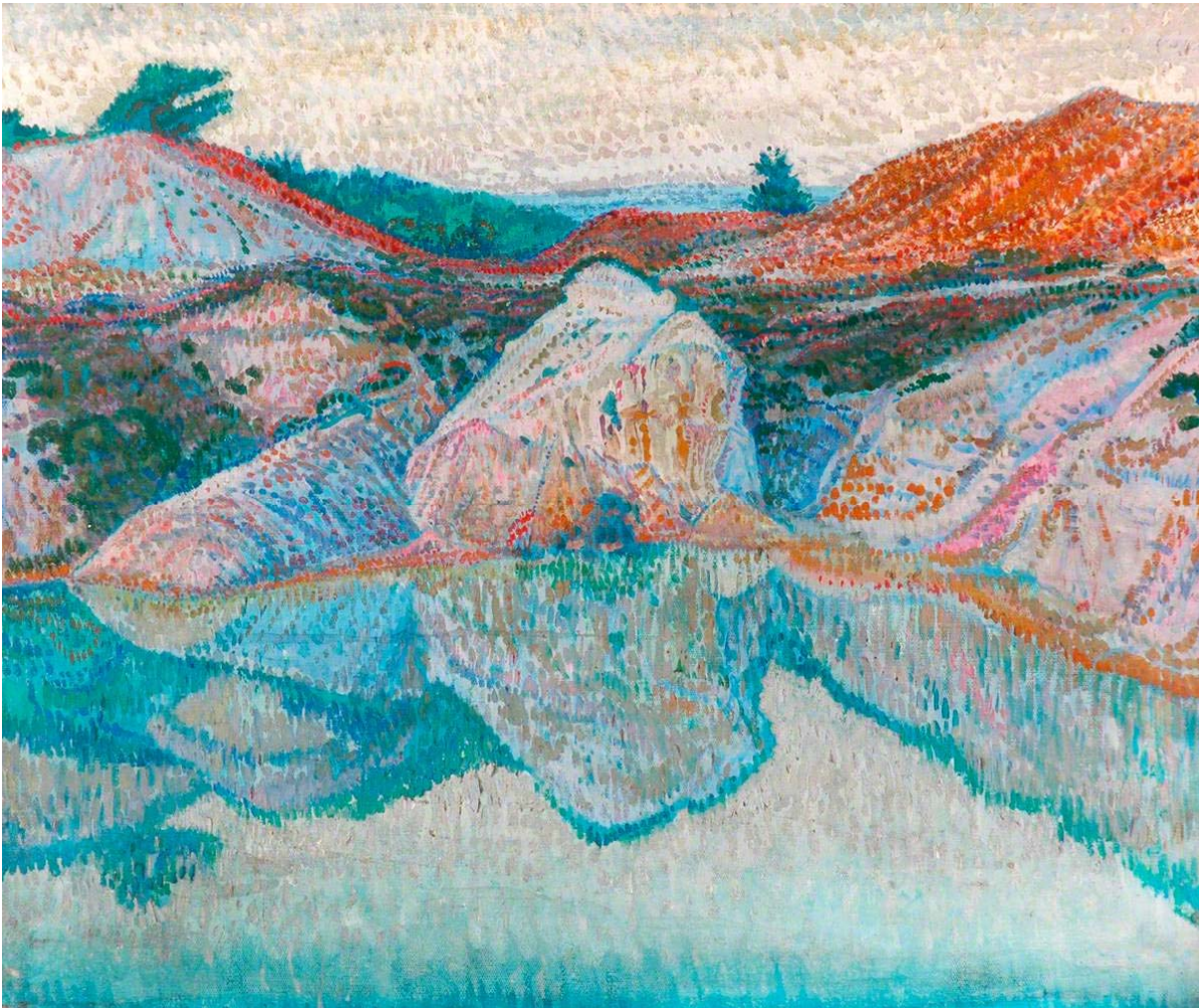
1

Wyndham J. Tryon, *Spanish Landscape*, c.1911–1914
Oil on canvas, 64.4 x 95.2 cm, Brighton Museum and Art Gallery, Brighton
(Accession number: FA000594)



2

Augustus Edwin John OM, RA, *Woman Smiling*, 1908–9
Oil on canvas, 196 x 98.2 cm, Tate, London
(Accession number: N03171)



3

Harold Squire, *The Blue Pool*, before 1913
Oil on canvas, 46 x 56 cm, Bradford City Art Gallery, Bradford
(Accession number: 1924-008)



4

Harold Gilman, *Interior with Artist's Mother*, 1917–1918
Oil on canvas, 51.2 x 61.4 cm, Manchester City Galleries, Manchester
(Accession number: 1931.32)



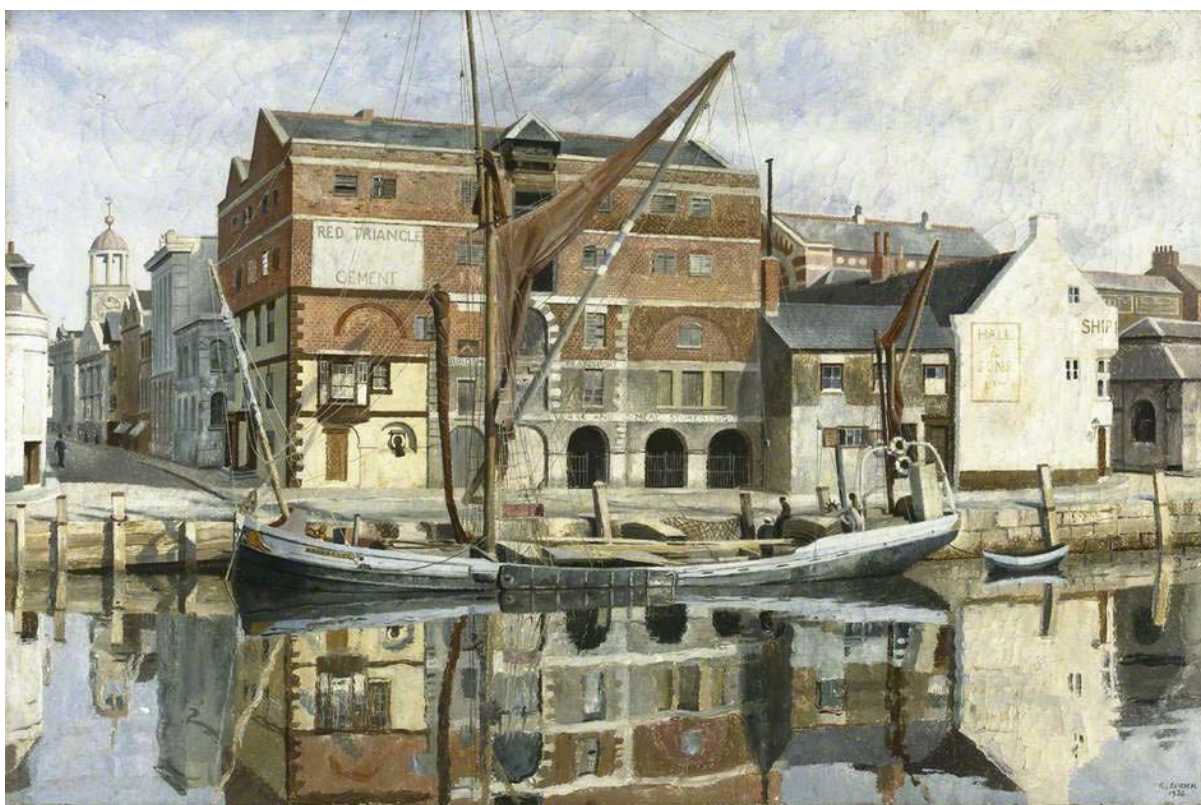
5

Mark Gertler, *Still Life*, 1917

Oil on canvas, 64 x 76.2 cm, Manchester City Galleries, Manchester
(Accession number: 1928.91)



6
Duncan James Corrowr Grant, *Boats St. Tropez*, before 1923
Oil on canvas, 63.5 x 76.2 cm, Manchester City Galleries, Manchester
(Accession number: 1928.87)



7

Richard Ernst Eurich, *The Blue Barge, Weymouth*, 1934
Oil on canvas, 86.5 x 131.2 cm, Manchester City Galleries, Manchester
(Accession number: 1938.158)



8

Allan Walton, *The Sand Boat*, before 1927
Oil on canvas, 63.5 x 76.2 cm, Manchester City Galleries, Manchester
(Accession number: 1929.51)



9

Edward Alexander Wadsworth, *Dunkerque*, 1924

Tempera on canvas, 84 x 89.2 cm, Manchester City Galleries, Manchester

(Accession number: 1928.88)



10

André Fraye, *Old Harbour and Cathedral, Marseilles*, 1920

Oil on canvas, 65 x 81.2 cm, Manchester City Galleries, Manchester
(Accession number: 1935.179)

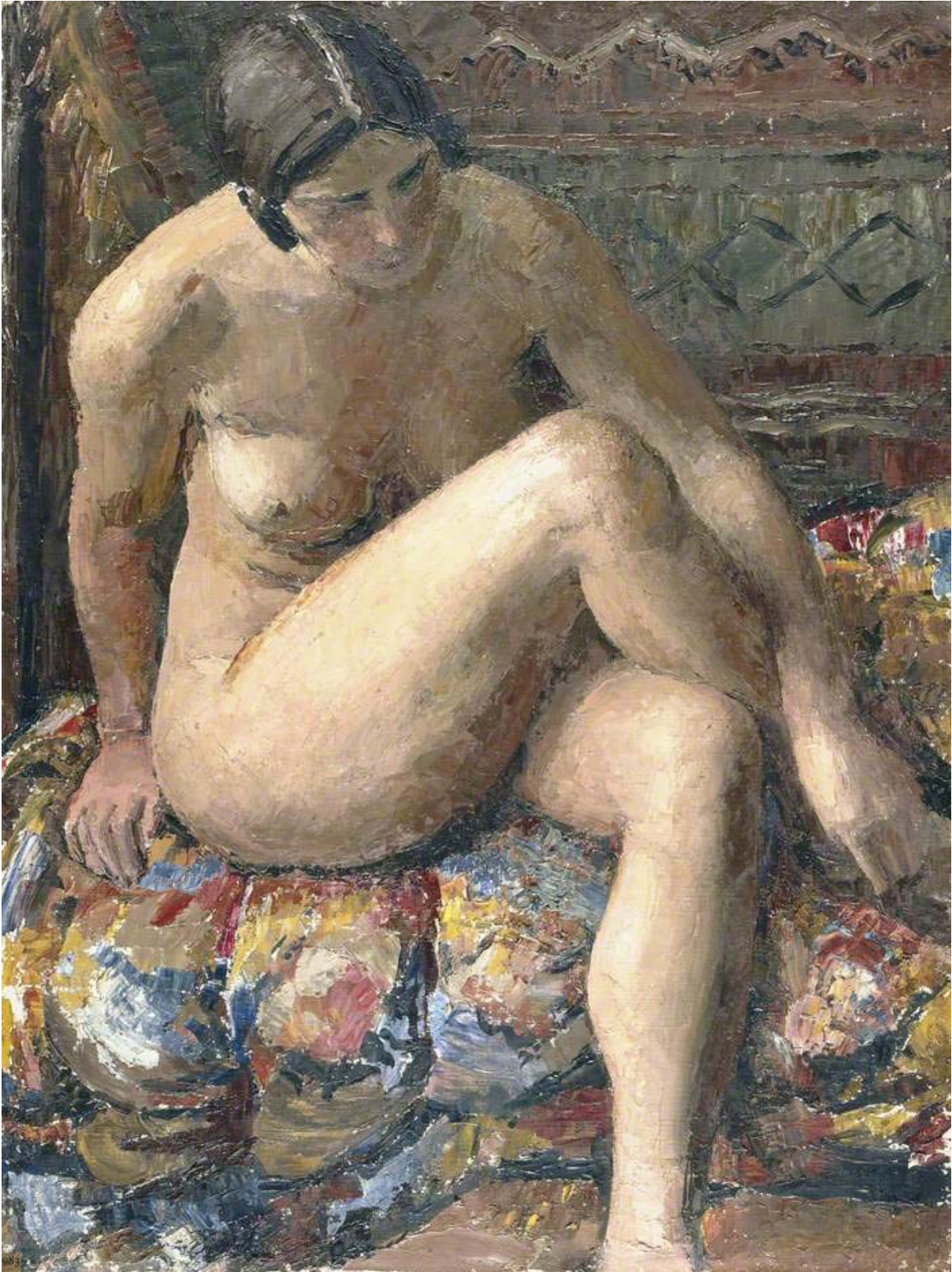


11

Edward Wolfe, *Aisha of the Kasba*, before 1929

Oil on canvas, 53.6 x 43.3 cm, Manchester City Galleries, Manchester

(Accession number: 1931.33)



12

Raymond James Coxon, *Model Resting*, before 1929
Oil on canvas, 89 x 66 cm, Manchester City Galleries, Manchester
(Accession number: 1931.42)



13

Duncan James Corrowr Grant, *Window, South of France*, 1928
Oil on canvas, 100 x 81.1 cm, Manchester City Galleries, Manchester
(Accession number: 1930.179)



14

Elwin Hawthorne, *Church near Blackheath*, before 1934

Oil on canvas, 62.2 x 75 cm, Manchester City Galleries, Manchester
(Accession number: 1939.1)



15

Walter James Steggles, *Norfolk Small Holding*, before 1939
Oil on canvas, 32.4 x 35.8 cm, Manchester City Galleries, Manchester
(Accession number: 1946.78)



16

Christopher Wood, *Cumberland Landscape*, 1928

Oil on canvas, 50.8 x 60.8 cm, Manchester City Galleries, Manchester
(Accession number: 1933.125)



17

George William Bissill, *Winter Landscape*, 1933

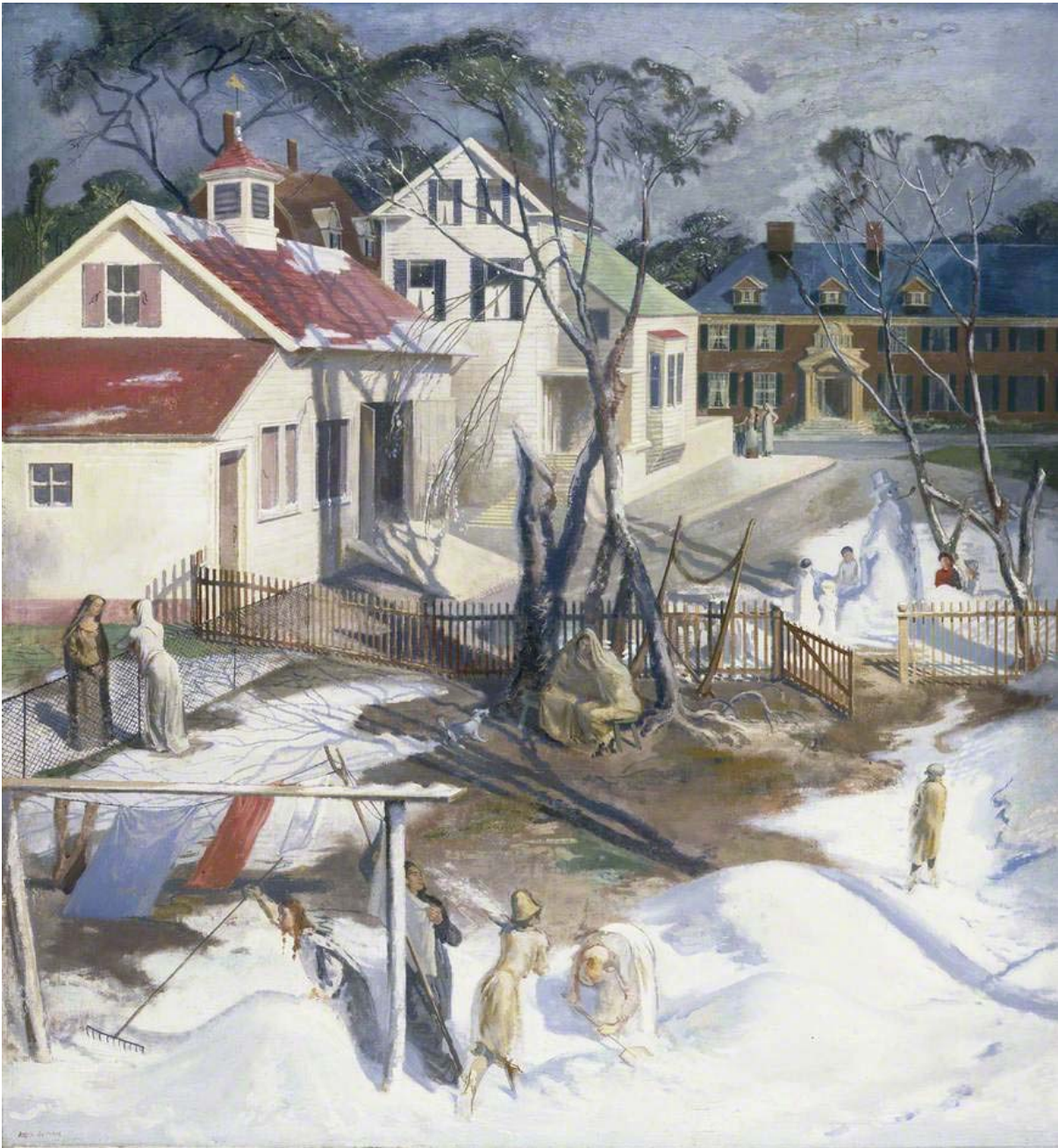
Oil on canvas, 56 x 76.3 cm, Manchester City Galleries, Manchester
(Accession number: 1935.211)



18

Fergus Graham, *Landscape with Farm*, before 1929

Oil on canvas, 91.5 x 71.2 cm, Manchester City Galleries, Manchester
(Accession number: 1931.11)



19

Robin Craig Guthrie, *Late Snowfall*, 1932

Oil on canvas, 90.6 x 84.2 cm, Manchester City Galleries, Manchester

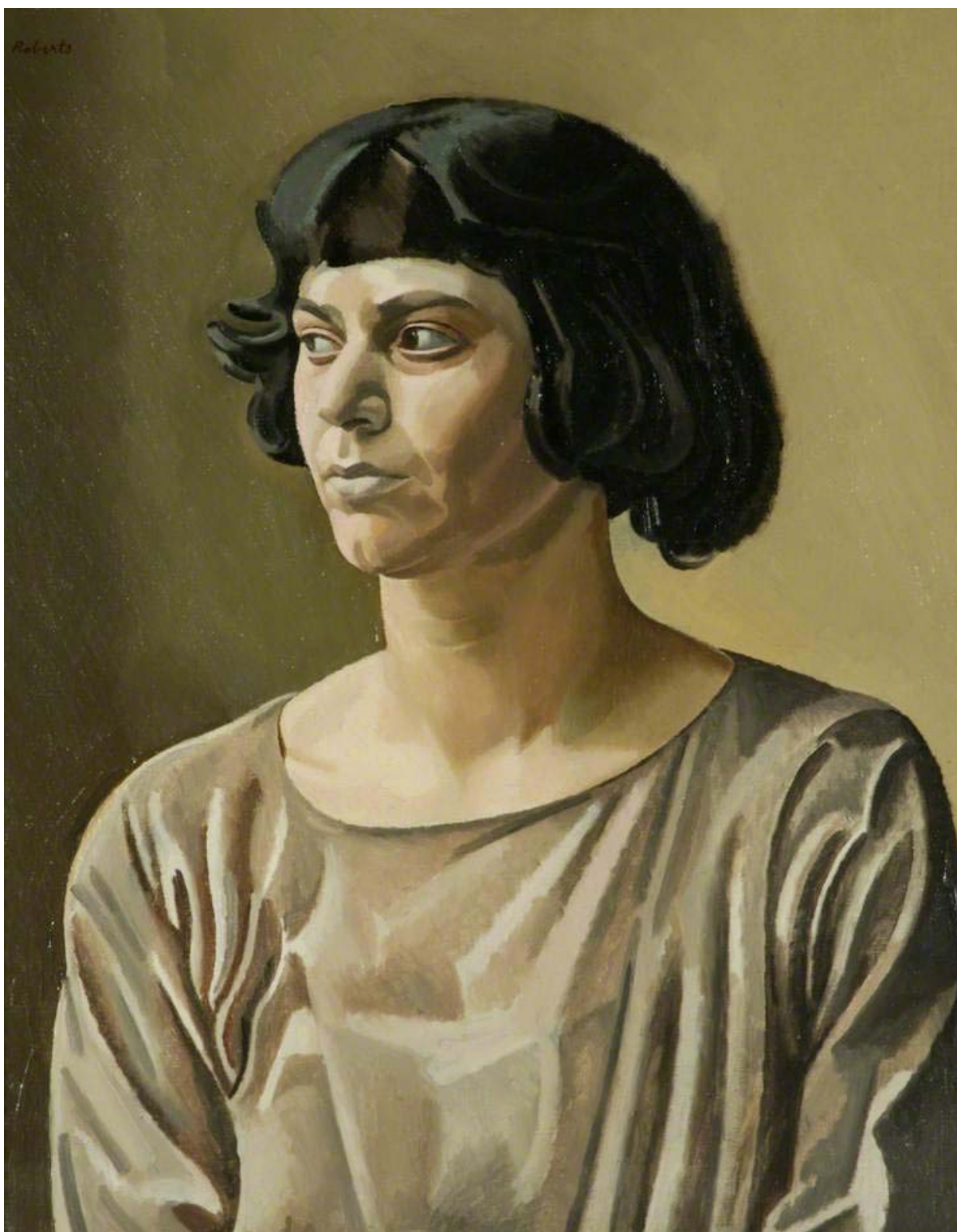
(Accession number: 1938.259)



20

Mark Gertler, *Girl Seated*, 1927

Black Chalk, 33 x 33 cm, Manchester City Galleries, Manchester
(Accession number: 1937.355)



21

William Patrick Roberts, *Sarah*, 1920–1926

Oil on canvas, 61.2 x 51 cm, Manchester City Galleries, Manchester

(Accession number: 1931.10)



22

Betty Muntz, *Erda*, before 1933

Bronze, 96.5 x 45.5 cm, Manchester City Galleries, Manchester
(Accession number: 1933.14)



23

John MacLauchlan Milne, *Artichoke Flowers*, before 1931
Oil on canvas, 73 x 54 cm, Manchester City Galleries, Manchester
(Accession number: 1932.67)



24

Frederick Etchells, *Woman at Mirror*, 1914

Oil on canvas, 115.2 x 76.9 cm, Manchester City Galleries, Manchester
(Accession number: 1964.1)



25

Maurice Lambert, *Flight of Birds*, 1926

Burnished Brass with Siena marble base, 53 x 44 cm, Base: 30.5 x 30.5 cm x cm

Manchester City Galleries, Manchester

(Accession number: 491 A,B & C)



26

Sir William Newenham Montague Orpen RA, *Homage to Manet*, 1909
Oil on canvas, 162.9 x 130 cm, Manchester City Galleries, Manchester
(Accession number: 1910.9)



27

Augustus Edwin John OM, RA, *Vivien*, c.1929
Oil on canvas, 72.3 x 51.8 cm, Ulster Museum, Belfast
(Accession number: BELUM.U323)



28

Duncan James Corrowr Grant, *Interior*, 1918
Oil on canvas, 163 x 174.8 cm, Ulster Museum, Belfast
(Accession number: BELUM.U454)



29

Sir Stanley Spencer, *The Betrayal*, 1922–1923
Oil on canvas, 122.7 x 137.2 cm, Ulster Museum, Belfast
(Accession number: BELUM.U487)



30

Sir Cedric Lockwood Morris, *Birds*, 1928
Oil on canvas, 100.1 x 72.9 cm, Ulster Museum, Belfast
(Accession number: BELUM.U2289)



31
Philip Wilson Steer OM, *Nude*, c.1901
Oil on canvas, 50.8 x 61 cm, Current whereabouts unknown



32

Philip Wilson Steer OM, *Yachts on the Solent*, 1920
Oil on canvas/Board, 51.1 x 81.4 cm, Ulster Museum, Belfast
(Accession number: BELUM.U498)



33
Walter Richard Sickert RE, *Suspense*, c.1916
Oil on canvas, 76.5 x 59 cm, Ulster Museum, Belfast
(Accession number: BELUM.U490)



34

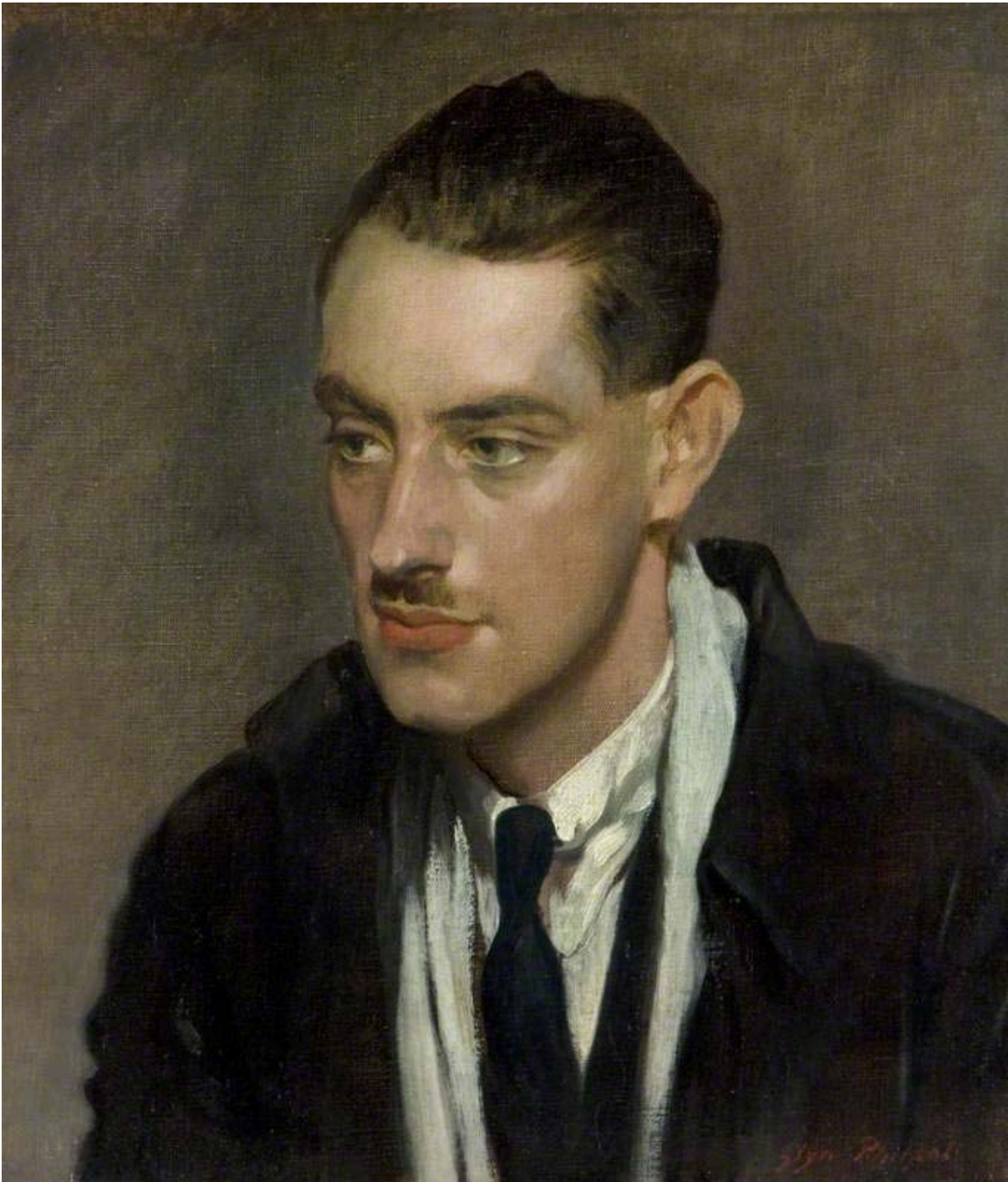
Walter Richard Sickert RE, *Easter*, c.1928

Oil on canvas, 66.1 x 77.2 cm, Ulster Museum, Belfast

(Accession number: BELUM.U500)



35
Augustus Edwin John OM, RA, *The Red Feather*, c.1911
Oil on board, 40.2 x 32.4 cm, Ulster Museum, Belfast
(Accession number: BELUM.U327)

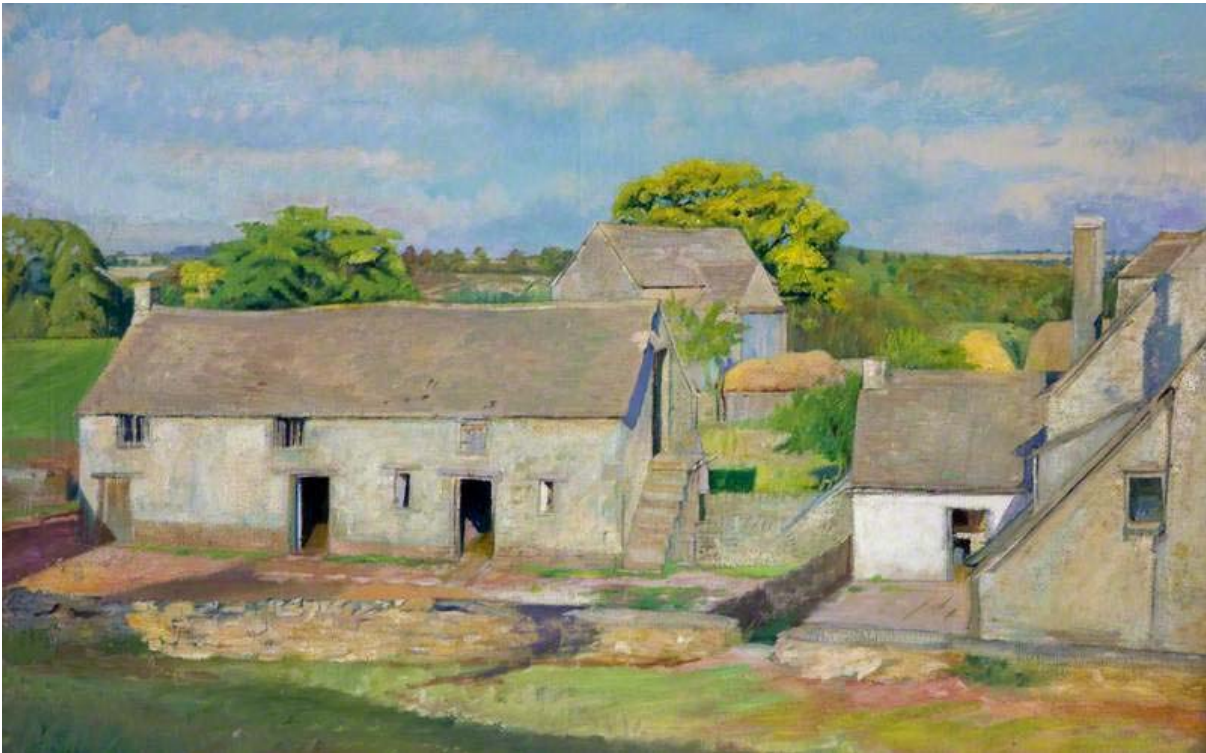


36

Glyn Philpot, *Portrait of a Young Man*, c.1920
Oil on canvas/Board, 44.2 x 41.2 cm, Ulster Museum, Belfast
(Accession number: BELUM.U390)



37
Sir William Newzam Prior Nicholson, *Cinerarias*, c.1928
Oil on canvas, 59.5 x 54.2 cm, Ulster Museum, Belfast
(Accession number: BELUM.U475)



38
Sir William Rothenstein, *Landscape*, c.1925
Oil on canvas, 61.5 x 101.7 cm, Ulster Museum, Belfast
(Accession number: BELUM.U494)



39
George William Bissill, *Avoca Bridge, Co. Wicklow*, c.1932–1933
Oil on canvas, 47 x 67.4 cm, Ulster Museum, Belfast (Accession
number: BELUM.U1927)



40

Walter Richard Sickert RE, *Plaza Tiller Girls in 1928*, 1928

Oil on canvas, Private Collection, Current whereabouts unknown



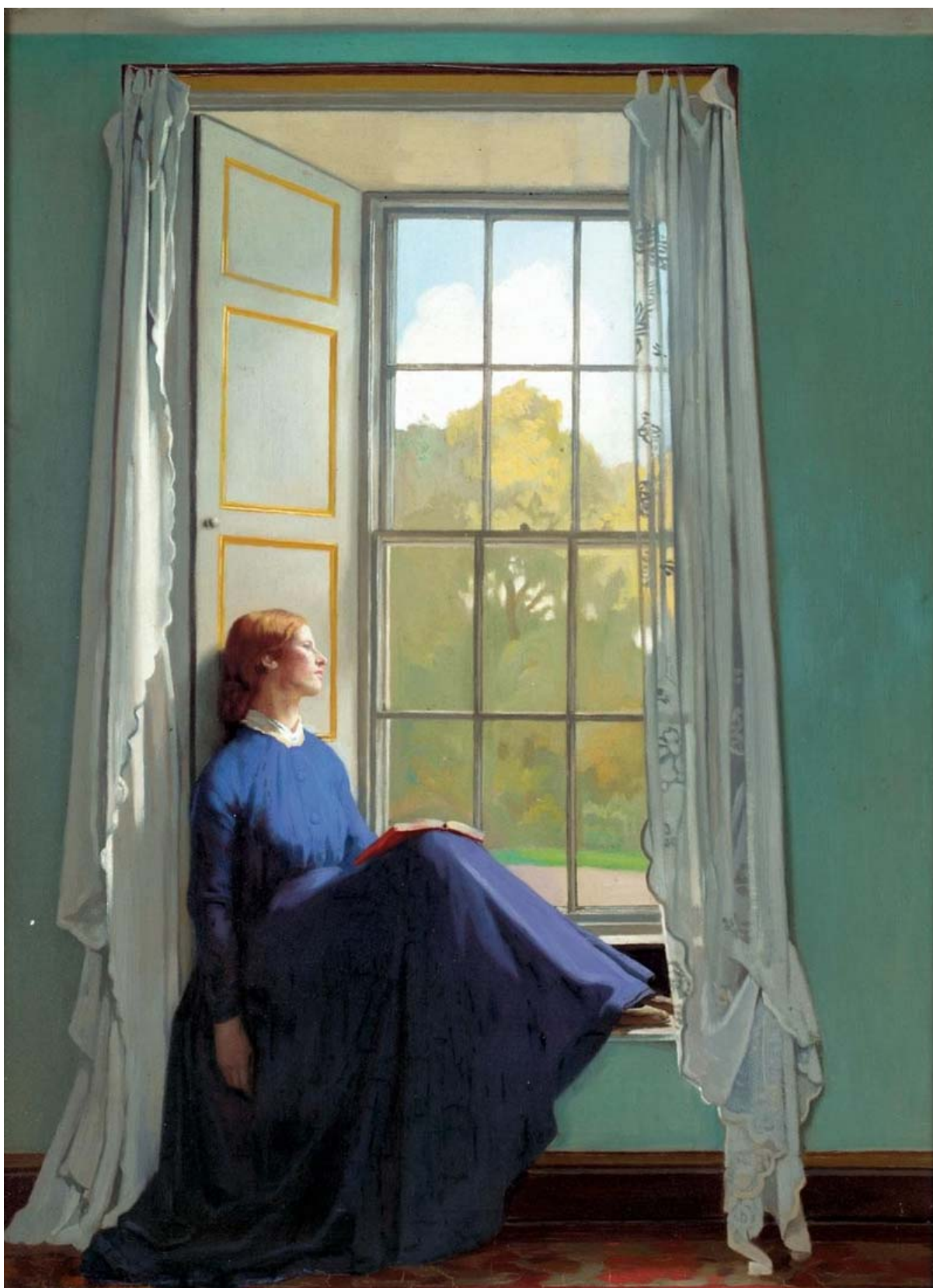
41

Doris Margaret (Dod) Procter (née Shaw), RA, *Baby boy*, 1925
Oil on canvas, 63.5 x 76.2 cm, Private Collection, Current whereabouts unknown



42

Sir William Newenham Montague Orpen RA, *The Red Scarf*, 1905
Oil on canvas, 91.4 x 71.1 cm, Lotherton Hall, Leeds Museums and Galleries
(Accession number: LEEAG.PA.1905.0213)



43

Sir William Newenham Montague Orpen RA, *The Window Seat*, 1901
Oil on canvas, 76.2 x 55.9 cm, Private Collection, Current whereabouts unknown



44

Sir William Newenham Montague Orpen RA, *Portrait Of Sir Edwin Ray Lankester (1847–1929)*, 1928
Oil on canvas, 86.2 x 101.7 cm, Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery, Birmingham
(Accession number: 1942P125)



45

Sir William Newenham Montague Orpen RA, *Self Portrait*, c.1905–1910
Oil on canvas, 50.8 x 40.7 cm, Ulster Museum, Belfast
(Accession number: BELUM.U481)



46

William Patrick Roberts, *The Boat Pond*, 1925

Oil on canvas, 120 x 90 cm, Private Collection, Current whereabouts unknown



47

William Patrick Roberts, *Sawing Wood*, c.1930
Oil on canvas, 46 x 61.1 cm, Ulster Museum, Belfast
(Accession number: BELUM.U496)



48

William Patrick Roberts, *Masks*, c.1932

Oil on canvas, 102 x 107 cm, Private Collection, Current whereabouts unknown



49

William Patrick Roberts, *Beach Fun*, c.1929

Oil on canvas, Private Collection, Current whereabouts unknown



50

William Patrick Roberts, *The Ballet*, c.1932

Oil on canvas, 40.8 x 45.6 cm, Scottish National Gallery of Modern Art, Edinburgh
(Accession number: GMA 3511)



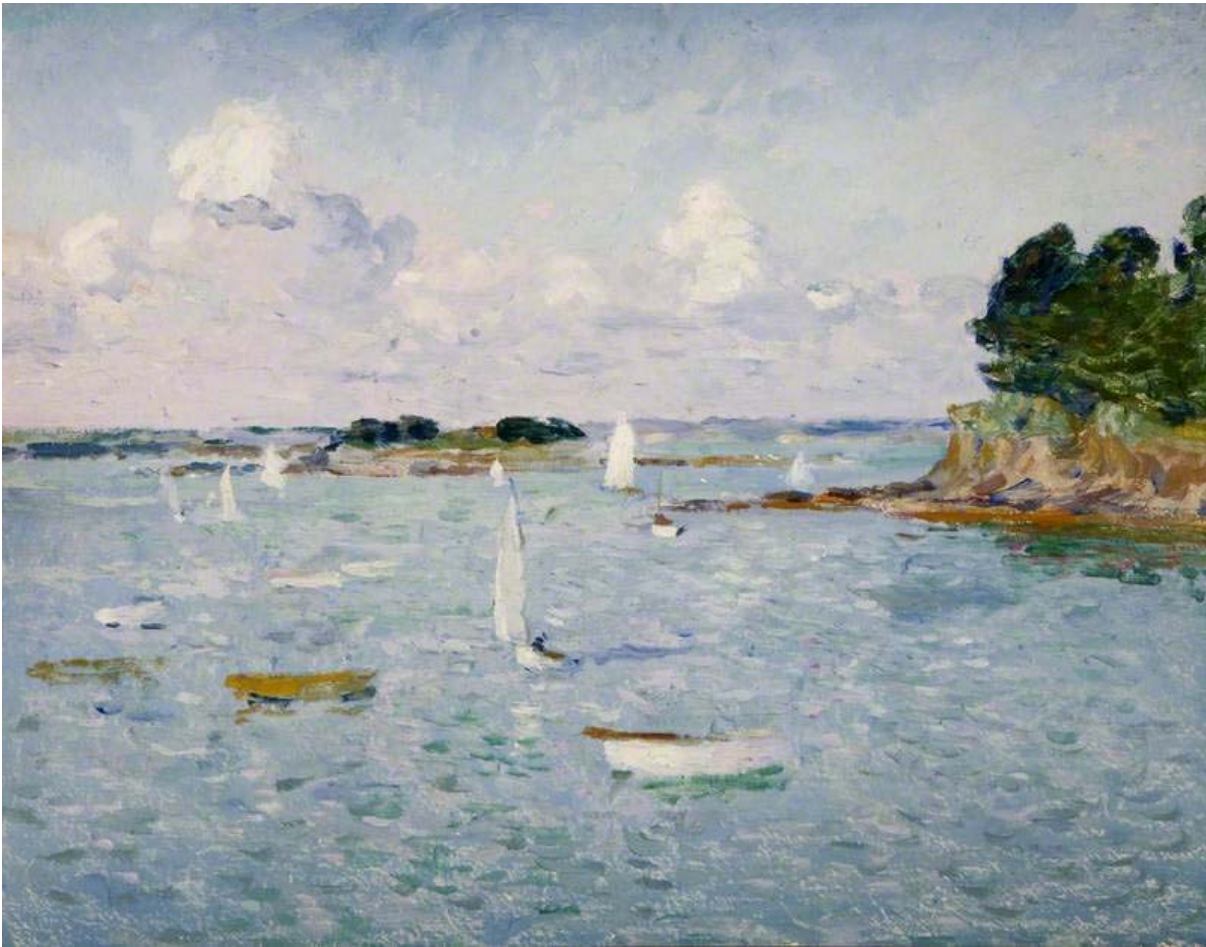
51
William Patrick Roberts, *Les Routiers*, c.1931
Oil on canvas, 101.7 x 76.3 cm, Ulster Museum, Belfast
(Accession number: BELUM.U492)



52

Fairlee Harmar, *L'Aveyron*, c.1932

Oil on canvas, 63.2 x 75.8 cm, Ulster Museum, Belfast
(Accession number: BELUM.U462)



53

James Bolivar Manson, *A Freshening Breeze, St Briac*, c.1907

Oil on canvas, 35.3 x 45.7 cm, Ulster Museum, Belfast

(Accession number: BELUM.U472)



54

Ethel Walker DBE ARA, *Summer Afternoon*, c.1933?
Oil on canvas, 63.4 x 76.8 cm, Ulster Museum, Belfast
(Accession number: BELUM.U507)



55

Paul Lucien Maze, *Boulogne*, 1925–1926

Oil on canvas, 50.4 x 65.3 cm, Ulster Museum, Belfast
(Accession number: BELUM.U470)



56

Edward Alexander Wadsworth, *Gasteropoda*, 1927
Tempera on panel, 53.3 x 37.7 cm, Ulster Museum, Belfast
(Accession number: BELUM.U510)



57
Vanessa Bell, *Flowers in a Ginger Jar*, 1931
Oil on canvas, 61.7 x 51.1 cm, Ulster Museum, Belfast
(Accession number: BELUM.U440)



58

Elliott Seabrooke, *Fruit*, 1928

Oil on canvas, 50.6 x 61 cm, Ulster Museum, Belfast

(Accession number: BELUM.U502)



59

Sir Matthew (Arnold Bracy) Smith CBE, *Daisies*, c.1920–1929
Oil on canvas, 81.2 x 54.5 cm, Ulster Museum, Belfast
(Accession number: BELUM.U499)



60
Edward Wolfe, *The Doorway*, c.1929–1930
Oil on canvas, 80.7 x 65.6 cm, Ulster Museum, Belfast
(Accession number: BELUM.U506)



61
Alfred Neville Lewis, *Basuto Boy*, c.1928–1929
Oil on canvas, 28.6 x 25.9 cm, Ulster Museum, Belfast
(Accession number: BELUM.U469)



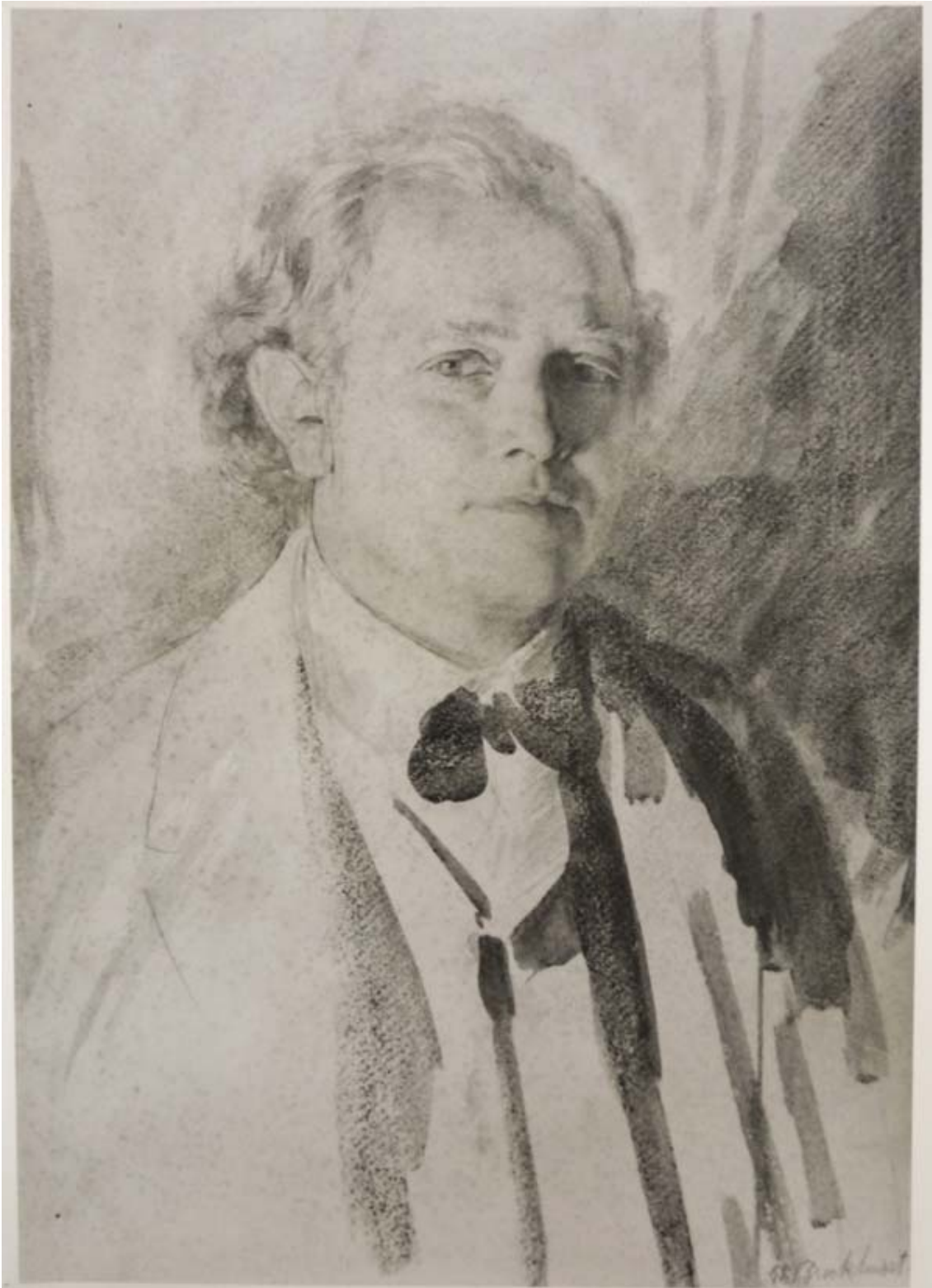
62

Philip Wilson Steer OM, *The Teme at Ludlow*, 1900
Oil on canvas, 45.9 x 61.1 cm, Ulster Museum, Belfast
(Accession number: BELUM.U501)



63

Philip Wilson Steer OM, *Haweswater*, 1904
Watercolour, 24 x 36.3 cm, Ulster Museum, Belfast
(Accession number: BELUM.U860)



64
Gerald Leslie Brockhust RE, *Portrait*, c.1928–9
Pencil & W/Colour, 45.7 x 32.4 cm, Ulster Museum, Belfast
(Accession number: BELUM.U2584)



65

Pieter van der Meulen, *William III, the Duke of Schomberg and the Pope*, 1650s

Oil on canvas, 169 x 222 cm, Stormont, Northern Ireland Assembly

(Accession number: PCF9)



66

Thomas Sturge Moore, *Bookplate of Campbell Dodgson* (printed by Lucien Pissarro), 1909
Wood Engraving, 9.9 x 9.9 cm, The British Museum, London
(Accession number: 1909,0219.6)



67

Eric Gill, *Girl in a Bath II*, 1923

Wood Engraving, 10.6 x 10.6 cm, The British Museum, London

(Accession number: 1928,0310.37)



68

James Abbott McNeill Whistler RBA, *Wheelwright (The Second Venice Set)*, 1879–80
Etching, 13.1 x 17.2 cm, The British Museum, London
(Accession number: 1949,0411.4387)



69
Cyril Edward Power, *The tube staircase*, before 1929
Lino cut (colour), 44.4 x 25.6 cm, The British Museum, London
(Accession number: 1932,0514.43)



70
John Edgar Platt ARE, *Mullion Cove*, 1931
Woodcut (colour), 22.9 x 26 cm, The British Museum, London
(Accession number: 1934,1208.118)



71

Dalziel Brothers (after Arthur Boyd Houghton), *Snapdragon*, 1865
Wood Engraving, 17.7 x 13.5 cm, The British Museum, London
(Accession number: 1910,0811.36)



72

Sir William Newenham Montague Orpen RA, *Group associated with the New English Art Club, c.1904*
Pen chalk ink & w/C, 22.5 x 41.5 cm, The National Portrait Gallery, London
(Accession number: NPG 6345)



73

Sir Francis Job "Frank" Short RA PPRE, *The Angry Cloud, 1930*
Mezzotint, 15 x 22.6 cm, The British Museum, London

(Accession number: 1933,0408.72)



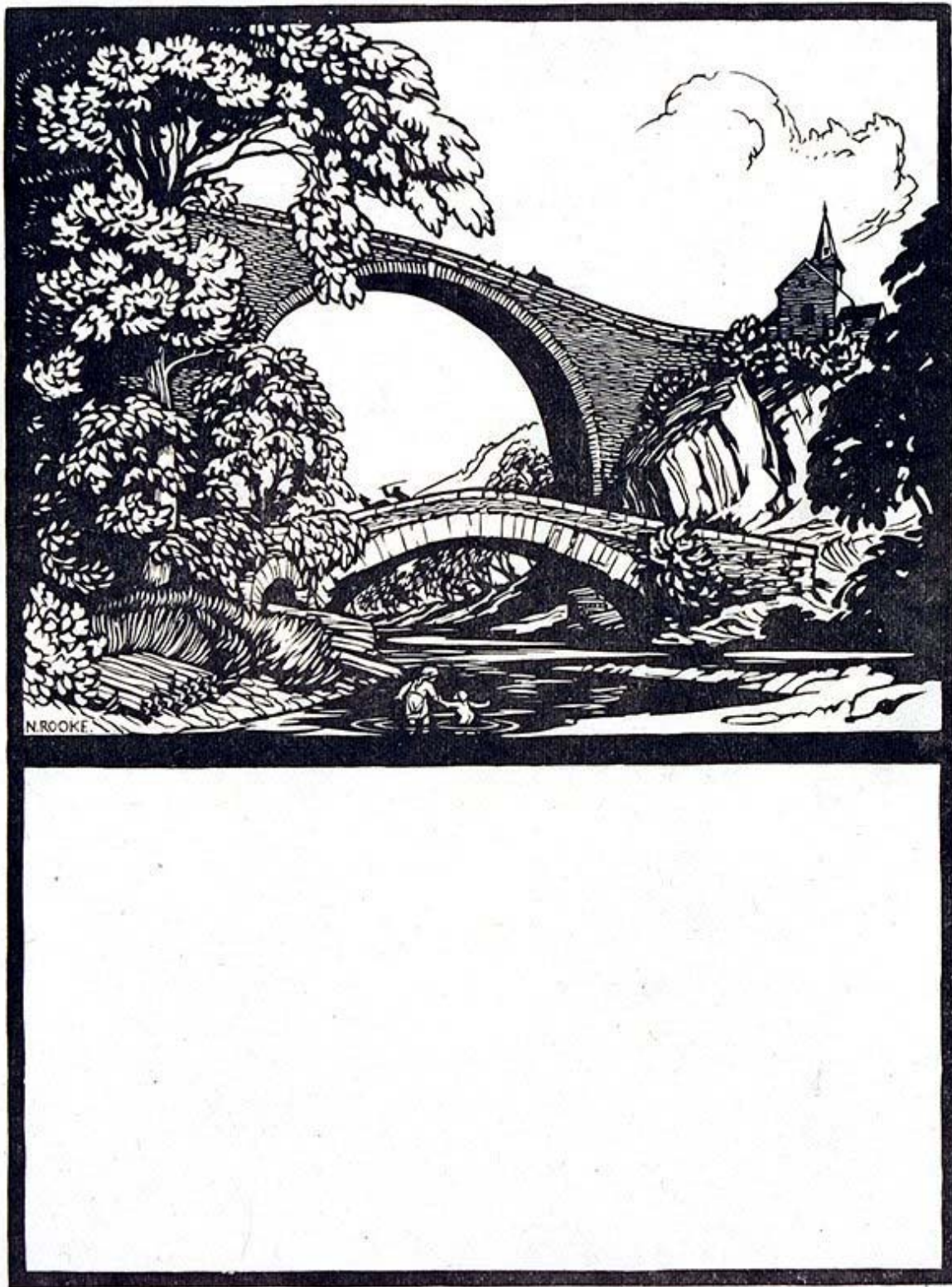
74

Augustus Edwin John OM RA, *Girl smiling, in fur hat and feather*, c.1906
Etching and Drypoint, 10.1 x 8.7 cm, The British Museum, London
(Accession number: 1949,0411.1270)



75

Frederick Landseer Maur Griggs RA RE, *Maur's Farm*, 1913
Etching, 10.9 x 18.2 cm, The British Museum, London
(Accession number: 1949,0411.302)



Noel Rooke

76

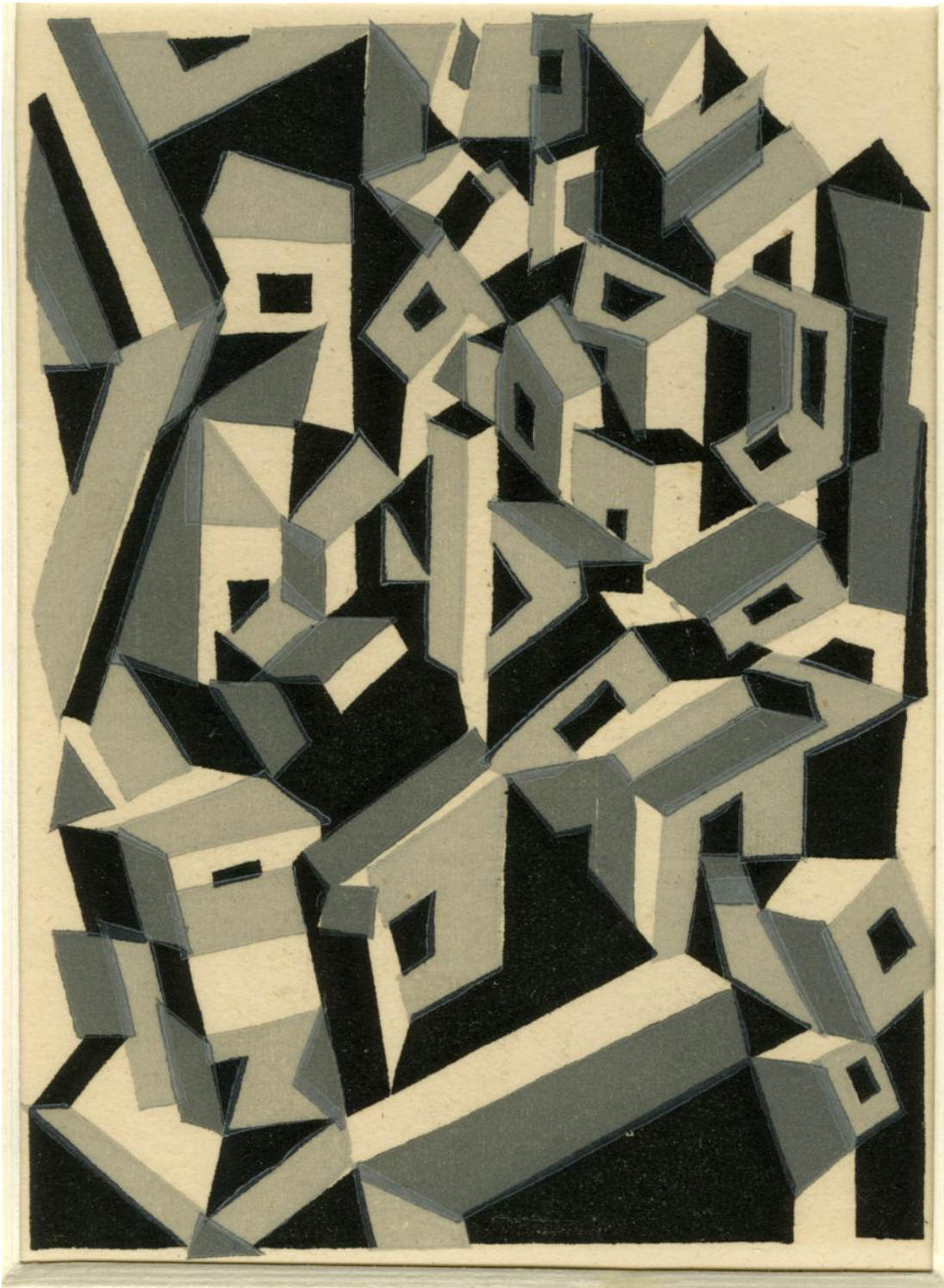
Noel Rooke ARE, *The Two Bridges*, c.1919
Woodcut, 27.7 x 20.5 cm, The British Museum, London
(Accession number: 1924,0209.137)



Leon Underwood/25

77

(George Claude) Leon Underwood, 'Supplication' from the 'Human Proclivities' series, 1925
Lino cut, 18 x 26 cm, Private Collection, Current whereabouts unknown



78

Edward Alexander Wadsworth, *Riponelli: a village in Lemnos*, 1917

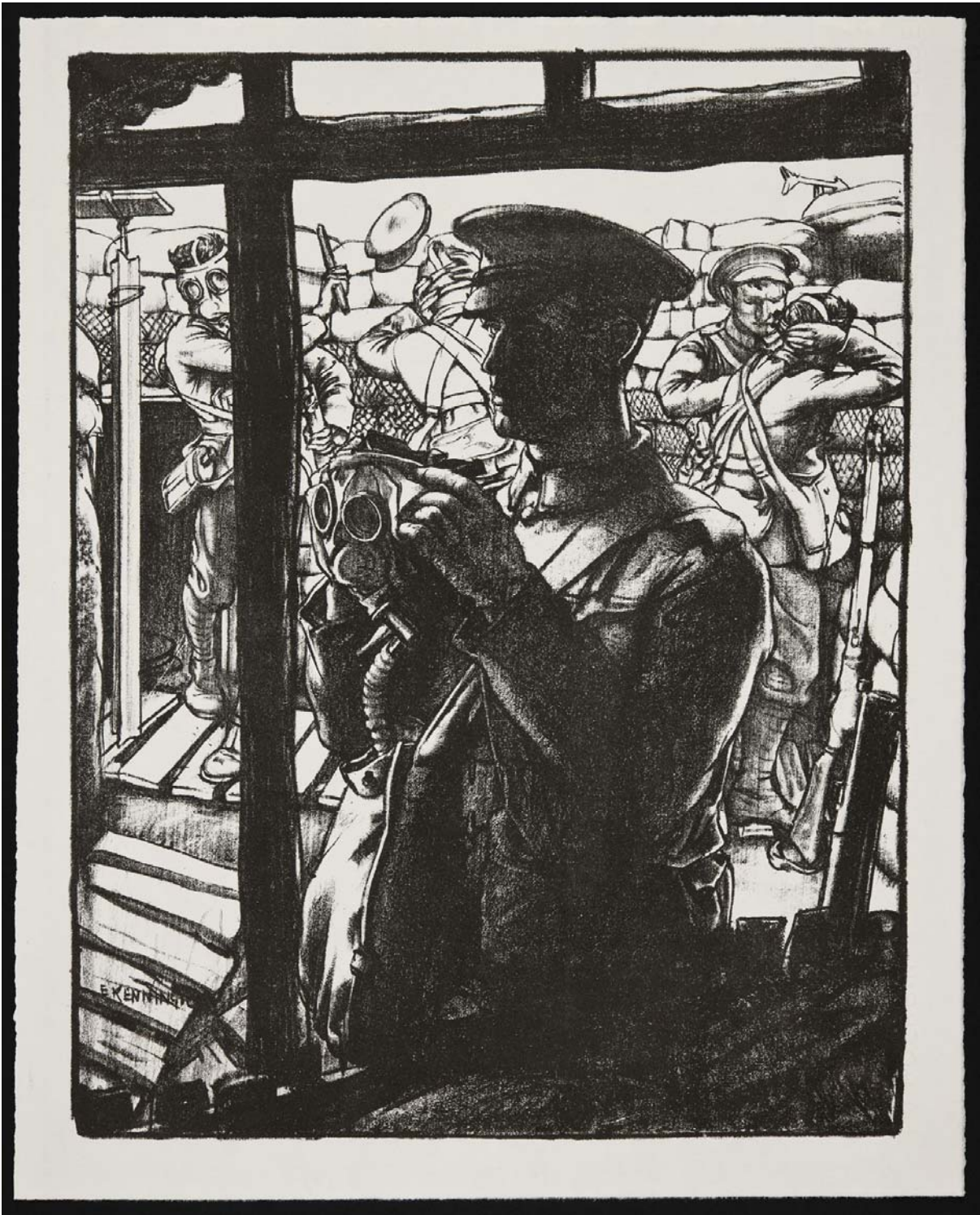
Woodcut, 10.1 x 7.4 cm, The British Museum, London

(Accession number: 1924,0209.145)



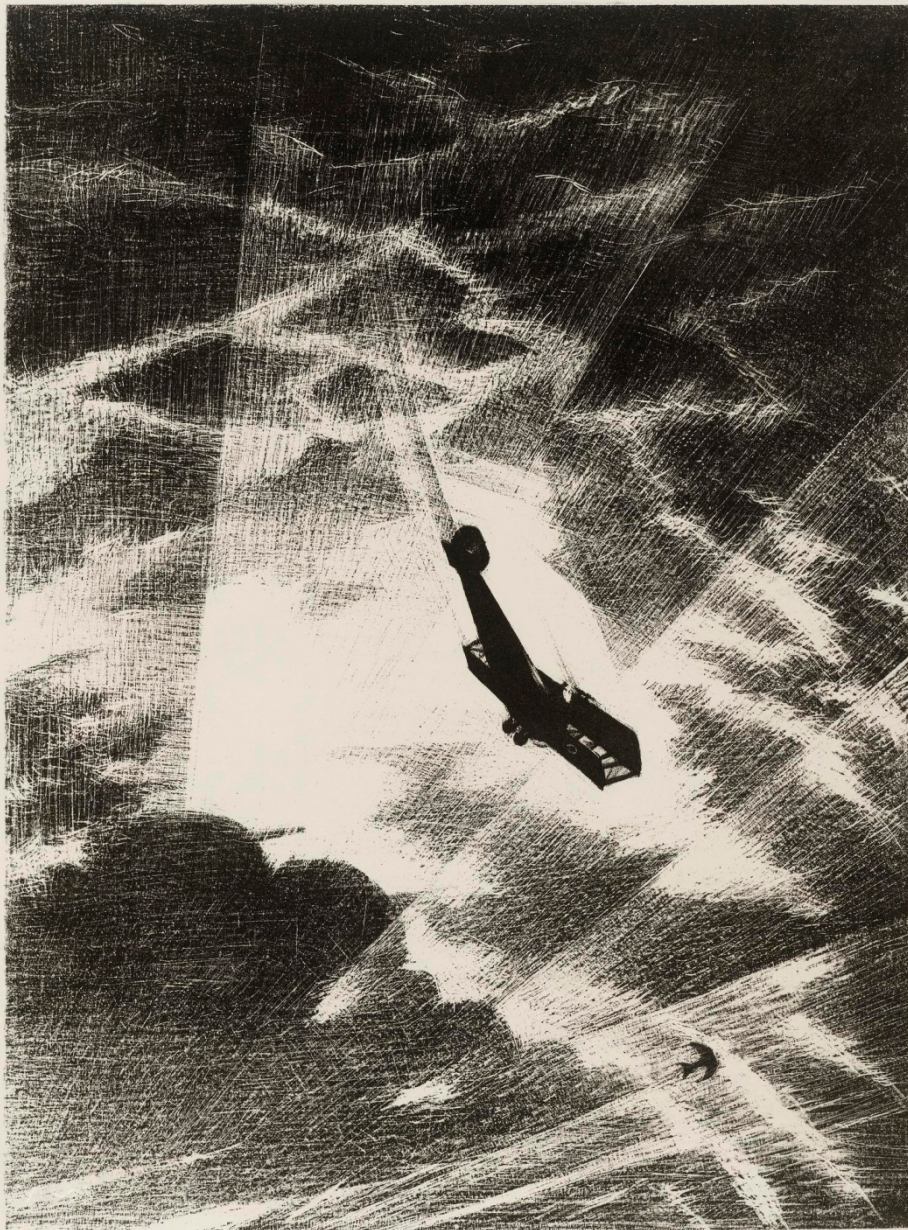
79

Yoshijirō Urushibara Mokuchū, *The Devil's Bridge*, after F. Bangwyn R.A., before 1922
Colour Print, 36.7 x 51 cm, The British Museum, London
(Accession number: 1924,0209,0.158)



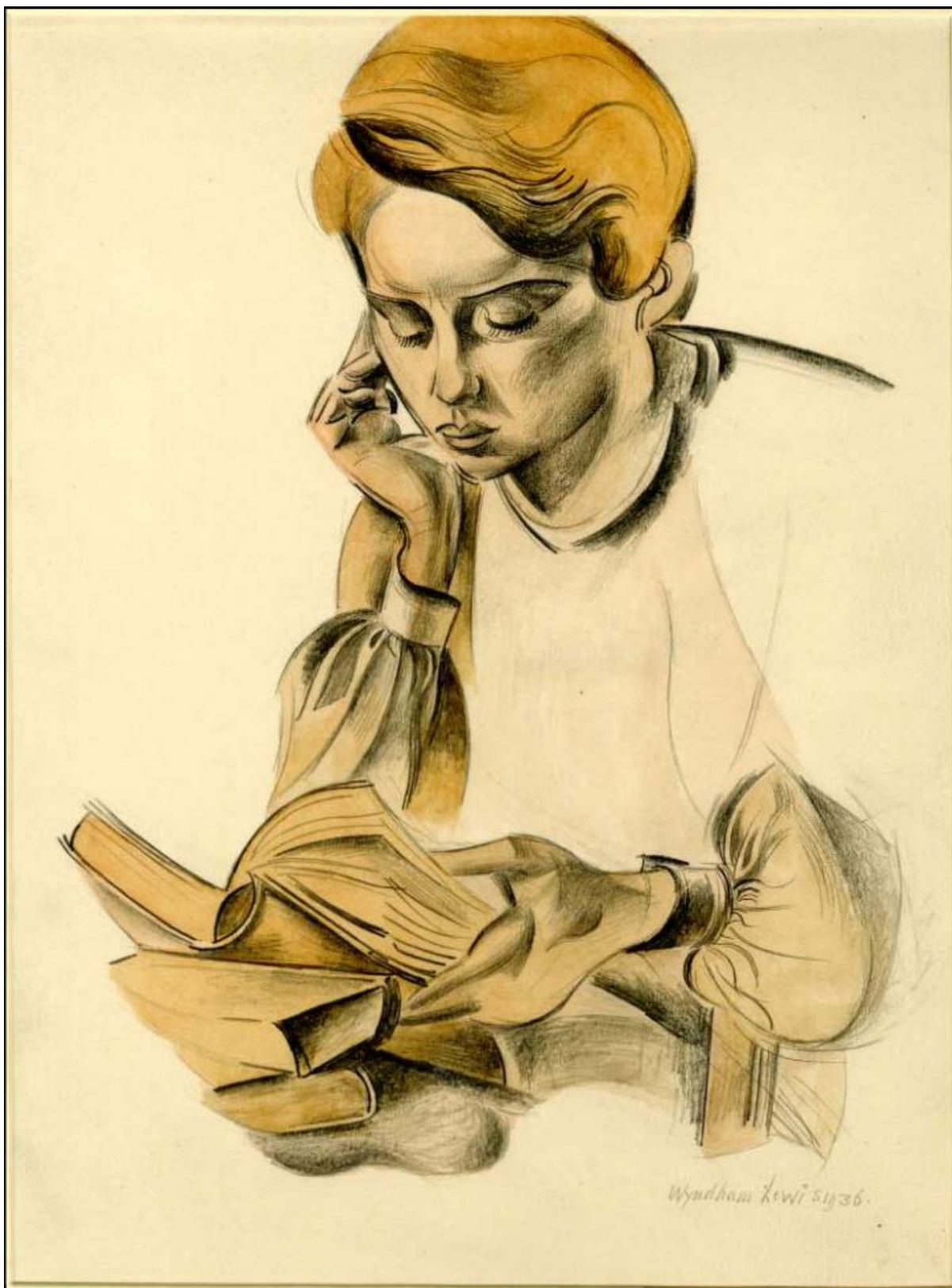
80

Eric (Henri) Kennington, *The Gas Mask* from *'The Great War: Britain's Efforts and Ideals'*, 1917
Lithograph B/W, 47 x 36.6 cm, National Museum of Wales, Cardiff
(Accession number: NMW A 13166)



81

Christopher Richard Wynne Nevinson,
Swooping down on a Taube from *'The Great War: Britain's Efforts and Ideals'*, 1917
Lithograph B/W, 40 x 30 cm, The British Museum, London
(Accession number: 1918,0713.121)



82

Wyndham Lewis, *Reading*, before 1938
Pencil and Wash, 37.7 x 26.7 cm, The British Museum, London
(Accession number: 1939,0730.10)



83

Wyndham Lewis, *La Suerte*, before 1938
Oil on canvas, 61 x 45.7 cm, Tate, London
(Accession number: N05039)



84

William Patrick Roberts, *The Chess Players*, before 1933

Oil on canvas, 101.5 x 92 cm, Private Collection, Current whereabouts unknown